

*Peruvian Migration to Chile:  
Challenges for National Identity, Human Rights and Social Policy*

***Introduction***

My field research was conducted in Santiago, Chile over the course of approximately 8 weeks, with the support of the Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (CELADE), an institute affiliated with the Comisión Económica Para América Latina (CEPAL) of the United Nations, and under the guidance of Jorge Martínez, who has worked extensively on the topic of international migration within the region and in Chile.

My research was on Peruvian migration to Chile. I directed my field research toward developing a general understanding of the legal, political and social conditions of the Peruvian migrant communities in Santiago. My analysis focused on the different organizations (local, state, non-governmental and international) that work with the Peruvian migrant communities; the main issues surrounding these communities, the different programs that they provide, their effectiveness and goals, if and how these organizations collaborate with each other and the effectiveness of this collaboration.

NGO's, grassroots, local and even international organizations are an increasingly important actor in relation to such issues as policy making, group rights, social participation and justice. For this reason I was interested in looking at the social organizations working with the Peruvian migrant community in Santiago, Chile. Social organizations not only represent this specific migrant community, but they often play a significant role in determining how this community is viewed and the debates surrounding it. I suggest that although organizations and interest groups exist as an alternative form of representation (versus what historically was the State), these same organizations can also determine the problems and debates that may ultimately characterize the situation and opportunities of the Peruvian migrant communities in Chile.

By focusing on the social organizations that work with and represent Peruvian migrants, I was able to position my analysis in what I consider to be two aspects of Peruvian migration in Chile. First, as I mentioned above, I was interested in understanding the way that Peruvian migration is understood and defined *from above*. Second, I was interested in analyzing the impact of Peruvian migration on the way that Chileans perceive themselves and others. This last point is of particular interest for a number of reasons. Since 1990, Chile has been considered extremely successful both economically and politically. Chile's economy has expanded significantly over the past fifteen years and recently Chile signed Free Trade Agreements with both the United States and Europe. In some ways, Santiago resembles that of a global city, like New York or Paris. However, despite Chile's move toward a more modern, global

economy, it remains a somewhat closed society, that in many ways continues to grapple with its past and present in relation to concepts such as national identity both internally and in relation to the other countries of the region and the rest of the world.

This topic is one of particular interest for Chileans. In fact, there are numerous studies and books on the topic of Chilean society, its politics and economy and its national identity, one of the most recent being, *Identidad Chilena*, by the sociologist Jorge Larrain. What is the impact of Peruvian migration on Chilean perceptions of identity? As one sociologist put it, “Peruvian migrants act as a mirror for Chilean society”.<sup>1</sup>

A focus on the formal institutions that surround Peruvian migration may not address much of the daily reality of the particular experience of Peruvians themselves, rather it involves a more *top-down* analysis of the discourses and the elites who claim to represent the issues and concerns of the topic of immigration, both for the migrant community as well as for the receiving society. In this context, I am interested in looking at the way different actors are determining how these issues are articulated and addressed and how this may or may not reflect in the way that the receiving society –through its organizations- incorporates new social and ethnic groups. From this top down perspective I suggest that it is possible to analyze both the limits and opportunities available to Peruvian migrants living and working in Chile as well as the reaction by the receiving society and some of the possible long term consequences such as types of marginalization, discrimination, integration and job and class mobility.

### ***Objectives of field research***

The majority of my field research was spent collecting secondary data and conducting interviews with leaders and founders of organizations, experts in the field of migration, activists and government officials. Through these interviews and the secondary data -much of which I was able to learn about and acquire from my interviews and questions- I was able to develop an understanding of some of the main areas of concern surrounding Peruvian migrants living in Chile. These are; the legal framework surrounding the topic of immigration, the social policies and absence of an immigration policy, and programs that promote non-discrimination as part of a recent cultural discourse that has incorporated the Peruvian migrant communities, among many others.

The objectives behind my research were aimed at developing an understanding not only of the situation of the Peruvian migrant communities in Santiago, but also of the debates and discourses used to represent this community. More specifically, I tried to organize my interviews around the following information:

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<sup>1</sup> Stefoni, Carolina., Interview conducted on July 18, 2005 at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, in Santiago, Chile.

- The principal problems and concerns for the Peruvian migrant communities and the discrimination that they face in Chile.
- The discourses, programs and politics that exist as possible solutions in relation to how the problems are defined.
- How these discourses, programs and politics can be understood in the current context of Chilean society and economy.
- The roles and responsibilities of the different organizations in relation to what they perceive to be the principal issues regarding Peruvian migration to Chile.
- How minorities and migrants have been perceived in the historical and current context of Chilean society.
- The transformations that the different organizations consider necessary in order to deal with the situation of the Peruvian migrant communities in Chile.
- The legal, political and social transformations that have occurred throughout the nineties regarding migration issues in Chile.
- The topic of multiculturalism as part of an official policy(?)

First, I developed a general understanding of the daily reality of Peruvian migrants living and working in Santiago, Chile. I chose to limit my study to Santiago because over 70% of Peruvian migrants reside there. I gathered general information regarding the current number of Peruvian migrants living in Chile, their demographic make-up, as well as the economic, educational and cultural factors that characterize this community, the number of illegal immigrants, the housing opportunities at their disposal, as well as the areas where they live, the conditions they live in, where they work, job opportunities, and the use of public spaces by Peruvian migrants in Chile. Santiago is a very segregated city, geographically as well as socially (in terms of class structures), and the way in which Peruvian migrants are organized or organize themselves spatially and socially may determine present and future opportunities of integration or greater marginalization as well as represent attitudes both by the receiving society and the migrant community.

Second, I analyzed the legal and political structures surrounding Peruvian migrants traveling to and living in Chile. My original objective was to look at the policies dealing with immigration. I quickly learned that Chile does not have an immigration policy in place (much like the majority of the countries in the region). Thus, I was forced to focus on the existing legal framework as well as the separate programs and policies that address specific aspects of the migrant question. The absence of an immigration policy is clearly important in understanding the role and responsibilities of the different social organizations that support and represent the Peruvian migrant communities.

An analysis of the different organizations and institutions working with Peruvian migrants allowed me to begin to understand the formal social networks surrounding migration that include organizations at all different political and social levels. At the same time, this analysis allowed me to focus both on Chilean society and the political and social structures that characterize it, as well as the way that the issues and concerns of interest groups –in this case, the Peruvian migrant community- are delegated and articulated. Second, I was interested in understanding the internal power relations that exist among the different organizations and how the “migrant question” is played out within this power structure. I thought that a focus on the power relations within a specific network would allow a more comprehensive understanding of how the “migrant question” and the issues related are articulated. Finally, I was also interested in understanding how these organizations represent Chilean society and thus how the question of immigration is perceived by Chilean society.

A focus on the different organizations involved in the topic of international migration and Peruvians in Chile also made sense due to the fact that I was working in the CELADE, the demographic institute of the CEPAL/United Nations, where a number of studies on migration within the region has taken place and where there is a clear commitment towards the promotion of human rights and rights for immigrants and refugees throughout the world. The opportunity to do my research at the CELADE, meant that in one way or another I was also part of this institutional structure and thus felt that an analysis of the same institutional framework that I was involved in, could offer a more introspective understanding of the current role and responsibilities of social organizations and the topic of immigration.

### ***Methodology***

My field research was aimed mainly at conducting interviews and gathering documents such as surveys, reports and notes of conferences organized by different organizations working with the Peruvian migrant community. I focused on formal organizations that work with and in one way or another make a claim at representing the Peruvian migrant community in Chile. My interviews were generally informal conversations that last from anywhere between 20 minutes to an hour and a half. The purpose behind this type of interview was to begin to distinguish between some of the similarities and differences among the organizations included in the study, the differences in how each organization understood their role and responsibility as well as the way they understood their position in relation to other organizations also part of this network. I tried to separate my interviews into three separate sections, focusing on; the way the organization defined the main concerns and problems for the Peruvian migrant community, the way they understood their role and responsibility to the migrant community and finally, the way they understood the role and responsibility of other organizations in relation to the migrant community and to their own organization. I also reserved part of my interviews for questions regarding discrimination of Peruvians in

Chile. This last point was especially difficult because although all of the people I interviewed agreed that the issue of discrimination was important and relevant to the Peruvian community, and although it is clearly part of a debate surrounding identity issues and minorities in Chile, it continues to remain an elusive term, even among some of the people that have written or worked extensively on the topic of discrimination in general.

The field research that I conducted over the summer is for my master's thesis in Latin American studies. Over the next semester I will be organizing and developing my arguments and perspectives on the topic. Because of the nature of the study, I will need to draw from a number of disciplines for my methodological and theoretical framework. Theories on Migration and NGO's are key in positioning my research and arguments. At the same time, I am also interested in critical discourse analysis as a type of methodology that I can apply to the interpretation of my interviews, coverage by the media, as well as the reports and documents that different NGO's and state institutions have published on the topic.

### ***National Context***

Chile is one of the most liberal economies in the region and despite the economic recession from 1999 to 2002 and the fact that it is currently the second country with the largest income gap in the region after Brazil, it continues to be hailed as a success story and model for other developing countries in the region and the world.

Chile's economic success has been a source of great pride for many Chileans, who see these economic transformations as representative of the modernization and development of the country. They have also in many ways challenged and radically transformed Chilean society, culture and identity. Rather than being representative of the end of almost twenty years of dictatorship to democratic rule, the cultural and social transformations of Chilean society are part of the neoliberal economic model started during the government of Augusto Pinochet. This has meant that many of the profound social and cultural changes that have occurred have been bound specifically to this economic model and as a result, aspects of Chilean society continue to reflect many of the values, identity and structures promoted and reinforced during the years of Pinochet's authoritarian government.

It is important to note that the importance of Chile's legacy with its authoritarian government for the present is difficult to determine, however what is apparent is that throughout the past fifteen years, Chileans have struggled to understand their identity as a culture and as a nation, as well as in relation to the region and the rest of the world. This aspect of Chilean society in the context of neoliberal reforms, the political transition as well as their authoritarian past create a very complex and often contradictory mix of how Chileans define themselves, who is included in this definition, who is excluded, concepts of

the “other”, common goals and concepts such as what is “modern”, or considered successful and what is not.

This concept of national identity and development is also grounded in an ideal of a white homogeneous national community that highlights its European ancestry and has traditionally denied both its indigenous roots and has excluded other minority groups. (Moulian, T. in Ortega, S. 2001) In this context, Peruvian immigration is seen as a threat both economically as well as culturally. First, because it allegedly takes away jobs and creates more instability for Chilean workers and second, because it challenges traditional cultural and ethnic concepts of national identity that bind “whiteness” to development. (Moulian, T. in Ortega, S. 2001) Although in the past few years there has been a shift toward greater consciousness and recognition of the indigenous and other minority populations, discriminatory attitudes and behavior continue to be the norm. Ethnic discrimination goes hand in hand with class and other types of discrimination, and what many of the people I interviewed used to characterize Chilean society. “Nosotros, los chilenos somos muy discriminatorios.”<sup>2</sup>

Partly because of its economic growth and stability, Chile has become a receiving country for many Latin American migrants who are often unable to travel to other countries, or who use Chile as a transfer point before immigrating somewhere else. Since the early nineties, there has been an increase in the number of migrants who actually live and work in Chile. Although Chile currently has the greatest number of immigrants in history, in relative terms this number remains small, representing less than 2% of the Chilean population and is less than the number of Chileans living outside the country. According to the 2002 census, the largest migrant communities currently living in Chile come from Argentina, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, respectively. There are clear differences between these groups that should be taken into consideration and that represent a much larger picture than what the sheer numbers show. For example, although Argentines represent the greatest number of migrants in Chile, the large percentage of minors that are included in this population, have lead many to believe that a considerable portion of Argentine nationals are actually children of Chileans, many of whom resided in Argentina during the Pinochet government. The Bolivian migrant community is concentrated in the north of Chile, working mostly in agriculture, and the Ecuadorian migrant community is concentrated in the health sector, where they are able to benefit from accords that mutually recognize degrees obtained in each country.

Similarly, Peruvian migration tends to follow very different patterns. Peruvians currently make up 21% of the 185,000 migrants currently living and working in Chile. What has made Peruvian migration a concern for many, has more to do with its increase -394%- since 1992, and the fact that the majority of this population have concentrated in Santiago, making this community much more visible. Unlike other migrant groups who tend to live in different areas of the country or who are more dispersed

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<sup>2</sup> I heard this phrase repeated on a number of occasions during my interviews.

among the different *comunas* of Santiago, Peruvians tend to concentrate in the downtown areas of Santiago or in the upper class neighborhoods where many work as domestic servants in the homes of their employers. Because migrants rent out rooms or even cubicles in older houses or apartment buildings, in order to save money and with the plan to return as quickly as possible to Peru, living conditions are often precarious and/or crowded.

The Peruvian migrant community is also more visible due to its physical characteristics that are considered representative of indigenous features that continue to be associated with poverty, lack of education and other stereotypes that stress traits considered negative or inferior. These stereotypes are not restricted to perceptions or attitudes, rather they are part of discriminatory practices that can be found at all levels: personal, institutional, organizational and even spatial. At the same time, these attitudes are reproduced and are expressed through a series of beliefs and behavior that is experienced on a daily basis. The fact that the majority of Peruvian migrants in Chile are women only exacerbates problems of discrimination.

During the second half of the 1990's when it started to become apparent that there was an increase in the number of Peruvian migrants traveling to Chile to find work, the Chilean media –owned almost exclusively by the political right- began to publish a number of articles that seemed to focus on this trend as a threat, both to the number of jobs as well as to the economic and social welfare of the country. Articles such as, “*Restringen migración masiva de peruanos a Chile*” or “*Masiva irrupción de trabajadores foráneos responde a seguridad que ven en Chile*”,<sup>3</sup> played on both the xenophobic attitudes, Chilean national pride and highlighted Chile's economic situation as the reason for the wave of migrants arriving to Chile. According to studies, the reporting on Peruvian immigration to Chile by the Chilean press was highly effective in creating a sense of instability and fear regarding what many began to believe was effectively a massive wave of Peruvian migration. At one point, it was believed that there were over 64,000 Peruvians living and working in Chile and that over 30% of this number were in the country illegally. This threat, promoted by the press throughout the nineties was only exacerbated from 1999 to 2002 due to the economic recession.

The perceptions and understanding of Peruvian migration were challenged in 2003 with the study, “*El encanto de los datos. Sociodemografía de la inmigración en Chile según en censo de 2002*”. This study, conducted by the Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía (CELADE), effectively contradicted much of the data being used by the press to describe the Peruvian migrant community in Chile and actually described a very different panorama to that presented by the media. The 2002 Census study also highlighted some of the characteristics of this specific group and again contradicted many of

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<sup>3</sup> Martínez Pizarro, Jorge. 2003, *El encanto de los datos. Sociodemografía de la inmigración en Chile según en censo de 2002*. CELADE-CEPAL, Santiago, Chile.

the stereotypes and perceptions initially presented by the press. One of the main findings of this particular study revealed that the level of education and job skills of the Peruvian migrant community was considerably higher than what was originally perceived. In fact, among domestic service workers it has been argued that Peruvian workers are generally have a much higher educational level than their Chilean counterparts. This finding leads to other conclusions regarding the opportunities that Peruvians have to find work, the first being that Peruvians are often overqualified for the jobs that they have access to in Chile. This reality is especially alarming due to the almost complete lack of job mobility and job segmentation that occurs, especially among Peruvian women in the domestic service sector.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to these characteristics and concerns, the legal framework for entering and working in the country “La Ley de Extranjería” is severely outdated, despite some modifications to this law. At the same time, immigration continues to be a “non-issue” that no politician or government institution is really willing to take on or recognize the urgent need for an immigration policy<sup>5</sup>. At the same time, racism, xenophobia, ethnic and class discrimination and segregation continue to characterize many of the experiences of Peruvian migrants.

The absence of an immigration policy has also meant that the question or problem of immigration is being only partially addressed through programs or actions promoted by the different organizations. However, although most pressure groups –often local, grassroots organizations- seem to agree that a change in the legal framework and the need for an immigration policy are necessary, often they have very different agendas or identify the main issues of concern very differently from one another. In the past, this has caused a number of problems and has even lead to the disbanding of one of the organizations that I interviewed. At the same time, Government sponsored programs such as, “*Plan por la Igualdad y la No Discriminación*” or organizations such as “*Fundación Ideas*”, are two examples of how the migrant issue is being addressed by the state and social institutions that are closely connected to the government. In general, what remains unclear is the effectiveness of these different programs and institutions in terms of the objectives and opportunities in actually defining and addressing the issue of immigration in Chile versus what an Immigration Policy is capable of doing and ensuring for the migrant communities in Chile.

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<sup>4</sup> Stefoni, Carolina. 2002. “Inmigración en Chile. Nuevos Desafíos”, in FLACSO (eds). *Chile 2001-2002 Impactos y Desafíos de las Crisis Internacionales*, FLACSO, Santiago, Chile.

<sup>5</sup> There is a draft of an immigration policy that was written in 2002 by organizations that included; CELADE, OIM, as well as the Ministerio del Interior and the Departamento de Extranjería. The idea for an immigration policy was first suggested and supported by the then Minister of the Interior, José Miguel Insulza, who has since left the post to become Secretary General of the Organization of American States.



### ***Policy Implications***

The implications of this and any study on immigration to Chile for social policy reflect a very changing arena, one that incorporates a number of social and political actors at the international, national and local levels. These organizations promote the role and responsibility of civil society as a key actor and thus emphasize participation and social actions by those interest groups they claim to represent.

However, it seems clear that the current political, economic and social setting in Chile reflects the need for greater recognition of the migrant question as a permanent part of new global economies. A number of studies on immigration and globalization have argued that the immigration question and migrants themselves continue to remain outside of economic accords and treaties opening borders to international investment and other interests; “...*la situación contemporánea resulta paradójica, puesto que, en un mundo más interconectado que nunca, donde los flujos financieros y de comercio se liberalizan, la movilidad de las personas, en cambio, se enfrenta a fuertes barreras que la restringen... la migración internacional actualmente parece estar excluida del proceso de globalización...*” (CEPAL, 2002)

Until now, the absence of an immigration policy in Chile has meant that problems and issues of immigration have been addressed through different institutions and avenues that deal with specific aspects of this question, but that are unable or unwilling to address the issue completely. For example, through their “*Plan por la Igualdad y la No Discriminación*” the Chilean government has formally recognized and addressed the issue of discrimination, racism and xenophobia that Peruvians and other migrant groups experience. However, Peruvian migrant groups represent only one among over 50 different interest groups that are incorporated into this program whose goal is to change discriminatory attitudes and behavior.

As a member of the United Nations, Chile has signed and ratified a number of accords and treaties that address the issues of rights of migrants around the world, some of the most recent being; “*The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families*”. Other regional accords and treaties are; “*la Convención Americana sobre Derechos Humanos*” and the “*Protocolo Adicional a la Convención Americana sobre Derechos Humanos en materia de Derechos Economicos, Sociales y Culturales*”. The signing of these treaties means that Chile is obligated to follow them, however without additional policies at the national level, it is difficult to ensure that these accords will be respected and to what extent they will be incorporated into the national legislature.

The need for more bilateral and multilateral agreements and accords that address the immigration question has also been suggested. Currently, within MERCOSUR there are negotiations regarding a bill that will allow all citizens of the member states of MERCOSUR to travel, live and work in any of the countries affiliated with this body. However, it is difficult to foresee when and if this law will be passed in the near future.

The document, “Política Migratoria,” presented to the government in 2003, proposes a series of general regulations that address the different norms and principals regarding the immigration process for both Chileans living abroad and foreigners living in Chile. This document has implications for policy in the areas of labor, gender issues, education, multicultural and community rights as well as housing and the long term benefits and services for migrants who eventually choose to stay in Chile. It covers some of the following categories; dual-nationality, the right of residency and the freedom to move from country to country, access to residency, equality and information, access to legal recourse, social protections, the legal status of immigrants, the right to not be discriminated against, the issue of family reunification, the topic of refugees and asylum seekers, security and others.

However, despite these advances and the fact that this document exists and has been formally presented to the Senate, migration continues to remain a “non-issue” at the political level. In this context, one of the main concerns for all those involved in the migration question in Chile remains the passing and implementation of an immigration policy.

### ***Possible areas for further research***

My field research focused almost exclusively on the current situation in Chile and the different programs and actions that have occurred in that territory. Possible areas where my research should be developed further include a more comparative analysis between Chile and the situation in Peru. Issues of discrimination, human rights abuses, forms of social and job segregation as well as legal and political abuses that migrants may suffer are often related to a migrant’s status or experience in their country of origin and therefore should be considered when attempting to understand the reality of different migrant communities.

Some of the differences between Peruvians and Chileans, pointed out to me in many of the interviews that I conducted referred to differences in the relationship between civil society and the state, the distribution of power among different organizations and groups, social, ethnic and class segregation, as well as types of discrimination and social hierarchies. An analysis of these aspects can, for example, contribute to a clearer understanding of how Peruvians perceive and use formal organizations, if and how they feel they are represented by them, as well as some of the obstacles organizations might have in working with Peruvians in Chile due to the different perceptions and expectations that these agents have

of one another. This aspect of my analysis was not part of my field research however it will be included in my thesis.

### ***Conclusion: Community needs and future research possibilities***

When I asked community leaders and others what they considered to be the most pressing needs of the Peruvian migrant community, most voiced very practical concerns; for example, changes in the legal status of those in the country illegally, access to more public services and the need for programs sponsored by health and educational institutes aimed at providing services and support to lower income migrant families, access to information both in Peru and Chile on the necessary procedures and documentation that one must have in order to avoid problems once they arrive to Chile, as well as the need for legislation that will help to ensure the abuse of power by state officials and others who attempt to illegally profit from Peruvians migrating to Chile. Others have argued that the implementation of an Immigration Policy is vital in order to ensure that issues of immigration are wholly incorporated into the political arena and thus addressed at all levels. They also argue that an Immigration Policy is necessary in order to replace the “Ley de Extranjeria” from 1975, once and for all.

There are also a series of academic queries that are clearly related to the issue of immigration that can be applied to the Peruvian case in Chile. Taking from my own research and preliminary findings, I suggest that some of the most pressing questions of analysis regarding Peruvian immigration should deal with issues of discrimination and the long term opportunities that exist for Peruvians and other migrant groups that have chosen to make Chile their country of residence. This entails a clearer understanding of the way that Peruvian migrants are both integrated and rejected from Chilean society and its economy, the way that they are perceived in relation to Chilean national identity, the role that NGO’s and other organizations are playing in incorporating and supporting these communities, and also in general how organizations can promote political participation by migrant groups who have traditionally been marginalized both in their countries of origin and in the country where they are migrants. In this sense, I would argue that there should be more comparative studies that take into consideration the particular needs of specific migrant groups and the different structural relations that exist between their country of origin and the country they have migrated to. At the same time, further study on the impact of migration for women and the family is also extremely pertinent to this specific migrant group, since –as I mentioned above- the majority of Peruvians in Chile are women. This area of interest also incorporates the legal, political and social issues of labor migration and economic globalization, as well as the legal frameworks in place at the national and regional levels, that must be addressed more vehemently if developing countries want to avoid some of the errors committed by developed countries.

Immigration cannot continue to simply be viewed as an unfortunate side effect of globalization, nor should it be conveniently ignored by segregating the communities or by addressing certain problems while disregarding others.

### ***Organizations and people interviewed:***

**Fundación IDEAS** **Francisco Estevez** **562.635.3035**  
An organization devoted to the topic of Tolerance and No-Discrimination. Together with the department of sociology of the University of Chile they have carried out a number of surveys regarding attitudes about minority groups.

**Instituto Catolico Chileno de Migracion (INCAMI)** **562.222.8571**  
Considered the most effective organization involved with migrants in the Santiago area. They have sponsored talks on migrants and migration as a way to promote tolerance and awareness of the different migrant groups in Santiago.

**Comité de Refugiados Peruanos en Chile** **Raul Paiba** **569.840.0054**  
A grassroots organization originally founded by Peruvian refugees directed toward offering assistance to Peruvian migrants Chile.

**Peruvian Consulate** **Marcos Nuñez Melgar** **562.235.9330**  
The current Peruvian consul to Chile has been involved in a number of programs and projects directed at assisting and improving the social and legal conditions of Peruvians in Chile.

**Organización Internacional de Migración** **Pedro Hernández** **562.274.6713**  
An international organization that works on Migration issues in the region and internationally. OIM is very active in promoting awareness and tolerance towards migrants and has sponsored a number of talks and workshops on this topic.

**Ministry of the Interior** **Reginaldo Flores** **562.550.1124**  
Department that works on all the legal and political issues surrounding immigration issues.

**Asociación de Peruanos Residentes en Santiago** **Francisco Bazo** **569.408.7000**  
Now defunct organization that worked to promote legal rights in Chile and Peru for Peruvian migrants.

**Asociación de Peruanos Trujillanos Residentes** **Silvia Arias** **562.688.1010**  
Grassroots organization that works with the Peruvian community in Santiago.

**CELADE-CEPAL** **Jorge Martínez**  
Has written extensively on immigration issues internationally, Latin America and in Chile.

**Ministerio Secretaria General del Gobierno** **Alejandra Díaz**  
Head of program called, “Plan por la igualdad y la no discriminación”.

**“Colectivo Sin Fronteras”** **Maria Elena Vazquez** **562.777.7036**  
Grassroots organizations that works with Peruvian children in the neighborhood of “Independencia”.

**Asociación de Inmigrantes por la Integración Latinoamericana y del Caribe (APILA)** **Lilia Nuñez** **569.482.1931**  
Grassroots organization that works with Peruvian migrants to promote legal and social rights.

**FLACSO** **Carolina Stefoni**  
Sociologist at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO). Has written many articles and published a book on the situation of Peruvian migrants in Chile.

