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Book Author(s): Alfonso Otaegui
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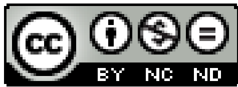

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1
Introduction

Overall argument

Teresa is a 53-year-old domestic worker who has been living in Chile for many years. I have seen her at many events at the Latin American Church, where she usually helps out in the kitchen. I remember quite distinctly how she was waiting for any opportunity to crack a joke or tease someone, just before bursting into a loud laugh. The day we meet to talk, a Sunday morning at the church, she seems a little down. From the beginning, it is very clear that she does not want to think about her age. 'Sometimes I feel the *achaques* – ailments resulting from old age; my hand hurts, but it is better not to think about age and keep working', she says. She pays for the health needs of her mother, who is in a very delicate health condition in Peru. She talks to her through WhatsApp videocalls every day, explaining 'I want to see her face; I want to see how she is really feeling'.

Throughout the whole conversation, Teresa stressed several times that she does not want to feel her own age, as she needs to keep going in order to send remittances to her family in Peru. She dyes her hair every two months to hide its greyness, probably from herself. Teresa has a son and a daughter, both of whom are living in Peru. Her daughter has three children, but Teresa does not like feeling like a grandmother. When she visits them in Peru she plays with them, but she does not want to see the indisputable signs that remind her how old she actually is. As she declares, 'I do not want to think about my age. I want to hide it and keep going for as long as I can'. The interaction with her granddaughters is an inevitable reminder of her age.

Martin is a 65-year-old security guard living in the western part of Santiago. He had been married for 35 years before splitting up with his

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wife four years ago. She is living in Peru. He explained, 'Our marriage did not work, so I armed myself with courage and talked to her. Everything is fine now'. Martin had migrated to Chile on his own some years before. He got used to being alone, setting his own schedule and managing his own time. 'Loneliness makes you think,' he observes, in a tone that conveys peace of mind but also a touch of sadness. He enjoys dressing well and going out with his girlfriend, but only on the weekends. He has a daughter in Peru who has decided to go back to university. Martin is helping to fund her there:

> I will pay for your studies … I will not leave you money but at least I will leave you a brain.

He claims to enjoy his commitment-free life at the age of 65 very much, especially when he feels 10 years younger and his body is in perfect functional order. But sometimes, he admits, loneliness is hard on him.

> I enjoy living alone, you know? But sometimes, during the weekdays, I feel so alone in my room. I have watched all the Netflix movies and shows, I have seen them all. It is hard those nights, all by myself, alone.

On lonely nights like these, Martin picks up his smartphone and plays Candy Crush. He plays the game for a while and then falls asleep.

These two short stories lead us to the central questions of this book: What does it mean to be ageing in Chile as a migrant? What does it mean to be late middle-aged nowadays? How does living half of your life in a foreign country impact perspectives on later life? Is retirement an opportunity to go back to your home country? What will happen to the next generation, raised in a different country from their parents?

There is a vast literature on migration studies in Chile, mostly carried out in the last two decades. Within this literature, the Peruvian population has been one of the most researched, due in part to the higher flow of migrants coming to Chile from neighbouring countries in the late 1990s and early 2000s.[1] An incredibly wide variety of subjects have been covered in the study of Peruvian migrants in Chile, ranging from the entrance of migrants – mostly women – into the labour market to the spreading of Peruvian restaurants and discrimination suffered by migrant children at schools, among many others.[2] However, the experience of ageing for migrants in Chile has not been fully addressed, nor

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has the experience of late middle age.[3] There is a growing literature on migration studies that analyses the entanglement of ageing and migration.[4] This monograph is an ethnographic contribution to that field.

This book studies the experience of ageing for Peruvian migrants aged around 60 – people who have been living in Chile for the last 20 or 30 years. It will be made clear throughout the book that the life of these middle-aged adults in Santiago is informed by a series of experiences of being 'in between'.

These experiences of being in between are diverse and not directly comparable to one another. Some of these experiences of being in between refer to ageing and the passage of time, as well as to the fact that these Peruvians are finding themselves between two stages of life (and of age): on the one hand, the youth that they attempt to retain; on the other, the early frailty of old age, which they try to hide even from themselves. Other experiences of being 'in between' are of a more abstract and conceptual nature, such as the fact that they find themselves halfway between two generations: the one of their Peruvian parents and that of their Chilean children.

Some of these experiences of being in between will inevitably be resolved by time. In 10 or 15 years it will be harder for these late middle-aged adults to claim their retained youth as they do today. 'I feel wonderful..!' they say, while some of them affirm that 'Everybody thinks I am 10 years younger than I am'. In due course the signs of age will have advanced and their work situation changed to the point that they will no longer be working, or doing much less than in their current workaholic lives.

Other examples of these in between experiences imply several dimensions at the same time and would probably continue existing as such. The most prominent example that illustrates the complex experience of being in between is that of being, in some aspects, in between two countries.

The notion of 'in betweenness' is quite usual in describing the experience of migrants. This notion is taken here in the sense of Stefoni and Bonhomme (2014), who in turn take it from Bhabha (1996). Stefoni and Bonhomme highlight that 'in betweenness' helps to depict the multifaceted experience of migration. Many migrants live in a 'third space' between two worlds, their origin country and the destination country, and struggle with belonging and identity (Stefoni and Bonhomme 2014, 83). This book also relies on the concept of 'transnationalism' by Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992), defined as 'the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link their country of origin

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and their country of settlement' (1992, 1).[5] Both notions are essential to understand the experience of late middle-aged Peruvian migrants in Santiago.

The lives of the research participants certainly take place in Santiago, where they have been living for over 20 years. However, there are several aspects of their everyday experience that are linked to their home country of Peru: the food they eat, the spirituality that gives purpose to their lives, their family members in Peru with whom they talk on WhatsApp every day. This is where the smartphone plays an essential role in the in between experiences of these Peruvian migrants, from the Peruvian radios to which they listen daily to the constant communication with their loved ones spread throughout the world, to the international livestreaming of parties and processions. This study will show that instant communication through modern technologies helps migrants make this in betweenness more bearable, to the point of being a condition of possibility for transnational families.[6] These in between experiences will persist despite the passage of time.

Time has its effect on people, however, and at a certain age reflecting on the past and the future is only natural. At this point they might start to take stock of their lives. It seems that the research participants have not yet started to do so, at least not explicitly. However, in casual conversations, semi-formal interviews and general speech, one often comes across a series of 'veiled' reflections on their life. These oblique contemplations indicate that these late middle-aged adults are negotiating their own aspirations towards the future with themselves. One of these reflections points to the notion of continuity through the next generation. Although no participants in this study ever used this word, this notion permeates their actions, choices and desires.

Continuity is related to that which will remain when one is gone. It is about what one leaves behind and what the next generation will do with it. When it comes to what one brings to the table, these migrants brought with them many practices from Peru, some of which, such as the dedication to work, they have passed on to their children. Another of the best-known attributes the participants of this study have imported from Peru is religious devotion. I must highlight that fieldwork took place within a Peruvian religious brotherhood. Brotherhoods are groups of religious people who gather regularly, usually united by the common devotion to a specific patron saint or an image. All research participants belong to one or more Christian brotherhoods in Santiago, so their experiences cannot be considered representative of all Peruvian migrants (more on that below). The

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participants, late middle-aged Peruvians, learned to live this intense spirituality at home, within their families while living in Peru, where the calendar is full of communal religious celebrations every month. Week after week, many Peruvians lead processions that honour the local patron saints who protect their neighbourhood or city and gift miracles to the devotees.

Many Peruvian migrants join Christian brotherhoods abroad to honour those Peruvian devotions. Yet many research participants did not belong to any brotherhood in Peru: the distance intensified their religious experience and devotion. Several of them claim that not having their closest family members near them has led them to this more intense spirituality. These participants thus retain a sense of having continued the legacy of their families and towns in Chile. As a religious Peruvian woman observed during a procession in Santiago:

> When I see the Purple Christ [the most popular devotion in Peru] in these streets, I strongly feel that, for just a moment, I am back in Lima.

However, these devout Peruvians acknowledge that their children, raised in a less religious country such as Chile, do not experience religion in the same way that they had learned to live it while growing up in Peru. The migrants accept this discontinuity with an abnegation that is perhaps surprising.

Despite this discontinuity, when it comes to the future prospects of their children another kind of continuity for the older migrants goes *through* their children. This can be discovered in their stories of dedication to work and of difficult life decisions such as leaving their home country and going to live far away from their parents (some of whom never wanted their children to emigrate) – all tropes that point to the notion of sacrifice.[7] These late middle-aged Peruvian migrants have made sacrifices for their children. Some of them have given up on owning a property in order to be able to pay for the expensive education of their children. While they miss and are worried about their parents in Peru, they have chosen to stay in Chile because it is the country of their children. At this age, around 60, when most of their children have finished university and are starting a stable professional life in Chile, they can rest assured that the sacrifice paid off. It was all worth it. They ensured the future of their children (and therefore, their own continuity) by accepting, with abnegation, the non-continuity of their own traditions, the ones in which they were brought up.

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While these Peruvian migrants do feel reassured, this is only to a certain extent. Their children are certainly 'set up' for life in Chile, but their own ageing parents are still alive and need care. Some of the participants have brought their parents to Chile, to live their final years abroad in the company of their family. Others do not have this chance and, like Teresa, find the distance difficult; many are riddled with fear and anxiety.

These late middle-aged Peruvian migrants have navigated through a series of experiences of being in between. They live between two countries, two generations (their Peruvian parents and their Chilean children), two different stages in life (retained youth and impending old age), between giving care (to their parents) and not wanting care (from their children) and between a continuing legacy (through their children, who have a promising future) and a legacy that will not transmit (their religious devotion will not pass on to the next generation).

The participants in this study have managed to cross this entanglement of living in between and come out successfully, albeit paying the price of accepting their children's lack of devotion with Christian determinism. They will live through their children, who will be very different from them.

The contribution of this volume resides in its ethnography, as guided by fieldwork. The fieldsite section will describe later how fieldwork led to the Brotherhood of Our Lord of Miracles and other Peruvian social circles. There will be no significant theoretical developments in this book, but rather an illustration of the experience of ageing and migration as lived by Peruvian migrants who have lived for over 20 years in Chile. This book aims at reconstructing the everyday life of middle-aged Peruvians, with its entanglement of spicy dishes and sacred images hanging on the walls as well as WhatsApp groups full of messages from all over the world. However, the order of the chapters responds to the pre-arranged format of the series, explained in the next section.

The chapters: a brief summary

The second chapter of this book focuses on the experience of ageing. It explains that the participants claim to feel young although, through deeper conversations, it becomes apparent that they are experiencing the early signs of the frailty of advanced age. They resolve this through the dualism of the spirit and the body. This way they can claim to feel young in spirit, despite feeling their age in their physicality, with the

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appearance of pain, high blood pressure and, in some cases, diabetes, as well as menopause for women. The chapter moves on to consider the bureaucratic implications of ageing as a migrant, such as not having an adequate pension after retirement. These 60-year-old migrants cannot picture themselves retiring.

Chapter 3 focuses on the experience of the in between in everyday life. The participants live in Chile but try to re-create many everyday practices from Peru, such as eating Peruvian dishes or praying to Peruvian patron saints. The notion of adaptation and settlement is what underpins the whole chapter, showing how these migrants never seem to reach a point when they are fully settled in Chile. It seems rather that they came to appreciate, during a short visit to Peru a couple of years after the initial migration, that they are no longer adapted to the hassles of everyday life in Peru.

Another aspect of life in Peru that many participants re-create in Chile is their very intense social life with other Peruvian migrants. Chapter 4 thus focuses solely on Peruvian social circles in Santiago – which does not imply, of course, that Peruvians only socialise with fellow countrymen. This chapter shows that the Latin American Church and its Peruvian religious brotherhoods work as a social hub. Peruvians join the Hermandad del Señor de los Milagros ('Brotherhood of Our Lord of Miracles'), for example; within this group they make the acquaintance of members of other social circles, such as the Peruvian Club or the Association of Citizens of Arequipa. In this way, their networks expand. Through the study of celebrations that gather people from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, it is argued that solidarity is at the base of many Peruvian social events. This point is illustrated with the analysis of chicken fundraising parties – a strategy initially used for coping with the economic difficulties in Lima in the late 1970s and brought on to Chile. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the tendency towards individualism within Chile and the sociality of traditional Peruvian events, which focus on community and solidarity.

The constant communication with their family members is addressed in Chapter 5, 'Crafting the smartphone'. Various forms of communicating through the smartphone are analysed, including livestreaming during processions and parties. All of these forms of constant communication allow them to cope with the constant in betweenness described in previous chapters. Chapter 5 argues that the affordances of communication technologies (more specifically the smartphone, and WhatsApp in particular) are the condition of possibility of transnational

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families. Transnational families, such as those of the participants in this book, are families whose members do not live in the same country.[8]

Chapter 6 focuses on care and – more specifically – on the care the participants provide to their ageing parents, many of them living in Peru. In addition to an ethnography of the different arrangements, the chapter aims to highlight that, while the late middle-aged Peruvian migrants make a lot of effort to provide care to their parents, they do not want their children to have to care for them in the future. These still active hard-working individuals do not want to become a burden to their children, or even to feel that they may be. In addition to the dedication to work described in Chapter 2, another layer of sacrifice (aimed at the future) makes its appearance.

Chapter 7 presents a study of the religious practices of Peruvian migrants in Santiago. It focuses on the Brotherhood of Our Lord of Miracles and the preparation of the main procession. Studying participants' religious practices helps us to understand migrants' dynamics and intergenerational relationships. Their religious practices relate them to their country and their Peruvian families. However, their children do not seem to experience religion in the same manner. As noted above, the participants find themselves 'in between' their very devout Peruvian parents and their not so religious Chilean children.

Chapter 8 is a first step towards the conclusion. This chapter provides a rundown of insights from the book in order to address both the questions of the purpose of life at this age and of living as a migrant. It argues that the participants' faith and their upbringing in Peru leads them to accept life as already having a meaning from the start. All difficulties and challenges are understood within this religious framework: any outcome will have meaning in their Christian deterministic view. The chapter also explores other ways in which they give their life a purpose – primarily work and family. Work, to which they dedicate most of their time, has meaning not only as personal development but also as a sacrifice for their family. This notion of sacrifice is analysed more deeply in this chapter. The conclusion, Chapter 9, develops all the points presented through the book and attempts to answer the question of what it means to be growing older as a middle-aged migrant.

The rest of this introductory chapter consists of an introduction to the fieldsite, an explanation of the methodology of the research and, finally, a note on the ethical protocols followed during the project.

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The fieldsite: Santiago de Chile and the migrant population

Within the context of South America, Chile used to be the most stable country when it came to politics and economy. This at least this was the case during fieldwork, which ended in May 2019; social unrest in Chile started on 18 October that same year. From a political point of view Chile is usually seen as a neoliberal country, normally taken as an example by neoliberal economists in South America. Given the ongoing economic and political crises in Brazil and Argentina, and the closing of borders in Europe and the United States, Chile has been the main recipient of South American migrants in the last few years. This phenomenon has been called 'South–South migration'. For the Peruvian migrants I have worked with, Chile – not Peru – is the image of order, of things actually working: the signs of a better quality of life. A 63-year-old Peruvian domestic worker (who has never been to the United States) comments how for her, in the 1990s, 'Chile was the USA of South America'.

From the participants' perspective, Peru is a rather chaotic country in terms of politics and economics. The corruption that characterises politics seems to be so commonplace that Peruvians' expectations of politicians are already very low. One participant in the study remarked that

> If you work in the government, you are going to put some money in your pocket, I understand that, but you also have to do something for the people.

This observation was made following the then-recent suicide of former president Alan García. He had been charged in the Odebrecht case – a corruption scandal related to the building of venues for the 2016 Olympic Games and the 2014 Football World Cup that implicated several Latin American leaders. Peru's notorious traffic is a vivid image of this messiness. Some participants who have lived in Chile for a long time no longer drive when they are back in Peru. In contrast, Chile is the image and the experience of order, of people following the rules. It is also a place with a high degree of inequality.

The very first time I walked around Santiago I was puzzled by the sudden and stark changes in its architecture and general appearance. You can be walking on a beautiful cobbled street among Art Nouveau three-storey houses with ironwork in their wooden doors and then, just 50 metres (164 feet) later, find yourself looking at a whole block of

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damaged, ugly, functionalist, six-storey buildings from the late 1960s. It is a situation that local Chileans are aware of and frequently comment on: the absence of transitional features that might soften these abrupt changes.

These stark contrasts are evident in Barrio Yungay, the neighbourhood where I came to live in January 2018. This neighbourhood, a protected heritage zone, was inhabited by the Chilean upper class in the early twentieth century. Nowadays this population has migrated eastwards and uphill, leaving many of these beautiful big old houses behind. These in turn have become '*conventillos*' (tenement houses) mostly rented by migrants. By contrast, other old houses, restored as lofts, provide very comfortable living spaces for wealthier people. As a result there are a number of well-maintained homes among other, more dilapidated ones, while Art Nouveau houses are covered by colourful graffiti – all part of this architectural palimpsest of different eras and social classes.

These contrasts in the city's urban landscape manifest a more profound material contrast: the income inequality gap. As is sadly the case for many countries in Latin America, Chile scores highly on the index of income inequality.[9] According to the National Institute of Statistics, the average income in Chile in 2016 was CLP 517,540 per month (roughly £577 at that time). However, only 28.6 per cent of the working population are paid this amount or more, with just 9.7 per cent of the working population earning over one million Chilean pesos a month (around £1,110 using the exchange rates valid at the time).

In the early 2000s Peruvian migration was in the spotlight in the Chilean media. However, this was not the first wave of Peruvian migrants. Two waves can be identified, during which the research participants for this book arrived in Chile. The first wave, in the late 1980s, was composed of few people, mostly businessmen and professionals fleeing the hyperinflation (over 2,500 per cent) caused by the policies of then-president Alan García (1985–1990) and terrorism from the Sendero Luminoso ('Shining Path') group. The wave of migrants who arrived in the 1990s and 2000s has been the one most widely covered in literature and the media; it encompasses a much higher number of people, as well as people from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Most of the participants in this book came to Chile during those years, but they are mainly upper middle-class professionals.

When it comes to this last wave, in 1996, there were around 3,500 Peruvian people in Chile. According to the National Institute of Statistics, in December 2018 the total number of foreign people living in Chile was 1,251,225 (around 6.6 per cent of the whole population). Venezuelans

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(288,233 people) have now outnumbered Peruvians (223,923 people) as the biggest migrant group. Haitians, despite their higher profile in news and social media, constitute the third migrant group in terms of numbers (179,338 people).[10]

Despite Chile's high score on the index of income inequality, the country's rate of internet penetration is higher than the rest of Latin America. In 2016 over 71 per cent of the Chilean population had access to the internet; for the rest of Latin America, the average internet penetration rate was 56 per cent. The same study, conducted by IMS Mobile, showed that 9 out of 10 users connect to the internet through their smartphones.[11] Chile is the image of a modern country, and it is to here that this study's participants have decided to come in order to work hard and improve their wellbeing, as well as that of family members back in Peru. Chile is also the country in which they have lived the second half of their lives, as well as where they will most probably spend the rest of their lives.

Methodology and how this book was written

I am based at the Center for Intercultural and Indigenous Research (CIIR), Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. As its name indicates, this is a research centre dedicated to the study of intercultural relations. Within the centre I am part of a research team called 'Diversity, Coexistence and Citizenship' – a group consisting of anthropologists, psychologists, historians and sociologists. Its aim is to study the everyday practices of intercultural coexistence in which conflicts might appear.

This volume belongs to the project 'Anthropology of Smartphones and Smart Ageing' (subsequently referred to as ASSA) – a global comparative project comprising 11 researchers, all of whom carried out ethnographic fieldwork simultaneously in 10 fieldsites. The ASSA project is funded mostly by the ERC (European Research Council) as well as by the Chilean National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (CONICYT) in my case. This project has three entangled areas of research: ageing, smartphones and mobile health (also referred to as mHealth). When it comes to ageing, the last couple of decades have seen a shift in perspectives on ageing that has resulted in a certain ambivalence. Even though age has always been a source of authority, people around the age of 60 nowadays hesitate between claiming the traditional authority of age or retaining their youth status instead.[12] Smartphones, the second area of study, have become ubiquitous all over the world; for

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many people they form the main channel through which they access the internet. The impact of such technology on the experience of ageing must be assessed. Lastly mobile health (mHealth) refers to the huge development in the area of health over the last couple of decades, specifically that which focuses on digital technologies. In the case of the ASSA project, we are concerned with the development of mHealth apps that could improve access to healthcare or the wellbeing of the populations among whom we are carrying our fieldwork.

Within the framework of this global comparative project, I came to Santiago in January 2018 to carry out 16 months of fieldwork. This fieldwork has developed along three lines. First, I did fieldwork among retired Chilean older adults. I volunteered as a teacher at cultural centres for older adults and public libraries. I taught smartphone workshops for over a year. In addition, I also spent a lot of time with the older adult students in my classes and workshops; we had lunch together, met in the evenings and went on field trips together. Some of the results of this very rewarding experience are shared in the collective volume *The Global Smartphone*.[13]

In addition, in line with the project's aim of having an applied outcome in terms of improving healthcare access, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork at an oncological clinic in a public hospital in a low-income area. The ethnography focused on nurse navigators,[14] tasked with mediating between oncological patients and the medical and bureaucratic system of the hospital. In doing this, the focus was on WhatsApp, the app that they use to co-ordinate patient treatment.

Finally, as a researcher from the 'Diversity, Coexistence and Citizenship' group at the Center for Intercultural and Indigenous Research, it was necessary to study the migrant component of Chilean citizenship. This is the reason the main component of fieldwork, which is the source for this book, was carried out among Peruvian migrants living in Santiago. At the beginning of fieldwork in early 2018, there was a lot of discussion in the media about migrants coming from Haiti and, later, from Venezuela. I decided to focus on Peruvian migrants, however, due to the fact that they were not newly arrived. Peruvians had been living in Chile for 20, even 30 years. One could assume that they had developed a certain typicality after being settled in Chile for so many years.

Following the research protocols dictated in the ERC project proposal, semi-formal interviews were conducted on the three areas of research, ageing, smartphones and health, with 25 selected research participants. Sixteen months of fieldwork were carried out in Santiago, Chile, from the beginning of February 2018 until the end of May 2019. Most of fieldwork consisted of participant observation and casual conversations

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during social events, masses, processions, spiritual retreats, bingos, dancing parties, barbeques and chicken fundraising events. I settled in Barrio Yungay, a neighbourhood located in the western part of Santiago and an area with a high density of migrant population (more detail on this below). As I was born and raised in Argentina, my native language is Spanish, which is also the language spoken by the research participants.

The serendipity of fieldwork

At first I tried to conduct a 'fieldsite' fieldwork. I duly moved into a specific neighbourhood and tried to address this location as a closed unit, within which I would carry out the fieldwork. This neighbourhood was lower middle-class, had a large migrant population and was located on the western side of Santiago. You needed only to walk along the streets of this neighbourhood, whose heritage is protected, to notice its large migrant population: there were over 20 Peruvian restaurants in one square kilometre. There were also migrants from several other countries, of course: Colombia, Venezuela and Haiti, to name just a few. In the course of the first weeks and even months, I talked to the owners of shops and off-licences, visited public libraries and spent a lot of time in public squares, but the fieldwork did not advance. I was not able to get to know the people living in the neighbourhood. Aside from my own limitations (mostly shyness), this was also probably due to my poor timing. When I attempted to start a conversation, I found that people were always working, always busy (if they were not attending to a customer, then they were arranging shelves or getting phone calls) and I was only able to have superficial conversations.

Before starting fieldwork, I reviewed the literature on Peruvian migrants in Chile, which was quite extensive. There seemed to be a certain consensus among the papers that Peruvians had slowly but surely occupied the urban space in Santiago,[15] mostly through the establishment of Peruvian product stores and Peruvian restaurants.[16] The literature I reviewed suggested that there were two main points of reference for Peruvians: the Plaza de Armas (Arms Square) and the Latin American Church.[17] Quite coincidentally, I asked a Peruvian colleague living in Belgium for advice on where in Santiago I could meet his fellow countrymen. His reply agreed with the printed text:

> You either go to the snail gallery next to the Cathedral, by the Plaza de Armas [Arms Square] or to a church where you can find a Christian Peruvian brotherhood.

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My Peruvian colleague was certainly right. When I first went to walk around Plaza de Armas, I found the place full of Peruvians selling food on the street, as well as Peruvian product stores (Fig. 1.1) and financial services offices similar to Western Union, used by migrants to send money back to their home countries.[18] The occupation of the Santiago urban space mentioned in the papers refers to the migration wave of the early 2000s. However, years before they were so visible to the Chilean people, Peruvians were already gathering in Plaza de Armas. Most of the research participants are middle-class to upper middle-class Peruvians; they came to Chile in the late 1980s and early to mid-1990s to escape the financial instability in which their country was mired. According to them, very few Peruvians were living in Chile when they first came in the late 1980s. Estefanía, a 57-year-old Peruvian secretary, remembers when she first came to Santiago, 32 years ago. Smiling a bit nostalgically, she recalls that 'there were no foreigners in Chile; people here were fascinated by us and they would love the way we talked'. Marcos, now a call centre manager, came to Chile to study at the same time Estefanía did. He recalls that at the time one would only find four or five other Peruvians in the square:

> I used to go to Plaza de Armas, to meet other fellow countrymen. I would bring the newspaper my mother sent me from Lima and we would play chess.

Figure 1.1 A store next to Plaza de Armas. From a screenshot of 'Introduction to the fieldsite', a film by the Visual Anthropology Lab, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile.

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What made Peruvians gather in Plaza de Armas specifically? How was it possible that my Peruvian colleague living in Belgium could be so spot on about Peruvians living in Santiago? Gerardo, a biochemist who has lived in Santiago for 22 years, was able to explain why. This proud *arequipeño* (a citizen of Arequipa, in Peru) described how in Peru people usually gather in the town or city's Plaza de Armas on Sundays, where they watch various ceremonies. Authorities raise the Peruvian flag and there is a short parade. Afterwards people stay in the square and hang out. Gerardo explained that when Peruvians migrate they tend to do the same, meaning that they go to the Plaza de Armas in their new country or city to meet their fellow countrymen. This was the first, fairly obvious hint that Peruvian migrants try to reproduce some of the customs in their home country when abroad. Sources I consulted during my literature review also mentioned a very big procession that started at the Cathedral, by Plaza de Armas. One of the largest processions in Chile was organised by Peruvian migrants. This is the procession of the Lord of Miracles, which assembles thousands of devotees on the streets of Santiago.[19]

The other point of reference for Peruvian migrants in Santiago, according to the literature on the topic, was the Latin American Church. The Latin American Church, then known as the 'Italian Church', was founded in 1942 in Santiago. In the 1990s, due to the wave of migrants from Peru, the Scalabrinian[20] priests in Santiago decided to open their church and activities to Latin American migrants (Fig. 1.2). It was no accident that this church was a point of reference for migrants, as it collaborated with the Chilean Catholic Institute for Migration (INCAMI).[21] Together they helped low-income migrants by giving them legal advice on visas, assisting them in finding a job and even providing shelter during their first weeks in the new country.

This church is also a point of reference for middle- and upper middle-class professional migrants, enabling them to broaden their social circles by getting to know other people. Following my colleague's advice and the literature I had consulted, I started to frequent the Latin American Church – in particular the migrants' mass – and I followed its Facebook page. The church would post their activities and, on many occasions, livestream their celebrations. When their Facebook page announced a *triduum* (three days of prayers) for the Virgin of Chapi, patron saint of Arequipa, I decided to join the event. I silently participated in the prayers for the whole of the three days. At the end of ceremony on the third day the organiser, a young Peruvian lady, invited me to come and celebrate with them, as they had really appreciated my participation. I accepted and found that around 20 to 30 people had

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Figure 1.2 A still from the film 'Introduction to the fieldsite (Latin American Church)' by the Visual Anthropology Lab, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. https://youtu.be/mnckxzWamrc.

prepared a little party in the basement of the church. They offered me Peruvian dishes and made me try *anizado*, a strong, aniseed-based spirit typical of Arequipa. Most of the people there were middle- and upper middle-class professionals from Arequipa. I was introduced to them and discovered most were members of the Brotherhood of the Virgin of Chapi as well as the Arequipa Association, a social club for migrants from that city.

One of the members of the brotherhood and the association was a 79-year-old nun, mentioned in academic papers as being very supportive of migrants. She had organised job fairs for migrants and seemed to know everyone at the Chilean Catholic Institute for Migration. She was very well versed when it came to migrants and Peruvian devotions. This very active lady advised me to join the Brotherhood of Our Lord of Miracles, as they met regularly and had members from all over Peru and from diverse socio-economic backgrounds.

Following her advice, I attended one brotherhood meeting and was soon invited to join. As a member, I attended monthly meetings, masses, spiritual retreats, barbecues, bingo nights, Peruvian National Day celebrations and processions in Santiago and in other cities nearby. The people I got to know through these activities became the research participants of this study (Fig. 1.3).

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Figure 1.3 'How I did fieldwork among Peruvian migrants' by the Visual Anthropology Lab, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. https://youtu.be/ZkhuE2MhZN4.

Three-quarters of the research participants who belong to this brotherhood or are related to one of its members are professionals with university degrees. As noted above, most of them are from upper middle-class or upper-class backgrounds and came to Chile in the late 1980s and 1990s; only a few arrived more recently, in the 2000s. On average, they have been living in Chile for over 20 years. Most of them are aged between 55 and 65 and all are very active and hardworking people.

I also got to know other Peruvian social circles through contacts at the brotherhood, in the same way that Peruvians living in Santiago often broaden their own social circles. I met people from the Peruvian Club, the Arequipa Association and the Paracas Group, among others, and joined them in various activities. These social circles are nested networks. Whenever there is an event that involves people from one of these social circles, people from the other social circles would also appear. In a way, it ended up being a big social network of influential Peruvian upper middle-class professionals. As time went by during fieldwork, the way all these networks were related to one another became clearer. This is why this fieldwork is best described as a network fieldwork – within the boundaries of Santiago – rather than a fieldsite fieldwork. Although many events took place at the Latin American Church, several others occurred in different parts of the city, including the migrants' neighbourhood where I lived.

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Caveats and limitations

This fieldwork, then, has many limitations regarding its scope. First, the research participants belong to Christian brotherhoods which honour Peruvian patron saints and religiosity permeates their lives very deeply. We cannot assume then that participants represent all Peruvians in that sense. However, it seems that in general Peru is a more traditional and religiously devout country than Chile. As will be shown in Chapter 7, Christian celebrations in Peru are part of communal life to a far greater extent than in Chile.

Another limitation of this study is that it took place in Santiago. This is not a limitation in itself, but a fact that is very important to point out. As Guizardi and Garcés indicate,[22] most studies that look at migration in Chile have Santiago as their place of study. Out of the 76 works these authors revised on the topic, 72 were cases of what they call 'methodological Santiaguism' (i.e. studies that are biased due to being Santiago-centric). This volume is not immune to that critique. It can be said, however, that this book does not claim to be an account of the experience of all Peruvian migrants in Chile. This book does not cover all of Chile or even Santiago. It follows the lives of professionals who have lived in this country for over 20 years and who experience several layers of 'in betweenness', their upbringing in another country being just one of them.

Methodological shortcomings

Another problematic category used throughout this book is the term 'migrant'. There is nothing problematic with the category in itself, but problems may arise when this category is linked to what Çaglar and Glick Schiller (2018) call 'methodological nationalism'.[23] Methodological nationalists, according to these authors,

> confine the concept of society within the boundaries of nation-states and assume that the members of these states share a common history and set of values, norms, social customs, and institutions.[24]

Çaglar and Glick Schiller trace the roots of this biased methodology and link it to what they call the 'ethnic lens'. They point out that researchers who fall into this methodological trap 'have tended to see differences in national origin as the most significant social and cultural division within the population of a nation-state'.[25] This is a valid point and, to a

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certain extent, this book can be fairly accused of exercising 'methodological nationalism', in addition to the aforementioned 'methodological Santiaguism'. This fieldwork started by trying to meet people living in Chile who had been born and raised in Peru. I moved to a neighbourhood that has a high density of migrants. Following a Peruvian friend's advice, I attended various religious celebrations at the Latin American Church and ended up joining a brotherhood composed of Peruvians.[26] So, from the outset, I was trying to do an ethnography of Peruvian migrants living in Santiago based upon the (methodologically nationalistic) assumption that there would be some typicality emanating from those two conditions. That is the kind of ethnography that, unaware of its shortcomings, I intended to do at the beginning. Fieldwork, as usual, resulted in a more complex experience that provided a richer picture. I would like to mention two things to nuance this shortcoming.

On the one hand, the research participants regularly speak about Peru and are proud of being Peruvian. Through their discourse and their practices, one can see that they identify as migrants and, above all, as Peruvians. This does not mean that the research participants are to blame for my methodological mistakes. It must be said, however, that the participants stress the fact that they are Peruvian quite regularly and assertively. A couple of days before writing this introduction, an old and very widely respected member of the Brotherhood of Our Lord of Miracles passed away. In the WhatsApp group of the brotherhood, in addition to condolences for the families and prayers to God for having him in His glory, the brothers highlighted what an 'excellent Peruvian' [*sic*] he was. This does not mean, of course, that cultural identity equates citizenship nor that it is defined by state borders.

On the other hand, this book does not pretend to be a rendition of the whole life of the participants. I joined them on religious and non-religious occasions, most of them related to the fact that they are Peruvian. Whether it was a procession for a Peruvian patron saint, a party to celebrate the anniversary of a Peruvian city or a Peruvian businessmen's lunch, it was always about Peru. When I talked to the participants casually during social meetings, they would discuss football and politics in Peru and tell stories of their childhood – possibly involving some religious event or memories of their beloved home towns. They would also comment on how they would like to prepare Peruvian dishes.

However, these things do not characterise the entirety of the participants' lives. Some of them I met in their work environments, where their relationship to their home country did not come so strongly to the foreground. As explained in Chapter 3, they were very dedicated to work,

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so the occasions when I joined them would most often be at religious and social events, such as parties and *polladas* (chicken fundraising parties). This book, then, is biased in three senses. First, I worked within the boundaries of Santiago. Second, I spent time with Peruvian migrants mostly on occasions when their Peruvian roots were brought to the fore. Third, I did fieldwork with a group of mostly upper middle-class professionals who belonged to a religious brotherhood.

How this book was written (and how it is intended to be read)

This book has been written in a way that is accessible to the general public, with all academic discussion relegated to endnotes. The aim of the book is to provide the reader with an account of the life experience of Peruvian migrants living in Santiago, their struggles and the way that they cope with a general sense of being 'in between' two countries, two ages (youth and old age) and two generations – that of their parents and their children. In order to provide the reader with an 'anchor' and to help them follow the experience better, the same 17 main characters are deployed throughout the book.[27] These characters have been chosen because they illustrate the points made throughout the book very clearly; more detailed stories are provided about 10 men and seven women in particular. Three-quarters of the total of research participants are professionals and upper middle-class, while one-quarter of them are lower middle-class workers. As the chapters dwell upon specific topics – the experience of age, the use of the smartphone, their social lives – which are coexistent in everyday life, the characters serve to provide a sense of unity throughout different chapters. The individual illustrating a point about the experience of ageing in Chapter 2 may appear again in Chapter 5 to make a point about smartphone use, for example, or in Chapter 8 to discuss the meaning of life.

In some chapters, I have made use of another technique. In Chapters 3, 4 and 6, the reader is presented with three short life stories. These stories relate to the arguments made in the chapter. They also provide much more context for the reader, allowing them to visualise the life of that person and the topic in question more holistically.

Ethics disclaimer

In line with the requirements established by the ethics committees of the ERC, UCL (University College, London, where the ASSA project is co-ordinated by Daniel Miller) and the Pontifical Catholic University of

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Chile, all ethics standards were met. The research project was presented to the ethics committee of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile in October 2017; it was subsequently approved after some modifications suggested by the said committee. The research project included protocols for the delimitation of the areas of study, recruiting participants, data analysis and anonymisation and the design of informed consent forms. All the individuals in this study have read, understood and signed consent forms before participating in the project.

For the sake of anonymity, several changes were made in order to protect the identity of the participants. These do not affect the integrity of the data. All participants' names were changed, and their professions were also modified. In some cases, changes to locations were made in order to prevent the designated places from being recognisable.

All of the bureaucratic requirements were properly adhered to, but the ethics commitment of an ethnographer goes beyond these necessary formalities. A genuine commitment to ethical behaviour, as applied in this book, implies being sensitive in order to prevent the research participants coming to any harm, whether during fieldwork or afterwards, through the publication of the results.

Notes

1. In the last years the increase in migratory flows from Haiti and Venezuela has led to many migration studies in Chile focusing on these populations (e.g. Rojas Pedemonte et al. 2017; Aguirre 2017; Calderón and Saffirio 2017; Stefoni et al. 2018; Stefoni et al. 2021).
2. Without pretending to be exhaustive, we can point out at least five main research areas within Chile's migration studies that focus on Peruvian migrants. It is essential to highlight that many of these areas intersect and many researchers contribute to more than one area. First, a series of studies focused on border regions from a transnational perspective – though the transnational approach can be found in most migration studies in Chile – such as Guizardi 2015; Guizardi et al. 2019, among others. Second, several contributions focus on migrants' trajectories, their integration to Chile – mainly through work – and address matters of identity (Márquez and Correa 2015; Tijoux and Retamales 2015; Stefoni and Bonhomme 2014, 2015; Stefoni et al. 2017; Tijoux 2007; Stefoni 2004, 2011; Bonhomme 2013; Imilan et al. 2015). Third, a series of studies focused on urban space changes due to the presence of migrants (Torres and Hidalgo 2009; Ducci and Rojas 2010; Imilan 2013; Stefoni et al. 2008, 2015). Regarding the last two main areas of research, Stefoni and Stang (2017) have also pointed these out. In their critical review of the literature, these researchers identified two main topics in migration studies in Chile which intersect primarily with the first two areas mentioned. On the one hand, several studies focus on the racialisation of migrants: for the first time, flows of Latin American migrants come to Chile, challenging the imaginary of European migration at the beginning of the twentieth century (Tijoux 2013a, 2013b; Tijoux and Latelier 2014; Tijoux and Palominos Mandiola 2015). On the other hand, several studies focused on migrant women (Guizardi et al. 2019; Stefoni 2011, to name just a few collections of works), even though Stefoni and Stang make the criticism that such studies have not fully embraced a gender studies perspective (2017,119). In most cases this monograph offers ethnographic illustrations of points already made by the works here referenced.
3. There are many studies on ageing in Chile (see, for example, Fuentes-García and Osorio-Parraguez 2020; Osorio-Parraguez 2013), but they have not focused on the migrant population nor on middle-aged individuals.

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4. See, for example, the state-of-the art paper on the ageing–migration nexus by King et al. 2016 or the extensive work on older Peruvian migrants by Horn 2019.
5. The paper by Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992), 'Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration', has been highly influential in migration studies in Latin America (and of course beyond). This foundational paper argues for a new conceptualisation to understand the experience of new migrant populations.
6. It is crucial to make a disclaimer about the title of this volume, which may lead to erroneous assumptions and unfulfilled expectations. The book's title is 'Ageing with Smartphones' because it belongs to a series. Even though this book addresses ageing and the use of smartphones, the direct relationship between these two is addressed only briefly in Chapter 2. Chapter 5, dedicated to smartphones, explains how digital communications make the 'in betweenness' more bearable. This general sense of being in between (to which the smartphone significantly contributes) is retaken later to address the experience of middle age and ageing for migrants. Perhaps a more suitable title would have been 'Ageing in the in betweenness'.
7. See, for example, the edited book by Imilan et al. 2015, which contains several beautiful yet heart-breaking stories on migration and its emotional cost.
8. See Horn (2019, 22) for a critical analysis of the preconception of the notion of family as a locally based unit.
9. Index of 47.7, according to a 2015 World Bank estimate which measures the degree of inequality in wealth distribution.
10. By 2002 the Chilean census showed that 62,137 Peruvians were living in the country. By 2009 there were 352,344 foreign people living in Chile, amounting to about two per cent of the country's population. Peruvians then represented just over one-third of the foreign population (37.1 per cent or 130,859 people), having surpassed Argentinians (who used to represent the highest figure but now stood at only 17.2 per cent) and Bolivians (6.8 per cent). According to the 2017 census, Peruvians are still the largest immigrant group in Chile, with 187,756 Peruvians living in the country (25.2 per cent of the migrant population). In the 2017 census a shift can be seen in terms of the presence of people from more recent waves of migration: Colombians (105,445 people), Venezuelans (83,045) and Haitians (62,683 people). The current migrant population in Chile amounts to 746,465 people (4.35 per cent of the entire Chilean population) in 2017. However, these figures have changed in the last two years due to the arrival of more Haitians and Venezuelans in large numbers.
11. There are four main mobile telephone operators in Chile: WOM, Movistar, Claro and Entel. They share the market in almost equal parts. When it comes to the 4G connections market share in 2018, according to the Subsecretary of Telecommunications, Entel received 32.3 per cent, Movistar 22.9 per cent, Claro 21.9 per cent, and WOM 21 per cent, giving a total of 98.1 per cent among the four companies. WOM had a growth of 35.2 per cent in the last 12 months. The cheapest plans of these companies start at CLP 9,900 per month (roughly £10) and include 9GB (Entel and Movistar), 10GB (Claro) and 15GB (WOM), from 300 minutes for calling to unlimited minutes and unlimited data for social media (WhatsApp, Facebook, etc.). There are many free Wi-Fi spots in public areas in Santiago. As of September 2018, 30 metro stations in Santiago offered free Wi-Fi. There is also free Wi-Fi in public libraries, squares and parks, totalling 1,244 spots all over the country. The cheapest smartphone available to buy in Chile starts at around 50,000 Chilean pesos (£49) for a Nokia 3 or a Motorola C or a ZTE A3. There are many mid-range offers, ranging from between 120,000 and 200,000 Chilean pesos (£116–£196), while the latest flagship smartphones cost over 400,000 Chilean pesos (£390). People in Chile mainly tend to access the internet through mobile devices. According to the Chilean Sub-secretary of Communications, 84.8 per cent of internet connections were through mobile devices, 93.4 per cent of which were smartphones ('Conexiones 4G se disparan 35 por ciento en 2018 (…)' 2019).
12. In addition, many researchers consider global ageing to be one of the big trends of the century, alongside rapid urbanisation and issues linked to climate change. According to the World Health Organization, '[b]etween 2000 and 2050, the proportion of the world's population over 60 years will double from about 11 per cent to 22 per cent. The absolute number of people aged 60 years and over is expected to increase from 605 million to 2 billion over the same period.' Extracted from https://www.who.int/ageing/about/facts/en/. Accessed on 26 August 2020.
13. Miller et al. 2021.
14. Devine 2017.

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15. Torres and Hidalgo 2009; Ducci and Rojas 2010.
16. Bonhomme 2013; Imilan 2013.
17. Ducci and Rojas 2010, 107.
18. Altamirano 2004.
19. Imilan 2015; Chávez 2015.
20. Scalabrinian priests are members of the religious institute founded by Italian bishop G. Scalabrini in the late nineteenth century. These priests were originally dedicated exclusively to Italian migrants all over the world.
21. See http://incami.cl.
22. Guizardi and Garcés 2014.
23. Çaglar and Glick Schiller 2018.
24. Çaglar and Glick Schiller 2018, 3.
25. Çaglar and Glick Schiller 2018, 4.
26. With the exception of myself, from Argentina, and one other member who was from Chile. The two of us were the only non-Peruvian members of the brotherhood.
27. There are, of course, more than 17 people mentioned throughout the book. These 17 participants are the examples to whom the book keeps returning.

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