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May 2019

FROM FACTORY WORKERS TO OWNERS:  
INFORMALITY, *RECURSEO*, AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE FORMATION  
OF THE PERUVIAN COMMUNITY OF PATERSON, NEW JERSEY 1960-2001

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A Dissertation  
Presented to  
The Faculty of the Department  
of History  
University of Houston

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In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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## ABSTRACT

Latino immigrants have been largely overgeneralized as low-income, subservient laborers. However, entrepreneurship and informality have been used by Peruvians as vehicles to forge economic independence in the United States. This dissertation demonstrates how Peruvians in Paterson, New Jersey have utilized entrepreneurship to establish the first and most visible enclave of Peruvians in the United States since the 1960s. Central to the story of entrepreneurship and community development is the concept of *recurseo*, a slang word used to describe the informal and creative means in which working class Peruvians utilize their labor experiences and kinship ties to acquire better economic opportunities. By using informal mechanisms and strategies of *recurseo*, Peruvian migrants in Paterson were able to leave their blue-collar jobs and establish their own businesses. These entrepreneurs opened restaurants, insurance offices, travel agencies, and small corporations that created an emergent ethnic market for products and services that would permanently alter the social and economic landscape of Paterson. This investigation reveals that Peruvians relied principally on informal and resourceful mechanisms to become businessmen, organize themselves as entrepreneurs, and contribute to the development of a thriving ethnic enclave. Through fifty oral history interviews and the use of archival material from consulates and county tax offices, this project challenges the oversimplified portrayal of Peruvian immigrants, demonstrating their use of alternative economic strategies to achieve wealth, stability, and cultural continuity. Bourdieusian perspectives on immigration, particularly the concepts of *habitus* and *capital*, are utilized to frame Peruvian migrants' experiences with informality and ethnic entrepreneurship in the process of community building.

## Acknowledgments

After I completed my Bachelor's degree in Social Communication at the end of 2000, the idea of leaving Peru followed me day and night. Political and economic problems in the country created a difficult context for young professionals. For a short period, I worked in occupations that did not fulfill my financial or professional expectations. However, when an aunt suggested I come to the United States to see what I could do with my degree in America, I did not pass up the opportunity. I arrived to Paterson, New Jersey on January 20, 2001 without expecting to find so many elements of Peruvianness. Informal vendors and buses, smells of Peruvian dishes, and thousands of Peruvians crowding the downtown area made me feel as if I had never left Lima. Without realizing it, the idea of this dissertation began with this first encounter with Paterson and its Peruvian informality, which I continued corroborating through my experience as a factory worker in the weeks I spend in Paterson. As most Peruvians, I relied on *recurseo* to procure a factory job where I mingled with fellow Peruvian migrants that performed other activities under the table to increase their monthly income. Like me, they also had the dream to leave their warehouse jobs and establish economic independence in America.

After some months, I left Paterson in order to pursue an academic future. I returned several times to visit family and always had the impression that Paterson became more informal and more Peruvian. When I had to determine a dissertation topic, I chose a theme related to the life of Peruvians in Paterson. I then returned to the area to conduct field research in 2016 with few contacts in my agenda, but with people truly interested in contributing to my project. The first person that demonstrated a sincere commitment to my investigation was the Peruvian Consul of Paterson, Minister Vitaliano Gallardo. After

obtaining authorization from Lima, Mr. Gallardo set up a desk for me in the Peruvian consulate and opened its archives for this project. He also shared valuable information about contacts, associations, and community life that unlocked the first doors to conduct this investigation. Likewise, this project would not have been possible without the support of countless Peruvians in the area. Special thanks to Guillermo Callegari, Hugo Balta, César Morales, Carlos Vera, Isaí Valencia, Manuel Avendaño, Walter Bustamante, Gaston Bravo, Dany “El Ronco” Alvarez and all the participants who allowed me to interview them and shared personal material from their private collections.

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*A mis padres y abuelos*

## Introduction

When first time visitors arrive to Paterson, New Jersey, they might find traces of a vanished old industrial city with a history of immigration and industrial labor. The saw-tooth roofs of red-brick factories and beaux-arts-style buildings still shape the landscape Paterson, evidencing the glorious past of a city that reached economic prosperity from the labor of European migrants at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, the visitor will soon uncover a different face of Paterson. Signs of urban deterioration confirm recurrent periods of economic and social decline that coincide with the flight of Europeans and the arrival of new immigrants, among them Peruvians. This group of migrants were some of the first Latinos that arrived to Paterson in search for a better future after World War II. In order to better adjust into the new society, Peruvians transferred new cultural practices and customs that gradually changed the physical and cultural landscape of the city. Today, informal street vendors, *combis*<sup>1</sup>, *dateros*<sup>2</sup>, and thousands of people from mestizo and Andean origins swarm the streets of the downtown area, making visitors feel as if they were in a *barrio* of Lima, Peru.

The transformation of Paterson from a prosperous industrial city with a modern European appeal to a commercial center that resembles a Peruvian fair reflects life trajectories established through creativity, determination, and independence. This is the case of Adiel Brito, whose journey exemplifies the migration experience of thousands of Peruvians that forged an autonomous pathway in this city. Overwhelmed by economic struggles to support a wife and two children in Peru, Brito decided to migrate to Paterson in

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<sup>1</sup> Tiny van or *colectivo* used as public transportation that has been banned in several countries of the world.

<sup>2</sup> Timekeepers that provide information to drivers and money collectors (*cobradores*) of *combis* about how many buses are ahead of them, how far ahead, how spread out they are, and how many passengers they are carrying so that drivers can decide whether to speed up or slow down.

1970. He left behind his studies in architecture but brought an entrepreneurial experience acquired in his family's small seafood business he would utilize in the new setting. Once in Paterson, a family member who migrated years earlier provided him housing for the first months and advice on finding a job in an auto body shop. Brito was one of the few brown-skinned Peruvians in the city, mostly populated by Italians and Eastern Europeans. After five years, Brito decided to open his own body shop by investing his meager savings he earned, yet confident in his own commercial abilities. Two years later, he became a permanent U.S. resident and brought the rest of the family over, one by one. In the following decades, Brito became "an architect of growing businesses," opening an insurance brokerage firm, a liquor store, and a travel agency in Paterson.<sup>3</sup> As Adiel Brito, thousands of Peruvians began migrating massively to Paterson since the 1960s in search of factory jobs that had provided stable employment for previous waves of European immigrants. Peruvians found work in local industries but also made efforts to become small business owners. This dissertation tells the story of thousands of resourceful and entrepreneurial Peruvians that forged their own economic and social pathway in an unfamiliar environment. Through the establishment of small restaurants, courier agencies, bodegas, and sociocultural organizations, Peruvians developed a prosperous ethnic community that ultimately imprinted a Peruvian character on the city.

Paterson was the first American planned industrial center, the birthplace of the American Industrial Revolution.<sup>4</sup> Envisioned by Alexander Hamilton and designed by the French civil engineer Pierre Charles L'Enfant at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, Paterson became the

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<sup>3</sup> J. P. Murphy and Margaret Murphy, *Paterson & Passaic County: An Illustrated History* (Northridge, Calif: Windsor Publications, 1987), 190.

<sup>4</sup> National Historic Park New Jersey, "The Birthplace of the American Industrial Revolution," Accessed January 26, 2019. <https://www.nps.gov/pagr/learn/historyculture/the-birthplace-of-the-american-industrial-revolution.htm>

center for silk manufacturing in America by 1890. The well-known Silk City was also a magnet for many waves of Irish, Italians, and Jewish immigrants seeking employment in the local industries. During the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Paterson was the center of the American labor movement.<sup>5</sup> Anarchists, socialists, and radicals formed unions, published newspapers, and fomented labor protests. In 1913, a five-month strike took place in local textile factories, led by the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W).<sup>6</sup> By the 1920s, manufacturers began to seek new locations in cities with lower taxes, cheaper power, and less militant workers. The city experienced a great population loss, and its importance as an industrial center diminished after World War II.<sup>7</sup> This created an environment where declining housing prices became attractive to new immigrants, bringing African Americans and Hispanics from the Caribbean and South America.

Paterson is now home to a vibrant community of Peruvian migrants. According to the U.S. Bureau of Census, currently 79,261 Peruvians live in New Jersey, most of them distributed among twelve municipalities of the northeastern counties of Passaic, Essex, and Hudson.<sup>8</sup> However, officials from the Peruvian consulate of Paterson calculate that the number of Peruvians living in the Garden State could reach 200,000 approximately.<sup>9</sup> The city of Paterson, with almost 150,000 inhabitants, is home to 30,000 Peruvians, who, together with African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Dominicans constitute the majority of its

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<sup>5</sup> Douglas V. Shaw, *Immigration and Ethnicity in New Jersey History* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, Dept. of State, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> Between 1875 and 1926, several major strikes convulsed the city of Paterson. Immigrant workers tried, with little success, to improve their wages and working conditions. The most important of these protests originated on February 1, 1913 when the militant Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W) led twenty-five thousand Paterson textile operatives through a five-month strike. See the work of Ann Huber Tripp, *The I.W.W. and the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Steve Golin, *The Fragile Bridge: Paterson Silk Strike, 1913* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); David J. Goldberg, *A Tale of Three Cities: Labor Organization and Protest in Paterson* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989).

<sup>7</sup> For an examination of the economic change in the city of Paterson in the postwar era, see Thomas Y. Owusu, "Economic Transition in the City of Paterson, New Jersey (America's First Planned Industrial City): Causes, Impacts, and Urban Policy Implications." *Urban Studies Research*, 1-9, (2014).

<sup>8</sup> Michael G. Francesco, "Peruvians in Paterson: The Growth and Establishment of a Peruvian American Community Within the Multiethnic Immigrant History of Paterson, New Jersey," *Journal of Urban History*. 40.3 (2014): 497-513.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Consul Vitaliano Gallardo, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

population.<sup>10</sup> Other groups of Peruvian migrants live in neighboring cities such as Passaic, Clifton, Newark, Elizabeth, Kearny, Orange, and Bergen, while New York City, where between 50,000 to 100,000 Peruvians live, is within a forty minutes' drive.<sup>11</sup> Peruvians living in these towns and cities regularly visit Paterson for shopping, work, and participation in religious, sportive, and cultural events organized by the organizations formed by co-nationals.

The structured Peruvian emigration to Paterson and other cities in New Jersey began during the 1960s. This migration involved both men and women, although some scholars suggest that the number of female migrants surpassed that of males because women could easily find work in the domestic market.<sup>12</sup> The Peruvians that settled in Paterson and surrounding areas emigrated from a variety of regions and social classes. They mostly came from Lima's working-class neighborhoods, such as Surquillo, La Victoria, and Callao, but also from Andean cities, including Arequipa, Cuzco, and Ayacucho.<sup>13</sup> Since the 1980s, these Peruvian migrants have developed Little Lima, the first and largest Peruvian ethnic enclave in the United States, located in downtown Paterson and home to small Peruvian businesses and organizations supported by the Peruvian consulate opened in 1987.<sup>14</sup>

From the mid-1960s to the end of the 1990s, diverse economic, social and political changes, such as agrarian reform, internal migration, political violence, and the shift of means of production affected the Peruvian economy and motivated thousands of Peruvians to migrate to the United States. Many of these migrants became blue-collar workers in the factories of Paterson and nearby towns. However, the shift from manufacturing to the service sector, which

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<sup>10</sup> Jayed Rahman, "Paterson's Peruvians celebrate unveiling of sign for Peru Square," Paterson Times, November 28, 2016, <http://patersontimes.com/2016/11/28/patersons-peruvians-celebrate-unveiling-of-sign-for-peru-square/> accessed November 13, 2018.

<sup>11</sup> Karsten Paerregaard, *Peruvians Dispersed: A Global Ethnography of Migration* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010), 60-62.

<sup>12</sup> Teófilo Altamirano, *Los Que Se Fueron: Peruanos En Estados Unidos* (Lima: Pontificia Univ. Católica del Perú, Fondo Ed, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> Francesco, "Peruvians in Paterson," 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

began in the 1960s, limited the labor opportunities and mobility of the Peruvian migrants living in this industrial city. A significant portion of factories began to close or relocate to foreign countries. These structural changes motivated many Peruvians to turn to their cultural and social resources gained through their experiences with the informal market in Peru in order to cope with economic downturns in America.

The use of these cultural and social resources can be synthesized in the Peruvian term *recurseo*, which is the informal and creative means through which Peruvians capitalize on their talents, previous labor experiences, and kinship ties in order to acquire better economic and labor opportunities outside institutional boundaries.<sup>15</sup> Practices of *recurseo* among Peruvians emerged by the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of the culture of informality that transformed the way Peruvians conducted economic and social relations in urban contexts. The massive migration of Andean populations to Lima and other urban centers in Peru bypassed the control of official institutions that could not address the labor and housing needs of provincial migrants. Affected by these conditions, internal migrants made use of traditional Andean notions of solidarity and redistribution of resources for labor and social adjustment in the capital. *Provincianos*<sup>16</sup> found in self-employment an opportunity to take the streets and create their own jobs working as *ambulantes*,<sup>17</sup> *ropavejeros*,<sup>18</sup> *dateros*, *mototaxistas*,<sup>19</sup> or *huachimanes*.<sup>20</sup> By circumventing commercial regulations migrants sold all kind of products and services in order to confront recurrent periods of economic decay. These kinds of economic ventures created an informal economy in Lima and other cities that

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<sup>15</sup> Julio Hevia, *Habla jugador: Gajes y Oficios de la Jerga Peruana* (Lima, Peru: Grupo Santillana, 2008), 332.

<sup>16</sup> Internal migrants from the provinces of Peru, principally from the Andes.

<sup>17</sup> Peddler

<sup>18</sup> Peddler who sells and buy second-hand artifacts, such as cloths, small machines, bottles, musical instruments, vinyl, etc.

<sup>19</sup> Taxi service provided in a three-wheels motorcycle.

<sup>20</sup> Watchman or guard.

received significant amounts of internal migrants, founding on *recurseo* an alternative way to forge their own future in urban centers.<sup>21</sup>

Provincial migrants in Lima also relied on *recurseo* and collective practices of social organization, such as *compadrazgo* and *padrinazgo*<sup>22</sup> to establish provincial associations in urban centers. Newcomers used these institutions to socialize with people from the same town or region, found information about jobs in the city, and preserved their traditions. Gradually, the customs of thousands of *provincianos* coped public spaces of urban centers changing social practices and the face of Peruvian cities. During the 1980s and 1990s, Peruvians absorbed experiences of migration, entrepreneurship, and informality influencing their way to envision and conduct economic and social relations. When Peruvians began migrating massively to Paterson, they transferred this creative, innovative, and resourceful spirit to carve out a place for themselves in the U.S. society; in the same way their grandparents, parents, or themselves had done decades ago in Lima.<sup>23</sup>

This dissertation provides the first historical study of the migration of Peruvians to the United States and examines the role of entrepreneurship, informality, and resourcefulness in the formation of the Peruvian community of Paterson between 1960 and 2001. This study demonstrates that by mobilizing peripheral mechanisms and applying strategies of *recurseo* acquired through the informal fringe economy in Peru, Peruvian migrants in Paterson were able to leave their blue-collar jobs and establish their own businesses. At the same time, business owners and community leaders used alternative and *recurseo* practices to form and

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<sup>21</sup> Historians Carlos Aguirre and Charles Walker compiled several articles that provide an overview of the economic and social impact exerted by the internal migration process in Peru's capital. See Carlos Aguirre and Charles F. Walker, *The Lima Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

<sup>22</sup> Godfathership practices among Peruvians to sponsor relatives or friends.

<sup>23</sup> Teófilo Altamirano explored how Peruvians in the United States relied on collective practices used by internal migrants in Lima to eased their adaptation in the new environment. See Teófilo Altamirano, *Presencia Andina En Lima Metropolitana: Un Estudio Sobre Migrantes Y Clubes De Provincianos* (Lima: Pontif. Univ. Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1984) and Altamirano, *Los que se fueron*, 56-63.

lead ethnic organizations. This research shows that Peruvian businessmen, social leaders, and the community mutually supported each other's growth and empowerment, leading to the development of a clearly defined ethnic enclave which grew in visibility and economic power during these four decades. Through the launching of grocery stores, restaurants, remittance offices, social organizations, and institutions, the Peruvian community validated and ensured its continued social and economic presence in the United States.

This study highlights the individual and collective agency of Peruvian migrants facilitating their migration, labor incorporation, and social adjustment in Paterson. It asserts that the entrepreneurial, informal, and resourceful subjectivity of Peruvians became central elements for their economic advancement and the consolidation of the Peruvian community of Paterson. This research evidences that migrants capitalized on diverse economic, cultural, and social resources to initiate migration patterns to Paterson. Migration stories even reveal the utilization of clandestine mechanisms to obtain documents in order to procure a visa or to cross the Mexico-U.S. border. Once in the United States, the informal and resourceful culture of Peruvians facilitated their settlement, labor incorporation, and social adaptation. This investigation uncovers the diverse peripheral strategies that Peruvians utilized to find housing and employment in local factories and to socialize with co-nationals in an unfamiliar environment. In continuing streams of migration, Peruvians demonstrated an agentive subjectivity by capitalizing on their own economic and cultural resources and kinship relationships to make a living in Paterson. Contrary to other immigrant groups in the area, Peruvians did not made use of previously established ethnic institutions or the local government resources for economic and social adjustment.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> For historical studies on the adaptation of immigrant groups in Paterson see: June Avignone, *Downtown Paterson* (Chicago, IL: Arcadia Publishing, 1990); John A. Herbst and Catherine Keene, *Life and Time in the Silk City, A Photographic Essay of Paterson, New Jersey* (Paterson, NJ: The American Labor Museum, 1984); David Wilson, *Jews of Paterson* (Chicago, IL: Arcadia Publishing, 2012).

The self-driven character of Peruvians was manifested in their transition from laborers to small business owners. This investigation examines the reasons and mechanisms that led Peruvians to leave their factory jobs in order to become small business owners. It uncovers stories of Peruvian entrepreneurs that creativity launched small informal restaurants, shipping companies, and lending houses. All of these economic ventures were informally envisioned and operated by Peruvians in Paterson. The role of women was especially important in the formation of these nascent commercial enterprises. Women created, organized, and maintained many of these small businesses by capitalizing on their skills, inventiveness, and social networks. Through entrepreneurship, Peruvian women generated their own income and sustained their household economy.

This investigation also highlights the obstacles that Peruvians encountered in the process of formalizing their businesses. Business owners were initially forced to challenge racial and ethnic barriers in order to open stores and gain acceptance from European immigrants already established in the community. The lack of information and professionalization also proved challenging for the formalization and advancement of Peruvian entrepreneurship. Later, by regularizing their migratory condition, principally through the Immigration Reform of 1986, Peruvian entrepreneurs were able to formalize businesses that had been forged through informality and *recurseo*. However, most Peruvian entrepreneurs continued relying on alternative mechanisms to manage and operate their businesses. In the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, new waves of migrants perpetuated the utilization of peripheral mechanisms in commercial relations when they opened new restaurants, income tax offices, soccer schools, insurance, and travel agencies. By using

alternative commercial practices, a prosperous ethnic market for products and services emerged, giving visibility to the Peruvian community.<sup>25</sup>

Peruvians also showed their agentive condition by creating organizations and institutions that supported their migration experience. In the story of community development, Peruvian entrepreneurs held a leadership role in leading and supporting ethnic organizations in Paterson. Small business owners joined efforts with community leaders to launch civic, sportive, and religious associations that preserved the cultural heritage of compatriots and helped communities in their homeland. In these organizations, shared social, emotional, and identity bonds served as tools for strengthening internal ties within co-nationals. Likewise, the proactive character of Peruvians allowed them to create a space for themselves through local organizations such as churches, sporting clubs, and government offices. In order to sustain projects of community organization, small business entrepreneurs and community leaders mobilized economic and social resources to better organize ethnic events. This dissertation asserts that the reciprocal support between the Peruvian community and ethnic businesses validated the Peruvian presence in downtown Paterson. Small business entrepreneurs have capitalized on ethnic resources to advance their own business projects by profiting from the consumption of products and services marketed to fellow immigrants. At the same time, the Peruvian community also benefited from the enlargement of a market of Peruvian products and services, and from the economic support of ethnic businesses. With the arrival of new waves of Peruvians from diverse regions and social backgrounds, ethnicity constituted a central element for entrepreneurship and collective association. Newcomers

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<sup>25</sup> Francesco, "Peruvians in Paterson," 14-15.

circulated notions of ethnic belonging used to socialize with their fellow *paisanos*, and in these casual encounters, developed plans to form new businesses and associations.

The creativity and informality of Peruvians was also displayed in the management of community organizations. Even though some associations formalized and the first official institutions were established in Paterson, Peruvians continued relying on peripheral mechanisms to administer and lead ethnic organizations. This dissertation reveals that informality was also the main cause of internal conflicts within community organizations. Many initiatives to better organize the Peruvian community of Paterson succumbed to the unconventional way of Peruvians to manage sociocultural associations, principally, through the mishandling of economic and material resources. Likewise, the replication of racial prejudices from the homeland were also evident in internal disputes among community leaders. However, although social differences were part of the social life of Peruvians in Paterson, generations of migrants have maintained alive collective experiences of national identity, ethnicity, and culture that have bound together the community through decades.

At the turn of the new millennium, Peruvian entrepreneurs and social leaders gained the social and political empowerment necessary to advance community interests. Peruvians have been publically recognized by local authorities as a group of hard workers that, with perseverance and creativity, forged a space for themselves among other ethnic groups in the area. This dissertation highlights the historical significance of the establishment of small Peruvian stores, restaurants, remittance offices, and social organizations in downtown Paterson as important cultural elements that validated the physical presence of Peruvians in the area. It demonstrates that Peruvians have played a central role in the economic and social revitalization of the city. The physical presence of small Peruvian businesses and the

informal economic activities they developed in the area has reactivated the commercial life and, at the same time reshaped the cultural landscape of Paterson. The Silk City, former mecca of European workers in search for the American dream, now has transformed in “the capital of Peruvians in the United States.”<sup>26</sup>

## Historiography and Contributions

This dissertation builds on the literature that examines the history of immigration and community formation of Latinos in the United States. This body of works emerged during the 1980s, challenging previous classical approaches that advocated for the assimilation of immigrants by assuming a linear progression towards Americanization.<sup>27</sup> The empirical studies of Paul S. Taylor and Manuel Gamio on Mexican populations throughout the United States identified the deprived labor and economic conditions that affected this ethnic group and delayed their acculturation.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, the preliminary studies of Elena Padilla, Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan on Puerto Ricans in New York revealed the marginal conditions of Puerto Rican communities and promoted their assimilation and socioeconomic attainment.<sup>29</sup> For these scholars, female migration to the United States was a secondary migration. Women followed men as wives, but they were treated as an undifferentiated mass.<sup>30</sup> These classical approaches highlighted the deficiency in the assimilation of Latin

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<sup>26</sup> “Paterson: Capital of The Peruvian Diaspora in The United States,” *Sumaq*, Noviembre 28, 2016.

<sup>27</sup> The investigations of William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki about Polish peasants in America, Oscar Handlin regarding the acculturation of Boston immigrants, Robert Park on race and culture, and Milton Gordon concerning assimilation into American life offered the leading theoretical frameworks that dominated immigration research until the 1970s. See Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants [1790-1880] a Study in Acculturation* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1991); Robert E. Park, *Race and Culture* (New York: Free Press, 1964); William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, 5 volumes* (New York: Octagon Books, 1974).

<sup>28</sup> Manuel Gamio and Paul S. Taylor, *The Life Story of the Mexican Immigrant: Autobiographic Documents* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971).

<sup>29</sup> Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1967); Elena Padilla, *Up from Puerto Rico*, (New York: Columbia UP, 1969).

<sup>30</sup> John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*, (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1988); Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted, the Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown and C°, 1951), Robert E. Park, “Human Migration and the Marginal Man,” in *The Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*. Ed. Richard Sennett. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969, pp. 131–14.

Americans and left a tentative field of study that recent generations of scholars have extensively explored by using interdisciplinary methodologies.

Contemporary investigations have mostly studied the development of Latino neighborhoods in the United States, principally focusing on Mexican and Puerto Rican communities in Texas, California, New York, and other cities in the North. These studies analyzed the intersections between factory work, marginalization, and ethnic community formation by validating the agentic subjectivity of Latinos in forging a space in a predominantly Anglo society.<sup>31</sup> By studying issues of race, ethnicity, and identity, this scholarship offered new insights to the adjustment of immigrants in the receiving country. Scholars demonstrate that ethnicity is created, sustained, and used by immigrants as a resource to cope with social inequality. For instance, the studies of George J. Sanchez and Arnaldo de Leon uncover the creative ways in which Mexicans and their children adapted their culture to urban life in the United States.<sup>32</sup> Their research promotes understanding of the role of culture in shaping migrant adjustment and community development. Likewise, scholar Felix Padilla documents the development of a collective Latino ethnic identity in Chicago. This research demonstrates how working-class Mexicans and Puerto Ricans found their own ways to adjust to the receiving society through a Latino consciousness.<sup>33</sup> More

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<sup>31</sup> The literature of Mexican, Chicano and Puerto Rican communities in the United States is vast. These are some of the most notable contributions to the field: Gabriela F. Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916-39* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Joaquín Colón, *Pioneros Puertorriqueños en Nueva York: 1917-1947* (Houston, Texas: Arte Público Press, 2014); Juan Flores, *Divided Arrival: Narratives of the Puerto Rican Migration, 1920-1950*, (New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, the City University of New York, 1998); Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Labor and Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in a Southern California County, 1900-1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Michael Innis-Jiménez, *Steel Barrio: The Great Mexican Migration to South Chicago, 1915-1940* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Felix Padilla, *Latino Ethnic Consciousness: The Case of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago*, (Notre Dame, Ind: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1985); Vicki Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); V. Sánchez Korrol, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Monica Perales, *Smeltertown: Making and Remembering a Southwest Border Community*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

<sup>32</sup> Arnaldo De León, *Ethnicity in the Sunbelt: A History of Mexican Americans in Houston*, (Houston, Texas: Mexican American Studies Program, University of Houston, 1989); Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*.

<sup>33</sup> Padilla's *Latino Ethnic Consciousness* motivated a group of contemporary scholars to study the adaptations of Latino migrants in the North before, during, and after the world wars. See Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago*, Lilia Fernandez, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and*

recently, Monica Perales' study on the development of the community of Smelertown in El Paso, Texas shows how Mexican and Mexican American residents forged real and imagined meanings of their social space by interacting among themselves and with local institutions such as companies, church, and school.<sup>34</sup> This scholarship informed my analysis of how national and ethnic identity is framed by Peruvians in the new environment and how people and places invent and reinvent themselves by developing structured socioeconomic and power relationships that influence the ways migrants adapt and form permanent communities in the United States.

Nevertheless, this literature has primarily focused on the labor and social experiences of field and industrial Latino migrant workers and their children in the United States. Even though these studies highlight the active role of Latinos in community development, political participation, and the reshaping of identities, their stories still fix the trajectories of Latinos in ethnic *barrios* forged under conditions of marginalization and with scarce opportunities for economic advancement. This dissertation offers an alternative perspective to the formation of Latino communities in the United States by disengaging the history of Latinos from stories that portray them as factory workers that develop segregated neighborhoods characterized by substandard economic conditions.<sup>35</sup> Instead, this investigation emphasizes the entrepreneurial and inventive subjectivity of Latinos to generate wealth and forge prosperous communities within American society. Entrepreneurship has served as a fundamental mechanism that allows Latin American migrants to direct their own path for adaptation in the new setting.

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*Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014); Innis-Jimenez, *Steel Barrio*, Padilla, *Latino Ethnic Consciousness*, Zaragosa Vargas, *Proletarians of the North: A History of Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917-1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>34</sup> Perales, *Smelertown*.

<sup>35</sup> See Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago*, Lilia Fernandez, *Brown in the Windy City*; Flores, *Divided Arrival*, Gonzalez, *Labor and Community*; Innis-Jimenez, *Steel Barrio*, Padilla, *Latino Ethnic Consciousness*, Perales, *Smelertown*; Ruiz, *From out of the Shadows*, Sánchez Korrol, *From Colonia*; Zaragosa Vargas, *Proletarians of the North*.

Furthermore, this dissertation provides a case study for the history of migration and community development of recent waves of newcomers from Latin America. The experiences of Peruvians in Paterson reflects the unique dynamics of migration, economic advancement, and community formation of South Americans, an understudied Latino population in the United States.<sup>36</sup>

The presence of Peruvians in Paterson has been ignored by most local historical studies. The literature on immigration and ethnic group formation in the state of New Jersey, concretely the Passaic county, has scarce references to Peruvians, an immigrant group that has populated the area since the mid-1920s.<sup>37</sup> Collections from the Passaic County Historical Society and the Paterson Historical Society focus on Paterson's economic boom between 1890 and 1945, paying less attention to its decline. These books make reference to the daily life of European groups in Paterson and exalt their efforts to build a prosperous industrial city.<sup>38</sup> Other group of scholars have placed the political and social struggles that occurred in Paterson during the Silk Strike of 1913 as an important chapter in the history of the American labor movement. These stories highlight the social organization of German, Irish, and Italian industrial leaders in order to demand the improvement of the living and working conditions of their fellow compatriots.<sup>39</sup> However, after WWII, it seems that the history of

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<sup>36</sup> Studies of the Latino experience in the United States typically relegate the presence of people from South America. However, this population of migrants is characterized by having on average the highest levels of education among Latino groups and is often middle class. South Americans are generally not geographically concentrated in specific neighborhoods and experience different modes of adaptation in mainstream society. See Marilyn Espitia, "The Other "Other Hispanics": South American-Origin Latinos in the United States," in David Gutiérrez, ed., *The Columbia History of Latinos in the United States Since 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 257 - 280.

<sup>37</sup> See, Patricia M. Ard and Michael Aaron Rockland, *The Jews of New Jersey, A Pictorial History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001); June Avignone, *Downtown Paterson* (Chicago, IL: Arcadia Publishing, 1990); David Stephen Cohen, *America, the Dream of My Life, Selections from the Federal Writers' Project's New Jersey Ethnic Survey* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990); John A. Herbst and Catherine Keene, *Life and Time in the Silk City, A Photographic Essay of Paterson, New Jersey* (Paterson, NJ: The American Labor Museum, 1984); Dermont Quinn, *The Irish in New Jersey, Four Centuries of American Life* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rivergate Books, 2004); Angelica M. Santomauro and Evelyn M. Hershey, *Around Haledon, Immigration and Labor* (Chicago, IL: Arcadia Publishing, 2008,); Shaw, *Immigration and Ethnicity*; Rudolph J. Vecoli, *The People of New Jersey* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1965).

<sup>38</sup> Herbst and Keene, *Life and Time*; Murphy and Murphy, *Paterson and Passaic*. David Wilson, *Jews of Paterson*

<sup>39</sup> See the work of Elizabeth G. Flynn, *The Rebel Girl, An Autobiography, My First Life 1906-1926* (New York City: International Publication, 1973); Ann Huber Tripp, *The I.W.W. and the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Steve Golin, *The Fragile Bridge: Paterson Silk Strike, 1913* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); David J. Goldberg, *A Tale of Three Cities: Labor Organization and Protest in Paterson* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989).

contemporary immigration and its impact on the city's social and economic life did not capture the interests of scholars. There are few references to the new generation of Latino migrants and the economic and social challenges they faced as a consequence of the process of deindustrialization in Paterson.<sup>40</sup> This dissertation addresses this scholarly gap by investigating the migration experience of Peruvians, a group that massively moved to the area as a part of the new stream of Latino migrants that arrived during the post-war era. This investigation demonstrates that Peruvians used self-employment and *recurseo* as alternative mechanisms for economic adjustment in contexts of deindustrialization and economic decline. Entrepreneurship and informality have also been utilized by Peruvians to build a prosperous community that ultimately revitalized the economic and social life of Paterson. An understanding of how Peruvians have creatively circumvented conventional pathways of adjustment into the mainstream society will provide new insights to comprehend trends for adaptation and community development among new Latin American groups in the United States.

In order to reconstruct the history and features of the Peruvian migration to Paterson, this research draws upon investigations on the Peruvian diaspora.<sup>41</sup> These studies focus on the cultural transference and reshaping of notions of race, class, gender, and social organization among Peruvian migrants abroad. The pioneer work on Peruvian migration to New York and New Jersey by anthropologist Teófilo Altamirano illuminated my interest to investigate how Peruvians relied on the same collective strategies used in rural-urban migrations in Peru in order to facilitate their adaptation to the new country. In this work,

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<sup>40</sup> Latinos and Hispanic decedent represented 18% of the total population of new jersey see: Sen-Yuan Wu, "Growing New Jersey Minority Population Reaches Majority in Some Municipalities", in NJ Labor Market Views issue #7, NJ Department of Labor and Workforce Development, May 16, 2011. Murphy and Murphy in *Paterson and Passaic*, interviewed two Peruvian entrepreneurs that arrived in the 1970s.

<sup>41</sup> Peruvian Diaspora was the term used by Karsten Paerregaard to study migration of Peruvians to diverse countries of the world. See Paerregaard, *Peruvians Dispersed*.

Altamirano shows that, while family was important for migration and labor incorporation, Peruvians also relied on civic, religious, and cultural organizations to ease their adjustment.<sup>42</sup> Likewise, because this work was published in 1990, it captured the economic and political context that prompted Peruvians to migrate to the United States. The information and references to associations and institutions, as well as Altamirano's analysis of the circumstances that produced this migration, served as a starting point to reconstruct the history of Peruvians in Paterson. However, the information about the origins of the migration of Peruvians to Paterson included in this work is mostly anecdotal, and contemporary scholars continue to reiterate these ideas without supporting evidence.<sup>43</sup> This dissertation addresses this void by reconstructing the causes that led the group of pioneer Peruvians to settle in the area and revealing information about their life in a mostly European society. This study also demonstrates the connection between the group of pioneer Peruvians and contemporary waves of Peruvian migration to Paterson.

More contemporary scholarship has opened new lines of inquiry to examine the replication of cultural practices among Peruvian migrants abroad. The works of Larissa Ruiz and Karsten Paerregaard about Peruvian Catholic brotherhoods in Paterson illustrate how these organizations have articulated individual and collective identities along notions of nationality that also include a Pan-Latino identity. Paerregaard reveals that the reterritorialization of the icon of the Lord of Miracles outside Peru allowed Peruvian migrants to access public space, legitimize their presence in the host country, and claim legal

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<sup>42</sup> See Altamirano, *Los que se fueron*, and Teófilo Altamirano, *Liderazgo Y Organizaciones De Peruanos En El Exterior: Culturas Transnacionales E Imaginarios Sobre El Desarrollo* (Lima, Perú: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 2000).

<sup>43</sup> Altamirano argues that the migration of Peruvians to Paterson initiated after American textile factories operating in Peru sponsored the relocation of Peruvian laborers to work in its subsidiaries by 1930. Other scholars, such as Karsten Paerregaard and Ulla D. Berg, have cited Altamirano's argument; however, these researchers have included footnotes mentioning Altamirano's lack of evidence to support his claims. See

Altamirano, *Los que se fueron*, 12; Paerregaard, *Peruvians Dispersed*, 62; Ulla Berg and Karsten Paerregaard, *El 5to suyo* (Lima: IEP, 2005), 14.

and political rights as immigrants. Paerregaard's most ambitious work, *Peruvians Dispersed*, contributed to my analysis of the transnational transference of the entrepreneurial spirit of Peruvians, or what the author refers to as the life-long struggle to *progresar* (make progress).<sup>44</sup> Paerregaard's examination of how Peruvian migrants made use of social networks and resourceful strategies to improve their way of life influenced my interests to the study migrants' reliance on practices of informality and *recurseo* for entrepreneurship and community development in Paterson. Likewise, his last work, *Return to Sender*, highlights the use of alternative channels to organize social networks and deliver remittances to relatives and communities at home.<sup>45</sup>

The recent works of Ulla Berg and M. Cristina Alcalde offer new areas of analysis that advance the studies of Peruvians in the United States.<sup>46</sup> In *Mobile Selves*, Berg places experiences of racialization in a transnational context of migration. Their references to Peruvians in Paterson demonstrates the reshaping of migrants' subjectivity during the migration process. Berg highlights how diverse constructions of Peruvianness are mobilized by migrants from different regions in order to challenge class and racial barriers relocated from the home country in order to reinvent themselves in the new environment. Berg's study informed my perspective on the ways Peruvians empowered themselves to become entrepreneurs and community leaders, overcome disputes with other Peruvians, and collectively claim visibility.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, M. Cristina Alcalde, in *Peruvian Lives across Borders*, discusses how Peruvian food is associated with a sense of national pride among

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<sup>44</sup> Paerregaard, *Peruvians Dispersed*, 44 - 47.

<sup>45</sup> Karsten Paerregaard, *Return to Sender: The Moral Economy of Peru's Migrant Remittances* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2015).

<sup>46</sup> M. Cristina Alcalde, *Peruvian Lives Across Borders: Power, Exclusion, and Home* (Urbana, Chicago: Springfield University of Illinois Press, 2018); Ulla D. Berg, *Mobile Selves: Race, Migration, and Belonging in Peru and the U.S* (S.I.: NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2017).

<sup>47</sup> Berg, *Mobile Selves*, 73–104.

compatriots abroad. Her work informed my examination of Peruvians' enthusiastic consumption of ethnic products in Paterson. Particularly insightful was her treatment of the intersections between ethnic consumption, nostalgia, and national pride that provides an understanding of the development of Peruvian entrepreneurship and the formation of a market for ethnic products and services in the area.<sup>48</sup> This investigation complements the contribution of contemporary studies on Peruvian immigration with statistical information and quantitative data that describe the social and economic background of Peruvian migrants in the United States.<sup>49</sup>

This dissertation also makes a necessary contribution to the Peruvian historiography by re-contextualizing the narrative of the *Peruano emprendedor* (entrepreneurial Peruvian) utilized by scholars to characterize Peruvians' ability to confront unfavorable economic and social contexts in Peru with creativity and resourcefulness.<sup>50</sup> Specifically, this dissertation asserts that migrants' entrepreneurial attitude associated with the life-long struggle for progress has allowed them access to economic spaces not traditionally ascribed to Latinos in the United States, such as food production, transportation, logistics, media, and international trade. Thus, by applying the concept of entrepreneurship and the notion of *recurseo* to the field of U.S. immigration history, this investigation shed light on how the social and economic experiences of Peruvians with the informal economy acquired in the native country can take on a new meaning and purpose in the United States. This research aims to redefine

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<sup>48</sup> Alcalde, *Peruvian Lives*, 142-164.

<sup>49</sup> Douglas Massey and D Capoferro, "Salvese Quien Pueda: Structural Adjustment and Emigration from Lima," *Peace Research Abstracts Journal*. 43.6 (2006): 116; Jorge Durand, and Mariana O. Breña, "The Peruvian Diaspora: Portrait of a Migratory Process," *Latin American Perspectives*. 37.5 (2010): 12-28; Ulla Berg, Karsten Paerregaard, and Ayumi Takenaka, *Peruvian Migration in a Global Context* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2010); A. Takenaka and K.A Pren, "Leaving to Get Ahead: Assessing the Relationship between Mobility and Inequality in Peruvian Migration," *Latin American Perspectives*. 37.5 (2010): 29-49.

<sup>50</sup> Two of the most influential works in Peruvian historiography that investigate the adaptation of internal migrants from the Andes in the capital are Jürgen Golte and Norma Adams, *Los Caballos De Troya De Los Invasores: Estrategias Campesinas En La Conquista De La Gran Lima* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1990) and José Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular Y Crisis Del Estado: Veinte Años Despues* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2010).

the scope of Peruvian studies by connecting internal migration to international migration through strategies applied in both environments.

Although the last decade has seen an increase in the study of particular features of Peruvian immigration, historical studies on Peruvians in the United States are scarce.<sup>51</sup> This dissertation offers the first historical study of the establishment of the largest enclave of Peruvians abroad. However, an examination of the evolution of this community necessitates a comprehensive analysis of the whole migration process, including the group's economic incorporation and social adaptation in the new setting.<sup>52</sup> Accordingly, this investigation draws on sociological and anthropological research to demonstrate how migrants utilized informal entrepreneurial practices in each state of migration and community development.<sup>53</sup>

### **Transnationalism, Network Theory, and the Ethnic Enclave Economy**

Transnationalism constitutes a flexible analytical framework to examine the fluidity of the resourceful and entrepreneurial culture that allowed Peruvians to migrate, become entrepreneurs, and form an ethnic community in Paterson. The concept of transnationalism is defined by Glick Schiller and her colleagues as “the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. . . . Immigrants develop and maintain multiple relations- familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders. [Immigrants] take actions, make

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<sup>51</sup> Jay Monaghan's book narrates the temporary experience of Peruvian miners who adventured to the California Gold Rush. Peruvian politician and historian Luis Alberto Sanchez wrote a book about his experience in the United States during the 1940s. Historian Charles Walker wrote an article about Peruvians in Chicago during the 1980s. Likewise, Arthur Holland Michel wrote an exploratory paper about Peruvians that arrived to Paterson during the 1960s. See Arthur Hollan Michal, *The Peruvians of Paterson, 1956-1970*, Senior Project submitted to The Division of Social Studies of Bard College, 2013; Jay Monaghan, *Chile, Peru and the California Gold Rush of 1849* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Luis A. Sánchez, *Un Sudamericano En Norteamérica: Ellos Y Nosotros* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1970); Charles Walker, “Los peruanos en Estados Unidos: El caso Chicago,” in *Diálogos con el Perú: Ensayos de Historia* (Fondo Editorial del Pedagógico San Marcos, 2009).

<sup>52</sup> Some scholars of immigration advocate for the establishment of connections with other disciplines in order to offer a complete portrayal of the international migration process. See Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. (New York: Routledge, 2015); Abdelmalek Sayad, Pierre Bourdieu, and David Macey, *The Suffering of the Immigrant* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2018); Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (University of California Press: Oakland, 2014).

<sup>53</sup> Brettell and Hollifield, *Migration Theory*, 1-26.

decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously.”<sup>54</sup> It illustrates how Peruvian migrants have mobilized resources across borders, and most importantly, relocated alternative practices to pursue economic, social, and political interests in both host and home societies. Similarly, network theory provides a valuable perspective to examine the social organization of migrants to initiate and consolidate migration flows and to develop communities in a new country. According to Massey et al., “migrant networks are the set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination area through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin.”<sup>55</sup> This analytical framework can be used to describe the complex process of international migration by studying collective units of analysis, including household and kinship relationships.<sup>56</sup> In these structured systems of social relations, families transfer resources, information, and meanings that facilitate the adaptation of migrants in the new setting.

Theories of immigrant economic adjustment informed my analysis of the mechanisms used by Peruvians in the process to leave factory jobs and become small business owners. According to the dual labor market approach, the U.S. labor market is divided into the primary and the secondary sector. The primary sector is characterized by skilled occupations in which workers receive specialized training, high salaries, and favorable social benefits. In the labor-intensive secondary sector, workers hold unstable and unskilled jobs with low

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<sup>54</sup> See Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, “Transnationalism: A New Analytical Framework for Understanding Migration,” in Mohsen M. Mobasher and Mahmoud Sadri, *Migration, Globalization, and Ethnic Relations: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, (Upper Saddle River, N.J: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004), 213-227.

<sup>55</sup> Massey et al., “Theories,” 16.

<sup>56</sup> Scholar Alejandro Portes uses the concept of embeddedness, coined by economic sociologist Mark Granovetter, to draw attention to the web of connections among groups and the functions and transformations of this organized system of relations for socioeconomic adjustment in the new country. This concept introduced by Portes allowed scholars to move away from the study of individual and group agency towards the investigation of the social relations of exchange. By adopting this perspective, this dissertation not only uncovers individual stories of Peruvians adjusting to the social and economic life of Paterson, but also focuses on group strategies and networks utilized to achieve labor incorporation. See Mark Granovetter, “The Economic Sociology of Firms and Entrepreneurs,” 128-165, 1995, in Alejandro Portes, editor, *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays in Networks, Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship*, (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation), 1995.

wages and fewer opportunities for economic advancement. Shifting from a job in the secondary sector to one in the primary sector is a difficult task for unskilled immigrants with limited English proficiency, low levels of education, and without legal documents.<sup>57</sup>

However, this dissertation examines the development of an alternative labor and economic market within immigrant communities. Scholars labeled this third sector “the ethnic enclave economy.”<sup>58</sup>

The growing presence of immigrant businesses and ethnic economies in urban centers in the United States encouraged Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut to investigate the movement of immigrants towards entrepreneurship in ethnic enclaves. They integrated structural and cultural factors and found that particular practices in the home and receiving countries, as well as migrants’ group and individual characteristics, shape their propensity to develop entrepreneurial ventures.<sup>59</sup> Studies on Asian and Cuban immigrant groups in California, New York, and Miami reveal that ethnic entrepreneurial activities are governed by cultural values such as work ethic, solidarity, trust, and future orientation. Migrants circulate cultural and economic resources through a structured system of kinship relationships that support the emergence and operation of ethnic economies and immigrant

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<sup>57</sup> The histories of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the United States have associated the economic and social incorporation of Latino immigrants into a working class life style with few possibilities for upward labor and social mobility. See Rafael Alarcon, Jorge Durand, and Humberto González, *Return to Aztlan*, (University of California Press, 1990); Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Peregrino, and J. Edward Taylor, “Theories of International Migration: a Review and Appraisal,” in Mobasher and Sadri, *Migration*, 2-28, 2004; Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*, (Cambridge [England: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

<sup>58</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 112-160.

<sup>59</sup> Portes and Rumbaut offered a new framework of analysis for scholars investigating immigrant labor incorporation and social adjustment. They find that certain groups of immigrant and ethnic minorities are more entrepreneurial and more likely than others to adopt small business ownership as one of the most effective strategies in their quest for socioeconomic mobility. The entrepreneurial character of ethnic groups has been previously studied by scholars that investigate the assimilation of Europeans in U.S. urban centers. See Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles 1965-1982* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1991); Alejandro Portes and Robert L. Bach, *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Roger D. Waldinger, *Through the Eye of the Needle: Immigrants and Enterprise in New York's Garment Trades* (New York: New York University Press, 1989); Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Lanham: Dancing Unicorn Books, 2016); Kenneth L. Wilson and Alejandro Portes, "Immigrant Enclaves: An Analysis of the Labor Market Experiences of Cubans in Miami," *Sociology of Migration*, 1996.

communities.<sup>60</sup> This literature also provides concrete examples of how ethnic enclave economies enable immigrant women to fulfill their multiple roles as wage earners, wives, and mothers by mobilizing ethnic resources. In ethnic enclaves there is a growing demand for occupations typically associated with feminine labor such as nannies, cooks, and hair stylists, allowing immigrant women greater participation in family decision-making.<sup>61</sup> Thus, economic opportunities for women in the new country have allowed them to challenge patriarchal hierarchies brought from the home country.<sup>62</sup> However, historians of immigration have overlooked the role of gender in connection with entrepreneurship and community development. This investigation demonstrates that Peruvian women were central agents in creating, organizing, and maintaining small business and social organizations in Paterson by using their skills, inventiveness, and social networks. For Peruvians in Paterson, female entrepreneurship has redefined family practices, roles, and customs traditionally performed by women in domestic spaces.

Literature on ethnic enclaves asserts that the development of ethnic entrepreneurship is the outcome of a solid structuration of immigrant communities.<sup>63</sup> These studies explain that community organizations and institutions are necessary to generate the required infrastructure needed for the development and expansion of ethnic economies.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> See the works of Ivan H. Light and Parminder Bhachu, *Immigration and Entrepreneurship: Culture, Capital, and Ethnic Networks* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017); Light and Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs*, Portes and Bach, *Latin Journey*; Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*; Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1994); Pyong G. Min, *Ethnic Solidarity for Economic Survival: Korean Greengrocers in New York City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008).

<sup>61</sup> See the works of Nancy Foner, "Immigrant Women and Work in New York City, Then and Now," *Journal of American Ethnic History*. (1999): 94-113; Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, *Divergent Destinies: Immigration, Poverty, and Entrepreneurship in the United States* (Baltimore: Dept. of Sociology, Johns Hopkins University, 1992); Maria E. Verdaguier, *Class, Ethnicity, Gender and Latino Entrepreneurship* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>62</sup> Foner, *Immigrant Women*, 94-113.

<sup>63</sup> Mobasher, "Ethnic Resources and Ethnic Economy: The Case of Iranian Entrepreneurs in Dallas," in Mobasher and Sadri, *Migration*, 297-306, 2004.

<sup>64</sup> Ivan Light refers to the circulation of class and ethnic resources for entrepreneurial development among immigrants. Ivan light defined class resources as "private property in the means of production and distribution, human capital, and money to invest." Ethnic resources are defined as the cultural endowments available to every member of an ethnic group who shares the common origin and culture. See Ivan Light, "Immigrant and Ethnic Enterprise in North America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 7 (1984): 195-216.

Consequently, the entrance and success of migrants in small businesses depends upon the use of ethnic institutions and network contacts which create the optimal scenario for the development of an ethnic market for products and services. This dissertation redirects these arguments by demonstrating that Peruvian entrepreneurship in Paterson emerged without the support of formally established organizations and institutions. Instead, Peruvian small business owners relied on informality and *recurseo* to independently develop entrepreneurial ventures, while supporting the formation of ethnic organizations and institutions. This research reveals that entrepreneurial Peruvians in Paterson addressed the demands of a growing population of compatriots nostalgic for their food, traditions, and national belonging. Peruvians also launched and operated their businesses by transferring traditional Andean notions of solidarity and redistribution of resources, enforceable mechanisms of support and trust. They found a niche to develop entrepreneurial ventures that gradually created a market for Peruvian products and services in Paterson and surrounding areas. The reciprocal support developed among Peruvians fortified the commercial and social relationships between small business owners and the community, which ultimately consolidated a prosperous Peruvian enclave in Paterson.

### **Habitus and Capitals in the Adjustment of Immigrants**

Contemporary studies on international migration have emphasized migrants' agency in using resources through transnational social networks for labor incorporation and social adaptation; however, these conventional perspectives do not consider the dispositions, practices, and mechanisms circulated by potential migrants before, during, and after migration. These approaches ignore the capitalization of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic resources that potential migrants mobilize to make the journey and adjust into the

new setting.<sup>65</sup> In order to comprehend the rationale behind the mobilization of cultural endowments among Peruvians in Paterson, a more comprehensive framework is needed to study the transnational transference of culture. Pierre Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice* can be used to describe the relocation of behaviors and practices in a new social context. Bourdieu draws attention to the reshaping of social actors' values, actions, and beliefs in relation to migrants' new environments.<sup>66</sup> Although Bourdieu did not directly apply his *Theory of Practice* to international migration, a recent body of work has begun using Bourdieusian perspectives to advance immigration research studying the connections between labor market circumstances, cultural practices, and the employment strategies of immigrants.<sup>67</sup>

This dissertation draws upon this body of work, and by applying a Bourdieusian perspective, analyzes the economic and social adjustment of Peruvians in the United States. The concepts of habitus and capitals developed by Bourdieu are central to understanding the reliance of Peruvians on entrepreneurial, informal, and resourceful practices to facilitate their adjustment in context of migration and economic disadvantages. Bourdieu defines habitus as “a system of schemes of perception and thought’ that ‘acts ... as an organizing principle’ of

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<sup>65</sup> See Ewa Morawska, "The Sociology and Historiography of Immigration," in *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*, ed., Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 187-240; Magdalena Nowicka, *Bourdieu's Theory of Practice in the Study of Cultural Encounters and Transnational Transfers in Migration*, (Göttingen: Max Planck Inst. for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, 2015).

<sup>66</sup> See Pierre Bourdieu and Randal Johnson, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007); Pierre Bourdieu and Richard Nice, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge etc: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Pierre Bourdieu and Chris Turner, *The Social Structures of the Economy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016). Nowicka, *Bourdieu's*, 8.

<sup>67</sup> For recent works that apply Bourdieu's theory of practice to immigration see: Israel Drori, Benson Honig and Ari Ginsberg, *Toward a Practical Theory of Transnational Entrepreneurship: Understanding the Habitus of Cross-Cultural Affiliation*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the SASE Annual Conference. Philadelphia, PA, USA, 2008. Retrieved from [http://legacy.wlu.ca/documents/30236/Toward\\_a\\_Practical\\_Theory.pdf](http://legacy.wlu.ca/documents/30236/Toward_a_Practical_Theory.pdf). Bauder Harald, "Habitus, Rules of the Labour Market and Employment Strategies of Immigrants in Vancouver," *Social and Cultural Geography* 6 (1), 2005: 81–97. Philip Kelly and Tom Lusi, "Migration and the transnational habitus: evidence from Canada and the Philippines," *Environ. Plann. A* 38 (5), 2006: 831–847; Greg Noble, "It is home but it is not home: habitus, field and the migrant," *Journal of Sociology* 49 (2-3), 2013: 341–356. Magdalena Nowicka, "Positioning Strategies of Polish Entrepreneurs in Germany. Transnationalizing Bourdieu's notion of capital," *International Sociology* 28 (1), 2013: 29–47. Siri Terjesen and Amanda Elam, "Transnational Entrepreneurs' Venture Internationalization Strategies: A Practice Theory Approach," *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 33 (5), 2009:1093–1120. Caroline Oliver and Karen O'Reilly, "A Bourdieusian Analysis of Class and Migration: Habitus and the Individualizing Process," *Sociology* 44 (1), 2010:49–66. Pankaj C. Patel and Betty Conklin, "The Balancing Act: The Role of Transnational Habitus and Social Networks in Balancing Transnational Entrepreneurial Activities," *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 33 (5), 2009:1045–1078. Umut Erel, "Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies", *Sociology*: Volume 44(4), (2010):642-660, 649.

behavior.”<sup>68</sup> Thus, habitus encompasses the internalized set of mechanisms and conducts that automatically produces practices. Magdalena Nowicka reframed the concept of habitus for international migration processes and explains that habitus is “historically structured by one’s past and present circumstances and helps to shape one’s present and future practice.”<sup>69</sup> Habitus constitutes a repository system of “perceptions, appreciations and practices and is thus a result as well as a cause for an individual’s way of being, acting, and thinking.”<sup>70</sup> Habitus accounts for the practical knowledge of social actors in the sense that they know, through socialization, how to act, feel, talk, think, and improvise. In this sense, habitus allows actors to navigate and adjust to particular social fields.<sup>71</sup>

According to Bourdieu, practice is a result of the interaction between individual habitus and the utilization of capitals in a given context. The concept of capital refers to all goods, material and symbolic resources, that are circulated by actors in social action.<sup>72</sup> Economic capital refers to the assets and financial worth of an individual which are directly convertible into money or property.<sup>73</sup> Economic capital is the most common form of capital in terms of commercial relations. However, Bourdieu emphasizes that non-economic forms of capital, such as cultural, symbolic, and social are crucial in explaining social action.<sup>74</sup> Cultural capital is the actors’ set of cultural resources consisting of language, skills, knowledge about customs and lifestyles, or professional qualifications acquired through socialization experiences.<sup>75</sup> Bourdieusian perspectives on immigration view migrants’

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<sup>68</sup> Bourdieu and Nice, *Outline*, 18.

<sup>69</sup> Nowicka, *Bourdieu’s*, 12.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Field is the other component in Bourdieu’s theory of practice, however, in order to avoid a lengthy discussion on the term I suggest to read Bourdieu and Nice, *Outline*; Nowicka, *Bourdieu’s*, 12.

<sup>72</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in John G. Richardson, ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1986, 56.

<sup>73</sup> Bourdieu, “The Forms,” 46-47.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> For further discussion of the diverse types of cultural capitals applied to immigration research see Erel, *Migrating*, 649.

cultural capital as a set of cultural resources that they put into a “rucksack” which they unpack and try to fit into local institutions or people in their country of arrival. In this process they negotiate cultural resources brought from home, which are often undervalued, while adopting new cultural practices and creating new forms of cultural capital in the receiving country.<sup>76</sup> Bourdieu also analyzed symbolic capital, which represents the ability to use and manipulate symbolic resources closely aligns with newcomers’ prestige or reputation.<sup>77</sup> This form of capital is related to the dimension of meaning and signification. In the context of migration, it may involve the ability to convey an image associated with a willingness to take risks and create wealth through new commercial activities or political aims.<sup>78</sup> Lastly, social capital is associated with the networks and connections that individuals may use to circulate resources in order to generate opportunities.<sup>79</sup> According to some scholars, social networks and social capital are conceptually distinct. Whereas social networks focus on the acquisition of certain resources and information with the individual as the unit of analysis, social capital is a group-level phenomenon. In contexts of migration, social networks are critical for mobilizing economic, symbolic, and cultural resources and provide paths to accessing and deploying the distinct forms of capital.<sup>80</sup>

The use of the concepts of habitus and capitals for migration studies allow for a more comprehensive understanding of migrants’ routine cultural practices.<sup>81</sup> In the case of the Peruvian migration to Paterson, this framework of analysis explains how migrants have relocated an entrepreneurial, informal, and resourceful spirit from Peru to Paterson which

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<sup>76</sup> Erel, “Migrating,” 649.

<sup>77</sup> Bourdieu, “The Forms,” 46-55.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Bourdieu, “The Forms,” 51-55.

<sup>80</sup> Eva Morawska, “The sociology,” 187-240; Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant*, Charles Tilly, “Transplanted Networks,” in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, 79-95.

<sup>81</sup> Dirk De Clercq, and Maxim Voronov, M., “Toward a Practice Perspective of Entrepreneurship: Entrepreneurial Legitimacy as Habitus,” *International Small Business Journal*, 27(4), 395–419.

characterizes their *modus operandi* in contexts of migration and economic decline. The concepts of habitus and capitals can be used to describe how Peruvian migrants embodied and utilized informality, traditional notions of solidarity, and expressions of nostalgia and ethnic identity. The application of these concepts better portrays how the social and economic experiences of Peruvians with the informal economy acquired in the native country can take on a new meaning and purpose in the receiving country.

### **Methodology and Sources**

This investigation applies an interdisciplinary methodology that integrates qualitative and quantitative research methods to recover both community and individual histories of migration. This task was accomplished through the examination of oral histories, research on institutional and government archives, and ethnographic observations. This study makes use of fifty oral histories that reconstruct the migration history of male and female entrepreneurs and community leaders who migrated to Paterson from the 1960s to the 2000s. Interviewees represented the diverse socioeconomic backgrounds in the home country, gender, ethnicity, and the migration waves of Peruvians to Paterson. By using snowball sampling techniques, one interviewee referred other contacts with similar experiences interested in participating in this research.<sup>82</sup> In some cases, when interviewees offered sensitive information, names were changed in order to protect confidential information.

Interviewees provided letters, documents, photographs, records, and other personal memories that enriched the reconstruction of the migration experiences of co-nationals in Paterson. Local Peruvian journalists also provided Spanish language newspapers, such as *El Perucho*, *El Amauta*, *Campana News*, and *Paginas Libres* that described activities of the

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<sup>82</sup> Stephen L. Schensul, Jean J. Schensul, and Margaret D. LeCompte, *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, Interviews and Questionnaires* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 1999).

Peruvian community and its organizations. These sources offered details about the economic and social life, as well as topics of interest to the community ignored by mainstream media. These sources gave meaningful insights on Peruvian-owned businesses that chose to advertise in these publications. The language of Peruvian newspapers' ads has been analyzed in order to investigate the strategies used by entrepreneurs to attract co-national clientele.

Migrants' accounts were combined with archival research to address previous studies' failure to cite historical sources.<sup>83</sup> The authorities of the Peruvian consulate of Paterson declassified first-hand information including statistics on local Peruvian businesses and organizations, and data on birth, death, and marriage records. This investigation also relied on the consulate's memoirs from 1987 to 2000 for untapped material about its goals as an official institution and the collective achievements and struggles of the community. This information was complemented with material from the archives of the public libraries in Paterson, Newark, Clifton, and Passaic which held commercial phone directories and newspapers, such as the *Paterson Evening News*, and the *Paterson Morning Call*. English language sources provided facts about the Peruvian population, and, most importantly, indicated the attitudes of local whites and other Latinos towards Peruvians in the area. Local libraries also held copies of the *Paterson Area Business and Community Guide*, the official business bulletin from the Greater Paterson Chamber of Commerce.

Furthermore, the examination of correspondence, minute books, administrative records, scrapbooks, pictures, and other print materials located in the archives of the W.R. Grace & Co. collection at Columbia University allowed me to trace the economic exchange between New Jersey and Peru since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The information

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<sup>83</sup> Altamirano, *Los que se fueron*, 1990; Berg and Paerregaard, *El 5to*, 2005; Paerregaard, *Peruvians Dispersed*, 2008; Francesco, "Peruvians in Paterson."

gathered in this collection demonstrates how the expansion of capitalism in Peru influenced the migration of pioneer Peruvians to Paterson. The reconstruction of their migration trajectory was supplemented with genealogy records from *Ancestry* and *Family Search* and electronically accessible information from county tax offices. Lastly, this investigation benefitted from ethnographic research through participant observation in festivals, sportive, culinary, and other social activities. Participation in these events provided an intimate view of the cultural environment developed by this group of migrants in Paterson.

### **Organization of Chapters**

This study has been organized thematically yet follows a chronological progression of the impact of informality and *recurseo* in the social and economic adjustment of Peruvians in Paterson. Chapter one contextualizes migration to Paterson as result of the development of commercial relations between the United States and Peru. It reveals that American corporations introduced capitalism and modernity and developed international trading routes that ultimately affected the social structures of the nation. Principally, this chapter demonstrates that these international commerce routes served as channels for Peruvians to migrate and settle in New York and New Jersey since the mid-1920s. Chapter two examines how recurrent contexts of economic, political, and social crisis in Peru caused rural-urban migration and ultimately led to a process of international migration. The chapter focuses on the restructuring of Peruvian society due to massive migration of Andean populations to urban centers initiated in the 1940s. The government's failure to address their economic and labor needs prompted provincial migrants to rely on traditional Andean practices to survive in the capital, developing an emergent informal sector that redefined norms, practices, attitudes, and identities. Those Peruvians exhausted from political violence and economic

uncertainty decided to seek better opportunities abroad. Chapter three demonstrates how Peruvians utilized their agency to facilitate migration, labor incorporation, and social adjustment in Paterson. This chapter focuses on the 1960s and 1970s, formative decades in which informal *recurseo* strategies were mobilized to organize and develop emergent social, civic, and religious associations in the new environment. This chapter also analyzes nostalgia and national identity as elements used to strengthen internal ties in order to concretize community building efforts. Chapter four demonstrates how entrepreneurship has distinguished Peruvians from other ethnic groups in the area. Focusing on the decades of 1980 and 1990, this chapter describes the resourceful mechanisms utilized by Peruvians to transition from factory workers to small business entrepreneurs. This chapter demonstrates that the informal habitus of Peruvians prompted them to rely on *recurseo* to launch these business ventures. The chapter also traces how collective agency and a strong sense of nostalgia allowed Peruvian entrepreneurs to consolidate a market for Peruvian products and services in Paterson. Lastly, chapter five reveals how new waves of Peruvian migrants continue relocating and reinforcing the use of informal practices for social and labor adjustment in Paterson while Peruvian entrepreneurs' support of social and cultural activities sustains and strengthens the community. This chapter emphasizes the empowerment acquired by entrepreneurs and social leaders in the new millennium which has been used to claim political rights for the community. The dissertation concludes by reevaluating conventional perspectives on Latino immigration, underlining the ways in which Peruvians and other Latinos creatively exercise agency as they become part of the North American society.

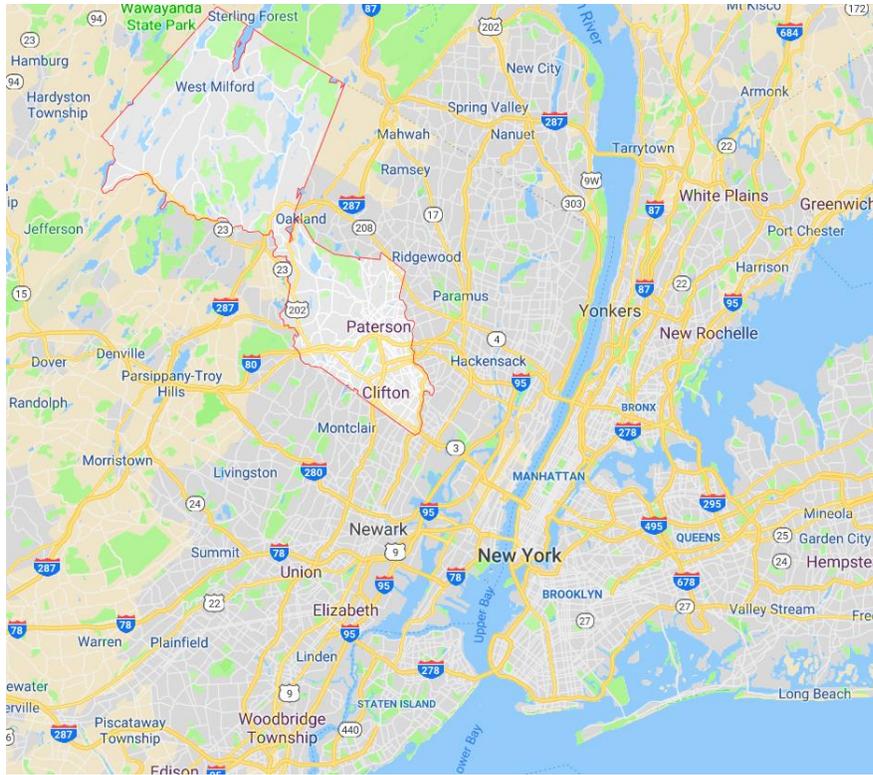
## Note on Terminology

The terms Latino, Hispanic, and Latin American are used interchangeably to describe groups of Hispanic origins living in the United States.<sup>84</sup> With regard to Paterson, when Peruvians refer to this city, they implicitly include the surrounding towns within Passaic county, including Passaic, Clifton, Haledon, Totowa. I use the word *Paterson* as they do to tell the story of Peruvians who live in nearby towns, but work, eat, and socialize in Paterson. Likewise, to avoid entering into the scholarly controversy about the exact limits of ethnic entrepreneurship, I have used this phrase with the terms *ethnic enclaves* and *ethnic enclave economies*. These concepts are all used to refer to the development of small businesses or industries located in an ethnically identifiable neighborhood with a minimum level of institutional completeness, whose owners and workers are immigrants that share a cultural heritage or origin.<sup>85</sup> The concept of ethnic entrepreneurship effectively portrays the experience of thousands of Peruvians that have independently achieved social and economic mobility in the United States while forging a thriving community in Paterson, New Jersey.

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<sup>84</sup> D E Hayes-Bautista, and J Chapa, "Latino terminology: conceptual bases for standardized terminology," *American Journal of Public Health* 77, no. 1, January 1, 1987: 61-68.

<sup>85</sup> Min Zhou, "Revisiting Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Convergences, Controversies, and Conceptual Advancements," *International Migration Review*, 38: 2001, 1040-1074.



Map 1. Passaic County, the city of Paterson, and New York Harbor. *Google Maps.*



Map 2. Paterson city limits and surrounding towns. *Google Maps.*

## Chapter 1:

### History of U.S.-Peruvian Business Relations and Their Effects on the Peruvian

#### Economy, Politics, and Migration to Paterson

“Francamente, nosotros no fuimos los primeros. Sé que otros peruanos vinieron antes que nosotros en los años 30, pero eran unos cuantos. No los conocí. Pero te puedo decir que nosotros fuimos los que iniciamos todo esto.”

Guillermo Callegari, entrepreneur y leader of the Peruvian community of Paterson.

The export of textile machinery and locomotives from Paterson to Lima, established in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, initiated a path of commercial relations between the United States and Peru. Between World War I and World War II, the business interests of U.S. corporations began to exert a powerful influence on the successive Peruvian governments and their domestic policies. The hegemonic presence of American corporations first intervened in diverse sectors of the Peruvian economy and gradually extended its influence to the political and social arena. Contrary to the direct and violent intervention of Washington in other Latin American nations to protect the interests of U.S. companies, the influence of U.S. capital in Peru was indirect and widely consented by Peruvian elites that had governed the country since the inauguration of the Republic in 1821 until the 1960s. However, capitalist penetration by U.S. firms produced substantial changes in Peruvian society that, as was the case with other Latin American countries, stimulated a massive migration of Peruvians to the United States since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive approach to U.S. policy in Central and South America, and the events and conditions this asymmetrical relation produced on international migration see Juan Gonzalez, *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America* (New York: Penguin, 2011).

Contemporary migration scholars have not adequately emphasized the role of U.S. corporations in Peru as a promoter of Peruvian migration to the U.S.<sup>2</sup> This chapter will contextualize the Peruvian migration to Paterson as result of the development of business relations between the United States and Peru. It reveals that Paterson's industries and manufacturers played a central role in the early stages of commercial relations between both nations. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, these business relations extended, and American companies from other states eventually held a primary position in the Peruvian market. This chapter reveals that American capital introduced capitalism and modernity and developed international trading routes that ultimately affected the social structures of the nation and prompted a pattern of migration to the United States.

Nevertheless, the transformation of the Peruvian society was not only driven by U.S. influence in local affairs. This chapter highlights the agency of Peruvian authorities and citizens to accept or challenge the hegemonic presence of the U.S. in Peru and the transformation it caused in the nation. Principally, it demonstrates that migration to the United States initiated as a response of Peruvians to the development of capitalism in the country and the contradictions it generated. In this sense, by analyzing the macro structural and micro social forces in both the Peruvian and American contexts, this chapter provides an understanding of how economic and political interests of U.S. businesses played a central role in the initiation of the Peruvian migration to Paterson, New Jersey during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>2</sup> See the works of Altamirano, *Los que se fueron*; Paerregaard, *Peruvians Dispersed*; Berg and Paerregaard, *El 5to suyo*; Berg, *Mobile Selves*.

## **Paving the Way: Paterson and the Origins of U.S. - Peruvian Commercial Relations**

After independence in 1821, the nascent Peruvian state began to establish international commercial relations with several European countries and the United States. From 1840 to 1880, British capitals controlled the exploitation and export of Peruvian guano, the dried excrement of seabird that was used as fertilizer in agriculture. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, guano trade played a pivotal role in the development of commerce between Peru, Europe, and the United States and was the most important commodity commercialized by the national government. Great Britain also established banks and firms in Peru that provided loans not only to companies involved in the guano commercialization, but also to the Peruvian state in permanent need of monetary funds. Nevertheless, the British control of the Peruvian economy was not absolute. The presence of other nations, such as France, Germany, and Italy, played a significant role in the Peruvian market. Likewise, the initial economic exchange between the United States and Peru, principally through the commercialization of machineries and locomotives, gradually began to expand to the trade of other products and services. North Americans found a niche in the Peruvian market for commodities that British enterprises were not interested in commercializing, or merely provided the capital to finance their commerce.<sup>3</sup>

In this economic context controlled by British capitals, the first business connections between the United States and Peru initiated with the export of textile machinery. As a consequence of the economic boom produced by the exportation of guano to Europe and the United States, the Peruvian government, led by President Ramon Castilla, began to invest in different industries after 1840. The Peruvian Congress passed a series of laws to promote the

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<sup>3</sup> See Heraclio Bonilla, "La emergencia del control norteamericano sobre la economía peruana: 1850-1930," in *Desarrollo Economico* 16, No. 64, 1977: 581-600.

development of modern factories in Lima as an attempt to forge a modern economy and society. The most ambitious industrial project of all was the cotton textile mill Los Tres Amigos, envisioned by Juan Norberto Casanova, in his *Ensayo economico-politico sobre el porvenir de la industria algodonera fabril del Perú*. In this manuscript, Casanova recounts his visit to the United States in 1846, in which he became fascinated with the cotton industry. After this journey, Casanova and other Peruvian investors founded Los Tres Amigos textile factory in 1848 with machines shipped from Paterson, New Jersey.<sup>4</sup> The Peruvian government conceded Los Tres Amigos exclusive rights to cotton production for the nation. However, in 1852 the factory closed down as a consequence of international competition.<sup>5</sup>

The first efforts to industrialize Peru coincided with the industrial development of textile production in Paterson. In the same decade, Paterson emerged as one of the most important textile centers in America, while also developing industries in machine works, firearms, and locomotives. In the following decades the commercial relationship between Peru and Paterson increased as a result of the greater economic presence of the United States in Peru after the Civil War. Guano was the main product commercialized, but silver and wool were also traded between the two countries.<sup>6</sup> From 1865 to 1879, the exports from Peru to the United States raised from \$ 250,815,000 to \$410,857,859, and the imports from the United States to Peru raised \$781,386 to \$1,305,362. By 1880, the share of exports and imports between the United States and Peru increased by 40% in contrast to the previous decade.<sup>7</sup> However, although the economic presence of the United States in Peru was important, the

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<sup>4</sup> Juan Norberto Casanova, *Ensayo económico-político sobre el porvenir de la industria algodonera fabril en el Perú*, 1849 (Lima: Centro Peruano de Historia Económica, 1972), 110.

<sup>5</sup> Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la Republica del Peru, 1822-1933*, 6. Ed. (Lima: Editorial Universitaria, 1968) v. 3, 185.

<sup>6</sup> For the global importance of Peruvian guano see Gregory T. Cushman, *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> Bonilla, "La emergencia," 584.

British continued to dominate Peru's foreign commerce and did so until the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup>

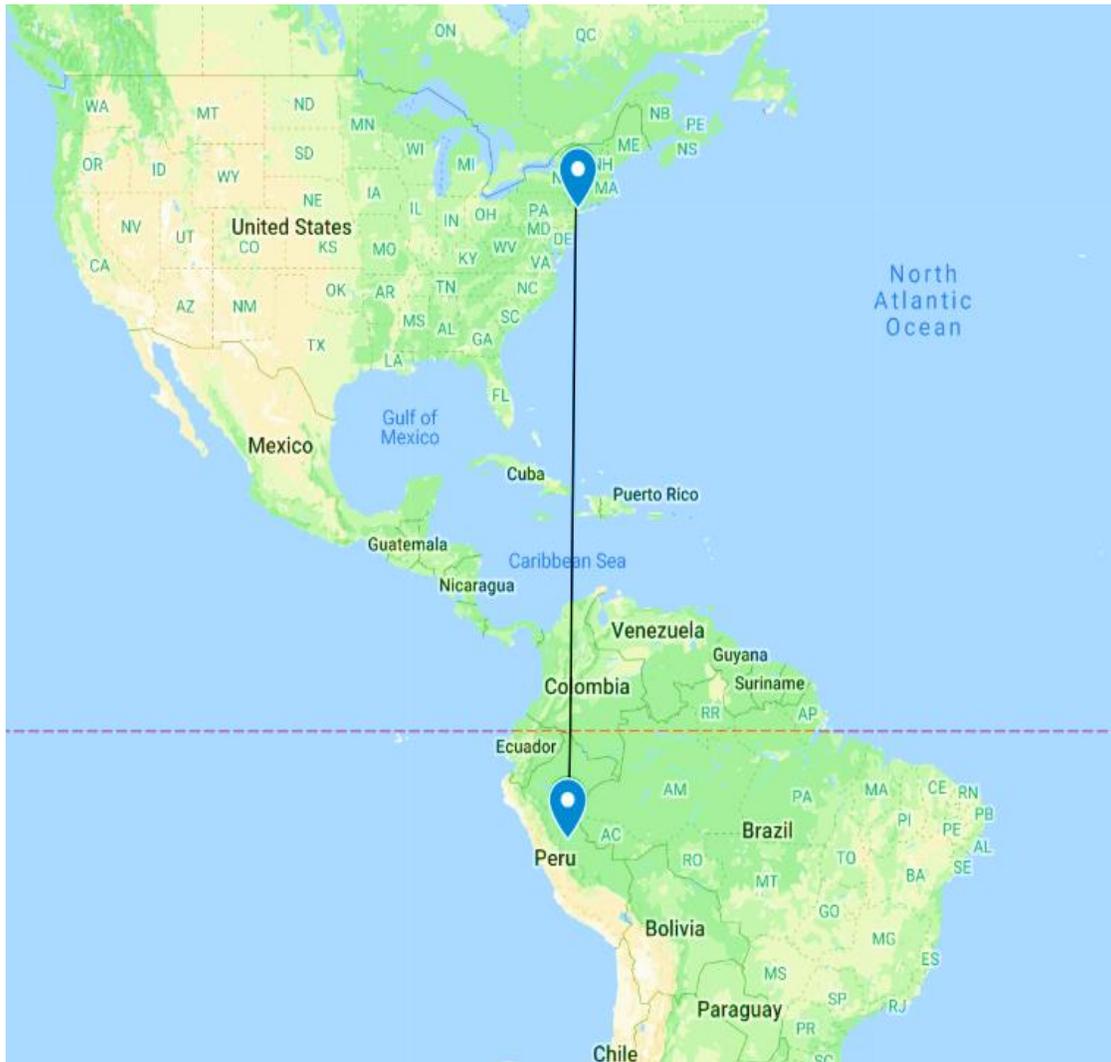
The United States held a secondary position in the Peruvian market after Great Britain, but the prospect of building an extensive system of railroads in Peru presented an interesting economic opportunity for American businessman, traders, and adventurers who began settling in Peru during the 1860s. Following a pattern common to all Latin American countries, the building of railroads in Peru in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was promoted by the government as an attempt to modernize and transform the nation. The project of progressive and liberal Peruvian politicians materialized with the arrival of American entrepreneurs who intensified relations between the United States and Peru and opened the doors for the arrival of Americans seeking for lucrative economic opportunities.

Henry Meiggs was the most influential of all American entrepreneurs that settled in Peru after the 1850s. A native from New York, Meiggs was appointed by the Peruvian government to develop different railroad projects throughout the nation. Thus, through the import of locomotives, Paterson and Peru consolidated their commercial liaison that had begun decades before with the export of textile technology from Paterson to Lima. The Rogers Locomotive Works, Danforth and Cooke Company, and Grant Locomotive Company were located in Paterson, and at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were the largest manufacturers of train engines in the United States.<sup>9</sup> During the same decades, the Peruvian government tried to consolidate the expansion of the railroad system in Peru as part of a plan focused on national political, economic, and social integration. To achieve this goal, the government began developing various railroad projects in different Peruvian regions that eventually

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<sup>8</sup> Lawrence A. Clayton, *Peru and the United States: The Condor and the Eagle* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press), 53. See also Bonilla, "La emergencia del control norteamericano," 581-600.

<sup>9</sup> Paterson Friends of the Great Falls, "The Rogers Locomotive Works," accessed April 23, 2017, <http://patersongreatfalls.org/rogers.html>



Map 3. Paterson and Peru. *Google Maps*.

required the purchase of locomotives and coach cars. For the construction of the Central Railway, the most important project of the government, Meiggs ordered several Rogers and Danforth-Cooke locomotives from Paterson.<sup>10</sup>

Henry Meiggs was the first American entrepreneur with direct influence in the Peruvian economy, politics, and society.<sup>11</sup> Meiggs' faith in the railroads and industrialization prompted the Peruvian government to initiate other ambitious projects to "modernize Lima and Callao with broad boulevards, modern housing, new port facilities, and other trappings and sinews of a modern metropolis."<sup>12</sup> Meiggs advocated for the construction of these public works and lobbied for his modernizing vision to the high spheres of the government. However, his visions and projects left an increasing debt with other countries as the Peruvian economy grew inflated on speculation and easy loans contracted in the early 1870s.<sup>13</sup> When Meiggs died in 1877 the Peruvian government used guano revenues to continue financing many of the public works he left incomplete. Thus, the depletion of guano reserves and excessive borrowing ruined the Peruvian economy and hypothecated the nation's future.

The War of the Pacific (1879-1883), from which Peru and Bolivia lost vast territories to Chile, drove the Peruvian economy to bankruptcy and marked the prospect of the nation. After the war, the Peruvian state, overwhelmed by unpaid bonds and loans borrowed during the Guano Era and The War of the Pacific, was forced to rely on foreign investors to pay its debts. During these tumultuous times, the figure of William Russel Grace emerged. He was an Irish immigrant who escaped the potato famine and settled in Peru with his family in the

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<sup>10</sup> Rodrigue Lévesque, *Railways of Peru* (Gatineau, Québec: Lévesque, 2008), 4, 19. For a complete list of locomotives manufactured in Paterson for the Trans Andean Railway see Federico Costa y Laurent, *Reseña histórica de los Ferrocarriles del Perú* (Lima, Peru: Ministerio de Fomento, 1908), 166.

<sup>11</sup> Clayton, *Peru and the United States*, 54.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>13</sup> For a complete review of Enrique Meiggs' legacy see the works of Clayton, *Peru and the United States*, 57; Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú, 1822-1933*, 6. Ed. (Lima: Editorial Universitaria, 1968) v. 4, 185; Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, *Historia del Perú Contemporáneo: desde las luchas por la independencia hasta el presente* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2013), 153; Carlos Contreras and Osmar Gonzales, *Perú: La Apertura Al Mundo* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre, 2015), 163.

1850s. He began working as a clerk in the already established English firm Bryce & Co. that commercialized guano. In a few years, he became a partner in the business, and the firm changed its name to Bryce, Grace & Co. With the help of his brother Michael P. Grace, the firm became Grace Brothers & Co., and in 1866 was relocated to New York. The commercial house grew in importance, its operations broadened and rapidly became the leading American house conducting business in Peru.<sup>14</sup> But the political and economic influence of Casa Grace, as it was known in Peru, strengthened after The War of the Pacific.

In 1886, the foreign creditors of Peru, principally from British capitals, requested that the Peruvian government pay its debt that involved the total amount of \$250,000,000 in gold.”<sup>15</sup> The War of the Pacific seriously weakened Peru’s economy and the government had difficulty repaying all it had borrowed. The Peruvian government looked to Grace Brothers & Co. to attempt a debt settlement. In this settlement, Michael P. Grace negotiated that the debt be absolved in exchange for the rights to two state-owned railroads for 66 years, two million tons of guano, a government promise to pay shareholders 80,000 pounds sterling annually for 33 years, and ownership of the lucrative Cerro de Pasco silver mines.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, most of the contracts for supplying constructions of railroads in the following years were awarded to Casa Grace.

In 1873, the commercial relations between the United States and Peru increased after Casa Grace established a merchant line between the east coast of the United States and the pacific coast of South America. Grace Line was the pioneer in regular steamship service and increased the movement of commodities and people between Peru and the United States

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<sup>14</sup> Compress Air, New York City, April 1904, W. R. Grace & Co. Records 1828 -1986; Box 122, series VII; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo*, 185.

since the opening of the route New York-Callao in 1893.<sup>17</sup> The monopolization of the production, commercialization, and transportation of most of the Peruvian resources by Casa Grace and its subsidiaries in the United States encouraged a major presence of U.S. capital in Peru.<sup>18</sup>

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, W. R. Grace & Co. was the most important agent representing the commercial interests of American companies in Peru. They acquired important sugar plantations in the north, distributed Peruvian nitrates in the United States, and expanded their commercial interests to the textile industry. In 1890, they acquired the Vitarte Cotton Mill, which had belonged to Los Tres Amigos, the failed first government sponsored attempt at industrializing the nation four decades earlier. Grace Brothers & Co. bought the Vitarte Cotton Mill (1890), La Victoria (1898), and El Inca (1905)<sup>19</sup>, which eventually formed the cornerstone of Peru's modern industrial society. Furthermore, the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914, prompted Grace Line to expand steamship service between New York and several Peruvian ports, increasing the transportation of materials and resources between the two countries. In 1916, the U.S. enjoyed an overwhelming 60% share of Peruvian exports and imports as a consequence of the decline of British investments in Peru during World War I.<sup>20</sup>

The hegemonic presence of North American corporations in Peru correspond with the decline of the British influence in the Peruvian economy after World War I. Historians assert that, by 1920, the United States surpassed Great Britain as the most important international

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<sup>17</sup> "Preparing for Opening of the Panama Canal in Eighteen Months by Building Steamships," *New York Herald*, Sunday, January 28, 1912. W. R. Grace & Co. Records 1828 -1986; Box 122, series VII; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

<sup>18</sup> See the works of Bonilla, "La Emergencia," 597; Clayton, *Peru and the United States*, 58.

<sup>19</sup> Denis Sulmont, María Elvira Bermúdez, and Francisco Durand, *Historia del movimiento laboral textil* (Lima, Perú: Núcleo Laboral, Centro de Proyección Social del Programa de Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad Católica, 1978), 2.

<sup>20</sup> Bonilla, "La Emergencia," 589.

power in Peru.<sup>21</sup> At the end of the Great War, as Britain's economy deteriorated, the country stopped sending commercial ships to engage in trade with Peru. Between 1919 and 1930, President Augusto B. Leguía consolidated commercial relations with the United States by welcoming large U.S. corporations, such as the Cerro de Pasco Corporation and the International Petroleum Company (IPC). He also allowed Grace Company to expand its operations in the country. As a consequence, U.S. investments in Peru increased from \$6 million in 1900 to \$200 million in 1920, considerably surpassing British investments of \$125 million in 1925.<sup>22</sup> This investment of capital generated an economic boom that prompted Leguía to finance ambitious projects and infrastructure such as boulevards, cable cars, schools, and hospitals. The Leguía regime borrowed more than \$100 million from U.S. private firms and banks with exorbitant commissions for Peruvian negotiators.<sup>23</sup> Leguía generated a relation of dependency with U.S. capitals attuned to the interests of Washington in consolidating his commercial and political hegemony in the region following the Good Neighbor policy towards Latin America.<sup>24</sup>

### **The Americanization of the Peruvian Economy, Politics, and Society**

Scholarship that has traced the rise of capitalism in emerging contemporary societies explains the mechanisms used by leading nations to enter poor countries in search of land, raw materials, labor, and new consumer markets. According to these studies, capitalist nations used multinational corporations to penetrate into local markets and gradually exert an undisputed control over its economy. Additionally, economic interests of these corporations adjusted to the political, economic, and cultural projects of local elites, who facilitated the

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<sup>21</sup> See the works of Peruvian historians Bonilla, "La Emergencia"; Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú Contemporáneo*; Contreras and Gonzales, *Perú: La Apertura al Mundo*.

<sup>22</sup> McClintock and Vallas, *The United States*, 14.

<sup>23</sup> James Carey, *Peru and the United States, 1900-1962* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1964), 72.

<sup>24</sup> Contreras and Gonzales, *Perú: La Apertura Al Mundo*, 85 and 90.

penetration of foreign investments by offering their nation's resources on acceptable terms.<sup>25</sup> This trend of capitalist expansion was replicated in Peru after WWI.

Since 1920, U.S. corporations and capitals dominated the Peruvian economy with the consent of the government in power. Peruvian historiography has referred to this process as the Americanization of the Peruvian economy and highlights how the exploitation of natural resources and the movement of commodities between Peru, the United States, and the rest of the world was controlled by American capital.<sup>26</sup> Particularly, this literature emphasizes the development of U.S. enclaves by multinational corporations operating in a localized Peruvian region. The territories in which U.S. companies operated in Peru were considered American territory within the Peruvian state.

In the oil and mining sector, two corporations in particular, the International Petroleum Company and the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, developed American enclaves in which these companies exploited the natural resources of the nation without modernizing the region in which they operated. These enclaves formed company towns in remote regions of the country, using their own technology, supplies, and expertise relocated from the United States. Most importantly, U.S. enclaves sent all profits out of the country without reinvesting in the local economies and the well-being of native populations.<sup>27</sup>

In agriculture, the *hacienda* system was the central institution operating in Peru since colonial times to consolidate the political and economic power held by elites. One of the most prominent Peruvian historians, Jorge Basadre, coined the expression Aristocratic

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<sup>25</sup> Douglass Massey et al. provide a comprehensive approach on the impact of capitalist development on international migration. See Massey, et al., "Theories of International Migration," 444 - 445.

<sup>26</sup> See the works of Peruvian historians Bonilla, "La Emergencia"; Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú Contemporáneo*; Contreras and Gonzales, *Perú: La Apertura al Mundo*.

<sup>27</sup> For a comparison of the development of enclave economies in Latin America see: Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press; 2003); Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press; 1979); David E. Hojman, *From Mexican Plantations to Chilean Mines: The Theoretical and Empirical Relevance of Enclave Theories in Contemporary Latin America* (Centre for Latin American Studies, University of Liverpool; 1983.)

Republic to refer to the political and economic dominance of the Peruvian oligarchy which controlled all mining and agricultural exports between 1900 and 1930.<sup>28</sup> They formed an Oligarchic State that extended its power until the 1960s, composed by landowners (*hacendados*), bankers, and local political authorities (*gamonales*). The Peruvian aristocracy sponsored many important political figures, including several presidents as well as ministers, congressmen, and members of various boards of directors of important companies. Economically, the Peruvian aristocracy applied liberal economic measures recommended by American corporations to mobilize internal resources of the country, inserted them in international markets, and generated profits to benefit the economic interests of local and foreign groups. In association with American capital, these elites developed a lucrative business from the cultivation, production, and export of sugar cane. For instance, since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, W.R. Grace consolidated the land tenure system into sugar production. By 1930, Casa Grace acquired Cartavio, one of the three largest *haciendas* of the country that milled sugar.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, W.R. Grace was also a pioneer in airline transportation with Pan American Grace Airways and a long time investor in the textile industry.<sup>30</sup>

Besides investments in the mining and agro industry, renowned U.S. firms directly controlled the Peruvian market of goods through agencies such as Singer Sewing Machine, National Paper and Type Co., and the United States Steel Corporation.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, U.S. financial institutions such as J.W Seligman and Co. and the National City Bank of New York established branches in Peru to control the financing sector. These banks provided capital to

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<sup>28</sup> Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú (1822-1933)* T. 11 (El Comercio, Lima, Perú: 2005), 38.

<sup>29</sup> Peter F. Klaren, "The Sugar Industry in Peru," *Revista de Indias*, vol. LXV, núm. 233, 2005: 33-48, 42.

<sup>30</sup> Accounts from Peruvians that began migrating massively to Paterson during the 1960s confirmed that they used of Pan American-Grace Airways (Panagra) to flight to the Silk City.

<sup>31</sup> Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Peru Contemporaneo*, 597.

*hacendados* and other Peruvian entrepreneurs that commercialized cotton, sugar, and service industries. These American firms also acquired Peruvian bonds in the United States that tied the Peruvian external debt to the economic interests of these financial institutions. During its regime, President Leguía increased the financing dependence of the Peruvian state on these U.S. firms through the acquisition of additional loans to finance public works that, in subsequent years, would hypothecate the nation's economy.

The business interests of U.S. corporations in Peru were protected by Washington, who encouraged the Peruvian government to facilitate the operations of these companies in the exploitation of natural resources. The liberalization of the Peruvian market, the penetration of American corporations in the productive sectors of the country, and lobbying for these concessions were possible with the intervention of the Department of State and its diplomats in Peru.<sup>32</sup> Thus, economic relations with the United States were sustained through political actions. During the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Peruvian governments expected to gain the support of the United States in the unresolved territorial disputes of the nation with its neighbors. Peruvian presidents encouraged successive U.S. administrations to participate and led the negotiations for treaties that eventually resolved the territorial conflicts with Chile, Ecuador, and Colombia.

Most importantly, the presence of American corporations and citizens was welcomed by Peruvian oligarchs seeking support for their modernizing, racializing, and civilizing projects. The Peruvian aristocracy welcomed white immigrants and American capital as a means of modernizing the nation and “improving the race” and culture of indigenous populations, blamed for the underdevelopment of the country.<sup>33</sup> Particularly from the 1920s

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<sup>32</sup> Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Peru Contemporaneo*, 599.

<sup>33</sup> Contreras and Gonzales, *Peru: La Apertura Al Mundo*, 245.

to 1940s, U.S. specialists, administrators, and personnel began to work for U.S corporations operating in Peru and began to occupy important positions in the Peruvian state administration. For instance, American investors were authorized by the Peruvian government to reorganize Peruvian customs and to eradicate the yellow fever through the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>34</sup> Other American citizens became small business owners in Peru. They opened restaurants and bars in Lima, such as the renowned Bar Morris, founded by Victor V. Morris in 1916 and the first drive-in Cream Rica, opened by Gordon Berry in 1934.<sup>35</sup> In subsequent years, the aperture to U.S. capitals made possible the arrival of American values and aesthetics that changed the style and tastes of the Peruvian upper and middle classes that abandoned European models in favor of American products and styles. Peruvian elites governed the nation seeking modernization through railways, cars, machines, electricity, radio and highways, and trying to maintain their hegemonic control of the social order. Local elites did not open channels to generate a process of political and economic democratization that would have included a more agentive participation for working class citizens. They employed authoritarianism and paternalism as a means of dominating and excluding peasants and indigenous populations from voting and participating in politics. As historian Nelson Manrique concludes, Peruvian aristocracy “aspired to modernization without modernity.”<sup>36</sup>

However, the commercial trade between Peru and the United States was affected by the U.S. stock market crash of 1929, which caused the prices of many exports to drastically decline. Without the support of U.S. buyers, Peru eventually defaulted on its massive foreign

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<sup>34</sup> Contreras and Gonzales, *Perú: La Apertura Al Mundo*, 104-105.

<sup>35</sup> Pisco Sour, a famous Peruvian cocktail, was created in Bar Morris during the 1920s. See Guillermo Toro-Lira, *History of Pisco in San Francisco: A Scrapbook of First Hand Accounts* (Scotts Valley, California: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2010) and Subgerencia de Comunicaciones e imagen institucional, “Primeras Bodegas o Pulperías, Municipalidad de Surquillo,” accessed January 30, 2019, <http://www.munisurquillo.gob.pe/distrto/bodegas.pdf>.

<sup>36</sup> Contreras and Gonzales, *Perú: La Apertura Al Mundo*, 140

loans acquired in the 1920s. By 1930, the Peruvian economy collapsed and president Leguía's government was overthrown.<sup>37</sup> The Peruvian population was discontent about the free-market economic model and also over the resolution on border treaties perceived as catastrophic for the interests of the nation. Anti-American attitudes from the popular sectors were agitated by new political leaders that emerged from the left, such as Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, who founded the America Popular Revolutionary Alliance party (APRA) and José Carlos Mariátegui that formed the Peruvian Socialist Party. They articulated a nationalistic view on foreign policy and expressed a clear anti-imperialist doctrine that attracted the lower-class sectors of the society.<sup>38</sup>

After the U.S. Stock Market Crash of 1929, trade with the United States continued to decrease until 1940. Exports from Peru to the United States declined from \$74,656,809 in 1920 to \$12,813,000 in 1938, as the combined share of Peruvian exports and imports diminished from 50% to 22%.<sup>39</sup> The military governments of Luis Sanchez Cerro (1931-1933) and Oscar Benavides (1933-1939) refused to pay the accumulated debts, and international banking institutions stopped offering new loans to the Peruvian state. The economic policies enacted by the Peruvian government, which tried to maintain the country's sustainability through the export of raw materials, most directly affected the poorest sectors of the population. Factories began to close, workers lost their jobs, and the working classes and emergent political parties began to challenge the economic measures dictated by the interests of elites and U.S. capital.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Cynthia McClintock and Fabian Vallas, *The United States and Peru: Cooperation at a Cost* (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2003), 15.

<sup>38</sup> See Peter Klarén, *Nación y sociedad en la historia del Perú* (Lima: IEP, 2008), 315-324.

<sup>39</sup> Bonilla, "La Emergencia," 600.

<sup>40</sup> Contreras and Gonzales, *Perú: La Apertura al mundo*, 25-26.

During the 1930s, new European ideological and political currents began to emerge within the urban middle and lower classes. Anarchist, socialist, and communist ideas contributed to the development of an incipient proletarian sector in cities and rural areas that began to question the oligarchic project that defended foreign interests. During the same decade critical indigenous ideologies emerged. The indigenist movement caught the attention of some intellectuals and politicians who tried to denounce the exploitative conditions that landowners and American corporations inflicted on indigenous workers. Although a more inclusive process of democratization began with the participation of working class citizens in national elections, a small group of oligarchs still controlled Peru's politics and economy in alliance with American capital.<sup>41</sup>

In 1939, Manuel Prado, a U.S. supporter, was elected president, and U.S.-Peruvian commercial and political relations were revived. During World War II, the American demand for Peruvian exports increased, and the Peruvian economy recovered. Washington welcomed the presidential triumph of Jose Luis Bustamante y Rivero in 1945. During the two decades following the war, the U.S. again expanded its influence in the Peruvian economy still controlled by the aristocracy.

### **U.S. Commercial Relations with Peru and the Beginnings of the Peruvian Migration to Paterson**

Peruvian historiography has emphasized how commercial relations and transportation routes established at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century facilitated the rise of North American control over the Peruvian economy. However, scholarship has not sufficiently explored the ways in which these commercial routes created a pathway for the international movement of workers

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<sup>41</sup> Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, *Perú: Mirando hacia adentro* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre, 2015), 49 – 53.

between both countries. The increasing commercial activity between the United States and Peru required a fluid movement of Peruvian and American citizens working for American companies with businesses that connected the two nations.<sup>42</sup> Thus, since the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, commercial relations and transportation routes connecting the ports of the United States and Peru were utilized by American employees working for U.S. companies in Peru. Similarly, Peruvian workers employed by American corporations began to travel to the East coast of the United States, which eventually resulted in a permanent flow of Peruvians to the New York and New Jersey area.

Economic perspectives on immigration explains that the initiation of labor migration in modern society occurs as a consequence of the expansion of capitalism throughout the world market.<sup>43</sup> Sociologist Douglas Massey argues that “The penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate abroad.”<sup>44</sup> In fact, the necessity to move commodities and machinery, commercialize raw materials, and administer business operations in subsidiaries located abroad stimulated multinational corporations to develop international commerce. The expansion of transportation and communication infrastructure promoted the movement of people from capitalist to non-capitalist nations by reducing the time and cost of the journey. Furthermore, the international movement of labor followed the international movement of goods and capital in the opposite direction.<sup>45</sup> In this sense, transnational corporations mobilized highly skilled workers to their branches operating in developing nations, which also included a parallel movement of managers, technicians, and other skilled workers.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> McClintock and Vallas, *The United States and Peru*, 12 – 13.

<sup>43</sup> The article written by Douglas Massey et al. provides a comprehensive analysis of most economic theories that explain international migration. See Massey, et al., “Theories of International Migration.”

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 444.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 446.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 433.

Eventually, a migratory process from semi-capitalist to capitalist societies developed following the trading and transportation routes initially developed by multinational corporations.

Since the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, capitalist development in Peru produced the movement of workers between the United States and Peru. Skilled workers from the United States began arriving in Peru to work as engineers or office workers in the diverse industrial and transportation projects planned by the Peruvian government. For instance, citizens from New Jersey working for Grace Brothers & Co. made business trips to Peru. In May 1891, Daniel L. Stevens from East Orange, New Jersey was hired by W. R. Grace & Co. for five years to increase the volume of manufactured goods for the company in Peru and other South American countries.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, memorandums for advertisement in New York newspapers demonstrate that during these decades W. R. Grace & Co. required bilingual stenographers to work in South America.<sup>48</sup>

This flow of American expertise increased in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the Peruvian state continued to order the production of locomotives manufactured abroad. The commercial connection with Paterson continued during the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the acquisition of new engines from the American Locomotive Company (ALCo), which absorbed Rogers, Danforth Cooke and other locomotive companies formed in Paterson decades earlier.<sup>49</sup> Because of Peru's dependence on the export of locomotives and coach cars manufactured in the factories in Paterson, American engineers and technicians began to settle in Peru at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, in January 1920, George M. Dunning

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<sup>47</sup> New York and Pacific Steamship Company V. 1. W. R. Grace & Co. Records 1828 -1986; Box 139, series VII; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

<sup>48</sup> New York and Pacific Steamship Company V. 1. W. R. Grace & Co. Records 1828 -1986; Box 139, series VII; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

<sup>49</sup> Lu Ann De Cunzo, "Household, Economics, and Ethnicity in Paterson's Dublin, 1829-1915: The Van Houston Street Parking Lot Block," *Northeast Historical Archeology*, Vol. 11, Issue 1, 1982: 9.



Map 4. Commercial routes linking the ports of Peru and New York. W.R. Grace & Co. records, 1828-1986 bulk 1861-1960, Columbia University, Box 156.

received authorization from Cooke Locomotive Works to travel to Peru to erect the new locomotives operated in the new railway Talara-Negritos, owned by the International Petroleum Company, a subsidiary from the Standard Oil from New Jersey.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, William McMillian, an American technician from Paterson, traveled to Peru in 1921 to work for the Cerro de Pasco Cooper Corporation.<sup>51</sup>

While American skilled workers traveled to Peru to engage in railroad construction and other commercial endeavors, Peruvian citizens also began to travel and migrate to New Jersey. Some Peruvians moved temporarily while others settled permanently in the Garden State. The U.S. Census of 1900 and 1910 accounted for less than fifty people born in Peru living in New Jersey. Most of these Peruvians were born from European ancestors from Italy, France, or England,<sup>52</sup> while others were son or daughters of American citizens that lived and worked in Peru. Their Peruvian-born children eventually returned to the United States as adults. Similarly, female Peruvians migrated to the United States with their American husbands who worked for U.S. companies established in Peru.<sup>53</sup> Other Peruvians migrated to New Jersey at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to serve as skilled or semi-skilled workers. The United Census of Merchant Seamen of 1930 indicates that a group of eleven temporary Peruvians worked on U.S. vessels as merchantmen and traveled between ports in Peru, New Jersey, and other ports of the world. Some of them, such as Armando Nuñez, established

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<sup>50</sup>National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; NARA Series: *Passport Applications: Chicago, New York City, New Orleans, San Francisco and Seattle, 1914-1925*; Box #: 4143; Volume #: *Volume 05: Special Series - New York*, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

GVA, "Conexión histórica entre Paterson y el Perú," *Peruvian Parade Inc.* 30<sup>th</sup> Aniversario. Edición Especial #30, Julio 28, 2016, 39.

<sup>51</sup> National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; NARA Series: *Passport Applications: Chicago, New York City, New Orleans, San Francisco and Seattle, 1914-1925*; Box #: 4143; Volume #: *Volume 05: Special Series - New York*, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

<sup>52</sup> 1900 U.S. Census, New Jersey, Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1900. T623, 1854 rolls, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

<sup>53</sup> National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; NARA Series: *Emergency Passport Applications, Argentina thru Venezuela, 1906-1925*; Volume #: *Volume 001: Peru, Consular Registration Certificates, compiled 1907-1918*. ARC ID: 1244186. *General Records of the Department of State, 1763-2002, Record Group 59. National Archives at Washington, D.C.* Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

permanently in the United States.<sup>54</sup> Immigration records demonstrate that the initial movement of Peruvian citizens to the United States consisted primarily of the migration of sons and daughters of American citizens living in Peru, Peruvian women married to American citizens working in Peru, seamen, and other short-term workers employed by U.S. companies. This pattern of movement will be replicated by other Peruvians working for American companies that began settling along the east coast of the United States in the following decades.

### **The Invisible Pioneers: The First Wave of Peruvian Migrants to Paterson, 1920-1950**

The flow of Peruvian workers to the United States, particularly to the New York-New Jersey area, soon augmented, and their sojourn became permanent. During the 1920s, Peruvians began settling in Paterson and nearby towns in Passaic County. Scholars have cited the recruitment of Peruvian skilled workers by U.S. textile factories as the origins of the Peruvian migration to Paterson. Teófilo Altamirano, the pioneer researcher of the Peruvian diaspora, sustains that the first wave of Peruvian migrants to the New Jersey-New York area initiated when textile workers, mostly from working class neighborhoods of Lima, began to move to Paterson after American factories operating in Peru sponsored their relocation to its subsidiaries by 1930.<sup>55</sup> Other scholars, such as Karsten Paerregaard and Ulla D. Berg, have cited Altamirano's argument; however, both of these researchers have included footnotes mentioning his lack of evidence to support his claims.<sup>56</sup> To date, there is no evidence to support Altamirano's argument that Peruvian migration to Paterson began as a direct result of

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<sup>54</sup> National Archives at Boston; Waltham, Massachusetts; ARC Title: *Petitions and Records of Naturalization, 2/1842 - ca. 1991*; NAI Number: 3432872; Record Group Title: *Records of District Courts of the United States, 1685-2009*; Record Group Number: *RG 21 Naturalization Records*. National Archives at Boston, Waltham, Massachusetts, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

<sup>55</sup> Altamirano, *Los que se fueron*, 12.

<sup>56</sup> These scholars also indicated that some politicians from the Apra party who were exiled to New York by the Peruvian government arrived to Paterson during the 1920s. However, they do not provide evidence of this movement. See Paerregaard, *Peruvians Dispersed*, 62; Berg and Paerregaard, *El 5to suyo*, 14.

the relocation of skilled textile laborers from Peru to Paterson. However, what is evident is that at the turn of the century Peruvians who migrated to New Jersey followed the trading routes established by American corporations with investments in Peru and made use of familial ties to settle in the United States. The first Peruvians who arrived in Paterson between 1920 and 1940 used the same mechanisms for migration and settlement in the Silk City.

According to the U.S. Census of 1940, of the 139,656 inhabitants residing in Paterson, there were 11,631 Italians, 4,558 Polish, 2,485 Germans, and 2,368 Russians, the major immigrant groups in the area.<sup>57</sup> There were only 116 Central and South Americans, among them less than a dozen Peruvians.<sup>58</sup> By mid-1920s, the first Peruvians began settling in Paterson and nearby towns independently, as a consequence of the booming textile industry that made Paterson one of the most prosperous cities in the East. Evidence from immigration and naturalization records demonstrate that the first Peruvians in Paterson entered the United States as merchant seamen working in the vessels of Grace Line traveling mostly between ports in Peru and New York.<sup>59</sup> Some of these Peruvians settled first in New

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<sup>57</sup> 1940 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, *Statistics for Census Tracts, Paterson, N.J.*, 934, Census.gov, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://www.census.gov>

<sup>58</sup> Ema Rensch, Manuel Cuentas, Frank Maravi, Ricardo Tello, Luis de la Flor Cosio, Manuel Tarazona, Victor Tarazona, and Carlos Cubillas were some of the few Peruvians living in Paterson.

1930 U.S. Census, Emma Rensch, Passaic, Passaic, New Jersey; Roll: 1378; Page: 15B; Enumeration District: 0161; Image: 349.0; FHL microfilm: 2341113, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

1920 U.S. Census, Manuel Cueritas, Paterson Ward 9, Passaic, New Jersey; Roll: T625\_1066; Page: 1B; Enumeration District: 130; Image: 84, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

1930 U.S. Census, Frank Maravi in household of Ciro Allard, Paterson, Passaic, New Jersey, United States; citing enumeration district (ED) ED 65, sheet 12B, line 51, family 244, NARA microfilm publication T626, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

1930 U.S. Census, Richard Hopteld, Paterson, Passaic, New Jersey; Roll: 1378; Page: 6A; Enumeration District: 0005; Image: 771.0; FHL microfilm: 2341113, Year: 1930; Census Place: Paterson, Passaic, New Jersey; Roll: 1378; Page: 6A; Enumeration District: 0005; Image: 771.0; FHL microfilm: 2341113

Passaic County, New Jersey, Naturalization Records, Petitions Vol 90 25501-25800, Louis D Cosio, Passaic County Clerk's Office, Public Records Electronic Search System, <http://records.passaiccountynj.org/PRESS/Clerk/ShowDetailsPB.aspx>, accessed April 23, 2017.

1930 U.S. Census, Victor Tarazona, Paterson, Passaic, New Jersey, United States; citing enumeration district (ED) ED 67, sheet 1A, line 41, family 8, NARA microfilm publication T626, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

1930 U.S. Census, Manuel Tarazona, Paterson, Passaic, New Jersey; Roll: 1380; Page: 11B; Enumeration District: 0052; Image: 531.0; FHL microfilm: 2341115, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

Passaic County, New Jersey, Naturalization Records, Petitions Vol 143 44201 44800, Carlos Cubillas, Passaic County Clerk's Office, Public Records Electronic Search System, <http://records.passaiccountynj.org/PRESS/Clerk/ShowDetailsPB.aspx>, accessed April 23, 2017.

<sup>59</sup> Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897, Year: 1922; Arrival: New York, New York; Microfilm Serial: T715, 1897-1957; Microfilm Roll: Roll 3211; Line: 1; Page Number: 127, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

York and then moved to Paterson based on marital relationships acquired with American women with familial ties in Paterson.<sup>60</sup> Other Peruvian seamen moved to Paterson independently, looking for better living and working opportunities (see figure 1).

The demographic background of the pioneer group of Peruvians that settled in Paterson demonstrates that they were between 20 and 30 years old and mostly semi-skilled male laborers from Lima. Although U.S. Census data demonstrates the presence of Peruvian women in New Jersey since the turn of the century, the migration of women in this early flow of Peruvians to Paterson was almost nonexistent.<sup>61</sup> As seafaring men, pioneer Peruvians in Paterson had the necessary skills to incorporate into the textile industries as mechanics or manual laborers. They left their positions as merchant seamen and inserted themselves into the city's industrial and multicultural environment, mostly populated by American-born citizens and European immigrants with whom they worked. Before 1930, the silk industry employed 48.5 percent of Paterson's wage workers, while the textile industry as a whole employed 77.3 percent.<sup>62</sup> For several decades thereafter, jobs were still available for skilled and unskilled workers in any of the hundreds of local factories that manufactured textiles and other related products (See table 1).

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Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897, Year: 1927; Arrival: New York, New York; Microfilm Serial: T715, 1897-1957; Microfilm Roll: Roll 4054; Line: 42; Page Number: 76, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>. The National Archives at Washington, D.C.; Washington, D.C.; *Index to Alien Crewmen Who Were Discharged or who Deserted at New York, New York, May 1917-Nov 1957*; NAI Number: 4497925; Record Group Title: *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004*; Record Group Number: 85

Year: 1922; Arrival: *New York, New York*; Microfilm Serial: T715, 1897-1957; Microfilm Roll: Roll 3211; Line: 1; Page Number: 141  
Year: 1923; Arrival: *New York, New York*; Microfilm Serial: T715, 1897-1957; Microfilm Roll: Roll 3302; Line: 19; Page Number: 179  
Year: 1925; Arrival: *New York, New York*; Microfilm Serial: T715, 1897-1957; Microfilm Roll: Roll 3633; Line: 27; Page Number: 189

<sup>60</sup> 1930 U.S. Census, Richard Hopteld, Paterson, Passaic, New Jersey; Roll: 1378; Page: 6A; Enumeration District: 0005; Image: 771.0; FHL microfilm: 2341113, Year: 1930; Census Place: Paterson, Passaic, New Jersey; Roll: 1378; Page: 6A; Enumeration District: 0005; Image: 771.0; FHL microfilm: 2341113

1930 U.S. Census, Victor Tarazona, Paterson, Passaic, New Jersey, United States; citing enumeration district (ED) ED 67, sheet 1A, line 41, family 8, NARA microfilm publication T626, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

1930 U.S. Census, Manuel Tarazona, Paterson, Passaic, New Jersey; Roll: 1380; Page: 11B; Enumeration District: 0052; Image: 531.0; FHL microfilm: 2341115, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

<sup>61</sup> Emma Rensch was the only female Peruvian of this pioneer group. See 1920 U.S. Census, *Passaic Ward 4, Passaic, New Jersey*; Roll: T625\_1063; Page: 3A; Enumeration District: 50; Image: 756, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

<sup>62</sup> James, Kenyon, *Industrial Localization and Metropolitan Growth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 62.

2-issued

### REGISTRATION CARD

SERIAL NUMBER *11737* ORDER NUMBER *1164-A*

1. NAME: *Victor Tarazona*

2. PERMANENT HOME ADDRESS: *355 W 11th St NY.*

3. Age in Years: *18* Date of Birth: *Nov. 11.*

RACE:  White  Negro  Oriental  Indian  Hawaiian

U. S. CITIZEN  ALIEN

10. If not a citizen of the U. S., at what nation are you a citizen or subject? *Peru*

11. PRESENT OCCUPATION: *Seaman* EMPLOYER'S NAME: *First White Star Co*

12. PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OR BUSINESS: *Paterson*

13. NEAREST RELATIVE: *Father Peter Tarazona*

I AFFIRM THAT I HAVE VERIFIED ABOVE ANSWERS AND THAT THEY ARE TRUE

*Victor Tarazona*

Figure 1. Victor Tarazona's WWII registration card evidencing his work as a seaman before establishing in Paterson. Ancestry.com, accessed February 15, 2019.

In the first article chronicling the arrival of the first Peruvian migrants to Paterson, Victor Tarazona recalled his arrival in the Silk City. “It was a cold morning of February [1926]. I was needing a job and I found it at the turn of the corner of the first block I walked.”<sup>63</sup> Tarazona’s experience demonstrates that, besides family ties, the abundance of factory job was the overwhelming reason that marked migration to Paterson. Most of these pioneer Peruvians migrated to Paterson during the decade of the Great Depression. As other immigrants, the scarcity of industrial jobs in New York as a consequence of the Great Depression prompted them to look for employment in the remaining industries of Paterson. They endured the adverse economic and social conditions while earning a living in the Silk City. After 1935, a series of political and economic state reforms progressively resolved Paterson’s industrial problems. The city recovered its position as an important center for silk manufacture in America and continued to attract immigrants, among them, some Peruvian seamen.<sup>64</sup>

Maxim Margolis has coined the concept invisible minority to demonstrate that the lack of organization of certain immigrant groups in America did not allow them to form a visible community in the United States and, therefore, their experience remains clandestine and invisible.<sup>65</sup> Peruvians who began to settle in Paterson at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century can be considered an invisible minority as they did not form a cohesive community upon settling. Although some got to know each other and settled relatively near one another, these pioneer Peruvians did not have the assistance of a network of previously established co-nationals that most European migrants had at that time. Family ties, particularly the use of extended

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<sup>63</sup> Victor Tirado, “Peruvians into Paterson is on Upswing,” *Paterson News*, January 31, 1972, 9.

<sup>64</sup> *The Morning Call*, June 12, 1933, 6, Paterson Free Public Library, Paterson, New Jersey.

<sup>65</sup> See Maxine L. Margolis, *An Invisible Minority: Brazilians in New York City* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009).

Table 1: Summary of Characteristics of Peruvians in Passaic County, 1920-1940

Name	Place of Birth	Year of Arrival	Age at Arrival	Previous Occupation	Occupation in Paterson	Civil Status	Children	Residency in Passaic County
Emma Rensh	Peru	1883	24	N/A	House wife	M	3	1920-1930
Manuel Cuentas	Puno, Peru	1912	21	N/A	Installer	M	N/A	1920
Frank Maravi	Peru	1924	33	N/A	Silk Mill	N/A	N/A	1930
Ricardo Tello	Lima, Peru	1925	35	Mechanic	Laborer/ Silk Mill	M	2	1925-1968
Luis De La Flor Cossio	Lima, Peru	1926	20	Seamen	Silk Mill	S	0	1929-1936
Manuel Tarazona	Trujillo, Peru	1923 Approx.	23	Seamen	Dyer	M	1	1930-1975
Victor Tarazona	Lima, Peru	1918	18	Seamen	Dyer	M	1	1926-1986
Carlos Cubillas	Trujillo, Peru	1923	21	Seamen	Mill Worker	M	1	1947-1969

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau 1920, 1930 and 1940 Passaic and Paterson, New Jersey, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

connections among the family of their spouses, facilitated their incorporation into the local job market.

Once settled, this pioneer group of Peruvians built a new life in Paterson. They raised children and continued working as blue-collar laborers until retirement. Victor Tarazona's account is the only first-hand document that provides an approach to the experiences of one of the first Peruvian immigrants in Paterson. Tarazona expressed,

“... [I feel] very happy living here. “I am not a big shot”...“but now I am retired and live decently. I have no complaints of this wonderful country. I love it and I love the democratic system.”<sup>66</sup>

This account demonstrates Tarazona's sense of accomplishment regarding his decision to make a living in the United States. He was content to live a life without luxury, but also without misery. Additionally, he enjoyed being part of a fair society where he earned a regular income after retirement, a social benefit that semi-skilled workers could not attain in Peru. Most importantly, before his death in 1986, Tarazona was one of the few Peruvians from this first wave of immigration that witnessed the development of the Peruvian enclave in Paterson organized by a new flow of migrants that began arriving massively during the 1960s.<sup>67</sup>

According to immigration scholars, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, European and Puerto Rican migrants in the United States communicated and traveled back and forth between their countries of origin and destination. Transnational ties were central to the building of immigrant communities in New York and surrounding areas.<sup>68</sup> Evidence

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<sup>66</sup> Tirado, “Peruvians into Paterson”, 9.

<sup>67</sup> Social Security Administration, New Jersey, *Social Security Death Index, Master File*. Social Security Administration. Number: 156-10-4203, Issue Date: *Before 1951*, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

<sup>68</sup> See the works of Nancy Foner, *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2002; Virginia Sánchez Korrol, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City*, (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1994.



TRIPPLICATE (To be given in duplicate) No. 36647

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

### DECLARATION OF INTENTION

(Invalid for all purposes seven years after the date hereof)

State of New Jersey In the COMMON PLEAS Court  
 Passaic County ss. of Passaic County of Paterson, N. J.

I, RICHARD HOBT TELLO also known as SALVADOR RICARDO TELLO  
 now residing at 20 North 1st Street, Paterson, Passaic County, New Jersey  
 occupation sales age 40 years, do declare to you that my personal history is:  
 sex male color white complexion fair color of eyes blue  
 color of hair black height 7 feet 7 inches weight 160 pounds; visible marks  
 none; nationality Peruvian  
 I was born to Luis and Mary at Sullis August 1st 1890  
 I am married. The name of my wife or husband is Margaret also or he was  
 we were married on May 7 1906 at New York, N. Y. I entered the United States  
 at New York, N. Y. on August 21 1906 for permanent residence therein, and now  
 reside at with no I have 2 children, and the name, date and place of birth,  
 and place of residence of each of said children are as follows:  
Sullis born 5-10-26 at Paterson, N. J. Resides with me  
Margaret born 11-21-27 at Paterson, N. J. Resides with me  
 I have 4 heretofore made a declaration of intention; Number 00  
 at Paterson  
 my last foreign residence was Buenos Aires (Colomb) Paterson  
 I emigrated to the United States of America from Colomb  
 my lawful entry for permanent residence in the United States was at New York New York  
 under the name of Ricardo Salvador Tello January 20th 1906  
 on the vessel San Juan  
 I will, before being admitted to citizenship, renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and particularly, by name, to the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of which I may be at the time of admission a citizen or subject; I am not an anarchist; I am not a polygamist nor a believer in the practice of polygamy; and it is my intention in good faith to become a citizen of the United States of America and to reside permanently therein; and I certify that the photograph affixed to this duplicate and triplicate hereof is a likeness of me. Do swear as God.

Subscribed and sworn to before me in the office of the Clerk of said Court, at Paterson, N. J. this 10th day of June 1940  
 and Donald B. Marsh, Clerk of said Court, being duly sworn, do hereby certify that the lawful entry of the declarant for permanent residence on the date stated above, has been recorded by me. The photograph affixed to the duplicate and triplicate hereof is a likeness of the declarant.

By Donald B. Marsh Clerk,  
Paterson Deputy Clerk.

Form 288-2-A 5000  
 U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR  
 IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

Figure 2. Left, Ricardo Tello stands in the center with his German-American family circa 1940. Right, Ricardo Tello’s declaration of intention showing the change of name to Richard Hobteld. Sources Memorial page of Margaret Denison (nee Hobteld), Settle-Wilder Funeral Home and Passaic County Clerk’s Office Public Records Electronic Search System

demonstrates that, on the contrary, pioneer Peruvians living in the United States maintained a weak contact with family members in Peru. For instance, immigration records indicate that Talalca Tello migrated to Paterson in 1949 to live with her uncle Ricardo Tello.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, in October 1960, Maria Tarazona, Victor Tarazona's sister, had declared Paterson as her final destination. These journeys demonstrate that some of these pioneer Peruvians encouraged the migration of relatives from Peru.<sup>70</sup> However, there is no evidence of a direct connection between this pioneer group and the more organized migration of Peruvians that began to settle in Paterson during the 1960s. Unlike European and Puerto Rican immigrants, pioneer Peruvians did not initiate a structured flow of family-sponsored immigration from Peru mainly because of the distance between Peru and New Jersey, the costs of the journey, and scarce communication with the home country. It is not until the 1960s that a new generation of Peruvian migrants made possible the development of a more organized system of migration. They established businesses that catered to other Peruvians, and the first cultural and religious organizations that supported the arrival of family, friends, and other co-nationals to Paterson. This new generation of migrants provided the foundations of the Peruvian community of Paterson that is still evident today.

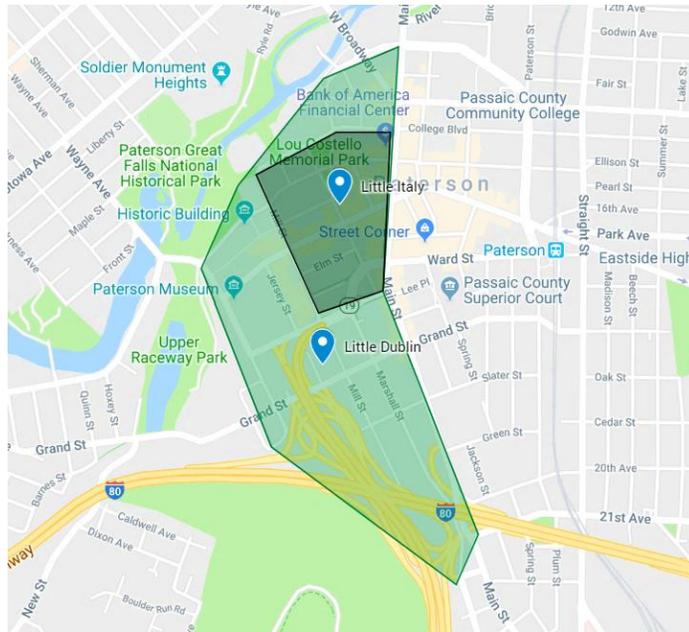
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<sup>69</sup> Napa Valley Register, [http://napavalleyregister.com/news/local/obituaries/tala-dewynter/article\\_1113dad0-2163-5825-aabd-9508f66a6e19.html](http://napavalleyregister.com/news/local/obituaries/tala-dewynter/article_1113dad0-2163-5825-aabd-9508f66a6e19.html), accessed November 20, 2017. The case of Ricardo Tello illustrates how he tried to whitening himself by adopting his German wife's last name (See Figure 2).

<sup>70</sup> Perú, Lima, Registro Civil, 1874-1996 Victor Manuel Tarazona, Lima, Perú, Archivo General de la Nación, Lima (General Archives of the Nation, Lima). GS Film Number 1160330, Digital Folder Number 004254109, Image Number 00142, Familysearch.org, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://familysearch.org>

"Perú, Lima, Registro Civil, 1874-1996," Maria Luisa Tarazona, Lima, Perú, Archivo General de la Nación, Lima (General Archives of the Nation, Lima). GS Film Number 1160540, Digital Folder Number 004254138, Image Number 00462, Familysearch.org, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://familysearch.org>

The National Archives at Washington, D.C., Passenger and Crew Manifests of Airplanes Arriving at Miami, Florida.; NAI Number: 2788541; Record Group Title: Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787 - 2004; Record Group Number: 85, Ancestry.com, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.



Map 5. Map of Little Dublin (1870-1900) and Little Italy (1900-1970). The First ethnic neighborhoods in Paterson. *Google Maps*.



Map 6. Pioneer Peruvians in Paterson. *Google Maps*.

## **Effects of U.S. Capitalist Development in Peru: Structural Changes and the Origins of the Structured Migration of Peruvian Workers to Paterson**

Immigration scholars point out that the development of capitalism in emerging nations caused substantial changes in the structures of local economies, politics, and society, initiating migration to leading nations.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, foreign capital has often been accompanied by the hegemonic relationship between the external capitalist state and the emergent nation. The political influence and control of the capitalist nation is strengthened by direct or indirect political interference in local issues which helps to explain the direction of international migration flows.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, capitalist investments in non-capitalist societies simultaneously forge material and cultural links with foreign countries that ultimately foment transnational migration. Cultural penetration through cosmopolitan lifestyles, ideas of modernity, progress, and development contrast with the conservative customs of local societies. Local populations view the modernism and cosmopolitanism of cities such as Paris, London, and New York as opportunities for higher standards of living in the external country.<sup>73</sup> In the United States, global cities such as New York generate a strong demand for services provided by semi-skilled and unskilled workers, creating a necessity for immigrants.<sup>74</sup> Once immigrant workers settle, patterns of migration continue to operate as a

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<sup>71</sup> Mary Romero, Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, and Vilma Ortiz, *Challenging Fronteras: Structuring Latina and Latino Lives in the U.S.* (London: Routledge, 2014), 82.

<sup>72</sup> Romero, et al., *Challenging Fronteras*, 82.

<sup>73</sup> For a review of theories on international labor migration see: Nancy Foner, Rubén G. Rumbaut, and Steven J. Gold, *Immigration Research for a New Century: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003); Douglas S. Massey, *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005); Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*; Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

<sup>74</sup> Scholars have demonstrated that the capitalist world economy is controlled from global cities, in which banking, finance, administration, professional services, and high-tech production tend to be concentrated. See the works of Manuel Castells, *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Process* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), 1989; Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, and Tokio* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 1988.

result of the formation of well-established structures of transnational social networks that perpetuate lasting migration patterns.<sup>75</sup>

In the Peruvian context, the larger presence of U.S. corporations in the country since 1920 continued to exert its influence in the local politics, economy, and society during the 1950s. Economically, World War II and the Korea War increased the commercial interchange between Peru and the United States during the 1950s. The military government of Manuel A. Odría (1948-1956) forged a strong cooperative relationship with the United States and promoted the expansion of U.S. capitals along the Peruvian territory. He abandoned import-substitution industrialization policies enacted by previous governments and re-established liberalism. During his government, Odría resumed the payment of the foreign debt and fomented additional U.S. investments in the mining and oil sectors by reducing taxes and extending other attractive benefits. Particularly, three U.S. mining companies, the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, the Southern Peru Copper Corporation, and Marcona Mining expanded their operations in Peru. At the end of the Odría's regime, "[the overall] value of U.S. investments in Peru jumped from \$155 million in 1950 to \$304 million in 1955."<sup>76</sup> The elevated economic revenues generated by the incursion of U.S capital in the Peruvian economy materialized in diverse projects to modernize the nation. Odría financed the construction of public works, such as, hospitals, schools, boulevards, parks, and avenues, with the purpose of modernizing the capital city at the level of the most important urban centers of the world.

The process of democratization initiated during the 1930s continued to alter the political environment during the 1950s. Capitalist penetration allowed new social actors from

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<sup>75</sup> Romero, et al., *Challenging Fronteras*, 82.

<sup>76</sup> McClintock and Vallas, *The United States*, 19.

the lower sectors of the population to become more active in the public life. In Lima, modernization augmented social interaction among the working classes and eventually affected the political life of the nation. With the opening of bars, cafes, parks, boulevards, and other recreational facilities during the 1920s and 1930s, new spaces emerged where urban citizens interacted. The formation of working-class neighborhoods or *barrios*, such as La Victoria, Barrios Altos, and Surquillo transformed the city. There, the popular sectors developed new cultural expressions and identities that, in the following decades, would become associated with Peruvian identity. Social life in *barrios* was closely tied to the *criollo* culture. The *criollo* culture reproduced the historical antagonism between the Spanish and Andean world, and placed the white and *criollo* as superior to the Indian/*serrano*.<sup>77</sup> During mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, urban popular sectors shaped the *criollo* identity through food, music, football, and religious manifestations.

In industrial neighborhoods, the *criollo* identity was formed by working class subjects who reinforced familial and friendship ties through godfatherhood (*compradazgo*). Housing in these inner-city working class neighborhoods consisted mostly of narrow alleys (*callejones*) and dwellings (*corralones*), where the *criollo* culture was celebrated and practiced. *Criollo* food and music were essential elements of the *jaranas criollas* (*criollo* gatherings) that every weekend working-class neighbors organized for amusement. Additionally, new sports, such as football and volleyball, introduced at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century popularized during the 1940s and 1950s. These sports were practiced in *barrios* by young generations that organized football clubs, such as Alianza Lima and Sport Boys, strongly tied to the *criollo* identity. Similarly, the most significant *criollo* religious practice

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<sup>77</sup> In the 1960s, Peruvian writer Sebastian Salazar Bondy wrote an essay criticizing the *criollo* culture for constructing a narrative of the national identity associated to a romanticized colonial past in order to preserve its hegemony over Indians and mestizos. See: Sebastian Salazar Bondy, *Lima La Horrible* (Mexico, D.F: Biblioteca ERA, 1968).

emerged from these working class neighborhoods evident, for example, in devotion to the Lord of the Miracles. The religious image of the Lord of the Miracles has toured in procession along the streets of these working-class neighborhoods since the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Devotees and followers formed brotherhoods (*cofradías*) to worship the image of the Lord and organized the procession, among other events, to raise funds for their organizations. Since the 1940s, the procession of the Lord of Miracles and other working-class cultural practices related to the *criollo* culture have been adopted by *Limeños* of the upper-middle classes and elites who eventually associated these practices with the notion of Peruvianness.<sup>78</sup>

During the 1940s and 1950s, the poorest sectors of the urban population lived in the surrounding areas of public markets. Among them lived Afro-Peruvians, Asian-Peruvians, and the first migrants from the Andes that began arriving to Lima since the 1920s. Public markets emerged as places where incipient informal practices developed. For instance, on street corners Andean women began to sell food out of buckets and men offered a variety type of services such as plumbing, electrical work or construction. Others used their personal vehicles to offer taxi services without official permits or sold second-hand clothes door to door. The first traces of informality in Lima became more evident with the establishment of the first invasion of public and private lands. From 1924 to 1940, seven shantytowns, called *invasiones* or *barriadas*, were created by the poorest sectors of the population and provincial migrants struggling to obtain housing in Lima.<sup>79</sup> With creativity, energy and ambition, they organized themselves and moved from Lima's decaying center to the sandy areas that

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<sup>78</sup> For a comprehensive approach about the sociocultural life in Peru during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century see Contreras and Gonzales, *Perú: La Apertura al mundo*, 233-267. Additionally, the term Peruvianness has been used by anthropologist Ulla Berg to describe how Peruvians from diverse social classes and ethnicities feel "*la peruanidad*," or a shared narrative of national membership and belonging. See Berg, *Mobile Selves*.

<sup>79</sup> Jose Matos Mar, *Las Barriadas de Lima 1957* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1977), 34.

surrounded the capital in order to carve out a place to live. Employment, housing, and public services were not always available and cultural and social tensions in *criollo* neighborhoods prompted some to create their own solutions to the problem of the lack of resources for housing and social adjustment. Infrastructure and housing projects have been pursued by the government to address the problem of demographic growth in Lima that, from 1920 to 1940, grew from 168,000 to 630,000 inhabitants.<sup>80</sup> However, state initiatives promoted by the government of Odría during the 1950s favored mostly the middle classes, failing to solve the housing issues that affected larger sectors of Lima's population.<sup>81</sup> The massive flow of migrants from the Andes and other provinces that arrived to Lima in the following decade exacerbated the problems of urbanization in the capital.

In fact, the other consequence of the economic bonanza post World War II was the alteration of the traditional economic structure of the nation that was still controlled by the Peruvian oligarchy and foreign interests. The influence that U.S. capitals exerted in the local politics and economy produced significant dislocations in the Peruvian society that intensified by 1950. Peruvian historians have demonstrated that, between 1930 and 1950, the capitalist program followed by the oligarchic state favored the export of raw materials to international markets, affecting preexisting production structures that shook the nation's economy.<sup>82</sup> Principally, the introduction of foreign capital and mechanization intensified the crisis faced by rural society and weakened the *hacienda* system.

While the modernization of the agroindustry allowed coastal peasants to become rural proletarians, in the Andes, capitalist production began to disrupt the subsistence productive

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<sup>80</sup> Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática del Perú (INEI), Población Censada Urbana, según departamento y año censal, <https://www.inei.gob.pe/estadisticas/indice-tematico/poblacion-y-vivienda/> accessed November 20, 2017.

<sup>81</sup> Carlos Aguirre and Charles F. Walker, *The Lima Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, (Durham: Duke University Press), 2017.

<sup>82</sup> See the Works of Peruvian historians Bonilla, "La Emergencia"; Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú Contemporáneo*; Contreras and Gonzales, *Perú: La Apertura al Mundo*.

structures that maintained indigenous societies. In the Andes, extreme poverty and cultural exclusion characterized the lives of rural and indigenous peasants who lived under semi-feudal conditions in communities situated inside or outside of the *hacienda*. In the Andean *haciendas*, traditional, patriarchal, and communal characteristics persisted where landowners known as *terratenientes and gamonales* exploited the labor of indigenous peasants with a paradoxical relation of subordination, servitude, and paternalism. The lack of development, modernity, and communication with the capital until the 1940s allowed landlords to exert an absolute political and economic control over peasants and indigenous groups. However, continuous economic downturns in Andean agriculture occurred during the 1940s, affecting the household economies of indigenous groups. By 1950, the *hacienda* system stagnated as a consequence of its low productivity, profitability, and need of labor force. Rural population began to migrate to urban centers, principally, Lima.<sup>83</sup>

Furthermore, the creation and expansion of new routes of communication and the development of mass media during the 1950s played an important role in the introduction of ideas of modernity and cosmopolitanism in the rural society. The creation of new highways integrated local markets to national and international economic circuits. At the same time, greater access to radio and television devices during the 1950s connected rural Peruvians to other towns, communities, and urban centers, and, at the same time, encouraged them to consider the possibilities they could find in the capital. Similarly, during the 1950s, the United States not only exerted a major influence on the Peruvian economy, but also used mass media to propagate cultural models and lifestyles associated with ideas of modernity and progress that reached urban and rural populations in Peru. In subsequent decades,

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<sup>83</sup> Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular*, 23-39.

cultural penetration would play a key role in the migration expectations of Peruvians eager to seek out better opportunities first in Lima and, later, in the United States.<sup>84</sup>

Another significant change that Peru began to experience since the 1950s was the expansion of education to disadvantaged rural communities. The opening of secondary schools and universities in provinces during the 1950s increased rural populations' expectations about educational and working possibilities that urban centers could offer their inhabitants. Moreover, the expansion of education motivated the lower classes to become interested in politics. The emergence of new political parties, such as APRA and other leftist groups, incited the working classes by denouncing U.S. imperialism and challenging the socio-cultural, economic, and political barriers established by the oligarchy. Peruvian historians maintain that by 1950 the increasing political presence of the lower and middle class would initiate the decline of the oligarchic state in Peru.<sup>85</sup>

Deteriorating political, social, and economic conditions led to the first signs of massive migration of Peruvians to the United States. Two main waves of migration have occurred since late 1950s: first the internal movement of peasants and indigenous populations to urban centers in Peru, and, at the same time, the international movement of semi-skilled laborers to the east coast of the United States, principally to the area of Paterson. Eventually, Peruvian immigration to New Jersey would constitute a large migratory movement throughout the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>84</sup> Berg, *Mobile Selves*, 43-72.

<sup>85</sup> See the works of Bonilla, "La Emergencia"; Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú Contemporáneo*; Contreras and Gonzales, *Perú: La Apertura al Mundo*.

## **From *Chicago Chico* to Paterson: The Second Wave of Peruvian Migration to the Silk City, 1950-1970**

Since the mid-1950s, manual laborers, mostly novice young men and women from the lower-middle sectors of Lima, began to migrate to Paterson, New Jersey. Data from the U.S. Census of Population of 1960 officially recorded 66 Peruvians living in Paterson from a total of 372 Peruvians living in the state of New Jersey.<sup>86</sup> While some Peruvians relocated from New York in search of work in Paterson's factories, others emigrated from Lima's working class neighborhoods such as Surquillo, La Victoria, and Callao. According to some accounts, the first group of this flow of Peruvian migrants were not more than a dozen, most of them from Surquillo.<sup>87</sup> Surquillo was a working-class neighborhood known as "*Chicago Chico*," in allusion to its seedy reputation as a center of criminality, prostitution, and vice in the south of Lima. While the neighborhood was challenged by illicit activity, most of its inhabitants were lower-middle class workers employed in the industrial and service sectors. They all came from working-class or self-employed families with relatively stable economic conditions.

The first *Surquillanos* established in the downtown area of Paterson by the mid-1960s, around Mill, Grand, Ward, Cianci, Ellison, and Van Houten Streets (see map 7).<sup>88</sup> During those years, Paterson had an ethnically diverse society dominated by whites. According to the U.S. Census of 1960, Paterson had a total population of 143,663, from which 121,910 or 85% were whites and 21,235 or 15% of the population were non-white residents. African Americans and Puerto Ricans, the first Hispanics to arrive in the area, were

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<sup>86</sup> 1960 U.S. Census of Population, Passaic County, New Jersey, population schedule, Paterson, 32-344, 32-347, digital image, Census.gov, accessed September 25, 2017, <https://www.census.gov>.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

<sup>88</sup> Francesco, "Peruvians in Paterson," 5.

a minority among other ethnic groups. This hierarchy was reflected in the occupational distribution of laborers. Americans and second-generation Europeans occupied mostly white-collar positions, leaving unskilled or semiskilled positions for African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other migrants.<sup>89</sup> Peruvians paved their labor incorporation among these varied groups of workers through an effective command of diverse mechanisms of adjustment.

“My cousin Augusto came in 1956 because his wife Frida had a brother, Ángel Rodríguez, already living here. He was the first Peruvian in Paterson. Ángel arrived in 1952, then came Augusto and Frida in 1958, and then me. There is when the story begins,”<sup>90</sup> Hugo Balta recalls. Ángel Rodríguez, Augusto Basurco, Frida Rodríguez and Hugo Balta were the first Peruvian family that settled in Paterson at the end of the 1950s. The settlement of this family from Surquillo, soon stimulated the migration of more Peruvians from the same district. In effect, Peruvian working-class migrants took advantage of the U.S demand for laborers and began working in the factories of this industrial city. Unlike the pioneer group of Peruvians that established in the Silk City between the World Wars, the *Surquillanos* capitalized on their ability to mobilize kinship, friendship, and communal relations in their migration to Paterson. The process of chain migration structured by *Surquillanos* since the 1960s gained momentum in the 1970s and, in subsequent years, allowed for the sustained migration of Peruvians from different neighborhoods, cities, and regions of the country.

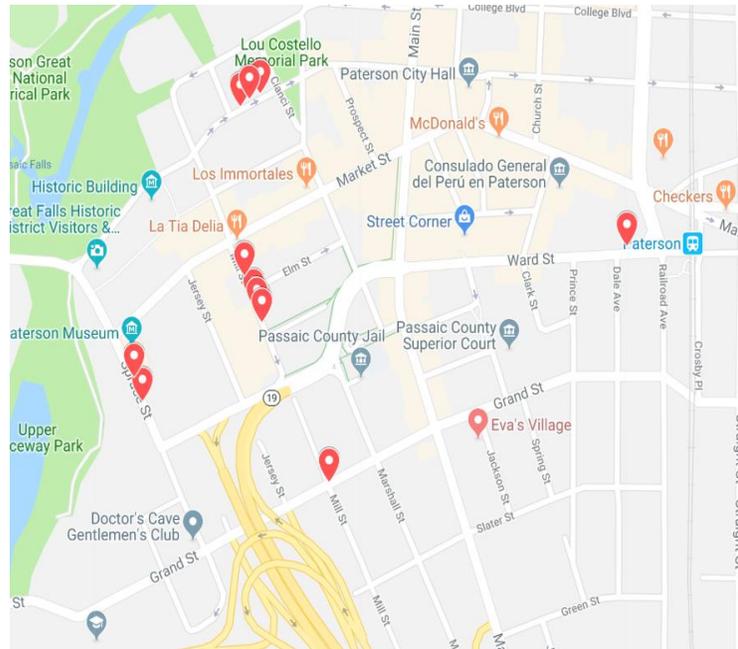
Peruvians that migrated during the 1960s were unlike the typical immigrant coming to the United States. Although traditional explanations of the origins of migration sustain that one’s decision to migrate is usually motivated by economic necessity at home,<sup>91</sup> the case of

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<sup>89</sup> 1960 U.S. Census of Population, Passaic County, New Jersey, population schedule, Paterson, 32-120, digital image, Census.gov, accessed September 25, 2017, <https://www.census.gov>.

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

<sup>91</sup> For a complete understanding of the diverse theories of international migration see: Caroline Brettel and James F. Hollifield. *Migration Theory* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013); Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold, *Immigration Research*; Massey, et al., “Theories of International Migration,” 431-466.



Map 7. Settlement of *Surquillanos* in Little Italy, the heart of downtown Paterson. *Google Maps*.

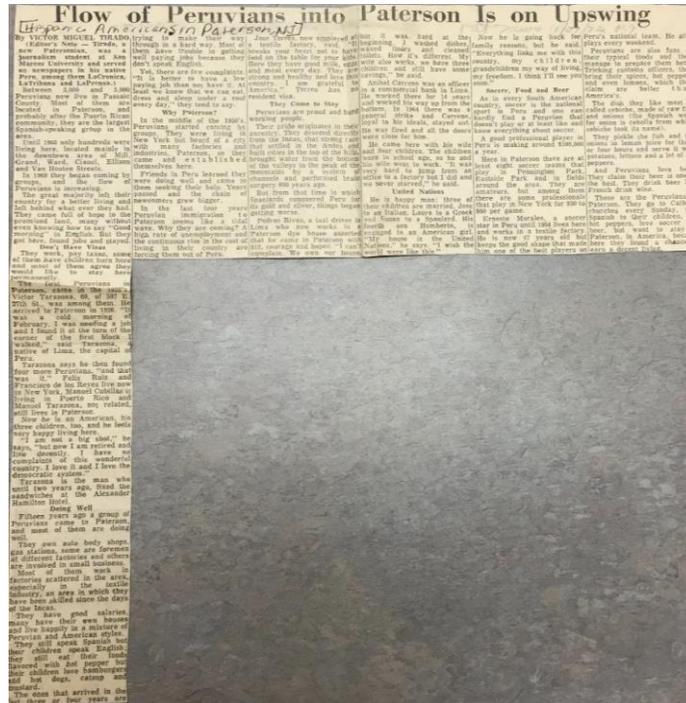


Figure 3. First article describing the two waves of Peruvian migration to Paterson. *Paterson News*, January 31, 1972, 9. Source: Free Public Library of Paterson.

these Peruvians demonstrates that the mobilization of other resources and expectations encouraged their migration. Certainly, increasing labor opportunities in Paterson encouraged these group of Peruvians to migrate, however the activation of kinship and friendship networks, in association with other symbolic, institutional, and contextual conditions, also informed the migration decisions of this group of Peruvians.<sup>92</sup>

Immigration scholars Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut sustain that desirability is less a question of wage differentials between the sending and receiving society than of the meaning that these economic advantages signify for individuals and families.<sup>93</sup> These scholars emphasize that “radio, television and mass advertising bring to these populations information about lifestyles in the rich nations and create new consumer desires that can hardly be met with local resources.”<sup>94</sup> The second wave of Peruvian migration to Paterson was influenced by the meanings conjured up about the United States disseminated by social contacts already living in the host country and through mass media. On the one hand, limited labor and living conditions in Peru shaped potential migrant’s expectations regarding migration, which were enhanced by information circulated through existing social bonds. Former Peruvian migrants who returned home for vacations transmitted relevant information about labor opportunities, higher income, and labor benefits that were unattainable in Peru. Most importantly, they circulated an image of success and personal achievement in their interactions with family members and neighborhood friends. Previous migrants told enticing stories about well-paid jobs, independence, and accessible opportunities to obtain material assets difficult to acquire in the home country. They also exuded a sophisticated personal

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<sup>92</sup> See references to the migration decisions of this flow of Peruvians to Paterson in the scholarly works of Altamirano, *Los que se fueron*; Paerregaard, *Peruvians Dispersed*; Berg and Paerregaard, *El 5to suyo*.

<sup>93</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 17.

<sup>94</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 18.

style associated with the idea of living in a modern world. In consequence, most of the Peruvian migrants arriving during the 1960s made the journey not out of necessity, but out of desire for adventure, independence, and access to cosmopolitanism described by those who had previously emigrated.<sup>95</sup>

On the other hand, the propagation of American cultural products through mass media advertising in Peru also transmitted information about material assets and lifestyles in the United States that were difficult to obtain in the home country. For instance, Guillermo Callegari, one of the first *surquillanos* migrants, emphasized that it was curiosity, rather than unemployment or economic necessity, which motivated him to migrate. Callegari came to the United States to find out “what this country was like” because he already had a job in Peru. He had a viable job as a mechanic in Hugo Balta’s father’s body shop.” However, when Hugo Balta and Augusto Basurco visited from the United States, they “told stories about working for the Ford Company, owning their own cars, having their own apartment, and about the blonde girls from New York.” Callegari had only experienced these images through American movies. So, as a young man the idea of coming to the United States piqued his curiosity.<sup>96</sup> Teófilo Altamirano sustains that, since the 1950s, Peruvians have associated economic success with the United States. The American Dream included a modern and wealthy lifestyle, in which anyone could afford a car, a house, and the latest technological innovations while accumulating a healthy savings. Accounts from this wave of Peruvian migration emphasized that they did not come to Paterson out of economic desperation, even though they also admitted they had few options in Peru. Since most of them reported limited

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<sup>95</sup> Altamirano, *Los que se fueron*, 23-24.

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

work experience in Lima, these Peruvians capitalized on the idea of coming to the United States as a prime opportunity to construct their own future.<sup>97</sup>

This flow of Peruvians developed particular settlement patterns in Paterson that were maintained over time. They structured complex systems of embedded relations in which a combination of formal and informal mechanisms were displayed to facilitate the migration, labor incorporation, and social adjustment of further waves of Peruvian migrants.<sup>98</sup> The context of de-industrialization that began in Paterson during the mid-1960s prompted many Peruvians to mobilize informal strategies for survival that they had previously utilized to endure the context of economic downfalls in Peru. By relying on these informal practices, and motivated by nostalgia for their homeland, Peruvian migrants initiated informal businesses and organizations in Paterson. Within these patterns of informal cultural and economic practices, Peruvian women became central agents in the emergent community formation. These women were employed as laborers in local industries but were also determined to generate their own economic resources by establishing business ventures and organizing other social and civic activities for the community. Thus, Peruvians began to craft their own economic and social pathway in Paterson.

What began as a purely economic exchange eventually gave way to the migration of thousands of Peruvian workers who sought out better opportunities in the country that had originally brought its capital to Peru. One hundred years after the first commercial deals with the United States, Peruvians would still participate in this system of trade, but in the form of social and labor capital. The transportation routes established by U.S. corporations at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to commercialize their products and services in Peru eventually served as

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<sup>97</sup> Altamirano, *Los que se fueron*, 23.

<sup>98</sup> Chapter 3 provides further discussion of other features of the migratory flow of *Surquillanos* and subsequent Peruvian migration streams.

a channel that Peruvians utilized to migrate and settle in the area of New York and New Jersey. Since the mid-1950s, Peruvians settled in Paterson using a combination of formal and informal mechanisms that facilitated labor incorporation, social adjustment, and community development. The following chapter offers a comprehensive trajectory from internal migration to international migration by examining how recurrent contexts of economic, political, and social crisis in Peru caused rural-urban migration, informality, and new waves of Peruvian migration to Paterson. The chapter focuses on how the massive migration of Andean peasants and indigenous populations to urban centers reshaped the structures of the Peruvian society by flooding the institutions of the oligarchic state. The incapacity of the governments to attend to their economic and labor needs prompted Andean migrants to rely on traditional practices to survive in the capital, developing in its way an emergent informal sector that redefined norms, practices, attitudes, and identities. Those Peruvians exhausted from economic uncertainty, political violence, and hopelessness of their professional future decided to look for better opportunities abroad.

## **Chapter 2: Internal Migration, *Recurseo*, and the Development of Informality in Peru**

Al inmenso pueblo de los señores hemos llegado y lo estamos removiendo. Con nuestro corazón lo alcanzamos, lo penetramos; ... con nuestros himnos antiguos y nuevos, lo estamos envolviendo... Somos miles de millares, aquí, ahora. Estamos juntos; nos hemos congregado pueblo por pueblo, nombre por nombre, y estamos apretando a esta inmensa ciudad que nos odiaba, que nos despreciaba como a excremento de caballos.

José María Arguedas, “Tupac Amaru Kamaq taytanchisman (haylli-taki),” in *Obras Completas*, Tomo V, Editorial Horizonte, Lima: Perú, 1983.

The massive migration of Peruvians to Paterson, and principally the way Peruvians have transferred cultural practices to better adjust into the U.S. society, is the outcome of changing socioeconomic conditions in Peru since 1950. Among the 7 million inhabitants that populated Peru in 1940, 65% lived in small towns or villages located in rural areas of the coast, the Andes, and the Amazon. Only 35.4% of the total population lived in urban centers, such as Lima, which had 661,508 inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Although most of the country’s population was mestizo or indigenous and inhabited the Peruvian countryside, Lima was the socioeconomic and political center of the nation. During the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the capital strengthened its supremacy over other urban centers by developing an infrastructure necessary for industrialization, communication, and transportation. In contrast, provincial cities played a limited role as facilitators for the exploitation of natural resources and the production of agro-industry. Consequently, Lima developed the largest market of

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<sup>1</sup> José Matos Mar, “A City of Outsiders,” in *The Lima Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Carlos Aguirre and Charles F. Walker (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 209.

products and services in the country, centralizing institutions and ultimately attracting migrant populations from provinces.<sup>2</sup>

Since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the massive presence of provincial migrants from Andean origins in urban centers constituted the new popular force that gradually overtook the oligarchic state and its institutions. Rural-urban migrants imposed an autonomous economic, social, and political power that would shape the destiny of contemporary Peru and the Peruvian way of life. This chapter examines the cultural features mobilized by migrants to adjust to the urban context, particularly in Lima. Concretely, it focuses on the agentive character of indigenous migrants from the Andes to carve out their own future in the capital by operating in the peripheries of government norms and regulations. Through the mobilization of informal and resourceful practices known as *resurseo*, provincial migrants from Quechua and Aymara origins overtook the capital, creating their own job opportunities, socio-cultural organizations, and a new cultural identity: *el cholo*. As economic and political challenges continued to affect Peruvian society during the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, informal practices of *recurseo* were adopted and popularized by other sectors of the population in Lima who experienced struggles similar to those faced by Andean migrants. Consequently, the informalization of the Peruvian society produced a new urban subject, ethnically mestizo, but with a strong cultural influence from Andean societies. This new urban subject displayed in the capital an agentive and creative subjectivity to face critical circumstances, similar to the ways in which Quechua and Aymara subjects had used resourceful mechanisms to survive the harsh conditions of living in the Andes for centuries.

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<sup>2</sup> Alberto Vergara highlights the role of the centralization of the Peruvian state and the expansion of equality in the Peruvian society as primary causes of the internal migration in Peru. See, Alberto Vergara, "The Fujimori Regime through Tocqueville's Lens: Centralism, Regime Change, and Peripheral Elites in Contemporary Peru," in *Peru in Theory*, ed. Paulo Drinot (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Thus, Peruvians mobilized creativity, resourcefulness, and an informal spirit to establish economic ventures and social organizations that supported the formation of a progressively urban mestizo society.

### **A Changing Context: Socioeconomic Dislocations and Internal Migration to Lima**

In the decades of the 1950s, the structures of the Peruvian society changed significantly with the massive migration of provincial populations to Lima. Principally, impoverished peasants and indigenous groups from remote areas of the Andes followed the migration pathways forged by middle-class provincial migrants of mestizo origins that had arrived to the capital in previous decades. Demographers have calculated that every year 150,000 rural and indigenous migrants approximately arrived to Lima since 1940, a migratory trend that has accelerated since 1955.<sup>3</sup> This massive migration process occurred as a consequence of five unresolved conditions: industrialization, governmental centralism, socioeconomic development, nationalization of the oil and mining industry, and land reform.<sup>4</sup> Most importantly, massive migration from the provinces to Lima increased as a consequence of the incapacity of the central state to address the economic necessities of larger sectors of the population that remained forgotten, discriminated, and impoverished in their regions of origin.

After World War II, the Latin American economy modernized and, in most countries, the central government initiated a process of national industrial development in diverse provincial capitals. In contrast to Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil—which had a decentralized model of development that included several cities—the only city that developed in Peru was

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<sup>3</sup> José Matos Mar, *Perú: Estado Desbordado Y Sociedad Nacional Emergente* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma. Centro de Investigación, 2012), 87.

<sup>4</sup> For a complete analysis of the conditions that caused massive rural-urban migration in Peru see the works of Peruvian scholars François Bourricaud, *Poder Y Sociedad En el Perú Contemporáneo* (Lima: IEP, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2017), Julio Cotler, *Clases, Estado Y Nación En El Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2009), Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular*.

Lima, to the detriment of other regional economies.<sup>5</sup> Since the colonial era, Lima has been the political and economic center that exerted hegemonic control over the rest of the territory and its resources. Spanish authorities built a stratified bicultural society that ethnically divided the population of the viceroyalty of Peru into two political and economic units: *Republica de Españoles* and *República de Indios*. Spaniards concentrated most of their bureaucratic institutions in Lima where mostly Spanish and other European populations lived and worked. Indigenous populations were confined to their Andean communities of origin.<sup>6</sup> Spaniards controlled the contact of indigenous populations with the outside world, principally through the political and economic administration of the Andean space and the resources exploited by its inhabitants. Although a market emerged, allowing the circulation of goods and services between the Andes and urban regions, the nature of these economic relations was based on a system of racial and ethnic power that placed the population of European origins in cities, and that of Andean origins in rural communities. In Andean communities, Spanish authorities allowed indigenous groups to form self-governing entities led by members of their elite. However, the spatial separation of indigenous societies was maintained for centuries as a consequence of the low productivity of agriculture in the rugged Andean geography. The challenging terrain prevented indigenous populations from producing food and other goods beyond what was necessary for their own subsistence. After independence, the villages and towns that developed in the Andes maintained their role as centers of production and exploitation of natural resources that provided goods to the capital. Thus, this ethnically divided and stratified political and economic system that benefited the

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<sup>5</sup> Enrique Cárdenas, José A. Ocampo, and Rosemary Thorp in *An Economic History of Twentieth-Century Latin America: Vol. 3*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000) offer a complete study of the diverse economic policies and models of development implemented by Latin American governments after WWII.

<sup>6</sup> For an approach to the development of the colonial system in Peru see Karen Spalding, *Huachirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Cal: University Press, 2007).

development of Lima over other regional centers of production was maintained by *criollos* during the republican period.<sup>7</sup>

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the organization of cities in Peru followed the division of the two republics established by the Spaniards during the colonial period. The Peruvian government maintained the bureaucratic administration center in Lima, and the centers of capitalist production and intermediation remained in other provincial coastal cities, the Andes, and the Amazon. The urban *criollo* population controlled the growing national bureaucracies and administrative jobs in the public sector that included occupations such as lawyers, clerics, bankers, and landowners. In urban *criollo* society, the production of goods and services, except for those in the financial and bureaucratic sector, was reserved for subaltern and racialized groups such as Chinese immigrants, blacks, and indigenous populations. Particularly, the *criollo* urban society viewed the traditions, practices, and customs of Quechua and Aymara indigenous groups as part of an inferior society. Until mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Peru was a fragmented nation in which the historical antagonism between *criollo* and Andean culture remained unchallenged. *Criollo* elites perpetuated their hegemonic control of the Peruvian society, politics, and economics through the discrimination and marginalization of mestizo and indigenous groups from the Andes.<sup>8</sup>

The advent of modern capitalism during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century gradually required changes in the socioeconomic structure and political organization of Peruvian society. Capitalist penetration changed the role of Lima as the hegemonic administrative center to a center of production and service. These new roles were assumed principally by

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<sup>7</sup> Orin Starn, Carlos I. Degregori, and Carlos I. Kirk, *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 255.

<sup>8</sup> Carlos Aguirre and Charles F. Walker, "The Many Limas (1940-)," in *The Lima Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Carlos Aguirre and Charles F. Walker (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 163.

immigrants of European origin, who launched Italian bakeries and candy factories, German breweries, and American import and export houses. *Criollos* did not assume this role, as they still controlled the growing bureaucratic and administrative occupations in the public sector and in the emergent Peruvian industrial economy.<sup>9</sup> After World War II, *criollo* elites controlling the central government fomented the industrialization of the country, concentrating national industries in Lima and other urban centers along the coast. Likewise, *criollo* elites favored economic policies that increased the export of natural resources exploited and commercialized by American corporations instead of strengthening the national economy. Thus, the incipient industrialization that emerged in Lima failed to generate a similar process in other regions of Peru. However, since the 1950s, the Peruvian government progressively enacted economic and trade policies to replace foreign imports with domestic production in order to reduce foreign dependency.<sup>10</sup> Within a few years, the agricultural, oil, fishing, and steel production industries developed along the main coastal urban centers. Accordingly, rural areas were affected by the emergent process of national industrialization, deteriorating the agricultural regions in the Andes, and producing massive rural-urban migration.

The political, administrative, and economic centralism maintained in contemporary Peru led to the underdevelopment of the Andean and the Amazon regions. Social discontent increased among the middle class in the provinces, who began to demand the decentralization of the government. Rural sectors along the coast working in the cotton and sugar industries also demanded the improvement of labor and economic conditions. In the Andes, peasants and indigenous populations fought for the return of their lands from landholders who had

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<sup>9</sup> Jürgen Golte, *Cultura, Racionalidad y Migración Andina* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2001), 115.

<sup>10</sup> The government of Manuel Odría initiated some economic reforms with the purpose to diversify the national industry by introducing the model of development by import substitution. See Contreras and Cueto, *Perú: Mirando hacia adentro*, 73-78.

usurped their properties during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although these social conflicts did not lead to major political overhauls, they remained unresolved by the central government. Most importantly, social and economic imbalances in the provinces caused more migration to the capital. By 1961, approximately 426,700 provincial migrants, most of them indigenous population from the Andes settled in Lima.<sup>11</sup>

Andean and other provincial migrants began to arrive to Lima precisely at a time when the insertion of the Peruvian economy in the world market changed the role of the capital from a bureaucratic administrative center to an industrial hub of production and service. There were two major waves of internal migration in Peru during the 20<sup>th</sup> century that differed in terms of social class and ethnic origins. Before the 1950s, provincial migration to Lima was characterized by the movement of upper and middle-class provincial migrants from the coast and the Andes. They migrated to Lima in search of greater access to modernity and principally for better educational prospects for them and their children. Most provincial populations that made the journey to Lima in this first wave of migration were of mestizo origin that familiarized with some of the sociocultural practices of the *criollo* world but were more influenced by the Andean norms and traditions. During the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although indigenous populations did migrate to Lima, they did not constitute a significant sector of these migratory patterns.<sup>12</sup>

The decade of the 1950s signaled a break with the previous trends in provincial migration. From this decade on, internal migration to the capital increased and was characterized by the continuous migration of peasant and indigenous populations from the

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<sup>11</sup> Jean-Claude Driant and Gustavo Riofrío, *Las Barriadas De Lima: Historia e Interpretación* (Lima: Institut français d'études andines, 2015), 47.

<sup>12</sup> See Carlos Aguirre and Charles F. Walker, "Modernizing Lima (1895-1940)," in *The Lima Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Carlos Aguirre and Charles F. Walker (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 101-102.

Andes.<sup>13</sup> Labor exploitation and substandard living conditions, in combination with the lack of working and educational opportunities in rural areas, prompted indigenous groups to migrate to the capital. Migration to Lima opened up new opportunities to peasants and indigenous population associated with progress and modernity. Peruvian scholars Carlos Ivan Degregori and Carlos Franco sustain that rural-urban migration was a rational response to the unresolved problems that affected the lives of peasants and indigenous populations that inhabited rural areas of the nation.<sup>14</sup> Individuals from the poorest sector of the population decided to take risks and made the journey in order to become part of the progressive modernism associated with life in the capital. They abandoned their towns, communities, and villages for a chance at participation in the modern world.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, the act of migration for Andean peasants and indigenous groups signaled their unwillingness to continue to wait for the central government to fulfill their social and economic needs. Since the 1950s, they departed from their regions of origin in search of change, for the unknown, leaving behind the peasant world and provincial mentality. In this sense, peasants and indigenous migrants became agents of their own destiny as they chose to make the journey to the modernity embodied by Lima.<sup>16</sup>

In the 1960s, the most significant concern among peasants and indigenous groups, the poorest sector of the population, was agrarian reform. The asymmetrical distribution of land in the Andes that benefited *gamonales* and *terratenientes* deteriorated the household economies of larger sectors of rural population that did not have access to resources to

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<sup>13</sup> Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular*, 64-65.

<sup>14</sup> The Works of Carlos Franco, *Imágenes De La Sociedad Peruana: La "otra" Modernidad* (Lima, Perú: Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Participación, 1991) and Carlos Ivan Degregori, Pablo F. Sendón, and Pablo Sandoval. *No Hay País Más Diverso: Compendio De Antropología Peruana II* (Lima: IEP Ediciones, 2013) highlight the rationale behind the migration of Peruvian peasants and indigenous population to the capital.

<sup>15</sup> David Wood, *De Sabor Nacional: El Impacto De La Cultura Popular En El Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005), 15.

<sup>16</sup> Franco offers a subjective approach to understand internal migration in Peru. He emphasizes the human significance of migration for indigenous population from the Andes. See Carlos Franco, *Imágenes De La Sociedad Peruana: La "otra" Modernidad* (Lima, Perú: Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Participación, 1991).



sustain their families. For decades, their income depended on working for *haciendas* under exploitative labor conditions. In northern Peru, the incipient proletarianization of the peasantry, a shift from subsistence to market-oriented production, and the reduction of agricultural jobs produced economic dislocations that aggravated during the 1960s. Consequently, the agricultural labor force decreased from 61.7% in 1940 to 49.8% in 1961, while the rural labor force working in informal commerce and the service sector increased from 36.6% to 46.1%.<sup>17</sup> The possibility of an agrarian reform was debated and postponed decade after decade by politicians and presidential candidates. In 1962, land distribution was a central theme in the political platform of Fernando Belaúnde who won the presidential election in 1963. However, as in previous decades, Belaúnde failed to meet the expectations for agrarian reform held by indigenous populations.

During the 1960s, nationalism and anti-Americanism rose among the urban sectors of the population. They began to denounce the role of U.S. corporations in the Peruvian economy and its partnership with the Peruvian oligarchy who controlled the state. Principally, larger sectors of the middle-lower classes demanded changes in the status of the American enclaves established in Peru to extract and commercialize natural resources such as oil and minerals. Controversies regarding the national sovereignty of the territories and subsoil controlled by the International Petroleum Company (IPC) escalated during the government of Fernando Belaúnde (1963-1968). Principally, the controversy with the IPC over tax exonerations and the price of crude extracted by them was devastating for Belaúnde's regime.<sup>18</sup> The U.S government also reduced economic aid to Peru, which

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<sup>17</sup> Themis Castellanos, Jaime Joseph and Mercedes Ubillus, "Lima: ciudad cada vez menos pretenciosa," in *Ciudad y Segregacion* No. 1, Alternativa: Centro de Investigación Social y Educación Popular: Lima, 2003: 1-29, 4.

<sup>18</sup> The International Petroleum Company formed an economic enclave for the exploitation of oil reserves in the region named La Brea y Pariñas. In 1968 controversies over taxation and national sovereignty caused social unrest leading to the overthrow of Belaúnde's regime. See McClintock and Vallas. *The United States and Peru*, 23.

impacted the external finance of the government.<sup>19</sup> These unfavorable economic and social conditions not only increased perceptions of governmental corruption in favor of foreign interests, but also produced the uprising of a left-wing sector of the Peruvian armed forces. A military coup of state led by Juan Velasco Alvarado, a general closely related with Soviet military, overthrew president Belaúnde on October 3<sup>rd</sup> of 1968.

During the next decade, the *Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas* nationalized banking, mass media, and manufacturing industries. The military regime expropriated the International Petroleum Company, W.R. Grace's sugar haciendas, the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, and the Peruvian Corporation, among other U.S. firms and enterprises. Furthermore, nationalist and socialist practices were introduced to protect and develop national industry and local markets. However, the most significant political and economic measure of Velasco's regime was the implementation of agrarian reform to diversify land ownership. The military regime expropriated 15,000 farms and other properties from oligarchs that benefited 300,000 rural families grouped in cooperatives to administer land production and distribution.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, agrarian reform did not develop or modernize the rural economy and society. Velasco's economic measures resulted unsuccessful and adversely affected the future of the Peruvian economy for decades. State intervention in the economy gradually produced debt, currency devaluation, and inflation. However, economic measures led to the growth of national industries and related services, as factories were able to absorb only a portion of the rapidly growing working force. The agrarian reform was a visible failure since small farmers did not have the capital and technical preparation to

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<sup>19</sup> McClintock and Vallas. *The United States and Peru*, 22.

<sup>20</sup> For a comprehensive study of the Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas see Enrique Mayer, *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009) and Carlos Aguirre and Paulo Drinot. *The Peculiar Revolution: Rethinking the Peruvian Experiment Under Military Rule* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017).

replicate the production and distribution capacities of pre-reform administration. By the mid-1970s, trade restrictions, frequent economic shortages, rationing, and increasing social unrest caused massive provincial migration to the capital. The urban population of the country rose from 35.5% in 1961 to 59.4% in 1972,<sup>21</sup> and Lima's population increased from 1,752,277 to 3,241,051 in the same period.<sup>22</sup> Although unemployment in Peru began to increase in metropolitan areas, thousands of rural peasants continued arriving to emergent shantytowns in Lima and other important cities.

### **Provincial Migrants in Lima: Barriers for Settlement and Labor Incorporation**

Migrants in the capital expected to find employment and better economic and living conditions than in their communities of origin, but labor and social adjustment in Lima aggravated over the years. Nevertheless, the rapidly increasing population of rural migrants in urban centers progressively found their way in this new environment, altering the socioeconomic and political structure of Peruvian society.

Andean migrants that arrived to Lima in the 1950s encountered a period of economic expansion that allowed them more resources for adaptation to urban life. Provincial middle-classes settled in the middle-class neighborhoods of Lima, establishing small businesses or finding employment in the public sector. Some of the new migrants inserted themselves in local industries as office employees or supervisors. Their children attended private schools and universities where, in the following years, they graduated as lawyers, engineers, and educators. Initially, middle-class Andean migrants of mestizo origins suffered ethnic discrimination by middle-class *limeños*, but eventually adjusted into the *criollo* society. In

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<sup>21</sup> Driant and Riofrío, *Las Barriadas*, 83.

<sup>22</sup> INEI Evolución de la población censada urbana, según departamento, 1940, 1961, 1972, 1981, 1993 Y 2007, <https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/Cap03004.xls>, accessed May 5, 2018.

the case of lower-middle class migrants, the industrial sector offered them employment opportunities in the still-growing factories of Lima. These newcomers began to populate industrial neighborhoods, such as La Victoria, Callao, and Surquillo, finding jobs in local factories as blue-collar workers or manual laborers in small businesses that provided services to diverse industries.<sup>23</sup> Mario Vera's family offers a paradigmatic example. Vera's parents were migrants from the highlands of Trujillo. His father worked as laborer for a cement plant in Lima, and his mother was "a housewife who washed clothing to earn extra money to maintain four children." They were humble, but lived in "a big house and never lacked food."<sup>24</sup>

Until the 1950s, the economic expansion and political aperture of the country facilitated the integration of middle-class migrants to the urban society. Before the 1970s, middle-class migrants established a pattern of dual residence that allowed them to live temporarily between their regions of origin and the city. Soon, this practice stimulated the migration of younger members of peasants and indigenous communities. Between 1950 and 1970, newcomers from the poorest regions of the country followed the migration path previously forged by provincial middle-class migrants.<sup>25</sup>

Migrants of peasant and indigenous origins began populating Lima before the 1940s, but their migration did not have a significant impact on the capital until the 1950s, when their arrival en masse initiated a new trend in migratory patterns. Unlike the first waves of migrants, who were mostly of mestizo origins, this new wave of provincial migration came from indigenous peasants that lived on haciendas in the most desolated and impoverished

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<sup>23</sup> For an approach to the structure of the manufacturing labor force in Lima see David Chaplin, *The Peruvian Industrial Labor Force*, (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1967), 168-211.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Mario Vera, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

<sup>25</sup> For a detailed study of urban migrants and their links to their Andean native villages see Karsten Paerregaard, *Linking Separate Worlds: Urban Migrants and Rural Lives in Peru* (Bloomsbury Publishing: UK, 1997).

communities of the Andes. The migration process initiated in the 1950s involved the movement of millions of people, causing an increase in the Peruvian population from 7,023,111 in 1940 to 14,121,564 in 1972. In the same period, the population of Lima grew from 645,172 inhabitants in 1940 to 3,302,523 in 1972. As a result, Lima held 24.3% of the total urban population of the country. In few decades, the movement to urban centers altered the demographic structure of the nation, transforming it from a rural to an urban society.<sup>26</sup>

Once in the capital, peasants and indigenous migrants were socially discriminated against by the *criollo* population in occupations, neighborhoods, and public spaces. These migrants, mostly from Quechua and Aymara origins, carried with them habits, language, culture, and traditions belittled by urban *criollos*. Usually, *criollos* racialized migrants' ethnic origins, practices, and Spanish accent with the derogatory term of Indian or *serrano*. Until the 1960s, Peru was a fragmented nation, an archipelago of multiple ethnicities, cultures, and languages in which large sectors of the population identified more with their local culture than with the national Peruvian identity. In this sense, migration to Lima represented for Andean populations a new cultural experience in which they were required to learn a new language, conduct new jobs, navigate urban streets, use public services, and socialize with people from diverse ethnic origins.<sup>27</sup> Migrants found their first barrier of adaptation in working-class neighborhoods where they settled upon arrival. Peasant and indigenous migrants inhabited *callejones* and *corralones* mostly populated by poor *criollos*, where they felt marginalized and alienated. However, Andean newcomers soon began to follow the

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<sup>26</sup> Matos Mar, *Desborde popular*, 70.

<sup>27</sup> Golte, *Cultura, racionalidad y migración andina*, 119.

practices of pioneer migrants that in previous decades began to illegally take lands, both public and private, to establish their own communities in the periphery of Lima.<sup>28</sup>

From the 1950s to the 1970s, working-class migrants began to massively populate the emergent shantytowns of Lima as a consequence of marginalization, the high cost of housing in industrial neighborhoods, the possibility of becoming homeowners, and the proximity to workplaces.<sup>29</sup> By 1955, 39 shantytowns, areas known as *barriadas*, were created in Lima.<sup>30</sup> By the mid-1960s, the number of *barriadas* increased, and metropolitan Lima became surrounded by clusters of poor migrants living in shantytowns, straining the infrastructure of the capital and enlarging the boundaries of the city.<sup>31</sup> By 1970, 25.6% of the total population of Lima lived in 762 *barriadas*.<sup>32</sup> The Peruvian state, with its traditional and bureaucratic institutions, could not contain the massive movement of peasant and indigenous population in search for better living conditions. The lack of urban plans and the inaction of the central state to accommodate the continuing flows of rural migrants caused them to devise their own methods for a living in Lima. By the mid-1970s, shantytowns enlarged the four corners of Lima, flooded the capital of the oligarchic state, bastion of the *criollo* culture.

Until the early 1970s, labor adjustment in the industrial sector was feasible for rural migrants coming to Lima. The economic reforms enacted by Velasco strengthened the development of national industry. In 1972, Lima held 72.9% of industrial establishments, and 47% of the labor force was occupied in the national industry.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, migrants found

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<sup>28</sup> The problem of initial settlement among rural migrants in Lima captured the interests of social scientists during the 1960s and 1970s. Scholars such as Jose Matos Mar and Luis Millones investigated the problematic of the city's slumming as a consequence of the massive migration of population from the Andes and the Amazon. See Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular* and Luis Millones, *Tugurio: The Culture of the Peruvian Marginal Population, a Study of a Lima Slum* (New York: Council on International Studies, 1981).

<sup>29</sup> The works of Driant and Riofrio, *Las barriadas*, and Peter Lloyd, *The "Young Towns" of Lima: Aspects of Urbanization in Peru* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), address the impact of the problem of housing and economic adjustment of rural-urban migrants in Lima.

<sup>30</sup> Scholars also associate *barriadas* with the terms *pueblos jóvenes* or *asentamientos humanos*.

<sup>31</sup> The largest *pueblos jóvenes* of Lima emerged during this decade: Ciudad de Dios was founded in 1954, Comas in 1958, and Villa el Salvador in 1971. See Lloyd, *The "Young Towns" of Lima*, 35.

<sup>32</sup> Matos Mar, *Peru Estado Desbordado*, 213.

<sup>33</sup> Castellanos, Joseph, and Ubillus, "Lima ciudad," 7.

positions in the service and in the developing public sectors. Semi-skilled rural migrants joined state-owned companies as chauffeurs, concierges, and custodians. Andean migrants with less education were employed in the service sector by small businesses that offered housekeeping, gardening, plumbing, or domestic services to middle-class families. Until the mid-1970s, migration to Lima allowed Andean migrants to find an occupation and pursue better living and economic opportunities in the city.<sup>34</sup> However, the military government of Velasco and its socialist reforms began to fail, generating inflation and debts with international financial institutions that rapidly lead to unemployment.

By mid-1970s, the worldwide crisis increased the costs of importing energy, posing a significant challenge for countries such as Peru seeking to modernize its infrastructure, encourage industrialization, and address challenges of economic disparity. Particularly in Peru the oil crisis of 1970 affected the export of natural resources that produced the collapse of the emergent national industry.<sup>35</sup> As a consequence of economic decline, many factories in Lima closed, industrial workers lost their jobs, and the central government could not attend to the labor needs of thousands of rural migrants seeking labor opportunities in factories. Under these conditions, rural migrants mobilized alternative economic and communal practices to make a living in the city. Informality soon became the central mechanism used by migrants to carve out their own pathway and fulfill their expectations for a better life in Lima.

### **The Emergence of Informality in Lima: Collective Strategies for Subsistence and Social Adjustment**

The incapacity of the Peruvian government to address the needs of housing, labor, and social inclusion prompted provincial migrants in Lima to develop informal activities as a

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<sup>34</sup> Driant, *Las barriadas*, 29-60.

<sup>35</sup> James Street, "Latin American Adjustments to the Opec Crisis and the World Recession." *Social Science Quarterly*. 59.1 (1978): 60-76.

response to periodic economic, social, and political crisis. Although the successive governments in the 1960s and 1970s developed urbanization projects, the offering of public housing was limited to the lower-middle classes, leaving behind the mass of migrants already living in Lima. Consequently, the massive development of shantytowns through *invasiones*, the illegal possession of unoccupied public and private land, arose as the new informal way to solve the housing problem in the capital. Thus, since the 1950s, provincial migrants in Lima began to redesign the city by informally building more houses and urbanizations than the Peruvian government. In *barriadas*, the mass of migrants created a new urban, multicultural community, originating a process of national unification and modernization of individuals that populated its neighborhoods. In these spaces, social actors from different regions, classes, ethnicities, and cultures interacted while shaping their own economic, social, and cultural dynamic to make a living in the capital. Since the 1970s, shantytowns emerged as the central spaces where the culture of informality evolved.<sup>36</sup>

Consecutive state administrations not only lost control of citizens' compliance with laws to occupy unused lands in cities, but also lost authority in regulating the emergence of informal economic activities in public spaces. By relying on alternative, illegal, and underground channels, migrants began to occupy public spaces to produce, offer, and sell products and services to attend to the labor and economic needs the formal economy could not address. Informality arose as a result of the surplus of workforce, when labor supply was insufficient, generating high unemployment, low wages, and poverty in urban centers. It constituted a survival strategy and a mechanism of labor reproduction characterized by its

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<sup>36</sup> See Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular*, 69-95; Carlos I. Degregori, *Del Mito De Inkarrí Al Mito Del Progreso: Migración Y Cambios Culturales* (Lima, Perú: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2013), and Carlos I. Degregori, Pablo F. Sendón, and Pablo Sandoval, *No Hay País Más Diverso: Compendio De Antropología Peruana* (Lima, Perú: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2013).

heterogeneity and flexibility.<sup>37</sup> Informality was a strategy enacted by Peruvians when they could not find employment in the formal labor sector or did not have enough income to sustain the household economy.

Informality in Peru also has a cultural dimension that explains the agentive condition and the logic of practice of Andean migrants in Lima. Peruvian historiography found that the emergence of a marginal culture, later referred to by *criollos* as informal, actually constituted the first stages of the transformation of the capital from a center of administration to a center of capitalist production.<sup>38</sup> The newly emerging capital was different from the *criollo* society that had ruled Lima for centuries. The long-lasting center of national bureaucracies gradually transformed into a capitalist center of production, in which Andean migrants utilized cultural practices associated with Quechua and Aymara societies. Scholars found that rural-urban migrants replicated in Lima practices previously used by pre-Hispanic cultures to survive the harsh conditions of living in the Andes.<sup>39</sup> Principally, migrants in shantytowns adapted traditional Andean organizational structures for social and economic adjustment in Lima on two different levels. On the one hand, migrants in *barriadas* used collective strategies that involved a network of familiar and friendship ties to help migrants in their settlement and adaptation to the city. This system of social networks materialized in the formation of provincial, community, and neighborhood associations or clubs to ease migrant's confrontation with the urban world. Furthermore, provincial migrants maintained the connection with the society of origin in order to extend material and social support for

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<sup>37</sup> Hernando de Soto, *The Other Path: The Economic Answer to Terrorism* (New York, N.Y: Basic Books, 2008), 11.

<sup>38</sup> Golte, *Cultural Andina and Migración*, 118.

<sup>39</sup> Jürgen Golte and Norma Adams, *Los Caballos De Troya De Los Invasores: Estrategias Campesinas En La Conquista De La Gran Lima* (Lima: IEP, 1987), 68-73. Scholars Golte and Adams rely on the works of ethno-historians John Murra and Maria Rostworowski that explained the rationale followed by Andean societies to establish economic and social relations for subsistence in the Peruvian highlands. See John V. Murra, *El Mundo Andino. Población, Medio Ambiente y Economía* (Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú e Instituto de Estudios Peruanos IEP, Lima 2002), and María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu* (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) - Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONCYTEC). Lima. 1988).

newcomers. Likewise, migrants also related familial and friendship ties with labor and productive practices in a single economic unit in order to generate their own employment and income. On the other hand, at the individual level, Andean migrants in Lima activated an attitude of protestant morality based on hard work, savings, philosophy of progress, and cost-benefit values. Moreover, migrants mobilized their previous knowledge, personal experiences, and abilities in order to make a living in the city.<sup>40</sup> Thus, by reproducing a combination of individual and collective mechanisms from traditional Andean societies, rural migrants in Lima developed informal economic practices and forms of association for better adaptation to the city. Informal economic practices extended by Andean migrants in Lima were characterized by the intensive use of labor, substandard working conditions, collaboration among family members, low-capital work relationships, high flexibility, creativity, and the active participation of women.

While informality had been employed by Andean immigrants in Lima since the 1950s, other sectors of the urban population did not initially identify with these practices. However, during the 1970s, the culture of informality extended throughout other sectors of the urban population.<sup>41</sup> As informality became more intertwined with urban life, Limeños developed a term to describe this new way of life. During the 1970s, Peruvians coined the term *recurseo* or *cachueleo* in order to describe the inventive and resourceful ways by which migrants of indigenous origins mobilized cultural and social resources to make a living in the capital. This term refers to the informal and creative means through which individuals used their talents, previous labor experiences, and kinship ties in order to acquire better economic and labor opportunities.<sup>42</sup> For example, migrants sold food on street corners or informally

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<sup>40</sup> Golte and Adams, *Los Caballos De Troya*, 56-67.

<sup>41</sup> de Soto, *The Other Path*, 59-91.

<sup>42</sup> Julio Hevia, *Habla jugador: Gajes y Oficios de la Jerga Peruana*, (Lima, Peru: Grupo Santillana, 2008), 332.

offered comprehensive services of plumbing, painting, cleaning, car repair, housekeeping, and construction to middle class families. Herald Anzaldi shows this pattern by illustrating that in order to supplement his income as worker in the marine terminal as a stevedore, he relied on *recurseo* and offered a *colectivo*<sup>43</sup> Lima-Callao after work.<sup>44</sup>

The informal economy also allowed enterprising individuals to become small business owners, such as those migrants that eventually legalized business ventures launched by sidestepping the legal channels years ago. Hugo Balta's father labor experience exemplify this pathway. His father migrated from Arequipa and, after years of hard work, established "the best-known car repair shop in Miraflores" patronized by upper and middle-class customers. Balta concludes, "that's why we never lacked anything at home."<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, for many people, informality was the only economy they knew, as other jobs, goods and services were beyond their reach. Since the 1970s, the inventiveness and resourcefulness of rural migrants to make a living in urban centers began to form an informal sector that redefined the economy and social structure of contemporary Peru.

Provincial migrants living in the *barriadas* of Lima also mobilized individual and collective strategies to develop informal community organizations. Peruvian anthropologist Teófilo Altamirano views migrants' communal forms of organizations as informal institutions that allowed their members to overcome the incapacity of the state to attend to their basic needs.<sup>46</sup> By mobilizing kinship ties, ethnic networks, and Andean notions of solidarity and reciprocity, mestizo and indigenous migrants in Lima established diverse types

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<sup>43</sup> Collective taxi to transport people along a route in the city.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Herald Anzaldi, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2017.

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta

<sup>46</sup> Two works of the author address the mechanisms utilized by Andean migrants for the formation of associations in Lima. See Teófilo Altamirano, *Presencia Andina En Lima Metropolitana: Un Estudio Sobre Migrantes Y Clubes De Provincianos*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1984) and Teófilo Altamirano, *Cultura Andina Y Pobreza Urbana: Aymaras En Lima Metropolitana*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1988). See also, Golte and Adams, *Los Caballos de Troya*, 56-67.

of organizations in *barriadas*. The first informal organizations among migrants were created for community development. The participation of women was central as they launched neighborhood assemblies, local soup kitchens, and mothers' clubs in *barriadas*.

Organizations for community development relied on residential solidarity to overcome contexts of economic decline in the capital. Provincial migrants in *barriadas* also formed informal organizations to demand basic services for their community, such as electricity, water, sewing, and property titles. While many of these migrants brought to Lima their experiences with unions that developed in peasant communities, these informal organization strategies were also based on the development of strong links among residents of *barriadas*. They shared common social characteristics, interests, and cultural codes that created feelings of loyalty among neighbors and helped them to maintain social cohesion to negotiate with local authorities. During the 1970s, the socialist regime was benevolent with the flow of migrants by allowing the occupancy of unused lands owned by the state. Gradually, the state facilitated the installation of basic services prompting *barriadas* to grow and transform into the new districts of Lima.<sup>47</sup>

Provincial clubs, religious associations, and cultural organizations were another type of communal organization that primarily facilitated the adaptation of migrants in the capital. These forms of organization reinforced the capacity of migrants to transfer Andean practices and preserve their cultural identity and traditions in Lima. In these spaces, migrants mobilized familial and friendship ties with people they knew from their towns, provinces, and communities of origin. They organized sporting, dancing, chanting, and musical activities that allowed them to socialize and maintain their culture, language, and beliefs.

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<sup>47</sup> de Soto, *The Other Path*, 55.

Furthermore, in these associations, migrants established permanent economic and social relations with their places of origin in order to reinforce the continuation of cultural practices in Lima. Equally important, by mobilizing notions of reciprocity, mutual-aid, and cultural proximity (*paisanaje*), provincial associations also served as places to establish social and economic relations with other members. Migrants used these communal spaces to obtain job referrals, initiate business ventures with *paisanos*, and provide goods and services to migrants from the same region of origin. Likewise, provincial clubs offered migrants a space for institutional representation towards local authorities, political parties, and the state.<sup>48</sup>

As a consequence of the development of Andean cultural practices in Lima during the 1970s, patronal festivities, regional bands, and provincial fairs began to proliferate in the city. Andean music flooded the capital with its diversity of styles and genres. The best musicians and singers of Andean music moved to Lima since there was a developing market for their music. In provincial clubs, the celebration of a patron saint was accompanied by a party (*fiesta folklórica*) which served as a reference of organization and identity for migrants. These celebrations used the system of *padrinazgo* and *mayordomos* that offered prestige and status to the migrants in charge of organizing the *fiesta*. Additionally, *fiestas folklóricas* reactivated social networks in the new environment and created new forms of solidarity among migrants in Lima.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, radio stations playing Andean music became popular in the capital. These stations operated from *barriadas*, and many of them transmitted their programs in Quechua and Aymara, evidencing the growing population of Andean origins in Lima. Most importantly, folkloric coliseums (*coliseos folklóricos*) emerged as the main expression of provincial culture in Lima. In these spaces Andean migrants congregated, not

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<sup>48</sup> Altamirano, *Presencia andina*, 75-127.

<sup>49</sup> Degregori, *Del mito de Inkarri*, 91-93, 133-144, 229-234.

only to enjoy their favorite musicians, but also to preserve their culture and celebrate their towns of origin. An amalgamation of Andean musical styles forged a national folklore that began to define part of the new urban identity of the migrant.<sup>50</sup>

However, informal communal spaces and organizations developed by migrants were not necessarily areas of uniform solidarity. In the case of *barriadas*, conflicts arose due to competing economic and political interests as well as ethnic and social differences. In the case of communal associations, economic and personal interests lead to disputes within these organizations. Even though conflict was latent in these groups, migrants principally engaged in communal organizations to exercise participation in shaping a physical and a social space within the capital as they searched for social inclusion and citizenship recognition.<sup>51</sup>

The development of *barriadas* facilitated the formation of a new cultural identity among provincial migrants in Lima. In these social spaces, the mobilization of kinship and friendship ties were utilized by the new urban residents to obtain a collective sense of identity.<sup>52</sup> However, social networks between provincial migrants were not only reduced to the space of their specific *barriada*. Collective linkages transcended the limits of a particular shantytown, connecting groups of migrants that shared mutual interests and common social characteristics associated with a subordinated position in the urban context. Additionally, the exposure of migrants to cultural products promoted by mass media tempted them with modern styles and sophisticated practices that increased their desire to have a more active participation in city life. Thus, by creatively combining cultural elements from the *criollo*, Andean, and foreign world, migrants in Lima began to shape their own urban identity. They

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<sup>50</sup> During this decade El Jilguero del Huascarán, Pastorcita Huaracina, and El Picaflor de los Andes emerged as popular figures that represented the mass of migrants living in the capital. See Aguirre and Walker, *The Lima Reader*, 248.

<sup>51</sup> Altamirano, *Presencia andina*, 161-178.

<sup>52</sup> Aguirre and Walker, *The Lima Reader*, 161-164, and Degregori, *Del mito de Inkari*, 295-306.

transformed themselves from Indians to *cholos*, reducing the historical antagonism between Indians (*serranos*) and *criollos*.<sup>53</sup>

The term *cholo* signified the new cultural identity and lifestyle of migrants with predominantly Indian cultural origins who, in the city, adopted sophisticated western clothing, a *limeño* accent, and modern customs.<sup>54</sup> The provincial migrant in the capital was unlike the *criollo*, who emphasized his full attachment to the middle-class and the Spanish culture. Thus, the *cholo* emerged as a new subject, not completely assimilated into the dominant culture of the Peruvian society. Instead, they configured a new urban identity, neither indigenous nor *criollo*, but mestizo, modern, and innovative. Even though informal practices began to be adopted by individuals of diverse social class and cultural origins in previous decades, the figure of *el cholo* personified *recuseo*. By the end of the 1970s, the Peruvian society entered in a process of *cholification* with the massive arrival of Andean migrants that changed the face of public space in Lima and other urban centers. The *andeanization* or *cholification* of Lima was materialized through the creation of *barriadas*, provincial clubs, the shaping of the *cholo* identity, and the development of the culture of informality. By creatively articulating and combining tradition and modernity, collectivism and individualism, provincial migrants in the capital connected the rural and urban world, allowing the rise of a more inclusive Peruvian society.<sup>55</sup>

The emergence of the *cholo* identity challenged stereotypes established by the Peruvian oligarchy and contributed to the gradual incorporation of Andean migrants into

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<sup>53</sup> Peruvian scholar Guillermo Nugent offers a historical analysis of the process of cholification of the Peruvian society. See Guillermo Nugent, *El Laberinto De La Choleidad* (Lima: Editorial UPC, 2015).

<sup>54</sup> François Bourricaud and Anibal Quijano interpreted the process of *mestizaje* and cholification in Peru. See François Bourricaud, *Poder Y Sociedad En El Perú Contemporáneo* (Lima: IEP, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2017) and Anibal Quijano, *Dominación y cultura: Lo cholo y el conflicto cultural en el Perú* (Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1980).

<sup>55</sup> Peruvian historiography has deeply investigated the development of a new urban identity among the popular sectors of the Peruvian society. See Carlos I. Degregori, Cecilia Blondet, and Nicolás Lynch, *Conquistadores De Un Nuevo Mundo: De Invasores a Ciudadanos En San Martín De Porres* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2014); Carlos Franco, *Imágenes De La Sociedad Peruana*; Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular*; Nugent, *El Laberinto*; Quijano, *Dominación y cultura*.

national life. The massive migration from the Andes ameliorated the traditional division between the *criollo* and Andean world that had divided Peruvian society for centuries. Many of the cultural elements brought by rural-urban migrants have been also transformed in inner-city slums and shantytowns by combining them with elements of the *criollo* culture. The coexistence of both worlds allowed the gradual re-composition of ethnic differences which eventually produced the greatest cultural and social transformation of contemporary Peru. However, even though migration attenuated prejudices among diverse classes and ethnic groups, most of the economic and social imbalances still persisted in Peruvian society.<sup>56</sup>

### **Migration, Informality, and *Recurseo* as a Way of Life for Peruvians**

The decade of 1980 was initiated with the reestablishment of democracy in Peru and the devolution of all mass media and some properties expropriated by Velasco to their original owners. After General Francisco Morales Bermudez (1975-1980) decided to return power to civilians, Fernando Belaúnde (1980-1985) was elected president for a second term, followed by Alan García (1985-1990). During this decade, relations with the United States eroded as a consequence of political conflicts in Central America. Bilateral cooperation was not sustained during this decade, and aid coming from the United States reduced considerably, as well as exports from Peru to North America.<sup>57</sup> Peruvian exports to the United States reduced from \$1,057 million in 1985 to \$400 million in 1989 that is, 34.2% to 25% of the total exports of the nation, a consequence which affected the growth of the Peruvian economy.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Starn et, al, *The Peru Reader*, 1-11.

<sup>57</sup> McClintock and Vallas, *The United States and Peru*, 32-33.

<sup>58</sup> Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú. "Memoria del Consulado General del Perú en Paterson, New Jersey Correspondiente a los años 1989-1990," 15-16.

During this decade, global recession and internal market reforms affected the Peruvian economy. Belaúnde aimed to liberalize the Peruvian market through the reduction of tariffs with favorable conditions in order to attract foreign investment. The government also incremented the securing of loans from international banks, which negatively affected the national economy. Worldwide recession impacted the economic reforms of Belaúnde when the prices of key exports dropped, interest rates jumped, and new international loans were not available for developing countries. Belaúnde's regime continued to spend in infrastructure, energy, and irrigation project, causing Peru's financial deficit to skyrocket. By the end of Belaúnde's regime, wages declined, unemployment increased, and direct foreign investment was minimal.<sup>59</sup>

Guerrilla organizations of incompatible communist ideologies, Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*) and *Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru* (MRTA), initiated their insurgent actions during this decade. MRTA's actions occurred mostly in the capital and focused on assaulting banks and killing politicians, entrepreneurs, and local leaders that did not collaborate with quotas and resources to support their aims. However, the most dangerous guerilla group during the 1980s was Shining Path. Its actions centered on controlling the poorest and most desolated regions of the Andes. At first, *Sendero* gained support from some indigenous communities from the impoverished regions of Ayacucho, Apurímac, and Huancavelica. The government's initial mild response to the insurgency made peasants believe the state was not interested in addressing their problems. When *Sendero*'s influence grew, the military used cruel and indiscriminate tactics on their own citizens to combat the guerrillas. Police and military forces, most of them from *criollo* origins, did not differentiate

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<sup>59</sup> McClintock and Vallas, *The United States and Peru*, 32-33.

indigenous peasants from guerrilla members, arresting and killing innocent people.

Indigenous populations were caught between two fires. Both the military forces and members of the Popular Guerrilla Army (*Ejército Guerrillero Popular-Sendero Luminoso*) carried out several massacres in the early 1980s.<sup>60</sup>

During the government of Alan García, the application of leftist reforms significantly affected the nation's economy, politics and international relations. García imposed a heterodox economic program that defied international banks by allocating only ten percent of Peru's export earnings to pay the foreign debt.<sup>61</sup> The International Monetary Fund and the financial community retracted after this measure, isolating Peru from the international financial markets. His poorly implemented economic reforms that sought to defend the national market adversely affected the household income of Peruvians. As García raised the salary of workers in the public sector, provided more credits to peasants, and incremented public expenditure with infrastructure, inflation soared, and the Peruvian currency depreciated. His reforms produced a world record of hyperinflation, which reached 7,649% in 1990.<sup>62</sup> After losing foreign investors' confidence, the Peruvian government struggled to pay its increasing foreign debt, which exceeded US\$20 billion by 1989.<sup>63</sup> At the end of García's term, the percentage of the population affected by poverty increased from 41.6% in 1985 to 53.6% in 1991.<sup>64</sup> His reforms devastated the economy and produced a severe political and social crisis.

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<sup>60</sup> The following works offer a complete account of the emergence, actions, and consequences of Shining Path guerrilla in Peru. See Gustavo Gorriti, *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2006); Miguel La Serna, *The Corner of the Living: Ayacucho on the Eve of the Shining Path Insurgency* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); David S. Palmer, *The Shining Path of Peru* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Steve J. Stern, *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

<sup>61</sup> John Crabtree and J J. Thomas (*Fujimori's Peru: The Political Economy*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1998), 18.

<sup>62</sup> Humberto Campodónico, "El proceso económico," in *Perú, la búsqueda de la democracia*, ed., Contreras y Zapata, 186.

<sup>63</sup> Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú*, 372.

<sup>64</sup> Adolfo Figueroa, "Income Distribution and Poverty in Peru," in *Fujimori's Peru*, ed., Crabtree and Thomas, 138.

The economic crisis exacerbated the violent actions perpetuated by Shining Path and MRTA in the Andes and Lima. By 1989, Shining Path controlled entire regions in the Andes, subjugating rural and urban populations. The Peruvian Army restructured their plan to counteract guerrilla actions by including the organization of peasant and indigenous populations to fight guerrilla members. The military informally organized anti-rebel militias called *rondas campesinas* and provided them arms and training to attack the incursion of Shining Path in their towns and communities. However, García's administration unsuccessfully sought a military solution to the growing terrorism in the highlands. In Lima, violent actions expanded to include car bombs, assaults, ambushes of police stations, control of workers' unions, and murders of political leaders and small business holders. Guerrillas were close to reaching their aim: to establish a new communist state. At the beginning of the 1990s, the confrontation between the guerrillas and the army caused the loss of thousands of lives, prompting new waves of rural-urban migration.<sup>65</sup>

Political violence in the Andes changed the face of rural-urban migration. Migrants arriving in Lima during the 1980s were displaced individuals fleeing desperate economic and political conditions in their communities. Furthermore, in contrast to previous waves of migration, Andean migrants during the 1980s arrived to an unstable urban environment with fewer economic opportunities.<sup>66</sup> By 1984, the number of rural-urban newcomers in Lima increased and the capital was officially a city of internal migrants, most of them from the Andes.<sup>67</sup> New waves of Andean populations settled in former shantytowns that, during the 1970s, had become districts, such as *San Martín de Porres*, *Comas*, *Independencia*, *Villa*

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<sup>65</sup> Peter Winn, *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 564-572.

<sup>66</sup> de Soto, *The Other Path*, 10.

<sup>67</sup> Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular*, 69-96.

*Maria, and San Juan de Miraflores*. But also, new waves of rural-urban migration increased the number of shantytowns in Lima, producing a demographic explosion that enlarged the peripheries of the city. By the end of the 1980s, there were 1,147 *barriadas* which housed a total of 2,188,415 residents, more than 30% of the population of Lima.<sup>68</sup> In five decades Lima's population increased tenfold, matching the entire country's population of 1940.<sup>69</sup>

The recurrent context of political and economic crisis during the 1980s encouraged migrants to depend more on the use of informal practices in order to generate their own resources for survival. During this decade, informality increased principally as a consequence of the barriers imposed by the government on the tributary system and the bureaucratic control of industry, commerce, and labor. The Peruvian state enacted legal dispositions to exert control over all kinds of economic activities but did not have the resources to exercise such regulation. For instance, the state proved incapable of collecting taxes from enterprises, small business, and formal workers and failed to block the channels established to evade taxation. Furthermore, the government imposed measures for processing documentation that obstructed the operability of any labor activity.<sup>70</sup> Edgar Santos' attempt to develop his business exemplifies the obstacles informal owners faced in order to formalize their business ventures during the 1980s:

I wanted to regularize and expand the small printing shop I began to work with at home, but it took me one year of completing paperwork in order to comply with licenses and regulations. So, I decided to continue working informally, and I did it that way for more than 10 years.<sup>71</sup>

As in the case of Santos, the length of the process to formalize business ventures encouraged popular sectors to explore alternative channels to obtain resources, operate at the

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<sup>68</sup> Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular*, 69.

<sup>69</sup> INEI Evolución de la población censada urbana, según departamento, 1940, 1961, 1972, 1981, 1993 Y 2007, <https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/Cap03004.xls>, accessed May 5, 2018.

<sup>70</sup> Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular*, 56-66.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Edgar Santos, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2017.

periphery of the law, and develop informal economic, labor, and cultural practices. Excessive regulation, bureaucratization, and the lack of control over tax evasion during the 1980s motivated individuals from all social classes and ethnic origins to further develop the informal economy.

The expansion of the culture of informality during the 1980s crossed social classes, ethnic origins, and gender, producing informal subjects, creative individuals who lived and worked by evading legal norms. They found refuge in the underground and informal market when the cost of following the norms exceeded its benefits.<sup>72</sup> In this decade, the alternative economic circuit allowed the creation of non-registered enterprises and underground activities that escaped the control of the bureaucratic state. Self-employment increased as an alternative mechanism for larger sectors of the population that had no other choice than to generate their own labor and income. In 1985, the informal sector constituted 49.2% of the economically active population (EAP) in Peru,<sup>73</sup> and most individuals from the lower sectors only depended on the income they obtained through peripheral activities. Furthermore, since household income was insufficient to economically maintain the entire family, other family members had to rely on informal occupations in order to survive the critical context in which the Peruvian society was immersed. Women and children began to contribute to the household income by actively participating in the informal labor market. During the 1980s, women adopted an active role in providing income for their families. As housewives, migrant women living in *barriadas* had more flexibility to perform informal labor activities. Many of them worked from home as cooks, laundresses, and babysitters, or in the streets as peddlers, since they could take their children with them to work. By the end of the 1980s, women

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<sup>72</sup> Peruvian economist Hernando De Soto offers a legal approach to analyze informality in Peru. See de Soto, *The Other Path*, 11.

<sup>73</sup> See INEI, "El sector informal en America Latina, Tabla 1: America Latina: Empleo en el sector informal urbano, según país, 1985," <http://proyectos.inei.gob.pe/web/biblioineipub/bancopub/Est/Lib0166/c355.HTM>, accessed February 22, 2018.

constituted approximately 45% of the informal sector.<sup>74</sup> Likewise, children also participated in informal economic activities. Julian Rodas' account demonstrates the mechanisms mobilized principally by new migrant families in order to generate income in the capital:

I had to work since I was 8 years old. As a migrant in Lima I had to contribute to our household economy. My parents allowed me to help an old guy from my neighborhood to deliver the food he prepared and sold in the stadium. I also cleaned car windshields in order to bring home extra money. The little money I earned was at least enough to buy bread and butter for breakfast.<sup>75</sup>

As in the case of Rodas, children mostly worked selling candies and newspapers or shining shoes on the streets, obtaining a small amount of money they brought home to complement the household income.

The lower-middle classes of the population also relied on informality by supplementing the income obtained in formal occupations with informal jobs conducted after work or on weekends.<sup>76</sup> Julio Ricaldi remembers, "I was a unionized construction worker, but on Saturdays and Sundays I remodeled houses and did other small construction jobs in the neighborhood."<sup>77</sup> The middle classes also relied on informality when they realized that they could increase their profits by combining formal and informal mechanisms to set up or run their businesses. For instance, small enterprises established through legal channels obtained products or services under the table in order to evade taxation, lower the costs of products, and grant access to clandestine credit. Juan Peredo recalls, "I owned a printing press formally launched, but I paid some of my employees in cash and bought some materials on the black market. That's why my small business was doing well."<sup>78</sup> Larger companies also

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<sup>74</sup> INEI, "El sector informal en America Latina, Tabla 5: Lima Metropolitana 1990: Población Ocupada de 15 años y más por sectores formal e informal, según rama de actividad económica y sexo: Ene 90 – Dic 90,"

<http://proyectos.inei.gob.pe/web/biblioineipub/bancopub/Est/Lib0166/c109.HTM>, accessed February 23, 2018.

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Julian Rodas, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

<sup>76</sup> De Soto, *The Other Path*, 62-74.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Julio Ricaldi, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Juan Peredo, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

used alternative channels to obtain bids for their companies and ease their operations in the Peruvian market. During this decade, the state exerted a passive response to the development of the informal sector since it offered an alternative way to invigorate the declining economic market that could not be controlled through legal channels.

During this decade, larger sectors of the population tended to operate along the margins of the law, outside of the official regulations established by the Peruvian government. At the end of the 1980s, the informal sector represented 55% of the country's economy,<sup>79</sup> impacting physically, socially, and culturally the physiognomy of the main urban centers. Informality flooded Lima and transformed the ancient colonial city into a large Andean fair. Larger streets markets (*paradas*) that distributed merchandise for small open markets (*mercadillos o paraditas*) operated in the capital under a mixture of formal and informal practices. In these spaces, thousands of migrants found precarious job positions that also took advantage of informal commerce. Similarly, hundreds of industries, and small enterprises operated at the margin of the law by evading taxes and licenses and commercializing informal products and services.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, informal clinics arose in *barriadas* offering affordable healthcare, but without using proper sanitation. Other individuals of migrant origins also relied on ancient health practices through healers (*curanderos*) and herbalists (*herbolarios*), most of them working in informal facilities. Migrants in *barriadas* also used clandestine cemeteries and sanctuaries to bury the deceased. Informality invaded politics as well. The guerrilla groups Shining Path and MRTA constituted informal political organizations, given that both groups were ideologically and logistically organized at the margins of the official Peruvian communist party. Their

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<sup>79</sup> Alberto Chong, Galdo, Jose; and Saavedra-Chanduvi, Jaime, "Informality and Productivity in the Labor Market: Peru 1986 - 2001" (2007), 26.

<sup>80</sup> De Soto, *The Other Path*, 62-104.

members repudiated the formality of political parties, and they orchestrated their war against the government without any kind of economic support beyond the self-generation of resources or by establishing connections with drug cartels. In this way, they followed an informal path for socialist revolution. In sum, recurrent contexts of economic, political, and social crisis facilitated the emergence of the informal subject that mobilized practices of *recurseo* to survive on the margins of formal regulations, extending, at the same time, the informal market through the city.<sup>81</sup>

The overwhelming mass of Andean populations in the capital not only generated informality but also imposed new cultural and social patterns that caused profound changes in the lifestyle of the capital and in the configuration of a new Peruvian society. During this decade, the process of *cholification* or *andeanization* of Lima physically materialized with the vast presence of migrants occupying the social space of the city. Mainly on Sundays, when most migrant workers had the day off, they socialized with their families and friends in city parks, beaches, and boulevards. Their presence attracted street vendors and other informal peddlers that offered food, drinks, and other products to their customers. This spontaneous, creative, and informal takeover of the city represented the intent of thousands of migrants to conquer a social space in the Peruvian society from which they were historically relegated. The massive presence of Andean migrants in public spaces of the capital shaped the new face of Lima and the entire country.<sup>82</sup>

New urban practices also produced new cultural expressions in the capital. Populations from diverse provincial origins mixed creatively distinct traditions with cultural elements available in the capital, generating new expressions, styles, and behaviors. For

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<sup>81</sup> de Soto, *The Other Path*, 131-188.

<sup>82</sup> Aguirre and Walker, *The Lima Reader*, 161-164.

instance, the formality of the Catholic Church, a central colonial institution and symbol of the Oligarchy State and *criollo* culture, was flooded by new forms of popular devotion created by the emergent sectors of the population. Migrants in Lima found a way to create their own religious practices and sects that syncretized protestant religiosity and Andean mechanisms of solidarity and communal forms of organization. Most importantly, migrants created their own informal saints, not officially recognized by the Catholic Church but revered by the popular sectors. *Sarita Colonia* arose as a patron saint for informal and illegal workers such as street corner vendors, construction workers, prostitutes, and thieves.<sup>83</sup>

Similarly, cultural products from advanced countries promoted by radio and television disseminated modern styles, values, and attitudes that were combined with Andean traditions, creating new hybrid expressions in the urban context.<sup>84</sup> For example, during the 1980s, Andean music in Lima was modernized in *barriadas* by first and second generation of migrants. They transformed the Andean folklore into *chicha*, a new hybrid music genre that combined *huayno* (Andean folklore), rock, and tropical sounds.<sup>85</sup> The new urban subject mixed the use of technology, such as electric guitars and synthesizers, with tropical rhythms and songs to express the issues migrants had to face in the capital. This new urban musical style constituted the most important cultural expression made by the migrant in the urban setting. *Chicha* music was enjoyed by diverse generations of migrants consolidating the experiences and tastes of a variety of Andean populations. Furthermore, *Chichódromos* overtook the *Coliseo Folklórico* of the 1970s and became the place where thousands of

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<sup>83</sup> For more reference on the devotion of Sarita Colonia among the popular classes in Peru see Peter Winn, *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 253.

<sup>84</sup> The emergence of new behaviors, cultural expressions, identities, and language among migrants and their son and daughters in the *barriadas* of Lima, could be understood under the term Hybrid culture, coined by sociologist Nestor García Canclini to explain the cultural mixing in the *barrios* of Mexico City. See Nestor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

<sup>85</sup> Originally *Chicha* is a Peruvian drink from the Andes. During the 1980s the term was used to designate a new musical genre (Andean tropical) and in the 1990s people used the term to refer to informal practices and behaviors. See the works of Gisela Cánepa, "Chicha and Huayno: Andean Music and Culture in Lima," in Aguirre and Walker, *The Lima Reader*, 232-235.

informal migrant workers congregated to attend concerts after work on Sundays. *Chicheros* such as Chacalón, Chapulín, and Vico emerged as the new popular idols of the popular sectors, the former venerated as a saint after his death in 1994. *Chicha* music expressed the new cultural pattern of transformation within Peruvian society as a testament to the significance of the presence of migrants in the capital.<sup>86</sup>

The outbreak of undergoing processes of cultural adaptation and hybridization developed by individuals of Andean origins began to be defined by scholars with the term *chicha* culture.<sup>87</sup> *Chicha* became a descriptor of the new informal way of life that would rule the Peruvian society over the course of subsequent decades. Informality, now in its *chicha* version, characterized the attitudes, norms, and practices of the urban subjects of all classes, gender, and ethnicity. As a consequence of recurrent contexts of political, social, and economic crises, the culture of informality, or *chicha* culture, eroded every practice, space, and institution in the Peruvian society, developing a strong informal market with dynamism and diversification. By the end-1980s, most Peruvians were migrants themselves, or sons or daughters of migrants. Continuous subversive violence by guerrillas and increasing poverty levels undermined the living expectations of thousands of Peruvians from the Andes, causing a new wave of rural-urban migration.

During the 1990s, individuals of all sectors of the population increasingly relied on *recurseo* practices to face economic and political instability exacerbated during the presidency of Alberto Fujimori. Fujimori, an engineer and university professor, reached the

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<sup>86</sup> Arturo Quispe Lazaro, "Chicha Music, Urban Subalternity, and Cultural Identities in Peru: Construction of the Local and Translocal Scene," in *Made in Latin America: Studies in Popular Music*, ed., Julio Mendivil and Spencer C. Espinosa (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>87</sup> See the works of Jaime Bailon, "La Chicha No Muere Ni Se Destruye, sólo Se Transforma: Vida, historia y milagros de la cumbia peruana", in *ÍCONOS*, 18, 2004: 53-62, Juan Gargurevich, "La Chicha," cultura urbana que resiste," in *Panam: Industries Culturelles Et Dialogue Des Civilisations Dans Les Amériques = Panam : Cultural Industries and Dialogue between Civilizations*, ed., Tremblay, Gaëtan, (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003), 139-154, and Arturo Quispe Lázaro, *La Música Chicha: ¿expresión De Una Cultura E Identidad Popular En Formación?*, (Tesis (Br.)--Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales. Mención: Sociología.1988)

presidency as an outsider, with the overwhelming support of the popular sectors exhausted with traditional political parties. Fujimori represented the alternative candidate, without a clear political and economic program to face Peru's economic crisis. He formed a political party without politicians, but with a group of technocrats and professionals of migrant origins that represented the electorates who lived in *barriadas*. Fujimori, as his voters, was a migrant himself that spoke Spanish with a Japanese accent. He mobilized *recurseo* strategies to win votes among the poorest sectors of the population. He dressed in jeans and boots and used a tractor to methodically visit every shantytown of Lima where he danced, ate, and drank with migrants. By using a kind of neo-populism, Fujimori had the ability to perceive and articulate the views of the common citizen. Fujimori used clientelistic relations to finance his political campaign. He convinced protestant leaders, small entrepreneurs, and family members to collaborate with economic and material resources in exchange for a governmental position if he reached the presidency. As his contender, Fujimori had the worldwide recognized Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa, who entered into politics in order to save Peru from bankruptcy. Vargas Llosa allied with traditional political leaders and planned to apply drastic neoliberal measures to reactivate the economy, even though it would affect the popular sectors. Contrarily, if he did not win the election, Fujimori's only plan was to leave the country in search for a better future for him and his family.<sup>88</sup> Fujimori capitalized on popular distrust of Vargas Llosa's identification with the Peruvian political establishment and won the presidential election with an overwhelming support of 62% of voters.<sup>89</sup>

Fujimori began his first term by applying Fujishock, the drastic neoliberal reforms formulated by Vargas Llosa in order to restore economic stability. By following the

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<sup>88</sup> Sally Bowen provides an extensive study of the life of Alberto Fujimori and his ascension into power. See Sally Bowen, Sally, *The Fujimori File: Peru and Its President 1900-2000* (Lima: Peru Monitor, 2000).

<sup>89</sup> Sally Bowen, *The Fujimori File*, 26.

guidelines of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Fujimori reduced government subsidies and employment in the public sector while implementing price control in the private sector. Likewise, Fujimori's economic measures reduced restrictions on imports, foreign investments, and capital. Fujimori's aim was to restore Peru's macroeconomic stability and to encourage the arrival of U.S. capitals that had fled the country during the government of García. As a consequence, these measures generated inflation and increased the prices of food products and basic services. However, the application of neoliberal measures was well accepted by the IMF and soon guaranteed loan funding to relieve the Peruvian economy. Gradually, macroeconomic stability was restored and promoted the arrival of foreign capital, generating employment and reactivating the local economy.<sup>90</sup>

In 1992, violence was established as part of daily life in Peru. Fujimori had to eliminate Shining Path and MRTA, but congress delayed Fujimori's attempts to take direct actions to combat these groups. On April 5, 1992, with the support of the military, Fujimori carried out a self-coup (*autogolpe*) shutting down the Peruvian congress. Fujimori defended the coup, claiming that bureaucratic formality of the Peruvian democracy had halted his plans to directly confront guerrillas in order to save the country from social chaos.<sup>91</sup> Public opinion, principally among the popular sectors, supported the coup. In the following years Fujimori used arbitrary mechanisms to rule the country, including authoritarian decisions that undermined the norms of the constitution. However, the sociopolitical future of Peru changed in 1992. The government captured both the leader of *Sendero Luminoso*, Abimael Guzman, and Victor Polay, leader of MRTA. Fujimori was reelected in 1995 with 64% of the popular

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<sup>90</sup> Crabtree, "Neo-Populism and the Fujimori Phenomenon," in *Fujimori's Peru*, ed., Crabtree and Thomas, 7-23.

<sup>91</sup> Peter H. Smith, *Latin America in Comparative Perspective: New Approaches to Methods and Analysis* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 236.

vote.<sup>92</sup> The period from 1995 to 1997 was characterized by the high approval rating of Fujimori's government, principally for defeating guerrillas and reinserting the Peruvian market in the world economy.

Even though the Peruvian economy was reactivated, during his first term in office Fujimori issued decrees that weakened trade unions and labor movements that had been accused of infiltrating the guerrillas. By 1995, the reduction of labor rights facilitated the selling of hundreds of state companies that affected the livelihood of the middle and lower-middle classes. Between 1991 and 1995, the economically active population working in the formal sector reduced from 60.7% to 46%.<sup>93</sup> Privatization of state-owned companies left thousands of workers without a stable job, producing a shift in employment from the formal to the informal sector. In 1995, 49.3% of the economically active population of Lima worked in the informal sector, was underemployed, or used extralegal channels to complement the household income.<sup>94</sup> Informality and *recurseo* practices skyrocketed among the larger sectors of the population. Thousands of professionals, semiskilled, and office workers formally employed under temporary or short term contracts, now relied on extra work after regular hours in order to supplement their income. Julio Muñoz experience exemplifies this pattern. As an engineer Muñoz had to work independently for other colleagues on projects they gave him after hours or on weekends in order to earn extra money to cover household expenses.<sup>95</sup>

Other Peruvians that worked for the public sector as clerks had to complement their income by using *recurseo* practices. "I worked as a secretary for the state, but on weekends I prepared and sold cakes for weddings, baptisms, and birthday parties. My salary wasn't

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<sup>92</sup> Calvin Sims, New York Times, "Fujimori Wins 5 More Years at Peru Helm", April 11, 1995.

<sup>93</sup> Jim Thomas, "The Labor Market and Employment," in *Fujimori's Peru*, ed., Crabtree and Thomas, 156.

<sup>94</sup> Thomas, "The Labor Market," in *Fujimori's Peru*, ed., Crabtree and Thomas, 155-156.

<sup>95</sup> Interview with Julio Muñoz, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

enough,” Diana Lopez declares.<sup>96</sup> Similarly, Carlos Vera, a semi-skilled factory foreman, worked extra hours providing taxi services informally. “I didn’t have a permit to use my car as an official taxi, but everybody did it that way. By working three hours after my regular job, I could earn the money needed at least to put gas in my car or pay the bills.”<sup>97</sup> Other workers that lost their jobs in the public sector invested the money they received for accepting the “invitation” to retire from state-owned companies in informal businesses. For instance, Guillermo García bought two *combis*<sup>98</sup> to provide public transportation services. García drove one with his older son and rented the other to a neighbor that was also unemployed. He joined a transportation association that was in the process of formalizing the route. García worked more than 12 hours a day, sometimes seven days a week, but his income was insufficient to maintain the middle-class lifestyle he had when he worked for the state.<sup>99</sup>

As in the case of García, during the 1990s, larger sectors of the population responded to adverse circumstances by mobilizing their creativity, talents, and kinship networks to fill their income gaps. Principally, *recurseo* practices were mobilized by the poorest sectors who lived in *barriadas*. One of the most common forms of *recurseo* used by thousands of men and women living in *barriadas* was to work on *combis* as bus drivers, fare collectors (*cobradores*), and timekeepers (*dateros*). These forms of *recurseo* proliferated in the 1990s after restrictions on the import of small buses were reduced by the government in order to combat the shortage of public transportation in the capital. The informality of the public transportation system allowed the invasion of *combis* in Lima that was fully exploited by the

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<sup>96</sup> Interview with Diana Lopez, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Carlos Vera, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

<sup>98</sup> Tiny van or *colectivo* used as public transportation that has been banned in several countries of the world.

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Guillermo García, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

unemployed. Likewise, during this decade, technological advances were utilized by the popular sectors to introduce piracy. Groups of migrants organized themselves to clandestinely copy music, videos, and books at homes or backstreet stands in order to sell them in the informal markets of Lima. Customers saved money by taking advantage of socially accepted unlawful practices.

By skirting bureaucracy, the popular sectors organized themselves through communal ties to produce everything from shoes to candies, generating a subterranean economy that expanded with innovation and determination during the 1990s. Street vendors, popular artists, contrabandists, and sellers of fake merchandise proliferated in every neighborhood of the city, spoiling the face of Lima with traffic, litter, and misery (see figure 4). Neoliberal reforms reactivated the economy, but poverty and chaos characterized everyday life in the urban context. In spite of economic imbalances, social scientists during the 1990s revealed that the poorest sectors of the population were still able to provide for themselves, as unemployed workers found opportunities in self-employment. Economist Hernando De Soto pointed out that the emergent informal market was in reality popular capitalism, since informal small business owners were essentially small business entrepreneurs that found barriers to develop and formalize their economic ventures by the institutionalized bureaucratic state.<sup>100</sup> In fact, during this decade, the informal economy provided a pathway for enterprising individuals to become small businessmen. Many informal activities that began as a survival strategy of individuals or families over time developed the potential to incorporate themselves into the formal market. During the 1990s, businesses ventures formalized and became micro-companies or middle-sized enterprises that employed less than

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<sup>100</sup> De Soto demonstrates that during the 1990s, the high cost of legalizing businesses prompted individuals to work at the margins of the law. Small business owners should follow nine administrative operations to legalize their small business and pay eight different kinds of taxes and labor obligations. See de Soto, *The Other Path*, 131-150.

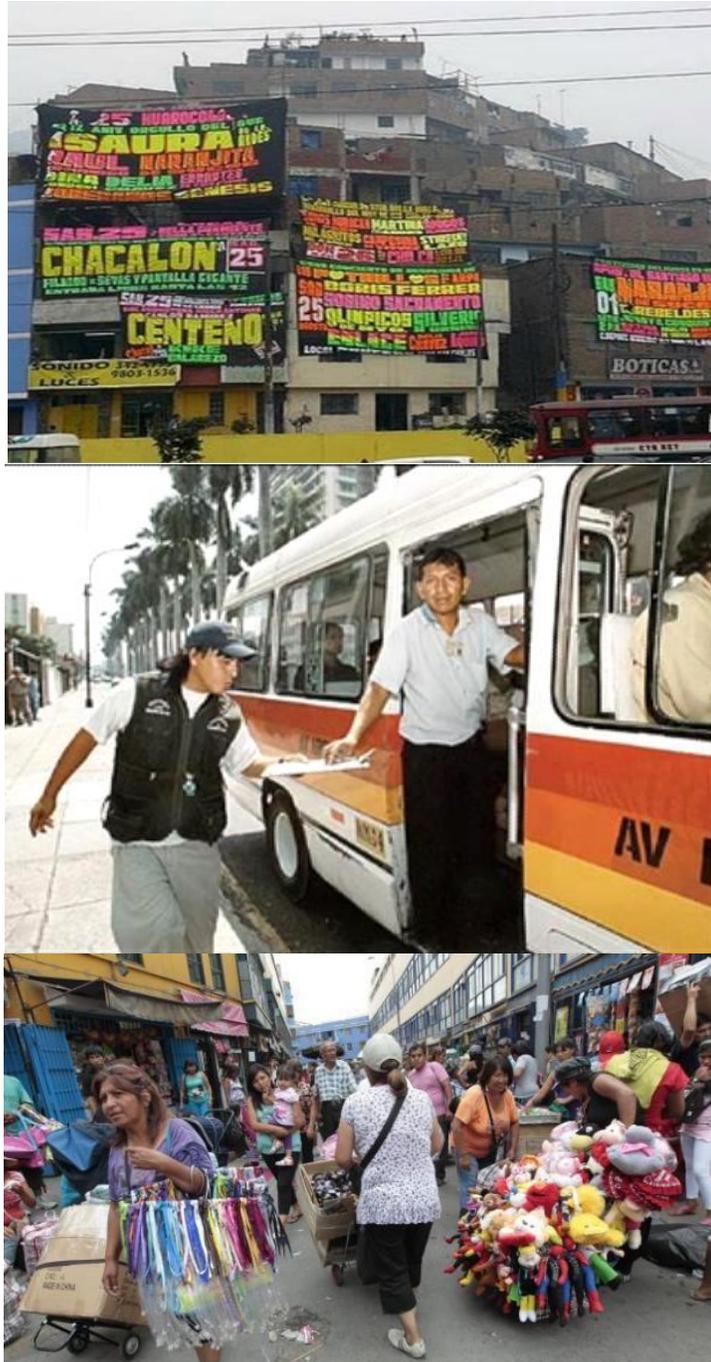


Figure 4. *Invasiones, combis, dateros and vendedores ambulantes*, elements of the culture of informality in Peru. *El Comercio*, August 5, 2016.

50 workers.<sup>101</sup> These small business were mostly owned by families from migrant origins that developed systems of production, transportation, and commercialization of products that connected Lima with other provinces and even other countries.<sup>102</sup>

However, micro and middle-sized businesses emerged as options to generate employment but did not ensure labor stability and protection. Workers in these micro-companies did not have a formal contract, health insurance, or other social benefits. Most of these small businesses partially complied with certain legal requirements, but did not pay taxes and other regulatory fees. In fact, during this decade, 40% of Peruvian enterprises evaded the formal registration of contracts, and workers were employed under temporary labor contracts.<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, by 1997, micro- and middle-sized businesses absorbed thousands of workers who had lost their jobs with the politics of privatization established by the government during the 1990s.

Informality and *recurseo* practices also characterized the political activities as the popular sectors became increasingly more involved in local politics during the 1990s. Populations of migrant origins did not adhere to a liberal, socialist, or centrist political front. Instead, they organized informal political groups that did not articulate a particular ideology. The emergent popular sectors manifested interests in local political power but did aspire to hold offices at the national level. Instead, migrants in the capital utilized politics to negotiate particular agendas by calculating cost-benefits with local authorities, paternalist figures, and occasional politicians who sought their support in elections. Emergent popular sectors demonstrated a pragmatic, adaptive, and clientelistic political style that applied pressure on

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<sup>101</sup> Thomas, "The Labor Market," in *Fujimori's Peru*, ed., Crabtree and Thomas, 153.

<sup>102</sup> The case of the clothing industry in the Gamarra cluster in Lima is an example of how informal ventures formalized and began to export textiles to other countries. See Evert-Jan Visser, "Structural Adjustment and Cluster Advantages: A Case from Peru," in *Local Economies in Turmoil: The Effects of Deregulation and Globalization*, ed., Sverrisson, Arni, and Meine P. Dij, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 77-94.

<sup>103</sup> Victor E. Tokman, "Integrating the Informal Sector in the Modernization Process." *SAIS Review*, vol. 21, 1, 2001: 45-60, 50-53.

authorities in order to obtain resources, power, and influence for their local interests. The political participation of the popular sectors influenced the presidential elections of the 1990s, and their utilitarian practices would define local and presidential elections in the 2000s.<sup>104</sup>

In 1997, economic growth experienced deceleration, followed by denounces of governmental corruption. In 1999, the political context turned unstable. By using illegal artifices, Fujimori launched his third candidature, winning the 2000 elections through fraudulent mechanisms. Although Fujimori resigned in 2000, poverty and recession continued to characterize the lives of Peruvians. Alejandro Toledo assumed the presidency in 2001, but Peruvians still did not trust their government. Between 1990 and 2001, Peru experienced the greatest flow of international migration in its history. Approximately 500,000 Peruvians migrated abroad.<sup>105</sup> Corruption, underdevelopment, and poverty prompted Peruvians from all ages, genders, and social classes to leave the country. At the turn of the century, most Peruvians had a family member or friend living in Europe, Japan, Chile, Argentina, or the United States.<sup>106</sup>

The communal and peripheral practices used by provincial migrants in Lima did not end when these migrants found stability in the capital; as migration became progressively more transnational, *recurseo* strategies were introduced into new contexts. The following chapter demonstrates that international migration of Peruvians stands as a continuation of the Peruvian rural-urban migration process in which agentive individuals relocated and reshaped norms, behaviors, mechanisms, and practices that had previously been used by internal

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<sup>104</sup> John Crabtree, "Neo-populism and the Fujimori Phenomenon," in *Fujimori's Peru*, ed., Crabtree and Thomas, 7- 23.

<sup>105</sup> Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, "Perú: Estadísticas de la emigración internacional de peruanos e inmigración de extranjeros, 1990-2013," 16, Accessed May 5, 2018.

[https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones\\_digitales/Est/Lib1243/Libro.pdf](https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1243/Libro.pdf).

<sup>106</sup> Paerregard, *Peruvians Dispersed*, 3.

migrants in Peru. In diverse migration waves of Peruvians to Paterson, individuals transferred a creative, innovative, and entrepreneurial spirit to carve out a place for themselves in U.S. society in the same way they, their parents and grandparents had done decades ago in Lima. By drawing on communal and peripheral practices used at home, Peruvians in Paterson developed social organizations and business ventures that ultimately shaped the economic life and cultural landscape of Paterson.

### Chapter 3:

## Collective Agency and Informal Practices for Migration, Adjustment, and Community

### Organization in Paterson

Desde la puerta de La Crónica Santiago mira la avenida Tacna, sin amor: automóviles, edificios desiguales y descoloridos, esqueletos de avisos luminosos flotando en la neblina, el mediodía gris. ¿En qué momento se había jodido el Perú? Los canillitas merodean entre los vehículos detenidos por el semáforo de Wilson voceando los diarios de la tarde y él echa a andar, despacio, hacia la Colmena. Las manos en los bolsillos, cabizbajo, va escoltado por transeúntes que avanzan, también, hacia la Plaza San Martín. Él era como el Perú, Zavalita, se había jodido en algún momento. Piensa: ¿en cuál? Frente al Hotel Crillón un perro viene a lamerle los pies: no vayas a estar rabioso, fuera de aquí. El Perú jodido, piensa, Carlitos jodido, todos jodidos. Piensa: no hay solución.

Mario Vargas Llosa, *Conversación en La Catedral* (Seix Barral, Barcelona: España), 2.

Rural-urban migration has been a fundamental experience for Peruvians and has shaped their lives during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Individuals from diverse social and ethnic backgrounds have been exposed, in one way or another, to the migration process that changed the Peruvian society. However, trends of internal migration in Peru did not remain in the country, developing simultaneously an international dimension.<sup>1</sup> As economic and political deterioration in Peru continued challenging migrants' quality of life in urbanized centers, Peruvians began to seek out better opportunities abroad. This chapter

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<sup>1</sup> Teófilo Altamirano has referred to the transnational formation of social organizations among Peruvian migrants, but has not further analyzed the alternative mechanisms used by migrants to develop and solidify these organizations. See: Altamirano, *Los Que Se Fueron*; Altamirano, *Liderazgo Y Organizaciones*; and Teófilo Altamirano, *Migration, Remittances and Development in Times of Crisis* (Lima: UNFPA, 2010).

offers a comprehensive trajectory from internal to international migration by showing how, in continuous migratory waves to Paterson, Peruvians reproduced informality and *recurseo* practices previously employed by Andean migrants in Lima. It demonstrates how the agentic condition of Peruvians migrated with them and was utilized to facilitate migration, labor incorporation, and social adjustment in the new setting. Oral histories reveal the importance of informal practices and notions of solidarity in facilitating the journey to Paterson. After exploring the ways in which these strategies were mobilized to initiate migration patterns to Paterson, the chapter will focus on the use of these strategies for labor incorporation and, finally, social adjustment. As *recurseo* practices continued to enrich the development of the Peruvian community in Paterson, nostalgia and national identity served as tools for strengthening internal ties within the community. This chapter emphasizes the centrality of embedded relations in which the arrangement of peripheral strategies shaped the migration process. These migration patterns have been reproduced, redefined, and perpetuated by Peruvians and, ultimately, supported the development and stability of a thriving Peruvian community in the United States.

### **Streams of Peruvian Migration to Paterson after the 1960s**

The movement of Peruvians to Paterson that began in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century accelerated by the mid-1970s. As explored in the first chapter, two waves of immigration had already occurred in the 1930s and during the 1960s. In the following decades, periodic contexts of economic decline and political instability at home caused thousands of Peruvians from diverse social, economic, and ethnic backgrounds to seek out better opportunities in Paterson. Four subsequent waves of Peruvian migration to Paterson occurred in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first of these, or the third wave of immigration, was

characterized by the movement of individuals who feared a lack of labor opportunities during the socialist military regime of the 1970s. While most Latin American military regimes were backed by conservatives with U.S. support, the *Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas* established by General Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1969 adopted leftist anti-American policies. This regime was characterized by the closing of the Peruvian market to U.S.-funded corporations in favor of nationalized industries. As a result, many laborers believed they would lose their jobs at American corporations as the government progressively limited foreign investments. Inflation, unemployment, and poverty inherited from this decade exacerbated during the 1980s, as a consequence of guerrilla groups and unstable political leadership. These conditions produced a fourth wave of migration enacted by populations of Andean origins that had already migrated to urban centers in Peru and now found the need to migrate to Paterson. During the 1990s, the neoliberal reforms of Alberto Fujimori brought a short period of economic stability; however, labor reforms prompted a fifth wave of migration to Paterson characterized by the movement of young professionals. At the turn of the twentieth-first century, middle-class Peruvians seeking a better future initiated a sixth wave of migration. Although each of these streams of migrants utilized a variety of mechanisms for adaptation and communal association in Paterson, they all relied on one particular strategy—the use of informal and resourceful practices for migration, adjustment, and communal organization in the new environment.

During the 1970s, the number of Peruvians migrating to Paterson reached more than 5,000, making them one of the largest immigrant group in the area.<sup>2</sup> Migration was facilitated by the presence of a family member or friend in the country. In this decade, Peruvians mostly

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<sup>2</sup> Paul L. Montgomery, “Life in an uphill struggle for the Latins in Paterson,” *The New York Times*, Wednesday, July 21, 1971.

arrived with temporary documents, such as U.S. residency or a temporary tourist visa that they would often allow to expire. Likewise, the migration of Peruvians to Paterson diversified. They mostly came from Lima, but migrants from other coastal and Andean regions also began to populate the area. Newcomers were generally working-class Peruvians, both men and women, with at least a high school education, while others had some advanced education but struggled to obtain sustainable employment. All of these Peruvians were part of the first international wave of economic migrants, individuals that fled the country out of economic necessity and often out of fear of the socialist reforms the military regime began to implement in Peru during this decade.<sup>3</sup>

As was the case with internal migratory movements, Peruvians incorporated in industrial plants and warehouses operating in Paterson. However, during this period, the shift from manufacturing towards the service sector caused a significant portion of the textile and machinery factories to close or relocate to other regions, impacting the local economy. Nevertheless, Paterson's economy remained relatively stable and encouraged Peruvians to move to the area. Peruvian migration increased by the end of the decade to approximately 10,000.<sup>4</sup>

While relatives living in Paterson facilitated newcomers' adaptation to the new environment, emergent organizations also eased their adjustment. In effect, newcomers found an ethnic community already in formation that relied on formal and informal mechanisms for communal development. Likewise, ethnic businesses began to appear in the area. In 1972, there were two Peruvian restaurants in downtown Paterson, in addition to income tax offices, travel agencies, and other businesses that began to serve the needs of Peruvians.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Altamirano, *Liderazgo*, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Tirado, "Peruvians into Paterson," 9.

<sup>5</sup> Tirado, "Peruvians into Paterson," 9.

In the next decade, desperate Peruvians utilized a combination of formal, informal, and illegal mechanisms to leave the country. Escalating violence and deteriorating economic conditions at home prompted potential migrants to use previously established network ties to make the journey. Family reunification continued to serve as a fundamental strategy to pull close family members still living in Peru. However, new immigration laws also tightened the requirements for obtaining tourist visas, motivating migrants to rely more on illegal practices to obtain the necessary documentation for migration.<sup>6</sup> The informal economy, already established in Lima by the mid-1980s, allowed *tramitadores* (people who “prepared” visa dossiers), working for tourist offices to develop a business aimed at potential migrants. These tourist agencies guided them through the process of obtaining a visa by preparing documentation with legal and illegal information. Those Peruvians who did not obtain the U.S. visa traveled thousands of miles to the north and crossed the Mexican-American border. By 1987, it was estimated that 14,000 Peruvians resided in the city of Paterson, a drastic increase in comparison with previous decades.<sup>7</sup>

At the end of this decade, the Peruvian community of Paterson was well established. Although de-industrialization caused severe economic decline and unemployment, Peruvians still found jobs in local factories. However, in contrast to previous immigrants, they worked multiple low-wage jobs to satisfy the increased cost of living. These conditions forced some Peruvians to leave their factory jobs and set up small businesses as earlier migrants had done decades before. More Peruvian restaurants, travel agencies, shipping, and service companies were opened in downtown Paterson, transforming it into the center of the Peruvian diaspora. Little Lima replaced Little Italy, and at the same time, one of the largest waves of Peruvian

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<sup>6</sup> Berg, *Mobile Selves*, 73-104.

<sup>7</sup> James Dao, “New Peruvian Consulate its Paterson’s First,” *The Record*, Paterson March 3, 1987.

migrants began to arrive, escaping the political violence and economic struggles still affecting the lives of Peruvians.<sup>8</sup>

During the 1990s, migration to Paterson was comprised of Peruvians from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds that included indigenous groups from remote areas of the Andes and the Amazon. Young adults, particularly university students, former public employees, and professionals from diverse careers, also left the country. As visa requirements became more stringent, more Peruvians decided to cross the U.S.-Mexican border.<sup>9</sup> At arrival new Peruvian migrants found an expanding ethnic market with businesses demanding the labor of unskilled and semi-skilled Peruvian workers who knew how to prepare, produce, and sell products and services for co-nationals. Without documents, and by relying on informal mechanisms of labor adjustment, many newcomers found jobs in Peruvian restaurants, groceries, income tax offices, or in small companies offering menial service jobs. Similarly, already established Peruvian entrepreneurs invested in business ventures that contributed to the increasing variety of products and services for Peruvians. For instance, the first newspapers, radio stations, and companies owned by Peruvians began to appear in the area.<sup>10</sup> During this decade, the community continued to fortify its position among other ethnic groups in Paterson. By 1998, it was estimated that 20,000 co-nationals lived in the area of Paterson.<sup>11</sup>

After 2000, the demands of visas in the U.S. embassy increased dramatically. A high number of university students, professionals, and, principally, people over 40 aimed to

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<sup>8</sup> Helen B. Marrow, "Peruvian Americans," in Ilan Stavans and Harold Augenbraum, *Encyclopedia Latina: History, Culture, and Society in the United States, Vol 4*, (Danbury, Conn: Grolier Academic Reference, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> Francesco, "Peruvians in Paterson," 8-12.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Peruvian journalists Mariano Barahona, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016 and Manuel Avendaño, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú, "Memoria del Consulado General del Perú en Paterson correspondiente al año de 1998," 28.

migrate as a consequence of privatization reforms enacted during Fujimori's regime.<sup>12</sup> Peruvians continued arriving to Paterson by taking advantage of immigration laws that encouraged family reunification and the hiring of highly-skilled workers. By legal and illegal means, potential migrants sought out tourist visas in order to migrate to the United States and then overstay in the country to work. According to some estimates, nearly 23,000 Peruvians lived in Paterson in 2002,<sup>13</sup> constituting the third largest Latino population in the city after Puerto Ricans and Dominicans.<sup>14</sup> As in previous waves of migration, Peruvians accepted manual positions in factories, although they had to work more than ten hours a day to generate enough monthly income to sustain their families. Other newcomers worked in businesses owned by other Peruvian entrepreneurs. Furthermore, as in previous decades, Peruvians continued organizing and opening formal and informal cultural, civic, and religious associations to support communities in Paterson and Peru.<sup>15</sup>

Peruvians arriving on the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century found a prosperous Peruvian community that offered diverse Peruvian products and services similar to those in Peru, but also restrictions enacted after September 11 that limited their opportunities for formal incorporation in the labor market. As a consequence, Little Lima progressively became more inundated with informal commerce. For instance, some Peruvian migrants worked as corner vendors or offered taxi and transportation services (*combis*) by combining legal and illegal mechanisms. By drawing on communal and peripheral practices, Peruvians in Paterson developed diverse forms of economic and social organization that served as a platform to develop a prosperous ethnic community. The physical presence of small Peruvian businesses

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<sup>12</sup> Diego Avendaño y Joana Cervilla, "Salida de emergencia," in *Puntoedu*, Universidad Católica del Perú, Año 1, No. 11, 2005: 2.

<sup>13</sup> "Peruvians in Paterson Rallied to Aid Fire Victims," *The Record*, January 3, 2002, 3.

<sup>14</sup> "Peruvians Hit the Polls," *Herald News*, May 20, 2000.

<sup>15</sup> Ministerio, "Memoria 1998," 30-31

Table 2: Official and Estimated Population of Peruvians in Paterson, 1960-2010.

Years	U.S. Census Data	Peruvian Consulate/Newspapers Estimates
1960	66	Less than 100
1970	515	Less than 5,000
1980	N/A <sup>16</sup>	10,000
1990	N/A <sup>17</sup>	14,000
2000	7,038	20,000
2010	9,579	23,000

*Sources:* Local newspapers, memories of the Peruvian Consulate of Paterson, and U.S. Bureau of the Census (1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010), American Fact Finder, allocation of Hispanic or Latino origin.

<sup>16</sup> According to the U.S. Census of 1980, there were 6,284 South Americans living in Paterson. In contrast to previous decades, The U.S. Census did not count the exact number of Peruvians living in Paterson for 1980.

<sup>17</sup> According to the U.S. Census of 1990, there were 27,331 individuals living in Paterson catalogued as other Hispanics. The U.S. Census did not count the exact number of Peruvians living in Paterson for 1990.

and organizations in the area evidenced the prominence of a Peruvian enclave in downtown Paterson that was gradually shaping the landscape of the city.<sup>18</sup>

### **Collective Resources and *Recurseo* Practices for International Migration**

When Hugo Balta entered Lima's airport on June 25, 1960, he could not have anticipated that his journey would pave the way for thousands of Peruvians to move to Paterson over the course of the next fifty years.<sup>19</sup> In order to migrate, Hugo Balta had the support of his cousin Augusto Basurco and wife Frida Rodríguez, the first Peruvian family that settled in Paterson. Immigration scholarship has demonstrated that, although migration movements may begin as singular events, they play the role of important initiators of socially embedded migration processes.<sup>20</sup> Basurco, Rodríguez, and Balta stimulated the migration of additional family members and friends from their neighborhood Surquillo.<sup>21</sup> From the 1960s on, Peruvians from diverse regions mobilized kinship, friendship, and communal relations, producing a massive migratory network to Paterson. This section demonstrates how familial ties, gender, beliefs about the United States, and inventiveness were utilized as collective resources and *recurseo* practices to facilitate migration. Notions of reciprocity and trust, resembling those used by provincial migrants in Peru, supported the migration of relatives, friends, and acquaintances. Over time, Peruvians developed a self-sustaining movement of co-nationals that contributed to the elaboration of a prosperous ethnic community.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 13-15.

<sup>19</sup> The National Archives at Washington, D.C., *Passenger and Crew Manifests of Airplanes Arriving at Miami, Florida., Dec 1957 - Nov 1969*. Micropublication A3995. NAI [2788541](#). Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004, Record Group 85, Ancestry.com, accessed September 28, 2017, <http://ancestry.com>.

<sup>20</sup> Geoff Childs, "Trans-Himalayan Migrations as Processes, Not Events: Towards a Theoretical Framework," in *Origins and Migrations in the Extended Eastern Himalayas*, ed., Toni Huber and Stuart H. Blackburn (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 16.

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

Immigration research emphasizes that a structured system of social relations allows for a better circulation of resources among individuals involved in the migration process.<sup>22</sup> Potential migrants, their families at home, and contacts already established in the destination mobilize information, meanings, and assets that facilitate migration. The activation of social networks and the mobilization of resources through these channels began in the decision making process and extend during migrants' adjustment into the new setting. Contemporary studies on international migration have emphasized migrants' agency in mobilizing resources through transnational social networks; however, these conventional perspectives do not consider the dispositions, practices, and mechanisms circulated by potential migrants before, during, and after migration. Conventional approaches ignore the capitalization of economic, cultural, and social resources that potential migrants mobilize to make the journey and adjust into the new setting.<sup>23</sup> The migration process of Peruvians to Paterson illustrates the mechanisms and practices utilized by migrants to capitalize on migration resources.

The case of Basurco, Rodriguez, and Balta demonstrates how the information they gathered and the networks they formed influenced the migration decisions of others, leading to a cumulative process of migration and the expansion of social networks between places of origin and destination. In this sense, transnational social networks operated as social capital, defined as "the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structure."<sup>24</sup> Social relations constituted an important resource utilized by potential migrants to learn about possible destinations and

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<sup>22</sup> For a complete understanding of the role of social networks on international migration see: Brettel and Hollifield. *Migration Theory*; Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold, *Immigration Research*; Massey, et al., "Theories of International Migration;" Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*.

<sup>23</sup> Ewa Morawska, "The Sociology and Historiography of Immigration," in *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*, ed., Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 187-240.

<sup>24</sup> Alejandro Portes, *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995), 12.

strategies for reducing the costs and risks associated with migrating. The sharing of this information among transnational social networks helped to develop and maintain migration flows. The origins of the structured migration of Peruvians to Paterson began through the mobilization of information by enterprising individuals who explored new options abroad. Soon, the first family living in the area influenced in the migration decisions of new migrants. Between the mid-1950s and 1970, they pulled other family members, initiating the systematic migration of more Peruvians from Surquillo.<sup>25</sup>

Since the early stages of the migration process, the presence of women among Peruvians in Paterson played a central role by encouraging the migration of close family members. Immigration literature demonstrates that gender is a significant variable to consider with respect to the propensity to migrate.<sup>26</sup> Although their role is not often discussed, Peruvian women were influential in the migration patterns of their families. Within a patriarchal system, not all members of a household have access to the same social activities. While men may be afforded the opportunity to travel abroad and seek job opportunities in factories and other manual labor positions, these activities are more restricted for women. Therefore, although all members of a household may find the economic motivation to participate in a migratory process, not all members may participate in the same way. Even when women did not migrate, they were often influential in the decision of family members to migrate as they would also benefit from this process. In this sense, women actively participated in their families' migratory processes even if they were not the ones completing the journey.

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<sup>25</sup> Ayumi Takenaka, Karsten Paerregaard, and Ulla Berg, "Peruvian Migration in a Global Context." *Latin American Perspectives*. 37.5, 2010: 3-11, 5.

<sup>26</sup> See Marcela Cerrutti and Douglas S. Massey, "On the Auspices of Female Migration from Mexico to the United States," *Demography*, 2001: 38: 187-200.

Accounts demonstrate that, while men's decisions to migrate were more closely related to their income-earning roles, women's decisions were more related to family support roles.<sup>27</sup> The migration of Hugo Balta, for instance, was primarily a household decision in which Esther, his mother, played an active role in enabling his migration. After losing her husband when the children were very young, Balta's mother struggled to support her family for many years. Balta's oldest brother, Roman Jr., took charge of the family's body shop. Esther then decided that someone should go to the United States. Hugo Balta was only twenty, single, and without any serious commitments to Lima. Thus, besides economic dislocations, Balta capitalized on other resources such as familial connections to arrange his departure for Paterson. He had the desire to make the journey, encouraged by his mother, and was further motivated by information transmitted by his cousin Augusto Basurco about living and working in the United States.<sup>28</sup>

Accounts from other female Peruvians also underline their role as central agents in the migration decisions of their family. Yolanda Esquiche described the agreement she had with her husband before the migration of the entire family by explaining that "My husband came first, because I had a brother living in Paterson. The plan was that he would come first to work and prepare the terrain for me and our children."<sup>29</sup> Esquiche's account demonstrates that, in contrast to other migrant women of lower-classes whose propensity to migrate was attached to that of their husband, the middle-class condition of Peruvian women migrants from the 1960s allowed them to participate actively in the migration decision-making

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<sup>27</sup> For gender perspectives on immigration see: Caroline B. Brettel, *Gender and Migration* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2016); Donna R. Gabaccia and Franca Lacovetta, *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Immigration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Jason Pribilsky, *La Chulla Vida: Gender, Migration, and the Family in Andean Ecuador and New York City* (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 2007); Mary Romero, Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, and Vilma Ortiz, *Challenging Fronteras: Structuring Latina and Latino Lives in the U.S.* (London: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Yolanda Esquiche, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

process. Thus, Peruvian women mobilized familial connections living abroad to foster and support the migration of family members in order to maximize benefits to the household.<sup>30</sup>

Immigration scholarship has also emphasized that different types of social networks play diverse roles in the migration decisions of migrants.<sup>31</sup> Scholars have shown that weak ties, strong ties, or a combination of both, are determinant in the migration decisions of individuals. Weak ties are defined by irregular relationships between acquaintances and people of common origins (*paisanos*) that have sporadic contact and few emotional commitments. Strong ties are relationships among family members and close friends with strong emotional bonds that interact on a regular basis and share the same information.<sup>32</sup> In the case of the migration of low-skilled migrant workers, studies have demonstrated the superiority of weak ties over strong ties.<sup>33</sup> Other investigations argue for the strength of strong ties on the international movement of middle-class migrants.<sup>34</sup> These migrants had more economic and social resources available to stimulate migration. Thus, families and close friends at origin and destination share more reliable information about what to expect before, during, and after arrival, in contrast to individuals that only had the advice of acquaintances. In the case of the migration of Peruvians to Paterson, strong ties were mostly mobilized by migrants to have access to relevant information and resources to make a smoother journey and adjustment into the host society.

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<sup>30</sup> See the works of Caroline B. Brettell and J. F. Hollifield, "Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines," in Caroline Brettell and J. Hollifield, eds, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, New York: Routledge, 2000, 1-26, and M. Cerruti and D. Massey, "On the Auspices of Female Migration from Mexico to the United States," *Demography* 38(2): 2001, 187-200.

<sup>31</sup> See the works of Ann D. Bagchi, *Making Connections: A Study of Networking Among Immigrant Professionals* (New York: LFB Scholarly, 2001); Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited," *Sociological Theory*, 1: 1983, 201-233; Mark Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness". *American Journal of Sociology*. 91 (3): 1985, 481-510, Alejandro Portes, and J. Borocz. "Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical Perspectives on Its Determinants and Modes of Incorporation," *The International Migration Review*. 23.3 (1989): 606-30; Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*.

<sup>32</sup> Granovetter, "The Strength," 202.

<sup>33</sup> Maria L. Amado, *Mexican Immigrants in the Labor Market* (New York: LFB Scholarly Pub. LLC); 2006, Jacqueline M. Hagan, *Social Networks, Gender and Immigrant Settlement: Resource and Constraint* (Houston, Tex: Center for Immigration Research, University of Houston, College of Social Sciences), 1996; Cecilia Menjivar, *Networks and Religious Communities Among Salvadoran Immigrants in San Francisco, Phoenix, and Washington, D.C.* (La Jolla, CA: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2000).

<sup>34</sup> Bagchi, *Making Connections*, 2001.

With the arrival of the first family from Surquillo, the activation of friendship as a source of referral and information allowed the migration of a new wave of Peruvian migrants from the same working-class neighborhood. “The word began to spread in Surquillo about the greater possibilities to work and live in Paterson. Hugo Balta and Augusto Basurco began to pull other friends from Surquillo,” noted Gaston Bravo regarding the initiation of chain migration among neighborhood friends. His account also reveals the operation of a system of weak relationships that influenced the migration of acquaintances from the neighborhood: “I didn’t know Hugo personally, but I had seen him in *Surquillo* when we were teenagers. I came in 1969, through a friend who was friend of Hugo’s brother, Manuel, who also migrated to Paterson before us.”<sup>35</sup>

Immigration literature has demonstrated that in the dynamic interplay between migrant communities and their places of origin, a culture of migration emerges. Prominent scholar Douglas Massey coined the concept of cumulative causation to examine the complex mechanisms that contribute to the self-sustaining movement of migrants.<sup>36</sup> According to this perspective, ideological forces from the receiving community encourage migrants to mobilize their social networks to migrate.<sup>37</sup> The culture of migration continually influences the predisposition of individuals to migrate by shaping peoples’ idea that moving abroad can lead to a better life. If successful movement of earlier migrants is highly valued by potential migrants, a strong culture of migration develops, and the propensity to migrate increases for more people. Thus, Massey argues, “each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional

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<sup>35</sup> Interview with Gaston Bravo, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2017.

<sup>36</sup> See Douglass S. Massey, "Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration." *Population Index*. 56.1, 1990: 3-26; and Massey, et al., "Theories of International Migration."

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, 1993.

movement more likely.”<sup>38</sup> Gradually, social contacts and information about better living and working conditions in Paterson were transmitted by *Surquillanos* to family members and friends living in Surquillo, but also to other *criollo* working-class neighborhoods in Lima. Beginning in the 1970s, people from neighborhoods plagued with crime, drugs, and prostitution began moving to Paterson. In the neighborhoods of La Victoria, Barrios Altos, and Callao, young *criollos* sought better opportunities abroad.

In addition to the use of strong ties to facilitate migration, weak relationships were also activated by Peruvians in their migration. As economic and political conditions in Peru deteriorated during the 1970s, migrants began to rely on acquaintances they met in the neighborhood, high school or work to gather information and ultimately materialize their journey abroad. The case of Walter Castillo exemplifies how irregular relationships between acquaintances were mobilized by Peruvians to materialize their migration to the United States. Castillo evoked that he arrived at JFK at 1 am, but “nobody was waiting for him.” He only had the address of a friend named Juan from his neighborhood in Callao, which he got from his mother. Once in New York, Castillo went to the address, but couldn’t locate his friend. While waiting outside the house, Castillo encountered his friend’s uncle, who was also from his neighborhood. “He was surprised by my presence. He told me that Juan was working the night shift and took me to his small apartment. That night I stayed with him, slept on the floor, and the next day I met up with Juan,”<sup>39</sup> described Castillo, emphasizing that his arrival to the United States was adventurous but uncertain. This account is indicative of the many young Peruvians with few prospects in life that found their way to the United States with only the reference or address of an acquaintance.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 451.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Walter Castillo, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

The procurement of visas became another necessary resource for the migration of Peruvians. Until 1970, Peruvians mostly utilized legal channels and followed the necessary procedures to obtain visas in the U.S. consulate in Lima. Veteran *Surquillanos* revealed that some of them obtained work visas for migration. The procurement of this kind of permit was not common, but some *Surquillanos* mobilized their social connections in Paterson to obtain the sponsorship to apply for this visa. For instance, Hugo Balta decided to come to Paterson while working in his father's auto repair shop, when his cousin Augusto Basurco visited him from the United States. "He always told me I was wasting time and money in Peru. He could arrange a work visa and get me into the Ford plant," recalled Balta, remarking that he came "with papers, ready to work in the Ford Company."<sup>40</sup> From the 1950s to the 1970s, as a part of WWII reconstruction, the U.S. government needed labor force and attracted workers from different countries, facilitating the hiring of a labor force through work sponsorship.<sup>41</sup> In 1952, the U.S. government enacted the McCarran-Walter Act that set a quota for aliens with skills needed in the United States. Some *Surquillanos*, such as Hugo Balta, made use of this resource to migrate.

However, during the early stages of the migration to Paterson, most Peruvians utilized tourist visas. Those who did not have contacts for obtaining a sponsorship for the work visa migrated as tourists. Accounts from veteran Peruvian migrants indicate that immigrating to the United States with a tourist visa during the 1970s was a simple process. Rafael Ibarra recounted the steps required to obtain a visa to the United States in 1970. His sister sent him the airline ticket and, after a visit to the U.S. embassy to fill out the application, leave his passport, and show the ticket, he was called three days later as the visa stamp was ready.

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<sup>40</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

<sup>41</sup> Aviva Chomsky, *Undocumented: How Immigration Became Illegal* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 114.

There was no interview, Ibarra explained, and the process “was very easy.”<sup>42</sup> Although the process for obtaining the tourist visa in the U.S. consulate in Peru was simple, it involved the mobilization of social connections. Kinship relationships in Paterson provided the necessary resources which potential migrants used to comply with U.S. visa requirements.

Resources from abroad were usually complemented with resources acquired through family members in Lima. Since the beginnings of the chain migration of Peruvians to Paterson, potential migrants mobilized communal mechanisms to facilitate migration similar to those utilized by provincial migrants in Peru. The case of José Robinson shows how Peruvians depended on resources from diverse sources. Robinson came in 1970, when he was 23 years old. He was a novice blue-collar worker in Peru and did not have money to buy the ticket, pay for the visa, and raise travel funds. His uncle living in Paterson paid the airfare, but still lacked enough economic resources to complete his travel. Robinson supplemented the aid he received from his uncle with the monetary support family members in Lima provided for his migration. “My parents in Lima exhausted their savings for the travel funds, and I borrowed money from a friend to cover other expenses. When I got to Paterson, I only had 50 dollars in my pocket,”<sup>43</sup> explained Robinson, highlighting the transnational mobilization of connections to procure the necessary recourses for migration.

Friendship connections abroad also played a central role by facilitating the migration of other Peruvians that came with tourist visas. The case of Willy Alcalde reveals how potential and established migrants in the United States circulated resources that were converted into capital. A friend from high school living in New York encouraged Alcalde to migrate to the United States when he visited Peru while on vacation. His friend also shared

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<sup>42</sup> Interview with Rafael Ibarra, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with José Robinson, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

information about the process for obtaining a tourist visa and offered him assistance at arrival. Because he was working at the time, Alcalde “easily obtained the visa.” He came in 1963 and briefly resided in his friend’s apartment before moving to Paterson.<sup>44</sup>

Tourist visas allowed migrants to remain in the country for three to six months. Most Peruvians who used these visas to migrate allowed them to expire in order to remain in the country. Since 1970 on, this practice has been commonly utilized by Peruvians from diverse ethnic origins and social classes. Thus, in subsequent decades, thousands of Peruvian migrants have circumvented the legal channels to remain in the United States until they found the means to legalize their migratory status.

Peruvians also relied on family reunification legislation as a resource for migration to Paterson. The enactment of the Hart-Cellar Immigration Act in 1965 facilitated the migration of more Peruvians with parents, sons, and siblings living in Paterson. Peruvians who migrated during the 1960s began to stabilize in Paterson by obtaining U.S. residency or citizenship.<sup>45</sup> With the procurement of this important resource, they began pulling relatives to the United States. Mariano Barahona’s story indicates how Peruvians capitalized on this mechanism for migration. Barahona’s sister became a U.S. citizen during early 1970s and was able to sponsor his green card when he was unemployed in Peru. She used family reunification regulations to apply for Barahona’s residency. The process took 10 years and, in 1982, he was able to legally travel to Paterson.<sup>46</sup> As this migration story demonstrates, unemployed Peruvians utilized their siblings in the United States as a resource to materialize their migration through legal channels.

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<sup>44</sup> Interview with Willy Alcalde, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

<sup>45</sup> Marcelo M. Suarez Orozco, Carola Suarez-Orozco and Desiree Qin-Hilliard, *The New Immigration: An Interdisciplinary Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2005), ix.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Mariano Barahona, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

In the following decades the utilization of family reunification laws extended among Peruvians willing to migrate to the United States. As more Peruvians became U.S. citizens and residents, they pulled family members still living in Peru. This mechanism was principally utilized when critical economic, political, and social conditions exacerbated during the 1980s and 1990s. Principally, the Immigration Reform Control Act (IRCA) enacted by the U.S. Government in 1986 allowed thousands of undocumented Peruvians in the United States to become residents. After the enactment of IRCA, family reunification constituted a fundamental strategy used by Peruvians to register the petition of relatives seeking better prospects in the United States.<sup>47</sup> In the next decade, The Immigration Act of 1990 created a diversity of admission categories besides family reunification, prioritizing the number of visas for technical and professional workers required in the U.S. labor market. Peruvians exasperated with the decline of economic conditions and the guerrilla war at home utilized this legislation as a resource to migrate. They capitalized on any kind of legal channels that would allow them to leave the country.<sup>48</sup>

As U.S. immigration progressively tightened the requirements for obtaining any kind of visa, Peruvians were forced to rely on *recurseo* and illegal practices to obtain documentation for migration.<sup>49</sup> Once the U.S. consulate in Lima implemented the interview system to grant visas, Peruvians mobilized informal resources both nationally and abroad. Potential migrants, such as William Castro, used collective and informal mechanisms to obtain documentation in order to pass the interview. Through his father's friend, a small fishing company owner, Castro obtained a work certificate as a manager in the company. He borrowed money from his parents to open a bank account before going to the consulate. He

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<sup>47</sup> Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú, "Memoria del Consulado General del Perú en Paterson correspondiente al año de 1987,"

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 1987.

<sup>49</sup> Berg, *Mobile*, 73-104.

passed the interview and “without problems obtained the visa.”<sup>50</sup> Migrants also mobilized transnational social connections in Paterson and Peru in order to prepare documentation to pass the interview in the U.S. consulate. Ana Figueroa, for instance, explained that a cousin in Paterson sent her one thousand dollars to buy the airline ticket. She also borrowed some money from her uncle to buy a work certificate and thus was able to apply for and obtain the visa.<sup>51</sup>

By the mid-1980s, the critical economic and political context in Peru alarmed U.S. authorities, prompting a more stringent policy towards visas. In order to obtain the tourist visa, Peruvians had to demonstrate possessions, savings, and other economic means to convince consular officials they were not potential migrants and would return to Peru after their supposed vacation. Although some accounts of Peruvians that migrated in the 1970s confirmed they utilized *tramitadores* to prepare documentation to obtain a U.S. tourist visa, it was not until the 1980s that this informal practice was widely used among potential migrants.<sup>52</sup> The case of Enrique Sánchez exemplifies how *tramitadores* helped obtain fraudulent documentation to pass the interview. Sánchez was fired from his job and, without any means to demonstrate he was a solvent person, paid \$300 to a *tramitador* to provide evidence of economic stability. The *tramitador* also prepared Sánchez to pass the interview by giving him questions that consular officers would likely ask. The *tramitador* also instructed him to act as if he were not truly interested in traveling to the U.S. Enrique Sánchez followed these instructions and was granted a visa.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Interviewee’s real name has been changed to protect confidentiality.

<sup>51</sup> Interviewee’s real name has been changed to protect confidentiality.

<sup>52</sup> Berg, *Mobile*, 73-104.

<sup>53</sup> Interviewee’s real name has been changed to protect confidentiality.

Most Peruvians also mobilized transnational social networks in Paterson and Peru in order to obtain the resources to contact and pay for the services of *tramitadores*. Potential migrants obtained fake documents to complete the visa requirements. The case of Luis Reyes illustrates the mobilization of these supporting mechanisms. An uncle living in Paterson contacted a *tramitador* in Lima to provide Reyes with payroll checks as if he had been working in a company in Lima. His uncle also sent him the airline ticket and travel funds, which he agreed to return after his arrival. Reyes also put his parents' house under his name. Through the mobilization of these resources and driven by notions of reciprocity and trust he fully repaid his uncle.<sup>54</sup>

The culture of informality, already established in Lima by the mid-1980s, facilitated the falsification of documents such as labor certificates, university titles, bank statements, and property titles, which constituted important supporting documents for applicants seeking tourist visas. Likewise, the informal character adopted by Peruvians during the 1980s was utilized by potential migrants to perform illegal and *recurseo* practices in order to leave the country by any means. For instance, some accounts demonstrate that misrepresentation constituted an alternative resource for migration. During the 1990s, Peruvian artists touring in arranged visas for family members, acquaintances or people they even did not know, portraying them as musicians or dancers in their performance acts. In the 1990s, more than 200 Peruvians per year used these mechanisms to enter the United States.<sup>55</sup>

Likewise, Peruvians utilized their inventiveness and creativity to impersonate other individuals holding a U.S. tourist visa. During the 1990s, this practice was still possible since technology was not advanced enough to allow immigration officials to identify the

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<sup>54</sup> Interviewee's real name has been changed to protect confidentiality.

<sup>55</sup> Redacción, "Lucía aceptó que cobró por llevar gente a E.E.U.U.," *Perú 21*, 26 de Octubre, 2012, Accessed May 1, 2018. <https://peru21.pe/espectaculos/lucia-acepto-cobro-llevar-gente-eeuu-43112>

misrepresentation of a person. It was not until after September 11, 2001 that U.S. immigration adopted modern screening systems that required fingerprints and retina scans to detect banned individuals and falsified documents.<sup>56</sup> The case of Rosa Guerra illustrates how Peruvians sometimes, used the practice of impersonation to enter the United States. A coworker offered Guerra the possibility to travel to the United State using his wife's passport and visa, although she had to disguise herself like her wife's colleague. "My friend's wife was 50 years old and I was 30, so I had to transform myself," Guerra revealed. Her sister in Japan sent her the money to pay for Guerra's disguise and travel expenses. After collecting the money, she went to a make-up specialist from her neighborhood that worked at a T.V. station and made Guerra looks like her colleague's wife. The only advice she told her was not to cry because of the artificial wrinkles. Before departure, her colleague instructed Guerra to adopt a serious tone with the immigration official. The next day, she made the trip to New York. Upon arrival, Guerra was nervous but followed her colleague's instruction. The officer examined her passport and inquired about her reasons for traveling to the United States. "I responded seriously, and he told me 'Welcome to America,' and let me in," recalled Guerra with tears in her eyes. Guerra's cousin was waiting for her at the airport. The next day she mailed the passport back to Peru.<sup>57</sup> During the 1990s, these risky practices were employed by only the most adventurous Peruvians who did not have the means to obtain a tourist visa through legal channels.

Another alternative practice extended by Peruvians without official travel documentation was to cross the Mexican-American border. The story of Cesar Torres,

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<sup>56</sup> During early 1990s, U.S. consular officers required fingerprints in order to obtain a visa, but immigration officers at the airport had not yet implemented a digital system for verifying these fingerprints. The electronic verification system was implemented in 2001. See Chomsky, *Undocumented*, 71-86.

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Rosa Guerra, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016. The interviewee did not reveal her last name for security reasons.

currently one of the most prosperous Peruvian liquor distributors in Paterson, demonstrates the utilization of Andean practices of reciprocity and mutual aid to make the journey to Paterson by crossing the border. Torres came in 1985 with a friend from his neighborhood, a man with a limp. They flew to Tijuana in order to cross the border. Their plan was to live and work in California with other friends from the neighborhood. They also had contacts in Passaic, New Jersey who weren't aware that they were coming to the U.S. Their friends in California arranged for a *coyote*, and Torres and his friend joined a group of 10 people crossing the border. They walked several kilometers, but since they constantly had to wait for Torres's friend, the *coyote* decided to take him across first with a couple of people. "I never saw my friend again. When I tried to cross the river with the remaining people, suddenly an immigration patrol discovered us," remembered Torres. He added, "The officials send us to a detention center in the United States and put us on deportation, unless we paid for the bond to be temporary released. They requested 2,500 dollars, but I only had 800." Since Torres's friends in California did not have the money to pay the bond, he contacted a friend in New Jersey. "He was surprised by my phone call, and I told him about my problem. He promised me to help me," Torres said. In a few days, his friends collected the money and paid the bond before Torres's deportation. "When I left the deportation center, I only had 50 dollars which I used to buy the bus ticket to New Jersey. I had to pay my friends back everything I owed them. That's why I ended up in Paterson,"<sup>58</sup> Torres concluded, emphasizing the solidarity among friends based on notions of reciprocity.

Other Peruvians, as in the case of Israel Valdez, crossed multiple borders to escape the deteriorating political and economic conditions that affected the Peruvian society in early

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<sup>58</sup> Interviewee's real name has been changed to protect confidentiality.

1990s. Valdez began narrating his journey by explaining “I didn’t have any future in Ica. Guerrilla and poverty accelerated my trip to America.” His transcontinental journey to America was complicated by hunger, solitude and loneliness, because “sometimes during the trip [he] didn’t know where to go.” Valdez took six months to traverse Ecuador, Colombia, Central America and Mexico but felt that turning back was not an option because of the amount of money his family had invested in this process. His father in Ica had paid for everything, investing the family’s savings for his trip to America. An aunt in Paterson also helped him obtain an ID which he used to cross the bridge to the United States through Texas. Then, Valdez took a flight to New Jersey.<sup>59</sup>

In sum, since the arrival of *Surquillanos*, individuals utilized a combination of formal and informal resources in deciding to make the journey to the United States. Two of the most utilized formal mechanisms for migration have been family reunification and the utilization of tourist visas. Those Peruvians who used visas or sponsorships to legally settle in Paterson had greater access to formal channels for incorporation into the new setting. In the case of those Peruvians who came as tourists and overstayed their visas or illegally entered the country, they had fewer resources to carve out their future in the host society.<sup>60</sup> Under both conditions, Peruvian migrants utilized *recurseo* practices and peripheral mechanisms to make a smother adjustment into the new environment. As part of this process, they established their first social and religious organizations which, in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, would help to solidify the Peruvian ethnic enclave.

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<sup>59</sup> Interviewee’s real name has been changed to protect confidentiality.

<sup>60</sup> Newspapers began to inform about the presence of Latin American undocumented migrants in Paterson since the 1970s. See Mary Fiess, “The ‘Illegals:’ Their Journey is Rewarding but Risky,” *Paterson News*, May 6, 1974.

## **Informal Strategies for Adjustment and Early Collective Organization in Paterson**

Throughout the diverse waves of migration, the first task of Peruvians upon arrival was to use and extend the social connections they established prior to migration in order to achieve a smoother adjustment into the new environment. The development and expansion of social networks by Peruvian migrants in the new setting was structured by following patterns of social adaptation and cultural reproduction associated with Andean societies and replicated by provincial migrants in Lima. Friendship, nostalgia, and national identity allowed Peruvians from diverse cultural and economic backgrounds to expand their social connections, organize themselves, and find gainful labor opportunities around food, soccer, and religion. Between the 1960s and 1970s, Peruvians formed religious, civic, ethnic, and sportive associations by mobilizing creative and collective mechanisms that circumvented the official norms. The alternative mechanisms described in this section aided adjustment by providing resources for both labor and social connections.

When *Surquillanos* began arriving to Paterson by the mid-1960s, the city was still mostly populated by white Americans and Europeans. Paterson was an unfamiliar place for these Peruvians who promptly began using and transforming previous knowledge, abilities, practices, and norms in order to carve out a space for themselves in the receiving society. Recent studies that apply Bourdieu's theory of practice and cultural habitus to international migration emphasize the dynamic role of migrants to form and transform cultural, economic, and social capital in the new context.<sup>61</sup> These studies analyze international migration as a

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<sup>61</sup> For recent works that apply Bourdieu's theory of practice to immigration see: Israel Drori, Benson Honig and Ari Ginsberg, "Toward a Practical Theory of Transnational Entrepreneurship: Understanding the Habitus of Cross-Cultural Affiliation," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the SASE Annual Conference, Philadelphia, PA, USA, 2008. Retrieved from [http://legacy.wlu.ca/documents/30236/Toward\\_a\\_Practical\\_Theory.pdf](http://legacy.wlu.ca/documents/30236/Toward_a_Practical_Theory.pdf); Bauder Harald, "Habitus, Rules of the Labour Market and Employment Strategies of Immigrants in Vancouver," *Social and Cultural Geography* 6 (1), 2005: 81–97; Philip Kelly and Tom Lusia, "Migration and the transnational habitus: evidence from Canada and the Philippines," *Environ. Plann. A* 38 (5), 2006: 831–847; Greg Noble, "It is home but it is not home: habitus, field and the migrant," *Journal of Sociology* 49 (2-3), 2013: 341–356; Magdalena Nowicka, "Positioning Strategies of Polish Entrepreneurs in Germany. Transnationalizing Bourdieu's notion of capital," *International Sociology* 28 (1), 2013: 29–47; Siri Terjesen and Amanda Elam, "Transnational Entrepreneurs' Venture Internationalization Strategies: A Practice

process of cultural re-elaboration, since it involves a process of collective creation and learning. This process of cultural recreation involves the participation of co-ethnic migrants, migrants of other nationalities, the native population, and individuals still in their places of origin. In this sense, as Erel sustains, “migrants do not only unpack cultural capital from their rucksacks; instead, they create new forms of cultural capital in the countries of residence. They use resources they brought with them and others they develop *in situ* to create quite distinct dispositions.”<sup>62</sup>

Other scholars have noticed the usefulness of the notion of habitus for the study of migrants’ adjustment.<sup>63</sup> These perspectives emphasize the central role of social connections in the production and reproduction of habitus in the new society. Specific forms of habitus are enacted, and new ones are acquired through socialization experiences influenced by social structures in everyday life.<sup>64</sup> In this sense, social actors in the new setting learn how to ‘play the game’ as they establish and cultivate relationships in order to progressively increase their social, cultural, and economic capital. To some extent, they learn a new practice and acquire new habitus.<sup>65</sup> Peruvian migration to Paterson illustrates how transnational social ties serve as mechanisms for transferring practices, norms of social support, knowledge, and models of behavior. Most importantly, by using collective agency, they created new cultural

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Theory Approach,” *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 33 (5), 2009:1093–1120; Caroline Oliver and Karen O’Reilly, “A Bourdieusian Analysis of Class and Migration: Habitus and the Individualizing Process,” *Sociology* 44 (1), 2010:49–66; Pankaj C. Patel and Betty Conklin, “The Balancing Act: The Role of Transnational Habitus and Social Networks in Balancing Transnational Entrepreneurial Activities,” *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 33 (5), 2009:1045–1078; Umut Erel, “Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies,” *Sociology*: Volume 44(4), (2010):642-660, 649.

<sup>62</sup> Erel, “Migrating Cultural Capital.” 649.

<sup>63</sup> Magdalena Nowicka proposes the application of Bourdieu’s theory of practice for studying the transference of migrants’ skills to the new society. Nowicka makes reference to new scholarship that explores the moments of migrants’ disorientation revealing the mismatch between habitus and the new setting, the conflict originated between migrants’ habitus, the discomfort produced in local residents, and the acquisition of new habitus among migrants in the new setting. See Magdalena Nowicka, “Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice in the Study of Cultural Encounters and Transnational Transfers in Migration.” *MMG Working Paper*: 15-01, 14.

<sup>64</sup> Jožef Križaj, Bojan Leskošek, Janez Vodičar and Mojca Doupona Topič, “Soccer Players Cultural Capital and Its Impact on Migration,” *Journal of Human Kinetics*: Volumne 54, (2016): 195-206, 196.

<sup>65</sup> For a complete analysis of social network mechanisms used in social relations see Wouter de Nooy. “Fields and Networks: Correspondence Analysis and Social Network Analysis in the Framework of Field Theory”, *Poetics* 31, (2003): 305-327.



Figure 5. View of Market St. in the 1950s when *Surquillanos* began arriving to Paterson. Facebook page “I grew up in Paterson, New Jersey,” published December 7, 2015, anonymous. Accessed February 14, 2019.

resources in the migration process and transformed previous cultural practices into valuable social capital.

The first *Surquillanos* that established in Paterson by mid-1960s were mostly young men, although women were also present at this early stage of migration, principally as spouses or sisters of migrants. *Surquillanos* were mostly single, but some of them left spouses and children in Peru, who came as soon their husbands stabilized in Paterson. These migrants had all completed a high school education that included industrial training classes. Most of these migrants had relatively stable employment in Peru before migration, with some experience in the public sector. Others were novice factory workers, and some of them worked in the service sector as mechanics, chauffeurs, taxi drivers, or salespersons who all earned a modest salary. Many of these *Surquillanos* used *recurseo* in order to supplement their salary in Peru. To some extent, all of them were immersed in the informal market that began to extend throughout the Peruvian society of the 1960s.

As with other working-class districts of Lima, Surquillo was a multiethnic neighborhood where whites, blacks, mestizos, *cholos*, *charapas* (Peruvians from the Amazonia) and *chinos* (Asian Peruvians) mingled together in conflict and harmony, in the diverse corner stores, bars, and recreational facilities of the district. Most *Surquillanos* were migrants themselves, or children of migrant parents that came to Lima from other Peruvian provinces. However, the *Surquillanos* that began populating Paterson in the 1960s considered themselves *criollos* or mestizos, in opposition to the *cholos* and indigenous groups. As a part of the *criollo* identity, they listened to *musica criolla*, ate *comida criolla*, and practiced popular sports such as boxing, volleyball, and soccer. As in the case of *Surquillanos*, most Peruvians that arrived to Paterson until the mid-1970s shared this socio-economic

background that delineated their dispositions, practices, and norms in the new setting.<sup>66</sup> Some of its features were transferred transnationally to the new environment, while others transformed as they adapted to the host society.

*Surquillanos* transferred from Peru collective strategies of reciprocity, redistribution of resources, and mutual aid that they learned in their migration to Lima or from the migration experiences of their parents. The reproduction of these strategies in Paterson facilitated the adaptation of newcomers. For instance, early *Surquillanos* moved through a set of social arrangements to provide newcomers housing, food, and relevant information about employment in Paterson. Manuel Flores explained that friends from Surquillo living in Paterson assisted newcomers by sharing their apartments, providing transportation, and offering other forms of economic support in order to diminish their resettlement costs. Flores, who arrived in 1965, added, “After they found you a job, you were able to pay. We divided the monthly payment of bills, about \$75 for rent and \$12 for electricity, among all of us.” Thus, older Peruvians paid all the expenses for newcomers. This chain of mutual-aid was maintained by Peruvians for several years.<sup>67</sup>

In addition, the veteran *Surquillanos* in Paterson simplified the search for work for new *Surquillanos* by providing rapid transmission of employment information and guidance on “the rules of the game.” Although most *Surquillanos* were not industrial workers in Peru, they made use of their knowledge acquired through industrial training classes in Peru to find employment in the factories of Paterson and nearby towns. The local industries in the 1960s still provided comfortable salaries, labor conditions, and attractive benefits. Principally, *Surquillanos* took advantage of the employment opportunities in the local textile industries

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<sup>66</sup> Takenaka et al., “Peruvian Migration,” 5.

<sup>67</sup> Manuel Avendaño, “Una esquina de recuerdos”, *El Diario, la Prensa*, July 27, 2001, ISSN: 0742-9428, New York Public Library, New York City, New York, Digital Collection.

that survived de-industrialization. Likewise, fabric, metal machinery, and electrical industries employed a significant number of migrant workers, among them Peruvians.<sup>68</sup> One industry in particular, the Ford plant located in Mahwah, New Jersey, employed some of the first *Surquillanos* that arrived to Paterson. Augusto Basurco was one of the first Peruvians who worked for the Ford plant. In 1960, he was a supervisor in the assembly line and began filling positions with family and friends from *Surquillo*.<sup>69</sup> Basurco helped Hugo Balta and several other *Surquillanos* obtain a job at Ford. Upon arrival, Balta was assigned to the assembly line and appreciated the help of his cousin. He affirmed, “At that time, Ford was the best company in New Jersey. All Peruvians wanted to work there.”<sup>70</sup> Hugo Balta’s labor adjustment story exemplifies the labor support migrants encountered upon arrival from relatives and friends.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, Peruvian migrants mostly navigated these industrial and multiethnic contexts by integrating some of the norms and practices attained through prior migration experiences with new ones acquired post-migration. They had the disposition to adjust into what was occupationally available to them according to their skills, talents, and experience. For instance, as soon as he arrived, Gaston Bravo found a job in a textile plant, and after a few months, he switched to another textile factory, a new practice he learned in Paterson. Bravo commented that, if another company offered more money, “you just crossed the street and began working with them.”<sup>71</sup> Earlier Peruvians explained to newcomers the mechanisms for finding another job if the previous one did not fulfill their economic or labor expectations.

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<sup>68</sup> Thomas Y. Owusu, “Economic Transition in the City of Paterson, New Jersey (America’s First Planned Industrial City): Causes, Impacts, and Urban Policy Implications,” *Urban Studies Research*: Volume 2014, Article ID 672794: 9 pages, 4.

<sup>69</sup> Avendaño, “Una esquina de recuerdos.”

<sup>70</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Gaston Bravo.



Figure 6. *Surquillanos* in Paterson circa 1970. Guillermo Callegari behind Hugo Balta, center. Augusto Basurco, standing third from the right. Guillermo Callegari's collection.

Migrants' accounts demonstrate that laborers generally enjoyed their time as blue-collar factory workers and remained in their occupations for a long time. They earned enough wages to maintain an emergent middle-class life in America with only one job. Industrial occupations provided these young-adults adequate economic resources to afford rent, groceries, and some luxuries. Hugo Balta remembered how excited he was when he received his first check at Ford: "When I opened the envelope, I saw \$157 for 3 days! I told my cousin Augusto, 'Hey these guys messed it up! 'No cousin,' he said, 'look at mine.' I saw \$400 for a week of work." As a migrant and novice factory worker, he was not accustomed to receiving a high salary. In the 1960s, the salary of an industrial worker was sufficient for a down payment on an apartment.<sup>72</sup>

Factory positions were not the only jobs that provided stable earnings for Peruvians. Some transferred labor skills acquired before migration in order to obtain a position in non-industrial occupations. Guillermo Callegari, for instance, started in a body shop located one block away from the Ford plant. They paid him \$1.50 an hour, but since he was living by himself in Paterson, Callegari saved almost everything he made. Six months later, Callegari brought his wife and children, and in one year he purchased his first house.<sup>73</sup> As in the case of Callegari, other Peruvians used their earnings to quickly reunite their families in Paterson. Peruvians also mobilized capabilities and practices acquired in Peru in pursuit of labor mobility in the industries they worked for in Paterson. Hugo Balta, for example, mobilized previous knowledge and talents as resources to advance in his job. After three months of working in the Ford plant, Balta was relocated from the line because his boss realized that he

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<sup>72</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

knew how to fix paint damage on cars. Balta had learned this skill while working in his dad's body shop and soon applied his trade in the pre-delivery section.<sup>74</sup>

Furthermore, Peruvian migrants adopted new knowledge and practices in the new setting, such as joining labor unions. After gaining promotion, Hugo Balta, for example, joined the union, which promised greater labor stability. "You had a fixed job and no one could fire you from the plant,"<sup>75</sup> remarked Balta, emphasizing that union membership was an attractive incentive for working in local factories. In the 1960s and 1970s, membership in labor unions offered workers the opportunity to obtain benefits such as a retirement plan, paid vacations, and maternity leave. During these decades, as part of the Civil Rights movement, labor unions defended the rights and wellbeing of workers.<sup>76</sup>

Labor relations and other social issues caused riots in Paterson and nearby towns during the early 1970s. Yet, Peruvians, who worked with whites, African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other migrants, remained on the periphery of racial tensions in Paterson.<sup>77</sup> Guillermo Callegari recognized, "we had only two purposes in mind when we came to America—to work and to live a decent life, not to get involved in these kind of conflicts."<sup>78</sup> Migrants' first years were dominated by hard work, and they remained at the margins of Paterson's social struggles. *Surquillanos* did not feel a connection to this movement and the identities involved therein; instead, they focused on capitalizing on resources to procure industrial occupations and achieve a stable lifestyle. With secure jobs and earnings, they gradually acquired a level of agency unavailable to them in Peru. The local economy offered

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<sup>74</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Francesco, "Peruvians in Paterson," 4.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

enough stability for them to exercise control over their social and economic endeavors, allowing them the time and flexibility to engage in social activities beyond earning a living.

In the early 1970s, Peruvians also generated cultural capital to ease their collective adjustment. Even though they quickly learned to “play the game” in the labor market, they still struggled to assert themselves socially in ethnically diverse Paterson. Their lack of fluency in English and their cultural distance from Anglos and African Americans prompted Peruvians to socialize among themselves and with other Latinos established in the area. Organizational skills among Peruvians, such as the extension of social ties and the transferring and adoption of new practices, facilitated their social adjustment in the new setting. This sense of isolation was gradually replaced through the reorientation and reshaping of diverse formal and informal cultural practices and collective networks which enabled Peruvians to participate more actively in the new society.

Friendship and a shared national identity played a central role in the early stages of communal association as the origins of the Peruvian community emerged from a strong fraternity developed among the few *Surquillanos* living in Paterson during the 1960s. After work, the group met at Victor’s restaurant, Bar Ludesa. Manuel Flores affirmed that Victor, a Puerto Rican, provided weekly meals to them for a fixed price. “Union and companionship” delineated the relationships among this group of Peruvians, who all came from the neighborhood of *Surquillo*.<sup>79</sup> Some of them knew each other directly, others through mutual acquaintances. These migrants shared experiences, practices, and collective identities of working-class *criollos*. Once in Paterson, they transferred attitudes, norms, and practices through transnational social networks that allowed them to establish a communal bond.

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<sup>79</sup> Avendaño, “Una esquina de recuerdos.”

A sense of nostalgia for Peruvian cultural practices motivated the first *Surquillanos* in Paterson to develop communal bonds and plan social gatherings. Social scientists have related concepts of memory and identity in order to explore the meanings and manifestations of nostalgia. Janelle Wilson sustains that nostalgia requires a supply of memories of past experiences and practices, and in this act of recall, the past is re-created both individually and collectively. Wilson highlights the role of nostalgia in community development and demonstrates that, by operating in the public and private domain, nostalgia facilitates the continuity of identity.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, Roger Aden has referred to nostalgia as a “sanctuary of meaning” and emphasizes that nostalgic communication allows individuals to escape from “contemporary conditions that are perceived to be inhospitable.”<sup>81</sup> In the case of migrants, this escape “provides individuals with a “secure place of resistance,” a place where one feels knowing himself/herself; where identity has safe harbor.”<sup>82</sup> Peruvians in the 1960s and 1970s coped with the dislocation and disorientation they experienced by nostalgically sharing collective memories and symbolic meanings associated with Peru.<sup>83</sup>

The first expression of nostalgia for the home country was manifested in the organization of informal social gatherings to prepare Peruvian food. Peruvians take great pride in their culinary traditions and use communal events as an opportunity to participate in these traditions.<sup>84</sup> The engagement in culinary practices was not only reserved for important celebrations but was also a key element of casual gatherings on weekends and after work. In this sense, food constituted an important resource in the construction of collective

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<sup>80</sup> Janelle L. Wilson, *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning* (Duluth, MN: Duluth Library Press, 2014), 31.

<sup>81</sup> Roger C. Aden, “Nostalgic Communication as Temporal Escape: *When It Was a Game's* Re-construction of a Baseball/Work Community,” *Western Journal of Communication*, 59, 1995: 20-38, 22.

<sup>82</sup> Aden, “Nostalgic Communication,” 22.

<sup>83</sup> In the 1960s, Peruvian writer Sebastian Salazar Bondy wrote an essay criticizing the criollo’s nostalgia for a romanticized colonial past imposed by the oligarchy as a national ideology in order to preserve its hegemony over the Indians and mestizos. See: Sebastian Salazar Bondy, *Lima La Horrible* (Mexico, D.F: Biblioteca ERA, 1968.)

<sup>84</sup> Marco Aviles, “How Food Became Religion in Peru’s Capital City,” in Aguirre and Walker, ed, *The Lima Reader*.

identities.<sup>85</sup> In contexts of transnational migration, culinary practices intersected with a shared cultural identity. In everyday experiences of migrants, food served a source of identity construction.<sup>86</sup> Particularly for Peruvians, culinary practices represent one way in which Peruvianness was performed abroad. Thus, when *Surquillanos* in Paterson convened to prepare and enjoy a Peruvian meal, they evoked and renewed their symbolic and emotional ties with their country of origin. A dish of *ceviche*, *lomo saltado* or *carapulcra* evoked memories and tastes from childhood, their neighborhood, and the homeland.<sup>87</sup>

The first article chronicling the flow of the Peruvian migrants to Paterson during the 1970s notes that Peruvians began to meet because they missed three cultural elements from Peru: soccer, religion, and food.<sup>88</sup> Of these three subjects, food was the most effective at bringing Peruvians together. During the 1960s, *Surquillanos* informally began to reproduce their knowledge of Peruvian cuisine to cope with their sense of nostalgia for the homeland. Guillermo Callegari described how the nascent community first gathered to celebrate their culinary traditions at Victor's restaurant. Victor allowed them to prepare Peruvian food in his kitchen. As they tired of eating Puerto Rican food, some Peruvians who knew how to cook prepared *ceviche*, *lomo saltado*, and other *criollo* dishes. Callegari pointed out that this practice allowed the few Peruvians in the area "to be together as a family" while preparing their food.<sup>89</sup> This account shows that during the earliest stages of community development,

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<sup>85</sup> Marco Aviles, "How Food," 247.

<sup>86</sup> See the works of Irene Cieraad and John R. Short, *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006); Carol Counihan, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Marvin Harris, *Cows, Pigs, Wars & Witches: The Riddles of Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); Walter A. Imilan, "Performing National Identity through Peruvian Food Migration in Santiago de Chile," *Fennia* 193:2, 227-241; David E. Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (Oxford: Berg, 2006).

<sup>87</sup> See M. Cristina Alcalde, *Peruvians Across*, 142-164; Walter A. Imilan, "Performing National Identity through Peruvian Food Migration in Santiago de Chile," *Fennia* 193:2, 229.

<sup>88</sup> Tirado, "Peruvians into Paterson."

<sup>89</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

Peruvians only relied on informal practices to recreate a sense of place associated with their national identity.

Collective practices of *recurseo* around food were also arranged by early Peruvian migrants in the ways they obtained the necessary products to cook Peruvian food in Paterson.<sup>90</sup> In a city populated by Italians, Jews, and Americans, it was difficult for migrants to obtain Peruvian spices and other ingredients to prepare the Peruvian dishes they missed. Puerto Rican and Italian groceries in the area had ingredients that somewhat resembled some Peruvian chilies, but as Hugo Balta recognized, “it was not the same.” Veteran Peruvians applied *recurseo* practices to procure these products. Balta revealed that those who had documents traveled to Peru for vacations and brought with them “*ajíes, papa seca, cancha*, everything Peruvians needed to cook and host parties.” Peruvians made these products last for many months. When another Peruvian traveled to Peru, they would ask him to bring more products. Balta indicated that, since there were no Peruvian stores at that time, “they kept that system for a while.”<sup>91</sup> Motivated by a nostalgia for their national cuisine, *Surquillanos* creatively mobilized collective practices of *recurseo* to obtain ethnic products. In the following decades, this practice ultimately turned into a profitable business for some Peruvians.

By 1970, *recurseo* practices and nostalgia for Peruvian food materialized with the opening of the first informal Peruvian restaurants in Paterson. Accounts from migrants state that with the arrival of more women, Peruvians began to eat “authentic” Peruvian food. Peruvian women opened up their homes and cooked for Peruvians in their backyards or dining rooms, and Peruvians circulated the information about these spaces to other co-

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<sup>90</sup>Maria Cristina Alcalde, “Between Incas and Indians: Inca Kola and the Construction of a Peruvian-Global Modernity,” *Journal of Consumer Culture*, Volume: 9 issue: 1, page(s): 31-54

<sup>91</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

nationals anxious to savor the flavors of their homeland.<sup>92</sup> Most importantly, by cooking for other Peruvians, these women became central agents in the emergent community formation of Peruvians in the United States. Women transformed their homes into spaces of communal living where they recreated traditional family practices and customs. Peruvians went to these houses to feel “*la peruanidad*,” or what anthropologist Ulla Berg had called “Peruvianness.” According to Berg, Peruvians in Paterson attempt to frame a unified image of Peruvianness rooted in a shared narrative of national membership and belonging.<sup>93</sup> In this sense, Peruvianness was an instrument of collective identity that brought memories of certain places, which, filtered through the lens of nostalgia, became a way of preserving identities now perceived to be endangered by migration.<sup>94</sup> In these spaces, every dish, song, or conversation carried specific connotations that held a place in the collective imagination of Peruvians. By transferring those memories, Peruvians in Paterson experienced *lo peruano*, or what Wilson called “the continuity of identity,” through a vivid, nostalgic experience.<sup>95</sup>

For Peruvians, Paterson offered the opportunity, not just to remember, but also to recreate. Nostalgia for Peruvian food prompted Peruvians to meet, but they also used informal strategies to reproduce their Peruvianness through the organization of social and civic activities that brought Peruvians together. Guillermo Callegari remembered that veteran Peruvians began to “treat each other as *compadres* and *comadres*” and began celebrating their “birthdays, baptisms, marriages, and Christmases together.” Thus, Peruvians transferred *compadrazgo* (godfathership) as a central strategy to create and maintain long-lasting family ties, as well as to formalize new personal relations made in Paterson. In addition, during the

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<sup>92</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

<sup>93</sup> Berg in *Mobile Selves*, studied the deep rifts that run in the searching for a single narrative for the Peruvian in Paterson.

<sup>94</sup> Warren James Belasco, *Food. The Key Concepts* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2008), 27.

<sup>95</sup> Wilson, *Nostalgia*, 31.

early stages of community development, Peruvian migrants mostly transferred the habitus of their *criollo* past. The parties *Surquillanos* hosted were “*jaranas* with *comida criolla*, *musica criolla* and lots of beers,” remarked Callegari, emphasizing that they celebrated “as we had done in Peru.”<sup>96</sup> By eating *criollo* food and dancing *criollo* music, they reproduced in Paterson the tradition of organizing and conducting a *criollo* celebration.

*Surquillanos* also linked Peruvianness with *criollo* culture in the first informal civic celebrations they began to organize. During the end of the 1960s, the collectivization of the migration experience among Peruvians in Paterson allowed them to re-construct and re-produce an imaginary of Peruvianness that excluded some varieties of cultural expressions of Peruvian identity. The imaginary of Peruvianness reshaped by earlier Peruvians in Paterson was framed by nostalgia for the *criollo* culture and was triggered by the capacity to construct and perform this identity in a new context. Thus, Peruvians used informal social gatherings in homes to celebrate Peruvian Independence Day. Callegari remembered that they “were very patriotic” and, “as loyal Peruvians,” they tried to find the best time, date and place to celebrate national identity. If July 28 fell on a weekday, they held the celebration on Saturday or Sunday, when the whole group could attend. Callegari remarked that *Surquillanos* organized “authentic *jaranas criollas* that would continue until the next day.”<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, by organizing these events, they reaffirmed their commitment to maintain their ethnic identity abroad. By drawing on nostalgia and memory for the homeland, these demonstrations of national belonging allowed Peruvians to forge a more organized ethnic community in the decade that would follow.

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<sup>96</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari

One of the first practices in which Peruvians informally organized themselves was in the formation of the first Peruvian soccer teams in Paterson.<sup>98</sup> Peruvians also associated the practice of this popular sport with national identity and food. Nostalgia for the homeland motivated them to form amateur soccer teams while replicating the practice of camaraderie after games. Hugo Balta described the first soccer games and teams founded by *Surquillanos* in a personal diary: “We met to play soccer at Pennington Park. We played the Peru Cup with two teams, *ceviche* versus *arroz con pollo*. After the game, we went to one of the player’s houses to eat and continue the party.”<sup>99</sup> This testimony also demonstrates the importance of food for Peruvians, not only in naming their teams, but also as a mechanism for socializing after the games in an opportunity to reunite, remember, and eat.

After engaging in informal sportive practices, Peruvians then began to form soccer teams to play in the local leagues by the mid-1960s. In 1964, the *Surquillanos* formed *Sacachispas*, the first organized Peruvian soccer team that participated in the leagues of Paterson and the surrounding towns. Even in the emergent stages of development of the Peruvian community, soccer served as a cohesive mechanism and also aided those seeking employment in the local factories. Eventually, this sportive practice served as a means to informally encourage the migration of more Peruvians to Paterson. Augusto Basurco, who played professionally for *Ciclista Lima* in Peru, generated interest in Peruvian soccer players after he joined a team of Italians at the factory where he worked.<sup>100</sup> He referred a friend from

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<sup>98</sup> The following works explore the relationship between the practice of soccer, nationalism, and community formation: Eduardo Archetti, *Masculinities: Football, Polo and the Tango in Argentina* (Oxford: Berg, 1999); Eduardo Archetti, *El Potrero, La Pista Y El Ring: Las Patrias Del Deporte Argentino* (México, D.F: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001); Brenda Elsey, *Citizens and Sportsmen: Fútbol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Chile* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014); Aldo Panfichi, *Ese Gol Existe: Una Mirada Al Perú a Través Del Fútbol* (Lima, Peru: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2016); and Jaime Pulgar Vidal, *De Golpes y Goles. Los Políticos y la Selección Peruana de Fútbol (1911-1939)* (Lima, Peru: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2018).

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

<sup>100</sup> Augusto Basurco’s Obituary, “In Memory of Augusto Basurco, 1928-2006,” Accessed September 27, 2017. <https://www.citefast.com/styleguide.php?style=Chicago&sec=Webpage#h>

# Surquillo F.B.C.



Figure 7. One of the first Peruvian soccer clubs in Paterson circa 1970. Hugo Balta's collection.

home, a former professional player who defended the Peruvian national team and played internationally in Colombia and Mexico. By the end of 1960, Ernesto “*Chicha*” Morales, who was already living in New York, moved to Paterson to join a textile company that had a soccer team.<sup>101</sup> “*Chicha*” Morales paved the way for the arrival of other former professional soccer players would find jobs in the textile factories of Paterson while also joining the factories’ soccer teams. In the 1970s, Peruvians began forming other teams to participate in local leagues, such as Paterson-Surquillo F.B.C. (see figure 7). Accounts reveal that the participation in tournaments with teams of other nationalities allowed Peruvians to demonstrate a sense of group identity. “We played in artificial fields against Germans, Italians, and Greeks. We felt very proud of representing Peru,” Hugo recalls.<sup>102</sup> The Peruvianness expressed through soccer leagues became a central feature in the nascent community and allowed Peruvians to gain visibility within the local multiethnic society.

Although the emergent community that appeared in Paterson during the early 1970s was cohesive, it was not devoid of conflicts. Disputes in the nascent Peruvian community first arose from issues associated with class identity. The arrival of a new wave of working class migrants from Callao, the port of Lima, produced fractures in what had been organized like a family. Gallegari recalled that some of these migrants from Callao instigated fights while drinking at parties hosted by the *Surquillanos*, shouting, “I am *chalaco*.” Gradually, other disputes emerged around money, distrust, and envy. With the arrival of other Peruvians in the 1970s, issues regarding the organization of community events caused delays in the formalization of Peruvian institutions. “Peruvians always talked about establishing *La Casa*

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<sup>101</sup> Tirado, “Peruvians into Paterson,” 9.

<sup>102</sup> Hugo Balta’s personal diary

*Peru*, but we never reached an economic agreement to pay for this endeavor,” notes Guillermo Callegari, one of the first community organizers.<sup>103</sup>

Most importantly, the informal condition of the nascent forms of organization among Peruvians played a central role in this disputes. The development of the first Peruvian religious organization in Paterson, The Brotherhood of the Lord of Miracles (*La hermandad del señor de los milagros*), illustrates how disagreements affected the ability to organize. The brotherhood began with the initiative of a small group of Peruvians that attended Catholic mass in Our Lady of Lourdes Church. Gaston Bravo was one of the twelve men and women that officially founded the brotherhood in August 1976. Bravo and his fellow founders had no previous experience formally participating in religious brotherhoods, but their experience as consumers of Peruvian religious traditions motivated them to reproduce a similar experience in the United States.<sup>104</sup> “We were a group of five Peruvians that came to this church, but the mass was in English and Italian because this was an Italian neighborhood,”<sup>105</sup> Bravo remembered while describing the social context in which Peruvians had to carve out a space for themselves in order to practice their religiosity. When Italians began moving to other towns, Peruvians formed the brotherhood by mobilizing a combination of faith, nostalgia, and national identity. The few Peruvians attending mass on Sundays explained to Father Pedro Napoli their need of organizing something more familiar to them. They explained him the fervor of Peruvians for The Lord of Miracles and the practices associated to it, such as the formation of brotherhoods. Father Napoli accepted the organization of the brotherhood at his church and supported Peruvians in their religious activities.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari

<sup>104</sup> Paerregaard, “In the Footsteps,” 1073-1089.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with Gaston Bravo

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*



Figure 8. Original image of The Lord of Miracles painted by Ivan Ríos used during the firsts processions. Author's photo.

Before formalization in 1976, this group of Peruvians reproduced strategies of *recurseo* to establish the brotherhood, its symbols, and practices. Ivan Rios painted the image of the Lord of Miracles at home, and for the first two years Peruvians used this image to conduct their religious practices (see figure 8).<sup>107</sup> The two first processions had also been informally organized with the efforts of male and female members of the brotherhood. According to Gaston Bravo, “these processions were very simple.” Members of the brotherhood and other parishioners “walked around the church, singing acapella.”<sup>108</sup> As soon as the brotherhood was better organized, more Peruvians joined the group; however, soon internal conflicts aroused. The informality in the management of resources, as well as the growing interest in relocating the image to the downtown area caused the split of the brotherhood. Thus, a group of brothers informally founded a second brotherhood in the Paterson Cathedral.<sup>109</sup>

Accounts from members of the brotherhood highlight the participation of women in organizing the first local Peruvian religious institution. Women were actively involved in the organizations, a testament to the central role they played in preserving religious traditions and customs acquired in the homeland. Women’s participation in the brotherhoods transcended secondary roles as *cantoras* (singers) and *sahumadoras* (incense carriers), as they also were involved in the planning and organizing of the brotherhoods’ community events. The agentive condition of Peruvian women manifested during the early stages of organization in which the congregation utilized *recurseo* practices to obtain resources for the brotherhood. Thus, by using collective and alternative strategies to generate resources, the

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<sup>107</sup> Interview with Ivan Rios, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2017.

<sup>108</sup> Interview with Gaston Bravo

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

brotherhood became better organized and, in subsequent years, began formalizing its activities.

As in the case of The Brotherhood of the Lord of Miracles, Peruvians began formalizing their social organizations during the 1970s. They registered social, civic, sportive, and religious organizations in the city of Paterson in order to conduct operations through formal channels. However, the dispositions of Peruvians to make use of informal mechanisms and *recurseo* practices to launch and manage ethnic organizations perpetuated during the next waves of migration to Paterson. Newcomers of diverse ethnic and social backgrounds arriving during the 1980s and 1990s continued transferring from Peru collective forms of association that relied on peripheral mechanisms to form new organizations in Paterson.

### **Strengthening Community Building Efforts and the Formalization of Peruvian Organizations**

Although Hispanic institutions existed in Paterson since the 1970s to assist the emergent Latino community,<sup>110</sup> most Peruvians did not participate in these institutions because they mostly supported the advancement of Puerto Ricans and Puerto Rican culture.<sup>111</sup> Peruvians' nostalgia for their own traditions, beliefs, and practices and contributed to their lack of interest in these organizations. The agentive condition of Peruvians prompted them to construct their own organizations and institutions in Paterson in order to renew symbolic and emotional links with their country of origin. Instead of utilizing the existent Latino institutions in the area, Peruvians preferred to form their own social organizations by mobilizing collective and peripheral practices for community development.

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<sup>110</sup> Harcourt Tynes, "Spanish Chide Kramer," *The Morning Call*, Section 2, 13, Thursday, January 11, 1968.

<sup>111</sup> Interview with Edgar Santos

The first attempts to formalize these organizations began in the late 1960s. The impetus for developing a more organized community arose from informal social gatherings held in *peñas* (criollo music venues), *pensiones* (boarding houses), parties or soccer games. Guillermo Callegari led first attempt to formalize a Peruvian social and civic center, *La Casa Peru*. The idea arose from the casual gatherings in which Peruvians celebrated *la peruanidad*. In 1965, this idea was materialized when Peruvians rented a place located at Spruce St. and Grand St. There, “all Peruvians met to talk, play games, listen to music, eat, and dance.”<sup>112</sup> In *La Casa Peru*, Peruvians organized weddings, baptisms, birthdays, and the first soccer tournaments. However, *La Casa Peru* closed in 1969. Callegari stated that the members’ lack of organization and formality caused this first attempt of communal organization to fail. “All Peruvians wanted to celebrate, but they didn’t pay the bills. Towards the end, I ran the show by myself.”<sup>113</sup>

Peruvians, however, were very successful in organizing their first formal event, the raising of the Peruvian flag. According to Guillermo Callegari, in 1967 the Peruvian flag was raised for the first time in Paterson with the support of Puerto Ricans (see figure 9). They had already held a similar event for their ethnic community and, with the help of co-nationals occupying important positions in the city hall, facilitated the arrangement of bureaucratic paperwork.<sup>114</sup> Thus, Peruvians used diverse social resources to formalize the event. Callegari recognized that Puerto Ricans helped them, but Peruvians organized it. However, only 4 people came to the event, a Peruvian couple, Callegari, and his wife. “The rest were working because July 28<sup>th</sup> was a weekday that year. However, we wanted to do it on the right day,”<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>114</sup> Gary Veraud, “Puerto Ricans in Paterson: Exercising Power?,” *Voices of New York*, August 29, 2016, Accessed May 1, 2018 <https://voicesofny.org/2016/08/puerto-ricans-in-paterson-exercising-power/>

<sup>115</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

explained Callegari, clarifying the reasons for the scarce participation of Peruvians. Even though, the organization of the first flag raising constituted a landmark for the Peruvian community.

From 1967 on, Peruvians raised their flag at Paterson's city hall on July 28th. However, Peruvians had to seek out the necessary support to formalize the celebration from the previously established Puerto Rican community. In a context in which the Anglo population controlled most of the local institutions, Latino identity was mobilized as a social and cultural resource by Peruvians in order to obtain permission from local authorities. In this sense, Peruvians used local institutional channels already forged by the longstanding Puerto Rican community. Through the use of *recurseo* strategies and clientelistic relations with Puerto Ricans, Peruvian community leaders capitalized on their support to conduct ethnic community events.<sup>116</sup>

During the 1970s, two other major initiatives reflected the gradual formalization of the Peruvian community through social events. In 1976, the brotherhood of The Lord of the Miracles was officially registered in the city of Paterson in order to obtain permits from local authorities to conduct their religious activities. Gaston Bravo recounted that in the third year of organizing the brotherhood, they requested a legal permit to conduct the procession on the street with a newly acquired image. "We did it the right way," emphasized Bravo, explaining that they hired a band from New York and organized singers and incense carriers to accompany the procession. Women sold *anticuchos* and *picarones*, the traditional dishes served in Peruvian processions.<sup>117</sup> His account also demonstrates that, although they formally organized the event, Peruvians continued to rely on informal mechanisms to manage the

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<sup>116</sup> Gery Vereau, "Puerto Ricans in Paterson."

<sup>117</sup> Interview with Gaston Bravo.

brotherhood. In the following decades, the brotherhood became a central vehicle for transferring and maintaining shared religious identities among Peruvians living in Paterson. The development of this organization exemplifies how Peruvians mobilized a combination of formal and informal mechanisms for developing similar communal associations.

Most importantly, the development of social and religious organizations could not have materialized without the support of the emergent Peruvian entrepreneurs. This support was mobilized in one of the most important Peruvian events organized commemorating the Peruvian Independence Day. Guillermo Callegari was the main promoter of this event held in 1977 (see figure 9). He had the funds and contacts to organize a sportive, musical, and patriotic event in the Hinchliffe Stadium of Paterson. He brought four Peruvian soccer teams from other states to play in a tournament, hired a Latin band to play in the event, and found several Peruvian cooks to sell food. “There were other Peruvian entrepreneurs who also collaborated with me, but I planned and lead everything,” Callegari proudly recognized. He concluded, “It was an amazing evening. All of the Peruvians enjoyed it.”<sup>118</sup> By activating contacts within his social network, Callegari obtained authorization to organize the event, which is remembered by Peruvians as a precursor to the formal annual Peruvian Parade. The realization of this event demonstrated that, as Peruvian small businesses and organizations grew in prominence, the Peruvian community became increasingly more visible in public space and more recognized by other ethnic groups previously established in the city of Paterson.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari. Chapter 5 provides further discussion of the role of Peruvian entrepreneurs in the realization of this event.

<sup>119</sup> J.D, “Grandes Fiestas con motivos de fiestas patrias,” *El Diario-La Prensa*, July 1977, Guillermo Callegari’s private collection.



Figure 9. Newspaper clipping describing one of the first Peruvian flag raising ceremonies in late 1960s (above), and the first Peruvian Independence Day festival of 1977 (below). Guillermo Callegari's collection.

When the Peruvian community began to take shape by the end of the 1970s, Paterson continued in a pattern of economic decline. Consequently, European and Cuban migrants began moving to the suburbs and other states.<sup>120</sup> However, the availability of factory jobs in Paterson still offered working opportunities that attracted migrants from Latin America. Demographics in Paterson changed during the 1980s, increasing the Latino population by 50 percent to 740,000 between 1980 and 1990.<sup>121</sup> Colombians, Dominicans, and new waves of Peruvians settled in Paterson during this decade. By 1985, Peruvians were the second largest group of Hispanics led by Puerto Ricans and followed by Colombians.<sup>122</sup> In contrast to earlier waves of migration, they found an emergent Peruvian community in the process of stabilization that relied on a combination of formal and informal mechanisms for collective organization.

Most Peruvians arriving in the 1980s came from the *barriadas* of Lima and other provincial urban centers which constituted the new popular force of the nation. Most of these migrants had completed high school while others were professionals that escaped the deteriorating economic and political conditions that affected the Peruvian society. These newcomers were mostly provincial migrants themselves or children of internal migrants from Andean origins. Without distinction of social or ethnic origins, these new waves of migrants shared the informal spirit that characterized individuals immersed in the informal economy already well-established in Peru by this decade. They behaved as informal subjects with the

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<sup>120</sup> For more information about the economic decline of Paterson and New Jersey since the 1970s see: Patricia M. Ard and Michael Aaron Rockland. *The Jews of New Jersey, A Pictorial History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001); June Avignone. *Downtown Paterson* (Chicago, IL: Arcadia Publishing, 1990); Christopher Norwood, *About Paterson: The Making and Unmaking of an American City* (Saturday Review Press, New York, NY, USA, 1974); Thomas Y. Owusu, "Economic Transition in the City of Paterson, New Jersey (America's First Planned Industrial City): Causes, Impacts, and Urban Policy Implications," *Urban Studies Research*: Volume 2014, Article ID 672794: 9 pages. Douglas V. Shaw. *Immigration and Ethnicity in New Jersey*, (Trenton: The New Jersey Historical Commission, 1994); Philip M. Read, *Paterson* (Chicago, IL: Arcadia Publishing, 2003); J. Palmer Murphy and Margaret Murphy. *Paterson & Passaic County: An Illustrated History* (Windsor Publications, 1987); Joel Schwartz, *The Development of New Jersey Society* (Trenton, New Jersey: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1988); Rudolph J. Vecoli. *The People of New Jersey* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1965); Giles R. Wright, *Afro-Americans in New Jersey: A Short History* (Trenton, New Jersey: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1997).

<sup>121</sup> "New Jersey Celebrates Hispanic history Heritage," *The Sunday Record*, October 9, 1994.

<sup>122</sup> June Avignone, "Paterson Hispanics plan to aid victims," *Herald News*, November 16, 1985, 1.

habitus of utilizing peripheral mechanisms and collective practices for labor incorporation and social adjustment to unfamiliar environments. Additionally, most migrants from this wave of immigration considered themselves *cholos* and identified with *chicha* culture. Most Peruvians that arrived to Paterson since the 1980s shared this socio-cultural background that delineated their behaviors, practices, and values in the new setting.

The arrival of this new wave of migration affected the community of Peruvians established in Paterson. Newcomers introduced an Andean mentality characterized by internal solidarity and a tendency to establish their own business and ethnic organizations that would later enhance the development of the emergent community of Peruvians. In a few years, new migrants opened hundreds of businesses that offered products and services to the Peruvian population of Paterson supporting development of a distinct ethnic Peruvian market. Likewise, the arrival of a new wave of migration diversified the social and ethnic characteristics of the Peruvian population living in Paterson that, until the end of the 1970s, had mostly identified with the *criollo* culture. Peruvians from Andean origins arriving during the 1980s relocated transnationally cultural features and practices that contrasted with those brought by veteran *criollo* migrants. Consequently, this contrast in class and ethnicity led to disputes within the previously established community. In spite of occasional clashes with other Peruvians groups, Andean migrants utilized their own practices and strategies to ease their adjustment into the receiving society.<sup>123</sup>

Newcomers brought collective strategies of solidarity and communal distribution of resources associated with Andean migrants in Lima. These norms and practices were capitalized on by Peruvians migrants in Paterson, facilitating their adaptation and the

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<sup>123</sup> Takenaka, "Peruvian Migration," 7.

development of new organizations. The new streams of migrants expanded the well-structured Peruvian community that was in the process of developing official supporting institutions for co-nationals. These Peruvians also felt the necessity to continue their cultural traditions that differed from those of previous waves of migrants of *criollo* origins. In the same way Andean migrants in Lima founded provincial associations, Peruvians of Andean origins in Paterson began launching similar ethnic organizations. Artemio Oporto, for example, organized an association with his *paisanos* from the town of Alca located in the highlands of Arequipa. As soon he arrived to Paterson, Oporto met with his *paisanos* on Sundays. In these casual gatherings, the group decided to organize a social club in honor of their town and formed *Centro Social y Deportivo Misti*. Before formalization, they hosted activities to raise funds and attract members. In 1983, they organized the first *yunza* in New Jersey, and more than 50 people participated. Oporto remembered that “everything went well,” and in the following years they continued hosting other activities.<sup>124</sup> These festivities reinforced their emotional connection to their community of origin.

Furthermore, as in the case of internal migrants in Lima, provincial organizations in Paterson provided a supporting network of social relations for newcomers from the same town of origin. For instance, migrants from Alca replicated norms of mutual aid, reciprocity, and trust to facilitate the adjustment of newcomers from their home town. Oporto explained that, when new *Alquinos* arrived, they oriented them on ways to find employment and housing. Oporto and other already established *Alquinos* shared with them information about their rights, resources, and tricks to help them find work.”<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Interview with Artemio Oporto, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2017.

<sup>125</sup> Interview with Artemio Oporto

As new waves of Peruvians began to arrive since the 1980s, alternative and illegal practices to find employment and remain in the country increased. Until the mid-1980s, any foreigner in the United States could obtain a social security number and driver license by filing paperwork in the local social security administration office. Heraldo Anzaldi recalled, that during the 1970s, “everybody had a social security card without having a legal status in the U.S.”<sup>126</sup> However, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 posed greater challenges for undocumented individuals remaining in the United States. Under these conditions, Peruvians utilized diverse strategies to circumvent the law. One of the most common artifices used by undocumented Peruvians to find work was to mobilize contacts in factories that employed laborers without social security. Others found occupations by utilizing the social security number and name of a relative or friend.<sup>127</sup> Some Peruvians utilized impersonation as a mechanism to “legalize” their migratory condition. Certain accounts indicate how Peruvians bought the social security number and birthday certificate of Puerto Ricans in order to legally work and remain in the United States, permanently changing their legal identity.<sup>128</sup> Although labor and immigrant conditions worsened for immigrants, the Peruvian community continued to fortify its presence in Paterson through initiatives of communal organization.

During the 1980s, previous attempts of communal association were reinstated, such as the Veteran Soccer League of Paterson (*Liga de Veteranos*), which was formally organized in 1981 by a group of Peruvian blue-collar laborers from Leader Dyeing and Finishing Co. In the 1970s, these Peruvian workers would play in parks and amateur leagues,

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<sup>126</sup> Interview with Heraldo Anzaldi

<sup>127</sup> Interview with Edgar Santos

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

but, as more Peruvians began to arrive, they developed their own league.<sup>129</sup> During this process, they had to overcome cultural barriers still posed by the native population against the practice of soccer. According to Eliseo Terrones formalization was delayed because of “obstacles set up by local authorities regarding the banning of the practice of soccer.”<sup>130</sup> During the 1960s and 1970s, most parks and sportive facilities were designed to encourage the practice of other sports, such as football, basketball, and baseball. Soccer was an unfamiliar sport for Anglos and, it was difficult for Latinos to obtain permits to use the fields in recreation facilities and city parks. However, Peruvians used *recurseo* strategies to circumvent these barriers. Terrones noted that they were able to arrange the permits to use the fields in Pennington Park through a “Peruvian worker with contacts in the city of Paterson.”<sup>131</sup> Thus, Peruvians mobilized social connections in the city of Paterson to formalize the practice of their favorite sport.

After receiving authorization to utilize a city field for soccer games, this group of workers named their league and established regulations and statutes to validate their tournament. The league began with 12 teams, consisting mostly of players from Peru, but also from other Latin American countries. Mariano Barahona, a Peruvian journalist working in Paterson, stated that the league attracted interest because the teams included former professional players who were still young and in shape. Barahona explained, “for example, textile Leader had a team with players such as Pedro Pablo ‘Perico’ Leon, Julio Melendez, Victor Calatayud, and others that worked in the factory. Other teams were Alianza Lima, Sport Boys, and Lircay, a team with players from the Andean province of Huancayo.”<sup>132</sup> The

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<sup>129</sup> Interview with Eliseo Terrones, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Interview with Mariano Barahona.

league also featured teams with former professional soccer players from Colombia and Ecuador. Almost 400 people from diverse nationalities attended the games each Sunday attracted by the spectacle that former professional players displayed on the field. Barahona recalled that “It was like being at the stadium in Peru because they sold ceviche, *chanfainita*, and *anticuchos*.”<sup>133</sup>

For those Peruvians who promoted the practice of soccer in Paterson, the league served as a major contribution to the community and an occasion to demonstrate national pride. What began in previous decades as an informal sportive practice to celebrate fraternity among a small group of Peruvians turned into a popular spectacle organized by a combination of formal and informal mechanisms. Peruvian families not only congregated at the stadium to watch soccer games on Sundays, but also to feel Peruvianness through the sharing of communal practices and customs framed by the nostalgia for their home country. In Paterson, former soccer players reinvented themselves as factory workers and were resurrected as popular idols, while the Peruvian community enjoyed traditional dishes from home and a great soccer exhibition.<sup>134</sup> Additionally, the increasing migration of Latin Americans during this decade allowed Peruvians to extend social relationships, learn new practices, and forge a transnational character that would reshape their behavior in the new society.

Similarly, the launching of The Peruvian Teachers Association in 1985 illustrates how Peruvian organizations first initiated through informal mechanisms began to rely on formal strategies to concretize their community building efforts (see figure 10). Yolanda

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> In 1999, Peruvian television made a news report to the life of former Peruvian soccer player Pedro Pablo “Perico” Leon in New Jersey. See Fabricio Torres del Aguila, “La Bombonera, 30 año después,” *America Television*, Agosto 1999, Accessed May 5, 2018, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ks\\_px7OJuSU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ks_px7OJuSU).

Esquiche, founder of this cultural group, explained that the association originated from her “commitment to education as a former teacher in Peru and a member of a Peruvian teacher union.”<sup>135</sup> The idea of the association arose when a group of Peruvian teachers and professionals from other careers convened in social gatherings. The Peruvian school was first launched at Esquiche’s house. There, every Saturday, these professionals offered classes on Peruvian history and geography to children of Peruvians. They also offered classes on Peruvian music and dance. Esquiche recounted that “the first weekend, more than 30 children came. Then, the school became even more popular.”<sup>136</sup> The school was well received by the community because it promoted Peruvian culture among sons and daughters of Peruvians. Esquiche also revealed that the school was self-managed and informally organized. The teachers “paid for supplies out of their own pockets, and they did it that way for some months before formalization.”<sup>137</sup>

In order to formalize the association, Esquiche mobilized social connections with American politicians interested in receiving support from the growing Peruvian community. She used *clientelism* to gain the endorsement of local authorities for the activities conducted by the Peruvian Teachers Association in Paterson. A person recommended her to contact the current congressman Bill Pascrell who, at that time, was running for mayor. Esquiche contacted him, and the next day he visited her home. Pascrell helped her with the paperwork and contacts to accelerate the registration of the association in the city of Paterson. Pascrell also made connections so that the Peruvian Teachers Association could utilize the facilities of the Barnert complex to hold classes. As a former teacher, Pascrell has supported the

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<sup>135</sup> Interview with Yolanda Esquiche.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

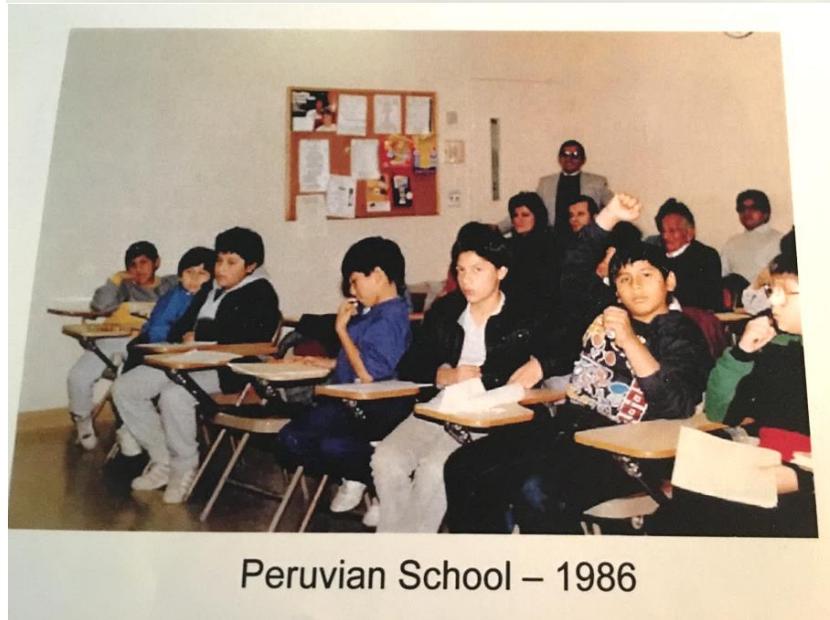


Figure 10. Peruvian Teachers Association and School, 1985-1986. One of the first Peruvian cultural organizations in Paterson. Yolanda Esquiche's collection.

association since then. “Now, I call him *Padrino*,<sup>138</sup> said Esquiche, underlining the close relationship she maintained with the politician.

As with previously established Peruvian organizations, the creation of this association allowed the development of social relations that provided a support network for recent immigrants wanting to become teachers in the United States. Yolanda explains that, since the beginning, the association guided migrants through the process of bilingual teacher certification in Paterson. By the end of the 1980s, bilingual education was launched in Paterson, and many Peruvian professionals were interested in becoming teachers. They came to the association for help with translating documents and guidance through the certification process. “My house was like the Peruvian consulate because they came to the association for advice,”<sup>139</sup> Esquiche revealed. Even after formalization, the Peruvian Teachers Association still utilized informal mechanisms to conduct activities. The association still operated at Yolanda’s house to perform activities such as counseling workshops. Similarly, other Peruvian organizations relied mostly on *recurseo* practices or alternative mechanisms to conduct activities although formal mechanisms were available for their use. The informal habitus of Peruvians was activated in every effort of communal organization, and, in many cases, Peruvians permanently operated through alternative channels.

In 1986, the first Peruvian institution was formally established in Paterson after more than 25 years of communal organization. The combining efforts of social leaders and Peruvian entrepreneurs made possible the launching of the Peruvian Parade, Inc. On April the 20<sup>th</sup>, 1986, Guillermo Callegari and other community leaders incorporated this institution as a non-profit organization. They also formed the first commission in charge of organizing

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

and coordinating with local authorities for the first Peruvian Parade. The City of Paterson proclaimed the week of July 24 to July 30 of 1986 as Peruvian Week.<sup>140</sup> During that week, the Peruvian community of Paterson officially celebrated the 165<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Independence of Peru with several events. On Saturday, July 26 the celebrations began with the flag raising in the town hall of Paterson. However, the most important of these events was the realization of the first Peruvian Parade on July 27. For this event, the world-known soccer player, Teófilo Cubillas, was selected as the parade marshal, Jorge Reboredo, a reputed doctor in the community, was designated *padrino* (godfather), and Jacqueline Rivera was elected as the queen of the event. On Sunday, July 27 of 1986, the parade began on Madison Avenue and ran along Market, Grand, and Main Streets, ending at the town hall in downtown Paterson. The mayor, Frank Graves, the Consul of Peru in New York, Raúl Pinto, and Guillermo Callegari, the president of the Peruvian Parade, Inc., lead the caravan of carriage while music groups and dancers that entertained more than 7,000 attendees.<sup>141</sup> The celebrations ended in the afternoon at the Hinchliffe Stadium with a soccer match between former 1970 World Cup soccer players from Peru and Argentina. Former Peruvian soccer stars Teófilo Cubillas, Pedro Pablo “Perico” Leon, and Julio Melendez entertained the 3,000 fans in attendance.<sup>142</sup>

The first Peruvian Parade was a landmark event for the Peruvian community of Paterson. This festivity validated their presence among other immigrant groups that had organized similar celebrations in the city. With the organization of this event, Peruvians had the opportunity to showcase their heritage and traditions through demonstrations of Peruvian

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<sup>140</sup> City of Paterson, Office of the Mayor, “Proclamation,” Guillermo Callegari’s personal collection

<sup>141</sup> Jose Davila, “Prevén gran concurrencia asistirá a Parada Peruana de New Jersey,” *Noticias del Mundo*, July 1986, Guillermo Callegari’s personal collection.

<sup>142</sup> Steven T. Walker. “Peruvian Gala Popular in City,” July 1986, Guillermo Callegari’s personal collection.



Figures 11. First Peruvian Parade 1986. Above left, Guillermo Callegari with other community leaders. Above right, Callegari with parade marshal Teófilo Cubillas. Guillermo Callegari's collection.



Figures 12. Peruvians with Andean attire and floats in the first Peruvian parade of 1986. Guillermo Callegari's collection.

dance, music, and folklore. Likewise, through diverse cultural demonstrations, Peruvians from distinct ethnic and social backgrounds experienced a unified sense of national belonging that surpassed cultural barriers. Accounts from this event confirm that organizers tried to represent the cultural diversity of the country in order to involve Peruvians from the different provinces. Furthermore, the event was organized by following collective practices reminiscent of those used by provincial migrants in Lima. Peruvian organizers chose a *padrino* and queen and mobilized practices of reciprocity and mutual aid with Peruvian entrepreneurs and social organizations that financed the event. Most importantly, the organization of the first Peruvian parade evidenced the economic advancement and political organization that the Peruvian community had achieved after 25 years. Peruvians demonstrated with this event that a cohesive ethnic enclave was already formed, which had grown large enough to organize its first official public festivals by using a well-organized system of economic, social, and cultural resources. Since 1986, the Peruvian Parade has been continuously celebrated every year as a symbol of Peruvianness for co-nationals and as a demonstration of the Peruvian heritage to others in the area.<sup>143</sup>

In the following year, the first institution representing the government of Peru was officially established in Paterson responding to requests from New Jersey's growing Peruvian community in the area.<sup>144</sup> The consulate opened in February 1987 and constituted "a concrete sign that the Peruvian community in the city had indeed established itself as a significant ethnic group with a significant infrastructure." The first Peruvian consul in Paterson, Octavio Vizcarra, explained that the consulate opened as a result of immigration needs. "Since the population of Peruvians in northern New Jersey and Pennsylvania grew to

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<sup>143</sup> See Berg, *Mobile Selves*, 177-208.

<sup>144</sup> Dao, "New Peru Consulate," *The Record*, Paterson March 3, 1987.

approximately 40,000, the aperture of a consulate was necessary to handle visa, passports, and immigration matters, saving time and money for Peruvians that would have to make the journey to the Peruvian consulate in New York.<sup>145</sup> Likewise, the consulate provided help with problems in the local Peruvian community, specifically those related to the better organization of religious brotherhoods, cultural associations, and social groups.<sup>146</sup> The mayor of Paterson, Frank Graves, manifested that “the consulate would open new commercial and economic perspectives for Paterson.”<sup>147</sup> As the Peruvian tradition mandates, the consulate was blessed by priest Walter Crespo.

During the following decade, Peruvians continued capitalizing on formal and informal mechanisms to create social and religious organizations. By 1990, the consulate registered 15 Peruvian organizations that formally operated in the city of Paterson and nearby towns.<sup>148</sup> The arrival of new waves of Peruvians migrants fed the informal spirit already established as a collective attitude among Peruvians in Paterson. Newcomers transferred from Peru innovative mechanisms in which new skills, values, behaviors, and practices were introduced to the new setting and adopted by previously established Peruvians. However, the political turmoil that occurred in Peru during the 1980s and 1990s was also transferred to Paterson, causing unrest in the Peruvian community. Official information from the consulate evidence the presence of members of Shining Path in the area. For instance, on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1991, the walls of the building where the Peruvian consulate is located were painted with the phrase “Support the Revolution in Peru, Viva PCP!”<sup>149</sup> On July, 26, 1992, Shining Path supporters distributed flyers at the Peruvian parade and hung posters alluding to the popular

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<sup>145</sup> Judith Voccola, “Winning Recognition: Peru opens 1<sup>st</sup> consulate in Paterson,” *The News*, February 28, 1987

<sup>146</sup> Dao, “New Peru Consulate.”

<sup>147</sup> Jose Rohaidy, “40,000 Peruanos favorecidos con el nuevo consulado,” *El Diario-La Prensa*, 04 de Marzo 1987.

<sup>148</sup> Ministerio, “Memoria 1989-1990, 13-15.

<sup>149</sup> Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú, “Memoria del consulado general del Perú en Paterson, New Jersey correspondiente al año de 1991,” 22.

war in Peru. In September of 1992, supporters of Shining Path entered Peruvian restaurants in downtown Paterson proclaiming their support of the liberation of *Presidente* Gonzalo, Shining Path's imprisoned leader. The consulate and the Peruvian community condemned these actions with a letter published in *El Diario-La Prensa*, the most popular newspaper among Latinos of the New York-New Jersey area.<sup>150</sup> This action demonstrated that Peruvians united against guerrilla acts while maintaining political differences.

Political interest among Peruvian migrants in local government grew during this decade. By the mid-1990s, Peruvians occupied positions in departments of the city council and other local offices, which played a central role in community development. Victor Tirado was the first Peruvian who worked in the city of Paterson and, since the 1980s, promoted the formalization of Peruvian organizations. Tirado mobilized his contacts for the materialization of the first Peruvian Parade and assisted community leaders with the legal permit process. In the following decade, the number of Peruvian advocates working in local offices increased.<sup>151</sup>

The arrival of migrants from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds during the 1990s encouraged the formation of other of religious organizations; some of them operated informally for many years before formalization, while others never formalized. The case of the religious congregation celebrating the saint Santiago Apostol de Pauza illustrates the perpetuation of this pattern. Juana Guardia migrated in 1995 and with other *paisanos* formed the congregation to celebrate the patron saint of their town in Ayacucho, Peru. "Since most Pauzinos were illegals, they couldn't go back to Peru, so we decided to bring our town and

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<sup>150</sup> Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Peru, "Memoria del consulado general del Perú en Paterson, New Jersey correspondiente al año de 1992," 10-11.

<sup>151</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

its traditions to Paterson,” Guardia declared.<sup>152</sup> At the end of the 1990s, they began celebrating this tradition. First, they brought the image of the patron saint from Peru. At the beginning they were ten members, but, in the following years, the number of the congregation rose to one hundred. “We celebrate the procession of the patron saint, and then we have a bullfight, as in our town back in Ayacucho,” Edmundo Retamozo emphasized the importance of maintaining the tradition of their town transnationally.<sup>153</sup> However, in a country where bullfights are prohibited, these Peruvians used creativity, imagination, and faith to re-create a local tradition in Paterson. In its first celebration, they decided to build a bullring in the yard of a *Pauzino* immigrant. Then, they brought the bullfighter’s outfit from Peru. They also brought bull horns which would be manipulated by people instead of using a live animal. “Although our bulls had two legs, we maintain the tradition of celebrating with food from our town, Andean music, and a lot of beer,”<sup>154</sup> Retamozo joyfully declared. *Pauzinos* maintained this festivity as a private party celebrated at home for some years before obtaining permits to conduct the festivity in a city park.

Peruvian organizations and festivities not only attracted the participation of Peruvians. As migration from Latin America increased during the 1990s, migrants from other countries also formed part of these socio-cultural activities, as well as Anglo members of the community.<sup>155</sup> Some of them participated through personal relationships with Peruvian spouses, others through friendship relationships. Particularly, migrants from Ecuador and Bolivia were involved in these organizations since they share many cultural and language

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<sup>152</sup> Lorena Ormeño, “Un pedazo de nuestro Peru en Nueva Jersey,” *ATV*, 2012, accessed May 10, 2018, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ee53\\_lfPdzo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ee53_lfPdzo)

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> See the work of Ruiz, Baia L. “Articles - Rethinking Transnationalism: Reconstructing National Identities Among Peruvian Catholics in New Jersey.” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*. 41.4, 1999: 93.

practices with Andean Peruvians.<sup>156</sup> The participation and collaboration of individuals from other ethnicities contributed to the extension of social connections for Peruvians that could be activated at any time for social, political, and economic support.

Massive migration of Peruvians during the 1990s caused the relocation of informal subjects from Peru that augmented the utilization of informality and *recurseo* practices for adjustment into the new setting. Consequently, an emergent process of *cholification* that occurred in Lima during the 1990s took shape in Paterson by the 2000s when People from Andean origins circulated alternative mechanisms of adaptation and cultural practices associated with the *cholo* identity. For instance, Peruvians in Paterson began to socialize in parties and festivities animated with *chicha* music, Andean food, and entertainment practices. At the turn of the new century, Peruvians from diverse ethnic and social origins transformed the face of Paterson. The old industrial town developed by white European migrants resembled a Peruvian fair one hundred years after the arrival of the pioneer Peruvians. At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Peruvians in Paterson increasingly relied on collective and informal mechanisms to work and socialize. They continued using traditional Andean norms of solidarity and mutual aid as well as *recurseo* practices to launch organizations that supported the settlement of more Peruvian migrants. Furthermore, national identity, and its variants of Peruvianness according to diverse regions and ethnic groups, were also transferred to Paterson by the 2000s. At the turn of the century, the community continued growing, and, with the institutionalization of strategic social, civic, and religious organizations, Peruvians developed a more stable community in multiethnic Paterson.

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<sup>156</sup> Ormeño, “Un pedazo.”

In conclusion, the 1960s and 1970s proved to be critical formative decades which directed the future progression of the Peruvian community. During these years, the community relied increasingly on informal strategies to concretize their community building efforts. The establishment of diverse religious and social organizations allowed older generations of Peruvians to lay the foundation for a Peruvian community that, in subsequent decades, gained prominence and stability through formalization. However, the informal character of Peruvians continued to shape their creative, resourceful, and authentic strategies for creating organizations at the turn of the century. Peruvians had gained political empowerment through communal organization, allowing them to develop interethnic relationships and become more visible among other ethnic groups in Paterson. One characteristic that has distinguished Peruvians from other ethnic groups in the area has been entrepreneurship. The economic support of Peruvian businesses played a central role in the development of the Peruvian community of Paterson. The following chapter will reveal the mechanisms utilized by Peruvians to become businessmen, organize themselves as entrepreneurs, and contribute to the development of a prosperous ethnic enclave.

## **Chapter 4:**

### **Informality, Entrepreneurship, and the Development of the Peruvian Community of Paterson**

“Yo tenía mi negocio en Perú y desde que bajé del avión quise ser independiente en Estados Unidos. El dicho dice: “El que no arriesga no gana.” Por eso, no hay que tener miedo porque el miedo es el peor enemigo del ser humano. A mucho compatriota yo le digo eso, si has llegado acá ya has dado un paso muy grande. Con trabajo, fe y visión hay que tirar para adelante.”

Pablo Placencia, Peruvian entrepreneur.

Community building efforts were supported by the leadership of Peruvian entrepreneurs that managed, financed, and sustained the evolution of the Peruvian enclave of Paterson. Since its origins in the 1960s, the emergent Peruvian community developed an entrepreneurial character that distinguished this ethnic group from others in the area. Through the transnational circulation of informal and supportive mechanisms of economic organization, Peruvians gradually forged an independent pathway in the United States through self-employment. Peruvian factory workers faced Paterson’s context of de-industrialization by leaving their blue-collar occupations in factories to pursue economic ventures. These entrepreneurs opened restaurants, income tax offices, soccer schools, insurance and travel agencies, and small businesses that created an emergent ethnic market for Peruvian products and services that would permanently alter the social and economic landscape of Paterson. This chapter reveals that Peruvians relied principally on informal and autonomous mechanisms to become businessmen, organize themselves as entrepreneurs, and

contribute to the development of a thriving ethnic enclave. Their transition from laborers to entrepreneurs was achieved through the application of Peruvian norms and values that reinforced notions of solidarity, the redistribution of resources, and national identity.

This chapter first emphasizes that continuous structural changes in Paterson motivated many Peruvians to turn to their cultural and social resources gained through their experiences with the culture of informality in Peru in order to cope with economic downturns in America. Peruvians transferred knowledge, worldviews, and *recurseo* practices from home to face everyday life in the new setting. This chapter then demonstrates how the diverse streams of Peruvian migration to Paterson have continued to rely on nostalgia, national identity, resourcefulness, and collective agency to expand their entrepreneurial endeavors and consolidate a market for Peruvian products and services. Although Peruvian businessmen played a central role in establishing the first institutions in the area that supported Peruvian entrepreneurship, small business owners mostly relied on informal channels and social mechanisms to operate their businesses. The resourceful and informal habitus of Peruvians influenced by the critical economic context at home explains the rationale behind their continuous use of peripheral mechanisms to face economic challenges in the United States.

### ***Recurseo, Informality, and Emergent Entrepreneurship among Peruvians in Paterson***

The literature on international migration has studied migrants' diverse modes of labor incorporation. Economic perspectives assert that advanced industrial economies are structured by a dual, segmented labor market joined by immigrants. The primary sector of the labor market is characterized by stable jobs, skilled occupations which require advanced education, specialized training, and experience. Workers in the primary sector tend to be unionized and highly professionalized. The secondary sector is characterized by labor-

intensive occupations where workers hold unstable and unskilled jobs with low wages and lack of prospects for labor and social mobility.<sup>1</sup> According to this perspective, most immigrants arriving to the United States during the 20th century primarily incorporated into the secondary sector of the labor market, finding manual labor positions in industrial towns and cities.<sup>2</sup>

Most male and female Peruvian migrants followed this pattern of labor incorporation as soon as they arrived to Paterson. Since the mid-1960s, Peruvians acquired jobs in local textile and manufacturing industries because these companies had few qualifications yet still provided attractive salaries, benefits, and labor conditions. Furthermore, with inventiveness and resourcefulness, Peruvians learned to “play against the structures” of the labor system in order to find factory occupations.<sup>3</sup> However, gradual deindustrialization worsened the labor conditions of industrial workers in Paterson. Between 1970 and 1980, textile manufactures experienced a steady decline in employment as a consequence of the flight of factories to suburbs, other states, and foreign countries in response to lower labor costs. By 1975, the city lost 40% of its manufacturing jobs, prompting an increase in unemployment, poverty, and urban decay.<sup>4</sup> Paterson was ranked fourth among the nation’s poorest cities with populations of 100,000 or more by the end of the decade.<sup>5</sup> Even though, manufacturing remained one of the city’s predominant economic sectors that still offered employment to large groups of Latin American immigrants since the 1970s.<sup>6</sup> Many Peruvians mobilized previous

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<sup>1</sup> Massey et al., “Theories on International Migration,” 2-28.

<sup>2</sup> See Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971, and John Bodnar, *The Transplanted*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985).

<sup>3</sup> Ewa Morawska used the phrase “play against the structures” to describe everyday practices of migrants and highlight the creativity of actors to penetrate the social structures of the receiving society. See Ewa Morawska, “The Sociology,” 187-240.

<sup>4</sup> Owusu, “Economic Transition,” 4.

<sup>5</sup> Owusu, “Economic Transition,” 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*

knowledge, values, and practices in order to forge an independent economic pathway that contributed to the formation of an emergent ethnic community.

Contemporary studies on immigration have extended the dual-labor market perspective of immigrant incorporation by revealing the existence of a third sector characterized by developing ethnic entrepreneurial activities. The growing presence of immigrants' businesses and ethnic economies in cities allowed scholars to investigate the propensity of immigrants for self-employment and the mechanisms they use to develop entrepreneurial activities in ethnic enclaves.<sup>7</sup> Literature on ethnic entrepreneurship has demonstrated that particular contexts at home and in the receiving country, as well as individual and group characteristics, influence the propensity or constraints of migrants for developing business ventures.<sup>8</sup> On the one hand, the conditions of reception in the new environment, such as pre-existing ethnic communities, government policies, and acceptance of native population, influence the inclination of immigrants towards entrepreneurship.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, personal traits and behavior, as well as individuals' socioeconomic characteristics imported from home, such as age upon arrival, marital status, education, jobs skills, and English proficiency encourage self-employment.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, scholars have also focused on the collective cultural repertoire immigrants bring with them or adopt upon arrival as key determinants in their propensity to develop business ventures. Recent studies that use Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capitals, and practice have analyzed migrants' mobilization of a particular cultural knowledge,

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<sup>7</sup> See the works of Ivan Light, and Parminder Bhachu. *Immigrant Networks and Immigrant Entrepreneurship* (Los Angeles: Institute for Social Science Research, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990); Alejandro Portes, and Robert L. Bach, *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994); Roger Waldinger, Howard Aldrich, and Robin Ward, *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies* (Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> Light and Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs*.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew Godley, *Jewish Immigrant Entrepreneurship in New York and London, 1880-1914: Enterprise and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

worldview, or predisposition to confront hardships and adjust to unfamiliar contexts.<sup>11</sup> This body of work provides a new framework of analysis to study immigrants' day-to-day practices shared collectively in the form of economic, cultural, symbolic, and communal resources that explain their propensity toward entrepreneurship.

Peruvians in Paterson collectively and creatively activated mechanisms to transfer practices, norms of social support, abilities, and models of behavior, while creating new cultural resources to open business ventures. Peruvians relied on solidarity as a collective cultural value when they were confronted with the reality of being treated as foreigners. Foreignness intensified their sense of national belonging and shared cultural heritage, which produced the development of communal support among Peruvian owners, workers, and customers. Trust was another cultural value mobilized by Peruvians to enforce commonly accepted norms and obligations among immigrant group members involved in entrepreneurial endeavors. Other cultural endowments articulated by Peruvians included a permanent orientation to the host society, the habit of saving, and the value of developing a strong work ethic.<sup>12</sup> During each of the diverse migratory streams, self-employment constituted a preferable alternative to unemployment and underemployment that created job opportunities and allowed for greater economic independence for the ethnic group as a whole. Peruvian migrants have transferred to Paterson a particular entrepreneurial and

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<sup>11</sup> For recent works that apply Bourdieu's theory of practice to immigration see: Israel Drori, Benson Honig and Ari Ginsberg, "Toward a Practical Theory of Transnational Entrepreneurship: Understanding the Habitus of Cross-Cultural Affiliation," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the SASE Annual Conference. Philadelphia, PA, USA, 2008. Retrieved from [http://legacy.wlu.ca/documents/30236/Toward\\_a\\_Practical\\_Theory.pdf](http://legacy.wlu.ca/documents/30236/Toward_a_Practical_Theory.pdf); Bauder Harald, Philip Kelly and Tom Lulis, "Migration and the transnational habitus: evidence from Canada and the Philippines," *Environ. Plann. A* 38 (5), 2006: 831–847; Greg Noble, "It is home but it is not home: habitus, field and the migrant," *Journal of Sociology* 49 (2-3), 2013: 341–356; Magdalena Nowicka, "Positioning Strategies of Polish Entrepreneurs in Germany. Transnationalizing Bourdieu's notion of capital," *International Sociology* 28 (1), 2013: 29–47; Umut Erel, "Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies", *Sociology: Volume 44(4)*, (2010):642-660, 649.

<sup>12</sup> Immigration scholars have investigated practices of solidarity and trust among immigrant in the United States. See Light and Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs*.

resourceful habitus through collective forms of economic organization that has driven the emergence of a prosperous ethnic enclave.<sup>13</sup>

When the Peruvian community began to take shape at the end of 1960s, the process of deindustrialization in Paterson had reduced labor opportunities for the blue-collar working population constituted by Anglos, African Americans, and Puerto Ricans. However, the small group of Peruvian migrants seemed to be prospering. Most veteran migrants declared that they had not been directly affected by the process of deindustrialization that ultimately caused the economic decline of Paterson. Although they competed with new migrants from Latin America, Asia, and Africa for job opportunities, they continued working in local factories which allowed them to maintain a middle-class status. Peruvians began occupying sectors of the city that European immigrants were abandoning in favor of suburban housing.<sup>14</sup> Even though they quickly learned to “play the game” in the labor market by the end of the 1960s, some Peruvians began to pursue their own economic independence through self-employment. Pioneer entrepreneurs promptly began to capitalize on economic, social, and cultural resources to open ethnic businesses as a strategy for labor mobility and to ease the collective adjustment of co-nationals.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Peruvians mostly relied on peripheral practices and communal relationships to launch business ventures. Certainly economic reasons encouraged Peruvians to open the first restaurants, car repair shops, travel offices, and insurance agencies, yet other experiences, skills, connections, and contextual conditions motivated them to become entrepreneurs. Some of the early migrants capitalized on their economic and cultural resources gained through years of experience in Peru to craft their own economic

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<sup>13</sup> Scholar Calvin Goldscheider has investigated the transference of Jewish rationale behind self-employment. See Calvin Goldscheider, *Jewish Continuity and Change: Emerging Patterns in America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001).

<sup>14</sup> Owusu, “Economic Transition,” 5.

pathway in America. Guillermo Callegari's labor background illustrates that migrants transformed cultural resources brought from home and converted them into economic capital in the new setting. As an adolescent, he informally learned to repair cars in different auto repair shops in Lima, and later improved his skills after founding a job in Hugo Balta's father auto repair shop. These previous labor experiences constituted resources that Callegari utilized in the United States in order to establish and operate his own business. "I was the first Peruvian small business owner in Paterson and one of the first Latino entrepreneurs," noted Callegari, explaining that, by 1965, he established his own body shop called South America after working as a mechanic for two years in a similar business owned by Italians.<sup>15</sup> On weekends, he repaired cars for friends and acquaintances in order to earn extra income. The establishment of a network of customers, the knowledge of the business, and years of experience gained in Peru and the United States lead Callegari to work independently. Callegari asked himself, "Why work for others if I was earning a lot of money by myself with those small jobs?" After ten years he expanded his business by opening five additional body shops in the area.<sup>16</sup>

Accounts from veteran migrants state that *señoras* Faride, Alegría, and Machado launched the first Peruvian "restaurants" in the area. They opened their homes to fellow migrants longing for familiar Peruvian dishes by offering daily or weekly meals.<sup>17</sup> These three informal establishments were located in backyards or family dining rooms, and Peruvians circulated the information about these spaces to other nostalgic co-nationals. Although these women were employed as laborers in local textile industries,<sup>18</sup> they also

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<sup>15</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

<sup>18</sup> "Maria Elena Machado (1932-2017)," *Nuestra Gente The Magazine*, 36, Mayo 7, 2017, [https://issuu.com/nuestragentethemagazine/docs/nuestra\\_gente\\_the\\_magazine\\_36\\_-\\_pri](https://issuu.com/nuestragentethemagazine/docs/nuestra_gente_the_magazine_36_-_pri), Accessed September 21, 2018.

relied on *recurseo* for supplemental income, demonstrating their determination to generate their own economic resources through an incipient form of entrepreneurship. Elena Machado's establishment was the only one of the three that eventually materialized into a formal restaurant.

The trajectory of Elena Machado in Peru and Paterson exemplifies how the transference of resources from home first resulted in an informal practice in Paterson that later formalized into a small business. On weekends, Machado held a casual eatery in her home and served Peruvian food to immigrants in Paterson. She also organized informal *peñas criollas*, social gatherings where nostalgic Peruvians played and danced to *música criolla*. Machado reproduced in Paterson what she had experienced since childhood in her beloved Barrios Altos—the *criollo* world. Her idea of establishing a restaurant resulted from the informal *peñas criollas* she organized at her home on weekends with the few Peruvians living in Paterson. When the community began to grow, Machado formalized what she had previously forged through *recurseo*. In 1972, she opened Lima de Antaño, one of the first Peruvian restaurants in Paterson. “There was a lot of love for our heritage, so the opening day featured María de Jesús Vázquez, the queen of *música criolla*, and Los Dávalos,”<sup>19</sup> recalled Machado.<sup>20</sup> These artists were popular figures among young Peruvians during the 1960s and 1970s, and Elena Machado made a substantial profit by opening her restaurant with these popular musicians. Los Dávalos and María de Jesús Vázquez traveled from Peru to perform in Lima de Antaño to the delight of their Peruvian fans in Paterson.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Manuel Avendaño, “María Elena Machado (1932-2017),” *Nuestra Gente Digital*, No. 36, May 6, 2017, 26, [https://issuu.com/quinoaforum/docs/revista\\_ngd\\_-\\_version\\_digital\\_final](https://issuu.com/quinoaforum/docs/revista_ngd_-_version_digital_final). Accessed September 28, 2017.

<sup>20</sup> Carlos Felice, “Lima de Antano se llamó el primer restaurant peña peruano,” *Paginas Libres*, Wednesday May 14, 2014, <http://paginaslibresusa.blogspot.com/2014/05/lima-de-antano-se-llamo-el-primer.html>. Accessed September 28, 2017.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

As scholars of immigration have demonstrated, migrant women assume roles outside the traditional gender division of labor, transcending duties related to domestic work.<sup>22</sup> The case of Peruvians in Paterson demonstrates that entrepreneurship constituted an avenue for women to gain economic independence. Peruvian women launched and maintained emergent commercial enterprises in order to generate their own income and support their families in Paterson and Peru. A magazine article highlighted, for example, that “Elena Machado worked hard to open Lima de Antaño, where she managed everything as the cashier, cook, and waitress. Then, she brought her whole family to work in the restaurant.”<sup>23</sup> The account revealed that Machado utilized social resources and strategies of *recurseo* acquired through her experiences with the culture of informality in Peru in order to operate her small business. Machado’s practices also revealed patterns of reciprocity and hard work that she used to encourage the migration of family members to Paterson that she eventually employed in her restaurant. Other accounts confirmed Machado’s agency in the migration and settlement of other Peruvians in Paterson. A newspaper article revealed that “Elena helped newcomers from Barrios Altos and pioneered the hiring of *criollo* musicians from Peru to play in Paterson. Some of them overstayed their visa and remained in the city.”<sup>24</sup> This account also highlights Machado’s use of *recurseo* to employ and pay these artists. The process of contracting these musicians and other staff members was arranged “under the table.” Most importantly, the launching of Machado’s restaurant is one example of how these small businesses played a fundamental role in the development of the Peruvian community of Paterson. The social activities that Machado and other female Peruvians organized, first

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<sup>22</sup> For gender perspectives on immigration see: Brettel, *Gender and Migration*; Donna R. Gabaccia and Franca Lacovetta, *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Gendered Transitions*; Pribilsky, *La Chulla Vida*; Romero, Hondagneu-Sotelo, and Ortiz, *Challenging Fronteras*; Vicki Ruíz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>23</sup> Avendaño, “Maria Elena Machado,” 26.

<sup>24</sup> Felice, “Lima de Antano.”

informally in their homes and later in formal restaurants, ultimately created a space for migrants to maintain ties with Peru. In these businesses, women reproduced an imaginary of Peruvianness that was rooted in the *criollo* culture. Thus, Peruvian women became active agents not only in the formation of businesses, but also in the maintenance of the Peruvian identity among co-nationals in Paterson. In the same fashion as their male counterparts, Peruvian women mobilized themselves to maintain and reproduce cultural and economic practices from the home country. Access to paid employment served Peruvian women to enhance their power and gain authority within their household and the ethnic community.

Through the development of social relations and informal channels not available to men, female Peruvians played a significant role in the development of community-based forms of organizations and economic practices.<sup>25</sup> Although they generally operated subtly and unobtrusively, and the significance of their actions was not publicly recognized, Peruvian men depended on the support and involvement of wives and other female relatives and friends for the establishment of economic relations and communal organizations.<sup>26</sup> In subsequent decades, Peruvian women in Paterson demonstrated that their initiatives for business formation and communal association equaled those of male Peruvian migrants. Their subjectivity and determination have allowed them to achieve their own social and economic prominence within the ethnic community and the new society.

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<sup>25</sup> The case of Peruvian immigrant women in Paterson confirms investigations that sustain that migration may improve women's social position of power and status in the country of settlement. See the works of Donna R. Gabaccia, *Seeking Common Ground: Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Women in the United States* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1992); Patricia Pessar, *A Visa for a Dream: Dominican Women in the United States* (Boston, Mass: Allyn and Bacon, 1995), and Miriam C. Louie, *Sweatshop Warriors: Immigrant Women Workers Take on the Global Factory* (Cambridge, Mass: South End Press, 2001). Alternatively, other gender approaches on immigration recognize the reconfiguration of gender relations on immigration, but deny women's ability to transform patriarchal family relations constrained by the continuous subordination of immigrant women in the U.S. society. See the works of Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Gendered Transitions*; Pierrete Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Gender and U.S. Immigration: Contemporary Trends* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2003), and Attila Bruni, Silvia Gherardi, and Barbara Poggio, *Gender and Entrepreneurship: An Ethnographic Approach* (London: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>26</sup> Caroline B. Brettell and Patricia A. DeBerjouis, "Anthropology and the Study of Immigrant Women," 323-338, in Mohsen M. Mobasher, and Mahmoud Sadri, *Migration, Globalization, and Ethnic Relations: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Upper Saddle River, N.J: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004).

While Machado and other migrants initiated their entrepreneurial activities as a supplement to their stable income, others turned to entrepreneurship as a consequence of unemployment. As deindustrialization progressively reduced the availability of factory positions, some Peruvians began to lose stable sources of income. Through the application of economic, social, and cultural resources, Peruvian immigrants found new ways of generating income. The case of Hugo Balta's small insurance office exemplifies this pattern. Balta had a stable job as an industrial laborer at Ford's plant; however, he did not want his wife Graciela to continue as a textile worker after she was laid off from her factory position. Balta's wife had studied business administration in Peru and the couple thought she could obtain a white-collar occupation with her credentials. However, at that time Graciela did not speak enough English to work in this field in Paterson. Soon, the couple would find a profitable opportunity. Hugo Balta's sister, who worked for a Puerto Rican man who owned one of the first insurance offices in the city, told him that the owner would sell the business. Balta talked to her wife and they liked the idea because her wife would not have to work in the factory anymore. The couple invested their savings and bought the business, which was really for Balta's wife, because he continued working in the Ford plant until the 80's.<sup>27</sup>

The experience of Balta shows that the high salaries factories paid to their blue-collar workers until the late-1960s allowed some Peruvians to save part of their earnings. They eventually mobilized these resources as economic investments in business ventures. Furthermore, the hidden pool of talents and skills they brought to America resurfaced as soon as they acquired the resources and conditions to activate them in the new setting. They assumed the risks of investing their savings in search of personal and economic growth. In

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<sup>27</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

the following years, the efficient command of social, cultural, and economic resources allowed more Peruvians to open stores, restaurants, courier agencies, and bodegas in Paterson.

The arrival of new Peruvian migrants generated needs related to the consumption of products and services associated with traditional practices as the few Latinos businesses in Paterson did not fulfill the expectations of Peruvian consumers. This scenario constituted an opportunity for migrants to individually craft their own economic pathway through entrepreneurship. Peruvians relied on the relocation of *recurseo* practices and the mobilization of alternative mechanisms acquired in Peru in order to capitalize on the economic needs of fellow migrants. The case of César Morales exemplifies this pattern. Morales arrived in Paterson in 1973 with no intention of establishing Inca's Food [SIC], the first brand of Peruvian products in the United States. Although he had received a bachelor's degree in sociology in Peru, he could not find a job in his career and decided to move to Paterson. Morales did not want to be a burden to his parents and migrated knowing that, as most Peruvian migrants, he would likely begin work as a factory laborer. He found a position in the Ford plant in Mahwah, a job that most Peruvian migrants in the 1970s aspired to obtain because of the social benefits this factory offered to their workers. Morales sacrificed his professional perspectives for gaining economic independence in a new country. As other Peruvians, he socialized with co-nationals and their families to talk about work, life in Paterson and, principally, to complain about the scarcity of Peruvian products. Morales explained that, when he arrived, only Puerto Ricans and Cubans owned Latino businesses. "In those places there were no Peruvian products. In 1975, an Argentinean store called Regional Import began to sell Inca Cola and *ajíes*, but 'nothing more.' We were the ones who

came with an entrepreneurial spirit. We visualized an economic niche,”<sup>28</sup> remarked Morales, asserting that Peruvian migrants of his generation brought to Paterson a distinct commercial vision that allowed them to expand Peruvian entrepreneurship in the area.

César Morales decided to address the need for Peruvian supplies in Paterson. He identified a potential market for ethnic products and contacted a friend in Peru to import foodstuffs. At the end of the 1970s, international commerce was reestablished, and the Peruvian government encouraged exports and imports to improve internal economic conditions. The enactment of new economic policies in Peru allowed Morales to import bags of *ají panca* (panca pepper), *ají amarillo* (yellow pepper), *maíz morado* (purple corn) and *papa seca* (dried potato). Morales invested 1,500 dollars, and his contact in Peru shipped the supplies.<sup>29</sup> His initiative relied on both formal and informal mechanisms to import the first Peruvian products to Paterson. Morales used legal channels to process the cargo arrival at the port of Newark. He formally established an enterprise with the city of Paterson and hired a broker to assist with paperwork to register his shipments. However, Morales also reproduced informal strategies of *recurseo* for packaging and commercializing these products in the Latino groceries of Paterson. Morales recalled that, because he worked at the Ford plant, in his spare time he packed what he had brought in little bags. His wife and children helped Morales with this task. Then, he used a printing press to put labels on them. “There, I came up with the name Inca's Food,” Morales remembered. He utilized the term Inca in its products to attract Peruvian customers, because “it identifies the authentically Peruvian.” As scholar M. Cristina Alcalde argues, the term Inca is successful because transmits the notion of Peruvianess to Peruvians living in the home country and abroad. This term bridges the gap

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<sup>28</sup> Interview with César Morales, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

between the local and the global, the traditional and the modern. The term Inca made products globally viable because it conveys a sense of national identity that is easily recognized by Peruvian and non-Peruvian customers in a transnational marketplace.<sup>30</sup> Soon Cesar Morales would discover that he made the right decision regarding the brand name. He distributed the bags in Latino supermarkets and other stores frequented by Peruvians. “I left my merchandise on consignment. I knew that my products would sell,”<sup>31</sup> said Morales, affirming that the initial commercialization of Peruvian products in Paterson “was a success.” In two days, Morales received purchase orders from the stores where he introduced the products. In subsequent weeks, he increased his investment and imported additional products.

The informal mechanisms used by Morales to conduct business continued from 1978 to 1980. While continuing to work in the Ford plant, Morales managed the reception, packaging, and distribution of products and depended on his family’s support to run the business. His son, Cesar Morales Jr. manifested, “it was tough at the beginning. I sold the products with my dad in parks, streets, and avenues, rain or shine, in order to sell the merchandise.”<sup>32</sup> His dad only slept 4 or 5 hours per night, and there came a moment when he was unable work from home anymore. “The machine I bought to seal the bags was too loud, and the neighbors began to complain,” Morales joyfully declared. Public health officials gave him 30 days to relocate the business. He acquired a loan to rent a commercial space in Passaic, and from there, his business began to grow.<sup>33</sup> Morales’ informal practices to initiate his business initially worked, albeit to the detriment of his family’s and neighbors’ quality of life. The decision to switch to formal mechanisms to run his business immediately translated

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<sup>30</sup> M. Cristina Alcalde provides a deep analysis of the term Inca as a brand of products to be commercialized in the local and global arena. See Alcalde, “Between Incas and Indians.”

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Villegas, “Latinos,” 11.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

into economic gains. The company's growth was also stimulated by the arrival of more Peruvian migrants to Paterson during the 1980s, potential consumers of Inca's Food products.

Informal practices to conduct business used by Peruvians often opposed the customs and laws of the new society. The mechanisms utilized by emergent Peruvian entrepreneurs to operate their business many times infringed on local regulations and disturbed neighbors. Some Peruvians attributed the unwelcoming attitude towards their business practices with racial and ethnic prejudices exerted by European immigrant groups already established in the community. For example, Guillermo Callegari argued that "discrimination" posed a challenge to the development of his business. He would often park the overflow of wrecked cars from his body shop on the street. The police would issue citations, and "one time they even arrested me!" Callegari recalled, emphasizing that Italians and Jews, who controlled the businesses in the area, "didn't want Hispanic businesses in the city."<sup>34</sup> During early 1970s, Peruvian businesses also struggled with bureaucratic mechanisms to operate their business ventures legally. Peruvians were unfamiliar with the legal processes they needed to follow in order to formalize their businesses. Other barriers, such as language and professional accreditations also hindered entrepreneurs. Cesar Morales commented, "since I barely spoke, read, and understood English, it was difficult to regularize my business. Only whites and a few African Americans attended customers in the city clerk office, and they didn't speak Spanish. Eventually an Italian co-worker helped me with all the paperwork to formalize Inca's Food."<sup>35</sup> However, gradually the use of social connections in local institutions and the

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<sup>34</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Cesar Morales.

adoption of new cultural practices in Paterson allowed Peruvians to formalize, maintain, and establish new businesses in the area.

### **Business Formalization and Entrepreneurial Empowerment in the Development of a Peruvian Ethnic Market**

By the end of the 1970s, the first attempts of business formalization among emergent Peruvian entrepreneurs in the area began. The growing Latino community in Paterson received new waves migrants that demanded products and services. Thus, an ethnic market for Latinos developed in Paterson as most Peruvian small business owners began to target this niche. Julio Malqui and Daniel Jara were two of the most successful Peruvian entrepreneurs with this vision. Because the Peruvian community was still small in relation to other Latino groups, they decided to initiate tax and insurance services for the entire Spanish-speaking population. In contrast to most emergent Peruvian businesses in the area, they pioneered the use of formal channels for marketing its services and attract customers.

Overwhelmed by the adverse conditions in the home country, Julio Malqui came to Paterson in 1971 at the age of 22. As soon as he arrived, Malqui found a job as a machine operator in a local company where he worked for several years. He then enrolled at William Paterson College and obtained a degree in business administration. While attending college, he worked as a stocker for local retail companies.<sup>36</sup> After finishing college, he left his blue-collar occupations to join a local insurance office as a sales management trainee for two years. Malqui utilized all of these experiences as cultural and economic capital when he decided to open his own insurance company. “I knew the market. Nearly 90% of my first customers were, like myself, Spanish-speaking immigrants. I understood their concerns about

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<sup>36</sup> Murphy and Murphy, *Paterson & Passaic*, 205

living in a new country from first-hand experience,” recalled Malqui, demonstrating that his decision to become entrepreneur was driven by cultural endowments. “Yes, they needed auto and life insurance and other coverage like everyone else, but they also needed someone who could help with translations and taxes and all the confusing details of everyday life in the United States. I gave them that, and I won customers, he argued.”<sup>37</sup> Julio Malqui’s business developed on the basis of cooperation and trust among fellow Latinos. By the end of 1977, its first year in business, Julio Malqui’s agency had more than 2000 clients.<sup>38</sup> The agency was formally established and run by a Peruvian professional business administrator who applied modern techniques to publicize the business. Advertisement signs in local magazines, yellow pages, and newspapers demonstrate that Malqui was one of few Peruvians who used these channels to promote his services. In contrast to other Peruvian entrepreneurs, from 1977, he regularly invested in advertisement for his business.<sup>39</sup> When he was interviewed in 1987 for his achievements as entrepreneur, he stated, “My business was based on a solid 10-year tradition of good and responsible service.”<sup>40</sup> As a professional business administrator, he knew the benefits of marketing and advertisement. He utilized this knowledge to run his business in Paterson. Eventually, Malqui participated in organizations such as the Paterson Chamber of Commerce, a strategy that ultimately brought legitimacy to his business, Malqui Tax (see figure 13).

The entrepreneurial career of Daniel Jara exemplifies how new experiences in a foreign context shaped a new cultural habitus among Peruvian entrepreneurs. He introduced a new vision mobilizing new knowledge and experiences, inspiring other Latino business

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> “Paterson Products and Services Directory,” *Greater Paterson Chamber of Commerce*, 1978, 34.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

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Figure 13. Malqui Agency Inc. advertisement in a local Business directory 1978. Paterson Products and Services Directory 1978, 35.

owners to apply new entrepreneurial practices. Daniel Jara established an insurance service provider, Rimac Agency, Inc. by the end of the 1970s after working for Julio Malqui's insurance company for two years. Jara was a homesick 14-year-old sent by his parents to live with an older brother in Paterson in 1963. He had planned to return to Surquillo after high school but remained in New Jersey after experiencing medical problems that affected his nervous system and mobility. With the economic support of his family in Paterson, Jara attended Rutgers University and obtained a bachelor's degree in economics and accounting.<sup>41</sup> Later, he finished a master's degree in finance and business administration. While in Rutgers he served as president of the Rutgers Newark Program Board and led several Hispanic student and community organizations. At the university, Jara demonstrated a strong commitment to the empowerment of the emergent Latino communities in the city of Paterson and believed entrepreneurship could provide Latinos a means to prosperity in a city suffering the consequences of deindustrialization.<sup>42</sup>

Besides managing his business at Rimac agency, Daniel Jara encouraged small Peruvian and other Latino entrepreneurs to formalize their businesses. Language barriers and other bureaucratic obstacles often discouraged Latino entrepreneurs from expanding their businesses. Most of these migrants continued to use informal mechanisms to conduct business ventures that had the potential for growth. Jara mobilized his knowledge and experience as an entrepreneur and business expert to help other small businesses owners develop higher quality enterprises. He organized classes, roundtables, and meetings with Latino business owners in order to share his entrepreneurial knowledge. He met weekly with small businesses owners seeking advice on how successfully launch their own businesses,

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<sup>41</sup> "Real People: Daniel Jara," *New Jersey...Next Stop, Your Career*, [http://www.njnextstop.org/njnextstop/people/approved/20009\\_81.html](http://www.njnextstop.org/njnextstop/people/approved/20009_81.html), Accessed September 23, 2018.

<sup>42</sup> State Wide Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, "Daniel Jara Tribute," <https://shccnj.org/daniel-jara-tribute/>, Accessed September 28, 2017.

tackle bureaucratic obstacles, and develop contacts to expand their clientele.<sup>43</sup> As one of the first leaders of Peruvian entrepreneurship, Daniel Jara promoted the formalization and professionalization of Peruvian and other Latino enterprises, and paved the way for co-ethnic entrepreneurs to develop networks throughout the city of Paterson and the state of New Jersey. In subsequent decades, his constant presence in local institutions helped increase the visibility of Peruvian enterprises among other ethnic groups in Paterson.

Even though Peruvian entrepreneurs had begun to formalize their business ventures since the 1980s by meeting city-mandated requirements, informality and *recurseo* practices continued to dominate daily business practices. The case of Julio Malqui demonstrates that a combination of formal and informal mechanisms was mobilized by Peruvians in order to maintain and expand their economic endeavors. After some years as owner of the renowned insurance office Malqui Tax, he purchased the International United Services Agency to provide travel services to Latinos in Paterson. “Many of my clients still have families outside the country, the bulk of our business is arranging air passage for my clients,” he said in an interview in 1987.<sup>44</sup> Although Julio Malqui managed his business using legal mechanisms and modern advertising techniques, he maintained his clientele through informal practices supported by values of mutual aid and trust, both characteristics of economic relationships in Peru. Accounts from Malqui’s customers recall that he offered loans to Peruvians and other Latinos who could not pay cash for travel services. He created a benevolent payment schedule and often forgave debts incurred by friends. Additionally, some accounts suggested that travel agencies that began to appear in town during the 1980s initiated the informal practice of delivering suitcases full of packages from Peruvians in

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Murphy and Murphy, *Paterson & Passaic County*, 205

Paterson to their families in Peru. One costumer recalled that Peruvians with travel documents would carry suitcases full of clothes, toys, shoes, jewelry, perfumes and other U.S. products that migrants sent to their families in Peru. They could only carry one suitcase for themselves, but travel agencies paid their airfare plus a small bonus.<sup>45</sup> After staying in Lima for a few days, these travelers returned to Paterson carrying suitcases full of Peruvian goods and foodstuff that families in Peru sent to their relatives living in Paterson. They sent Peruvian wines, pisco, *ajíes*, traditional Peruvian clothing and musical instruments, among other merchandise that were not formally commercialized in Paterson at that time. Some Peruvian small business entrepreneurs used this channel to bring ethnic products that they sold in Paterson “under the table” to co-nationals.<sup>46</sup>

Although these accounts indicate a reliance on peripheral mechanisms to manage economic relations with co-nationals, by the end of this decade, the first Peruvian business leaders were also successful at formalizing their activities. Peruvian business leaders played a central role in the establishment of the first Peruvian institutions and business organizations in Paterson, while at same time contributing to the expansion of ethnic businesses in downtown area. The emergence of an economic market for Latinos in Paterson accelerated during the 1980s, and, simultaneously, a similar pattern of market development for Peruvian products and services emerged. The dynamism of Latino entrepreneurship increased during this decade as a consequence of the increasing Latino population which grew by 50% to 740,000 between 1980 and 1990 in New Jersey.<sup>47</sup> The U.S. Department of Commerce asserts that the number of Hispanic business in New Jersey doubled by 1982. Revenues from Hispanic entrepreneurship in the state increased over 200 percent between 1980 and 1990,

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<sup>45</sup> Interview with Gaston Bravo.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Elizabeth Llorente, “Early settlers arrived in the 1900s,” *The Sunday Record*, October 9, 1994.

and the number of Latino enterprises grew by 87 percent during the same period. Most of these Hispanic businesses concentrated in northern New Jersey in and around Paterson, adding to the visibility of the economic empowerment of New Jersey's Hispanic community.<sup>48</sup> Concurrently, Peruvian entrepreneurship continued to fortify its presence in Paterson. By the mid-1980s, more than 50 small businesses owned by Peruvians, among them the first corporations, operated in the area (see figure 14).<sup>49</sup> In the next decade, the increasing presence of Peruvian businesses in Paterson consolidated a marketplace for Peruvian products and services, as a result of a combination of four factors: urban revitalization programs, new waves of Peruvian migrants, development of Peruvian institutions, and immigrants' predisposition toward entrepreneurship.

The recurrent process of deindustrialization in Paterson reached its peak by the mid-1980s and ultimately resulted in an advantage for Peruvians with entrepreneurial aims. Since 1980, many local industries left for suburban locations, and the same relocation pattern was followed by retail businesses that left downtown Paterson for shopping malls in suburban areas. The city lost 40% of its manufacturing industry which also affected the transportation, finance, retail, and trade sectors. In the 1980s, Paterson declined its position as a major industrial center, and the service sector overtook manufacturing as the leading economic sector.<sup>50</sup> Economic decentralization resulted in disinvestment and commercial decline that augmented urban decay. However, Paterson maintained population growth as a major force to gradually revitalize its economy.<sup>51</sup> Its proximity to New York City and its affordable

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<sup>48</sup> Nancy J. Kim, "Economic influence growing fast," *The Sunday Record*, October 9, 1994.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>50</sup> Owusu, "Economic Transition," 4-5.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 5.



Figure 14. Castro travel agency and La Limeñita restaurant, some of the first Peruvian small businesses on Market St. and Cianci St., the heart of Little Italy circa 1980. Bobby Cole, *Pinterest*, accessed February 14, 2019 <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/7c/e0/09/7ce00947b96b2a2a44589886ff9cd213.jpg>

housing options made Paterson attractive for Latin American migrants that progressively played a central role in the revitalization of Paterson.

Since the mid-1980s, local authorities capitalized on the growth of the Latino population through the implementation of various policies and programs to reverse urban decline in Paterson and promote economic growth.<sup>52</sup> The Paterson Restoration Corporation (PRC), a non-profit organization, was established to foster economic growth and job availability in the city, principally among Latino entrepreneurs that struggled with language and bureaucratic barriers.<sup>53</sup> Through the PRC, companies had access to funding at below-market rates on loans up to \$100,000.<sup>54</sup> In addition, the Paterson Small Business Development Center and the Paterson Economic Development Corporation provided technical and financial assistance for businesses. However, the most significant attempt at urban redevelopment in Paterson was its designation as an Urban Enterprise Zone (UEZ) in 1993. This program constituted an effort to revitalize distressed urban communities such as Paterson. All businesses that qualified for participation in the UEZ program were eligible to receive incentives that reduced operating costs through sales tax exemptions, financial support for relocation costs, and assistance with permits. These efforts were welcomed by Latino entrepreneurs, and Peruvian migrants utilized these programs as an opportunity to pursue their business endeavors.<sup>55</sup> The UEZ program allowed Peruvians to carve out an economic space for themselves in downtown Paterson by supporting the establishment of small ethnic businesses.

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<sup>52</sup> "Paterson urges Hispanic activity," *Sunday Herald News*, July 29, 1984.

<sup>53</sup> Donna Leusner, "State bureau eases the way for Hispanic firms," *The Sunday Star-Ledger*, July 12, 1987.

<sup>54</sup> Owusu, "Economic Transition," 6.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

The largest migration flow of Peruvians arrived to Paterson between 1985 and 1995, contributing to the enlargement of an emergent market of customers eager to consume Peruvian products and services. According to some accounts, 14,000 Peruvians lived in Paterson in 1987, and this number increased to approximately 30,000 in 1995.<sup>56</sup> Peruvian migrants came to Paterson escaping political violence in Peru caused by the guerrilla group Shining Path and the critical economic conditions during the government of Alan Garcia. Although these streams of migrants arrived during an unfavorable context of economic stagnation and urban decay, they utilized the available economic options to facilitate their labor and social adjustment. The growing numbers of Peruvians in the area formed part of the Latino population that was encouraged by local authorities to open their businesses in Paterson. For instance, in the flag raising ceremony at City Hall marking the 163<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of Peru's independence, Mayor Frank Graves emphasized his efforts towards economic recovery of the city and invited Peruvians and other Latinos to settle in Paterson and "build their stores here."<sup>57</sup>

As a part of the effort to revitalize the city, the local government stimulated the aperture of commercial relations with Latin American markets and advocated for new consulates in the area. In 1987, these efforts materialized with the opening of the Peruvian consulate of Paterson, the first Latin American consulate to initiate operations in the city.<sup>58</sup> In the inaugural ceremony, Graves remarked that the consulate would "open new commercial and economic perspectives for Paterson."<sup>59</sup> Likewise, Vincent Cortese, president of the greater Paterson Chamber of Commerce, stated that the new consulate would "help Paterson

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<sup>56</sup> Voccola, "Winning Recognition", and Ministerio, "Memoria 1995," 12.

<sup>57</sup> "Paterson urges Hispanic activity," *Sunday Herald News*, July 29, 1984.

<sup>58</sup> Dao, "New Peru Consulate."

<sup>59</sup> Rohaidy, "40,000 Favorecidos," *Diario-La Prensa*, March 4, 1987.

by bringing more business into the city, and in turn, generate more business in the downtown area.”<sup>60</sup> Thus, he continued, “Peru had led the way” in the commitment of local authorities to attract more Latin American consulates to the area.<sup>61</sup> Most importantly, the aperture of the consulate gave Peruvians a political and commercial official institution that advocated for the expansion of commercial activities between Peru and New Jersey, which ultimately benefited the growth of the marketplace for Peruvian products and services in Paterson.

In the first five years, the Peruvian consulate pursued the reestablishment of direct international trade between New Jersey and Peru after decades of frozen commercial relations. During the 1980s, the limited productive capacity of Peru as a consequence of its critical economic context reduced its ability to export products, causing international commerce with the United States to decrease. Likewise, guerrilla warfare in Peru reduced the possibility of U.S. investments and tourism.<sup>62</sup> When the political, economic, and social conditions improved in Peru during the first term of Alberto Fujimori (1990-1995), the government launched a strong campaign to reactivate imports and exports and to incentive foreign investment in the country. In order to foster commercial relations between Peru and New Jersey, the Peruvian consulate implemented a plan that focused on three areas. First, the consulate established a commercial office to stimulate U.S. investments in Peru and promote the import of Peruvian products to New Jersey.<sup>63</sup> Second, the consulate began to publish *Peru Informa*, a monthly bulletin featuring Peruvian exports and information regarding programs enacted to incentive foreign investment. Third, the consulate intensified its efforts to promote tourism to Peru in newspapers, expositions, and conferences. The consulate also

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<sup>60</sup> Voccola, “Winning Recognition”, *The News*, Paterson, February 20, 1987.

<sup>61</sup> “Consulate Requirements,” *Noticias del Mundo*, March 5, 1987, 6.

<sup>62</sup> Ministerio, “Memoria 1989-1990,” 15-18.

<sup>63</sup> Between 1993 and 1996, the Peruvian consulate organized conferences to promote foreign investment in Peru and the privatization of state-owned companies. See Ministerio, “Memoria 1993,” 23, 30.

established connections with local chambers of commerce and Peruvian community leaders that could collaborate with politicians to facilitate trade between New Jersey and Peru.<sup>64</sup>

These collaborative initiatives caused imports and exports between Peru and New Jersey to increase dramatically.<sup>65</sup> Inka's Food, Callao Import, and America Kokusai Corporation imported a variety of products from Peru to New York and New Jersey.<sup>66</sup> In 1994, the Peruvian national airline, Aero Peru, established a permanent office in Newark after inaugurating a Newark-Miami-Lima route. In 1996, Continental airlines established a non-stop route between Newark and Lima, becoming the first American airline to connect these two cities. Remittances of products from Peruvians to the home country increased as a consequence of the opening of airline routes. Most importantly, the expansion of trade between both markets in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century fortified the commercial activities of Peruvian migrants in the area of Paterson. In 1993, the Peruvian consulate registered 72 restaurants, 37 travel agencies, among other companies of services, highlighting the "entrepreneurial spirit of Peruvians" to generate commercial activities in the area.<sup>67</sup>

Another important Hispanic institution that helped Peruvians to better organize their entrepreneurial efforts was the State Wide Hispanic Chamber of Commerce of New Jersey (SHCCNJ). In 1989, Daniel Jara and other Hispanic entrepreneurs met with Governor Tom Kean to foster a greater support between Hispanic business owners and the state in order to advance their commercial interests.<sup>68</sup> What Jara had initiated as a personal endeavor to advance the professionalization of small Hispanic businesses in Paterson grew into a larger organization that promoted the economic growth of Hispanics entrepreneurs. The SHCCNJ

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<sup>64</sup> In 1993, the Peruvian consulate reactivated the Peruvian American Chamber of Commerce, created the Peruvian-American Congress for lobbying with local politicians, and organized the first exposition of Peruvian products. See Ministerio, "Memoria 1993," 8, 21-22.

<sup>65</sup> Ministerio, "Memoria 1993," 21.

<sup>66</sup> Ministerio, "Memoria 1991," 15.

<sup>67</sup> Ministerio, "Memoria 1993," 21.

<sup>68</sup> State Wide Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, "Daniel Jara Tribute," <https://shccnj.org/daniel-jara-tribute/> Accessed September 28, 2017.

expanded business opportunities for Latinos in the public and private sectors and promoted trade between the local Hispanic business community and their national and international counterparts.<sup>69</sup> Since 1990, the SHCCNJ constituted the premier vehicle for accessing the Latino market, and Hispanic entrepreneurs “enjoyed a spectacular entrepreneurial growth.”<sup>70</sup> Through this organization, Peruvian members gained access to a greater network of contacts to commercialize and promote their products and services. Thus, during mid-1990s, entrepreneurs began commercializing Peruvian products in northern New Jersey, and together with Peruvian small business owners, consolidated Little Lima as the largest marketplace for Peruvian products and services.

### **Formalizing while Informally Operating: *Recurseo* practices in the Expansion of the Peruvian Ethnic Market**

Even though the Peruvian consulate and the SHCCNJ constituted the most important institutions in which Peruvian entrepreneurs could find support and guidance for business development, most business owners did not participate in the activities organized by these institutions. Accounts revealed that language barriers and a lack of familiarity with entrepreneurial relationships lead Peruvians to work independently and operate businesses on the basis of their informal habitus.<sup>71</sup> For decades, Peruvians had valued business ownership and self-employment as a means of supporting family members through creative practices.<sup>72</sup> In the context of international migration, Peruvians relocated to Paterson this entrepreneurial spirit associated with traditional Andean economic practices that relied on the intensive use of informal and collective mechanisms for household sustenance. This explains, in part,

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<sup>69</sup> State Wide Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, “Our History and Purpose,” <https://shccnj.org/daniel-jara-tribute/> Accessed July 17, 2018.

<sup>70</sup> Ernie Garcia, “Honor: Businessman of the Year an Example for Others,” *Herald News*, October 14, 1999, B5.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta

<sup>72</sup> See Golte and Adams, *Los caballos*, 56-73.

Peruvian entrepreneurs' avoidance of the formal channels to initiate and maintain businesses. Instead, by utilizing a structured system of informal familial ties that facilitate the utilization of peripheral practices, Peruvians forged their own economic independence in Paterson.

Informality and practices of *recurseo* among Peruvians in the area intensified with the arrival of the largest stream of migration between 1985 and 1995. New waves of migrants increasingly reproduced in the new setting alternative and communal forms of economic organization from the home country in order to pursue their own economic independence in America. The context of deindustrialization that began to affect the household economy of Peruvian families augmented the mobilization of peripheral practices among co-nationals. Since most Peruvians that migrated to Paterson during the 1980s and 1990s were internal migrants themselves, or son and daughters of migrants, they were strongly influenced by the mechanisms utilized by provincial migrants in Peru to adjust into unfamiliar urban contexts. The new waves of Peruvians transferred to Paterson the informal, resourceful, and entrepreneurial character of the *cholo*, the new urban subject that populated the *barriadas* of Lima and shaped the culture of informality or *chicha* culture during the same years. Thus, as a consequence of increasing economic decline in Paterson, Peruvians began to display diverse alternative and communal practices, skills, and knowledge in the new setting that were structured by their past and present circumstances.

New waves of Peruvian migrants relied on a transnational system of familial relationships as the most effective mechanism of communal economic organization to initiate and expand business activities in Paterson. The account of brothers Carlos and Mario Vera exemplifies how family members in the home and host countries worked together to foster entrepreneurial endeavors. As most Peruvians arriving in the 1980s, the Vera brothers came

from a lower-class provincial family established in Lince, a working-class neighborhood of Lima. After completing high school, the brothers occupied various blue-collar occupations that did not fulfill their personal expectations in Peru. Encouraged by a sister living in Paterson since 1980, Carlos Vera, the older brother, came first in 1985 with a tourist visa. “I lived with my sister for a time, but then moved in with a friend from Lince. He found me a job in a hamburger restaurant where we worked together for 2 years, peeling onions, grilling burgers, and working as a cashier” recalled Vera, whose applied these experiences to manage his own restaurant. Before taking this job, he knew nothing about restaurants but was able to “learn all about this business.”<sup>73</sup>

In 1987, Carlos Vera’s sister decided to open Panchito’s, the first Peruvian rotisserie chicken restaurant in Paterson. Panchito’s was a family business where Carlos, his sister, and his brother-in law were the only personnel in the restaurant. “When she opened up the *polleria*,<sup>74</sup> I began working with my sister. We worked hard day and night, seven days a week, and there, I learned all the secrets of managing this business,” remembered Carlos Vera.<sup>75</sup> In a couple of years his sister decided to sell the restaurant because she wanted to invest in a restaurant-bar and a discotheque. This was the opportunity he was awaited to open his own business. “Since I knew all about managing the *polleria*, I told her, ‘why don’t you transfer the business to me?’” remembered Vera, highlighting that his initiative was risky and ambitious but decisive for his future in Paterson.

Carlos Vera began managing Panchito’s by reproducing the alternative mechanisms utilized by emergent entrepreneurs in Peru during the 1980s. He relied on traditional values

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<sup>73</sup> Interview with Carlos Vera, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

<sup>74</sup> Peruvians call *Polleria* to restaurants specialized in rotisserie chickens and related dishes such as *anticuchos* (cow heart skewers), and *salchipapas* (a mix of French fries and hotdog slices)

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Carlos Vera.

of solidarity to circulate resources among family members in order to acquire and manage his own restaurant. Vera's sister, for example, gave him a personal loan based on trust and family cooperation. Vera invested his entire savings of \$5,000 in order to acquire Panchito's. He repaid his sister the \$20,000 price for the restaurant in monthly installments of \$1,000. Instead of financing business ventures through banks and other financial institutions, Peruvians like Carlos Vera preferred to rely on familial ties to procure the necessary resources to launch business ventures. They also circumvented formal mechanisms to register these businesses. Since Vera was undocumented, Carlos's sister retained legal ownership of the restaurant. Vera did not receive formal ownership of the restaurant until 1989 when he had repaid his sister and married a U.S. citizen from Puerto Rico. Promptly, he encouraged a brother living in Peru to join him in this business venture.

Mario Vera came in 1987 and began working in Panchito's as *maestro pollero*.<sup>76</sup> Before Mario Vera's trip to Paterson, Carlos Vera had advised him to consult with an expert in Peruvian rotisserie chicken in order to improve the restaurant's flavor profile. "I arrived with the recipe that allowed us to be well-known by Peruvians in Paterson as '*El papá de los pollitos*' (The Father of the Chickens [SIC]). Now, this is our slogan,"<sup>77</sup> said Mario Vera. His story demonstrates that the transference of knowledge and particular skills in order to improve the products and services offered to Peruvians in Paterson allowed entrepreneurs to improve their businesses. Furthermore, many of these businesses employed *recurseo* practices to achieve economic success. Carlos' employees worked more than 8 hours and, since most of them did not have legal work permit, they were paid in cash.<sup>78</sup> Vera revealed that he continuously traveled to Peru to import Peruvian ingredients. He also paid procured

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<sup>76</sup> Person who masters the preparation and baking process of rotisserie chicken.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Mario Vera, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Carlos Vera.

the services of travel agencies to bring suitcases full of highly demanded Peruvian products such as *panetón*,<sup>79</sup> pisco,<sup>80</sup> Peruvian beer, and candies. Vera sold this merchandise “under the table” as he did not have the official permits to sell these products in his restaurant.<sup>81</sup> Before the 1990s, the restaurant was relocated to Market Street, next to other established Peruvian restaurants in the area, such as La Tía Delia and Lima de Antaño. During the next two decades, Market Street, Cianci Street, and Main Street would become the center of the Peruvian ethnic enclave of Paterson.

Scholars that have coined the enclave economy concept sustain that, in their early stages of development, ethnic businesses must be located near their co-ethnic clientele in order to achieve sustainability. Likewise, small ethnic businesses need proximity to ethnic resources, including access to credit, information and other sources of support for their commercial activities.<sup>82</sup> This pattern of enclave development was replicated by Peruvian entrepreneurs in the emergence of Little Lima as a marketplace for co-nationals; however, they also imprinted their own economic identity by introducing practices of informality. Mario Vera reveals that, by the beginning of the 1990s, informal stands began to appear on Paterson street corners. By replicating the practices of Peruvian *ambulantes* (street vendors), ladies began to sell *picarones*<sup>83</sup>, *anticuchos*,<sup>84</sup> and *tamales* on Friday nights and weekends. “It was like Peru. At that time, it was difficult to find those dishes in restaurants, and these ladies had a lot of success. However, the city was against them and did not allow them to work freely on the streets,” commented Mario Vera, exposing the incongruence between

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<sup>79</sup> An Italian-Peruvian fruit cake.

<sup>80</sup> A Peruvian brandy made from the distillation of grapes.

<sup>81</sup> Interview with Mario Vera.

<sup>82</sup> See Alejandro Portes, and Robert L. Bach, *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994); Roger Waldinger, Howard Aldrich, and Robin Ward, *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies* (Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 2006).

<sup>83</sup> A Peruvian dessert made of squash and sweet potato.

<sup>84</sup> Hearth meat skewer

Peruvian and American economic practices.<sup>85</sup> Other accounts describe the organization of *polladas*<sup>86</sup> during the 1990s, reproducing the fundraising activities organized by Peruvians in the *barriadas* of Lima to face household economic hardship and family-related emergencies. “Families in Paterson organized *polladas* to raise money to bring other family members from Peru or to cover unexpected hospital expenses. Peruvians spread the word about these activities,” commented Rafael Ibarra, emphasizing another informal economic practice that became popular among Peruvians during the 1990.<sup>87</sup> He also described how “Peruvians established small restaurants after organizing *polladas* and receiving community recognition as talented cooks.”<sup>88</sup>

The demand for ethnic products and services by a growing Peruvian community allowed Peruvian entrepreneurs to expand to other businesses and diversify their selection of products. With determination and an entrepreneurial vision, the Vera brothers targeted the Peruvian demand for ethnic products and began opening other small businesses in the area. Mario Vera remembered how the support of his brother helped him to become an entrepreneur. “My brother Carlos bought an Argentinean bakery located next to Panchito’s. Since I had worked with him for more than 5 years, he helped me launch my own business in the same way my sister had done with Carlos.” The Vera brothers mobilized Andean notions of mutual aid and redistribution of resources in order to open Pampa, one of the first Peruvian Bakeries. They decided to maintain the name of the Argentinean bakery because the business was already well known for their bread and *empanadas*.<sup>89</sup> Carlos Vera registered the bakery under his name while Mario Vera managed the business with a personal credit

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with Mario Vera.

<sup>86</sup> Informal fundraisers organized in the *barriadas* of Lima by deprived families in order to obtain economic resources from selling fried chicken with salad and beer at home.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Rafael Ibarra.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Interview with Carlos Vera.

facilitated by his brother Carlos. Mario Vera became the official owner of the business in four years after obtaining U.S. residency by marrying a Peruvian American. In order to satisfy the demand for Peruvian food, Mario Vera promptly transformed the Argentinean bakery into a Peruvian enterprise. For that purpose, the couple agreed that Mario Vera's wife would travel to Peru to learn baking techniques. "In four months she learned how to prepare *cachitos*, *rosquitas*, and *chancay*. She returned with this knowledge and taught our assistant, who remained with us after the business transfer. We began selling pan *francés*, *carioca*, and *coliza*, breads that Peruvians missed from home,"<sup>90</sup> recalled Mario Vera, affirming that the diverse skills and knowledge utilized to set up the Peruvian bakery were transferred transnationally.

Veteran Peruvian migrants who became entrepreneurs during the 1970s found in the growth of the Peruvian market multiple opportunities to expand their entrepreneurial endeavors by diversifying their investments. For instance, during the 1980s, the popularity of soccer among Peruvian migrants in Paterson was utilized by veteran entrepreneurs as an economic opportunity. When more Peruvians began arriving to Paterson during the 1980s, Guillermo Callegari decided to organize South America, the first soccer academy in Paterson. Callegari used the same name of his body shop because he wanted to emphasize the importance of the growing South American community in the area. "The academy had young divisions from 8 to 17 years old. It was mostly Peruvians who sent their son and daughters to the academy, but Colombians, Chileans, and Argentineans also sent their children to us," explained Callegari.

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<sup>90</sup> Peruvian types of breads. Interview with Mario Vera.

As other Peruvian businesses in the area, the academy informally began operating in early 1980s. Children trained mostly in Pennington Park but also in other fields. They did not originally request permission from the city until the mid-1980s when Callegari formally registered the academy under the name NASA. However, he continued utilizing *recurseo* practices to manage the academy. Callegari revealed that, although they registered an official place of operation, they also made use of city parks and other sportive facilities without formal authorization. He hired coaches “under the table” as a way to help them generate extra income. He affirmed, “I gave ‘Perico’ León the responsibility of managing the kids with two other coaches, former professional soccer players in Peru. I tried to help these popular idols because they did not earn enough income to maintain their families with only one job.” Callegari’s initiative constituted an opportunity for former Peruvian soccer players, such as “Perico” León, who capitalized on previous skills, abilities, and prestige to develop economic opportunities to supplement the income earned as industrial workers. After working in the textile factory, “Perico” León trained children twice a week and on weekends. Coaching was a form of *recurseo* for him and his two assistants since they were informally employed by Callegari. After some years of operation, the academy was a success and promoted two Peruvian players for the Cosmos of New York.<sup>91</sup> By the end of the 1980s, Callegari left the management of the academy to his sons and began investing in restaurants and acquiring properties in downtown Paterson.

The growing presence of Peruvians in the area by the beginning of the 1990s initiated the massive introduction of Peruvian products that contributed to the expansion of ethnic businesses in downtown Paterson. The import of Peruvian foodstuff and other ethnic

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<sup>91</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

merchandise allowed for the expansion of the culinary sector and other related businesses within Little Lima, such as bars, bodegas, bakeries, and liquor stores, which ultimately imprinted a Peruvian character on downtown Paterson. As more Peruvian commerce opened in the area, more migrants came to consume ethnic products and services. Information from the Peruvian consulate of Paterson confirms that, since 1993, the liberalization of the Peruvian market, as well as trade agreements signed by the United States, facilitated the commercialization of more products and goods from Peru in Paterson and surrounding areas.<sup>92</sup> These policies also facilitated the establishment of ethnic businesses centered on international commerce.

César Morales, owner of Inca's Food, found that the business-friendly economic policies of the 1990s allowed him to expand his small business. He began delivering products beyond Paterson to other small cities with Peruvian populations such as Union City, Kearny, Harrison, and Queens in New York. "As more restaurants and bodegas began opening in these areas, they ordered our products to cook Peruvian food or resell them to Peruvians," Morales commented.<sup>93</sup> A greater demand for Peruvian products allowed Morales' small business to grow into a corporation. He began to order wholesale prepacked products directly from Peru. "The idea to pack *ají* and other Peruvian sauces came up here in Paterson, because in Peru you buy those products fresh in the market," explained Morales.<sup>94</sup>

While Peruvians began participating in international commerce, a more formal economic market in which entrepreneurs followed official mechanisms and business regulations, they also mobilized informal business practices. For instance, in contrast to other ethnic food companies such as Goya, which employed an intense marketing campaign

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<sup>92</sup> Ministerio, "Memoria 1993," 30, and "Memoria 1995," 9.

<sup>93</sup> Interview with César Morales

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

through newspapers, radio and television, César Morales did not advertise his products through public media. He explained, “Everything was vox populi. We didn’t need to advertise our products. Peruvians shared this information among their families and friends.”<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, Inka’s Food continued to operate as a family business with fewer than 30 employees. Morales lead the corporation with the support of his wife, and later his son and daughter. They mostly hired other family members who arrived during the large migratory stream of the 1990s, replicating the practices of small business owners of provincial origins in Lima. At the end of the 1990s, Morales became one of the most renowned entrepreneurs within the Peruvian community of Paterson after establishing a factory in Peru that grew, produced, and packaged ethnic merchandise.

The arrival of more Peruvians during the 1990s also diversified the available selection of ethnic products and services. The first Peruvian newspapers in Paterson and other areas of northern New Jersey appeared during this decade. Some Peruvian journalists, such as Manuel Avendaño and Mariano Barahona, provided news from the homeland and circulated information from the community. At that time, there were other Latino newspapers published in New York and New Jersey, but they mostly marketed to the Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Dominican communities. In order to disseminate information among Peruvian migrants, Manuel Avendaño founded *El Perucho* in 1990, “the first Peruvian newspaper in Paterson.”<sup>96</sup> Avendaño founded and operated the newspaper by using resourceful mechanisms and by capitalizing on cultural resources he transnationally relocated from Peru and acquired in the United States. Avendaño grew up in a family of journalists in a working-class neighborhood in Lima. He affirmed, “My father had a radio program and also worked in La Tribuna with

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Manuel Avendaño.

Victor Tirado, another journalist that came to Paterson during the 1960s.”<sup>97</sup> This influence prompted Manuel Avendaño to study journalism in Peru, where he worked for several newspapers and magazines during the 1980s, learning all the stages of press production he later utilized to launch his own newspaper. Because journalism in Peru was an unstable occupation, in 1985 he came to the United States in search of a better future. He first worked with a cousin in a factory but soon found an opportunity as a journalist in the United States. “One day, on my way to New York, I stopped in the offices of the *Herald News* in Passaic. I was curious and wanted a tour to learn about press production in America,” Avendaño recalled. He decided to file an application for a part-time job position as a journalist covering news stories in Latino communities.

The growing Hispanic population in northern New Jersey lead local corporations such as the *Herald News* to address the needs of this market. Avendaño found a more prestigious and stable work opportunity through this economic niche. By capitalizing on his journalism and Spanish language skills previously acquired in Peru, he became a journalist in America. He wrote most of the news stories about Latinos in the area of Passaic, Paterson, and Clifton for six months. Then, when the newspaper changed ownership, he found a job as journalist at *El Diario-La Prensa* in New York. This corporation assisted him with his application for residency, and he worked with them for more than ten years. While working for *El Diario-La Prensa*, he took the initiative to create a newspaper for Peruvians in his spare time. By integrating notions of Peruvianness, *cholo* identity, and the informal spirit of Peruvians, Avendaño named his newspaper *El Perucho*. “El Perucho means, Peru-*cholo*, and I wanted to give this sense of sensationalism to the newspaper without being sensationalist,” explains

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

Avendaño. “The idea was to replicate something similar to *Ultima Hora* or *Ojo*, Peruvian newspapers consumed by working-class populations in the *barriadas* of Lima, the same people that migrated to Paterson,” Avendaño commented. These Peruvian newspapers utilized slang words in the headlines to attract the attention of the reader, but the articles featured a formal style of writing. Thus, *El Perucho* was born as a hobby but also out of the necessity to offer information of interest to Peruvians (see Figure 15).<sup>98</sup>

Informality and resourcefulness characterized the mode of operation of *El Perucho* since its origins. This newspaper only had one page, front and back, full of information about Peru and Peruvians in northern New Jersey. “It was very simple, three to five notes per page. I did it this way because Peruvians don’t like to read long articles,” Avendaño explained.<sup>99</sup> He tried to offer information of interest in a concise format since “Peruvians worked more than 8 hours in the factory and then went home to familial responsibilities.”<sup>100</sup> Although Avendaño was the director of the newspaper, the name of his wife, Rosa Arbulú, appeared as director because *El Diario-La Prensa* prohibited its journalists from working with other newspapers. This alternative means of operation characterized the management of the newspaper until its closure in 1994. Avendaño and his wife were the only personnel working for the newspaper that “had a distribution of 1,000 copies.” They wrote articles, collected money, and delivered the newspapers in their own car. Peruvian entrepreneurs funded the publication of the newspaper by publishing advertisements. This was an artisanal work that relied on *recurseo* strategies. “These entrepreneurs gave me their business cards, and I would just paste them on the original page before doing the print run,” joyfully commented Avendaño, remarking that he did not have more than ten advertisements in the newspaper

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.



because he “didn’t have enough space.”<sup>101</sup> By using peripheral mechanisms, this business venture operated for four years before closure for personal reasons. “There was a moment that I assumed more responsibilities in *El Diario* and had to close *El Perucho*,” recalled Avendaño, whose initiative paved the way for other Peruvian journalists to initiate their own periodicals for the Peruvian community abroad.<sup>102</sup>

Mariano Barahona was another Peruvian journalist who was tired of his position as a factory worker and decided to launch *El Amauta* in 1993, “the most popular Peruvian newspaper in northern New Jersey.”<sup>103</sup> After working for more than nine years in occupations that he was not trained to do, Barahona decided that the moment had arrived for him to work independently in his profession. “When I came to the United States, I had always planned to start a newspaper. When I acquired stability for my family and enough money to invest, I decided to publish *El Amauta*,” he explained.<sup>104</sup> Since its origins, *El Amauta* was managed by Barahona through resourceful mechanisms. During the planning stage of the newspaper, he visited each Peruvian store in Paterson and Passaic to see if small business owners were willing to advertise in the newspaper. By mobilizing clientelistic strategies he negotiated and convinced small business owners to advertise in the newspaper. Barahona drew their advertisements by hand; then he negotiated the price, size, and the frequency of the advertisement. “I charged \$150 for a half page and \$280 for a full page, but if they signed a monthly contract, I reduced the price,” explained Barahona. He launched *El Amauta* with no other employees working for him. “I believe in myself, and I like to work alone so that things run well. So, at the beginning I worked by myself in this project.”<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Interview with Mariano Barahona.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

Barahona wrote the articles, sold advertisement, designed the art, and delivered the newspaper. Most of his clients were Peruvian restaurants, bakeries, and bodegas, such as La Tia Delia, Panchito's, and Rincon Criollo.

*El Amauta* was formally registered in the city of Paterson as LLC (Limited Liability Company), and obtained all the necessary permits to circulate in the city, but Barahona used *recurseo* practices to manage his business. After some months working by himself, Mariano Barahona noticed that he needed some support to continue with *El Amauta*. Without a formal contract, he informally hired a local Peruvian graphic designer to create the art for advertisements and diagram the newspaper. However, Barahona remained as the only person in charge of finding local and international information to write the articles for the newspaper. For instance, Barahona found local news in the diverse Peruvian activities organized in the area, as well in social organizations. He informed about artistic activities and, on Sundays, he covered the Peruvian soccer league to obtain information of the games. Barahona also mobilized transnational resources to obtain information from Peru and the rest of the world. A cousin sent him the latest news on Peruvian sports and entertainment, as well as other information from South America. "Since we didn't have internet at that time, he sent all this information by fax," explained Barahona, revealing the peripheral mechanisms he used to procure news of interest to Peruvians and other Latinos in the area that also bought the newspaper.

Barahona had published the newspaper continuously for more than 25 years, twice a month, always free. This was possible through the support of Peruvian entrepreneurship that expanded throughout northern New Jersey during the 1990s. Since its beginnings, Peruvian small business owners contributed to Barahona's efforts to manage a newspaper for the local

community. However, small business owners also believed that their economic investment in advertising would pay off. Barahona sustained that Peruvian entrepreneurs found that sales of their products and services increased after advertising in the newspaper. Barahona noted that Peruvian entrepreneurs mostly advertised during special festivities to increase their sales; “I published special editions of 100 pages four times a year. In these editions, Peruvian business owners advertised their stores, services, and products for Christmas, Mother’s Day, Father’s Day, and Peruvian Independence Day.”<sup>106</sup> Barahona’s project has been successful not only for entrepreneurs and the community of Peruvians, but also for himself. After years of working in blue-collar occupations, his creativity and initiative allowed him to become self-employed and profit through work in profession he had originally studied. He proudly recognized, “After collecting money from my clients, I usually went home with \$3,000 cash in one pocket and \$3,500 in checks in the other.”<sup>107</sup> However, as this account demonstrates, Barahona continued to rely on informal mechanisms to manage his finances and operate his business.

While small business entrepreneurs used alternative pathways to gain economic independence through self-employment, Peruvian artists in Paterson used similar mechanisms to develop their artistic careers. *Criollo* singer Victor Alcalde recalled how he navigated various occupations and non-paying gigs in order to develop his talents in Paterson. Before coming to the United States at the age of 18, Alcalde had participated in musical competitions and appeared on television “to find a way to stand out as a professional singer in Peru, and I did the same here in Paterson,”<sup>108</sup> As soon as he arrived, Alcalde began to expand his social connections with other *criollo* musicians and people involved in the

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Interview with Victor Alcalde.

music industry. However, as other Peruvian migrants, his main source of income was the factory, and on weekends he obtained extra income by singing in *peñas criollas* and restaurants in northern New Jersey. After obtaining residency through an arranged marriage, his singing career took off. In the 1990s, Alcalde tried to use formal mechanisms to develop a professional career in America by hiring Victor Barrientos, another Peruvian musician in the area, as his manager. Alcalde won the OTI festival in New York, a contest that promoted Latin American singers. After winning this contest, he toured Miami, Colombia, Chile, and Peru. “I returned to my country as a star. I sang and was interviewed on the most important television programs and radio stations; however, you have to invest time and money and make sacrifices,” commented Alcalde.<sup>109</sup> As the father of three sons, Alcalde had to accept a stable occupation with a secure income in a local hotel.

Singing constituted a form of *recurseo* for Alcalde because the hotel’s salary was not enough to support his family. “I found the perfect job. I worked in the hotel as breakfast manager on weekdays from 5 am to 1 p.m. I had a stable job with enough time for my artistic activities,” Alcalde commented.<sup>110</sup> On evenings and weekends, he presented his *criollo* show in restaurants and social events organized by Peruvian organizations (see Figure 16). Over time, the expansion of the Peruvian enclave of Paterson allowed Alcalde to acquire new skills in the entertainment business. He also organized and worked as a master of ceremonies for weddings, graduation parties, and social events and rented sound equipment. Alcalde’s account is similar to that of many other Peruvian artists in Paterson who found the need to combine a stable blue-collar job with multiple informal occupations. Unlike entrepreneurs who used *recurseo* to achieve economic independence, artists did not achieve

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

*Peruvian Parade Inc.*  
INVITA A SU TRADICIONAL:

## BAILE DE REENCUENTRO

En Agradecimiento a quienes gentilmente apoyaron nuestro esfuerzo en 1993

**SABADO, 19 DE MARZO 1994 8PM - 2AM**  
CON LA ANIMACION DE

**VICTOR BARRIENTOS Y LA "CONTINENTAL SHOW BAND"**      **ADEMAS: "LA REBELION"**





**Y EL SHOW CRIOLLO DE VICTOR ALCALDE**  
EL PRINCIPE DE LA GUARDIA NUEVA

**SALONES DEL MOUNT CARMEL HALL**  
**10 FRANCIS WAY, PASSAIC, NJ**

**ADMISION: \$20.00**  
Estacionamiento Gratis • Vestir de Buen Gusto

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<p><b>INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL &amp; BUS. SERVS.</b></p> <p>* Aviones, Tolelos * Insurance * Income Tax * Grupos de Viajes * Encuentros * Perú y Otros Países</p> <p>8000 (201) 817-8858      256 Monroe St. Tel: (201) 472-5553      Paterson, NJ 07656 Fax: (201) 472-5640</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>FERNANDO CHAMPLIQUEZ</b> ZENADA PAREDES CH</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>"Festejo"</b> Pullover in Brown Restaurante</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Comidas Criollas, Pastas Carnadas Peruanas</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Abrido de Lunes a Domingo 11:30 a 10PM Carnadas Miercoles</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Presentaciones: Yolanda y Pedro Luis Carnadas Miercoles 383 Union Avenue      Tarjetas de regalo por telefono Paterson, NJ      y Delivery (201) 858-8377</p>	<p><b>Le Gatos Printing</b> (908) 560-3432</p>

Figure 16. Victor Alcalde in a poster of an event organized by the Peruvian Parade Inc. The event was supported by Peruvian restaurants, travel agencies, and other businesses that expanded in the area by 1994. Paterson Free Public Library.

monetary stability but were still able to continue their artistic careers in the United States while supplementing the family income.

The political and economic crisis caused by guerrilla war and the government of Alan Garcia prompted thousands of provincial entrepreneurs to migrate to Paterson during the 1990s. Most of these migrants were double migrants that had previously migrated to Lima before making the journey to the United States. As other provincial migrants in Lima, they utilized collective mechanisms for economic organization associated with Andean culture and developed alternative strategies for labor and social incorporation in the capital characterized by an entrepreneurial, resourceful, and informal mentality. They performed informal economic activities in Lima commercializing diverse products and offering a variety of services in order to procure an occupation and income. The cases of Humberto and María Teresa Bazán, Norberto Curitumay, and Isaí Valencia offer a comprehensive trajectory of how business experience in Peru was transferred transnationally and developed an international dimension. Their stories also illustrate how provincial Peruvian entrepreneurs arriving to Paterson during the 1990s relied on a resourceful and informal spirit for social and economic adaptation in the receiving society.

Humberto and María Teresa Bazán took advantage of free market regulations and the reproduction of informal mechanisms to progress as entrepreneurs in America. The couple were provincial merchants in Lima before migrating to New Jersey in 1983. Humberto Bazán co-owned a store with his father where he sold jewelry and home appliances. Although Bazán had completed a few courses in business administration at a local university, he believed that “God gave [him] the talent for doing business.”<sup>111</sup> The couple came to New

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<sup>111</sup> Interview with Humberto and Maria Teresa Bazán, Elizabeth, New Jersey, June 2017.

Jersey for their honeymoon but decided to stay. Maria Teresa Bazán explained, “Since Humberto’s business was shared with his father, and we did not have anything that was ours, we decided to start over in the United States”<sup>112</sup> In the first year, Humberto Bazán was discontent while performing several blue-collar occupations. “I asked myself, why do I have to do these jobs if I had my business in Peru? I wanted to go back.”<sup>113</sup> The couple waited another year to received their residency obtained through family reunification policies. Over time, by capitalizing on the skills and talents they acquired as merchants in Peru, the couple found their way as entrepreneurs in the United States.

Bazán discovered this entrepreneurial opportunity in a new policy enacted by the government of Alberto Fujimori allowing the importation of used cars and buses to Peru. Bazán capitalized on his family resources to establish the necessary connections for his business. His brother in Peru became his business partner since he was already buying and selling used cars. Bazán also used the money he obtained after selling his part of the business co-owned with his father. Another resource utilized by Bazán to launch his business was the contact of a friend who owned a car dealership in Paterson. By mobilizing social, economic, and cultural resources in Peru and New Jersey, he became an entrepreneur in America. Although Bazán obtained the necessary documentation from U.S. authorities to export cars to Peru, the business operated informally for several years. After work, Bazán went to car auctions in northern New Jersey to buy cars and school buses that he sent to Peru or sold in his friend’s car dealership in Paterson. “I made a lot of money. My brother repaired and sold the cars in Lima which were used as taxis, and the school buses were sold for public transportation in Peru,” Bazán recalled.<sup>114</sup> In the third year, his revenues allowed Bazán to

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

open his own car dealership in Elizabeth, a town with a significant number of Peruvian migrants.

Bazán found the need to diversify his business portfolio by the mid-1990s after it was no longer possible to import cars to Peru. Since more Peruvians began populating other towns near Paterson, he invested in these areas in order to satisfy the needs of co-nationals. As a risky and confident businessman, he established a dealership and a liquor store while investing in real estate in Elizabeth. His clients were “ninety percent Peruvians,” he said, adding that he “helped many of them to obtain their first car in the United States.”<sup>115</sup> By mobilizing notions of trust and solidarity, he offered them personal loans they could pay off gradually. In the liquor store, he also utilized traditional mechanisms of cooperation to help co-nationals. Bazán opened the first Peruvian liquor store in the area and Peruvians from Paterson, Passaic, and Clifton came to purchase pisco and Peruvian beers. He also sold Peruvian wines “under the table.” Since there was no official import business for Peruvian wines, Bazán used *recurseo* practices to these products. He remembered that “When Maria Teresa and I went to Peru we brought two boxes of wines that we sold in the store.” Other alternative practices were also mobilized by the couple to assist co-nationals. They offered beer and liquor on consignment for *polladas* and other events organized in the community. “After their parties, they only paid what they consumed and returned the rest,” explained Maria Teresa Bazán, revealing that this informal mechanism of credit was well accepted by their customers even though some Peruvians also abused this system.<sup>116</sup> After more of thirty years living in New Jersey, the couple decided not to relocate to Peru. “We only travel to visit our family in Lima. Our businesses and children are here. We made everything we have

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

now in America,” Humberto Bazán explained.<sup>117</sup> Although the couple did not forget their roots, they found their way as entrepreneurs in the United States. Their commercial achievements in this country made Humberto Bazán leave behind the inconclusive business projects he initiated with his father in Peru.

Peruvian migrants capitalized on creativity and perseverance to find a space within the formal economic structures of the receiving country that discourage the diversification of business activities. Norberto Curitumay and his family moved from Lucanamarca, Ayacucho<sup>118</sup> to Lima in 1967 and established diverse small informal businesses in the capital. They used *recurseo* to sell everything from plants and flower pots to Andean crafts. He grew up in this entrepreneurial environment, working hard as an informal vendor since childhood. As a young adult he opened a metal workshop that eventually failed but allowed him to obtain U.S. tourist visa, justifying his economic status as a small business entrepreneur. Through his wife’s cousin he traveled to Paterson in 1988, penniless, but with all the motivation to carve out a new future in the United States. After all, he considered himself an entrepreneur. Like most Peruvians, Curitumay navigated multiple odd jobs until he learned how to “play the game” in Paterson. In search for more economic independence, he decided to obtain a driver’s license. “At that time you could obtain it with only a U.S. visa,” recalled Curitumay, noting how formal documentation was a significant resource for becoming an entrepreneur.<sup>119</sup> After working as a taxi driver in Paterson for two years, he notice the need for more transportation and bought a van to informally transport passengers to New York (see Figure 17).

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> In 1983, Shining Path perpetrated in Lucanamarca one of the bloodiest massacres of the guerrilla war in Peru. See Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación. August 28, 2003. "La Masacre de Lucanamarca (1983)," <http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ifinal/pdf/TOMO%20VII/Casos%20Ilustrativos-UIE/2.6.%20LUCANAMARCA.pdf> Accessed August 2, 2018.

<sup>119</sup> Interview with Norberto Curitumay, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2017.



Figure 17. Above, Norberto Curitumay as a taxi driver. Below, Curitumay's first *combi* that covered the route Paterson - New York. His wife played a central role in his business projects. Norberto Curitumay's collection.

The enactment of the Bus Regulatory Reform Act of 1982 encouraged competition in transportation by deregulating the operation of motor carriers within a state. This legislation helped Curitumay to materialize his business idea.<sup>120</sup> Curitumay obtained advice from a lawyer regarding the possibility to compete with New Jersey Transit, who had a monopoly of local buses.<sup>121</sup> Inspired by the use of *combis* as informal means of transportation in Peru, he applied for a license to establish a public transportation route between Paterson and Manhattan. Curitumay knew that riders usually had to wait for an hour to take a bus to Manhattan. “My project offered them a fast, continuous, and efficient service resembling the way public transportation worked in Peru.”<sup>122</sup> In 1993, even though New Jersey Transit protested his proposal, Curitumay received the authorization of public authorities to materialize his business and founded Spanish Transportation Corporation of Paterson, N.J. “I began with a van for 14 people, then bought a bigger one, and then another one, and now I have 300 buses,” proudly recalled Curitumay, indicating that Latinos, Anglos, and African Americans preferred the service of his small *guaguas*, as the Latino community began to call them.<sup>123</sup> Instead of using the buses of New Jersey transit, this population used the *guaguas* to travel to their employment, shopping, education, and medical centers in New York and other towns in New Jersey. They preferred the small buses owned by Curitumay because riders could catch a bus in less than three minutes instead of waiting a half hour according to the schedule followed by the buses of New Jersey transit. By the end of 1990s, Curitumay’s company “served 60,000 passengers in a day”<sup>124</sup> in contrast to the 8,377 passengers served

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<sup>120</sup> John Robert Meyer and Clinton V. Oster, *Deregulation and the Future of Intercity Passenger Travel* (Boston, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1987), 173–175.

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Norberto Curitumay.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> Everest Productions, “Peruvian Americans,” *World In America*, 2009, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bmBxr5ZKseM>, Accessed September 23, 2018.

by the buses of New Jersey transit that covered the same route. These facts demonstrate Paterson's acceptance of the service provided by the Spanish Transportation Corporation of Paterson, N.J.<sup>125</sup>

The re-aperture of international commerce between Peru and the United States during the 1990s also contributed to the expansion of Curitumay's business. He capitalized on the enactment of Peruvian legislation that facilitated foreign investment. After his success as transportation businessman in Paterson, Curitumay decided to build a plant in Lima in order to manufacture buses framework to expand his business in Paterson. He invested his capital in Peru because the cost of labor and production was cheaper. Furthermore, he wanted to contribute to the development of the Peruvian industry by providing jobs to co-nationals. His company was initially "disorganized and needed a more efficient and systematized form of operation," which was gradually achieved.<sup>126</sup> At the end of the 1990s, Curitumay became "one of the most successful businessmen in the Peruvian community of Paterson" and served as an example of hard-work, competence, and entrepreneurship for a new generation of Peruvian migrants.<sup>127</sup>

The business trajectory of Isaf Valencia, another renowned entrepreneur in Paterson, exemplifies how the perspicacity of Peruvians allowed them to overcome a lack of resources to pursue new business ventures. The entrepreneurial mentality of Valencia was cultivated by his father while working in the family-run bakery in Ica, Peru. He migrated to the United States with the support of family members because "there was not future in Peru."<sup>128</sup> Valencia began a new life in Paterson working in factories and delivering newspapers for a

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<sup>125</sup> DMJM Harris, "New Jersey's Long-Range Transportation Plan," Transportation Choices 2030, <https://www.state.nj.us/transportation/works/njchoices/pdf/paterson.pdf>, 5. Accessed September 23, 2018.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Interview with the Peruvian consul of Paterson, Vitaliano Gallardo, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

<sup>128</sup> Interview with Isaf Valencia.

year until he found a position as a baker in Pampa, an Argentinean bakery eventually acquired by Mario Vera. Although he began working in an occupation in which he was trained, he could not reproduce the knowledge he learned in Peru to prepare traditional artisan breads and pastries. His opportunity arrived when Isaí Valencia and his Argentinean co-worker were fired for disputes with the Argentinean owner. Valencia recalled, “My friend told me, ‘no problem,’ we could open our own bakery because we knew everything about this business. Since we wouldn’t die, we decided to name our business Los Inmortales.”<sup>129</sup> In 1997, Los Inmortales was launched in Market Street, the heart of the expanding community of Paterson (see figure 18). Valencia and his Argentinean friend invested the few economic capital they had on this project and became business partners. However, they needed more economic resources in order to initiate operations which were transnational acquired. Valencia traveled to Peru in order to obtain a personal loan of \$10,000 from his father that they used to rent a store across from Pampa for three years. They then used their savings and their personal credit cards to buy used supplies for the bakery. “We went to Falcon Food service in Newark, and they offered us a complete package with ovens, tables, chairs, and refrigerators for a total of \$25,000,” explained Valencia, describing how they used inventiveness to collect second-hand resources in order to materialize their business project.<sup>130</sup>

They opened the bakery on Peruvian Independence day targeting a Peruvian clientele nostalgic for the popular breads and pastries they consumed at home. Valencia and his partner operated the bakery as a family-owned small business. Valencia worked in the back preparing breads and pastries, and his Argentinean partner managed the register. However, it

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

was difficult to operate under these conditions. They worked from Monday to Sunday, more than 12 hours per day in order to gain recognition in the Peruvian community. By utilizing *recurseo* strategies, they informally publicized the bakery by offering extra products to customers. “For example, we would give them extra breads or a small dessert when they spent more than 10 dollars. Peruvians began talking about Los Inmortales, and more people came to the bakery. Others asked us to hang old photographs of Peruvian soccer teams on the wall and we complied,”<sup>131</sup> explained Valencia, highlighting that his commercial ability and nostalgia for the home country were utilized as mechanisms to gain recognition among the Peruvian community.

After a year, they decided to expand the business by capitalizing on their resourcefulness. They hired two assistants and began selling Peruvian products obtained through consignment or personal credits because they did not have the capital to purchase them. “Sometimes we used a credit card to pay for products and used another credit card to pay the debt of the card we previously used,” explained Valencia, describing the informal strategies they used for business growth. In the second year, they decided to expand their business activities by selling Peruvian breakfasts. Valencia relied on the support of his mother-in-law who “prepared tamales and also helped us in the kitchen by cooking *chicharrones* (fried pork cracklings), *jamón del país* (country ham), *cau-cau* (tripe stew), *caldo de gallina* (hen soup), and other Peruvian breakfast dishes.” Valencia described their new initiative as “a success among Peruvians.”<sup>132</sup> In the following years, Valencia and his partner better organized their management of capital yet they still used alternative mechanisms for business operation. For instance, they did not participate in commercial

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.



Figure 18. Los Inmortales bakery on Market St. epicenter of the Peruvian enclave of Paterson. Author's photo and Los Inmortales' collection.

organizations such as the chamber of commerce but instead publicized Los Inmortales in local Peruvian newspapers that informally negotiated advertisement directly with owners. The informal spirit maintained in Los Inmortales over the years has made Peruvians to consider this bakery-restaurant as the epicenter of the Peruvian enclave. Los Inmortales was reminiscent of traditional cafeterias in Lima and evoked a nostalgic sense of neighborhood life. Some Peruvians would spend their afternoons outside Los Inmortales as they had done on the corners of *barriadas* of Lima. Others used Los Inmortales as a point of reference and as a place for social gatherings.

Ethnic groceries and restaurants such as Los Inmortales, Panchitos, Pampa, La Tía Delia, among others, constitute the center of Little Lima, the physical marketplace for Peruvian products and services. In the last two decades, these small businesses have played a significant social and economic role in the community life of Peruvian migrants and their families. In these establishments, community members interact with one another and exchange news that help to develop communal networks, while at the same time provide other cultural, social and economic services to co-nationals. These places promote and publicize particular events of the ethnic community, and help new immigrants with information about housing and employment. They also function as information centers, providing the contact of local institutions, community organizations, and specialists such as entertainers, doctors, handymen, and mechanics.<sup>133</sup> Groceries and restaurants constitute arenas for social exchange between customers, patrons, and organized groups of co-nationals that transmit information regarding community events, businesses, and news from the

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<sup>133</sup> Mohsen Mobasher, "Ethnic Resources and Ethnic Economy: The Case of Iranian Entrepreneurs in Texas," in Mobasher and Sadri, *Migration*, 297-306.

homeland.<sup>134</sup> The central location of these Peruvian businesses, in a sector of downtown Paterson delimited by Market St., Cianci St., and Main St., has gradually imprinted a Peruvian character on the face of the America's first planned industrial city.

In sum, since mid-1960s, entrepreneurship has been used by Peruvian migrants as a vehicle to forge economic independence in the United States. By capitalizing principally on informal and resourceful mechanisms, Peruvians have achieved wealth, stability, and cultural continuity. They have organized institutions and contributed to the development of an ethnic market for products and services that ultimately shaped Little Lima, the first and most visible enclave of Peruvians in the United States. The following chapter demonstrates that the economic advancement of Peruvians transcended individual achievements and contributed to the well-being of the Peruvian community. It will reveal how the mobilization of ethnic resources has developed a reciprocal relationship of support between Peruvian entrepreneurs and their community. This dynamic partnership ensured the social and political empowerment of Peruvian businessmen in the area, who progressively strengthened their roles as civic leaders while fortifying the presence of the Peruvian community in multiethnic Paterson.

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<sup>134</sup> See the works of Light and Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs*; Mohsen Mobasher, "Ethnic Resources and Ethnic Economy: The Case of Iranian Entrepreneurs in Texas," in Mobasher and Sadri, *Migration*, 297-306; Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1994).

## Chapter 5:

### Entrepreneurship, Community Empowerment, and the Sustainability of the Peruvian Enclave of Paterson

“Los peruanos aquí no se americanizan. Su idiosincrasia es de allá. Vienen con la misma idea y hacen su vida aquí. Es más aquí se peruanizan más. Pero eso sí, siempre salimos adelante trabajando duro y sin pedirle nada al estado. Por eso otros grupos nos respetan... Pero aún nos falta una institución que nos una más, una Casa Perú, por ejemplo.”

Walter Bustamante, entrepreneur and former professional soccer player.

As the number of Peruvians grew in Paterson, ethnic entrepreneurship and communal activism proliferated in the area, evidencing the power the Peruvian community had gained from 1970s to 1990s. By launching businesses and organizing cultural and religious festivities, Peruvians validated ethnic visibility while, gaining recognition by mainstream society. Throughout these decades, Peruvian entrepreneurs played a central role in this crusade by providing the necessary economic, social, material, and symbolic resources to communal organizations that represented the Peruvian community in Paterson. In reciprocity, through the consumption of products and services, the community supported local Peruvian entrepreneurship generating a relationship of solidarism that have contributed to fortify the presence of the Peruvian community in the city. This supporting partnership between small business owners and the community relied on the mobilization of ethnic resources and the use of informal mechanisms that eventually sustained the stability of the Peruvian enclave of Paterson.

This chapter demonstrates that, since the origins of the community, small business entrepreneurs have participated actively in diverse social and cultural activities, empowering themselves as communal leaders and activists. For this purpose, they have relied on traditional values of mutual aid, redistribution of resources, and national identity that were mainly channelized through alternative mechanisms to benefit the advancement of personal and communal projects. In return, the community, its organizations, and institutions, have contributed to the success of Peruvian entrepreneurship in Paterson. This reciprocal dynamic has expanded and sustained Little Lima, the first Peruvian enclave of Paterson, and a marketplace of products and services for Peruvian and Latino consumers. Furthermore, this chapter validates the efforts of Peruvian entrepreneurs and community leaders to carve out a space for the community among other ethnic groups in Paterson. By emphasizing ethnic resilience and circulating notions of Peruvianness, they promoted respect for Peruvian culture and traditions in the city, while at the same time, demanded citizenship recognition from local authorities. Community activism allowed Peruvian entrepreneurs and social leaders to gain political power which they ultimately utilized to advance personal political projects in both New Jersey and Peru. Lastly, this chapter demonstrates that the steady migration of Peruvians at the turn of the new millennium sustained the expansion of the ethnic community in the area. Newcomers continued replicating in the new setting informal and resourceful mechanisms for economic and social organization associated with the culture of informality in Peru. The entrepreneurial and resourceful spirit of Peruvians brought by newcomers ultimately revitalized the economy and brought visible changes to Paterson. After more than fifty years of steady migration, Peruvians in the area transitioned from a mostly working-

class group of individuals to a successful and prosperous entrepreneurial immigrant community.

### **The Reciprocal Partnership between Peruvian Entrepreneurs and the Community**

Scholars that study the development of ethnic economies among immigrant groups in the United States demonstrate that the emergence of ethnic enclaves, institutions, and social networks generates the necessary infrastructure and resources for the development and expansion of ethnic-owned businesses. This scholarship argues that migrant entrepreneurs mainly rely on ethnic resources from the community of co-nationals to develop and extend business projects. For instance, researchers identify kinship systems, trust, social relationships, religion, language, and entrepreneurial attitudes as typical ethnic resources utilized by immigrants for business establishment and operation.<sup>1</sup> Ethnic resources are available to every member of an ethnic group, principally among immigrant communities with strong ethnic ties. Consequently, the availability of ethnic resources in a well-established community with supportive organizations and institutions determines immigrants' success in small businesses. Ethnic businesses target ethnic clientele by providing goods and services specifically directed toward ethnic taste, need, and unique features of the particular culture of immigrants that U.S. enterprises do not provide.<sup>2</sup>

The case of Peruvians in Paterson demonstrates that this group of migrants also relied in the mobilization of ethnic resources for entrepreneurial activities; however, they have

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<sup>1</sup> Edna Bonacich and John Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity: Small Business in the Japanese American Community* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1980); Light and Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs*; Ivan Light, and Parminder Bhachu, *Immigration and Entrepreneurship: Culture, Capital, and Ethnic Networks* (Abingdon, Oxon : Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017); Portes, *The Economic Sociology*; Roger Waldinger, Howard Aldrich, and Robin Ward, *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies* (Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 2006); and Roger Waldinger and Michael I. Lichter, *How the Other Half Works: Immigration and the Social Organization of Labor* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Mohsen Mobasher, *Ethnic Resources and Ethnic Economy: The Case of Iranian Entrepreneurs in Dallas*, in Mohsen Mobasher, and Mahmoud Sadri, *Migration, Globalization, and Ethnic Relations: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Upper Saddle River, N.J: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004), 301.

established a different pattern for business establishment and community development. Since the early stages of community formation in the 1960s, the leadership of Peruvian entrepreneurs has played a central role in the establishment and expansion of the community. Peruvian small business owners actively participated in the formation and management of formal and informal collective organizations and institutions that, in subsequent decades, expanded as ethnic entrepreneurship grew in the area. In this sense, small business owners not only offered economic and material support to community organization efforts, but principally led the initiative to establish and fortify diverse social, religious, and sportive associations and institutions. The growth of Peruvian entrepreneurship and, principally, the leadership and support of entrepreneurs for the formation and maintenance of communal organizations allowed Peruvians to develop a prosperous ethnic enclave in Paterson in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup>

The reproduction of particular cultural endowments associated with Andean economic practices explains the motives that encouraged Peruvian entrepreneurs in Paterson to support communal organizations and institutions. In the commercial rationale of Peruvians, entrepreneurship and communal solidarity are two inseparable elements of business success. Traditional Andean societies and contemporary urban populations of Andean origins have developed an entrepreneurial habitus that not only encourages business ownership, but also guarantees a reciprocal relationship of support with their communities of origin. The increasing presence of provincial associations established by internal migrants in Lima during the 1980s facilitated the adjustment of *paisanos* to the city while also

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<sup>3</sup> Sumaq, "Paterson: Capital of The Peruvian Diaspora in The United States," *Sumaq*, November 28, 2016, <https://perusumaq.com/2016/11/28/how-paterson-became-the-capital-of-the-peruvian-diaspora-in-the-united-states/> accessed November 13, 2018.

contributing to the development of their provincial communities of origin.<sup>4</sup> On the one hand, internal migrants in Lima, who were self-employed informal workers, provided economic support and leadership for the formation of provincial associations and organizations. These organizations provided a well-structured system of social networks that facilitated newcomers' job opportunities and the possibility to socialize with other *paisanos* in the capital. On the other hand, provincial entrepreneurs and the organizations they supported in the capital organized charity events to benefit their communities of origin. In the absence of governmental support from the central state, they provided economic and material aid to their families and *paisanos* that mostly relied on communal assistance to overcome contexts of social and economic deterioration. In return, provincial entrepreneurs gained social prestige among the members of their community in Lima, while at the same time benefited from the promotion and consumption of their products and services by their fellow *paisanos* in the capital.

With the migration of Peruvians to Paterson, this dynamic relationship that linked entrepreneurship, ethnic solidarity, and communal development was relocated transnationally. Since early stages of community development, Peruvian entrepreneurs assumed the leadership role in the formation of community-based social and religious organizations in the new setting. They provided the necessary economic support and prestige gained among the group of co-nationals to launch these forms of communal organization. At the same time, migrants' communities of origin also benefitted from the economic and social support entrepreneurs and emergent organizations in Paterson provided to them. Besides personal initiatives to send economic and material remittance to their families living in Peru,

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<sup>4</sup> See Golte and Adams, *El caballo de troya*, and Adams and Valdivia, *Los otros empresarios*.

from mid-1960s on, Peruvians in Paterson organized themselves to collaborate with their neighborhoods or towns of origin. In this supportive dynamic, informality and national identity became the central mechanisms utilized by Peruvian entrepreneurs and social leaders to circulate resources for collective organization and transnational assistance.

Since early stages of community development, the few Peruvian business owners in the area supported the organization of the first events and the formation of Peruvians associations in Paterson. Accounts from veteran Peruvians revealed that small restaurants, insurance agencies, body shops, and travel agencies were the first businesses that informally sponsored civic, religious, and cultural activities. Guillermo Callegari, along with Hugo Balta and Oscar Carbajal were the only Peruvian entrepreneurs that personally financed and organized the event, using their own funds and community connections.<sup>5</sup> According to Callegari, even though a sense nostalgia for their country prompted Peruvian migrants to contribute to the organization of the first flag raising, previously established Latino communities also played a major role in the event. Thus, during the early stages of community development, Peruvians relied on the few Peruvian small businesses in the area and on the support of Puerto Ricans that helped Peruvian leaders with paperwork to obtain the necessary licenses to host the first flag raisings.

During the 1970s, Peruvian small business owners also utilized peripheral mechanisms to collaborate in the launching of the first Peruvian religious organizations in the area. Accounts describe how emergent entrepreneurs participated of the formation of the Brotherhood of the Lord of Miracles (*La hermandad del señor de los milagros*). César Morales, the owner of Inca's Food, donated money to initiate the brotherhood while his wife

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<sup>5</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.



Figure 19. Procession of the Lord of the Miracles during the 1990s with building of the Peruvian Consulate to the left. Peruvian Consulate of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

participated in fundraising activities. According to Gaston Bravo, former president of the brotherhood, “This family always supported our activities, and then other Peruvian entrepreneurs in the area began to collaborate to organize the first processions. With that money, we rented sound systems, paid for the paperwork, and hired musicians.”<sup>6</sup> As the Peruvian population increased in the 1970s, other migrants opened new businesses and continued with the practice of informally financing the organization of other religious and civic activities. Thus, in August 24, 1975, with the valuable support of emergent Peruvian entrepreneurs, Nolberto Pardo Figueroa and Victor Sosa founded the Saint Martín de Porres Fraternity (Hermandad de Damas y Caballeros de San Martín de Porres), at the Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist.<sup>7</sup> This brotherhood was organized to worship Saint Martin, the Afro-Peruvian patron saint of mixed race venerated by urban *criollos*. According to scholar Larissa Ruiz Baía, both brotherhoods maintained a financial, administrative, and spiritual autonomy independent from the church as a result of the economic support of Peruvian entrepreneurs. This ability to preserve their autonomy allowed Peruvian catholic brotherhoods to avoid bureaucratic paperwork and coordinate charitable works and institutional relationships with brotherhoods in Peru in the following years.<sup>8</sup>

The Peruvian festival of 1977 constituted the first effort in which Peruvian entrepreneurs and other Latino businesses began to directly market products and services to their community. The idea for this event came from Guillermo Callegari, the most prosperous entrepreneur and popular leader of the emergent Peruvian community of Paterson at that time. Other Peruvian and Latino entrepreneurs also collaborated with him in order to

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<sup>6</sup> Interview with Gaston Bravo.

<sup>7</sup> Parish Life, “San Martín de Porres Fraternity,” Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist <https://rcdopcathedral.org/saint-martin-de-porres-fraternity>, accessed October 1, 2018.

<sup>8</sup> Larissa Ruiz Baía, “Rethinking Transnationalism: Reconstructing National Identities among Peruvian Catholics in New Jersey,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, vol. 41, no. 4, 1999, pp. 93–109. See also Paerregaard, “In the Footsteps.”

organize the event. “It was a success; not economically, since I lost money, but because Peruvians filled the stadium and enjoyed the show I brought,”<sup>9</sup> stated Callegari, who invested his own money to hold a sportive, musical, and culinary festival. The event was also supported by other emergent entrepreneurs, such as Elena Machado from Lima de Antaño, and other Peruvian cooks who participated by selling food. César Morales donated Inka’s Food products to those who attended the festival. Julio Malqui distributed flyers to the audience publicizing his insurance company, while Goya Foods also marketed their products, although, at the time, they did not produce any Peruvian goods.<sup>10</sup> These efforts to market their products to the Peruvian community were informally arranged through Callegari. None of these companies officially sponsored the event, but they collaborated through donations and their presence. The informal participation of entrepreneurs in the festival allowed for the organizing of activities that benefitted both ethnic businesses and their community. In the following years, emergent businesses continued publicizing their products and making them known among Peruvians and other Latinos through the sponsorship of community events, such as flag raisings, processions, and soccer teams.

From 1985 to 1995, when the largest stream of migrants arrived to Paterson, previously established businesses expanded while new ones were launched, extending the market for ethnic products and services.<sup>11</sup> In July of 1986, with the leading support of

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Since the late 1970s, literature on ethnic entrepreneurship has documented the development of new ethnic enclaves in America that contrast with the Little Dublins and Little Italies formed by European migrants in diverse U.S. cities at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The emergence of the Peruvian enclave of Paterson parallels this new trend of community development created by recently arrived immigrants from Southern and Southeast Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Most of this research discusses either the formation of the enclave or the economic benefits to its members with the formation of ethnic enclave economies. See the works of Edna Bonacich, and Richard P. Appelbaum, *Behind the Label: Inequality in the Los Angeles Apparel Industry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Light, and Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs*; Ivan Light, and Parminder Bhachu, *Immigration and Entrepreneurship: Culture, Capital, and Ethnic Networks* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group., 2017); Pyong Min, *Ethnic Solidarity for Economic Survival: Korean Greengrocers in New York City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008); Portes and Bach, *Latin Journey*; Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge*; Jin-Kyung Yoo, *Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Networks and Ethnic Resources* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 2016); Roger D. Waldinger, *Through the Eye of the Needle: Immigrants and Enterprise in New York's Garment Trades* (New York: New York University Press, 1989).

Peruvian entrepreneurs, the first Peruvian Parade in Paterson was organized to commemorate the 165<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Independence of Peru. The parade constituted the first opportunity in which Peruvian entrepreneurs and other Latino businesses officially sponsored an ethnic event and formally collaborated with the community to directly market their products and services to Peruvians. Two years before, Callegari and other Peruvian entrepreneurs and community leaders had formed the Peruvian Parade Inc., the official association responsible for organizing the event. However, Callegari recalled that the organization of the parade was not devoid of conflicts: “Peruvians themselves put up barriers. For instance, the APRA party wanted to take over the parade, but I refused because Peruvian entrepreneurs and community leaders worked hard to achieve this dream.”<sup>12</sup> Callegari, an active member of this party, revealed that since Alan Garcia promised to open a consulate in Paterson during his political campaign, members of the Paterson branch felt themselves with the authority to intervene in community affairs.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, community leaders and Peruvian entrepreneurs in Paterson opted to maintain their independence in the organization and funding of civic events in order to avoid any political interference. Consequently, Peruvian entrepreneurship and community associations shared responsibility for the organization of the first parade since the Peruvian Consulate of Paterson had just opened in 1987. They mobilized economic and social resources to fund the event, obtain the official permits, and sponsor the carriages that would run from the Paterson Armory to the City Hall. “We wanted to do it right so that Peruvians could feel proud of the event,” remarked Callegari.<sup>14</sup> A strong commitment to increasing the visibility of the Peruvian community among other ethnic groups in the area led community leaders and entrepreneurs to block

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<sup>12</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>13</sup> Alan Garcia was the leader of the APRA party and elected President of Peru in 1985.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

political interventions from outsiders. This commitment was driven by a shared sense of national pride that veteran Peruvian migrants imprinted in every civic event organized in public spaces. The first Peruvian Parade would capture the attention, not only of Peruvians in the area, but also of other ethnic groups and local media. Entrepreneurs and community leaders waited an entire decade before organizing such an elaborate event.

The organization of the first Peruvian Parade demonstrated the social, political, and economic power Peruvian entrepreneurs could exert in the community. Pictures, newspapers, and accounts indicate that Peruvian entrepreneurs financed the event by sponsoring social and civic organizations that donated carriages, food, and dancers.<sup>15</sup> For instance, with the support of Peruvian entrepreneurship, a breakfast for children in Peru was organized on July 26, the day before the parade. At night, Peruvian entrepreneurs and community leaders that organized the event enjoyed a gala dinner. With the money collected, and by mobilizing social relationships, the Peruvian Parade Inc. financed the participation of Peruvian soccer star Teófilo Cubillas as the official marshal of the event.<sup>16</sup> NASA, Rimac Agency, Mallqui tax, and Inca's Food were among the Peruvian enterprises that officially sponsored some of the carriages.<sup>17</sup> However, small business owners also informally participated in the event. Rafael Ibarra recalled that “on Market Street some restaurants took out tables and chairs to sell food and drinks. Other vendors sold *picarones* (*Peruvian donuts*), *anticuchos* (marinated beef heart skewers), and *raspadillas* (snow cones) as was customary in Peru.”<sup>18</sup> Other accounts indicate that small travel and insurance agencies passed out flyers marketing their services.<sup>19</sup> Without the required licenses to publically sell or publicize products and services

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<sup>15</sup> José Dávila, “Exhortan a peruanos a contribuir con desfile,” *Noticias del Mundo*, 1986.

<sup>16</sup> José Rohaidy, “Esta parada es un ejemplo que no veía desde Perú,” *El Diario-La Prensa*, Julio 28, 1986.

<sup>17</sup> Guillermo Callegari's personal archive of photographs.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Rafael Ibarra.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Isaf Valencia.

on the streets, some Peruvian small business owners and vendors used *recurseo* practices during the first Peruvian Parade in order to reach new consumers and profit from this event.

The participation of Peruvian entrepreneurs in the organization of the parade also legitimized their role within the extensive community of Peruvians in New Jersey. The parade provided small business owners a major opportunity to indirectly publicize their products and services. César Morales, for example, revealed that his company used the event to introduce new products to the market. "I gave away *rocoto* sauce (red chile), cilantro paste, and yucca, new products that I began to order from Peru and later commercialized in Paterson."<sup>20</sup> Although entrepreneurs reaped an economic benefit from their participation, their motives were mostly patriotic. The patriotism expressed by Peruvians in Paterson has been associated with a sense of nostalgia for home.<sup>21</sup> Patriotism among immigrants has been considered by scholars as an adjustment or assimilation strategy.<sup>22</sup> With respect to the connection between home country nostalgia and consumption, scholars have identified three main consumption practices enacted by immigrants during their process of acculturation: shelter, tribute, and solidarity.<sup>23</sup> Celina Stamboli-Rodriguez and Luca Visconti sustain that isolation, negative stereotypes, and marginality usually result in nostalgic consumption, typically food, in order to build a shelter in which to escape a deprived condition. Nostalgic consumption is also used by immigrants as a tribute to the home country expressed through the materialistic purchase and consumption of nostalgic goods; principally, ethnic products

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<sup>20</sup> Interview with César Morales.

<sup>21</sup> In a recent work M. Cristina Alcalde dedicates one chapter to examining the reinforcement of class, race, and gender hierarchies in the Peruvian gastronomic boom. In this chapter Alcalde makes references on how Peruvian food has been intimately tied to comfort, family, and home among Peruvians abroad. See Alcalde, *Peruvian Lives*.

<sup>22</sup> For works that study the connections between consumption and nostalgia for the home country in the United States see: Anita Mannur, "Culinary Nostalgia: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Diaspora." *MELUS*, vol. 32, no. 4, 2007, 11–31; Susan J. Matt, "A Hunger for Home: Homesickness and Food in a Global Consumer Society," *The Journal of American Culture*, 30: 6-17, 2007; Wilson, Nostalgia; Johana Zulueta, "Memory, Nostalgia and the Creation of "home": A Returnee Woman's Journey." *Migration Letters* 14, no. 2 (2017): 263-71.

<sup>23</sup> Celina Stamboli-Rodriguez and Luca Visconti (2012), "Home Sweet Home: the Role of Home Country Nostalgia on Immigrants' Acculturation and Consumption", in *NA - Advances in Consumer Research Volume 40*, eds. Zeynep Gürhan-Canli, Cele Otnes, and Rui (Juliet) Zhu, Duluth, MN : Association for Consumer Research: 148-152.



Figure 20. Peruvian entrepreneurs supporting the Peruvian Parade. Guillermo Callegari's collection and Cesar Morales' collection.

that have been produced by compatriots in the host or home country. Nostalgic consumption is also an expression of collective solidarity within the local ethnic community. As such, the participation in social and cultural ethnic events serves as a form of reciprocal support and a demonstration of common belongingness.<sup>24</sup> Migrants' desire to reproduce their social milieu abroad is an outcome of immigration that becomes part of the assimilation process.<sup>25</sup>

The participation of Peruvian small business entrepreneurs in events organized by the emergent community was primarily guided by notions of solidarity with compatriots and tribute to the homeland. Cesar Morales explained, "We didn't start with the intention of selling our products. I just wanted to show I was proud to be Peruvian and to contribute to my community."<sup>26</sup> Hugo Balta also highlighted the reciprocal relationship that Peruvian entrepreneurs enjoy with their community through public civic activities. Balta maintained that "Peruvian businessmen have to serve the community because we depend on them. We are part of them, and the people recognize our support by being loyal clients of our businesses."<sup>27</sup> With the gradual consolidation of the Peruvian market, entrepreneurs found an opportunity in annual parades and other communal events to advertise their products and services to a growing number of customers.

The supportive role of entrepreneurs also extended to their community of origin through economic and material donations. During the 1970s, this support was informally channeled by groups of entrepreneurs to contribute to social causes in Peru. For instance, Hugo Balta explained that, through Paterson-Surquillo F.B.C., an organization named after his soccer team, they sent money to their neighborhood back in Peru that had suffered

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> See Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: The Free Press), 1979.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

material damages and economic crisis after the earthquake of 1970. Balta worked with the few Peruvians living in the community to collect money, clothing, food, and medicine to send to Peru. They were responsible for delivering the donations and paid for the shipping costs themselves.<sup>28</sup> Gaston Bravo also recalled that, with the help of Peruvian entrepreneurs in Paterson, former *Surquillanos* helped to rebuild a church in their neighborhood. “Since Balta, Callegari, and Oscar Carbajal were prosperous entrepreneurs, they encouraged members of the community to donate to the rebuilding efforts of a church in Surquillo. We organized fundraisers, parties, and culinary activities to collect money.”<sup>29</sup> Augusto Basurco, Hugo Balta, and Manuel Balta traveled to Peru in order to personally deliver the donation. They were received by the mayor of Surquillo.<sup>30</sup> As this account demonstrates, in the early stages of community development, most fundraising initiatives were informally conducted by Peruvian migrants. During the 1980s, this support extended and formalized as more Peruvian migrants became entrepreneurs. By mobilizing traditional notions of reciprocity and cooperation, they built supportive bridges with their communities of origin to improve the quality of life in their home country.

Karsten Paerregaard has applied the concept of moral economy<sup>31</sup> to explain the “commitment” of Peruvian migrants to send remittances to family members and their communities of origin. Paerregaard has identified three types of commitments shared by Peruvians who send remittances. *Compromiso* (familial commitment) refers to the economic or material support given to family members to cover household, educational, and unforeseen

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Gaston Bravo.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> The concept of moral economy was popularized in social sciences by E.P. Thompson and John Scott in order to understand the economic behavior of peasants in rural societies. These authors demonstrated that peasants utilize a set of traditional principles such as mutuality and fairness in order to socially organize their household economies. See: James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1977), and E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the 18th Century," *Past & Present*. 50: 1970, 76–136.

expenses. This is most common among urban middle-class migrants. *Voluntad* (community commitment) is related to migrants' donations to religious and charitable organizations in their communities of origin, principally in rural communities. Although migrants provide limited assistance to sending communities, they gain prestige among their *paisanos* and solidify their membership in their communities of origin. *Superación* (personal commitment) is performed when migrants make investments in the home country to achieve upward mobility. In most cases, *superación* comes later in the migration trajectory, when, for example, migrants launch businesses or engage in politics.<sup>32</sup> These three types of commitments have been identified among Peruvian migrants since the early stages of community development and demonstrate the role that remittances play in maintaining solidarity and kinship ties over time and across international borders. However, an understudied aspect regarding remittances is the organization of migrants to collect and deliver economic and material aid. Peruvians in Paterson strongly relied on alternative mechanisms to organize and distribute aid to the home country.<sup>33</sup>

With the aperture of the Peruvian Consulate of Paterson, the charitable efforts to assist community of origins were further extended to the general community back in the home country. From 1987 to 1993, the most challenging economic period in contemporary Peru, migrants offered aid to communities and institutions in Peru that suffered monetary scarcity and supply shortage as a consequence of inflation and extended poverty. In 1990, the

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<sup>32</sup> Karsten Paerregaard, *Return to Sender: The Moral Economy of Peru's Migrant Remittances* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> Scholars have predominantly studied remittances in relation to the economic impact on individual households and poorer contexts. Migrants' remittances promote development and investment in impoverished rural areas. These studies center on the impact of remittances in Mexico's countryside. See the works of Alfredo Cuecuecha, and Carla Pederzini, *Migration and Remittances from Mexico: Trends, Impacts, and New Challenges* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014); Sergio Diaz-Briquets, and Sidney Weintraub, *Migration, Remittances, and Small Business Development: Mexico and Caribbean Basin Countries* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991); Rodolfo O. De la Garza and Briant L. Lowell, *Sending Money Home: Hispanic Remittances and Community Development* (Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002). Other group of scholars have explored the cultural impact migrants' remittances exert regarding identity, gender, class, and race in family members left behind. See the works of Sarah Lopez, *The Remittance Landscape: Spaces of Migration in Rural Mexico and Urban USA* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2015); David Pedersen, *American Value: Migrants, Money, and Meaning in El Salvador and the United States* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013); Pribilsky, *La Chulla Vida*.

Peruvian consulate of Paterson indicated that they transferred a total value of \$12,000 in medicines and medical equipment to the Peruvian Minister of International Relations.<sup>34</sup> This money was collected by private Peruvian doctors working in New Jersey and Pennsylvania and was donated to hospitals in Peru.<sup>35</sup> In subsequent years, other organizations, such as Americares, Brother's Brother Foundation, Peruvian Parade Inc., and Ayudemos al Peru, Inc., periodically sent donations and gifts from doctors and entrepreneurs to support populations in Peru. In 1992, the Peruvian Parade Inc. sent approximately \$4,200 to the Peruvian Children's Foundation (Fundación por los niños del Perú), and Peruvian entrepreneur Wilson Barrionuevo sent 15 boxes of toys to distribute among the Puericultorio Pérez Aranibar, Hospital del Niño (Children's National Hospital), and the Association of Consul Wives.<sup>36</sup> Peruvian entrepreneurs personally searched for the most secure channels to send their donations and, faced with frequent accusations of corruption among state officials, avoided using organizations based in Peru. They found in the Peruvian Consulate of Paterson a reliable institution to officially deliver their contributions.

Even though the Peruvian consulate played a significant role in the formalization of the transference of aid to Peru, most business owners did not utilize this official channel for sending donations. Instead, most entrepreneurs and community leaders during the 1990s continued to rely on informal mechanisms and *recurseo* practices to send material and economic assistance to Peru. Artemio Oporto's organization, for instance, utilized norms of trust, reciprocity and mutual aid to mobilize resources to improve the living conditions of

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<sup>34</sup> According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics consumer price index, \$12,000 in 1990 is currently equivalent to \$23,054.97. It was a significant economic contribution to communities and institutions in Peru, since Peruvian inflation in 1990 was almost 5,000%, and the exchange rate favored the purchasing power of Peruvians in Intis, the Peruvian currency at that time. For inflator calculator see Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Databases, Tables & Calculators by Subject*, <https://www.bls.gov/data/>, retrieved January 13, 2019. For more information about the historical distribution of exchange rates in Peru see Alberto Pasco and Piero Ghezzi, "Exchange Rates and Interest Groups in Peru, 1950-1996," Interamerican Development Bank, Research paper #R-422, October 2000, 1-34, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.202.8387&rep=rep1&type=pdf>, retrieved January 13, 2019.

<sup>35</sup> Ministerio, "Memoria 1989-1990," 3.

<sup>36</sup> Ministerio, "Memoria 1992," 4-5.

*paisanos* in Peru. They organized fundraisers, parties, and group trips to Atlantic City to collect money and made donations to their town in Arequipa. In the first donation, they collected \$1,000 that they used to buy 25 musical instruments for the local high school. Oporto personally traveled to Peru to buy the instruments and make the donation.<sup>37</sup> César Morales also offered aid to his home country without the support of the consulate or other official institutions. “My wife and I always sent gifts and organized *chocolatadas*<sup>38</sup> during Christmas for the workers’ children of our factory in Peru. We hired clowns, bought piñatas, and hosted a great party for them.”<sup>39</sup> Peruvian business owners explained that their prosperity as businessmen in Paterson not only was shaped by their personal efforts, but also by the culture, habits, and mutual support transmitted by their family, teachers, and friends in their community of origin. In this sense, even after years of living in the United States, Peruvian small business owners valued their cultural heritage and practices by maintaining traditional principles of reciprocity and cooperation that have solidified social and communal bonds among Peruvian migrants and their communities of origin. At the same time, by personally channeling economic and material support for their community of origin, they gained social recognition and prestige in their home communities. Accounts revealed that Peruvians who contributed to these charitable efforts enjoyed public recognition in events in which they received plaques from local authorities acknowledging their support. Hometown school classrooms and soccer fields have been renamed to recognize their donations.<sup>40</sup>

The consolidation of the Peruvian market during the 1990s also allowed entrepreneurs to extend their contribution to socio-cultural initiatives in Paterson. According

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with Artemio Oporto.

<sup>38</sup> A Christmas party for children in which they drink hot chocolate and eat *Panetón* (Italian-Peruvian Fruit Cake).

<sup>39</sup> Interview with César Morales.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Artemio Oporto.

to several accounts, businessmen found in the community a favorable audience, not only to market their products and services, but also to contribute to social causes. For example, Isaf Valencia, recognized that he never participated in business organizations or advertised in phonebooks or American newspapers because he preferred to informally publicize Los Inmortales by sponsoring soccer teams. According to Valencia, “My idea was simple. I invested in buying all the uniforms for a team, and they allowed me to print the name of my bakery on the front of the jersey. I could reach 100 or 200 people on Sundays who would then come to my store during the week and spread the word to family members and friends.”<sup>41</sup> Carlos Vera also utilized an innovative strategy to publicize his business. Vera capitalized on cultural and symbolic resources to market Panchito’s restaurant within the community of Peruvians. “I have been a marshal in events, entrepreneur of the year, *padrino* of soccer teams, and investor of teams in the league. The participation in these community efforts gave me recognition and publicized my business.”<sup>42</sup> Peruvian entrepreneurs’ collaboration in community initiatives legitimated their business efforts and their public image as community supporters (See figure 21). Vera proudly concluded, “That’s why I have clients from 30 years ago. They know me and always come to eat at Panchito’s. I always feel the support of my community, and I am happy to contribute to them.”<sup>43</sup>

Small business owners such as Valencia and Vera also utilized emergent ethnic mass media to advertise their products and services and their contributions to the Peruvian community of Paterson. Scholarship on the development of ethnic immigrant economies in the United States demonstrates that ethnic media is a crucial tool that links immigrant communities and ethnic entrepreneurship. This literature reveals that ethnic media is not only

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<sup>41</sup> Interview with Isaf Valencia.

<sup>42</sup> Interview with Carlos Vera.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.



Figure 21. Above, Los Inmortales Bakery supporting Peruvian soccer teams. Below, Panchito's restaurant contributing to the local community. Los Inmortales' collection and Panchito's restaurant collection.

used as a marketing tool for business competition, but also contributes to cohesion and cultural maintenance and is used by small business owners to gain prestige among co-nationals.<sup>44</sup> The case of Peruvian immigrants in Paterson confirms the significant role ethnic newspapers and radio programs had in linking Peruvian small businesses to the ethnic community. Since 1990, ethnic media served Peruvian entrepreneurs in their commercial competition, while also promoting and enhancing the significance of Peruvian ethnic identity and culture in Paterson. Commercial advertisements published in newspapers such as *El Perucho*, *El Amauta*, and *Páginas Libres* or transmitted by radio programs, such as *Perú cerca de ti*, demonstrate that ethnic businesses promoted and strengthened ethnic identity, culture, and group consciousness. In almost every business ad and radio commercial, words such as Peru, Peruvian, Peruvian community, Peruvianness, Peruvian compatriots, and Peruvian culture are used and manipulated as an important mechanism for economic transactions between business owners and co-ethnic customers. For instance, in order to compete with Goya products, Inka's Food advertisements used patriotic terms such as Inca, 100% Peru, *Productos Peruanos* (Peruvian Products) or *familia peruana* (Peruvian family) along with traditional Incan symbols, including the *tumi*,<sup>45</sup> llamas, and *ajíes* (spicy peppers).<sup>46</sup> By using patriotic lingo and ethnic images in commercial ads, Peruvian businesses relied on national identity and consciousness to gain the support of co-nationals when competing with rival enterprises outside of the ethnic community (see figure 22).<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Mobasher, "Ethnic Resources," 300-305.

<sup>45</sup> Peruvian sacrificial ceremonial knife associated with pre-Inca cultures.

<sup>46</sup> Guillermo Callegari's personal archive of photographs.

<sup>47</sup> Scholar M. Cristina Alcalde analyzes the marketing of Inca Kola's ads (the only Peruvian national cola) and demonstrates how traditional food and products constitute a powerful symbol of group and national identity. Alcalde found that the symbols and messages utilized in Inca Kola's ads homogenize and, at the same time, excludes the indigenous majority in order to transmit a common Peruvian national identity to the global arena. Peruvians entrepreneurs in Paterson replicated the same mechanisms to commercialize and publicize their products to ethnic customers. However, at least during the period of expansion of the Peruvian community, it served entrepreneurs to increase their clientele among compatriots. In terms of community building, the homogenization of the Peruvian national identity served Peruvians to carve out a place among other ethnic groups in the area by transmitting the idea of being a cohesive community of hardworking migrants. See the work of Alcalde, "Between Incas and Indians." Other works that study the links between product and national pride are: Robert Macgregor, 'I Am Canadian: National Identity in Beer Commercials,' *The Journal of Popular Culture* 37(2): 276-86, 2003; Lisa Penaloza,

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**A PRECIOS REBAJADOS:**

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**\$1.95 c/u**  
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**INCA KOLA** Familiar en botella de 2 litros \$1 c/u

**ACEITUNA BOTIJA lb. \$2.40**

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CD 1 x \$11.00  
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**Cachitos y Coricacos 5 x \$1.00**

**Pan de la Sierra 5 x \$1.00**

**Cola de los Andes \$0.35 c/u**

**Chicha Morada 18 oz. 24 botellas Por \$15**

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**VIERNES - SABADO, DOMINGOS Y LUNES**

- CALDO DE GALLINA .....\$6.00
- CAU CAU .....\$5.00
- LOMITO AL JUGO .....\$6.00
- CHICHARRON CON CAMOTE .....\$6.00

**PARA LLEVAR \$0.50 EXTRA**

**Chancay 8 Unidades x \$2.25**

• Tostitos  
• Papa Rellenas  
• Mermosa Saladas y Verdor (Para llevar)

**2.50 C/u**

**MAQUINA ATM PARA CAMBIAR A CASH**

Figure 22. Peruvian restaurants using nationalistic lingo to advertise their products to compatriots. *El Amauta*, May 26, 2003, 10 and 15.

"Atravesando Fronteras/border Crossings: A Critical Ethnographic Exploration of the Consumer Acculturation of Mexican Immigrants," *Journal of Consumer Research*. 21.1 (1994): 32; Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *¡Que Vivan Los Tamales!: Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008); and Margath A. Walker, "Border food and food on the border: meaning and practice in Mexican haute cuisine," *Social & Cultural Geography*, 14:6, 649-667, 2013.

Furthermore, ethnic media provided an opportunity for small business owners to advertise their commitment and loyalty to the immigrant community. By buying advertisement space for their businesses, Peruvian entrepreneurs also secured their status within the community by maintaining ethnic mass media, a significant communicative tool within the community. Since 1990, entrepreneurs exerted a particular form of moral support by cooperating with the directors of the few Peruvian communication sources that offered information about the Peruvian community of Paterson and the home country. Small business owners offered economic support to maintain the circulation of Peruvian newspapers and sponsored radio programs in the area. As Isaí Valencia declared, “the purpose is to be part of the community, but at the same time, to help these people that make a great effort to run a newspaper and make a living out of advertisement. So, the ball keeps rolling and we all help each other.”<sup>48</sup> As this account demonstrates, Peruvian entrepreneurs mobilized traditional notions of solidarity as they invested in journals, not only to publicize their businesses, but also to support the work of Peruvian journalists in Paterson. This support was welcomed by the owners of Peruvian newspapers that utilized resourceful mechanisms to continue their business efforts. Carlos Felice, owner of *Páginas Libres*, recognized the funding he received from Peruvian small business owners. Felice revealed that one day, when he didn’t have enough money to publish the newspaper, an owner of an insurance company gave him an envelope with \$1,500, the money he needed to print the newspaper.<sup>49</sup> Felice also noted that his newspaper has always been well-received among the Peruvian community. Felice affirmed that “Peruvians still prefer *Páginas Libres* because I offer information that others don’t. For example, I write a column with news about the Peruvian community, publish

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<sup>48</sup> Interview with Isaí Valencia.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Carlos Felice.

poetry, and offer information on the history of Peru and about services of interest, such as taxes, immigration, and scholarships.”<sup>50</sup> In this sense, the owners of Peruvian newspapers and other ethnic media benefited economically from the advertisement of entrepreneurs while also contributing to the development of the ethnic community by transmitting relevant information to Peruvian migrants. Mariano Barahona also shared this sense of reciprocity between him and his community: “It is an honor to have 143 recognitions from entrepreneurs, the soccer league, local Peruvian politicians, the city of Paterson, Peruvian associations, and the consulate. I am proud of my community, and the work I offer them makes me proud of being Peruvian.”<sup>51</sup>

In the steady stream of migration of Peruvians to Paterson, entrepreneurs have played a leadership role for the development and consolidation of Peruvian organizations and institutions. By donating money, material resources, and time to community events, Peruvian entrepreneurs found an opportunity to proclaim their support of the community, while at the same time, gained respect, reputation, and customers in Paterson. Likewise, the support they offered to Peruvian mass media in Paterson, allowed them to advertise their businesses, obtain advantage over business competition, and secure their leadership within the community.

### **Entrepreneurial and Community Empowerment among Peruvians in Paterson**

According to recent studies of ethnicity in the United States, when immigrants become relatively secure and have experienced labor and economic upward mobility, they consider engaging in social and political activism in favor of the local ethnic community and

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Mariano Barahona.

the community of origin.<sup>52</sup> This scholarship emphasizes the resilience of immigrants as an instrument of resistance against social and political exclusion exerted by the Anglo society. Scholars such as Alejandro Portes, Ruben Rumbaut, and Paul Spickard explain that the persistence of distinct cultural traits among groups formed by immigration, despite extensive periods of time in the host society, demonstrate that they do not become fully integrated into the mainstream society. The ethnic resilience and political activism of immigrants represent the first steps for their incorporation into the American political mainstream.<sup>53</sup>

In the case of Latin Americans in the United States, a group of Latino studies scholars have noted that immigrant communities' first efforts in political activism center on gaining visibility in public space.<sup>54</sup> Renato Rosaldo sustains that the increasing commercial power of Latinos have allowed them a degree of agency to demand citizenship recognition by the U.S. society. Rosaldo coined the term cultural citizenship to refer to the claims of minority groups for the respect of their distinctive cultural heritage and the right to be recognized as first-class citizens in the United States.<sup>55</sup> Rather than accepting the dominant ideology that focuses on minority groups' lack of agency, he argues that the cultural experiences of Latinos in the United States indicates that, even in contexts of inequality, people exert their right to exercise and claim their distinctive heritage. The achievement of public recognition and respect for

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<sup>52</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 94-95.

<sup>53</sup> Alejandro Portes, and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2005); Paul Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).

<sup>54</sup> Gabriela F. Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916-1939* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); James R. Barrett, "Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880-1930," *The Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (December 1992): 996-1020; David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Michael Innis-Jiménez, *Steel Barrio: The Great Mexican Migration to South Chicago, 1915-1940* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Monica Perales, *Smelertown: Making and Remembering a Southwest Border Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Yolanda Prieto, *The Cubans of Union City: Immigrants and Exiles in a New Jersey Community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009); George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Virginia Sánchez, Korrol, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Zaragosa Vargas, *Labor Rights Are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

<sup>55</sup> Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship, Inequality, and Multiculturalism," In *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights*, edited by William V. Flores and Rina Benmayor (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997), 27-38.

their cultural traditions activate the interest of immigrant communities for political participation in the mainstream society in favor of gaining fully access to civil rights. Less optimistic scholars such as Aihwa Ong sustain that mainstream institutions easily endorse the cultural dimension of citizenship in order to constrain minorities from advancing toward full citizenship. They recognize that immigrant groups have not yet acquired tangible social, cultural, and political recognition in terms of public policies.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, Rosaldo and other scholars manifest that Latino's agency to forge their own path in identity politics should not be disregarded. Latinos in the United States have historically demonstrated a dynamic participation in local politics as an assertion of rights that, at some later stage, could be fully acknowledged by the mainstream society.<sup>57</sup>

The case of Peruvians in Paterson follows this pattern of political engagement. During the 1990s, these immigrants forged a space among other immigrant communities in the area through the negotiation of social recognition and respect for their cultural heritage in public celebrations, such as parades and other ethnic festivals. Scholar Ulla Berg asserts that these public performances allowed them to claim citizenship inclusion and their right to express difference.<sup>58</sup> Berg emphasizes that, in these celebrations, diverse demonstrations of Peruvianness were performed by Peruvians from different regions and cultural groups who shared only the most tenuous connection to the old country. However, the primary aim of participating in these public celebrations was to display a common national identity, Peruvianness, as a unique demonstration of a diverse yet common identity in the public

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<sup>56</sup> Aihwa Ong, "Cultural Citizenship as Subject Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States," *In Race, Identity, and Citizenship*, edited by Rodolfo D. Torres, Louis F. Miron, and Johnathan Xavier Inda (New York, NY: Blackwell, 1996), 737-738.

<sup>57</sup> Linda Martin Alcoff, *Visible Identities: Race, Gender, and the Self* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); William V. Flores, and Rina Benmayor, *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights* (Boston, Conn: Beacon, 1998); Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship."

<sup>58</sup> Berg, *Mobile*, 186-188.

sphere.<sup>59</sup> Thus, at an early stage of social and political activism, Peruvian entrepreneurs and community leaders joined efforts to gain visibility and display ethnic pride. The solid foothold achieved by the Peruvian community through the 1980s and 1990s gradually allowed entrepreneurs and leaders of organizations to gain social and political empowerment.

In order to achieve social recognition and participation in city affairs, Peruvians in Paterson networked with the previously established Latino communities that had a major presence in local government. Since early stages of community development, Peruvians relied on a common Latino identity, to which they did not belong before arriving in the United States, to forge solidarity with Puerto Ricans and Cubans.<sup>60</sup> During the 1960s, as a part of the Civil Rights movement, members of these ethnic groups gained access to public administration and non-profit organizations that needed bilingual speakers to attend the demands of the increasing number of Latin Americans living in the area.<sup>61</sup> Consequently, Peruvians in Paterson relied on shared common linguistic and cultural roots with Puerto Ricans and Cubans to organize civic celebrations. Peruvians mostly relied on the support of Puerto Ricans who had contacts in local government and years of previous experience organizing similar events in the area. For instance, Guillermo Callegari remembers Maria Magda, a Puerto Rican advocate for Hispanic issues in Paterson during the 1960s, as the person who helped Peruvians raise their flag for the first time in 1967.<sup>62</sup> In subsequent decades, Peruvian entrepreneurs and community leaders utilized this common category of Latino or Hispanic to build bridges with local political authorities in order to support

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Accounts from diverse migration streams demonstrate that Peruvians in Paterson are reluctant to self-identify as Latinos. Peruvians from different regions and ethnic backgrounds identify themselves as Peruvians or emphasize belonging to their towns or regions when they talk to other Peruvians. However, since the origins of the community, Peruvian migrants utilized the Latino identity as a resource to gain recognition in public space. See the works Teofilo Altamirano and M. Cristina Alcalde regarding how the Latino identity among Peruvian migrants have gradually acquired negative connotations since late 1980s: Alcalde, *Peruvian Lives*; Altamirano, *Los Que Se Fueron*.

<sup>61</sup> Paul Montgomery, "Life Is an Uphill Struggle for the Latins in Paterson," *New York Times*, July 27, 1971, 37 and 70.

<sup>62</sup> Gary Veraud, "Puerto Ricans in Paterson," *Voices of NY*, August 29, 2016, <https://voicesofny.org/2016/08/puerto-ricans-in-paterson-exercising-power/>, Accessed October 29, 2018.

community development and visibility. With the backing of Latino social connections in the city's public administration, Peruvians gradually gained more opportunities to show their cultural heritage and demand citizenship inclusion. Since mid-1970s, Peruvians have continuously obtained authorization from the city of Paterson to celebrate religious processions, the Peruvian parade, and other cultural festivities. By early 1990s, when the presence of the Peruvian community grew, they extended their celebrations to neighboring towns. The Peruvian Parade Inc. obtained a license to incorporate a larger route for the parade, initiating in the city of Passaic, crossing Clifton, and ending in Paterson's city hall.<sup>63</sup> Thus, by performing cultural activities in public space, Peruvians asserted basic civil rights, as well as equal access to sociopolitical and economic affairs. Even the act of applying for permission to hold activities was an act to demonstrate their commitment to claim rights as first-class citizens. With the arrival of more Peruvians from different sociocultural backgrounds, new organizations emerged and new celebrations were organized in the area.

The incorporation of Peruvian entrepreneurs and community leaders into the dynamics of broader local, state, and transnational political affairs occurred after forging a position among other ethnic groups in the area. The solidarity maintained between Peruvians and other Latino population in Paterson also served as an effective means for asserting themselves in local politics.<sup>64</sup> Even though ethnic organizations and institutions were composed mostly of Peruvian members, other Spanish-speaking individuals were also welcome because of their shared language and culture. Furthermore, Peruvians also relied on the support of a group of Anglo political authorities who endorsed Latino political goals, aspiring to gain the support of migrant voters. The leadership in the political incorporation of

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<sup>63</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>64</sup> Portes and Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*, 294-295.

Peruvians was assumed by small business entrepreneurs. By the early 1990s, they achieved a solid economic position that allowed them to exercise influence in local politics by leading not only trade associations, but also other non-business ethnic organization. Principally, entrepreneurs occupied leading positions in Peruvian civic and cultural organizations that began to establish relationships with local politicians, such as the Peruvian Parade Inc., and the Peruvian Teachers Association. Thus, by virtue of their financial power, many successful Peruvian businessmen were invited to serve as staff and board members of communal associations. They discovered that active participation in these organizations allowed them to gain the necessary prestige and power to initiate a political career in Paterson and nearby towns.

The principal objective of Peruvian entrepreneurs immersed in politics was to launch a cooperative partnership with local political leaders to strengthen Peruvian entrepreneurship and maintain community stability. For this purpose, businessmen such as Daniel Jara mobilized elements of pan-ethnic Latino culture to build a more influential political presence. In an interview published in 1990, he highlighted the multiple “benefits for the business sector to cultivate a working relationship with public officials. [Although] Hispanic businesses generated 28% of the state’s revenue in 1990,... these businesses had almost no access to the political power brokers whose decisions could make or break our businesses.”<sup>65</sup> By noticing the growing force of Latinos in the market, Anglo and Latino politicians in the area welcomed this partnership. Representative Robert Menéndez sustained, “If we could establish a healthy working relationship..., it would form the foundation for increased Hispanic political and economic development in the next decade.”<sup>66</sup> During the 1990s,

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<sup>65</sup> Caryl R. Lucas, “Hispanic businesses seek to build political clout,” *The Sunday Star-Ledger*, March 4, 1990, 38.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

Daniel Jara's efforts to foster connections between local politicians and Hispanic entrepreneurs were successful. This partnership contributed to protect the interests of the community at large. The Peruvian Consulate of Paterson aligned with Jara's cause by supporting Peruvian entrepreneurs who lobbied with U.S. politicians in favor of the economic interests of the community and the nation. For example, this consulate disseminated information in favor of Bill Pascrell, Steve Rothman, and Robert Menéndez, New Jersey politicians with close relationships with the Peruvian community.<sup>67</sup>

The increasing cooperation between local politicians and Peruvian entrepreneurs was also extended to communal leaders who utilized these connections to forge a pathway in local politics. By mid-1990s, leaders of Peruvian organizations utilized community associations as social spaces from which to launch their political aims. For instance, in 1995 Yolanda Esquiche, leader of the Peruvian Teachers Association, founded with other professional migrants Peruvian Generations, a civic organization that promoted the leadership and empowerment of young generations of Peruvians to continue the development of the community. The opening ceremony counted with the participation of Bill Pascrell, the mayor of Paterson, and the Peruvian consul of New Jersey, Carlos Gamarra. The event was supported by local Peruvian entrepreneurs, such as the owners of Lima Chiropractic P.C. and the restaurant Estrellita del Sur, where the event was celebrated.<sup>68</sup> In the 2000s, this organization launched the political career of Yolanda Esquiche's daughter and son. After years of being involved in social activism, her daughter Kathy Esquiche occupied a position as a member of the Board of Education of Prospect Park, and her son Richard Esquiche was

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<sup>67</sup> Ministerio, "Memoria 1998," 15.

<sup>68</sup> "Peruvian Generations" llevo a cabo su mañana folklorica e introdujo a su nueva junta directiva," *El Amauta*, 20 de diciembre de 1996, 19.

elected Council President of the same borough located in the Passaic county.<sup>69</sup> This case illustrates how the formation of Peruvian organizations awakened the political activism of Peruvian community leaders who capitalized on economic, social, and symbolic resources from small business owners and local politicians.

Peruvian organizations were also utilized by its members as a platform to support the political campaigns of U.S. politicians. Leaders replicated mechanisms of clientelism and paternalism from the homeland to mobilize the Peruvian community of Paterson in favor of a particular candidate for local and state elections. In 2002, the Peruvian Parade Inc, invited the newly elected mayor of Paterson, the Puerto Rican democrat José “Joey” Torres, for the occasion. He utilized this civic celebration to gain popularity among Peruvians and other Latinos that attended the parade, while members of the Democratic Party passed flyers to join its local division.<sup>70</sup> Most importantly, leaders of organizations maintained a reciprocal relationship of cooperation with politicians that endorsed laws and regulations in favor of the community. The participation of Bill Pascrell in Peruvian events and festivities demonstrate his closeness with the Peruvian community of Paterson, which allowed him to gain support from social and cultural associations that endorsed his candidacy to the U.S. congress. In reciprocity, Pascrell, once elected congressman, was one of the Democratic senators that lobbied with other politicians for the approval of the free trade agreement between Peru and the United States. The signing of this treaty in 2006 benefited the commercial interests of Peruvian entrepreneurs and extended the market of Peruvian products in New Jersey.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Interview with Yolanda Esquiche.

<sup>70</sup> Berg, *Mobile*, 194.

<sup>71</sup> Congressman Bill Pascrell Representing the 9<sup>th</sup> District of New Jersey, “Pascrell Supports Peru Free Trade Agreement,” <https://pascrell.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/pascrell-supports-peru-free-trade-agreement>, accessed December 6, 2018.

The political activities of Peruvian migrants also occurred at the transnational level. Accounts demonstrate that, since the 1980s, Peruvian entrepreneurs and community leaders in Paterson have embraced the political campaigns of Peruvian politicians in the homeland. Peruvian entrepreneurs and community leaders founded a chapter of the most traditional political party in Peru, the Peruvian Aprista Party (APRA). They utilized communal organizations and public events to gain supporters among the Peruvian community for several presidential campaigns in Peru.<sup>72</sup> This pattern of transnational political activism increased during the 1990s with the advancement of technology and communication. Lorenzo Puertas confirmed that a group of Peruvian entrepreneurs funding Peruvian associations in Paterson organized events to campaign for Fujimori's political party. Puertas revealed that young entrepreneurs brought congressmen and politicians to give speeches in Paterson and other towns. They also gave away food, t-shirts, and gifts cards, the same mechanisms *fujimoristas* used to gain votes in Peru.<sup>73</sup> Thus, Peruvian businessmen replicated in Paterson the clientelistic strategies used by provincial entrepreneurs in Peru in order to build and maintain bargaining relationships with politicians in favor of their own interests. Some accounts indicated that entrepreneurs supported the political activities of Peruvian politicians in Paterson in order to advance and defend personal economic and political projects in the area and in the homeland. For example, entrepreneurs and community leaders aimed to become the official representatives of Peruvian political parties in Paterson while gaining taxation exemptions and other entrepreneurial advantages for their businesses in Peru.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Interview with Manuel Cunza, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Lorenzo Puertas, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Manuel Cunza

Furthermore, Peruvian entrepreneurs and community leaders from Paterson exercised political transnationalism by pursuing a political career in their country of origin. In 2006, Daniel Jara, ran for congressman in Peru with a concrete political project that demanded the creation of an electoral district for Peruvians living abroad (see figure 23). He also wanted to transmit his knowledge and experience gained in the United States in order to improve the management of entrepreneurial activities in Peru.<sup>75</sup> Jara's attempt to participate in transnational politics illustrates that, even after years of living abroad, Peruvians remained aware of the political affairs in the country of origin. Ultimately, political participation in Peru also affected their economic projects as businessmen and their prestige as communal leaders in Paterson.

The political behavior of entrepreneurs and leaders of organizations that obtained economic and social power in Paterson during the 1990s contrasted with the political activism of previous waves of Peruvians. Their involvement was mostly motivated by personal and economic agendas rather than the desire to help co-nationals in Peru and advance the interest of the community of Paterson. For instance, in 2000, Peruvians for Progress was founded through the initiative of Peruvians working in the public sector that relied on the economic support of small business owners in Paterson, Elizabeth, and Newark. This organization supported the education of sons and daughters of Peruvians with college funds and scholarships. However, this civic organization was also used to launch the political and administrative career of former entrepreneurs, such as Orlando Galvez, who was selected as a commissioner in the Department of Planning and Community Development in the city of Elizabeth.<sup>76</sup> Likewise, in 2001, Maria del Pilar Rivas, the owner of a bridal center in

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<sup>75</sup> Manuel Avendaño, "Jara postula al congreso peruano," *Nuestra Gente*, Número 12, Mayo 2006, 5 and 17.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Orlando Galvez, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.



Figure 23. Above left, Daniel Jara’s political campaign ad for Peruvian congress. Right, Guillermo Callegari and Hugo Balta participating in an event organized by the APRA party. Below, former soccer star Pedro Pablo “Perico” Leon receiving a distinction by the APRA party. “Tribuna Latina,” *Nuestra Gente*, Número 12, Marzo 2006, 13.

Paterson, was elected President of the Peruvian Parade Inc. Rivas was the first woman to occupy this position. This experience motivated her to establish the Peruvian American Action Committee of New Jersey (PAPAC) in 2002, from which Rivas launched her candidacy for a seat in Paterson's city council.<sup>77</sup>

Rivas's election as the president of the Peruvian Parade Inc. was a challenging attainment. Guided by the relocation of gender prejudices from the homeland, many members of organizations and the community doubted of capacity to lead one of the most important associations of Peruvians in Paterson. For Rivas, the organization of the Peruvian Parade of 2002 represented an opportunity to show her community that women could be successful community leaders. There were high expectations for her to settle internal conflicts and successfully organize the event. Her effective performance as president of the Peruvian Parade Inc. demonstrated that Peruvian women have the capacity to occupy important leadership positions in organizations, businesses, and the government. By using paternalistic and bargaining practices, some associated with their roles in the *barriadas* in Lima, Peruvian women gradually assumed the leadership of cultural and social organizations and began to occupy positions in local politics.<sup>78</sup>

The formation of new ethnic organizations in Paterson also garnered support for Peruvian political parties. The purpose of these organizations was to gain members for the

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<sup>77</sup> Ronald Bayor, *Multicultural America: An Encyclopedia of the Newest Americans* (Santa Barbara, Calif: Greenwood, 2011), 1836.

<sup>78</sup> Until the 2000s, most research has undervalued the leadership and participation of Latinas in electoral and community politics. However, recent literature has documented the active participation of Latino women as candidates, political mobilizers, and community organizers. For instance, the recent investigation of Abigail Andrews reveals how local laws and power dynamics shape migrants' agency in Southern California and demonstrates the mechanisms utilized by Latina migrants to find their own space for political voice. Likewise, Carol Hardy-Fanta examines the strategies Latinas and Latinos in Boston used to generate political participation; and how culture and gender interact in the political empowerment of the ethnic communities. Mary Pardo focuses on community networking to investigate how Mexican American women in Los Angeles participate in grassroots political activism. See the works of Abigail Andrews, *Undocumented Politics: Place, Gender, and the Pathways of Mexican Migrants* (Oakland, California University of California Press), 2018; Carol Hardy-Fanta, *Latina Politics, Latino Politics: Gender, Culture, and Political Participation in Boston* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2011); Mary S. Pardo, *Mexican American Women Activists: Identity and Resistance in Two Los Angeles Communities* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1998), and Vicki L. Ruiz and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, *Latina Legacies: Identity, Biography, and Community*, (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2005).

party in Paterson and sponsor the presidential campaigns of Peruvian politicians in the area. For instance, Ofensiva Pex, an organization formed by Norberto Curitumay and other communal leaders in the late 2000s, was established to advance the rights of Peruvians living abroad, principally undocumented migrants.<sup>79</sup> However, accounts demonstrate that the organization also served the interests of Fujimori's political party in Paterson. Since the party did not have an official chapter in the city, they utilized ethnic associations to organize and gain the support of new adepts.<sup>80</sup> In reciprocity, Peruvian entrepreneurs and social leaders, supporters of Fujimori's Party, obtained benefits that advanced their economic and political interests in Peru. Likewise, new communal groups also endorsed the campaigns of local and state politicians such as Bob Mendez and Bill McKoy, and Peruvian leaders with political aims such as Maritza Davila in order to gain prestige among the Peruvian community and assert themselves in local politics.

Conflict among Peruvian members of organizations emerged as a consequence of the administrative practices of new migrants that began occupying leadership positions in sociocultural associations. The main concern of veteran community leaders was the mobilization of personal, economic, and political agendas of ethnic organizations. In contrast, instead of channelizing aid to populations in Peru or representing the cultural heritage of the community in the host society, new communal leaders were more interested in becoming active in U.S. politics. For the newest waves of Peruvians and Peruvian Americans, the homeland was not the focus of their political activities. Through political personalism and the trading of benefits for Peruvian migrant votes, new leaders in Paterson

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<sup>79</sup> "Ofensiva PEX pide creación del distrito electoral para diáspora peruana," *Radio Programas del Perú*, 1 de Mayo del 2012, <https://rpp.pe/lima/actualidad/ofensiva-pex-pide-creacion-del-distrito-electoral-para-diaspora-peruana-noticia-477627>, Accessed November 1, 2018.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Manuel Cunza.

worked in communal organizations to gain the patronage of local politicians to further their own political and economic goals. In this respect, the Peruvian psychologist Lorenzo Puertas highlighted the internal desire of many Peruvians to gain notoriety as “in Peru, they were nobody, but some had a chance in Paterson to become somebody.”<sup>81</sup> Therefore, new migrants utilized the creation of new associations and their participation in leadership positions within these organizations as a vehicle for networking with important people in Paterson. “‘The doctor was here!’ they would say,” exemplified Puertas, remembering that some Peruvians requested his presence at events because his image as a doctor legitimized their efforts.<sup>82</sup>

In this sense, Peruvians in Paterson during the late 1990s transformed social and cultural capital into what Pierre Bourdieu has referred to as symbolic capital.<sup>83</sup> The embedded relations and cultural practices were converted into resources that represent honor, prestige, and recognition within the ethnic community. As Puertas stated, Peruvians found a potential to gain prestige by being part of or by creating new communal organizations. In these associations, Peruvians were able to fulfill their interest in expanding their social network. However, anthropologist Ulla Berg noted that the motive behind the political behavior of new communal leaders centered on social aspirations as well as the need for citizenship status. New waves of Peruvian migrants of Andean origins utilized the migration process as a way to advance social mobility to overcome an image of “indigenous, backward, *cholo*, and essentially unfit for modernity and citizenship.”<sup>84</sup> Thus, the migration process

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<sup>81</sup> Interview with Lorenzo Puertas.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, Richard Nice, and Tony Bennett, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London, New York : Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015).

<sup>84</sup> Berg, *Mobile*, 5.

allowed new waves of provincial Peruvians of modest means to access economic and political power that allowed them to demand national belonging in the United States.<sup>85</sup>

The antagonism that evolved between veteran and new Peruvian leaders of organizations exposed the reproduction of class differences and racial disputes that have divided the Peruvian society for centuries. On the one hand, older Peruvian leaders who identified with *criollo* culture disliked the ways new community leaders from provincial backgrounds organized activities. For instance, Guillermo Callegari complained that most of the internal tensions were related to the organization of events for the Peruvian Parade or religious processions. Callegari affirmed that “Some of them wanted to introduce traditional dances and practices from their towns and regions that projected a negative image of Peru as an underdeveloped country.”<sup>86</sup> The account of Callegari was reaffirmed by other veteran Peruvian leaders that complained about the public behavior of newcomers during the festivals held after the Peruvian Parade. Hugo Balta noted, “Some young Peruvians do not know how to behave in public. They get drunk, speak too loud, start fights, and urinate on the streets as if they were in their *barriadas* in Lima.”<sup>87</sup> The accounts of Callegari and Balta illustrate that long-term Peruvian residents from *criollo* origins maintained a persistent opinion about Andean subjects and *cholos* as individuals unfit for civilized urban life. They felt the behavior of newcomers weakened the image they wanted to transmit to mainstream society of hard-working and rule-following Peruvians respectful of the American ways of life.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> In a recent study Ulla Berg dedicates one chapter to analyzing how migrants from Andean origins, historically segregated from mainstream Peruvian society, attempt to fashion themselves as subjects worthy of citizenship, recognition, and belonging in Paterson. See: Berg, *Mobile*, 177-208.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Hugo Balta.

<sup>88</sup> Berg, *Mobile*, 192.

On the other hand, new leaders of Andean or *cholo* origins complained that veteran leaders mostly promoted cultural practices that represented only one facet of Peruvianness, one associated with *criollo* culture. Artemio Oporto's account exemplifies the prevalence of a hegemonic narrative of national identity over the diverse demonstrations of Peruvianness that co-nationals could display in parades and other festivities; "Most floats only play *criollo* music and show dancers of *marinera*<sup>89</sup> and Afro-Peruvian music. There are few demonstrations of Andean music and dances, and much less from the amazon."<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, other Peruvians criticized the introduction of foreign cultural practices on floats, such as salsa music, bachata dancers, and reggeaton vibes that they found unrepresentative of Peruvian identity.<sup>91</sup> In this respect, Berg explains that Peruvians of Andeans origins in Paterson utilize public celebrations, such as the Peruvian Parade, to challenge hegemonic narratives of Peruvianness associated with the urban middle-class *criollo* culture.<sup>92</sup> Berg asserts that national belonging is experienced differently by Peruvians from diverse ethnic backgrounds in Paterson. In these public performances they validate their claims for a more inclusive representation of Peruvianness that includes traditional Andean motifs, as well as dance and music from their regions. In these collective demonstrations of national pride, Andean subjects redefine and confirm their ethnic identities in order to lay claim to their long-denied right to full recognition as Peruvian citizens.<sup>93</sup> Accounts from Andean entrepreneurs demonstrate that their claims of national belonging are expressed not only on public performances, but also in community meetings with other social leaders and

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<sup>89</sup> A couple's dance from the coastal towns of Peru.

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Artemio Oporto.

<sup>91</sup> Berg, *Mobile*, 178-179.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of how Andean Peruvians in Paterson use the Peruvian Parade to reaffirm themselves in their claims to become Peruvian in ways they could not be prior to migration see: Berg, *Mobile*, 177-208.

entrepreneurs from *criollo* origins.<sup>94</sup> In recent years, the growing participation of new leaders has fostered the diversification of performances and events that feature different interpretations of Peruvianness in the public sphere.

Tensions also centered on accusations regarding the misuse of funds, the mismanagement of donations, and resentment within social organizations. Some of these disputes ended in legal actions that polarized opposing groups within these associations.<sup>95</sup> The Peruvian consulate of Paterson, informed about these conflicts, created the Congreso Peruano-Norteamericano de Nueva Jersey. The main purpose of this organization was to maintain cohesion by fostering the unity and solidarity among members of various associations. The organization coordinated and developed actions to create a positive public image of Peru and the Peruvian community in Paterson.<sup>96</sup> It was the first attempt of the Peruvian consulate to formalize and better organize the activities of community associations in the area in order to avoid internal disputes among leaders of the community. However, during the 2000s, serious disagreements regarding the control of activities debilitated the relationship between leaders of organizations and the Peruvian consulate, weakening this initiative.<sup>97</sup>

Most importantly, conflictive relationships among members of Peruvian organizations occurred due to the lack of formalization that affected the transparency for administrative management. Since the early stages of community development, informality and *recurseo* have characterized most ethnic Peruvian associations. Although these organizations were formally constituted in the city of Paterson, they did not have a

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<sup>94</sup> Interview with Artemio Oporto.

<sup>95</sup> Manuel Cunza, "El Poder económico ataca," *Páginas Libres*, edición primera quincena de agosto, Julio 25, 2013, 11.

<sup>96</sup> Ministerio, "Memoria 1998," 30.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Manuel Cunza.

permanent office. They also operated with fewer than 10 active members who irregularly acted as president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, all of them often handpicked. Members of Peruvian associations did not maintain a reliable system for the administration of resources and instead used creative and resourceful mechanisms to administer the organization of events. This pattern of informal operation increased at the turn of the millennium with the arrival of migrants from provincial origins. Alternative practices of group formation and community leadership proliferated with the arrival of individuals who has ample experience in the negotiation of communal benefits with Peruvian authorities. Their reliance on peripheral mechanisms was relocated to Paterson when this new generation of Peruvians began to emerge as entrepreneurs and leaders of organizations.

In spite of periodic internal disputes, the Peruvian community has overcome conflicts to transmit a positive image of unity. At the turn of the 21st century, the Peruvian community became increasingly visible in public space, principally through the continuous use of informal practices in economic and social relations. This alternative means of economic and social adjustment to the U.S. society, has allowed Peruvians to gain recognition as a solid entrepreneurial community that has contributed economically and culturally to the city of Paterson.

### **Peru Square: Informality, *Recurseo*, and the Revitalization of Downtown Paterson**

After the 2000s, the arrival of new waves of migrants extended the implementation of informal and resourceful practices for economic and social organization in Paterson. Post September 11 restrictions limited the opportunities of undocumented immigrants to live and work in the United States. In order to navigate this context, newcomers increasingly relied on their informal habitus valued in the home country during the 1980s and 1990s. These

migrants had been professionals and working-class Peruvians that forced to utilize their perspicacity and talents to make a living at home. Fujimori's implementation of neo-liberal reforms prompted a recession through the reduction of formal employment opportunities, motivating many Peruvians to rely on self-employment to generate income. Consequently, informality and *recurseo* characterized economic relations and social life of Peruvians who managed multiple occupations. Those who migrated to Paterson at the end of the 1990s capitalized on these cultural and economic practices to create economic opportunities in the United States.

The growing presence of Peruvians in the area facilitated the labor and social adaptation of newcomers to Paterson. As in previous waves of migration, most Peruvians first found jobs as laborers in local industries with the support of family members or friends who worked in these companies. Others found work in Peruvian small businesses that, by the 2000s, already occupied an important presence in the city. The case of Edith Mancilla illustrates this pattern of adjustment among newcomers. As soon as Mancilla arrived, she worked in a warehouse for four months before a cousin found her a job as secretary in Agencia Castro. Since she had been a business administrator in Peru, she preferred to work in an office than in a factory.<sup>98</sup> New waves of migrants soon began to pursue business projects in Paterson. Mancilla explained, "I utilized my knowledge of business administration and the experience I gained in Agencia Castro selling airfare, sending remittances, and marketing car insurance to start my own business."<sup>99</sup> After three years of working for Agencia Castro, Edith Mancilla formally opened her own travel agency. However, as other Peruvian businesses in the area this small business implemented informal business practices. Mancilla rented a space

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<sup>98</sup> Interview with Edith Mancilla, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

in a corner of a local Peruvian restaurant and set up a table, a computer, and one organizer shelf to begin her business. For one year, she was the only employee until she began working with her cousin. Mancilla's dream is to rent her own office in the near future.

In contrast to previous waves of migration, newcomers in the 2000s came with economic resources that helped them start a new life as entrepreneurs in the United States. The case of Luis Champa typifies this pattern of resource implementation. Champa was an accountant who had been laid off in Peru. His mother-in-law filed a petition for residency for his entire family to migrate to Paterson. Champa's mother-in-law was the owner of La Tía Delia, a prominent Peruvian restaurant in Little Lima. As soon as he arrived, he worked in the restaurant as a bus boy. Champa reserved the capital he brought to Paterson for a future business project. "I came with the idea to launch my own business. I didn't want to work for others in a factory or a restaurant, but I needed time to save money for my project," Champa explains.<sup>100</sup> After two years, he opened a corner store where he sold groceries and served Peruvian breakfast. The experience he gained in La Tía Delia and his own knowledge as an accountant allow Champa to become a small business owner in Paterson.

New migrants also found an established Peruvian market of products and services that helped them in building their own business projects. The informal economic structure of this market allowed them to relocate to Paterson commercial practices that characterized economic life in Peru. The case of Elmer Alfaro demonstrates how new migrants adapted by mobilizing and expanding the use of *recurseo* practices in Paterson. Alfaro was a popular comedian and actor in Peru, known as "Machucao." During the 1980s and 1990s, he appeared every Saturday on *Risas y Salsa*, the comedic show with the highest ratings on

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<sup>100</sup> Interview with Luis Champa, Paterson, New Jersey, June 2016.

Peruvian television. His character often used *recurseo* practices to make a living out by gaining the trust of others. Alfaro did not expect to utilize the same mechanisms in real life after *Risas y Salsa* was taken off the air. Without a stable job in Peru, Alfaro migrated to Paterson with his family through a visa for artist and entertainers he obtained during the 1990s when he performed in New York. His decision to settle in Paterson in 2000 was motivated by the amount of co-nationals in the area. His plan was to capitalize on his formal popularity among this group to earn a living in the United States.

Since his arrival, self-employment served as an alternative pathway to generate income. “I began selling homemade *alfajores* in every Peruvian store in downtown Paterson. Since people knew me, they bought my *alfajores*. The first week I made 200 dollars!” Alfaro recalls.<sup>101</sup> He also utilized his popularity among co-nationals to sell DVDs with sketches from *Risas y Salsa*. A family member in Peru sent Alfaro pirated DVDs he later commercialized in Peruvian stores, the line formed outside the consulate, and the streets of downtown Paterson. This experience demonstrates that Peruvians expanded informality during the 2000s, not only at the local level, but also transnationally with the commercialization in Paterson of plagiarized merchandise from Peru. Like Alfaro, other Peruvians have informally imported clothing, CDs, and other Peruvian products to sell under the table to co-nationals.

The story of Elmer Alfaro also highlights the entrepreneurial and resourceful mentality of the new waves of Peruvians. He continued developing new strategies to increase his income and improve the quality of life for his family in the United States. Alfaro found a business opportunity in the Peruvian consulate by capitalizing on the need of Peruvians for

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<sup>101</sup> Interview with Elmer Alfaro, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

pictures to include in government documents. “I bought a Polaroid camera and began taking pictures in a corner of the 12<sup>th</sup> floor in front of the consulate’s door. I worked like that for a year, until the building supervisor did not allow me to.”<sup>102</sup> Alfaro found that a small office in the same building was available for rent. However, his undocumented condition and the scarcity of economic resources were barriers that Alfaro had to overcome in order to invest in this opportunity. Alfaro and his wife decided to invest their savings to rent the office space. A friend of the family helped them launch this business project by using their documentation to rent the space.

With more faith than certainty, Alfaro opened an office where Peruvians could take passport pictures needed for paperwork in the consulate. Alfaro’s office helped Peruvians in Paterson with the process of obtaining documentation in Peru, such as birth, marriage, and death certificates. He relied on a family member in Peru that did all this paperwork and send them to Alfaro. As other Peruvian businesses in the area, Alfaro relied on *recurseo* strategies to operate his business. He and his wife were the only employees in the business. They paid a small tip to a nephew in Peru who was in charge of completing paperwork in Lima for Peruvians living in Paterson. However, Alfaro’s life changed after a few years when a friend who worked in the city encouraged him to obtain a public notary license. He thought, “How can I become a public notary without legal U.S. documents? This lady explained to me that I could utilize my ITIN<sup>103</sup> number, which I obtained when I arrived to Paterson. So, I did it.”<sup>104</sup> Alfaro took classes and obtained a public notary license within a year. When one of his daughters got married, he obtained U.S. residency that allowed him to better organize his

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> ITIN number is the Individual Taxpayer Identification Number that many undocumented people use in the United States to do commercial activities.

<sup>104</sup> Interview with Elmer Alfaro.

business. Now Alfaro works with a secretary and a second employee. The case of Elmer Alfaro demonstrates how new waves of Peruvians have adapted to the new society by using inventiveness and perseverance and by extending the use of informal *recurseo* strategies.

The culture of informality reproduced by Peruvians in Paterson in the last waves of migration have sustained the stability of Little Lima. By increasing the numbers of businesses and organizations that relied on peripheral mechanisms, newcomers have perpetuated the use of informal and resourceful mechanisms for economic and social life in Paterson. Although they are formally constituted, most Peruvian businesses, associations, and activities organized by co-nationals operate through alternatives channels. Julio Muñoz, owner of the newspaper *Campana News* commented, “All Peruvian organizations, religious associations, soccer clubs, and businesses operate under the table. They comply with some formal documentation, but most of their activities occur through informality.”<sup>105</sup> “For example, Noam Chomsky writes an opinion column in my newspaper, but he doesn’t know that. I use *recurseo* to download his column from other sources and transmit Chomsky’s ideas to working-class Peruvians through my newspaper. Yes, I know it’s not the right thing, but at least I educate my people. Besides, all Peruvians are informal in Paterson,” concluded Muñoz, justifying the use of peripheral mechanisms among Peruvians when conducting economic and social relations in Paterson.<sup>106</sup>

Peruvian formal and informal economic activity in the area have contributed to the revitalization of Paterson’s economy. After decades of deindustrialization and periodical contexts of economic decline, the establishment of Latino businesses in the area, most of them owned by Peruvians, have helped Paterson to reinvent itself as a leading center of

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<sup>105</sup> Interview with Julio Muñoz, Paterson, New Jersey, July 2016.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

commerce. At the beginning of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Hispanic businesses already dominated the small business sector of downtown Paterson. By 2009, Peruvians owned half of the city's 2,800 Hispanic-owned businesses, demonstrating the entrepreneurial willpower of this community.<sup>107</sup> In the downtown area, more than eighty Peruvian restaurants, twenty social associations, a dozen of newspapers, and an equal number of retail stores are owned and operated by co-nationals.<sup>108</sup> According to the Peruvian consulate, at the beginning of the new century, the capacity of consumption of Peruvians in New Jersey was approximately \$250 million a year, and the remittance of money of co-nationals to Peru totaled \$60 million.<sup>109</sup> In terms of collective investment, Peruvian residents spend half a million dollars every year organizing the Peruvian Parade.<sup>110</sup> Additionally, this population also has invested in homes in Paterson and nearby towns as part of the growing Hispanic economic force buying houses in New Jersey.<sup>111</sup> These facts demonstrate that, although Peruvians rely on informality and *recurseo* practices to perform economic activities, the capital investment of Peruvians has played a central role in the city's economy. Peruvian entrepreneurs and consumers have promoted economic growth in Paterson after decades of commercial decline post WWII.

The economic force of Peruvians and their collective presence as a distinct ethnic group in Paterson have significantly shaped the face of the city. By replacing European minority groups who moved to the suburbs, Peruvians developed enclaves in diverse sectors of the city. During the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Peruvian businesses, organizations, and festivities have revitalized the downtown area and nearby neighborhoods that would

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<sup>107</sup> Elizabeth Llorente, "Exhibit spotlight Peruvian migration to the Garden State," *The Record*, September 20, 2009, 27 – 33.

<sup>108</sup> Francesco, "Peruvians in Paterson," 10.

<sup>109</sup> Ministerio, "Memoria 1999," 13.

<sup>110</sup> Sumaq, "Paterson."

<sup>111</sup> Sam Ali, "For Latinos, a house come true," *The Star-Ledger*, December 13, 2006, 1- 14.

otherwise decline. These organizations, institutions, and cultural demonstrations have also provided economic, social, cultural, and symbolic resources to both co-nationals already living in the area and new migrants. Since the 2000, Market Street in downtown Paterson constituted “one of the main sign of Paterson’s Peruvianness” after being occupied by Peruvian-owned restaurants, hair salons, bakeries, and travel agencies. Over the years, many stores opened in adjacent streets that, although do not “look Peruvian,” have Peruvian owners.”<sup>112</sup> In downtown Paterson, Peruvians have created a peculiar atmosphere characterized by the replication of Andean economic and social practices that include the utilization of informal and resourceful mechanisms for socialization and business development. For instance, *combis*, *dateros*, and street vendors, all elements of the culture of informality that developed in Peru during the 1980s and 1990s, increased in presence throughout Paterson during the 2000s (see figure 24). Informal communal economic activities such *panderos*<sup>113</sup> and *polladas* have been practiced extensively by Peruvians since this decade. Likewise, formal institutions, such as the Peruvian Consulate of New Jersey and churches that house religious Peruvians organizations, are located in downtown Paterson. Consequently, the area defined by Market, Cianci, and Main Streets in downtown Paterson, unofficially recognized as Little Lima, has been referred to by the public as the center of the Peruvian community of Paterson.

Peruvians have formed ethnic neighborhoods among other Latino groups in other areas of the city. For instance, there is a large concentration of Peruvians in Union Avenue and Madison Avenue, popularly known as “La Union” and “La Madison.” In these neighborhoods Peruvian migrants have preserved their culture of origin and language by

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<sup>112</sup> Maria Pía Negro Chin, “Why Paterson, New Jersey, Is Famous in Lima, Peru,” *The Atlantic*, May 18, 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/05/peruvians-paterson/483288/>, accessed November 13, 2018.

<sup>113</sup> *Pandero* it is a cooperative form of saving between a group of family members or friends

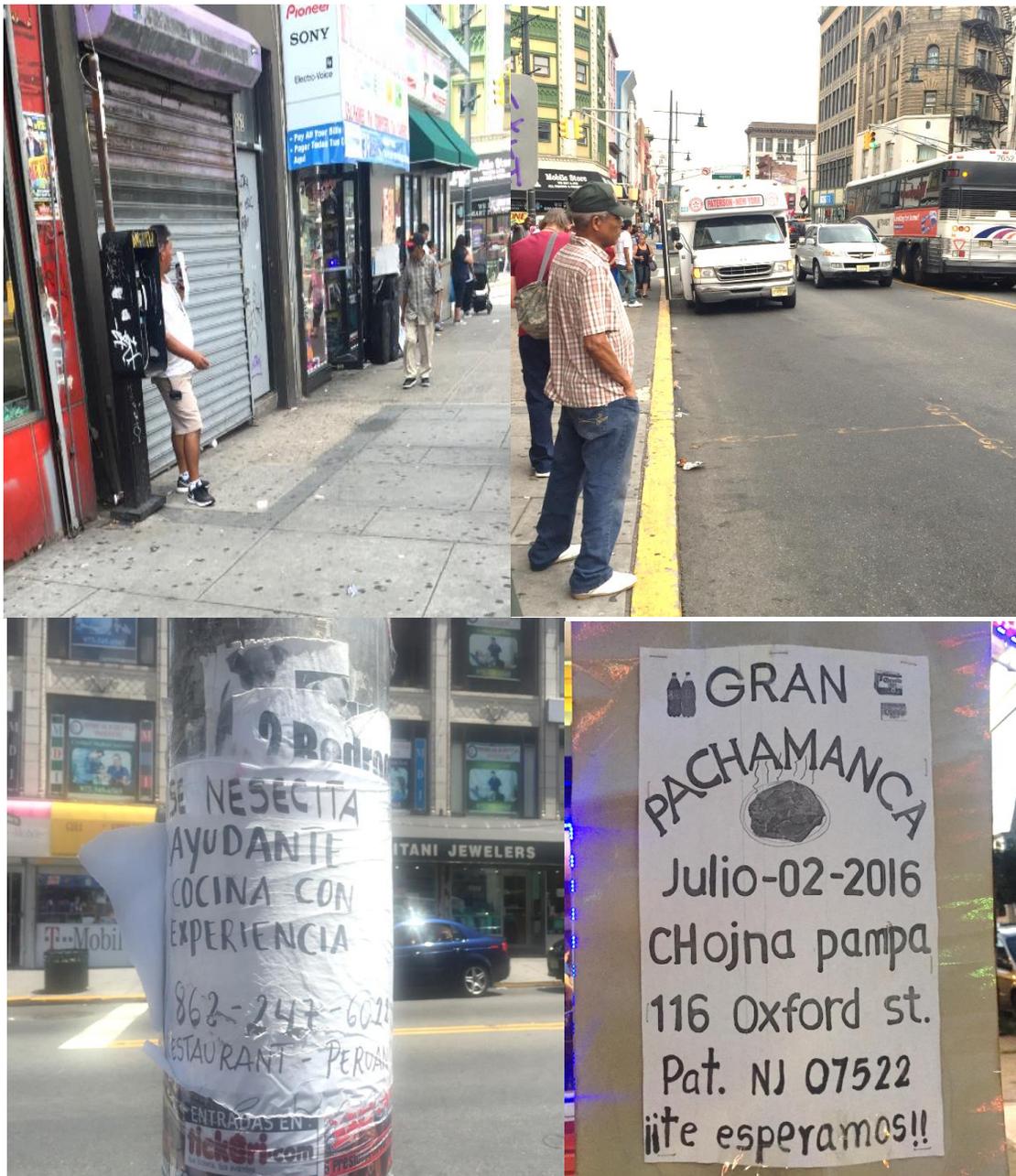


Figure 24. Informality in Paterson. Above, *dateros* and *combis*, below *recurseo* strategies used to find cooks and promote a culinary event. Author's photo album.

launching clubs that celebrate Afro Peruvian and Andean dances, founding new soccer clubs, and establishing academies to teach Peruvian music. With the advancement of technology and communication, ethnic communities could be formed without the need for physical concentration.<sup>114</sup> In this sense, the Peruvian community of Paterson also shows spatial dispersion, characterized by Peruvian families who have moved to suburban areas such as Clifton, Passaic, Haledon, or Totowa, all of them less than five miles from Paterson. These Peruvians live in multicultural neighborhoods among whites, African American, and migrants from other origins. Although some of them are entrepreneurs with businesses in Little Lima, Peruvians who live in the suburbs work in other cities of New Jersey and New York but visit Little Lima to eat, shop, and participate in Peruvian sociocultural activities.<sup>115</sup>

Peruvian scholar Alfredo Garcia, adjunct professor in the department of languages and cultures at William Paterson University explained, “Sometimes, people in Peru think that once we leave, we become *gringos*, but we are still Peruvians, and we continue to fight for our country.”<sup>116</sup> This feeling was shared by Peruvians that have lived in Paterson for decades and felt attached to this city and the Peruvian community. Victor Alcalde declared, “Paterson pulls me. I don’t live here in Paterson, but I always come here. In Market Street you find everything you would in Peru. You find your old friends and talk to them.”<sup>117</sup> Veteran Peruvians find that Paterson reminds them of their neighborhoods in Peru. As Rafael Ibarra explained, “I feel like I’m in Callao. All those guys you see hanging around outside Los Inmortales are my old buddies from Callao. We come here every day to talk and drink beer.”<sup>118</sup> Other Peruvians think of Paterson as their new home. Carlos Felice noted that he

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<sup>114</sup> Martin Moreno, “La distribución especial de las comunidades peruanas en los Estados Unidos,” *Debates en Sociología*, N° 36, 2011, pp. 27-55.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> Negro Chin, “Why Paterson.”

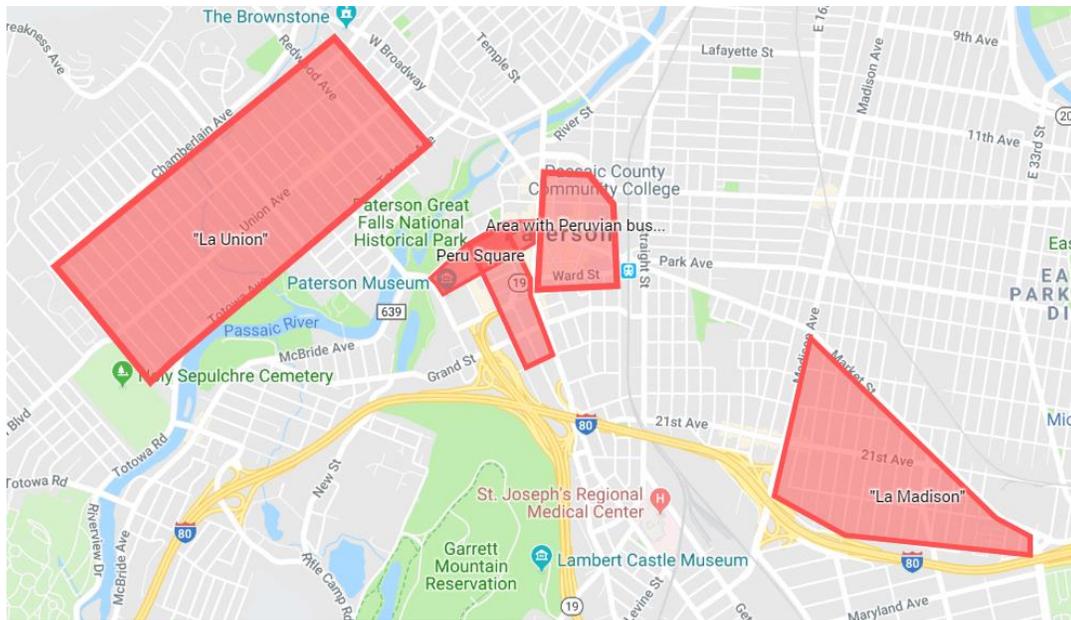
<sup>117</sup> Interview with Victor Alcalde.

<sup>118</sup> Interview with Rafael Ibarra.

Table 3: Remittance of Peruvians in New Jersey  
1988-1999

Year	U.S. Dollars
1988	12,000,000
1994	22,000,000
1999	60,000,000

Source: Memoires of the Peruvian Consulate of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 1988, 1994, 1998, and 1999.



Map 9. Peru Square at the center and other contemporary Peruvian neighborhoods in Paterson. *Google Maps.*

felt like “this is my place now. I have been to my neighborhood in Peru, and it’s not the same. Now I’m a stranger there. Here in Paterson, everybody knows me.”<sup>119</sup> This idea was also shared in the narratives of retired Peruvians Walter Castillo and Willy Alcalde. Castillo pointed out, “My sisters live in Florida. They always tell me to move there, but I don’t like it over there. Paterson is my community, my people. Here the Peruvians respect me.”<sup>120</sup> Veteran migrant Alcalde reflected, “Paterson has given me everything. My wife, my siblings, my life. Now that I’m old, I think will die here.”<sup>121</sup> For Guillermo Callegari, one of the first *Surquillanos* who came to Paterson during the 1960s, this city represents “his second country” because here he “found everything that Peru could not give [to him].” He explained, “I love Paterson so much. I made myself here through work and never asked for anything from the U.S government. Like myself, other Peruvians have also worked hard to find a better future for their families.”<sup>122</sup> This account illustrates how Peruvians have also contributed to the growth of the city, allowing them to gain the respect of other ethnic groups in Paterson.

In 2008, the community leader Maria del Pilar Rivas proposed the idea to officially designate the area known as Little Lima as the first Peruvian neighborhood in Paterson. At that time, the city administration did not support the idea, but other Peruvian community leaders and entrepreneurs with businesses in the area pushed the designation forward.<sup>123</sup> In April 2016, Maritza Davila, the first Peruvian American vice-president of the Municipal Council, was in charge of writing the resolution approved by the city council.<sup>124</sup> The

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<sup>119</sup> Interview with Carlos Felice.

<sup>120</sup> Interview with Walter Castillo.

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Willy Alcalde.

<sup>122</sup> Interview with Guillermo Callegari.

<sup>123</sup> Fausto Giovanni Pinto, “Paterson residents want area designated as “Peru Square””, *NJ Advance Media for NJ.com*, April 25, 2016, [https://www.nj.com/passaic-county/index.ssf/2016/04/patersons\\_peru\\_square\\_residents\\_hope\\_so.html](https://www.nj.com/passaic-county/index.ssf/2016/04/patersons_peru_square_residents_hope_so.html), accessed November 12, 2018.

<sup>124</sup> “Perú Square ya es una realidad,” *Nuestra Gente: The Magazine*, No. 35, Diciembre 2016 - Enero 2017, 4.

resolution recognized the city of Paterson as the center of the Peruvian diaspora in the United States.<sup>125</sup> Peruvian leaders were proud of this achievement. Maria del Pilar Rivas commented, “Peru Square is for this community that has worked, fought, and given its best to Paterson.”<sup>126</sup> Other local politicians such as Mohammed Akhtaruzzaman, 2nd Ward councilman, who jointly sponsored the resolution with Maritza Davila, noted that Peruvian-American owned businesses in the area “contribute so much to the city.”<sup>127</sup> As Maritza Davila remarked, “We had nothing in the city named after Peru,” observing the little recognition of one of the largest Latino communities in the city. “This is an honor to all Peruvians,” she concluded.<sup>128</sup>

On Saturday November 26, 2016, mayor José “Joey” Torres and other officials convened at the intersection of Mill and Market Streets to officially unveil the street sign “Peru Square.” Almost one hundred people celebrated the occasion that designated the area bordered by Mill, Market, Main, and Cianci Streets as Peru Square. Peruvian musicians and dancers put on a traditional performance that had several people dancing on the streets.<sup>129</sup> The consul general of Peru in Paterson, Vitaliano Gallardo, spoke to the audience about the long history of Peruvian contribution to the city of Paterson.<sup>130</sup> He referred to Victor Tarazona as one of the pioneers who moved from New York to Paterson to work as textile laborer in 1926. Mayor Jose “Joey” Torres recognized the contribution of the approximately 30,000 Peruvians currently living in the area, acknowledging their hard work and

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<sup>125</sup> Sumaq, “Paterson.”

<sup>126</sup> Negro Chin, “Why Paterson.”

<sup>127</sup> Jayed Rahman, “Peru Square designation celebrated by Paterson’s Peruvian-American community,” *Paterson Times*, April 27, 2016, <http://patersontimes.com/2016/04/27/peru-square-designation-celebrated-by-patersons-peruvian-american-community/>, accessed November 13, 2018.

<sup>128</sup> Rahman, “Peru Square,”

<sup>129</sup> Jayed Rahman, “Paterson’s Peruvians celebrate unveiling of sign for Peru Square,” *Paterson Times*, November 28, 2016, <http://patersontimes.com/2016/11/28/patersons-peruvians-celebrate-unveiling-of-sign-for-peru-square/> accessed November 13, 2018.

<sup>130</sup> Rahman, “Paterson’s Peruvians,” *Paterson Times*, November 28, 2016.

entrepreneurial efforts to establish businesses on Market Street for many years.<sup>131</sup> Torres appointed Carlos Vera, owner of Panchito's Restaurant, as the city's Peruvian-American deputy mayor in representation of the Peruvian community.<sup>132</sup>

After more than 50 years of a steady movement of Peruvians to Paterson, these migrants have independently found their way to adjust into the U.S. economy and society. Their inventiveness and entrepreneurial mentality have allowed Peruvians to launch business projects and form sociocultural organizations that have consolidated and expanded the Peruvian ethnic enclave. Peruvian entrepreneurs have played a leadership and supportive role for collective organization while, at the same time, have used ethnic resources from the community to advance their business projects in Paterson. This reciprocal relationship of mutual support has served entrepreneurs and communal leaders as a mechanism to challenge assimilation, and gain social, economic, and political empowerment. Since small businesses and organizations grew in prominence, the Peruvian community became increasingly more visible in public space and more recognized by other ethnic groups previously established in the city. The perpetuation of self-driven communal, economic, cultural, and social Peruvian practices in the last decades has contributed to the reshaping of the face of Paterson. The establishment of formal and informal businesses, the development of Peruvian neighborhoods, and the public celebration of diverse civic and religious events has changed the economic and cultural landscape of Paterson. Peruvians have imprinted on this industrial city their own character, as did European migrants at the turn of the twentieth century.

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.



Figure 25. From left to right, mayor José “Joe” Torres, city’s Peruvian-American deputy mayor Carlos Vera, Peruvian Consul Vitaliano Gallardo, and community leader Maritza Davila unveiling of sign for Peru Square on 2016. *Paterson Times*, November 28, 2016.

## Conclusion:

### Refining our Understanding of Latino Community Development in the United States

Ricardo Tello, Carlos Cubillas, Manuel and Victor Tarazona were among the few pioneer Peruvians that resigned their lives as sea merchants and decided to settle in Paterson during the 1920s. Their adjustment to U.S. society was quite different from the process that their co-national contemporaries would experience. Pioneer Peruvians found their way in a mostly Anglo society without relying on the support of kinship ties or a community of co-nationals to facilitate their migration and adaptation. They married American wives of European origins, forging ties with their spouses' families, a strategy that facilitated their incorporation into the local job market. They found employment as factory workers and raised children that adopted North American customs and values. Pioneer Peruvians lead a relatively stable working-class life until retirement with scarce opportunities for upward mobility. They remained invisible in a society structured under North American and European norms. Traces from Latin America, and particularly from Peruvian culture, were nonexistent during most of their lifetime in the Silk City.

The migration trajectory of some migrants from this pioneer group intersected with the arrival of the other Hispanic populations that arrived during the postwar period. The cultural proximity in terms of language, music, food, and socialization patterns facilitated contact with Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and later a younger generation of Peruvian migrants. Government records demonstrate that Carlos Cubillas remarried a Puerto Rican woman and lived on the island until his death in 1976.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, Manuel and Victor Tarazona, who

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<sup>1</sup>Tirado, "Peruvians into Paterson", 9. See also "United States Social Security Death Index," database, *FamilySearch*(<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:JKBW-5WG> : 19 May 2014), Carlos Cubillas, Jul 1976; citing U.S. Social Security Administration, *Death Master File*, database (Alexandria, Virginia: National Technical Information Service, ongoing).

passed away in 1975 and 1986, respectively, witnessed the arrival of contemporary waves of Peruvian immigration that prompted celebrations of Peruvianness in Paterson.<sup>2</sup> Emergent businesses and institutions first developed by young co-nationals to recreate their culture of origin allowed pioneer Peruvians an opportunity to reconnect with their native culture. For newcomers, ethnic establishments and social organizations constituted a means to pursue social and economic stability in a setting affected by the consequences of post-industrialism. In contrast to the first Peruvian migrants, new arrivals were afforded more opportunities to capitalize on ethnic resources for migration and adjustment. Most importantly, new waves of migrants brought with them unique cultural resources from home that they utilized to make a living in the United States.

*Recurseo*, as an informal and creative mechanism to generate opportunities, characterizes the economic and social practices of contemporary Peruvians in Paterson. This practice is strongly associated with the culture of informality developed as a consequence of the internal migration process that occurred in Peru since the 1950s. The massive movement of Andean populations to Lima produced the greatest cultural, economic, and social transformation of contemporary Peru. Andean migrants in the capital introduced new practices, crafted a new identity, and visibly transformed public spaces. A culture of informality emerged in the *barriadas* of Lima and gradually crossed social classes, ethnic origins, and gender. This mentality produced informal subjects, individuals that used practices of *recurseo* to create their own jobs by evading legal norms. Thousands of *provincianos* in Lima became petit merchants and small business owners that sold all kinds

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<sup>2</sup> "United States Social Security Death Index," database, *FamilySearch*(<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:JK1Z-SYM> : 20 May 2014), Manuel Tarazona, Oct 1975; citing U.S. Social Security Administration, *Death Master File*, database (Alexandria, Virginia: National Technical Information Service, ongoing); "United States Social Security Death Index," database, *FamilySearch*(<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:JKTB-G6Y> : 19 May 2014), Victor Tarazona, Oct 1986; citing U.S. Social Security Administration, *Death Master File*, database (Alexandria, Virginia: National Technical Information Service, ongoing).

of products and services operating in the peripheries of official regulations. In recurrent periods of economic and political crisis, the culture of informality expanded, eroding every practice, space, and institution in Peruvian society. Thus, generations of contemporary Peruvians embodied experiences of migration, informality, and entrepreneurship, practices that defined their way to face contexts of economic and social decline. As migration turned increasingly transnational, Peruvians repurposed this entrepreneurial and resourceful culture to adjust to life in the United States.

When the first generations of contemporary Peruvians arrived to Paterson, they encountered a post-industrial context with declining possibilities for social and economic mobility. Although Peruvians incorporated into the remaining available industrial occupations as previous waves of Latinos had done, they soon applied *recurseo* strategies to pursue a better life in the United States. They capitalized on the cultural experiences forged in deteriorating economic, political, and social contexts at home and utilized them in the new country. Peruvians reinvented themselves in Paterson and adjusted to the receiving society by creatively capitalizing on their skills and talents. Entrepreneurship constituted the main conduit to generate their own income and advance economically in an unfamiliar setting. *Recurseo* and informality were strategies utilized by Peruvians to envision and perform entrepreneurial activities in the area. Peruvian entrepreneurs commanded the scarce resources available to them, principally, ethnic resources, to capitalize on the commercial needs created by the arrival of new waves of co-nationals. Furthermore, Peruvian small business owners also utilized *recurseo* and informal collective practices to lead and support community organizations. Nostalgia for home, a sense of national belonging, and collective assistance allowed them to launch economic projects and organize as a community. Even after

Peruvians formalized their businesses and ethnic organizations, informal community resources ensured the longevity of these endeavors.

The reliance of Peruvians on informal cultural strategies throughout their migration trajectory exemplifies how new waves of Latino migrants reproduced and reshaped their cultural worlds to make a living in the new setting. Immigration scholars have emphasized how the transference of culture across borders has delineated the adjustment of immigrant groups to a new society.<sup>3</sup> However, most accounts on the development of Latino migrant communities in the U.S. have not sufficiently explored the connections between the changing contexts at home and how they affect the subjectivity of Latin Americans that arrive to the United States. The analysis of Latino migration trends often centers on how the context of reception shapes identities and practices, focusing on the labor experience of field and industrial workers that perform political and ethnic activism but remain segregated in marginal neighborhoods.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, scarcity and discrimination have historically shaped the life of thousands of Latinos in the U.S.; but in these stories there are also experiences of migrants that have applied entrepreneurship and alternative economic practices as an unconventional means to better adjust into the North American socioeconomic structure.<sup>5</sup>

Small business entrepreneurship has been a customary practice among previous and recent Latino groups in the United States. Before and after WWII, in the largest U.S. urban

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<sup>3</sup> See Nowicka, "Bourdieu's Theory," and Umut Erel, "Migrating Cultural Capital."

<sup>4</sup> See Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago*, Lilia Fernandez, *Brown in the Windy City*; Flores, *Divided Arrival*, Gonzalez, *Labor and Community*; Innis-Jimenez, *Steel Barrio*, Padilla, *Latino Ethnic Consciousness*, Perales, *Smelertown*; Ruiz, *From out of the Shadows*, Sánchez Korrol, *From Colonia*; Zaragoza Vargas, *Proletarians of the North*.

<sup>5</sup> Most studies about the commercial practices of Latinos in the United States mainly focus on the case of Cubans. Immigration scholars have portrayed Cuban entrepreneurship as a model that exemplify the propensity of this particular group of Latinos toward small business ownership. This scholarship asserts that the middle class status of Cuban exiles escaping Fidel Castro's regime and the preferential legal conditions offered by the U.S. government at arrival facilitated their inclination to launching small businesses. However, the features of Cuban entrepreneurship in America do not necessarily represent the experience of other Latino groups that also found on entrepreneurship a vehicle to gain economic independence. See Portes, *Latin Journeys*; Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge*. Among the few historical studies of Cuban migrants in the United States, see Milagros Castillo-Montoya, *Cubans in New Jersey: Migrants Tell Their Stories* (Newark, N.J.: Newark Public Library, 2012), Maria C. García, *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Prieto, *The Cubans*.

centers, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, and Colombians have established *bodegas*, restaurants, *cantinas*, and other small businesses in order to attend the demands of Latinos for ethnic products and services. In different historical contexts, business development among Latinos in the United States not only constituted an alternative pathway for their economic and social adjustment, but also allowed them to achieve the necessary economic power to lead community development efforts, gain political activism, and contribute to the revitalization of U.S. urban centers.<sup>6</sup> In this sense, other Latin American migrant groups have also employed their own version of *recurseo* in economic and community development. Although the term is used exclusively by Peruvians, *recurseo* constitutes a series of resourceful strategies that migrants rely on when institutionalized economic support systems are unavailable or inaccessible. However, entrepreneurship and the use of alternative economic practices among Latin American migrants in the United States has not been the main focus of research on Latino community development and immigration history. Historians have overlooked the centrality of entrepreneurship in the economic life of Latin American migrants in the U.S. and how the economic agency of Latinos has influenced the cities and towns in which they settled.<sup>7</sup> This dissertation proposes a necessary reexamination of socioeconomic patterns of integration among Latin American groups in the United States and the economic impact they have historically exerted on receiving communities. By investigating the relationship between informality, entrepreneurship, and immigrant community development among Peruvians in Paterson, this

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<sup>6</sup> Beyond the scholarly work that study the case of Cuban entrepreneurship in the United States, there are few historical books and references in articles and chapter books that focuses on the entrepreneurial experience of other Latino groups in the United States. See Alicia M. Dewey, *Pesos and Dollars: Entrepreneurs in the Texas-Mexico Borderlands, 1880-1940* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2014); Prieto, *The Cubans*; Sanchez-Korrol, *From Colonia*; Verdaguer, *Class, Ethnicity*.

<sup>7</sup> See Bretell and Hollifield, *Talking Across*, 1-26; Nancy Foner, *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration* (New York: NYU Press, 2005), 3-4.

study demonstrates that Latin Americans utilize alternative economic channels for better adjustment in the U.S. society.

This dissertation integrates the notion of *recurseo* and the concept of entrepreneurship to studies of community development to demonstrate how Latin Americans' experiences with the informal economy in their countries of origin can take a new meaning and purpose in the U.S. In modern Latin American history, scholars have extensively studied the process of internal migration in Latin America and its consequences in local economies and societies. Informality, self-employment, and the development of new identities have been significant outcomes of this process and impacted the economic and social life of Latin Americans.<sup>8</sup> However, historians have scarcely analyzed how this process has delineated the progressive subjectivity of Latin American migrants in the United States. The case of Peruvians in Paterson demonstrates how these cultural features shaped in the country of origin are carried by migrants across borders and play a central role in their incorporation into the new society. The migration process of Peruvians to Paterson resembles the experiences of other Latino migrant groups that, in different historical periods and settings, utilized entrepreneurship and other alternative economic practices as adjustment strategies. As in this particular case of migrants, other Latin American groups have brought cultural, economic and social capital that allowed them access to economic spaces not traditionally ascribed to them in immigration history and studies of Latino community development.

Additionally, the economic practices of Latin Americans, principally after the 1950s, have had varying degrees of impact on the postindustrial societies to which they arrived.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Fernando H. Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).  
<sup>9</sup> Richard D. Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

Some Latin Americans are dispersed and have not formed ethnic enclaves in urban centers; however, they contribute with their work and consumption to the growth of local economies. Others have established small restaurants, *bodegas*, and companies that are not clustered in specific ethnic neighborhoods but provide a variety of products and services for Latino consumers.<sup>10</sup> Other Latin Americans, as is the case with Peruvians, have concentrated in ethnic enclaves in industrial cities. Their presence has rejuvenated warehouse districts, retailing zones, and residential areas that were experiencing economic decline with the departure of manufacturing and commercial activities.<sup>11</sup> After white entrepreneurs, most of them European migrants, lost economic vitality from 1920 to 1960, newcomers from Latin America populated those environments, renewing the economic dynamism of these districts and ascribing to them a new transnational atmosphere. Ethnic spaces, such as Peru Square, constitute transnational economic and cultural landscapes in which people from diverse cultures interact, consume, and perform formal and alternative commercial activities. Furthermore, the involvement of ethnic actors in the economic and cultural revitalization of declining industrial centers has afforded them the agency to participate in political and economic activities in local governments and state agencies. Since ethnic enclaves constitute spaces of trade and multicultural relations, Latin Americans have profoundly altered the collective life of former industrial centers.<sup>12</sup>

The case of Peruvians in Paterson evidences how particular cultural practices brought from home and utilized to conduct economic and social activities have ultimately

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<sup>10</sup> For example, Ecuadorians, Colombians, and Argentineans have recently established prosperous enterprises in Atlanta, Houston, Miami, and Los Angeles although these populations have not formed visible ethnic enclaves. See Espitia, "The Other;" Pribilsky, *La Chulla*; Saskia Sassen-Koob, "Formal and Informal Associations: Dominicans and Colombians in New York." *International Migration Review* 13.2 (Summer 1979): 314–332.

<sup>11</sup> In the particular case of Paterson, other Latin American immigrants such as Dominicans and Colombians have an important economic and social presence in the area. See Kim, "Economic Influence."

<sup>12</sup> Jayed Rahman, "Colombians celebrate Paterson street naming," *Paterson Times*, August 20, 2017.

transformed cities in the United States. Practices of *recuseo* and informality utilized by Peruvians in their socioeconomic relations have altered the physical appearance of Paterson. Street vendors, informal buses, the smells of Peruvian dishes, sounds of *criollo* and Andean music, weekend flea markets, and the *mestizo* faces of Peruvians in the area resemble the beginnings of the process of *cholification* that occurred in Lima in the 1950s. The character of the city to which Ricardo Tello, Carlos Cubillas, Manuel Tarazona and Victor Tarazona arrived during the 1920s has gradually faded. When the first *surquillanos* arrived in the 1960s, Paterson still conserved its European character. Towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Silk City became more like a Peruvian *barrio*. Since Peruvians strongly identify with their *barrio* or micro-community within their country of origin, Paterson has become the *barrio* of Peruvian migrants. This explains why living in Paterson has become an opportunity for many to continuously participate in creating their own cultural experience. In Paterson they started a new life, raised their children, launched entrepreneurial projects, and formed organizations. Peruvians reinvented themselves in Paterson and fashioned a prosperous future for their ethnic community in the United States.

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