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Engagement in migrant organizations for immigrant integration: A mixed method study with Peruvians in Chile
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Abstract

Immigrant communities in Chile face barriers to their integration, in the form of discrimination and social exclusion. Psychology of Liberation claims that, when minority groups experience oppressing conditions, community participation can be a path to resist and to promote integration in the new society. Community participation has been mainly studied in North America and Europe thus investigating how it can build integration for minorities in South America is needed. Through a concurrent nested design this study explores the perception of integration of Peruvians who engage in migrant organizations (MOs) in Santiago de Chile. One hundred and ten Peruvians (age range 19 to 52 years) filled out a self-report questionnaire and a linear regression method was run with variables coming from the sociological and cultural approach (education, national identity and ethnic identity) and variables coming from the liberation approach (perceived institutional sensitivity, knowledge of the Chilean culture, knowledge of the Chilean laws) as predictors of the perception of integration. Eighteen Peruvian leaders (ages range 31 to 56 years) were interviewed and a thematic analysis was carried out identifying two themes: the opening of intergroup relations in Santiago and the organizational strategies to promote integration. The innovative result of the present project is the role of a Latin-American identity which could have negative consequences maintaining the status quo for the social exclusion that Peruvians are currently facing.

Keywords: community engagement, concurrent nested design, integration, Peruvian immigrants, Santiago de Chile, super-ordered identity

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Engagement in migrant organizations as a mean for immigrant integration: A mixed method study with Peruvians in Chile

Introduction

Despite a recent growth that has brough Chile to have the largest migrant population in South America (IOM, 2018), this country has the oldest migration law that dated back in 1975, established under the rule of Augusto Pinochet. This law was denounced as anachronistic and inefficient in facing the new modalities of mobilities and providing the respect of human rights (Sandoval, 2016), while perpetuating the vulnerability of immigrants related to accessing essential social services such as health and education, job security, and having regular immigration status (Da Silva, 2018; Galaz et al., 2017). How do immigrants can cope within a highly critical context such as Chile? According to the Psychology of Liberation (Martín-Baró, 1985; Montero, 2009) minority and oppressed groups can active ely organize themselves to resist. Indeed, when immigrants form organizations, they can connect among themselves and support with one another in learning things about the new country and planning way to improve their conditions. Empirical research developed in USA and Europe have found organized community engagement to be a way for immigrants to navigate the new society and to develop wellbeing and integration (Alba & Nee, 2010; Alfieri et al., 2019; Brettell, 2005; Marzana et al., 2018; Marzana et al., 2020a; 2020b; Taurini et al., 2017). As far as we know, only few studies have been carried out on the community engagement of immigrants in South America (see for exceptions Carmona, 2008; Marzana et al., 2019), therefore research is needed. Using a mixed-method design, the general aim of this investigation is to explore the relation between community engagement and perception of integration of Peruvian immigrants in Santiago de Chile. We approached this aim including the perspective of both the leaders of migrant

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organizations and the members of the same. In fact, the first study focused on identifying which variables predicted the integration of Peruvian members of migrant organization; the second study focused on the perception of the Santiago context and on the work done by Peruvian leaders to foster the integration of their members.

Social exclusion of Peruvians living in Chile

In Chile various studies have traced contextual and structural factors which have contributed to create oppression for South American immigrants who live in the country. Urban segregation (Margarit & Galaz, 2017; Schiappacasse Cambiaso, 2008), racialization at work (Mora & Undurraga, 2013), difficulties in access to health services (Cabieses et al., 2012; Noy & Voorend, 2016) and mass media reports focusing on prejudices (Valenzuela-Vergara, 2018) have been documented. Findings from anthropological and psychological research carried out in the last decade have also revealed some differences between ethnic groups in Chile. Though, immigrant groups have been united by social mobility as a strategy to manage the acculturative stress and to find a new space in society (Urzúa et al., 2017), some peculiarities emerge for Peruvians. Compared to other Latin American immigrants, Peruvians were found to have lower levels of perceived social contribution, meaning that they feel less useful and appreciated (Morales et al., 2017), and lower levels of quality of life (Urzúa et al. 2015). They internalize more, compared for example to Colombians, the stigma of the immigrant, perhaps due to the fact that Peru itself is affected by an ethnic conflict where the Andean identity is often strongly stigmatized (Urzúa et al., 2017). Scholars also reported that Peruvians feel to live in a "separate place" compared to Chileans (Tijoux & Retamales, 2015, p.138) who reject them in their daily interactions (Thayer et al., 2013).

Psychology of Liberation: Community engagement as a path for immigrant integration

According to Psychology of Liberation (PL) (Martín-Baró, 1985; Montero & Sonn, 2009), oppression takes place when receiving contexts can gain and maintain privileges over newcomers, restrict their access to resources, and limit their capacity to respond (Montero, 2007). Immigrants, living in oppressive conditions, can promote their liberation journey by engaging themselves into community organizations (Albar et al., 2010; García-Ramírez et al., 2011; Montero, 2007; Montero & Sonn, 2009; Prilleltensky, 2003). Community engagement has been defined as an important form of participation that "describes how an active citizen participates in the life of a community in order to improve conditions for others or to help shape the community's future" (Adler & Goggin, 2005, p.241). It can be carried out within migrant organizations (MOs) which are "nonprofit organizations founded my immigrants at all stages of immigration with the purpose of serving mainly the immigrant group itself" (Babis, 2016, p.359). MOs can represent spaces to preserve habits and language and reconnect to their culture (Brettell, 2005) fostering immigrant integration (Brettell, 2005; Marzana et al., 2020a; 2020b, Paloma et al., 2010; Schoeneneberg, 1985).

Integration is a term that has been used within different fields with different meanings. In the present work our intent is to convey the experience of integration perceived by immigrants. We try to foster a critical view of the multifaceted, fundamentally processual nature of integration dynamics, thereby promoting a radically situational approach to integration – a lens revealing micro-processes on the individual and institutional level, as well as the ecological interlinkage between these levels. Against the vision of integration as something that eventually happens after a certain period of time over the course of exchange between different actors (Van Reekum et al., 2012; Wimmer, A., & Glick Schiller, 2002) we claim that integration should

instead be conceptualized as a never ending process which involves both individual and institutional adjustment over time (Jobst & Skrobanek, 2020; Skrobanek & Jobst, 2019).

From a psychosocial perspective, scholars stressed the importance to consider socio-demographic characteristics such as education which can bring a more open-mind making the acceptance of cultural differences easier (Kalmiijn, 1998). In fact, immigrants with high school degrees were found to be more integrated than immigrants with only primary school certificates which are, in turn, more integrated than people without any kind of educational training (de Haas & Fokkema, 2011). Within the acculturation approach, Berry (2005) emphasized the importance of creating opportunities for intergroup relationships and defined integration for immigrants as the joint enhancement of both the culture of origin, and the culture of the receiving country. Ethnic identity results as the positive feeling linked to the culture of origin and one's own ethnic group while national identity as the feeling of belonging to the new society and to recognize oneself as a part of it, the sharing of symbols and the participation of rites (Sewell, 1999).

Finally, the liberation psychology perspective has reported that local environments (policies, attitude of mass media, locals and services) can shape different experiences of integration ranging from the facilitation of institutional practices and the creation of intercultural meeting opportunities to the implementation of material, cultural and psychological barriers to achieve exclusion of minorities. Thus, openness to diversity, cultural sensitivity of community services, and urban segregation may be related to the integration and well-being among immigrants and other travelling populations (Aresi et al., 2019; Paloma et al., 2014). In addition, the knowledge of laws and current regulations can facilitate immigrant integration (de Haas & Fokkema, 2011).

In Europe, engagement in MOs has found to strengthen both ethnic and national identity because it creates a space where immigrants can share roots, habits and food and have the opportunity to form relations with locals and other immigrants developing intercultural competence and reducing their feeling of being stereotyped (Alfieri et al., 2019; Taurini et al., 2017; Marzana et al., 2018). In Chile, empirical evidence informed that Peruvians mostly adopted separation attitude (i.e. to be involved in their culture of origin and not in the Chilean one) perceiving less permeable boundaries (i.e. less opportunities to be seen as Chileans), less legitimacy (i.e. less respect from Chileans) and less similarity with Chilean culture, comparing to those who adopted integration (Sirlopú & Van Oudenhoven, 2013). Nevertheless, Luque Brazan (2007) pointed out that especially Peruvians present the remarkable capacity to organize themselves. For this reason, we aimed at exploring the integration of those Peruvians engaged in MOs.

Project and general method

Since the nineties the neighborhoods of Santiago de Chile have been transformed by Peruvians into multicultural neighborhoods (Luque Brazan, 2007). However, the socio-territorial characteristics of the capital, by creating and unequal occupation of the space, express fractures in the citizen coexistence (Margarit & Galaz, 2018). Considering this particular feature of Santiago de Chile, the present study focused on the experiences of Peruvians who engage in MOs in the Metropolitan area of the capital with the aim to explore their perception of integration. This study implemented a concurrent nested design (Creswell et al., 2003), situating itself in the history of using mixed methods in evaluation and research in the field of community psychology (Aresi et al., 2017). The concurrent nested design indicates the simultaneously collection of qualitative and quantitative data, with a predominant method that guides the project

and embedded, or nested, method that receives less priority, with an integration of the two in the interpretation phase. Considering that "nesting may mean that the embedded method addresses a question different from that addressed by the dominant method or that the embedded method seeks information from different levels" (Creswell et al., 2003, p.184), the aim of the embedded quantitative study (Study 1) was to identify among the predictors of integration those that were the most significant, while the aim of the predominant qualitative study (Study 2) was to explore the perception of intergroup relations in Santiago de Chile and the work done by Peruvian leaders to enhance the integration of their members. This study protocol was approved by the Ethical Institutional Board of the *XX [hidden for the reviewers]*.

Fieldwork was conducted to identify MOs created by Peruvians in Santiago de Chile. During Peruvian events leaders were identified and a purposive sample of participants having intensive and in-depth experiences was reached thought a snowball technique. Leaders were asked to be interviewed and to collaborate in the administration of questionnaires to the Peruvian members of their MOs. All participants were informed about the main objectives of the research, were advised that participation was voluntary, that the information they provided was confidential and they signed a consent form.

Study 1

Method

Participants. One hundred and ten Peruvian immigrants actively involved in MOs, whose ages ranged between 19 and 52 years of age ($M = 29.98$, $SD = 5.55$), 58.2% males; living in Santiago de Chile for almost 1 years participated in the study. 33.9% have lived in Chile less than 3 years; 27.7% between 3 and 6 years, 18.2% between 6 and 9 years and 20.2% between 9 and 22 years. The majority of them (71.8%) were single, 26.4% married or cohabitating, and the

remaining 1.8 % or divorced. Over fifty (56.4%) percent were employed; 30.9% were both

employed and studying. Around half of the respondents (49.1%) had graduated from high school,

38.2% from middle school, 11.8% from university, and 0.9% elementary.

Procedures. Participants filled the self-report questionnaires before or after regular

meetings of the organizations; an online version of the questionnaire was also made available.

Measures. Besides socio-demographic variables—such as sex, age, education level, civil

status, occupation—the following measures were used:

Perception of integration. Following research that uses single items to investigate

complex constructs with immigrants (see, for example, Ranieri et al., 1994 for acculturation, or

Lai et al., 2019 for health condition) we assessed participants' subjective integration to the new

country through an ad hoc item: "From 1 to 10, how integrated do you feel in Chile?". The

responses ranged from 1 (Not at all) to 10 (Very much).

National identity. National identity was assessed through Phinney and Devich-Navarro's

(1997) "American Identity" scale, adapted to the Chilean context. Consisting of 6 items (i.e. "I

think of myself as being Chilean," "I'm proud of being Chilean"), for each of which the people

could answer on a scale from 1 (Completely agree) to 5 (Completely disagree).

Ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was assessed through the Spanish re-adaption of Phinney

and Ong's (2007) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R). The scale is

composed of 6 items (i.e. "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such

as its history, traditions, and customs," "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic

group") with response options on a scale of 1 (Completely agree) to 5 (Completely disagree).

Perceived sensitivity from social services. To know if immigrants perceive to be treated

with sensitivity on behalf of Chilean social services, we asked "To what extent do you think that

the social services in Chile treat immigrants with competence and cultural sensitivity?".
Response options ranged in a scale from 1 (Not at all) to 4 (Very much).

Perceived sensitivity from administrative services. To know about the administrative
institutions, we asked "To what extent do you think that administrative services in Chile treat
immigrants with competence and cultural sensitivity?". Response options ranged in a scale from
1 (Not at all) to 4 (Very much).

Knowledge of the Chilean culture. The item that measure immigrants' knowledge of the
hosting country's culture was "How much do you feel you know Chilean culture—values,
traditions, history, etc.?". Responses were on a 5-option Likert scale ranging from 1 (Not at all)
to 5 (Very much).

Knowledge of the Chilean laws. The perceived knowledge of Chilean laws was
investigated through an ad hoc item (i.e. "How much do you feel you know Chilean laws?")
through a 5-option Likert scale ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Very much).

Data Analysis. A linear regression method was run to establish the size and statistical
significance of the relationship between the independent variable (perception of integration) and
dependent variables. We first entered dependent variables related to the traditional perspective
on integration studies, such as education, national and ethnic identity, and secondly, we entered
those important according to the liberation perspective, such as perceived sensitivity from social
services, perceived sensitivity of administrative services, knowledge of Chilean culture and of
knowledge of Chilean laws.

Results

Averages, standard deviation, and Cronbach's Alphas of the variables utilized in the
regression model are displayed in Table 1.

Insert here Table 1

Results from the descriptive analyses indicate that on average, Peruvian activists perceive themselves to be integrated. However, the large levels of standard deviation indicate the presence of very different experiences. Peruvians show very high levels of ethnic identity, likely related to their participation within ethnic associations which have led to a strengthening of their attachment to their origins. Regarding national identity, there are quite low levels that indicate a low sense of belonging to Chile and a low perception of feeling Chilean. However, the knowledge of Chilean culture and laws has been assessed quite high by the participants. With respect to the perception of the institutional sensitivity in Santiago, it emerges that social services are perceived below average while administrative services are just above average.

Results of the linear regression analysis are shown in Table 2. The first model (Model 1) includes the variables related to sociological and acculturation approach. Education was transformed into a dummy variable with 0= low education and 1=high education. Model 1 was significant: $F_{(3)} = 17.777$, $p<.001$, $R^2 = .36$. The strongest variables in predicting perceived integration were respectively national identity and educational level, while ethnic identity was not significant. In Model 2 we add variables related to the liberation approach. Model 2 was significant: $F_{(7)} = 10.668$, $p<.001$, $R^2 = .43$. The strongest variable in predicting perceived integration remained national identity, followed by the knowledge of Chilean culture, educational level, and perceived sensitivity from administrative services. Perceived sensitivity of social services, and the knowledge of Chilean laws were not significant predictors of the perception of

integration of Peruvians engaged in MOs. Therefore, the variables related to context explain an additional 7% of the variance in integration.

Insert here Table 2

Study 2

Method

  Participants. Eighteen Peruvian leaders (13 men), ages ranging from 31 to 56 years ($M=42$; $DS=8.6$), with 3 to 26 years of residence in Chile ($M=15$ years) were interviewed. Regarding educational level, 1 had finished primary school, 2 middle school, 5 had a professional bachelor, 2 completed high school, and 8 had a master's degree. Four were single, 2 lived with their partners, 9 were married, and 3 separated. All participant were leaders of organizations that had different purposes: to provide legal advice and make political pressure, to celebrate Peruvian festivals, to help immigrants with daily problems, to build professional relationships within Peruvian community, to spread Peruvian culture in Chile and to spend time with compatriots.

  Interview protocol. A semi-structure interview was developed focusing on: a) the relations between Chileans and Peruvians in the city of Santiago de Chile (e.g. What feelings does the Chilean society have towards Peruvians from your point of view? How would you describe the current relationships between Peruvians and Chileans?); b) the work realized by MOs, i.e. how they are promoting changes and integration for Peruvians in Santiago (e.g. "Do you think that your organization helps to generate some kind of social change for Peruvians living in Santiago? In which ways?).

Procedures. The interviews were carried out in different local places to meet the needs of Peruvian leaders, they lasted approximately 1 hour and were conducted in Spanish. They were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim by one researcher.

Data Analysis. Three researchers conducted a thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke's (2006) step by step guide. First, the research team was familiarized with the data corpus and two of them independently began to search manually for initial codes. Then, they compared the codes they had created, collated them into potential themes and started thinking about the relationship between codes and themes, constantly checking the coded extracts and the entire data set. Later, with the third researcher, the team decided to leave out the themes that did not relate to the areas of inquiry, clear definitions and names of each theme were established, key quotations from participants were identified. To reduce any potential bias and to enhance the trustworthiness and rigor of our interpretation, some strategies were used (peer scrutiny of the research project, the development of an early familiarity with the culture of participating organizations before the first data collection takes place, examination of previous research findings), following the provisions developed by Shenton (2004) that are based on the Lincoln and Guba's criteria.

Results. Thematic analysis focused on participants' way of participating in the new cultural environment, and their attempts to create a broader sense of meaning to the work they were carrying forward with their organizations. Two were the main themes that emerged. The first describes how intergroup relationships were currently opening in the city of Santiago de Chile; the second theme portrayed the multiple strategies that MOs use to foster positive processes of integration for their compatriots.

1st Theme: the opening of intergroup relations in Santiago de Chile

This theme describes how the city of Santiago de Chile were perceived regarding the relationships among immigrants and Chileans and it illustrates the role that MOs may have played in changing these relationships. Aggiungere che si elencano I sotto temi qui di seguito

Ongoing Challenges. The present challenges regarding intergroup relationships concern three aspects: a new migration law, the training of Peruvians about their rights and duties in Chile, the resistance to experiences of discrimination. Participants sustained that laws must be humanized and updated, considering the current migration flows. As G. (male) said *"The concern of the Chilean state [should be] to pass a new law in relevant to the present time"*. For this reason, some MOs are putting *"a voice, yes, we are not the ones who are going to give the law, but if we have a voice, then we try that our voice is recognized, visible, and heard. We scream and have a very good voice!"* (P., male). The possibility of being treated fairly or unfairly depends on knowledge of laws and rights which help Peruvians to understand power relations between citizens and authorities. However, D. (male) stated that is an immigrant duty to know his rights and it is not the state that has to inform him: "T*hey [Chilean authorities] do not make any legal difference, legal differences do not exist but, but, at the same time, it is up to the individual person to know the law"*. Finally, participants denounced attacks in neighborhoods and discrimination while performing their activities:

> *Homeless or fascist people were attacking us because they were throwing bottles at us,*
> *insults and also policemen, thrown us out of the place with a decree there is here in*
> *Santiago according to which nowadays you cannot occupy public spaces* (A., male).

This process of changing intergroup relationships was described by R. (female) as slow and difficult:

in Chile there has been for a long time and it still remains a great current of nationalism

that is expressed in an open or hidden rejection of foreigners, the perception that, at the

bottom, the foreigner is an invader and is interfering in your life, that he will change

many things… so there is a resistance from the society that I think is normal to any

migration process.

Positive Changes. Intergroup relations in Santiago de Chile are described as becoming positive

as *se van abriendo* (are opening up). There have been encouraging changes thanks to an increase

of migration flows, a Peruvian long-time settlement in the city and the birth of MOs. The

presence of Peruvian community finds its highest expression in the creation of some areas in the

city that Peruvians recognize as home. F. (male) said: *"In Santiago there is a strongly Peruvian*

area, the neighborhood came to be known as Independencia Recoleta[1], there you find the whole

Peruvian community and there you feel like you are in Peru again". Breakthroughs were

promoted by the many cultural events which have been organized by MOs in Santiago. These

shows, most of whom dance performances, have been organized for everyone to provide space of

encounter: *"Not only Peruvians have joined. Colombians, Bolivians, Chileans have joined too.*

They come here for rehearsals" (A., male). Having reached many citizens of different

nationalities was perceived as an important resulting in promoting positive intergroup

relationships. Moreover, Peruvian leaders felt that Chilean people attending at these events have

become more familiar with immigrants and their cultures.

Attachment to Chile and sense of Belongingness. Peruvian leaders claim that they have started

to take care of Chile, and have developed an attachment to the place of Santiago de Chile along

with a desire to stay:

I would be one of the first to defend the living conditions of this country. For example, I am outraged at the damage done to the city by a traffic light break… I am Peruvian but I am learning to love this country to love this city with its defects (G., male)

The affective bond is also manifested when participants compare the positive aspects that Santiago de Chile has offered to them relative to their native Peru: *"Here at least you have the opportunities to do more than you can in your own country because here [in Chile] there are more possibilities to feel personally fulfilled"* (F., female). The comparison between the country of origin and Chile seem to be part of the integration process that involves a negotiation between different belonging and identities.

2ˢᵗ Theme: organizational strategies to promote integration

This theme refers to the strategies that MOs adopt to promote the integration of Peruvians in Santiago de Chile that were based on the creation of relational space and opportunities of encounters. We found four strategies. The first two strategies were directed towards Chileans and involve showing the positive contribution of immigrants to Chilean society and fostering intergroup encounters, the third was an identity strategy for Peruvians in recognizing the same roots they share with Chileans focusing on their Latin American roots; the last strategy was a macro-level intention to change historical and cultural narratives.

To show one's own positive contribution. MOs set up cultural events and festivals to show that Peruvians bring to Chilean society. Culture and dance were considered unifying aspects, spaces for intercultural dialogue and exchange which bring about a different perception of Peruvians as A. (male) said *"There are some Chileans who have this kind of thinking [prejudices] and they stick to it, but when a folk dancer performs these types of dance, Chileans change their thinking, because the dancer gives to those people a very different image [of Peruvians]"*; *"When someone*

is showing the dance or the gastronomy of a country, he is creating vehicles of integration" (G., male).

To encourage interethnic relations. The aim of this strategy was to develop good relationships with neighbors, to promote mutual support, and sense of community with every citizen in Santiago. This latter was perceived to have been lost in Chile due to the Pinochet dictatorship and capitalism. Against this, leaders sustain the importance of social connectedness: "*We want to empower them [immigrants], make them more participative, so that they won't be unhooked from social groups and I hope that they will make friends with neighbors and create social relationships"* (F., female).

To develop a Latin American identity. Participants spoke about supporting brotherhood, feeling that all are *Latinos*, promoting free movement of persons. They also referred to the Bolivian dream of breaking down frontiers and restoring the old *Tahuantinsuyo Empire*[2]. They felt a sense of sharing with immigrants because of the Andean common origin which was something important to restore. They looked at the past as something from which they can learn and that they can revitalise through their organizations:

> *I believe that we are all brothers, I look at it in this way actually: like we were brothers. They [immigrants] have enriched my life, I have enriched myself, and I have met many people from different countries. One might say that we all are a whole, there is like a communion, a union. I am very satisfied about our work* (C., male).

To re-tell Chilean-Peruvian history. The idea was to focus on positive aspects, distancing from a past that portrays these two cultural groups as enemies and building new narratives:

> *at the closing of the first meeting when I was giving a speech, I mentioned that there is a book written by a Peruvian writer and a Chilean writer… they talk about the positive*

episodes that are generating in the relations both for Peru and for Chile… I felt that we

were writing the next page because we were living more stories that unite us generating

win-win relationships and building a new myth of union between our countries" (D.,

female).

General results and discussion

This study implemented a concurrent nested design (Creswell et al., 2003) with Peruvian

immigrants who were active in MOs in Santiago de Chile. We administrated questionnaires to

members and interviewed leaders. Because this investigation is, as far as we now, the first one to

quantitatively study integration of immigrants who engage in MOs, acquiring also qualitative

information to delve into the quantitative results was fundamental. Our results provide evidence

that in countries characterized by social exclusion, as the case of Chile, integration can be very a

complex (Rudmin, 2006) never-ending process (Jobst & Skrobanek, 2020; Skrobanek & Jobst,

2019).

The quantitative study shows that integration for Peruvians is not predicted by ethnic

identity but rather by the development of Chilean identity and knowledge of the culture of the

new country. Because this is in contrast with previous studies (Marzana et al., 2018; 2019;

2020a) which found integration to be built on both national and ethnic identities, some

considerations can be advanced thanks to the qualitative results. Instead of an ethnic focus, the

development of a Latin American identity, not considered in the quantitative study, has been

found as an organizational strategy of MOs. It refers to a super-ordinate identity where members

of different groups are induced to perceive themselves as a more inclusive and superordinate

group instead of two different groups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Extending the Common

Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005) and acknowledging the difference in power

between groups, a Dual Identity Model has been proposed (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007;

Gonzalez & Brown, 2003). It introduces majority and minority perspectives, showing that

minority groups re-categorize themselves as members of a more inclusive category without

losing their distinctive social identity, thus developing a dual identity. In our study, we found that

Peruvian leaders were more focused on recognizing the same roots with Chileans than

maintaining their ethnic distinctiveness. We hypothesize that the interest for a super-ordered

identity as an organizational strategy help them and the members to develop a sense of belonging

to Chile. The development of a Chilean identity has emerged in the interviews with leaders and

national identity has been found to be a significant predictor of the perception of integration of

members. Nevertheless, it is possible that the *Tahuantinsuyo* dream remains just a dream unless

Chileans develop a super-ordered identity too. In 2010, González and colleagues found that

Chileans felt less Latin American than Peruvian did. Our results along with Gonzalez's seem to

deviate from the literature that sustains that minority groups prefer a dual identity while majority

groups a super-ordered identity (Dovidio et al., 2007). We hypothesize that these preferences

may be reversed because the Latin American identity is traditionally linked to indigenous roots

and Chileans are characterized by their desire to build a modern "European-style" nation-state

(Quijano, 2015). Future studies are needed in order to explore this hypothesis. It is key to

recognize that identities are historically grounded so that the type of super-ordinated identity that

groups decide to build makes a difference in the dynamics of the Common Ingroup Identity

Model.

Regarding the variable belonging to the liberation approach some considerations may be

advanced. On one hand, against our hypothesis, the perception of sensibility from social services

was not significant in predicting integration maybe because it dealt more with wellbeing than

integration (Paloma et al., 2014) or because Peruvians did not use these services, fearing to be stigmatized. On the other hand, perceived sensitivity from administrative services was a significant predictor meaning that immigrant need to be treated in a culturally sensitive way by those services that are responsible for their legal documentation in order to feel integrated. However, the knowledge of Chilean laws was not a predictor of integration, maybe because the integrative strategies of organizations did not focus on "political" issues. This could convey that members are not conscious that the organizations to which they belong can improve the legislative position of immigrants favoring their integration. The knowledge of Chilean laws lies on a formal level and, for this reason, it may not be perceived as important because Peruvians still need to develop competences to understand how this level can influence their lives.

Conclusion and future developments

According to PL minority groups often live in oppressive conditions that can be transformed through community engagement within organizations. Indeed, organizations where people share common goals has been found to provoke transformative societal changes (Alfieri et al, 2019; Alfieri et al., 2017; Pozzi et al., 2017). Results showed the work of MOs may go in the direction to "foster opportunities to experience positive intergroup encounters, in which, groups can learn from each other and more importantly, can live in peace without feeling threatened by the presence of other groups" (González et al., 2016, p. 277). This study has the merit to have reached a very difficult population and therefore little investigated from a psychological point of view. Because this has been the first study conducted in Chile with this sample, some socio-demographic observations seem to be relevant. Leaders of community organizations are much older than the members of the organizations they manage (42 years old vs. 30 years old), indicating the need for maturity to engage in activism as a leader. Previous

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results (de Haas & Fokkema, 2011) also indicate that the younger immigrants are when they emigrate, the better the chances to integrate well into the new society. Thus, being able to encourage and organize young immigrants to take leadership positions is certainly an open challenge. Another interesting result concerns gender distribution considering that, both in the interviews and the questionnaires, a lower presence of women was detected. Such data is important if we consider that Peruvian immigration to Chile at the time of the survey (2016) was quite balanced by gender with a slight female majority (INE, 2018), a trend that is not reflected in our samples. We can hypothesize that women encounter greater obstacles in participation, both as simple members and as leaders. This could depend on gender stereotypes and on the cultural legacies of patriarchal societies that relegate women within the domain of home and drive them away from the public space (Remennick, 1999).

This study also has some limitations. Firstly, it focused only on the experiences of Peruvians. Because in the last years other south American immigrants have arrived in Chile, future studies should explore if organizations of other ethnic groups are born and which similarities and differences their participants experience with Peruvians. It could be interesting to do some comparative studies since previous literature pointed out that migrant minorities can live different integration processes (Urzua et al., 2017). A second limit relates to the fact that this study brought together very different types of organizations, those involved in dance, social services, cultural or political events. A recent study has highlighted that immigrants who engage in social organizations (attending church, spending time with peers and helping one's family) have higher means of integration than those who engage in civic organizations (helping others through formal service programs or individually) (Marzana et al., 2020b), so future studies should be more specific. A third limitation concerns the fact that we measured the perception of

integration only with one single item. Loo (2002) recommends caution when operating with single- item measures and suggests using them with underlying homogeneous constructs. Because integration is a multifaceted concept it is possible that participants had different types of integration in mind when filling out the questionnaire. Thus, future studies are strongly recommended.

González and colleagues (2010) stated that the "asymmetrical perception of the intergroup situation highlights the need to consider the perspectives of both immigrants and the majority members who are receiving them when creating interventions aimed at improving intergroup attitudes" (González et al., 2010, p.813). Results of this study have opened a new path of investigation about the consequences of adopting the Common Ingroup identity which may become a way in which Peruvians promote their own assimilation. Because minority groups are usually more interested in social change while majority ones are more interested in the maintenance of the status quo, future studies should delve into the consequences of acquiring a type of super-ordinated identity that may not be properly appreciated by the majority, as the Latin American identity in Chile. As Dovidio and colleagues (2007) said that "improving positive intergroup relations and creating more fair and just societies are not necessarily synonymous" (p.325), therefore the maintenance of the status quo for social exclusion is a high risk that Peruvians living in Chile may go through. This study gives an important contribution to the literature about the Dual Identity Model, which has only been studied in experimental contexts (Dovidio et al., 2007), providing much attention to the history that identities hold. Finally, the results are also interesting for the planning of Mos regarding recruitment because it can help to better situate their work within the Santiago arena and explain their objectives to their new, but also established, members. The fact that social services do not have an impact on

integration while administrative services do may be of interest to those Chilean services that are in charge of immigrant care and integration. This result highlights that they should play the role of mediators between Peruvians and administrative institutions, assuring cultural sensitivity.

Footnotes

[1] Independecia and Recoleta are neighborhoods of Santiago de Chile characterized by a high presence of Peruvian immigrants.

[2] *Tahuantinsuyo* is the quechua name of the Inca Empire that was the largest empire in pre-Columbian America. At its largest (around 1532), the empire joined Peru, western Ecuador, western and south-central Bolivia, northwest Argentina, a large portion of what is today Chile, and the south westernmost tip of Colombia.

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table

Tables

Table 1

Descriptive proprieties of all the variables

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	M	SD	Alfa
Perception of Integration	1	10	6.42	2.05	-
National identity	1	5	2.41	.84	.79
Ethnic identity	1	5	3.92	.98	.90
Perceived sensitivity from social services	1	5	2.64	.91	-
Perceived sensitivity from administrative services	1	5	2.48	1.02	-
Knowledge of Chilean culture	1	4	2.96	1.20	-
Knowledge of Chilean laws	1	4	2.89	1.21	-

Table 2

Models of regression

Model	Variables	B	β	95,0% Confidence Interval for B	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	(intercept)	1,311		-,483	3,106
	Education	1,013	,271**	,384	1,643
	National identity	1,176	,484***	,766	1,586
	Ethnic identity	,454,	,212*	,095	,813
2	(intercept)	,728		-1,090	2,547
	Education	,689	,185*	,062	1,316
	National identity	,937	,385***	,524	1,349
	Ethnic identity	,284	,133	-,072	,641
	Perceived sensitivity from social services	-,222	-,109	,643	,200
	Perceived sensitivity of administrative services	,396	,212*	,013	,779
	Knowledge of Chilean culture	,395	,250*	,084	,706
	Knowledge of Chilean laws	,142	,093	-,145	,428

Note. Dependent variable: perception of integration.
*p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

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Availability of data and material

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

Code availability

Not applicable

Authors' contributions

All the authors contributed to the research and to the writing of the paper