

**Searching for Belonging in Ethnic Identity:
Young Second-Generation Chinese-Peruvians in Lima, Peru**

Rebecca Mu Jie Chang '19
Growth & Structure of Cities
Bryn Mawr College

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts
in Growth & Structure of Cities

Abstract

Within Latin America, Peru has one of the largest populations of Overseas Chinese* that is mostly concentrated within the capital city of Lima and traditionally centered in the Chinatown area dating back to the 1850s. In this thesis, I choose to focus on the consequences of renewed Chinese migration in the 1980s and 90s through the perspectives of second-generation Chinese-Peruvians whose parents arrived during that time frame. Through qualitative interviews supplemented with urban historical and spatial analyses, I demonstrate the complex nature of youth ethnic identity construction through factors such as individual and group identity, assimilation, family, heritage language, heritage schools, and extracurricular activities rooted in Chinese culture. On a broader level, this project questions local re-creations of a global Chinese identity and issues of belonging in urban society.

*This is defined as those who are of Chinese ancestry but reside outside of China and Taiwan, and are of any citizenship status (Poston Jr. & Wong, 2011).

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I want to thank all the second-generation Chinese-Peruvians who so generously opened up to me about their lives and experiences. I am beyond grateful to have had the opportunity to listen to your individual stories of the Chinese diaspora. I am especially indebted to Ricardo Zarate Sotelo and Gissel Calderón for jumpstarting this project through finding participants.

Secondly, I would like to thank the members and researchers of Chinese-Peruvian communities for all of their valuable insight, guidance, and care: in particular, Richard Chuhue Huamán, Estela Espinoza Locau, Isabel Lausent-Herrera, and the Chuy Chiu family.

In the Bi-Co, I am grateful for the support I received from the Bryn Mawr Hanna Holborn Gray Fellowship, especially from Dean Raima Evans, Sarah Slates, and Justinne Lake-Jedzinak. Among many influential professors, thank you Professor Kalyan Nadiminti for your course, Global Histories of Asian American Labor, which validated the field of Asian American Studies and its transnational counterparts the first time. Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Gary McDonogh for challenging and believing in me these past years. I have grown immensely as a scholar and as an individual, and I hope to never lose my sense of curiosity that you have helped foster.

Thirdly, I want to thank my family for your trust. Because of our language barrier, I have never been—nor ever will be—fully able to articulate to you the passions and projects that I have found, but you have always trusted in me to make the right decisions in navigating this unfamiliar world.

I want to give a final thank you to all the recent alumni, faculty, staff, and friends who I have encountered at Haverford, Bryn Mawr, and Lima: for your patience, for your kindness, and for guiding me through these past years in creating home in unexpected places.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	v
List of Tables	vi
Glossary & Definitions	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1. Roots of the Chinese-Peruvian Community(ies)	8
Chapter 2. Family, Culture, and Language	23
Chapter 3. Heritage Schools	37
Chapter 4. Ethnic Identity & Self-Perception in the Chinese-Peruvian Identity	61
Bibliography	74
Appendix A: Interview Script	82
Appendix B: Original Text of Participant Quotes	83

List of Figures

Figure 1.1. Map highlighting the Guangdong province in South China. _____	10
Figure 1.2. Map of downtown Lima showing Central Market and Chinatown. _____	11
Figures 1.3a & 3b. Photographs of Capón Street after revitalization. _____	20
Figure 1.4. Map of the downtown Chinatown area and San Borja district highlighted. _____	21
Figure 2.1. Map of greater China with the ten most predominant linguistic groups. _____	32
Figure 3.1. Map with heritage school locations and ethnic enclaves. _____	45
Figure 3.2. Map with 2016 per capita average household income by block in Lima. _____	46
Figure 3.3. Map with 2016 per capita average household income by block in Breña. _____	47
Figure 3.4. Map with 2016 per capita average household income by block in San Miguel. _____	48
Figure 3.5. Map with 2016 per capita average household income by block in Lima district. _____	49
Figure 3.6. Collage of various images of the October 10 School. _____	50
Figure 3.7. Photograph of part of the John XXIII School. _____	50

List of Tables

Table 2.1. Participant familial migration chart. _____	29
Table 2.2. Participant linguistic chart. _____	31
Table 3.1. Participant educational chart. _____	52

Glossary & Definitions

*The first usage of any term originally in Spanish is indicated by an asterisk.

Spanish

English

Asociación Peruano China

Chinese Peruvian Association

Calle Capón

Capón Street; main street of traditional Chinatown

Chaufa

Peruvian-style fried rice

Chifa

Peruvian-style Chinese restaurant

Colegio Chino Chung Wha

Chung Wha Chinese School

Centro de Cultura

Culture Center

Colegio San Min

School of Three Principles

Colegio Peruano Chino Diez de Octubre

October 10 Chinese Peruvian School

Colegio Peruano Chino Juan XXIII

John XXIII Chinese Peruvian School

Sociedad de Beneficia China

Chinese Benefit Society

Tusán

Overseas Chinese (in the context of Peruvians)

Introduction

As of 2011, there were over 40 million Overseas Chinese¹ in the world—a population greater than that of Canada—and a group that has origins that date back to the 16th century and continues to grow today (Poston Jr. & Wong, 2011). The migration histories of Overseas Chinese populations includes a tremendous diversity of individual stories, motivations, timelines, geographical origins, education levels, and linguistic abilities, among many other characteristics. However, what has remained common across these trans-national and trans-temporal experiences are processes of building and finding community, of negotiating the positionality of “difference” as Chinese—whether that manifests through appearance, language, or customs—and constructing personal and collective identity.

Embedded in the analysis of these histories and experiences is the simultaneous balance between the global and local nature of Overseas Chinese communities. For instance, these communities’ origins and ties to China—in itself a very broad term of contested areas with significant historical transformations—include specific push factors that have motivated individuals, families, and groups to migrate. Furthermore, a transnational view of Overseas Chinese considers non-linear facets of migration, encapsulated in circular and return migration, as well as familial, institutional, governmental, and financial transcontinental connections. However, despite the importance of Overseas Chinese communities’ connections to China, I want to highlight that its hyper-focus creates a neglect of the ways in which these communities re-create Chinese identities on individual and group levels. These re-creations can include

¹ According to the demographers who created population estimates, Poston Jr. and Wong define “Overseas Chinese” as those who are Chinese or of Chinese ancestry and reside outside of the People’s Republic of China, Taiwan (Republic of China), Hong Kong, and Macau.

developing relationships with local peoples, the formation of organizations and institutions, and re-positioning expectations and traditions related to identity, among many other ways.

According to cultural studies scholar Ien Ang (2001), “Chinese-ness,” or what it means to be Chinese, is “an open signifier, which acquires its peculiar form and content in dialectical junction with the diverse local conditions in which ethnic Chinese people, wherever they are, construct new, hybrid identities and communities” (Ang, 2001, p.35). In other words, Ang (2001) contradicted past conventions of homogenizing Overseas Chinese into one singular group. Moreover, she problematized the depiction of this group in perpetual search of a homeland in China, and argued the importance of local histories and transformations of the Chinese ethnicity (Ang, 2001). Correspondingly, the late historian Adam McKeown (2001) used a similar approach in his case studies of Overseas Chinese communities in Hawaii, Chicago, and Peru that balanced issues of global geopolitics alongside the differences in local conditions that resulted in distinct manifestations of community in these three sites.

These re-creations of identity can be encapsulated in the process of emplacement, defined as “a group’s effort to negotiate an identity and meaning by shaping the built environment and social environment through everyday practices” (Fong & Berry, 2017). The framework of emplacement has been used by migration scholars Çağlar & Glick Schiller (2011) in the context of urban landscapes in order to emphasize the agency of migrants in that while they are influenced by the city, they, in turn, are also active agents in shaping the city.

In conversation with these scholars and many others, this project investigates Overseas Chinese community(ies)² in Lima, the capital city of Peru. A majority of the country’s Chinese

² I choose to replicate the usage of “community(ies)” as done by researcher Isabelle Lausent-Herrera (2011) to emphasize that while there is a general Chinese-Peruvian community of immigrants and their descendants, at the same time, the geographical immensity and diversity of

population is estimated to be located in Lima, although it is hard to determine due to the lack of recent racial and ethnic census data.³ More broadly, Peru has one of the largest populations of Overseas Chinese in Latin America and is one of three historical destinations of Chinese migration in the Americas. In the mid-1800s, analogous to the United States and Cuba, there was a high demand for low-cost laborers in Peru. As indentured laborers who were also known as coolies, they mainly worked in agriculture and railroad construction.

While most migrants originally lived outside of the capital city, a small Chinatown emerged shortly in the downtown area (Chuhue Huamán, 2016). In McKeown's (2001) characterization of the Chinese-Peruvian population, he argues that they quickly attained a worldly and cosmopolitan reputation vis-a-vis local Peruvians due to their participation in commerce and trade. However, it is important to point out that this only represented a successful subsection of the ethnic group, as there were many who lived in subpar housing stock in the Chinatown and worked in manual or service labor positions. Subsequently, over the course of many decades, fluctuations in migration trends and divisions along class, ethnic, and political lines led to the creation of sub-communities that expanded outside of the traditional Chinatown geographic area, which is discussed further in Chapter 1.

Given the concentration of academic literature on early waves of coolie labor, there is a comparatively significant dearth of scholarly research and discussion on the continuity of recent

China as a country as well as the distinct timelines and varied reasons for migration mean that there are also multiple communities under the general label.

³ Peru does not have any recent statistical population data on race and ethnicity, with the exception of the 2017 census for which the results have not been made public yet. Moreover, there is some complexity in defining those who are ethnically Chinese due to the number of different terms used, which is discussed more in Chapter 4, and the large variation of number of Chinese family members for those who are descendants, such as in the case of mixed-race marriages.

migratory waves during the turn of the century, as well as their modern re-creations of Chinese culture. Additionally, from my personal experience of living abroad in Lima, I observed that the majority of conversations related to Chinese migration focused those who were fourth or fifth generation, and were able to trace their ancestry back to early waves of migration, despite evidence of recent migration through the presence of new, migrant-owned businesses.

As a result of this gap in both literature and everyday knowledge, I have pursued this project with the goal to better characterize recent waves of migration in the late 20th century that were significant in revitalizing Lima's Chinatown and the broader Chinese-Peruvian community(ies). More specifically, this thesis focuses on the experiences of the children of those migrants who are second-generation, and their processes of individual and group ethnic identity formation. One of the core reasons I have chosen to study this group is due to their intimate balancing of Chinese culture from familial practices alongside their own experiences of growing up in Lima. While this is a lifelong process common in second-generation individuals across history, ethnicity, and geography, I want to highlight the simultaneous array of distinct experiences and pathways that I have found in this group's attempts of identity negotiation. Moreover, due to their positionality as young adults, these Chinese-Peruvians occupy crucial roles and potentials to shape their broader group identities and placemaking efforts in Lima.

Another significant reason of why I decided to work with young second-generation Chinese-Peruvians was because of my own background as a young Chinese-Malaysian-American and the child of migrants to the United States. During my upbringing in New York, I was largely surrounded by Asian-Americans in school and Chinese-Malaysian-American family friends, which have led me to become both keenly aware and curious about the complexities of ethnic identity. As a result, my own positionality as someone who is ethnically Chinese as well

as a young second-generation migrant often emerged in conversations with scholars and participants, and at times, provided an avenue of shared experiences.

Due to the sensitive, nuanced, and complex nature of individual and group ethnic identity formation, I primarily used a qualitative, interview-based methodology approved through Bryn Mawr College's Institutional Review Board (Saldaña, 2009; Syed & Azmitia 2008). I also supplemented this strategy with historical and spatial analysis, found in Chapters 1 and 3, to characterize the historical formation of Chinese-Peruvian community(ies).

For participant recruitment, I utilized two general strategies. I first sent recruitment emails and made phone calls to prominent Chinese-Peruvian organizations in Lima to diffuse project information and reach out to potential participants. Unfortunately, this first outreach strategy did not yield any success due to the organizations' primary focus on fourth or fifth-generation Chinese-Peruvian subpopulations, as mentioned earlier. The second strategy utilized my personal contacts who were alumni from one of the two Chinese-Peruvian heritage schools in Lima. Of my eight participants in total, five were directly recommended by my personal contacts, and the remaining three were found through snowball recruitment. Pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis to refer to participant quotes and experiences.

My semi-structured interviews were conducted in Spanish during the months of June and July 2018, and ranged in length between 33 minutes to 82 minutes. I provide a general script of my questions in Appendix A. Although Spanish is not my native language, I used interview recordings to ensure that I have been able to fully capture participant thoughts and experiences. After manually transcribing my interviews, I used graphic diagrams and charts to visualize central themes, relationships, and connections. I also regularly returned to my transcripts to annotate additional themes and revisit coded portions. Any quotes included are my own

translations and were at times slightly edited for clarity. The original text in Spanish can be found in Appendix B.

Through this iterative coding process, I pinpointed three broad themes of family, language, and heritage schools that emerged in conversation with strong effects on individual and group ethnic identity construction processes. Each of these themes are discussed in detail in Chapters 2 to 4.

Another part of my methodology consisted of personal experiences of living in Lima between March to August of 2018, which enabled me to be physically present at many of the spaces and neighborhoods mentioned in this thesis, as well as other historical Chinese-Peruvian sites. Casual, interpersonal conversations with professors, retired instructors, and Chinese-Peruvian community members formed an implicit part of the methodology through framing my understanding of the Chinese-Peruvian community(ies)'s past, present, and future.

The following section, Chapter 1, provides a chronological overview of migratory trends, its regulation by Peruvian legislation, and emplacement and changes in the traditional Chinatown area. Key scholars in this field include historians Humberto Rodríguez Pastor and Richard Chuhue Huamán, and geographer Isabelle Lausent-Herrera, among others. As brought up earlier, Ang (2001) and McKeown (2001)'s works also frame the conversation in providing important context in the interplay between global and local forces of migration and ethnicity.

Following historical context, Chapters 2, 3, and 4 address the various dimensions that emerged from participant conversations. Chapter 2 provides a personal perspective on historical migration trends through discussing participants' familial migration stories and experiences. Furthermore, the chapter explores questions of familial maintenance of cultural traditions, or the lack thereof, as well as home heritage language (dis)usage, and their impact on ethnic identity

formation. I draw from an interdisciplinary selection of texts from psychology, sociolinguistics, and anthropology in order to discuss familial and linguistic issues alongside ethnic identity.

Chapter 3 presents Chinese-Peruvian heritage schools as a meaningful site of identity development and discusses their history, academic curriculum, and extracurricular cultural activities, as well as participant experiences. All eight participants attended either one or both of the two heritage schools, and thus spent the majority of their formative developmental years there. Lausent-Herrera (2015) highlights critical issues, such as tensions in politics, religion, and socioeconomic class that have impacted the history of education in Lima's Chinese-Peruvian community(ies). Moreover, these tensions further contextualize and dispel the misconception of a monolithic Chinese-Peruvian community that is more in actuality, a group with a number of divisions and subgroups.

Chapter 4 addresses the key components of ethnic identity in its micro and macro forms. This chapter starts with theoretical concepts of youth ethnic identity as well as a deconstruction of classical linear identity formation theories. Moreover, this section will complicate the usage of terms such as "assimilation," "acculturation," and "integration" in migratory literature. In relation to the experiences of participants, the chapter presents various Peruvian Spanish terms used to describe Chinese-Peruvians, and participant identification or reflections on those terms. I place emphasis on the interchangeable, fluid, and flexible nature of identity that I found in participant interviews. The chapter and thesis concludes with tying these narratives together, presenting areas of further research, and re-asserting the value of this research.

Chapter 1. Roots of the Chinese-Peruvian Community(ies)

They [my great-grandparents] had a restaurant that they rented in Capón Street [main street of Chinatown]. So, it's there that everything began.ⁱ

-Veronica

Veronica's family was distinct from the other participants with regards to her parental migration histories; while her father was the first in his immediate family to migrate to Peru, her mother came from a transnational family where her great-grandparents were part of early migratory waves in the late 1800s. However, due to restrictive migratory legislation that is discussed in this chapter, her family members were split up between China and Peru.

Despite these differences, this quote from Veronica stood out to me in how Capón Street*, and by extension, Chinatown, a geographic marker, represented both a physical and symbolic instance of emplacement. However, as this chapter will detail, divisions along ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic lines later emerged in the Chinese-Peruvian community(ies) that was made up of both descendants of the earliest migrants and subsequent waves of migrants.

While this thesis focuses on the experiences of second-generation young adults, children of migrants who arrived the 1980s and 1990s, I want to stress the importance of the historical origins of the Chinese-Peruvian community(ies). As shown in Veronica's quote, the creation and maintenance of Chinatown and its institutions by early generations of migrants has served as both a physical and symbolic basis for subsequent generations.

Coolie Labor

During the early 1800s, like many other post-colonial South American countries and the greater Pacific Rim, Peru desired to develop its economy. In 1849, the importation of contract laborers, known as "coolies," from South China emerged as a way to address growing labor

demands in the agriculture, railroad, and guano⁴ industries (Rodríguez Pastor 2004). Similar to the United States, the importation of Chinese migrant labor was heavily intertwined with national debates on African slavery, officially banned in 1854.⁵

McKeown (2001) cites a number of push factors that facilitated Chinese emigration in the 19th century. While the general literature largely refers to political and social unrest in China from the 1850s to 1870s, he asserts that this alone cannot explain the reason for emigration that drew predominantly from South China, as highlighted in the map shown in Figure 1.1, since other parts of China also experienced turmoil (McKeown, 2001). McKeown (2001) instead argues that the context of the Opium War and the subsequent British colonization of Hong Kong, a strategic port city, created links and connections to migration opportunities in the Americas. Furthermore, within South Chinese provinces at the time, there were normalized trends of population movement away from rural villages through domestic and international migration (McKeown, 2001).

By 1874, over 100,000 Chinese, mainly young male bachelors, were brought to Peru as laborers (Rodríguez Pastor 2004). This year also marked the signing of the Treaty of Friendship between China and Peru, which led to free migration between the two countries (Lausent-Herrera, 2011).

⁴ Guano is a type of excrement derived from seabirds that can be utilized as a fertilizer. In 1802, its discovery in the Chincha Islands off the coast of Peru, led to a guano “boom.”

⁵ For more information on the relationship between African slavery and Chinese coolie labor to the United States, see Moon-Ho Jung’s *Coolies and Cane* (2006).



Figure 1.1. Map highlighting the Guangdong province in South China.

Source: Google Maps, my own edit

Placemaking in Lima

Due to the harsh nature of their work, from 1850 onwards, many laborers who either completed or escaped their contracts decided to settle in the capital city of Lima, leading to the formation of a Chinese community (Rodríguez Pastor, 2004; Chuhue Huamán, 2016). Many were able to find jobs in various food production and vendor stalls in the recently created central marketplace, shown in Figure 1.2 as adjacent to the current-day location of Chinatown.

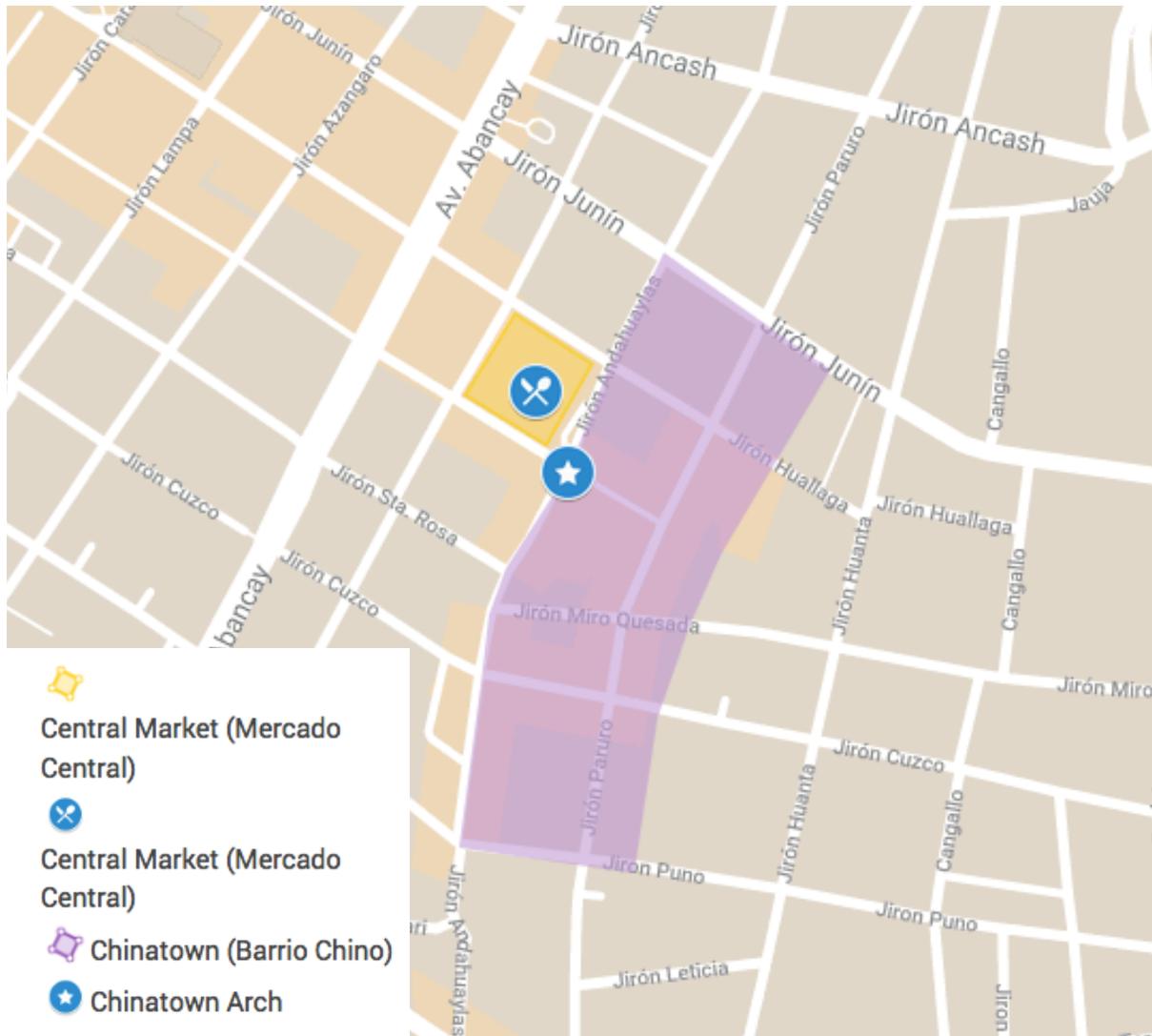


Figure 1.2. Map of downtown Lima showing Central Market and Chinatown.
Source: Google Maps, my own edit

In the early years of the Chinatown, according to a census from 1866, there were 323 Chinese individuals registered in the city, of which only two were women (Cosmalón Aguilar, 2012). Of the 76% of registered who listed an occupation, 60% was employed in the unskilled labor sector, such as food or domestic service, and the remaining 16% were merchants, artisans, or farmers (Cosmalón Aguilar, 2012).

Shortly thereafter, in 1886, the Chinese Benefit Society* was founded with support from the Peruvian church and a Chinese ambassador, mirroring initiatives in other Overseas Chinese

communities in the Americas (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). The Society, still in existence at the time of writing, has offered services, organized community events and celebrations, and served as a liaison to Chinese institutions (Sociedad Central de Beneficencia China, n.d.). In the same time frame, a number of institutions were founded, such as Chinese theatres that mainly relied on foreign talent, small pharmacies specializing in herbal remedies, and regional associations and societies (Coello Rodríguez, 2012; Chuhue Huáman & Espinoza Locau, 2012; Lau Ko, 2012; Valladares Chamarro, 2012).

In 1909, after a significant Anti-Asiatic riot that left a large number of Chinese and Japanese businesses destroyed, the Protocol Porras-Wu Tingfang was signed that instated limits on Chinese migration (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). The trend of restrictive immigration, common throughout the Americas at that time, reached a critical point in the 1930s when the dictatorship government at the time prohibited Chinese immigration and restricting passport rights for all Asian residents and Peruvian-born descendants, which also targeted the sizeable Japanese-Peruvian population. These restrictions resulted in a significant shrinkage of the Chinese community. In the 1940 national census, there were reported to be nearly 20,000 residents of Chinese citizenship in Peru, although the reliability of this number is debatable in addition to not including Peruvian-born Chinese or mixed-race individuals (Lausent-Herrera, 2009).

Despite xenophobic sentiments and restrictive legislation, Chinese-Peruvians, many of whom were mixed-race descendants of the early coolies continued to develop community institutions, manage family businesses, accrue wealth, and assimilate into Peruvian society. Especially because many had received Peruvian Catholic educations, a number of Chinese-Peruvians looked outside of the traditional Chinatown for social networks as well as job opportunities and places to raise their families (Lausent-Herrera, 2011).

One of the central institutions founded in 1930 was the *Oriental* magazine.⁶ With an emphasis on education and the arts, the goal of the monthly publication was for “[Chinese] descendants to maintain permanent contact with the land of their ancestors” through providing news of events in China as well as in other Latin American Overseas Chinese communities (Chang Ruiz, 2012, p.325; my own translation; Lausent-Herrera, 2015). For instance, during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), the publication collected donations to support Chinese armies (Chang Ruiz, 2012). Furthermore, the magazine served as an outlet for political discussions, such as the European colonization of Hong Kong and Macau (Chang Ruiz, 2012).

Outside of some Chinese-Peruvians who pursued white-collar work in community institutions, the majority worked in family businesses, especially small bodega stores and restaurants.⁷ The high number of Chinese-Peruvian-owned bodega stores led to the creation of the common phrase, *el chino de la esquina* (translation: the corner Chinese) to describe these stores and their family operators (Lock Reyna, 2012). Some entrepreneurs opened multiple stores in addition to import-export companies, utilizing transnational connections with their counterparts in China (Lock Reyna, 2012). As for restaurants, many families opened *chifas** that served variants of Chinese food. Likely derived from the linguistically similar term “to cook food” from Southern Chinese variants, *chifas* were typically small locales that served Chinese food in a casual or fast food setting.

⁶ The publication is still active at the time of writing and similarly, is a monthly magazine with articles on the PRC and Taiwan, business relations, recipes, and other Overseas Chinese communities in Latin America. There is also a segment devoted to the Japanese-Peruvian community, known as *nikkei*.

⁷ For images of Chinese-Peruvian families and businesses of the time, see Wilma Derpich’s *El Otro Lado Azul*.

In the examples of Chinese-Peruvian bodegas and *chifas*, both demonstrate the everyday process of emplacement. These businesses represented opportunities to create wealth and capital within families, along with normalizing the presence of Chinese-Peruvians outside of the traditional Chinatown area. For instance, one of the most famous Peruvian entrepreneurial families, the Wongs⁸, started their eponymous supermarket chain with a small bodega in the wealthy neighborhood of San Isidro.

Furthermore, historian Katherine Silva Acuña (2012) emphasized the pivotal role of gastronomy in national identity creation, particularly through the example of the *chifa* and its emblematic dish, *chaufa**, or fried rice. The proliferation and popularization of *chifa* is represented by how they can be found minutes away from any point in Lima, and their expansion even to informal settlements (Rodríguez Pastor, n.d.).⁹ Additionally, in the past decades, *chifas*' recent diversification in quality and pricing has led to increased presence through a wide range of options in a historically low-cost cuisine (Silva Acuña, 2012).

⁸ In 1942, Erasmo Wong opened a small family bodega in San Isidro and in 1983, his sons expanded the family business and opened their first supermarket, E. Wong, in another wealthy district, Miraflores (Vazquez, 2017). Because of their attention to customer service, the business continued to expand despite the extreme inflation in the Peruvian economy at the time (Vazquez, 2017). Strategic integration of in-house restaurants, banks, magazines, ticket ordering systems, day care centers, and online ordering for Peruvian emigrants further contributed to the company's success (Knowledge@Wharton, 2004). In 2007, the Wong Brothers sold their company to Chilean Centro Comercial Sudamericano (Cencosud) for five million dollars.

⁹ From personal observation, there was often at least one *chifa* on every few blocks, and sometimes even more depending on the area. According to Google maps, there are over 270 *chifas* in Lima, including in informal settlements. This number is likely to be even higher since Google Maps may not have the most accurate or current data. According to an article from a Peruvian news agency, in one of the northern city districts known as *Los Olivos*, one out of every three restaurants is a *chifa* (Empresa Peruana de Servicios Editoriales, 2009).

Between the 1960s and 1980s, there was another significant shift in the Chinese-Peruvian community(ies) due to Peru's economic and terrorism crisis¹⁰ that led many to move to North America and Europe for safety concerns (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). Of those who remained in Lima, such as the Wong family, many continued to move outside of the traditional Chinatown area. This was also fueled in part by the inability for Peruvian-born descendants to assume leadership positions within formal ethnic institutions and societies (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). As a result, the traditional Chinatown area saw a decline due to the economic downturn and emigration of community members. Additionally, in 1971, there was another critical shifting point when Peru changed its official recognition of China from the Republic of China (RoC), or Taiwan, to the People's Republic of China (PRC), concurrent to many other countries of the time, which led to internal community conflict.

Migrant Revitalization of Space

According to Lausent-Herrera (2011), newer waves of migrants from 1975 onwards have played a significant role in revitalizing the downtown Chinatown area. These recent waves of migrants are characterized by a much wider diversity of regional origin, migration motivation, linguistic variant, socioeconomic status, occupation, and area of residence within Lima, which are explored in this section.

¹⁰ During these two decades, there was significant political, economic, and social conflict in Peru. Known as the Internal Armed Conflict (original: *Conflicto Armado Interno*), there was significance violence caused by the Peruvian government armed forces (original: *Fuerzas Armadas*) and leftist Marxist groups, Shining Path (original: *Sendero Luminoso*) and Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (original: *Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru*). While the majority of the violence occurred in primarily indigenous, rural areas outside of Lima, the conflict led to increased migration to the city and culminated in an estimated death toll of 70,000.

From 1975 to the 1990s, the first group of renewed migrants represented a continuation from historical South Chinese areas, such as the Guangdong province and Hong Kong, and consequently spoke similar linguistic variants (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). After the 1990s, there emerged two other distinct groups.

The first was composed of migrants from the Fujian province, located northeast of Guangdong, the majority of whom entered through undocumented means¹¹ and work in low-wage *chifa* positions (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). Their means of entry has resulted in a lack of presence in Peruvian border entry data (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). These migrants typically speak Mandarin and Fujianese, a South Chinese variant distinct from historical variants spoken by Overseas Chinese.

The second group included middle and upper-class business employees of Chinese companies with Peruvian outposts (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). The majority of these migrants come from North Chinese cities such as Beijing and Tianjin and speak Mandarin (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). From personal conversations, I learned that the majority of these migrants have been involved in oil and mining companies in the Peruvian Amazon rainforest. Their presence is indicative of the PRC's growing soft power¹² campaign that has also manifested in increased international exchange students and formation of Confucius Institutes¹³ in partnership with local

¹¹ More specific information on Fujianese migration smuggling to Peru as part of the Red Dragon mafia can be found in Lausent-Herrera (2011). The more general phenomenon of snakeheads has been written about extensively in the context of the United States, particularly with respect to New York.

¹² First theorized by political scientist Joseph Nye, soft power is a foreign policy concept and strategy defined by its non-coercive nature and emphasis on the spread of culture and positive values related to a certain country. According to Ellis (2011), motivations for Chinese soft power in Latin America include hopes for future influence in the economic and cultural spheres as opposed to the United States and other Western countries.

¹³ Confucius Institutes, affiliated with the PRC's government, partner with local, often highly esteemed, universities in foreign countries to offer classes in Chinese language and culture with

universities (Ellis, 2011). Due to factors such as the geographic dispersion of their work, comparatively smaller presence, and engagement in circular and return migration, there is considerably less academic and common discussion of these wealthier North Chinese business migrants.

While there are not many statistics on these migrant subgroups, some degree of quantification can be found in Peruvian citizenship data that recorded 18,604 naturalizations of prior Chinese citizens between the 1990s to early 2000s (as cited in Lausent-Herrera, 2009). Moreover, in 2003, a sample survey of Chinese migrants with Peruvian resident visas recorded 34% of the sample was from the Guangdong province while 40% from Fujian (Lausent-Herrera, 2009). Although these statistics cannot fully encapsulate these recent migration trends, they provide some quantitative insight into the uptick in migrants through a legal sense.

Moreover, the distinction between older, more established waves of migrants from the Guangdong province and those of the Fujian province has resulted in cases of conflict and competition in businesses, such as *chifas*, wholesale import companies, and cheap jewelry and fashion retail stores (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). Overall however, in the grand perspective, businesses from both subgroups have been crucial contributors to the physical and social revitalization of the traditional Chinatown area (Lausent-Herrera, 2011).

the intention “to present a kinder and gentler image of China to the outside world. Furthermore, by teaching Beijing’s preferred version of Chinese, and utilising readings from a Beijing perspective, rather than the traditional Chinese characters used in Taiwan or Taiwan-based points of view, the Institutes also serve to advance China’s foreign-policy goal of marginalising Taiwan’s international influence” (Gill and Huang, 2006, p.18). While Confucius Institutes fall outside the scope of this thesis, their effect represents an area for further research.

Additionally, physical renovation projects of Capón Street in 1999 and 2009, as shown in Figures 1.3a and b, by Erasmo Wong Lu, one of then-owners of the Wong supermarket chain, have resulted in increased foot traffic and tourism in the area (Lausent-Herrera, 2011).

Geographically, these new waves of migrants have also coincided with the development of another neighborhood in Lima known as San Borja that is located outside of the traditional downtown area, as shown in Figure 1.4. Previously a mainly residential area, there has been a significant increase in opulent specialty Chinese restaurants, travel agencies, clothing stores, and massage parlors, among many other businesses (Lausent-Herrera, 2011). From conversation, many of the business owners also live in the same neighborhood, prompting questions related to the formation of a new ethnic enclave. However, I also observed that many older migrants still resided in the downtown area, while younger families lived in San Borja or other similar districts.

Overall, regarding these three subgroups of migrants, it is crucial to emphasize that the overall renewed Chinese migration to Peru has very much been tied to global, transnational emigration trends in the PRC and Hong Kong. In the 1980s, many migrants from the PRC were attempting to escape situations of poverty following the Cultural Revolution while those Hong Kong left due to the uncertainty of the impending territorial handover from the UK to the PRC in 1997. From the mid-1980s onward, the PRC also loosened emigration regulations regarding students studying abroad as well as pushed the development and international expansion of Chinese companies (Liang & Morooka, 2004). These changes in regulation most closely lines up with the larger presence of Chinese business employees and international students in Peru.

Furthermore, as of 2000, Fujian and neighboring Yunnan provinces have been the leading migrant-sending areas in China, typically with destinations in the Americas and Europe (Liang &

Morooka, 2004), demonstrating that their increased presence in Lima is indicative of a global trend. While the emigrant group as a whole has tended to be less educated than their counterparts, particularly those from North China, their migration cannot be completely attributed to poverty due to the rapid economic growth in the province during the 1970s and 80s (Liang & Morooka, 2004). Consequently, the new group of Fujianese migrants in Lima are indicative of a much larger, global trend of which Lima is contained within.

As a result, the contrasting pathways of migrants and the distinctions in region of origin, linguistic variant, and socioeconomic status again highlight the importance of a transnational perspective in order to fully encapsulate and understand Chinese migration to Peru, particularly in terms of motivations of migration. Despite these contrasts, I believe it is important to highlight that these recent waves of migration as well as Chinese presence in Peru has been characterized by increased transnational capital and mobility, such as through the opening of new businesses by the Fujianese migrants, or the company positions of North Chinese migrants.

As mentioned at the start of the chapter, it is crucial to contextualize my participants within recent waves of migration as well as situate them within the broader history of Chinese-Peruvian migration and community-building. As mentioned in the Introduction, this thesis will focus primarily on the children of migrants who arrived in the 1980s and 90s. Had it not been for the original waves of migrants who settled in the Chinatown area and created institutions and organizations, the context for subsequent generations of Chinese-Peruvians, such as those of my participants, would be drastically distinct.



Figures 1.3a & 3b. Photographs of Capón Street after revitalization.

Source: (1.3a) My own photo; (1.3b) From Flickr user patrikalex (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/patrikalex/5024802468>).



Figure 1.4. Map of the downtown Chinatown area and San Borja district highlighted.
 Source: Google Maps, my own edit.

Given this historical overview and context of Chinese-Peruvian community(ies), the next chapter takes a more personal view of migration through introducing specific participants' familial stories. In these contexts, I discuss themes of linguistic and cultural maintenance within the home, and their effects on ethnic identity development. I explore questions such as: How have families defined or blur meanings of Chinese-ness? What does it mean to lose a heritage

language? How does the context of Lima and the formation of Chinese-Peruvian community(ies) impact participant familial contexts?

Chapter 2. Family, Culture, and Language

I only understood the side of my mother's family, her siblings, and their children. [...] So, it was very complicated to communicate from family gathering to gathering, to create trust. One day, I decided, okay, "I'm going to speak in Spanish." And they [my cousins] understood me and knew what everything meant. It was chiller; it was not as frustrating [compared to the past when] I was not able to communicate with others. Feeling that they are your family but you can't communicate is very difficult.

So, the opportunity to learn Chinese, I would like to learn Chinese in time—I don't know—or maybe travel to China; this is one of my dreams. I still have not gone there but soon I will easily be able to do this and see where my parents lived. In reality, there is no one there [in China] in the house of my parents, or my grandmother. There isn't anyone. It is very sad. So, the first dream is to travel there and know the culture there.ⁱⁱ

-Santiago

Among all the participants, Santiago spoke most extensively on issues of family and language in his life, and more specifically, his difficulty in communication. This is reflected in the first part of the epigraph when Santiago referenced his ability to understand Taishanese, his maternal family's linguistic variant, but his inability to speak it. Later on in the interview, he also brought up other cases of language barriers, such as his inability to translate Spanish documents related to the family business into Taishanese. Furthermore, Santiago also discussed his parents' extremely long work hours in the family business during his childhood, which he believed led to less time in maintaining his heritage language, a theme that is discussed in this chapter.

However, as the second portion of the epigraph indicates, despite these problems with communication, Santiago strongly emphasized and envisioned his desire to (re)connect with his Chinese ethnicity and cultural traditions, which was reflected at other multiple points in the interview. Additionally, while Santiago acknowledged his difficulties due to the language barrier, his passion to travel to China did not seem at all deterred.

Originally, when I started out this project, I did not intend to speak extensively with participants about themes of family or language. However, as a result of my conversation with

Santiago, along with others, these two themes surfaced as integral topics that merited further discussion in relation to questions of ethnic identity development.

The Chinese Linguistic Landscape

Before presenting theoretical background on the role of family and language on cultural maintenance, I believe it is important to first give a brief overview of the Chinese linguistic landscape. In the Introduction and Chapter 1, I have emphasized on the complexities of the term “Chinese” in reference to ethnicity and culture, but for the context of this section, it is used mainly in terms of language.

Firstly, what is typically referred to as the Chinese language is not just one language as may be implied by the term, but rather, is composed of over 200 language groups with a shared, mutually intelligible writing system. However, especially in the last 50 years, Chinese has become singularly associated with the Mandarin variant due to a number of factors including but not limited to: the PRC’s adoption of *Putonghua*¹⁴ as the state language in 1932; the political rise of the PRC; and the increased number of Mandarin-speaking emigrants. Additionally, standard written Chinese most resembles spoken Mandarin, which is adjusted to other Chinese variants.

The linguistic hegemony of *Putonghua* is also demonstrated in common conversation and academic literature which often has labelled other Chinese language groups as ‘dialects,’ a term that is typically given lower social value than ‘language’ (Leung & Wu, 2011). For instance, in a linguistic study analyzing U.S. newspaper word co-occurrence, the word “Mandarin” was associated with terms such as “language,” “Chinese,” and “fluency” while “Cantonese” was

¹⁴ Translates literally to “common speech” and refers to a specific, regional dialect of Mandarin with regards to accent and word choice. It is also referred to as *Guoyu* outside of the PRC.

connected to “dialect,” “Chinatown,” and “restaurant” (as cited in Leung & Wu, 2011). Although this is only one U.S.-centric data point, the linguistic association demonstrates increased formality and legitimacy with Mandarin, despite that there are an estimated 73 million speakers of Cantonese worldwide due to its status as a prominent ancestral language for many Overseas Chinese (Simons & Fennig, 2018).

As a result, in line with Leung & Wu (2011)’s critique of Mandarin Chinese hegemony, I choose to use the term “variant” in place of “dialect.” In doing so, my goal is to highlight the political nature of the Chinese linguistic language and affirm the value of non-Mandarin variants, especially in their distinct cultural heritages. Moreover, it is particularly significant to consider the Mandarin linguistic hegemony in conjunction with the linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity embedded in the global nature of Chinese migration.

In the case of my participants, none of them reported speaking Mandarin at home, which is shown in Table 1, a participant linguistic chart, provided later in the chapter. One of my participants, Ming Li, commented on the distinction among variants:

Yes, I can speak Hakka, but I don’t know how to speak Mandarin. If I went to China, I would not be able to speak nor even figure out what I was. I feel like if I didn’t learn Mandarin, I would be lacking in being Chinese.ⁱⁱⁱ

Later on in the interview, she also mentioned her past difficulties in balancing Mandarin classes with work responsibilities.

In Ming Li’s quote, I would like to especially highlight the ending idea of “lacking in being Chinese” due to a lack of knowledge of Mandarin knowledge. On one hand, her quote is indicative of the societal pressures and values associated with Mandarin, as well as its usefulness in the PRC. On the other hand, while this may represent her way of reflecting on the relationship between legitimacy to Chinese ethnicity and language, I want to emphasize the necessity of

disentangling these ideas, particularly in the context of this thesis that aims to show distinct forms of ethnic identity construction. Especially given Mandarin linguistic hegemony, it is crucial to highlight the ways in which one can be ethnically Chinese without knowing Mandarin, or any other linguistic variant.

Heritage Language: Acquisition, Learning, and Maintenance

The framework of Mandarin hegemony within the Chinese linguistic landscape provides helpful context in discussing heritage language (HL). In contrast to a foreign language, HL is usually representative of not only a linguistic form but also one's ethnic identity (Wong & Xiao-Desai, 2017). Consequently, the HL acquisition process serves as a form of acculturation through building social relationships known as linguistic socialization (Duff, 2014; He, 2014). Furthermore, sociolinguist Agnes He (2014) uses the framework of Accommodation Theory to emphasize the dynamic nature of identity in relation to an "ongoing negotiation" (p.324) based on HL interactions.

Alongside the promotion of cultural values, HL practice and usage tends to be most concentrated within the home, and may include factors such as socioeconomic class¹⁵, availability of HL reading materials, and activities in the language such as music or chess (Jia, 2016; Xiao, 2016). For example, another participant, Lina, specifically addressed the role of her family in her knowledge and understanding of ethnic identity:

Sometimes I fit more in the Chinese [part of me than the Peruvian] because it is what my parents taught me. I think that your house is your base of everything.^{iv}

¹⁵ The intersection of socioeconomic class and heritage language maintenance was left somewhat unclear in the literature. Some cases claimed that lower income families experienced less assimilation to the dominant culture, and thus increased maintenance of the heritage language, while others stated that middle class families had more awareness of the importance of heritage culture and language (Jia, 2016).

As demonstrated in the quote, Lina put a strong emphasis on her family as the primary influence on the way she viewed the world. Later on in the interview, she asserted once more the weight of family in ethnic identity development in comparison to other factors such as heritage school attendance or activities, a topic that is discussed more extensively in Chapter 4. While her viewpoint may too heavily emphasize the definitiveness of familial roles in shaping ethnic identity development, at the same time, it shows the pivotal nature that family is able to play.

In addition to the home, other literature has pointed to participation in co-ethnic communities as sites of linguistic socialization, leading to spatialized questions related to ethnic enclave location and sizes that differ by city and region. As discussed in Chapter 1, Lima's Chinese-Peruvian community(ies) has experienced trends of emigration and residential dispersion outside of the traditional ethnic enclave area, but it is difficult to provide maps or data depicting this spatial component. However, the impact of dispersion on participants' relationship with family, culture, and heritage language should be considered.

Following this section, I will focus on the theme and impact of family on participants, as mentioned earlier in the chapter. However, I also acknowledge the opportunity for further research in investigating second-generation youth's relation to non-familial community members. Furthermore, Chapter 3 will discuss the context of language within an educational school setting.

Participant Stories of Familial Migration

One of the starting conversation points with all my participants was their family, and specifically their parents' migration story. Due to the question's open-ended nature as well as participant comfort and knowledge, each responded differently to the prompt, which is

summarized in Table 2.1 with participants' familial reasons for migration and familial ties in Peru, if any.

Across all eight interviews, when prompted on their parental motivation for migration, there was a similarity in the terminology in the search of 'better opportunity' or 'future.' Based on the rough timelines provided by participants, the majority of their parents arrived in the 1980s and 90s, mirroring similar trends of increased PRC emigration to North America at the same time. Moreover, factors in China such as the enactment of the one-child policy in 1979 and significant poverty in non-urban areas, contributed to elevated migration rates. The only exception to this pattern were Hernando's parents who arrived in the 1950s.

Participants often alluded to prior familial living situations in rural China and/or a lack of job availability, demonstrating the transnational nature of migration and the influence of push-pull factors. Many participants mentioned that their parents were influenced by family members or friends who had migrated to Peru and encountered comparatively better economic conditions. These individuals also served as their first contact in Peru, assisting with the adjustment and job search. This falls in line with traditional approaches to migration theory that discuss the importance of social networks in facilitating migration. A number of scholarly sources have discussed themes of not only social networks, but also the importance of access to social capital and resources in enabling migrant success (Bartram et al., 2014).

Additionally, another shared pattern across participants' families was that their parents were the first generation to migrate to Peru. However, due to recruitment unclarity, there were two exceptions in Veronica and Pedro's maternal families. Before the arrival of their mothers at a young age—8 and 18 respectively—they had earlier generations of family members who had migrated to Peru. Consequently, their familial migration stories depicts the complex nature of

Chinese migration to Peru and cases that are not neatly encompassed under labels such as “first-generation” or “second-generation.”

<i>Participant</i>	<i>Paternal Migration</i>	<i>Maternal Migration</i>	<i>Familial ties, if any</i>
Hernando	Arrived with uncles and nephews due to political problems.	Arrived due to marriage with father.	Most of paternal family
Ming Li	Arrived to join older brother.	Arrived to join aunt and older brother.	Paternal and maternal aunts, uncles, and cousins
Luis	Moved to Peru to join maternal uncle after being unable to obtain legal status in the US.		Most of maternal family
Santiago	Few details. Mother came from a rural area, while dad from an urban area.		Almost all of maternal and paternal family
Lina	Few details. Parents came in the late 1970s and have been in Peru ever since.		Only parents
Pedro	Joined a distant uncle in agriculture for 5 years before moving to Lima.	Came to join parents who were already in Peru.	Most of maternal family
Veronica	Arrived with paternal uncles. Worked in agriculture before moving to Lima.	Came to join family members. Maternal great-grandparents had moved here before.	Unclear; likely most of maternal family
Martín	Father first moved to Canada and then Peru.	Joined husband and brought her first child (Martín’s older sister)	Unclear

Table 2.1. Participant familial migration chart.

Table explaining both participants’ familial reasons for migration, as well as familial ties in Peru, if any. In the cases where the paternal and maternal migration cells are combined, this indicates joint migration.

In an informal conversation with a retired Chinese heritage school language teacher, family was one of the first themes that came to mind when reflecting on her time working with students. According to her, many students did not stay at the school for long because many families viewed Peru as an in-between stop within the longer journey from China to North America, further demonstrating the transnational nature of recent migration trends. In conversations with other community members, it was often brought up that there were a number

of second-generation Chinese-Peruvian adolescents who moved to the United States or Canada for a portion of high school and/or college with the intention of remaining there afterwards.

However, in the case with my participants, all were either currently studying in or had finished university in Lima. While some referenced friends or family members who had moved to North America and their experiences visiting them, they generally thought of the United States or Canada as tourist destinations, rather than sites of desired migration. This can also be a case of selection bias, as I would not have been able to interview those who had moved to the United States or Canada.

Lastly, a final similarity in my participants' families was that at the time of writing, all worked in the restaurant industry and specifically operated or rented *chifa* locales, with the exception of Hernando's family that owned a seafood restaurant.

Familial Relationships with Culture and Language

Although all of my participants' families were generally from South China, Table 2.2 demonstrates the diversity in familial linguistic varieties, as well as summarizes participant Chinese linguistic variant ability. Additionally, Figure 2.1 provides a rough linguistic map of Chinese varieties and their origins in China.

<i>Participant Name</i>	<i>Familial Linguistic Variety</i>	<i>Chinese Linguistic Ability</i>
Hernando	Unspecified	None
Ming Li	Hakka	Hakka (fluent), Mandarin (elementary)
Luis	Cantonese	Cantonese (household proficiency)
Santiago	Taishanese (mother), Cantonese & Mandarin (father)	Taishanese (can only understand; cannot speak)
Lina	Cantonese	Cantonese (fluent)
Pedro	Cantonese	Cantonese (fluent), Mandarin (intermediate)

Veronica	Cantonese	Cantonese (household proficiency), Mandarin (elementary)
Martín	Cantonese	Cantonese (household proficiency), Mandarin (intermediate)

Table 2.2. Participant linguistic chart.

Table demonstrating participant familial linguistic varieties alongside their language abilities.

As demonstrated Table 2.2, the majority of participants had some proficiency or fluency of their HL and at times, elementary Mandarin skills¹⁶. While not stated specifically, most of the participants' parents likely had some knowledge of Mandarin due to being brought up in the PRC where it is the official language. However, all the participants indicated usage of a non-Mandarin variant in the household, mirroring other cases brought up earlier in the chapter that highlighted the importance and familial cultural role of non-Mandarin variants.

However, one of the sites of divergence within participants was the degree to which they elaborated on the meaning of HL. Those that had some degree of HL proficiency tended not to further explore the issue of language, while those who had negative experiences due to a lack of HL or cultural knowledge were more likely to discuss the topic.

Luis was one of the participants who brought up the value of his HL proficiency in light of a resounding sense of isolation from Chinese culture that he had felt during his past years in university and the recent start of his career. For him, the few portions of his life that he shared with his parents, particularly through HL and food, still served as links to his heritage:

The closest that I do related to Chinese culture is talk [in Cantonese] with my parents, perhaps go to eat in Capón Street, and nothing much else. As a result, for my friends, who spoke Chinese before but now do not speak Chinese [unspecified variant] with their parents, [now] speak Spanish.^v

In particular, at the end of the quote, Luis brings up the unique position that he sees himself in

¹⁶ Participants likely learned Mandarin from their heritage school or outside classes, of which the former is discussed more in-depth in Chapter 3.

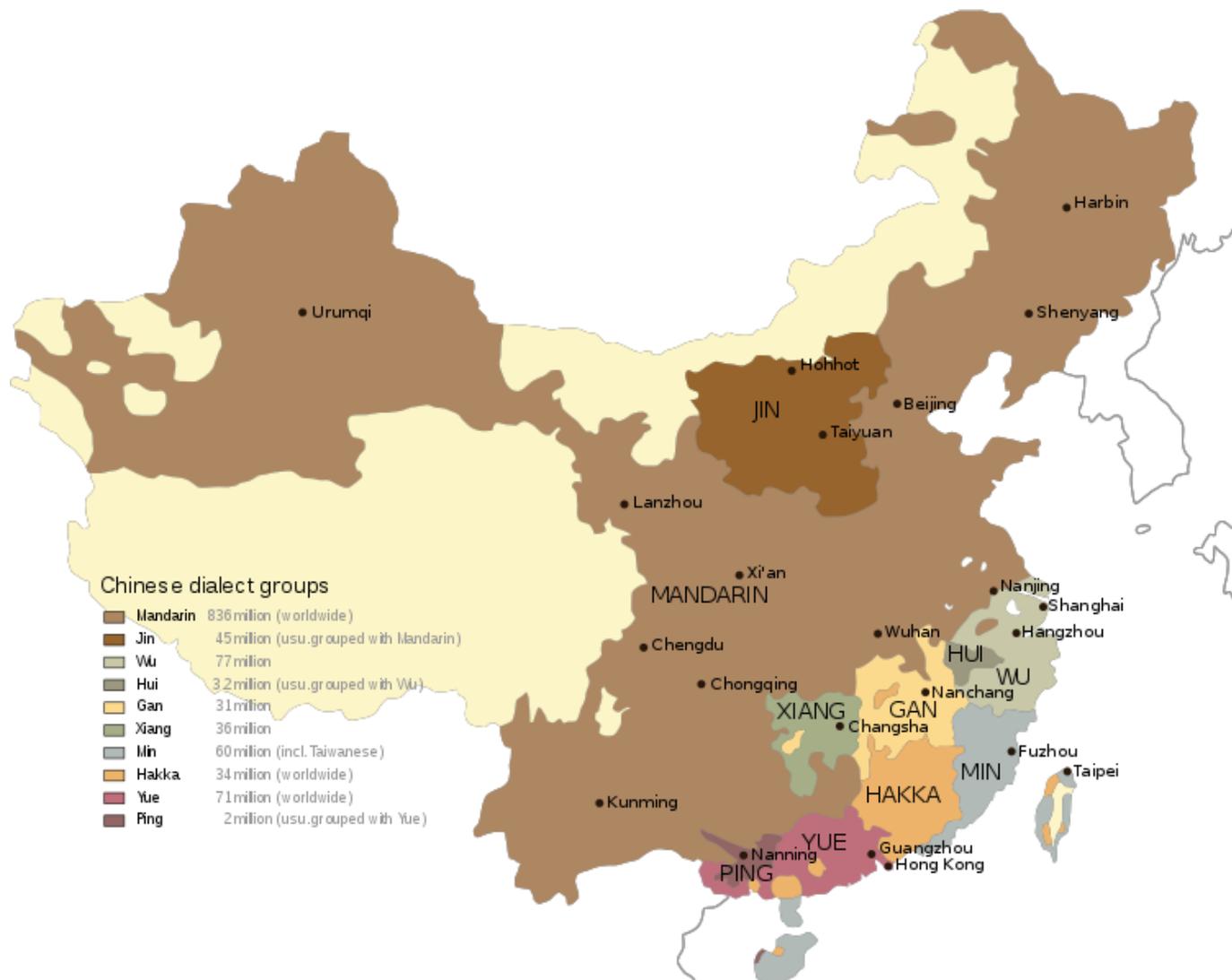


Figure 2.1. *Map of greater China with the ten most predominant linguistic groups.*

The variants of Cantonese and Taishanese are encompassed within the Yue linguistic group.

Source: User wyunhe from Wikipedia commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_sinitic_languages_full-en.svg

through continuing to speak Cantonese with his parents, especially in comparison to his friends' habits of switching to Spanish. He also referenced food as another link to his ethnic identity, along with the geographical marker of Calle Capón, despite the fact that one does not necessarily have to go to there to find Chinese food. This draws connections to the spatialization of ethnic identity, an idea demonstrated in the epigraph of Chapter 1 where Veronica established the historical significance of Capón Street as where 'everything began' for the Chinese-Peruvian community(ies). On a broader scale, Luis' quote points to ethnic identity construction as composite of a number of factors, and not necessarily only language or food on their own.

At another point in the interview, Luis elaborated more on his feelings of isolation in terms of his relationship with his parents while growing up. For instance, in reference to activities related to Chinese culture, he brought up childhood traditions of lighting incense and paying respect to family ancestors. However, with presumable factors such as time, pressures of assimilation, and lack of societal pressure to practice these practices, they faded away:

Well, my parents, I used to see them every day with incense and on that side, since I was young, it was more of an obligation. [...] But [now] my parents have also stopped being Buddhist. Now they are Christians and don't light incense. [Since] I don't see it anymore, neither do I do it. [...] They [my parents] don't speak so much about their histories and there isn't this emotional harness [to the culture] which also influences so when you are older, you view it [Chinese culture] as a foreign culture or customs.^{vi}

More of Luis' experience will be explored in Chapter 3 in the context of heritage schools when he expressed a similar longing to have learnt more about Chinese-Peruvian community(ies).

In contrast, Santiago, who was brought up in this chapter's epigraph, serves as a contrasting example due to his lack of language proficiency. As referenced earlier, Santiago's inability to speak Taishanese led to difficult social situations with family members. In reflecting on his loss of HL, Santiago recounted:

From when I was young, my parents didn't know much [of] or didn't speak much Spanish. [...] We [Santiago and his siblings] always hung out in the street and my mother¹⁷ was always working, and didn't have time to take care of us. We always were in the street. So, I learned [Spanish] in the street. I was with friends, I learned to navigate my Spanish well and didn't take care of my Chinese.^{vii}

Santiago's narrative of HL loss is one that has been extensively documented for second and subsequent migrant generations. In his quote, he reflected on the long hours that his parents, particularly his mother, had to work while he was growing up in order to maintain their restaurant, leading to very little time for him to speak Taishanese with them and his subsequent HL loss.

Santiago's experience also brings up broader questions related to the loss of HL and the effect on ethnic identity (de)legitimization and construction. Ang (2001), who is Chinese-Indonesian and was largely raised in the Netherlands, addressed the experience of her inability to speak Chinese and its impact on her identity, summed up in this quote:

What I hope to substantiate in staging my 'Chineseness' here—or better, my (troubled) relationship to Chineseness—is precisely the notion of *precariousness* of identity [...] My autobiographical tales of Chineseness are meant to illuminate the very *difficulty* of constructing a position from which I can speak *as* an (Overseas) Chinese, and therefore the *indeterminacy* of Chineseness as a signifier for identity. (p.24; author's emphasis)

Through emphasizing her personal and the broader Chinese identity as everchanging and complex, she frames her experiences of traveling for academic conferences in PRC, RoC, and Hong Kong without Chinese language knowledge. Furthermore, Ang (2001) broadens understandings of the meaning of Chinese and in doing so, legitimizes her and others' experience of ethnic identity despite a lack of language.

¹⁷ One point to mention in relation to Santiago's quote is the aspect of gender, as he appeared to put the onus of HL maintenance on his mother rather than both parents. Although I do not explore this topic in this thesis, it represents another area for further analysis.

Similarly, in a study on Chinese-British young adults with varying HL abilities, education scholars Francis, Mau, and Archer (2014) determined that while some young people viewed HL as essential to ethnic identity, others, particularly those without HL knowledge, still heavily positioned themselves as Chinese. They pointed to other factors in their upbringing and cultural roots to assert their Chinese ethnic identity and to “challenge and resist static and simplistic interpretations of Chinese-ness” (p.215).

In bringing up both Ang (2001) and Francis et al. (2014), my goal is to problematize the one-dimensional positioning of Chinese HL knowledge as a prerequisite or necessity for the ethnic identity. Though I am certainly not delegitimizing the value nor importance of HL which many of my participants had knowledge of, but rather, I hope to illuminate the complexity in ethnic identity construction. Furthermore, given narratives of Mandarin linguistic hegemony and the problematic association of HL knowledge as a necessity for Chinese identification, I want to legitimize the narratives of participants such as Santiago who still felt strongly about their identity despite a lack of HL proficiency.

From the Home to School

Despite the difficulties in communication with his family and lack of opportunities to connect with his parents, particularly his mother, Santiago was very vocal about his respect and admiration for his parents during our conversation. At one point in the conversation that took place at one of the back tables in his family’s restaurant, his mother and a family friend entered, and he excitedly greeted them and introduced me, even though I was practically a stranger.

In reflecting on his parents’ journey to Peru and the past three decades they had spent in Lima, Santiago emphasized his gratefulness for their sacrifices:

For my parents, it was very hard, *very hard*¹⁸, to find an opportunity here [in Lima] [and] start from zero, not knowing the language. But little by little, they were improving until—yes, I have memories. We started with a small restaurant, it was really small, and now—look. [Gestures to their parents' restaurant which is the interview site].^{viii}

While the theme of language appears in this quote, this time it is not in reference to Santiago's linguistic abilities, but rather indicates to the general difficulties often experienced by migrants without knowledge of the host country's language.

Based on my own experience as the child of immigrants and growing up alongside many other second-generation youth, I was incredibly surprised by how genuinely Santiago reflected on his parents, as well as his positivity and devotion towards improving his language in order to visit China.

In the next chapter, I discuss heritage schools, another instrumental site of participant ethnic identity. Founded in the 1960s, Chinese-Peruvian full-time heritage schools have served as central community institutions that were cognizant of and provided opportunities for students to become immersed in and learn their heritage language and culture. Similar to the ideas from section, across all the participants, there is a multiplicity of roles in which these institutions have played in shaping their ethnic identity construction.

¹⁸ Italicized for emphasis expressed during the conversation.

Chapter 3. Heritage Schools

I felt like the only [Chinese] specimen of the Peruvian school because I was different from everyone. Nobody was like me. [...] When my dad insisted that I had to go to the Chinese school, [...] there was not the theme of “you are the only one.”^{ix}

- Ming Li

I met Ming Li in a crowded café, where she found a small table in a dimly lit corner. I had just rushed back from a particularly unfruitful visit to Chinatown in an attempt to recruit participants through a *chifa* owner, and she had just finished a long day of work.

At an early point of the conversation, Ming Li recounted her experience in elementary school where she faced taunts due to her non-Anglicized Chinese name and appearance that set her apart from her peers. I remember being especially shocked by her decision to use the word “specimen” to describe herself and the overwhelming difference she felt. However, as implied in the quote, once Ming Li transferred into the October 10 School, she found solace and comfort in having Chinese-Peruvian classmates, despite that the majority of students were not Chinese.

In reflecting on the value of heritage school attendance, Ming Li highlighted cultural maintenance:

If you don’t celebrate them [Chinese traditions and holidays], these things will be lost with you because you don’t remember it, [and then] you lose traditions, friendships, and language. I feel like you lose a bit of identity, of who you are, that you lose all of it in this path. [...] For me, friendship is first because now in Peru, there are not many Chinese people and it is very difficult to find Chinese friends.^x

In this quote, Ming Li emphasized her ability to find continuity of certain aspects of Chinese culture in the October 10 School, such as the school traditions and the opportunity to make co-ethnic friends. To her, both of these were necessary facets of her Chinese ethnic identity, but at the same time, I want to again emphasize the variety of ways in which people shape and navigate their identities. Moreover, while festivals, traditions, and holidays are discussed more fully in

Chapter 4, their celebration raises a number of questions related to the control, representation, and legitimacy of culture for public display and consumption.

Throughout this chapter, I discuss themes of school traditions, co-ethnic connections, and ideas of culture alongside the history and formation of Lima's Chinese heritage schools, current operations of the schools, and participant recollections and impressions.

Background of Heritage Schools in a U.S. Context

In the context of the United States, the term “heritage schools” has often referred to supplementary, part-time education sites with programming in a non-English language and non-U.S. customs (California Department of Education, 2017). In the case of Chinese heritage schools, their origins can be traced back to 1884 in San Francisco where the largest migrant community lived at the time. The schools served as a weekend supplementary education source alongside the subpar, segregated public education that Chinese children received (Zhou & Li, 2003). Instruction was in Cantonese, and the school was regarded as an important method in promoting “strong ethnic identity and ethnic pride” (Zhou & Li, 2003, p.62) especially in light of the Chinese Exclusion Act¹⁹ passed in 1882 and other instances of racial discrimination.

After the repeal of the Exclusion Act in 1943, the gender and age demographics of Chinese in the U.S. significantly changed from predominantly bachelor to family-oriented and newly-immigrated (Zhou & Li, 2003). This led to increased participation in mainstream American society and reconstructions of Chinese representation in the U.S., such as through food as described by historian Madeline Hsu (2008). Through opening of high-end, opulent Chinese

¹⁹ The Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1882, prohibited the immigration of all Chinese laborers and followed a series of legislation previously passed that created restrictions on Chinese migration, particularly of women.

restaurants, Chinese-American entrepreneurs learned the value of “packaging ‘Chinese’ culture in ways that appealed to mainstream [white American] consumers” (Hsu, 2008, p.175) and thus reshaped a cuisine that had previously been singularly known as cheap fast food. These changing attitudes occurred alongside increased desires for assimilation and residential dispersion, ultimately contributing to the decline of Chinese heritage schools (Zhou & Li, 2003).

However, the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 that abolished migration quotas represented a crucial shift in Chinese migration to the U.S. The arrival of migrants who were largely more educated and of a higher socioeconomic status than earlier waves²⁰ led to a resurgence in heritage school demand and redesigns to better fit parent and student needs²¹. In addition to their increased capital, these migrants arrived in a country with more positive impressions towards Chinese-Americans, facilitating their integration.

A notable shift in heritage schools during this time period was the tension between instruction in Mandarin Chinese versus other variants. Traditionally, HL instruction was taught in Cantonese, as it was the dominant variant of early migrants (Liu, 2010). However, changes in Chinese migratory patterns led to the superseding of Mandarin over Cantonese, as mentioned in Chapter 2 in the case in Peru. By the mid-1990s, only one out of every eight Chinese heritage school students learned Cantonese, while eight out of ten learned Mandarin (Liu, 2010).²²

²⁰ There is a significant amount of literature regarding the differences in migrant education and class as a result of the Immigration Act of 1965 that favored skilled workers due to visa requirements.

²¹ According to Zhou & Li (2003), heritage schools decided to conform their schedules to public school year schedules and offered programming outside of traditional language classes, such as academic tutoring, music, and arts. Linguist Scott McGinnis (2008) also argued that it was at this time that heritage schools began to take on the position of ‘compasses.’ In doing so, they served as influential actors in steering the direction of Chinese language education in the U.S., such as in the cases of the SAT II and AP Chinese curriculums and exams.

²² Another factor to consider that worked in favor of the switch to Mandarin is the comparatively simpler system of Romanization which allowed for easier learning.

Furthermore, other pedagogical changes were implemented in order to rely less on parent volunteers and rote memorization, and instead curricula that connected to students' full-time school material in order to increase student engagement (Li, 2005; Shi, 2018; Zhou & Li, 2003).

In putting the histories of Chinese heritage schools in the U.S. in conversation with those of Lima, there are a number of similarities. In both areas, the schools have played crucial roles as urban community anchor institutions through promoting cultural heritage and facilitating co-ethnic relationships, especially with trends of residential dispersion, albeit for different reasons in every city. Moreover, educational institutions, such as heritage schools, have been shown to be extremely instrumental in youth socialization and identity development, processes that are explored in-depth in Chapter 4.

However, an area of divergence between these counterparts is that while the majority of U.S. schools operate as supplemental opportunities outside of traditional school hours²³, the two most prominent Chinese-Peruvian heritage schools operate full-time. Additionally, there is a large demographic difference between the two countries in that while the U.S. population is distributed among a number of large cities, almost all or all of which have sizeable Chinese ethnic enclaves, about a third of Peru's population resides in the capital city of Lima, which contains the majority of the country's Chinese population.

History of the October 10 and John XXIII Schools

²³ Two prominent examples of full-time Chinese heritage schools are New York City's Shuang Wen School and Philadelphia's Folk Arts-Cultural Treasures (FACT) Charter School that are both located in the respective city's historic Chinatowns. There are also dual immersion Chinese-English schools, but they typically are private schools that cater to non-Chinese middle and upper-class families who want their children to have a linguistic advantage in learning Chinese.

Prior to the foundation of heritage schools, children of Chinese migrants were often sent back to China for their education to maintain ties with the homeland. However, in early 20th century, pressure from Chinese-Peruvian publications urged for the opening of heritage schools in Lima to provide language and cultural education for working-class families. As a result, in the mid 1920s, the Chung Wha School* and Culture Center*, separated by gender, were founded by middle-class Chinese-Peruvians (Lausent-Herrera, 2015).

In 1935, the School of Three Principles was also founded in the midst of the Chinese Civil War²⁴ (Lausent-Herrera, 2015). In contrast to the Chung Wha School and Culture Center, it offered free instruction due to extensive financial support from the *Guomindang*, the Nationalist Chinese party of the time (Garro Gomero, 2012). The school also upheld the party's principles, indicative of their worldwide campaigns to garner support for asserting their legitimacy over the Communist Party (Garro Gomero, 2012; Lausent-Herrera, 2015). While these global ties are outside of the scope of this thesis, they serve as crucial reminder of the transnational nature and connection of these schools.

In the next decades, despite their differing administrations, the two schools shared resources and faculty, and were urged to consolidate by the Peruvian Ministry of Education (Lausent-Herrera, 2015). In 1962, the Chung Wha School and School of Three Principals merged

²⁴ The Chinese Civil War (1927-50) was a conflict between the Mao Zedong's Communist Party and Chiang Kai-Shek's Nationalist Party in which both parties claimed they were the legitimate Chinese government, and used political connections and financial capital to (re)assert ties with Overseas Chinese communities to facilitate support for their legitimization. In the context of the School of Three Principles, according to Lausent-Herrera, the year of its founding in 1935 was exactly one year after the beginning of increased involvement by the Nationalist Party in Overseas Chinese education. The party was also very well connected with the Overseas Chinese Benefit Societies, including the branch in Lima.

with the support of the Chinese Benefit Society (Lausent-Herrera, 2015).²⁵ The combined school was re-founded as the October 10 School on land gifted to the embassy by prominent members of the Chinese Aviation Club (Garro Gomero, 2012). The new name of the school commemorated the overthrowing of China's former dynasty rule, and while it was universally valued by both parties, had stronger links with the Taiwan²⁶ due to the significance as its Independence Day.

In the midst of this was a burgeoning middle-class Chinese-Peruvian population, predominantly made up of Peruvian-born descendants of earlier migrants who had accrued wealth through their businesses (Lausent-Herrera, 2015). This segment of the community, the majority of which had converted to Catholicism, was not satisfied by the educational options of the Chung Wha School and School of Three Principles due to their emphasis on Confucian principles (Lausent-Herrera, 2015). Moreover, there were many tensions with older, China-born community members who restricted their participation in community organizations, as mentioned in Chapter 1. As a result, in partnership with the Franciscan church, they founded the John XXIII School in 1962 in order to create a new site that enabled their children to learn the Chinese language and culture (Lausent-Herrera, 2015).

The split of the community into these two heritage schools in 1962 reflected historical and class differences. The October 10 School, closely tied to the local Chinese Benefit Society, mainly worked with working-class community members and had a much more traditional curriculum reflecting its Confucian values. On the other hand, students of the John XXIII School tended to be from middle-class families that were more integrated into Peruvian society and

²⁵ Lausent-Herrera's (2015) and Garro Gomero (2012) both the history of the all-girl's Culture Center School unclear past the 1930s.

²⁶ In 1949, the Nationalist Party or *Guomindang* was forced to flee to the island of Taiwan.

desired to create new spaces for their version of Chinese-ness (Lausent-Herrera, 2015).

Furthermore, due to the religious roots of the John XXIII School, the Catholic faith was incorporated into its ideology and curriculum.

Defining School Spatiality, Curricula, and Pedagogy

Currently both schools offer education for the three main levels of the Peruvian education system: *inicial* (2 years), *primaria* (6 years), and *secundaria* (5 years).²⁷ Both are private schools, and in 2017, had a monthly tuition of S./ 1070 and S./ 1,180, respectively²⁸, with opportunities for reduced tuition fees for multiple siblings (Perú Ministerio de Educación, 2018a; Perú Ministerio de Educación, 2018b).

The October 10 School has three locations, two of which are located Lima and third, most recently opened, is in Chiclayo, a small city to the north. Of the two in Lima, the main branch is located in the district of Breña, while the other smaller site is in San Miguel. In contrast, the John XXIII School only has one site in San Miguel.

All three branches of the schools are located outside of the traditional area of Chinatown, reflecting the pattern mentioned in Chapter 1 of established Chinese-Peruvian families moving to other districts for improved housing conditions and increased safety. Both San Miguel and Breña are part of the traditional historic neighborhoods of Lima, in contrast to newer districts on the city periphery that have roots as informal, auto-constructed settlements. Breña is the second smallest district of the city and mainly a residential zone, while San Miguel is known for its high

²⁷ *Inicial* is the equivalent of pre-kindergarten and kindergarten, *primaria* consists of 1st to 6th grade, and *secundaria*, 7th to 11th grade.

²⁸ For context, this is equivalent to USD 320.94 and 353.93, respectively. Additionally, the average income in the city of Lima for 2017 was S./ 1,667.30 (Redacción Gestión, 2018).

number of educational institutions and prominent commercial corridors. Figure 3.1 maps the locations of the three schools within the city of Lima in comparison to the neighborhoods of Chinatown and San Borja.

Figure 3.2 examines the dimension of class through per capita average household income data by block in 2016, with the geographical areas of Breña, San Miguel, Lima (district), and Chinatown highlighted. Additionally, Figures 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 are more detailed maps of household income in the districts of Breña, San Miguel, and Lima (where Chinatown is located). Through overlaying income data with geographical boundaries, there emerges several general observations: (1) Breña as a largely middle and middle-upper class district, (2) San Miguel as a predominantly middle-upper and upper class district, and (3) Chinatown as a mainly middle and middle-lower class neighborhood (INEI & IRD, 2016). Furthermore, while Breña is not comparatively as wealthy as San Miguel, both are relatively wealthier areas in Lima, and are also historically established areas. While this income data provides valuable contextualization of current population trends, it is also important to point out potential income shifts between the 1960s, when the schools were originally founded, and 2016.²⁹

Figures 3.6 and 3.7 show current pictures of each school's façade and infrastructure. As shown in Figure 3.6, the October 10 School has a much more traditional Chinese-inspired architecture. The John XXIII School and the San Miguel location of the October 10 School are most similar in terms of student size—in 2017, both had 642 and 637 students respectively—while the Breña location was about 1.5x larger with 1,071 students (Perú Ministerio de Educación, 2018a; Perú Ministerio de Educación, 2018b).

²⁹ There are no earlier iterations of the income data either on a block or district level.

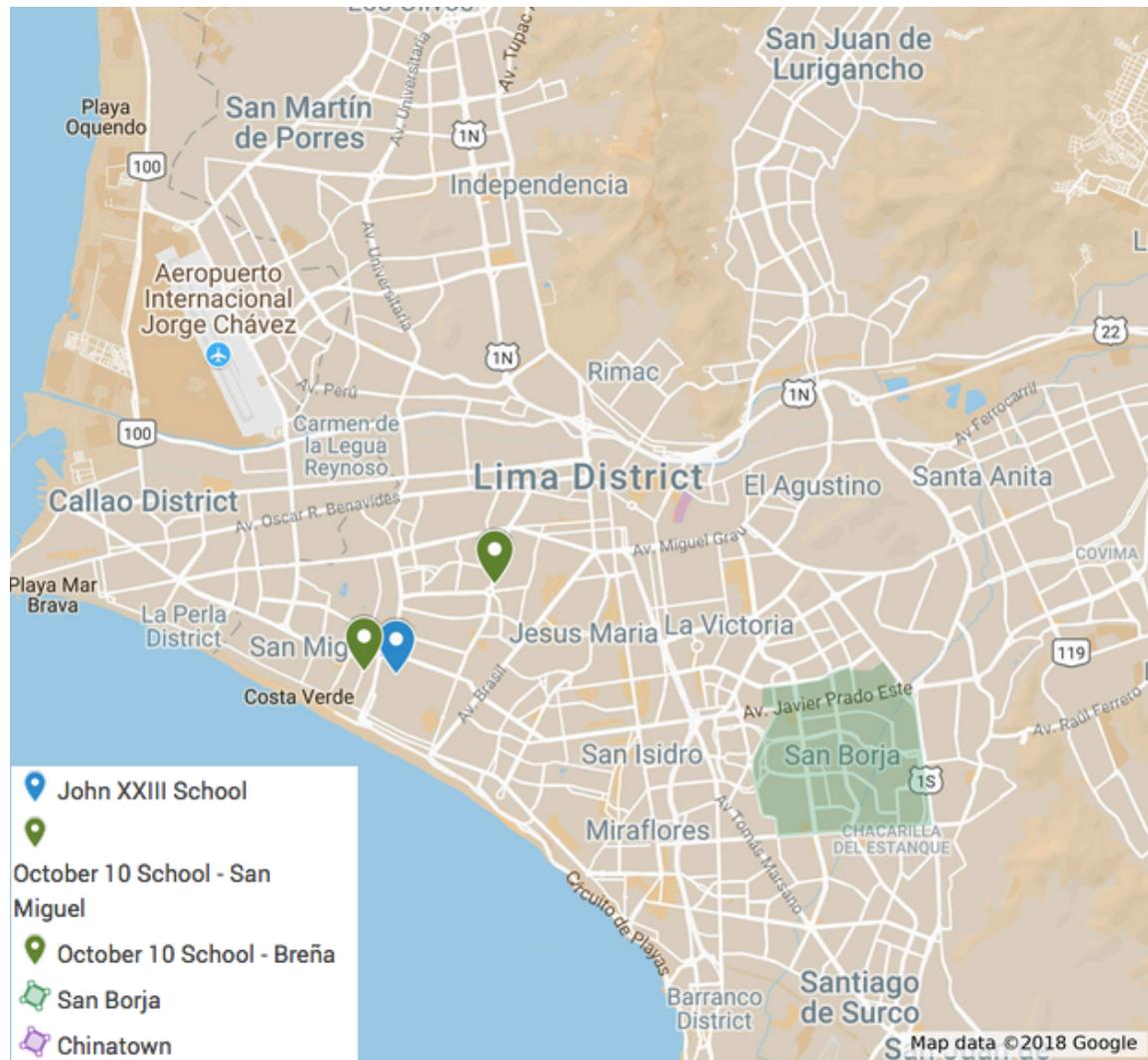


Figure 3.1. Map with heritage school locations and ethnic enclaves.

The two points in green represent the two branches of the October 10 School, and one in blue represents the John XXIII School. The areas highlighted in green and pink represent the neighborhoods with highest Chinese-Peruvian populations: San Borja and Chinatown, respectively.

Source: Google Maps, my own edit

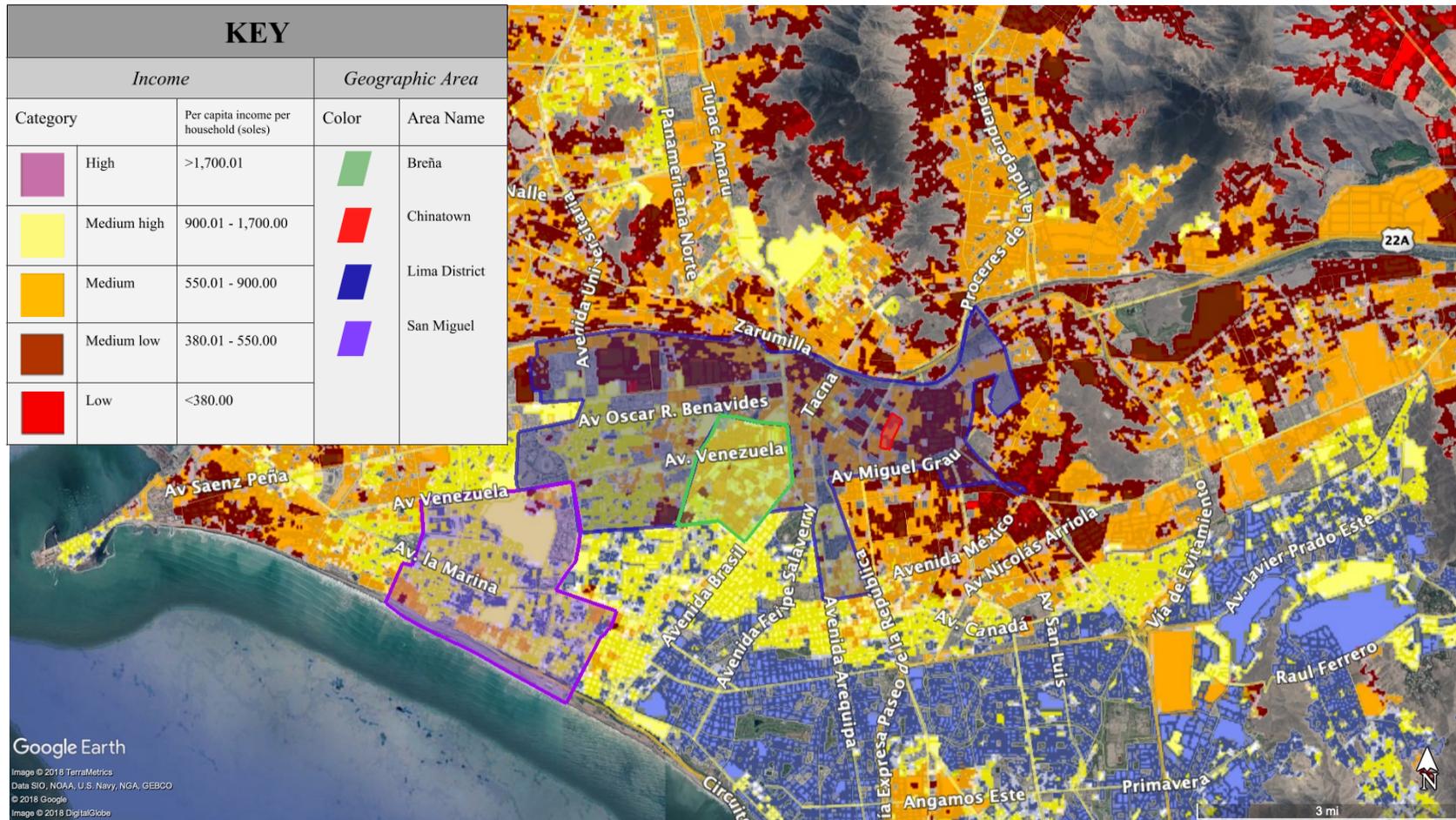
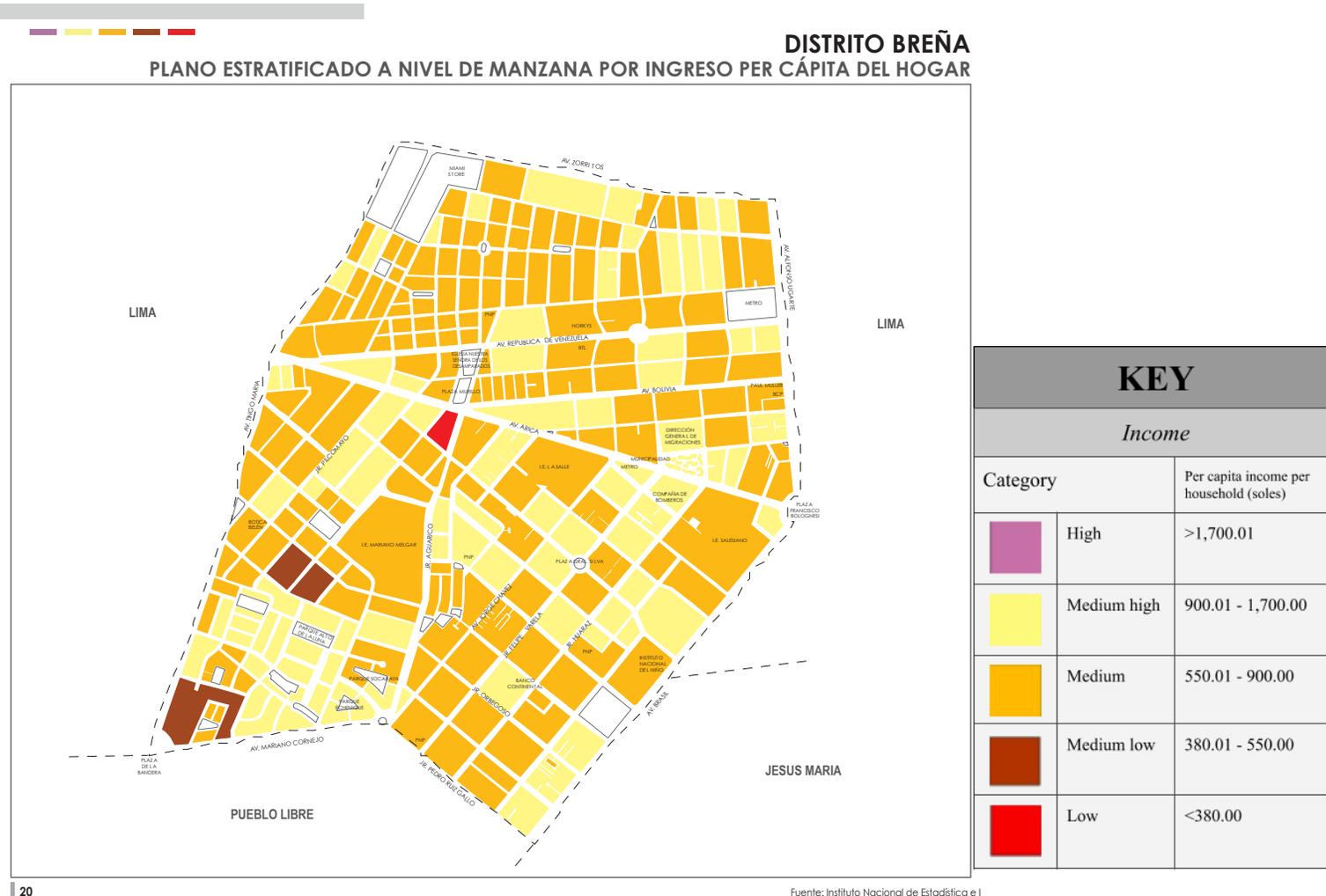


Figure 3.2. Map with 2016 per capita average household income by block in Lima.

The most bottom layer of this map refers to per capita average household income by block, while the geographical areas highlighted and indicated in the key represent: (1) the district of Breña, (2) Chinatown, (3) the district of Lima, and (4) the district of San Miguel. Figures 3.3-5 highlight the same data as this figure, but per individual district.

Source: Income data was obtained from the National Institute of Statistics and Computing of Peru (2016) and the highlighted areas and key are my own work.



20

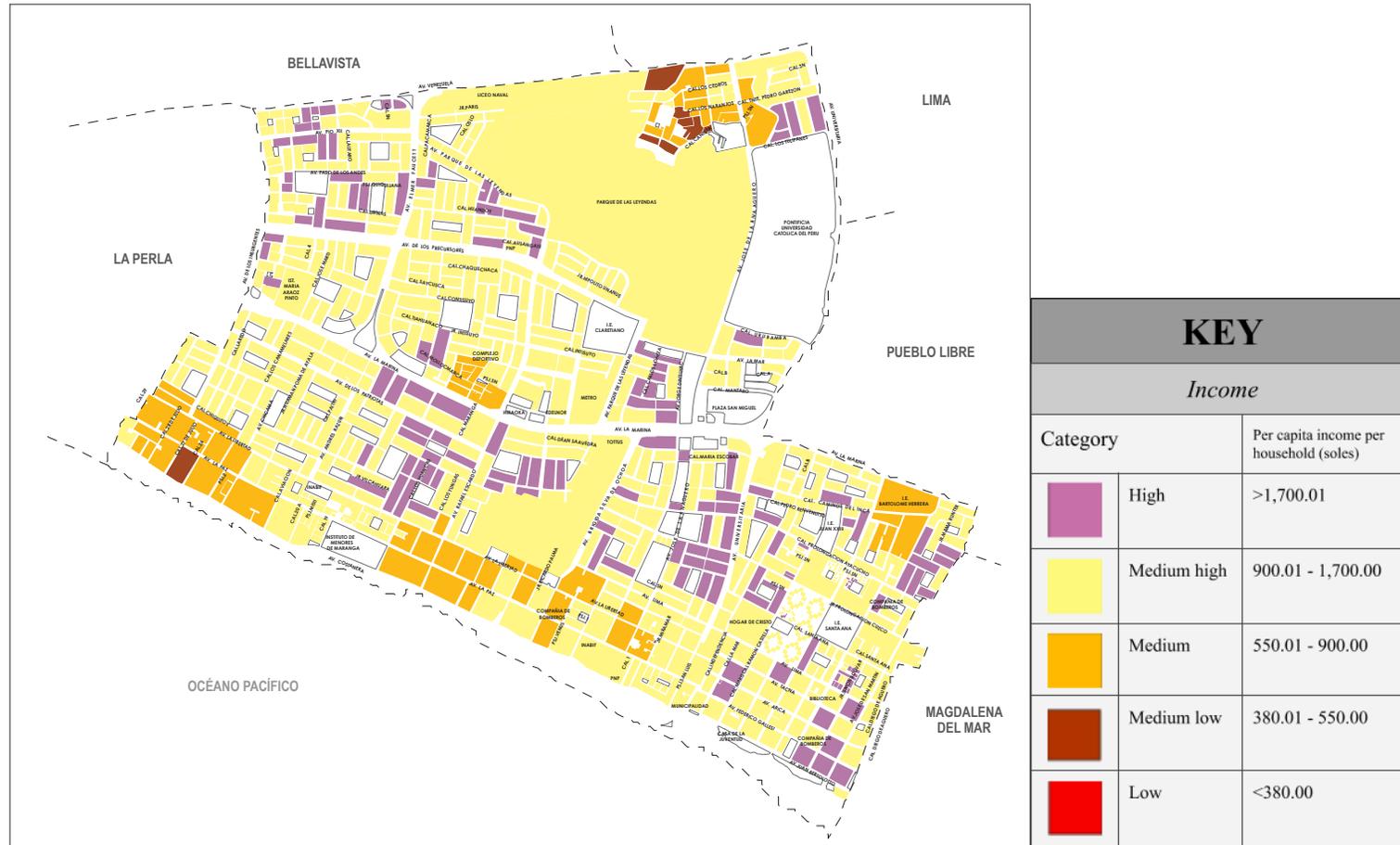
Fuente: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e I

Figure 3.3. Map with 2016 per capita average household income by block in Breña.

District of Breña in which the main branch of the October 10 School is located. The majority of the district falls under middle to middle-upper class, with a few patches of low-income areas.

Source: Map obtained from Planos Estratificados de Lima Metropolitana a Nivel de Manzana 2016, Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática & Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, p.20; my own key translated from that of the document.

DISTRITO SAN MIGUEL
PLANO ESTRATIFICADO A NIVEL DE MANZANA POR INGRESO PER CÁPITA DEL HOGAR



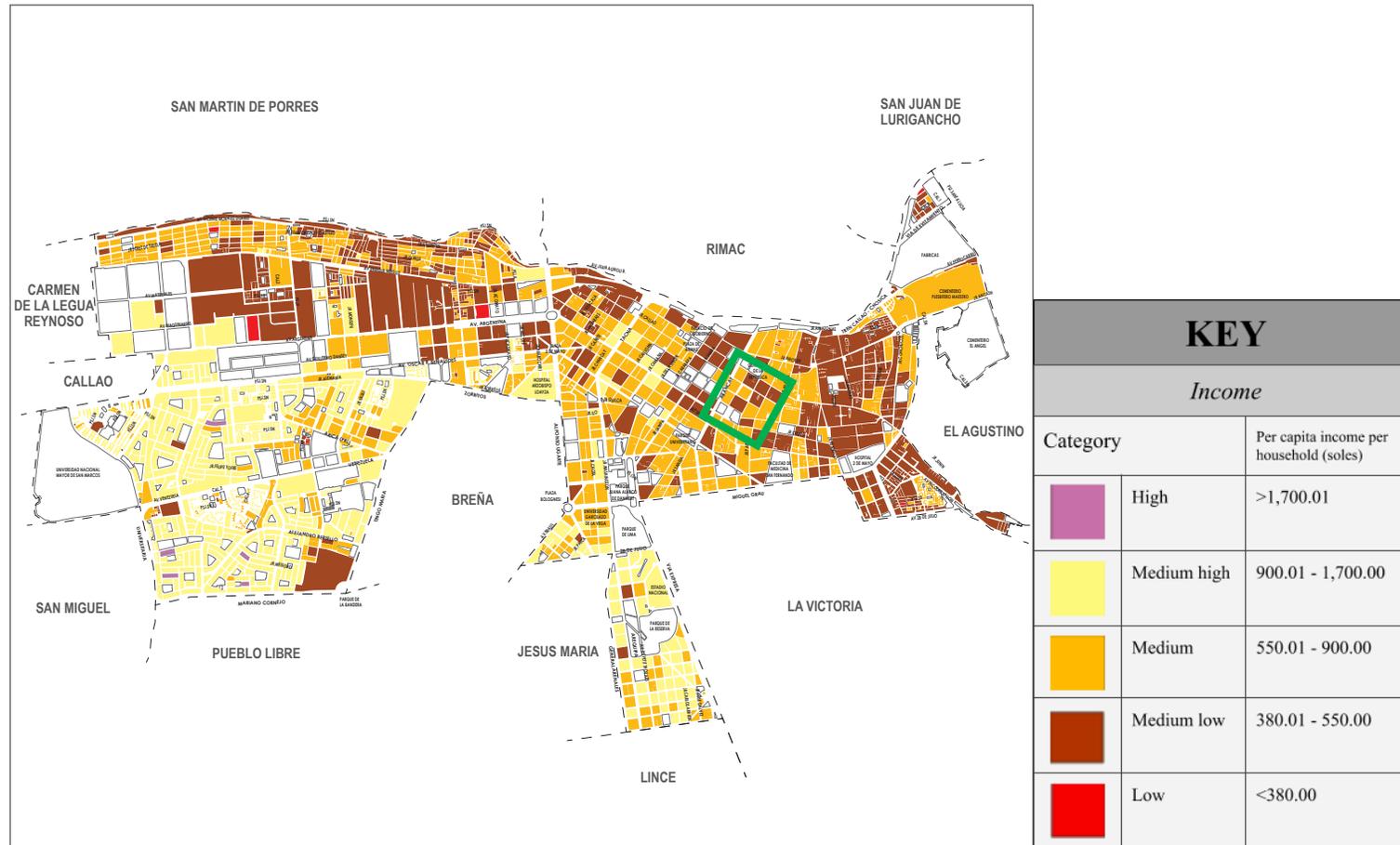
Fuente: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática - Empadronamiento Distrital de Población y Vivienda, 2013.

Figure 3.4. Map with 2016 per capita average household income by block in San Miguel.

District of San Miguel in which the secondary branch of the October 10 School and only branch of the John XXIII are located. The district is a mixture of mainly middle-upper to upper class, with a few patches of low-income areas.

Source: Map obtained from Planos Estratificados de Lima Metropolitana a Nivel de Manzana 2016, Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática & Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, p.53; my own key translated from that of the document.

DISTRITO LIMA
PLANO ESTRATIFICADO A NIVEL DE MANZANA POR INGRESO PER CÁPITA DEL HOGAR



Fuente: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática - Empadronamiento Distrital de Población y Vivienda, 2013.

Figure 3.5. Map with 2016 per capita average household income by block in Lima district.

District of Lima where Chinatown is located (roughly indicated by the green box). The Chinatown area is a mixture of mainly middle to middle-lower class.

Source: Map obtained from Planos Estratificados de Lima Metropolitana a Nivel de Manzana 2016, Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática & Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, p.31; my own key translated from that of the document.



Figure 3.6. Collage of various images of the October 10 School.

Caption reads: First Chinese School of America, Founded in 1924. (my own translation)
 Source: Homepage, <http://www.acepdiezdeoctubre.edu.pe/>



Figure 3.7. Photograph of part of the John XXIII School.

Source: Homepage, <http://www.acepdiezdeoctubre.edu.pe/>

Based on participant conversations, both schools offer a standard curriculum including courses in history, math, science, and literature. The majority of instruction is in Spanish, along with required English and Mandarin classes. Additionally, both have a special support system called as *especial* to assist recently immigrated Chinese students with learning Spanish and adjusting to Peruvian culture. After the students complete a certain amount of time in the *especial* curriculum, they are placed into the standard curriculum based on their level.

Aside from these similarities, the schools diverge in their specific curricular goals. The John XXIII School separates their curricular goals in six categories: (1) Catholic, (2) Franciscan spirituality, (3) humanist, (4) intercultural, (5) quality education, and (6) life preparation (Colegio Juan XXIII, n.d.-a). Due to the Franciscan nature of school's founding, there is a strong emphasis on religion, such as through the celebration of Catholic holidays, presence of a chapel, and listing of spirituality as a core curricular goal.

In contrast, the October 10 School divides its goals into spiritual, physical, emotional, and cognitive categories and provides very specific benchmarks and skills for each academic area, such as mathematics, communications, and science and technology. There is a strong emphasis on Confucianism, as indicated by the "About Us" page on the website, of which a portion reads:

The values and virtues of the Grand Master Confucius, here transmitted, contributed to the formation of a new entrepreneurial generation of tomorrow, possessing the responses that our country demands, to forge a more just, honorable, and humane society. (October 10 School, n.d.-b; my own translation)

In addition to the direct mention of Confucius as well as a number of his values, this represents a point of divergence from the John XXXII that is much more religious and Catholic.

According to participants' recollections, the majority of students in the standard curriculum were not from Chinese families or ancestry: in each class of about 100 students, there were approximately 20 to 30 students who were second-generation Chinese. Some participants

brought up that there were a few third-generation Chinese, along with some Japanese-Peruvian students. Despite that the schools were originally founded as Chinese heritage schools and still reflect many parts of Chinese culture, their prestigious reputations and growing value of Mandarin has generated interest for parents who are not of Chinese background.

Motivations for Attending & Entering Heritage Schools

While both institutions have active outreach websites in Chinese and Spanish, my participants and their families learned about them largely through word of mouth from other co-ethnic family members or friends, which is unsurprising given the role of co-ethnic social networks as resources for information. Table 3.1 summarizes the schools that each participant attended as well as the duration of and motivation for attendance.

<i>Participant Name</i>	<i>School(s) attended and number of years</i>	<i>Reason for attending Chinese heritage school</i>
Hernando	October 10 School (13 years)	Older sibling attended
Ming Li	Other private school in Lima (6 years), October 10 School (7 years)	Familial recommendation
Luis	October 10 School (13 years)	Older sibling attended
Santiago	Other private school in Lima (8 years), October 10 School (5 years)	Familial recommendation
Lina	Other school in China (3 years), Other private school in Lima (5 years), October 10 School (5-6 years)	Familial recommendation
Pedro	John XXIII School (6 years), October 10 School (7 years)	Familial recommendation
Veronica	John XXIII School (13 years)	Familial recommendation & mother's personal experience
Martín	October 10 School (13 years)	Familial recommendation & older siblings attended

Table 3.1. Participant educational chart.

Table summarizes the educational experiences of participants as well as their motivation for attending the specific Chinese heritage school.

Of all participants, half attended the full thirteen-year sequences in one heritage school, while one participant, Pedro, transferred between Chinese-Peruvian schools, and three, Santiago, Lina, and Ming Li transferred from other Peruvian schools. Of the four who attended the full sequence, three of them, Hernando, Luis, and Martín, had older siblings who had been part of the *especial* program. As a result, their parents enrolled them in the same school for convenience and the tuition benefit. However, since the three participants were born in Peru, they entered through the standard curriculum.

When asking participants of parental motivations to enroll them in a heritage school, as a group, they cited parental desires to preserve Chinese cultural traditions and learn Mandarin, despite that it differed from familial linguistic variants. Furthermore, Lina spoke of a similar experience to what Ming Li expressed in the epigraph: “After [transferring], it was a big change because I had never been to a place where I saw people who looked like me.”^{xi} Like Ming Li, Lina recounted feelings of isolation in her previous school where she was the only student with Chinese features. In both cases, Ming Li and Lina alluded to the significance of representation in the education context, which led more ease from an environment where they were surrounded by and validated culturally.

Heritage School Impact: Reassurance & Disappointment

In this section, I focus on three aspects of heritage schools experiences: the Mandarin language courses, extracurricular cultural activities, and points of critique. While each stem from varying experiences, they depict the schools as both academic and social spaces as well as personal perspectives outside of their historical formation and online representation. Moreover,

as indicated in the usage of ‘reassurance’ and ‘disappointment’ in the section title, I explore participant accounts of potential influence and shortcomings related to the heritage schools.

Mandarin language course.

Of the heritage school curriculum, the Mandarin language course component draws the most similarities to Chinese heritage school equivalents in the United States. As stated earlier in Table 2.2, almost all of the participants had limited knowledge of Mandarin and did not label it as their heritage language. Hernando was one of the few participants who reflected positively on the Mandarin course, and also spoke in Spanish with his family:

Yes, of course [the school helped in forming links to Chinese culture]. More than anything, through learning the native language [and] knowing how to say “Good morning” [and] “How are you?” in Chinese.^{xii}

For him, the class served as an opportunity to learn about his own culture, albeit at a basic level. In this quote, he also connects the themes of language and culture, despite there being other portions of culture.

In contrast, Santiago recounted a differing experience of being shocked at his inability to understand Mandarin despite understanding Taishanese:

Oof, it was [very striking], because you went through class and you didn’t understand why you didn’t comprehend the Chinese that they [the teacher] spoke. So, the teachers spoke in Chinese [Mandarin] and thought that you spoke Chinese [Mandarin]. I don’t understand. This, yes, was something frustrating, being Chinese and unable to respond or communicate.^{xiii}

Santiago’s experience of confusion due to the class being taught in another variety of Chinese, coupled with his lack of fluency in Taishanese, is a common experience among other second-generation students placed into language classes for their HL. A similar experience was found in a sociolinguistics study that investigated a U.S. multicultural charter school that assigned Mandarin as a HL course for Chinese-American students (Wu et al., 2014). The presence of both

Mandarin-HL and non-Mandarin-HL Chinese-American students in the language course led to the replications of Chinese linguistic hierarchies as well as significant difficulties for the latter group of students due to the false assumption of Mandarin knowledge.

Aside from Hernando and Santiago, the other participants did not elaborate very thoroughly on their experiences in the Mandarin language class, prompting questions of relevance or importance to their ethnic identity development. Thus, second-generation student perception of Mandarin instruction represents another area for further research.

Extracurricular Activities.

Outside of academics, another key experience were social activities. In recounting their experiences Santiago and Luis in particular linked participation in extracurricular activities—lion and dragon dance as well as martial arts—to their Chinese ethnic identity development. In both the October 10 and John XXIII Schools, there were afterschool opportunities to participate in teams for each activity. In addition to practicing after school hours, the groups performed for celebrations inside and outside of the school. While both Santiago and Luis brought up their participation in the activities, the two expressed contrasting viewpoints that provide insight into the effect, or lack thereof, that these activities had on their ethnic identity construction.

One brief note is that while the extracurricular activities were significant to Santiago and Luis, it is important to point out that those activities tend to be more traditionally masculine and do not represent the only forms of engaging with Chinese ethnic identity, albeit they were the only two affiliated with the school that were brought up extensively in participant conversations.

When I asked Santiago to tell me about how he first learned about the lion and dragon dance, his eyes lit up as he recounted that experience and going home to ask his parents more:

In the moment it [the lion and dragon dance] came out, it grabbed my attention because you see the lions and they grab your attention and make you want more. Feeling like you [are] Chinese and you don't know [anything about the lion dance]—it was weird. So, that push the school gave me made it so I asked my parents. I found out that my grandfather had a school of Dragon Dance and Kungfu in China and so that gave me motivation to practice.^{xiv}

For Santiago, this experience was extremely significant: had not brought up the activities to his parents, he would not have found out their historical familial importance. Additionally, his interest and participation in the two activities led him to learn to play the Chinese tambour, one of the main beat-keeping instruments in lion and dragon dances, from his uncle. After graduating from the heritage school, Santiago decided to continue with an outside group for some time, as the activity had become very personal to him, although at the time of the interview, he was no longer part of it. Overall, I interpret the martial arts and lion and dragon dance activities as gateways for Santiago to feel more proud and curious of his own culture and ethnic identity.

On the other hand, Luis provided a contrasting perspective. He described he and his friends' experiences participating in the dragon and lion dance group more as done out obligation rather than interest. This fell in line with the larger theme of isolation from Chinese culture in my conversation with him that was mentioned in Chapter 2 in the context of family:

Yes, I have friends who participated in the [lion and] dragon dance. Perhaps I had a stronger link to the culture, but on my end and of some friends who also have Chinese parents, I don't think there was much of a desire or influence from our parents, which meant that neither did we identify very much [with Chinese culture]. As a result, we participated in the lion [and dragon] dance more for obligation than for our own desire.^{xv}

In this quote, Luis highlighted the intersection between the heritage school and his family through the lens of the school extracurricular activities. In contrast to Santiago's discovery of a family tie pushed him towards dedicating time to the activities, in his case, Luis recounted the lack of familial interest. As a result, he viewed his involvement in the group as an obligation

since it related to his cultural interest, but never developed a genuine interest, curiosity, or enjoyment.

Later on, Luis remarked on his connection to ethnic identity during his time at the heritage school in comparison to at the end of university during the time of our conversation:

I think that the separation of [Chinese and Peruvian cultures] has accentuated. Perhaps, when we were young children, we had to study Chinese, had to participate in the Dragon Dance. [...] I think that now, we don't have this Chinese identity or perhaps we don't have customs.^{xvi}

In this quote, Luis echoed the same sentiment of obligation associated with the lion and dragon dance group. Furthermore, he added the dimension of time, acknowledging that his feeling of disconnect was comparatively less when he was younger and was surrounded by Chinese culture at the heritage school. As a result, on one hand, there was certainly some impact from the heritage school on Luis' ethnic identity development, but during the conversation, I was also left with the impression that he wished that there were additional opportunities to connect with cultural heritage, which is also discussed in the next subsection.

Consequently, both Santiago and Luis' divergent experiences with the heritage schools' extracurricular activities demonstrate the varying processes of ethnic identity formation. Despite that they both participated in them, their personal circumstances and familial context played a key role in influencing how their perceptions and impacts on ethnic identity. Their experiences also raise questions of the ways in which families are able to facilitate and support the value of cultural activities in conjunction with heritage schools. The positionality of families also stems into further issues of socioeconomic status, free time, and intergenerational communication that represent an area of further research.

Critical Perception.

Despite the experiences of inclusion detailed by Ming Li and Lina earlier, participants also spoke of areas where the school fell short, particularly in its representation of Chinese culture. For instance, Luis reflected on the irony in the October 10 School's Chinese architecture due to its lack of academic focus on Chinese culture and Chinese-Peruvian history:

The school had some infrastructure [see Figures 3.6 and 3.7 for images] similar to Chinese tradition, but [...] there was not much of this “soft” aspect for the students to learn, which were the history, why we came, why our parents came here or the Asian ancestors such as how they worked, their customs and lives. [...] They never developed this love, love of the Chinese culture and I think this should be important if we want to preserve the Chinese tradition in Peru.^{xvii}

Combined with the lack of opportunities in school to learn and connect with these histories and traditions, Luis described the consequence in an inability to feel connected to his ethnic identity.

Another participant, Martín, echoed a comparable sentiment:

If you are asking me about what influenced me or what the school imparted on me from Chinese culture, maybe more than anything, the [physical] space, but on the theme of what it taught you, or rather from what I remember, not much.^{xviii}

Similarly, Martín commented on the physical architecture and space of the October 10 School, which he believed left a larger impact than the lack of attention on Chinese-Peruvian culture and history. While he did not spend as much time as Luis in recounting his disappointment in this gap of attention on culture, he did acknowledge it as a shortcoming.

Two other participants, Lina and Pedro, expressed additional points of critique, particularly of the school curriculum. When prompted about the effect of the school curriculum and activities on her understanding of her identity, Lina responded:

No [the school didn't affect my relationship with Chinese culture] because they are courses that you take and for me, it is more what your parents teach. I think it is what you learn from seeing what your parents do in the house. It isn't that you take a course and you will change your form of heritage and identity. [...] There are certain experiences of Chinese-ness where you learn the culture, such as eating mooncake and those [specific

cultural] dates that are written in the [Chinese] calendar. But if you don't know what it is, you don't do it. [...] It [the school's Chinese cultural portion] was not very impactful.^{xix}

To summarize this quote, Lina strongly emphasized the nature of the school as only 'courses' that were insufficient in accurately representing or imparting Chinese culture. Consequently, she redirected towards her family's much more extensive effect on her world perception and ethnic identity. In response to the same question, Pedro responded similarly:

Sincerely, I think that the school did not teach us much of Chinese culture. My parents were always traditional in terms of Chinese culture, and I followed them. I do practices from when I was a kid, such as taking off my shoes [and] eating with chopsticks. My parents always educated me in that manner.^{xx}

In both quotes, Lina and Pedro pointed out specific practices learned from their families that they believed were more indicative of being Chinese than the dearth of school activities and curriculum components. At the same time, however, I want to emphasize a recurring caution in essentializing the Chinese ethnic identity into specific traditions, which is explored more in-depth in Chapter 4. While these examples are indicative of Lina and Pedro's experiences, they should not be extrapolated to define ethnic identity pre-requisites for all Chinese-Peruvians.

Despite this shortcoming, the experiences of Luis, Santiago, Lina, and Pedro provide examples and encourage questions of the relationship between families and schools, as well as the impact on youth ethnic identity formation. In all three cases, the participants lamented a lack of focus and academic inclusion of Chinese culture and Chinese-Peruvian histories, and particularly in the case of Luis, wondered what alternatives would look like.

Looking Past Schools as Sites of Ethnic Identity Formation

To round out this section, I want to circle back to the story of Ming Li and highlight another portion of our conversation on heritage schools. She recounted to me a story of how very

recently, her cousins were contemplating in transferring their teenage daughter out of the October 10 School due to rising tuition costs. Ming Li detailed her subsequent distress as she attempted to put herself in her cousin's daughter's shoes and convince her cousins of otherwise:

If this had happened to me, I would feel the difference between one school to the other. [...] I told him [her cousin], "I think it is important to keep her in the Chinese school. There is not much time until she finishes and this [the tuition costs] can be kept on for a few years more. Don't take away her chance to be in a Chinese school."^{xxi}

As indicated in the quote, Ming Li demonstrated a strong urge for her cousins to keep their daughter in the school due to the personal importance and growth she experienced during her time there. I was struck by her enthusiasm when recounting the story, which highlighted her personal regard of the heritage school as a site for her that was able to legitimize, represent, and highlight Chinese and Chinese-Peruvian culture.

In the following chapter, I expand further on Ming Li's shift in the perception of her ethnic identity as an example of its fluidity and interchangeable nature. The chapter also brings together threads discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 of family, language, cultural maintenance, and the heritage school to discuss the process of individual and group ethnic identity formation.

Chapter 4. Ethnic Identity & Self-Perception in the Chinese-Peruvian Identity

It is like two worlds being in my house—I am completely Chinese and have Chinese customs—but when I leave my house, I am Peruvian—the people are more caring [and] more open than Chinese [people]. They express more of what they think and they always ask things, if you don't understand [something], or what you think of a certain thing. Chinese [people] don't do much of that, including my parents [who] don't ask me much. [...] So throughout my life, I tried to combine these two things: everything good of Chinese culture that my parents taught me and everything good from the Peruvian culture here that has made me more open.

-Pedro

After the interview while we were on line for coffee at Starbucks, Pedro told me that his dream was design a *chifa* in the future after he had earned his architecture license. I remember being startled by his passion for this project, especially due to the common impression of *chifas* as cheap food options, and according to him, the non-existence of *chifas* that were specifically architecturally designed and constructed.

At a number of points during and after the interview, Pedro brought up the theme of reconciliation between the Chinese and Peruvian parts of his identity, which he viewed as incredibly different. While he did not explicitly mention this, after the interview, I found myself reflecting on the connection between his process of identity reconciliation and his *chifa* design dream. Firstly, the concept of the restaurant itself was a very Chinese-Peruvian representation of the combination of the two cultures. Even more so, I realized that his dream to design the *chifa* was in some ways an epitome of the combination of Pedro's Peruvian architecture education with the *chifa*, an institution containing Chinese roots.

More generally, this chapter is a discussion of the broader process of identity construction, and serves as the intersection of the threads from earlier chapters: family, language, and heritage schools. This chapter is divided into three sections: a theoretical section on youth

identity formation, participant understandings of their individual identity, and participant impressions of group identity.

Broad Theoretical Understandings of Ethnic Identity Formation

Starting the late 1800s with increased migration from Europe to the United States, particularly through Ellis Island, scholars found an interest in questions of ethnic identity in relation to migration. While traditionally the concept of ethnic identity has been thought of as solely a specific descriptive label for a person or their group, it has expanded to encompass other relevant factors such as religion, language, place of origin, and shared values (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, Vedder, 2001a).

One of the key recent themes in ethnic identity studies is its fluid and dynamic nature, and the influence of time and context of self-perception and perception by others (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001b). While ethnic identity formation and more general identity negotiation are lifelong processes, developmental psychologists have especially put stress on the periods of adolescence and young adulthood (Erikson, 1968). There are largely two schools of thought on the process of ethnic identity development. The first treats youth identity as a universal phenomenon that is formed in relationships with others and concentrated in schools, proms, and informal interactions with other adolescents (Best, 2011). The second describes the process as linked to the contemporary modern era, caused by extended education and the ubiquity of technology (Best, 2011). While these two approaches are often presented as oppositional, for the purpose of this thesis, I want to stress an intersection between them in that processes of youth ethnic identity formation have likely always existed in some form, but have been intensified in the contemporary modern environment.

Closely tied to issues of ethnic identity and migration are processes of assimilation and acculturation. In classic models, assimilation into the dominant mainstream society was framed as the sole successful route, which involved the stigmatization of distinct ethnic traits (Zhou, 1997a). In response to these classical models, other researchers have used migrant ethnographies to theorize alternatives, such as the bumpy-line, multicultural, structural, and segmented assimilation approaches³⁰.

In studying issues of assimilation, research on second-generation individuals has explored a number of consequences resulting from their unique position of balancing parents' migrant roots with their local upbringing: the higher potential of social isolation, the pressure to adapt to the host society's norms, their position as cultural brokers for family members, and intergenerational conflict (Cherng, 2015; Zhou, 1997a). Due to the distinct and contrasting contexts for second-generation migrants, sociologists have placed emphasis on the segmented assimilation approach that emphasizes the lack of a singular, prescribed route of assimilation (Zhou, 1997b). As mentioned earlier, schools often serve as key institutional sites of youth identity formation. For second-generation youth and immigrant youth more generally, factors such as racial and ethnic demographics, curriculum, instructor attitudes, and social atmosphere, can have significant impacts on self-perception and the process of ethnic identity formation (Spears Brown & Chu, 2012).

³⁰ More information about these approaches can be found in Zhou (1997a). The bumpy-line approach emphasizes a non-linear form of assimilation that is dependent on environmental pressures and situation. Secondly, the multicultural perspective frames distinct ethnic traits as strengths and additions to mainstream society rather than impediments. Finally, the structural perspective takes into account the structural and institutional barriers that exist in society that can hinder the assimilation process.

Furthermore, in discussing issues of migrant assimilation and integration, Ang (2001) and McKeown (2001) provide important counterpoints to the common used terminology. Migration narratives and by extension, assimilationist narratives, overwhelmingly have created a binary of a supposed, imagined “home” that positioned in opposition with the host society. Moreover, there is the frequent implication that integration to Western culture is superior to ethnic traits, which does not leave space for re-creations of identity based on local circumstances (Ang, 2001; McKeown, 2001). This was glimpsed in the chapter’s opening quote from Pedro who attributed a lack of affection from his parents to traditional Chinese culture. In a similar vein, McKeown’s (2001) note on assimilationist narratives serves as a note of caution in the ways that participants may internalize ideas of Western superiority. At the same time however, I also acknowledge that instances of internalization often occur as a result of societal context and notions of cultural superiority.

Participant Individual Identity

When asked I asked my participants how they identified ethnically or culturally, all the participants, in some form or manner, brought up the concept of the duality of their identity as Peruvian and Chinese. Like Pedro, many used terminology, such as a ‘mixture’ (*mezcla*) or ‘half-half’ (*mitad-mitad*), to describe themselves with respect to their upbringing and way of thinking. None of my participants identified as solely Chinese or Peruvian.

A specific, localized term that emerged in nearly all the interviews was “tusán,” of which three participants used to describe themselves. Although the term in Chinese, 土生, literally translates to “born of this land”, it is defined by Tusanaje³¹ as:

While historically the term has been designated only to the children of Chinese fathers and mothers, currently the use of the term has amplified more broadly from its initial semantic limits and is used in the Chinese-Peruvian community (or tusán community) and its written posts in order to designate all Peruvians with Chinese ancestry, whether they be ethnically pure or mixed. (Tusanaje, n.d., my own translation)

This term, the implications of its usage, and participant reflections are discussed more thoroughly in the Group Identity section of this chapter.

Furthermore, another aspect of individual identity brought up in conversations with multiple participants was their perception as Chinese by others, especially in terms of differing facial characteristics. In informal conversations, I heard of the duality in being and appearing as Chinese in Lima. Despite the normalization of Chinese due to their historical presence in Lima, at the same time, there was still an emphasis on racial difference, especially in physical features. Pedro explained that this expanded beyond Chinese to all East Asians who have frequently been singularly grouped together:

The Peruvians in the street, if they see you, [you are] automatically Chinese. If they see a Japanese, they will also say ‘Chinese.’ If they see a Korean, they will say ‘Chinese.’ For Peruvians, all those with slanted eyes are Chinese.^{xxii}

As a result, from these conversations, there appears to be not only a perpetual foreignness with being Chinese but also an extrapolation of Chinese to refer to East Asian more generally. This was also seen in the nickname, *el chino* (The Chinese), used for former president Albert Fujimori despite his Japanese ancestry.

³¹ Tusanaje is a website devoted to academic work, personal stories, and art by and/or about tusanes.

As for participants' self-perception of their ethnic identity, a key theme that emerged was their fluidity, also brought up in the theoretical section of this chapter. This included everyday contextual adaptation based in a precise moment, similar to codeswitching, as well as specific pivotal experiences that caused participants to think differently about their identity. For instance, when I asked Pedro to talk about the relationship between the Chinese and Peruvian parts of his ethnic identity, he responded:

There was never a shock of customs. I think I was able to change. I left my house and could meet up with Peruvians. [When] I entered my house, I entered as fully Chinese, practicing the customs, taking off my shoes, eating with chopsticks, and greeting my parents.^{xxiii}

In this quote, Pedro connected his respective Peruvian and Chinese identities with their respective specific practices and geographical locations. Chinese was limited to the geographical area of his home, represented by traditions of food, family, and cleanliness, while Peru was associated with leaving the house and socializing with others. Thus, he emphasized his ability to easily shift his attitude from one cultural context to another. Pedro's binary division, however, raises a question of how places that are intersections of Chinese and Peruvian cultures, such as Chinatown or *chifas*, would fit in, which unfortunately was not addressed in the conversation.

On the other end of the spectrum, Ming Li, of whom much was discussed of in Chapter 3, represents a participant who experienced a large shift in their ethnic identity due to a pivotal moment. As stated earlier, her negative relationship with her Chinese ethnic identity was largely caused by discomfort from the mispronunciation of her non-Anglicized name:

For example, if we [Ming Li and her friends] went to [inaudible restaurant/café] or a place where they announced my name, I couldn't because of the issue of discomfort that I felt in the moment when they couldn't pronounce my name. What I did was that I detached myself from my culture.^{xxiv}

This repeated experience led to feelings of shame and a desire to separate herself from her Chinese identity, as demonstrated in the quote. More so, Ming Li's difficulties with her name served as an encapsulation of her fraught relationship with her Chinese identity, as well as with Chinese culture more broadly.

However, she recounted that after living in Flushing³², a large working-class, immigrant enclave with a significant Asian population in New York City for a summer, she developed more confidence in her ethnic identity. Through seeing positive and more ubiquitous representations of her culture, this translated into a shift in which she viewed her Chinese ethnic identity with pride rather than shame:

When I went to Flushing, I saw much of China that I missed and shoot, I realized that this [China] was a part of me. In my classes in ELI—this was my university—many [of the other students] were Asians and they were surprised [that] I was Peruvian, or rather Peruvian and Chinese, [and] that I had different forms of speaking and expressing myself from them. [...] I was able to feel part of China and when I returned to the university [in Peru] and when they said my name, I felt proud.^{xxv}

Overall, this experience very much signified a turning point for Ming Li through the change in her attitude towards her name and ethnic culture. Later on in our conversation, Ming Li brought up examples of her current pride in her identity, such as its uniqueness that she brought up in the context of standing out during job interviews.

Despite this newfound comfort, there was still a moment where Ming Li offhandedly referenced that her sister had a 'normal' name in contrast to hers, which I inferred in meaning that her name was not 'normal.' In noticing this offhanded comment, I do not want to discount

³² Flushing is a predominantly working-class immigrant neighborhood that is largely Chinese and Korean and located in Queens, New York. Based on my personal experience of having visited and lived in Flushing for some time, some of the most noticeable characteristics is the overheard and everyday usage of different Chinese variants, businesses with mostly or all Chinese signs, and fruit and vegetable produce street vendors.

the turning point in Ming Li's ethnic identity construction, but rather, demonstrate the complexity of the process as well as the ramifications of the internalization of exclusion.

Another interesting point from Ming Li's quote is when she mentions the idea of 'China' in phrases such as 'seeing China' or 'feeling part of China.' Although the term usually refers to the nation-state of the PRC, in this context, I believe it was more likely that she was referencing aspects of Chinese culture that reflected her idea of an imagined China, although it was left unclear. Furthermore, this also provides a transition into the next subsection on participants ideas of imagined groups and communities.

Group Identity & Performance of Culture

One of the core themes in group identity studies is the creation of ingroups and outgroups, processes designed to label the familiar and distance away from the unfamiliar (Brewer, 1999). While ingroup and outgroup creation may not be done necessarily out of hatred and malice, it can still result in these outcomes at times (Brewer, 1999).

In the case of my participants, many of them naturally viewed being direct children of Chinese immigrants as crucial to their identity. In doing so, however, some distanced themselves from third, fourth, or fifth-generation Chinese-Peruvians. Participants cited reasons such as a lack of knowledge of similar cultural traditions or their supposed lack of 'appearing Chinese'³³. For instance, Ming Li spoke of her experience attending a Lunar New Year (LNY) event that was hosted by the Chinese Peruvian Association*³⁴:

³³ This is in reference to the physical appearance of those who are mixed-race due to previous marriages between Chinese-Peruvians and non-Chinese-Peruvians.

³⁴ The Chinese Peruvian Association was founded in 1999 by Erasmo Wong, the owner of the Wong supermarket chain as an organization with a focus on the Chinese Peruvian business

I was surprised because I thought I was going to encounter Asians but what I found was that there were all Peruvians. And the table that was supposedly the most Chinese was of the *tusán* youth group leader, yet she was super Peruvian. I did not identify with her. I did not feel that what they did or what they told me was part of the culture.^{xxvi}

Ming Li's anecdote demonstrates an instance of ingroup and outgroup classification through distinguishing between those who were direct children of Chinese migrants and those of subsequent generations. However, outside of this, her quote brings up more questions than answers. In her usage of the phrase "supposedly the most Chinese," she leaves unclear the marker of defining 'Chinese.' Similarly, her observation that the event did not seem "part of the culture" raises a number of questions: What occurred at the event? What is considered "part of the culture" and why did the event not fit this criteria?

Based on an earlier quote brought up in Chapter 3 regarding Ming Li's experience in her heritage school, it is likely that by "culture," she is referencing a specific version of Chinese traditions and holidays that she likely learned through her family. As a result, that portion of the quote may have referred to how the Lunar New Year celebration may be different to her personal family traditions, thus explaining why the event may have seemed not 'part of the culture.'

This draws many similarities to historian Chiou-Ling Yen's (2008) analysis of LNY celebrations in San Francisco's Chinatown. Similar the high-end American Chinese restaurants mentioned in Chapter 3, in the context of San Francisco's LNY parade, by "rooting ethnic identity in cultural practices such as observing ethnic holidays, the leaders therefore highlighted those people who maintained *these* traditions as the only 'real' Chinese" (Yen, 2008, p.34; my own emphasis). I personally want to draw emphasis to the word 'these' because in Yen's (2008) case of San Francisco, there were conflicts between local Chinese-Americans who believed in

community. In my personal observation, it has a strong focus on connecting those who are third, fourth, and fifth generation with Chinese culture today, which was corroborated by participants.

observing LNY and those who did not. On the other hand, in applying this quote to Ming Li's experience, she expresses a contrasting distinction between those who celebrated the LNY incorrectly—the association—and those who did so correctly—presumably her family and other first and second-generation Chinese-Peruvians. As a result, Yen's case demonstrates a parallel case of cultural legitimacy and performance embedded in LNY celebrations in another city with a historically prominent Chinese population.

Similar to Ming Li, Pedro expressed a comparable opinion when reflecting on the general label of *tusán* and its members:

From what I have understood, the term *tusán* is a Chinese born in Peru. The truth is that it seems to me, at least from what I have seen—it is not my personal opinion—*tusán* is not something that is prideful, at least to those of the first generation, those of my generation, those who are direct children of Chinese *Chinese*³⁵ [spoken emphasis]. [...] Normally, when you see the *Tusán* Association³⁶ [...], the majority are children of combination, such as Peruvians with Chinese [...] and from there one would feel more identified with the term *tusán*.^{xxvii}

Pedro's comment indicated a similar instance of a created ingroup and outgroup. Those like him, the “direct children of Chinese *Chinese*,” were represented with a sense of authenticity who the *tusánes*, in comparison, did not have. This sentiment continued in the phrase “children of combination”³⁷ that distinguished his family and racial origin from the *tusánes* who typically came from families with mixed-race marriages. Furthermore, to me, his claim that *tusán* was ‘not something that is prideful’ seemed to imply that the Association's programming was not “truly” Chinese or deserving enough to celebrate Chinese culture.

³⁵ Italicization added for emphasis when spoken by the participant.

³⁶ It is unclear what organization Pedro is referring to, but most likely to the Chinese Peruvian Association that Ming Li also brought up.

³⁷ While this phrase would likely not be said in the United States due to societal norms surrounding speaking about race and ethnicity, it is important to note that in Peru, I noticed that it was much more culturally appropriate to speak of these topics, especially the “mixing” or “combination” of racial and ethnic groups.

Upon hearing these statements, I, as both a researcher and second-generation Asian-American, was very conflicted. On one hand, I recognized the importance for participants to find affirmation and pride in their position as children of migrants, particularly if they had experienced cases of exclusion based on their appearance or traditions. On the other hand, based on stories from mixed-heritage friends or famous figures, I was also alarmed by the implication of labelling individuals as ‘not Chinese enough’ or ‘not worthy enough’ to celebrate Chinese customs and heritages.

Apart from Ming Li and Pedro’s strong sentiments towards the *tusán* label, in contrast, there were other participants who strongly identified with the term and did not express any ingroup or outgroup feelings. For these participants, they chose not to use any generational or ethnic lines, and simply defined *tusán* as anyone who was a descendant of Chinese residing outside of China, resembling to the definition provided earlier in the chapter from Tusanaje.

For instance, Luis mentioned that he and his family regularly participated in events run at the Villa Tusán, a recreation and cultural center located outside of Lima. Because he and his family were eligible to participate in activities at the Villa, to him, he felt identified by the term *tusán*. Veronica brought up the annual *Miss Tusán* pageant which conferred eligibility based on any connection to Chinese heritage as an example of her all-encompassing definition of the term. Consequently, the varied responses from participants serve as examples of the difficulty and conflict in the creation of a Chinese-Peruvian group identity.

Another factor to consider on an even broader scale is the global dynamics of how the PRC is perceived. Especially in the most recent years, China’s extensive soft power campaign mentioned in Chapter 1 has especially gained a stronghold through the presence of Chinese mining and oil companies in the Peruvian Amazon. Additionally, there has been increased

investment into Chinese language and culture programs and university exchange students at Lima leading universities. While the effects of these soft power campaigns is difficult to perceive at this moment, it represents an area of further research due to future potential shifts in societal perception towards Chinese-Peruvians.

Concluding Thoughts

One of my overarching reflections on this thesis project is that it has been a tremendously humbling and grateful opportunity to get to know each of my eight participants and connect over our transnational experiences as second-generation young adults. While completely understanding the experiences of my participants is impossible, my own positionality and background have greatly fueled my passion in this topic and my desire to bring my participants' voices and experiences alive. Through this, I hope to have demonstrated the immense diversity that exists within and among Overseas Chinese communities, particularly in this young group of Chinese-Peruvians. Furthermore, I wish to highlight once more the pivotal position of my participants and their second-generation peers.

Firstly, as children of the migratory wave that played a large role in revitalizing the traditional Chinatown area, they witnessed firsthand re-constructions of the Chinese ethnicity by parents and family friends who opened *chifas* that have become ubiquitous on nearly every streetcorner. Secondly, while not all of the participants were fluent in their HL or other Chinese variants, those with that knowledge have the potential to serve in crucial roles of cultural and linguistic brokers. While there is a surge in the number of Chinese international students in Lima, in my opinion, second-generation Chinese-Peruvians represent a unique experience in their intimate connections to both cultures that have been shaped by their family, co-ethnic community(ies), upbringing, and heritage school attendance.

Thirdly and lastly, all eight of my participants were between the ages of 18 and 25, and were either at the cusp of completing university or had just recently started working. As a result, at this transitional moment of their lives as young adults, in many ways, they physically and symbolically embody the future of the Chinese-Peruvian community(ies) in how they choose to interact and position themselves alongside others.

Due to the qualitative nature of this project, limitations include the sample size and selection of only a few themes for analysis. Consequently, there exists a multitude of opportunities for additional thematic analysis of participant interviews, including but not limited to the relationship between participants and Chinese-Peruvian history, emotional analyses of loss and hope, and other factors of ethnic identity development. Other general themes for further exploration include statistical estimates of the changing Chinese-Peruvian population demographics, the influence of China's increasing global influence and soft power campaign on current Chinese-Peruvian community(ies), psychological models depicting the intertwined effect of family and educational sites on youth ethnic identity formation, and comparisons with other heritage schools in Latin America, including non-Chinese schools.

Despite the distinct participant perspectives, all of them share experiences navigating the identity marker of second-generation Chinese-Peruvian, encapsulated in their varying experiences of their upbringing with migrant parents, awareness of HL, and heritage school attendance. More generally, I hope that the stories of my participants are able to situate their presence alongside their parents and earlier generations of Chinese-Peruvians, and more importantly, their unique processes of ethnic identity construction.

Bibliography

- Ang, I. (2001). *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living Between Asia and the West*. London: Routledge.
- Bartram, D., Poros, M., & Monforte, P. (2014). *Key Concepts in Migration*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Best, A. (2011). Youth Identity Formation: Contemporary Identity Work. *Sociology Compass*, 5(10), 908–922.
- Brewer, M. B. (1999). The Psychology of Prejudice: Ingroup Love or Outgroup Hate? *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(3), 429–444.
- Çaglar, A., & Glick Schiller, N. (2018). *Migrants and City-Making: Dispossession, Displacement, and Urban Regeneration*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- California Department of Education. (2017, December 22). Frequently Asked Questions Heritage Schools - Heritage Schools (CA Dept of Education). Retrieved October 17, 2018, from <https://www.cde.ca.gov/ls/pf/he/hsfaq.asp>.
- Chang Ruiz, R. (2012). Ochenta años de la Revista Oriental. In R. Chuhue Huamán, L. J. Na, & A. Coello (Eds.), *La Inmigración China al Perú: Arqueología, Historia y Sociedad* (pp. 325–332). Lima: Instituto Confucio de la Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- Cherng, H.-Y. S. (2015). Social Isolation Among Racial/Ethnic Minority Immigrant Youth: Social Isolation Among Minority Immigrant Youth. *Sociology Compass*, 9(6), 509–518.
- Chuhue Huamán, R. (2016). *Capón: el barrio chino de Lima*. Lima: Municipalidad de Lima.
- Chuhue Huamán, R., & Espinoza, E. (2012). Una visita al barrio chino de Lima. In R. Chuhue Huamán, L. J. Na, & A. Coello (Eds.), *La Inmigración China al Perú: Arqueología, Historia y Sociedad* (pp. 325–332). Lima: Instituto Confucio de la Universidad Ricardo Palma.

- Coello Rodriguez, A. (2012). Médicos y boticarios chinos en la Lima del siglo XIX (1856-1879). In R. Chuhue, L. J. Na, & A. Coello (Eds.), *La Inmigración China al Perú: Arqueología, Historia y Sociedad* (pp. 167–190). Lima: Instituto Confucio de la Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- Colegio Diez de Octubre. (n.d.-a). *Colegio Diez de Octubre - Inicio* [Photo]. Retrieved October 9, 2018, from <http://www.acepdiezdeoctubre.edu.pe/>.
- Colegio Diez de Octubre. (n.d.-b). Sobre Nosotros. Retrieved October 8, 2018, from http://www.acepdiezdeoctubre.edu.pe/?page_id=37.
- Colegio Juan XXIII. (n.d.-a). *Perfiles de Ingreso y Egreso del Estudiante*. Lima: John XXIII School. Retrieved October 18, 2018, from <http://www.juan23.edu.pe/informaciones/perfiles.pdf?p=733>.
- Colegio Juan XXIII. (n.d.-b). *Vicaria Pastoral de la Comunidad China* [Photo]. Retrieved October 9, 2018, from http://www.juan23.edu.pe/comunidad/instalaciones_j23_5.php.
- Cosmalón Aguilar, J. (2012). Cocinándose a fuego lento. Los chinos y la plebe limeña, una mirada a partir del Censo de 1860. In R. Chuhue Huamán, L. J. Na, & A. Coello (Eds.), *La Inmigración China al Perú: Arqueología, Historia y Sociedad* (pp. 262–278). Lima: Instituto Confucio de la Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- Duff, P. (2014). Language socialization into Chinese language and “Chineseness” in diaspora communities. In X. L. Curdt-Christiansen & A. Hancock (Eds.), *Learning Chinese in Diasporic Communities: Many pathways to being Chinese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

- Ellis, R. (2011). Chinese Soft Power in Latin America: A Case Study. *Joint Force Quarterly*, 60(1), 85–91.
- Empresa Peruana de Servicios Editoriales. (2009, August 7). Cada año abren aproximadamente 10,000 chifas y 8,000 pollerías nuevos a nivel nacional. Retrieved November 8, 2018, from <https://andina.pe/agencia/noticia-cada-ano-abren-aproximadamente-10000-chifas-y-8000-pollerias-nuevos-a-nivel-nacional-247110.aspx>.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Fong, E., & Berry, B. (2017). *Immigration and the City*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Francis, B., Mau, A., & Archer, L. (2014). Speaking of identity? British Chinese young people's perspectives on language and ethnic identity. In X. L. Curdt-Christiansen & A. Hancock (Eds.), *Learning Chinese in Diasporic Communities: Many pathways to being Chinese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Garro Gomero, W. (2012). El Colegio Peruano Chino 10 de Octubre. In R. Chuhue, L. J. Na, & A. Coello (Eds.), *La Inmigración China al Perú: Arqueología, Historia y Sociedad* (pp. 199–212). Lima: Instituto Confucio de la Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- Gill, B., & Huang, Y. (2006). Sources and limits of Chinese 'soft power.' *Survival*, 48(2), 17–36.
- He, A. W. (2014). Heritage Language Development and Identity Construction Throughout the Life Cycle. In T. G. Wiley, J. K. Peyton, D. Christian, S. C. K. Moore, & N. Liu (Eds.), *Handbook of heritage, community, and native American languages in the United States: research, policy, and educational practice* (pp. 324–331). New York: Routledge.
- Hsu, M. Y. (2008). From Chop Suey to Mandarin Cuisine: Fine Dining and the Refashioning of Chinese Ethnicity During the Cold War Era. In M. Y. Hsu & S. Chan (Eds.), *Chinese*

- Americans and the Politics of Race and Culture* (pp. 173–194). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, & Institut de Recherche pour le Développement. (2016). *Planos Estratificados de Lima Metropolitana a Nivel de Manzana 2016*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática.
- Jia, R. (2008). Heritage language development, development, maintenance, and attrition among recent Chinese immigrants in New York. In Y. Xiao & A. W. He (Eds.), *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry* (pp. 189–203). Honolulu: National Foreign Language Resource Center, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
- Knowledge@Wharton. (2004, October 6). E. Wong Wins the Battle of the Internet in Peru. Retrieved December 2, 2018, from <http://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article/e-wong-wins-the-battle-of-the-internet-in-peru/>.
- Lau Ko, E. (2012). La Sociedad Pun Yui del Perú. In R. Chuhue Huamán, L. J. Na, & A. Coello (Eds.), *La Inmigración China al Perú: Arqueología, Historia y Sociedad* (pp. 301–324). Lima: Instituto Confucio de la Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- Lausent-Herrera, I. (2009). Tusans (tusheng) and the Changing Chinese Community in Peru. *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 5(1), 115–152.
- Lausent-Herrera, I. (2011). The Chinatown in Peru and the Changing Peruvian Chinese Communities. *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 7(1), 69–113.
- Lausent-Herrera, I. (2015). “The language is race and patriotism”: New schools and new Sino-Peruvian press in Peru--The debate on education of Chinese and Mixed-blood 1931-2015. *Global Chinese*, 1(2), 311–337.

- Leung, G. Y., & Wu, M.-H. (2011). Critically Problematizing the Term “Chinese”: Implications for Language Teaching for Chinese Diasporic Communities. *Journal of Modern Languages, 21*(1), 48–58.
- Li, M. (2005). The Role of Parents in Chinese Heritage-Language Schools. *Bilingual Research Journal, 29*(1), 197–207.
- Liang, Z., & Morooka, H. (2004). Recent Trends of Emigration from China: 1982-2000. *International Migration, 42*(3), 145–164.
- Liu, N. (2010). *Chinese Heritage Language Schools in the United States* (Heritage Briefs Collection) (pp. 1–4). Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Lock Reyna, M. (2012). De la tiendita al supermercado. Los comerciantes chinos en América Latina y el Caribe. In R. Chuhue, L. J. Na, & A. Coello (Eds.), *La Inmigración China al Perú: Arqueología, Historia y Sociedad* (pp. 191–198). Lima: Instituto Confucio de la Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- McGinnis, S. (2008). From Mirror to Compass: The Chinese Heritage Language Education Section in the United States. In D. Brinton & O. Kagan (Eds.), *Heritage Language Education: A New Field Emerging* (pp. 229–242). New York: Routledge.
- McKeown, A. (2001). *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- patrikalex. (2010). *Barrio Chino, Lima, Peru* [Photo]. Retrieved November 10, 2018, from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/patrikalex/5024802468/>.
- Perú Ministerio de Educación. (2018a). IE PERUANO CHINO DIEZ DE OCTUBRE. Retrieved October 17, 2018, from <http://identicole.minedu.gob.pe/>.

- Perú Ministerio de Educación. (2018b). IE PERUANO CHINO JUAN XXIII. Retrieved October 17, 2018, from <http://identicole.minedu.gob.pe/>.
- Phinney, J., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001a). Ethnic Identity, Immigration, and Well-Being: An Interactional Perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 493–510.
- Phinney, J. S., Romero, I., Nava, M., & Huang, D. (2001b). The Role of Language, Parents, and Peers in Ethnic Identity Among Adolescents in Immigrant Families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30(2), 135–153.
- Poston, Jr., D. L., & Wong, J. H. (2014). The Chinese Diaspora Population in circa-2011. Presented at the Population Association of America Annual Meeting Program, Boston.
- Redacción Gestión. (2018, January 15). INEI: Ingreso promedio mensual en Lima Metropolitana fue de S/ 1,667.3 al cierre del 2017. *Gestión*. Retrieved October 17, 2018, from <https://gestion.pe/economia/inei-ingreso-promedio-mensual-lima-metropolitana-s-1-667-3-cierre-2017-224923>.
- Rodríguez Pastor, H. (2004). Peru. Presencia china e identidad nacional. In *Cuando Oriente llegó a América: Contribuciones de inmigrantes chinos, japoneses y coreanos* (pp. 115–134). Washington, D.C.: Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo.
- Rodríguez Pastor, H. (n.d.). *Fonfa, chifan, chifa, chaufa y aeropuerto* (Unpublished). National University of San Marcos, Lima.
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London: SAGE.
- Shi, J. (2018). *Saturday Chinese 01: The Past and Present of Chinese-Language School in America*. New York: Sinovision. Retrieved October 14, 2018, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=532&v=6NzJldYSWro.
- Silva Acuña, K. (2012). Habitus y consumo: el case del arroz chaufa. In R. Chuhue Huamán, L.

- J. Na, & A. Coello (Eds.), *La Inmigración China al Perú: Arqueología, Historia y Sociedad* (pp. 333–344). Lima: Instituto Confucio de la Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- Simons, G., & Fennig, C. (Eds.). (2018). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twenty-first edition*. Dallas: SIL International.
- Sociedad Central de Beneficencia China. (n.d.). Quiénes Somos. Retrieved December 9, 2018, from <http://www.sbcperu.com/es/quinessomos/>.
- Spears Brown, C., & Chu, H. (2012). Discrimination, Ethnic Identity, and Academic Outcomes of Mexican Immigrant Children: The Importance of School Context. *Child Development*, 83(5), 1477–1485.
- Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2008). A narrative approach to ethnic identity in emerging adulthood: Bringing life to the identity status model. *Developmental Psychology*, 44(4), 1012–1027.
- Tusanaje. (n.d.). Ser Tusán. Retrieved November 1, 2018, from <http://www.tusanaje.org/ser-tusan/>.
- Valladares Chamorro, O. (2012). El teatro tradicional chino en Lima. In R. Chuhue Huamán, L. J. Na, & A. Coello (Eds.), *La Inmigración China al Perú: Arqueología, Historia y Sociedad* (pp. 153–166). Lima: Instituto Confucio de la Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- Vazquez, D. (2017, October 10). Perú: El sueño de integración del exitoso empresario Erasmo Wong. Retrieved December 2, 2018, from <https://www.america-retail.com/peru/peru-el-sueno-de-integracion-del-exitoso-empresario-erasmo-wong/>.
- Wong, K., & Xiao-Desai, Y. (2017). Exploring identity issues of Chinese heritage language learners from dialect backgrounds: Studies in honor of Professor Tao-chung “Ted” Yao. Boston: Cheng & Tsui.

- Wu, M.-H., Lee, K., & Leung, G. (2014). Heritage language education and investment among Asian American middle schoolers: insights from a charter school. *Language and Education, 28*(1), 19–33.
- Wyunhe. (2011). *English: Map of sinitic dialect - English version*. Retrieved December 9, 2018 from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_sinitic_languages_full-en.svg.
- Xiao, Y. (2008). Home Literacy Environment in CHL Development. In Y. Xiao & A. W. He (Eds.), *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry* (pp. 151–166). Honolulu: National Foreign Language Resource Center, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
- Yeh, C.-L. (2008). *Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco's Chinatown*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Zhou, M. (1997a). Growing up American: The Challenge Confronting Immigrant Children and Children of Immigrants. *Annual Review of Sociology, 23*(1), 63–95.
- Zhou, M. (1997). Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation. *International Migration Review, 31*(4), 975–1008.
- Zhou, M., & Li, X.-Y. (2003). Ethnic language schools and the development of supplementary education in the immigrant Chinese community in the United States. *New Directions for Youth Development, 2003*(100), 57–73.

Appendix A: Interview Script

Below is the translation of the interview script that was originally written and asked in Spanish. These questions were used as a general script in order to guide the conversation, but at times, participants brought up unexpected topics from the intended questions that were important to their responses.

1. Tell me a bit about yourself, such as your age, area of study, university, job, etc.
2. What is the history of migration of your family?
 - a. Why did your parents decide to move to Peru?
 - b. When did they move?
 - c. What occupations did they have when they arrived and do they have now?
3. How do you identify ethnically or culturally?
 - a. Have you always felt _____? [insert with what the respondent said]
 - b. What is your opinion on the term “tusán”?
4. Tell me a bit about your school [before university].
 - a. How many years did you attend?
 - b. Why did your parents decide to enroll you in this school?
 - c. Can you describe the demographics of the school?
5. In your experience attending the school, did you feel a link with your ethnic identity?
6. What role did your ethnic or cultural identity have during your time in the school?
7. Do you remember any specific experiences related to being Chinese in your school? They can be your own experiences or of others.
8. Is there anything else related to the themes that we have discussed that we didn't get a chance to talk about earlier in the interview?

Appendix B: Original Text of Participant Quotes

ⁱ *Tenían un restaurante que alquilaron en el Calle Capón. Entonces, es como que allí inició todo.*

ⁱⁱ *Solo entendía la rama de la familia de mi madre, sus hermanos e hijos. [...] Entonces, era muy complicado comunicarse hasta que reuniones tras reuniones tras reuniones, ya como que agarró confianza. Entonces, ya, “voy a hablar en español.” Y también ellos entendían y sabían qué significaba todo. Era más tranquil, no era como muy frustrante, como no puedo comunicarse con otros. Siendo tu familia pero tú no puedes comunicarse. Muy difícil.*

Así que, la oportunidad de aprender chino, me gustaría aprender chino. Aunque me dijeran, bueno, en tiempo, no sé, o viajar a China, este es uno de mis sueños. Todavía no he viajado pero pronto fácil se cumple este objetivo y ver donde vivía mis padres. De realidad, no hay nadie allá porque la casa de mis padres, o mi abuela, no hay nadie. Es muy triste. Entonces, el primer sueño es viajar allá y conocer la cultura allí.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Sí puedo hablar hakka, pero no sé cómo hablar mandarín. Si iría a China, no podría hablar ni siquiera ubicarme por nada. Me siente que si no aprendiera mandarín, me faltaría ser china.*

^{iv} *A veces me siento más encajo en el chino porque es lo que enseñaron tus padres. Yo creo que tu casa es tu base de todo.*

^v *Lo más cercano que hago de chino es hablar con mis papás, de repente ir a comer en Calle Capón, y nada más, creo. Por eso, por mis amigos, que antes hablaban chino ya no hablan con tus papas chino, hablan español.*

^{vi} *Bueno, mis papás, yo los veía todos los días con incienso y por este lado desde chiquito era más como una obligación. [...] Pero a mis papás también dejaron de ser budistas, ahora son cristianos y ya no prenden incienso. [Ya que] yo no veo, ni tampoco yo hago. [...] No te hablan tanto de sus historias y entonces no hay este apero emocional, entonces también influyen que de grandes, ya lo ves como una cultura o costumbres extranjeras.*

^{vii} *Yo desde era pequeño, mis padres no conocían mucho, o no hablaban mucho español. [...] Mi madre siempre estaba trabajando, trabajando, y no tenía tiempo para cuidarlos. Y siempre estábamos en la calle. Entonces, manejé, por la calle. Estaba con amigos, manejo bien con ellos el español y descuidé el chino.*

^{viii} *Para mis padres fue durísimo, **durísimo**, buscar una oportunidad acá, empezar desde cero, no sabiendo el idioma. Paero poquito a poquito, fue mejorando hasta—sí, tengo recuerdos.*

Empezamos con una tiendita, era una tiendita, y ahora—mira [gestures to the restaurant right now]. Era merita de trabaja full. En realidad no descanses si quieres lo mejor para tus hijos.

^{ix} *Yo me sentía la única espécimen [china] del colegio peruano porque era diferente de todos. Nadie era como yo [...]. Cuando mi papá me insistió que tengo que ir al colegio chino [...], no había el tema de “eres la única.”*

^x *Si no celebras, estas cosas van a perder contigo porque no te recuerdo de esto de que no sé, pierdas el tipo de costumbres y amistades e idioma, siento que pierdes un poco de identidad, de que tú eres, que pierdes todo en este camino. [...] Para mí la amistad es el primero porque ahora en Perú, no hay muchos chinos y es muy difícil conseguir amigos chinos.*

^{xi} *Después, fue un cambio grande porque nunca he ido a un lugar donde vi personas que aparecen como yo.*

^{xii} *Sí, claro. Más que todo para aprender el idioma natal, saber como se dice “Buenos días”, “¿Qué tal?”, “¿Cómo estás?” en chino.*

^{xiii} *Uf, cómo ya, porque tú pasabas y tú no entendías por qué no entendiste el chino que hablaba. Entonces, las profesores hablaban en chino y ellas pensaban que tú hablas chino. Yo no entiendo. Este, sí, fue algo frustrante, siendo chino y no puedo responder o no puedo comunicarte.*

^{xiv} *Al momento que salió y llamó la atención porque veas los leoncitos y llaman atención y hace que buscan más. Siendo que tú [eres] chino y no saber [nada de la danza], era raro. Entonces, ese empujo que me dio el colegio, hizo que me preguntó a mis padres. Y justo me entero que mi abuelo tenía su escuela de danza de dragón y kungfu allá en China y entonces me daba duro para practicar.*

^{xv} *Sí, tengo amigos de que participaron en la Danza Dragón y de repente yo sí he tenido este sentimiento más fuerte pero al menos por el lado mío y de varios amigo que también son de papás chinos, es de, no creo que había tanta esta gana o esta influencia china por la parte de sus papás y traducía que nosotros tampoco no sentíamos tan identificados. Entonces, participábamos en la Danza de León más por obligación por ganas propias.*

^{xvi} *Yo creo que ha acentuado más la separación de culturas. De repente, cuando éramos chiquitos, teníamos que estudiar chino, teníamos que participar en la Danza de Dragón. [...]Creo que ahora, no tenemos esta identidad china o de repente no tenemos costumbres.*

^{xvii} *El colegio tuvo alguna infraestructura semeja al tradición chino, pero [...] no tanto había este aspecto “soft” para disfrutarles a los alumnos así era la historia, así fueron nosotros, nuestros papás vinieron acá, o sus ancestros asiáticos como es que como trabajaban, sus costumbres y sus vidas. [...] Nunca no desarrollaba este amor, amor de la cultura china y creo que esto debe ser importante si queremos preservar esta tradición china en Perú.*

^{xviii} *Si me hablas de lo que influya alguna o te imparte el colegio algo de la cultura china, quizás más que todo el espacio pero por el tema de qué enseñe, ósea, de lo que recuerdo, no tanto.*

^{xix} *No porque son cursos que te llevas y para mí es más qué enseñan tus papás. Yo creo que tu aprendes viendo lo que hacen tus papás en casa. No es que llevar un curso y vas a cambiar tu forma de ascendencia y identidad. [...] Hay ciertas experiencias de chino donde aprendes la cultura, como comer keke de luna y como que estas fechas que están escritas en el calendario. Pero si no sabes que es esto, no lo haces. [...] No fue muy impactante.*

^{xx} *Sinceramente, yo creo que el colegio no nos enseñaba mucho de la cultura china. Mis padres siempre estaban tradicionalmente en lo que es la cultura china. Yo hago costumbres como, ya tenía los costumbres desde niño como quitarse zapatos [y] comer con palitas. Mis padres siempre me educaron en esa manera.*

^{xxi} *Si yo pasé por eso, se siente la diferencia entre un colegio del otro. [...] Te dije, “Creo que se malduce [inaudible], se mantiene el colegio chino, falta poco para terminar, esto puede pasar unos años más. No te quites eso estar en un colegio chino.”*

^{xxii} *Los peruanos en la calle, si te ven, automáticamente chino. Si ves japonés, te van a decir también “chino.” Si ves un coreano, van a decir “chino.” Para los peruanos, todos que son jalados son chinos.*

^{xxiii} *No había un choque de costumbres. Creo que podía cambiar. Salía de mi casa y podía juntarme con peruanos. Entraba mi casa, entraba como totalmente chino, practicar las costumbres, quitarme los zapatos, comer con palillos, saludar a mis padres.*

^{xxiv} *La verdad es que no he pensado mucho sobre eso. No tenía muchos pensamientos. Lo que sí yo tenía fue tantos problemas con el nombre que surgió, que por ejemplo, si vamos a [inaudible, nombre de un lugar probablemente] o un lugar donde anuncia mi nombre, no podía por el tema de que yo en ese momento por las molestias que me he sentía por no puede pronunciar mi nombre, lo que yo hacía fue desligar de mi cultura.*

^{xxv} *Cuando yo fui a Flushing, veía mucha de China que extrañaba y pucha, me di cuenta de que este es parte de mí. En mis clases en ELI—esta era mi universidad—muchas eran asiáticos y entonces, ellos se sorprendieron que yo sea peruana o ósea peruana y china, que tenga formas*

diferentes de hablar y expresarme que ellos. [...] Pude sentir parte de China y cuando me venía a la universidad y me decían mi nombre, me sentía orgullosa.

^{xxvi} *Me sorprendió porque yo pensé que iba a encontrar asiáticos y lo que yo encontré era todos peruanos. Y la mesa supuestamente más china que queda era el líder del grupo de jóvenes tusánes, era súper peruano. Yo no me identificaba con ella. No me sentía que lo que hacían, me decían que era parte de la cultura. Era como yo juntaba con mis amigos para jugar fútbol al otro día y no sé juntar contigo para cuidar de los perritos pero no me sentía que allá parte de la cultura.*

^{xxvii} *De lo que tengo entendido, el término “tusán” es eso de chino nacido en Perú. La verdad es que me parece, a lo menos a lo que yo he visto, no es mi opinión personal en términos, tusán no me parece es orgullosa, a lo menos los de primera generación, los de mi generación, los que son directos hijos de padres chinos **chinos**. [...] Normalmente, cuando tú ves a la Asociación Tusán, [...] la mayoría son hijos de combinación, como peruanos con chinos. [...] Y de allí se siente más identificados con el término tusán.*