

“I Am Not [Just] a Rabbit Who Has a Bunch of Children!”: Agency in the Midst of Suffering at the Intersections of Global Inequalities, Gendered Violence, and Migration

Violence Against Women

16(8) 881–901

© The Author(s) 2010

Reprints and permission: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

DOI: 10.1177/1077801210376224

<http://vaw.sagepub.com>



Nia Parson¹

Abstract

This article is based on an analysis of the life history narrative of Antonia, a Peruvian immigrant in Chile, in the context of ethnographic research on Chilean women's experiences of domestic violence (DV) and the post-dictatorship state's responses to DV. Structural and socio-cultural constraints and forms of violence, including global and local economic inequalities, migration, racism, and intimate, gender-based abuses in both home and receiving countries interact in Antonia's experience to produce suffering *and* influence a form of gendered agency. This analysis points to the need for research and policies specifically designed to attend to the intersecting vulnerabilities migrant women who suffer DV often face, as well as their agentive acts.

Keywords

agency, migration, violence

Antonia's Life

The following is a brief excerpt from a 2009 interview with Antonia,¹ a Peruvian immigrant in Chile. She refers here to her abusive Chilean husband, her migration processes, her chronic depression, and her struggle to provide a better life for her children:

¹Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX

Corresponding Author:

Nia Parson, Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University, P.O. Box 750336, Dallas, TX 75275-0336

Email: nparson@smu.edu

With the depression, it's like he [her abusive Chilean husband] sinks me further, and that's what he wants, to try to sink me, to try to see me defeated. But I try to be strong, because I think about my four children. Because sometimes I feel like I want to disappear, so much suffering. It's already been ten years, *po*.² Ten years of living this suffering. I don't have family. I don't have anyone here. My children are my family. That's it. So, I start to think, "If I disappear, what will happen to my children? They will suffer worse. And I won't rest in peace because my children would suffer. They'd say, "Why did our mother do this to us? Why did she leave us when we needed her the most?" So, I have to continue fighting, fighting . . .

I can't give them luxuries, but what better luxury than to have an education, to have a profession? Nobody will take that away from them. . . . *They won't be like me. I am not anything without a profession.* The only thing I can do is to be a maid . . . since I haven't completed my studies. I am going to make sure that my daughters finish their education and study a career. For that I try to give my daughters the best. The only thing I want for my daughters is that they study and have their profession.

Fujimori [the former President of Peru] sold us [Peruvians] out. . . . He sold almost everything. . . . There is so much unemployment. We have emigrated to many places, to the United States, to Japan. Not so much to Argentina, because the Argentines have thrown out the Peruvians. In Japan, there are a lot of Peruvians. The men who began to leave Peru, almost all of them went to Japan. . . . A lot of people went . . . because they could take advantage. They bought cars to work, bought their houses, and the ones who didn't, didn't. That's when the situation in Peru had started to become critical [economically]. . . . The situation wasn't fixable there anymore. The women had to leave, to leave our children, horrible. To be outside of our country, without our children. For example, I left when [my daughter] was three years old, when I came here the first time. She was still nursing. How I cried. I didn't get used to it, but I said to myself . . . "*I have to stay here. I can't go back there, lacking.*" I can't go without money. So I stayed [in Chile]. And when I went back [to Peru], I was like Santa Claus. I took gifts to all of the children. Then, again, I came back here. And then I didn't know when I'd return, because I came [to Chile] with my second oldest daughter, and she came with her news, that she was pregnant. I wanted to go to Peru, but I couldn't because she was getting too far along to take her out of the country. I had to stay with her. Then, the baby came by caesarian, and I couldn't go. I lived crying because I wanted to go see my children. . . . Then I met the father of my girl [her abusive Chilean husband, whom she referred to earlier], the last one, and I came with my news [of pregnancy] too, and I couldn't go to Peru either, until she was born. She was three months old when I could finally go to Peru. My daughter [in Peru] didn't know me anymore; she called me auntie. She was four or five. And then I brought her [to Chile]. . . . Then I was happy to have my girls by my side, because I said, now my happiness is complete. A month hadn't passed, and this man [her Chilean husband] started, with the abuse, humiliating me, but I had to be strong, because if I hadn't been strong, it would have been worse. . . . Me, always thinking about the girls. I always think of them. . . . I haven't lacked wishes

to, I don't know, disappear, but I always thought of them. And that's what convinces me to come back to reality. If not, I wouldn't even be here to tell you.

It's like one feels tired . . . that everything is suffering, suffering.

Feminized Migration

Globally, intraregion migration and south-south migration and the feminization of such migration are increasingly common (Piper, 2003). Women's high rate of migration from Peru to Chile is part of this broader globalized pattern and the broader feminized wave of migration from Peru to Chile.³ Antonia is part of these patterns of global and regional migration. By far, Peruvians have topped immigration into Chile from any other South American country at least since 1996, increasing from 3,709 in 1997 to 26,601 immigrants in 1998 (Stefoni, 2002a). By 2000 the total number of Peruvian immigrants in Chile was reported to represent 58.5% of the total immigrants from South American countries (Stefoni, 2002a). Women comprised the majority of Peruvian immigrants (63%) from 1996-2000 (Stefoni, 2002a). Stefoni (2002a) asserts that most of these women work as domestic labor, which, she points out, may be related to the decrease in Chilean women in housework jobs.⁴ Previously, many of the domestic workers in Santiago migrated from rural, Southern Chile (Staab & Maher, 2006). Benería (2003) has pointed to a strong trend, linking gender and globalization processes, for women in the global south to migrate to the global north in search of feminized caring labor, such as domestic service. However, these recent trends in the region point to the prevalence of south-south exportation of women's caring labor to countries with better economic situations. Although economic pressures are a prevailing impetus for Peruvian women's immigration into Chile, Stefoni (2002b) notes that there are other motivators related to "emancipation and personal freedom," such as "family violence [and] oppression within families . . . [M]any women see in migration a freedom from the abuses committed against them" (p. 121).

This article centers on an analysis of Antonia's life history, as a part of this wave of feminized migration from Peru to Chile in the past 15 years. I met her in Santiago, Chile, at Family Care, a domestic violence center where I conducted ethnographic research from 2002-2003. As the only Peruvian woman in my research, her story is contextualized by the Chilean state's responses to domestic violence more broadly and by her experiences with those systems and in Chilean society more generally. Antonia's life story is marked by decades of gender violence and poverty, which were common threads running through her life experience even as she migrated among three countries of divergent geopolitical and economic positions: Peru, Chile, and Ecuador. Gender, racial, and class discrimination are all salient features of Antonia's social life, in her intimate, societal, and work relationships. In this article, I untangle these axes of oppression, which remained constant and in some ways were exacerbated in the context of migration to a new country.

Gendered Agency

To understand how macro-level processes interact with individuals' subjectivities—their sense of themselves and their social positions—it is critical to analyze the interplay of

agency and structure in individual lives (Biehl, Good, & Kleinman, 2007). Stark and Flitcraft (1996) have advocated for a focus on “the complex inner struggle[s] taking place” within women survivors of domestic violence as well as the agency women exert even while they are constrained by difficult situations (see Stark, 2007). Anthropological scholars have addressed many aspects of the concept of women’s agency and power in relationship to dominant power structures (Abu-Lughod, 1986; Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990; Finn, 1998; Ortner, 1996). Agency and structure are not concrete categories that exist in opposition to one another. Agency is context dependent and is intimately related to the enactment and embodiment of power. The practice perspective, delineated by anthropologist Sherry Ortner (1996), offers a lens through which to examine the interrelationships among (a) the embodiment of structural forces, (b) the ways in which people resist these forces, and (c) the “making of social actors as they reproduce and change the system” (cited in Finn 1998, p. 11), as hegemony “is also continually resisted, limited, altered [and] challenged by pressures not at all its own” (Williams, 1977, p. 112). By examining women’s agency, then, the active nature of women’s experiences and lives can be uncovered. Agency is always situated within webs of power formed by the tensions between structure and agency because “structure is both enabling and constraining [and] thus is not to be conceptualized as a barrier to action, but as essentially involved in its production” (Giddens & Cassell, 1993). Attention to the interplay of agency and structure in Antonia’s narrative illuminates how she is constantly engaged in an agentic struggle to survive within national and regional systems of classed, raced, and gendered oppressions, which shape her life to a large degree.

Domestic Violence in Peru and Chile

Although the macro-economic situation in Chile is much stronger than in Peru, rates of domestic violence in both countries appear to be quite similar, highlighting how gender inequalities and violence are transnational. The “Peru Country Report,” part of the *World Health Organization Multi-Country Study on Women’s Health and Violence against Women*, shows that in Lima, the capital city of Peru, where Antonia once lived, among women who had ever had a partner, 51% reported experiencing sexual or physical violence at the hands of a partner (García-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, & Watts, 2005). The WHO report states,

Findings suggest that violence is not only a significant health problem by virtue of its direct impacts such as injury and mortality, but also that it contributes to the overall burden of disease through indirect impacts on a number of health outcomes . . . the impact of violence may last long after the actual violence has ended. (García-Moreno et al., 2005, p. 61)

This is similar to findings of a study in Santiago, where approximately 50% of women reported experiencing physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner at some point in their lives and often experienced emotional distress as a consequence (Servicio

Nacional de la Mujer [SERNAM], 2002). This finding about the relationships of emotional distress and domestic violence held true for the overall WHO study, which included several countries around the globe.

Since 2003, when I first interviewed Antonia, there has been a growing consciousness of the problems that women migrants from Peru face in Chile, though it is still in its infancy. In 2008 the Chilean nongovernmental organization, *Instituto de la Mujer* (Women's Institute), published a *Guía de Apoyo: Mujeres Migrantes, Mujeres con Derechos* (Help-Seeking Guide: Migrant Women, Women with Rights), a guide for migrant women about their rights within Chilean society (Burotto, 2008). In the section, "Rights within the Family," three short pages explain family violence, the family violence law, how to file a complaint, and relevant social services. There is no mention of the particular challenges immigrant women in this situation may face, and according to the Instituto de la Mujer, in 2009 there were no special programs for migrant women who experience domestic violence. Likewise, there is scant research on the topic of immigrant women and domestic violence in Chile. This lack of knowledge and programs specifically designed for migrant women's needs may in turn compound Peruvian immigrant women's intimate suffering—except in cases where the abusers are identified by the disciplinary authorities (i.e., the police, although public statistics on these cases are difficult to access as well). Bringing Antonia's experience to light is important in part because the occurrence and effects of domestic violence among Peruvian immigrant women in Chile remain almost completely unanalyzed.

Method: Ethnographic Research in Santiago, Chile

I spent 18 months in Santiago, Chile between 2000 and 2004, conducting ethnographic research on women's experiences of domestic violence, trauma, help-seeking, and recovery processes in relationship to the dictatorship and postdictatorship state (Parson, 2005). I conducted brief follow-up research in 2006 and 2009. My research was not directed at the issue of migration and domestic violence; I became attuned to and interested in this issue through learning about Antonia's experiences in the course of my larger research project. My documentation of Antonia's experience is therefore embedded within my broader research project on Chilean women's experiences of domestic violence and the state.

I conducted participant observation at Family Care, the first state-funded center for women who experienced domestic violence in Chile. There I observed for 6 months the full course of group therapy for women who had suffered domestic abuse, which is where I met Antonia. I also attended staff meetings twice weekly and interviewed and had conversations with several staff members (including therapists, social workers, and lawyers). I then conducted multiple life history and informal interviews with 10 of these women. The recruitment of participants and the process of life history narrative documentation were done with utmost consideration for research ethics (Campbell & Dienemann, 2001). I also conducted a series of three group interviews with some of the women involved in the therapy group to gain an understanding of consensus around salient issues, such as gender role socialization processes. I also conducted participant observation activities related to a

nongovernmental organization in Santiago: Safe Space. There I interviewed various staff members, attended public events, and conducted life history narrative and informal interviews with 8 women who had sought help there for domestic violence. I interviewed a variety of professionals working in the field of domestic violence in Santiago in university settings and governmental and nongovernmental offices. I conducted all interviews in Spanish, and I did my coding and analysis in Spanish. I then translated key excerpts of each interview, and a Chilean collaborator checked key passages to make sure that my translations were accurate.

During the group therapy sessions at Family Care, I developed relationships with several of the women, including Antonia, whom I then invited to participate in life history interviews with me. I provided tea, coffee, and snacks for the women after each group session, and I took responsibility for keeping the space open for this, each week. All of the women in the group, which generally consisted of between 10 and 12 women each week, were Chilean, except for Antonia, the sole Peruvian.

I talked often with Antonia and, eventually, after discussions with the group's therapist to ensure that she thought Antonia was emotionally stable enough to do so, I asked Antonia if she would be interested in participating in a series of interviews with me. She smiled and said yes, without hesitation. I conducted several life history narrative interviews with Antonia in 2003, which I recorded and transcribed. I also listened closely to her story as it unfolded over the 6 months of group therapy. In addition, I talked with her informally numerous times, and I discussed her case often with the social worker who was trying to help her find housing and other resources. Antonia came to my apartment once to teach me how to cook *Ají de Gallina*, a Peruvian dish. I went on a trip to the public library with her grade school-aged daughter to try to help her obtain a library card and use the computers there; we were unsuccessful because we could not produce a pay stub to prove she could be responsible if books she checked out were lost or damaged. I met with Antonia again in 2006 and interviewed her in 2009. So, I have gotten to know Antonia through a variety of different interactions with her and her social context.

Anthropologists have shown how the analysis of an individual's life history (Behar, 1993; Biehl, 2005) can provide a focal point for understanding interactions among a range of social problems and can be especially useful in anthropological research on migration (Brettell, 2003). Brettell (2003) notes Lamb's (2001) point that "the telling of stories is one of the practices by which people reflect, exercise agency, contest interpretations of things, make meanings, feel sorrow and hope, and live their lives." Social science analyses of life history narratives produce "'situated knowledges'—understandings of the world that recognize that knowledge is always produced from a specific social location and always aimed toward a specific audience or audiences" (Maynes, Pierce, & Laslett, 2008, p. 98). Maynes et al (2008) emphasize how important it is to analyze such narratives in terms of the historical contexts in which they are embedded, to arrive at valuable social analysis. This is what I have done in my analysis of Antonia's life history narrative.

Kinship and Social Networks

In her narrative, Antonia's suffering is a predominant theme throughout her life, and she often explicitly links the various forms of suffering she endures to her intimate kinship

networks and her gendered situation within those networks. As she told her story to me, her gendered suffering began when she was 10 and her father passed away. He had been her main caregiver and was a nurturing presence, unlike her mother, who reclaimed her after her father's death, but only for a moment, just long enough to shuffle her away to a convent. I interpret Antonia's remark that "my mother always preferred her male children" to mean that from her perspective her relegation to the convent was related to her sex, as a female, and the gendered inequalities being female implied for her. Her stay with the nuns lasted only a few years, and at 13 years old Antonia's mother married her off to a man more than a decade her senior. He repeatedly raped and otherwise physically and emotionally abused Antonia, who was utterly without resources and even the most basic bodily knowledge about her own sexuality and reproduction. She told me, "I, with the belief that the stork brought children, because of that when I remember about myself, I get so angry at myself for being so stupid." She further explained, "In Peru things about sex were taboo," and "So, I ended up traumatized by that [lack of knowledge]." Antonia painfully recounted part of her experience with her first husband to me during one of our interviews: "That man did what he wanted with me. . . . He did me a lot of harm. . . . He slapped me. He hit me to have sex. . . . Every time that he wanted to, he took me, until finally I adapted to that life-style." In another instance that Antonia described to me, her husband cut her with a knife in front of their children.

According to Antonia's narrative, even in the face of such brutality, her mother upheld dominant gender ideologies about the importance of staying with one's husband no matter the situation. Antonia went in desperation to her mother after this attack, seeking asylum from the violence. Antonia told me that her mother had refused to help her, saying, "That, the home you share with your husband, is your house, from the moment you married him." Another time, Antonia's husband threw her out of the house at the urging of his brothers, who also lived in the same home. Feeling she had absolutely nowhere else to turn, she once again went to her mother, who normalized the violence, saying, "Oh, my daughter, it's that he's a man. Don't pay any attention to him." After that she returned to live with her abusive first husband.

Antonia's relationships with her children also played a role in her suffering and her perception of the possibilities she had in life. A strong theme in Antonia's narratives, in 2003, 2006, and in 2009, is a gendered form of agency, in terms of her determination to provide a better life for her children. In Latin America, women's attachment to their children, and their submersion of their own needs and desires to those of their children, has been explained through *Marianismo*—the gendered role of women's abnegation and submission and the feminine imperative to place others' needs in front of one's own (Baldez, 2002; Bunster-Burotto, 1986; Molyneux, 1985). Scholars have noted the links between this framework, domestic violence, and negative health consequences for women (Rondon, 2003; Stewart, Rondon, Damiani, & Honikman, 2001). This analysis is certainly salient, but there is another important dimension of analysis of the social meaning of Antonia's abnegation of her own needs in favor of those of her children. For Antonia, her project to give her children more of a chance in life can also be read as a form of *gendered agency*—agency within the gendered constraints that she lives her life.

Antonia's options for possibilities in her life otherwise were limited, resonating with Kleinman's (2000) assertion that "suffering . . . is the effect of the social violence that social orders—local, national, global—bring to bear on people" (p. 226) and Farmer's (2005) formulation of the same point: "extreme suffering . . . is seldom divorced from actions of the powerful" (p. 42). However, even in the face of the powerful forces gathered against her, Antonia did manage to escape from her abusive first husband and soon after migrated to Chile for the first time in 1996. In her narrative, she frames her migration in terms of her desire to provide a better life for her children, which, I argue, is a form of gendered agency. This is one of the many instances in her life when she resisted intimate abuse and the structural violence of poverty and asserted her agency. Similarly, Fine, Roberts, and Weis (2007) found in their research on Puerto Rican women's experiences of structural/state violence, domestic violence, and urban community violence in New York and New Jersey, that it is important to note that women in abusive relationships do assert their agency and engage in a range of strategies to resist abuse. Abraham (2000) makes a similar point in her study of South Asian immigrant women in the United States.

At the time of Antonia's first migration from Peru to Chile, she was in a dire financial situation, because she needed to pay off the multiple and overwhelming debts she had incurred in Peru to stay afloat there and that motivated her search for work in the more prosperous Chile. As explored earlier, her migration from Peru to Chile is part of a broader trend that has brought a large Peruvian immigrant population to reside in Santiago, seeking better lives for themselves and/or their children, largely because the economic situation in Peru is so precarious. Stefoni's (2002a) findings in interviews with Peruvian immigrants are coherent with the reasons Antonia gave for migrating to Chile. As presented in the opening vignette, in 2009, Antonia reflected on her decision to migrate to Chile for work because of the difficult economic situations in Peru, as compared to Chile. In addition, she told me that in deciding to go to Chile, she said to herself,

I want to succeed. I want to give my children a better situation. I want to have money, for a nice house and everything and show people . . . my family more than anything, show them that I am not [just] a rabbit who has a bunch of children.

Migration as a strategy for survival and to provide for her children was not new for Antonia, as she previously had made a living by traveling to Ecuador to buy goods to sell back in Peru. Her identity was at stake as well, as she wanted to prove to her family that she could take care of herself and her children.

Antonia's first experience working in Santiago was as a live-in nanny and maid, a common position for Peruvian women immigrants, at least in part because they often accept less pay than their already low-wage Chilean counterparts and are in a generally more vulnerable position to be taken advantage of by Chilean employers. This is part of a broader trend of women's migration and domestic labor (Ehrenreich, 2003; Piper, 2003). Antonia said,

I was working here, in Chile, and the people I worked for treated me really badly. I had a bad experience because they made me work, and they didn't pay me. And then they told me they would pay me for all of my months together, that I shouldn't

worry. So I was happy. I worked. . . . When the third month came, the Señora grabbed me and told me, “You know what, Antonia? Up until now we want your services.” “Okay, Señora.” I asked her, “Are you going to pay me?” And she said, “No. What am I going to pay you for? For what do I have to pay you?”

This resonates with the kinds of workplace abuse described in an extensive study of Peruvian immigrants’ experiences in Santiago (Stefoni, 2002a). Stefoni (2002b) notes that the tendency for Peruvian immigrant women to work as domestic labor, where they often suffer abuse, furthers their stigmatization and serves to pigeon-hole them into this type of work, making it difficult to seek better alternatives. After this experience, Antonia returned to Peru distressed, and never wanted to go back to Chile. Soon, however, she did return to Chile because of the promise of earning more money. This time she did make money and went back to Peru at Christmas with a Nintendo and other trappings of the global economy, which she desired for her children. She described this to me with great pride.

Soon after that however, her money ran out, and she found herself again migrating to Chile, this time for more than a passing stay. She returned this third time because of her economic desperation to provide for her children and to pay off her debts in Peru. Adding to the other financial pressures on her, Antonia’s daughter had fallen ill in Peru, and Antonia had been forced to take out loans to pay for her treatments: “I kept getting deeper into debt . . . I was so far in debt,” even though, she explained, the doctors never told her what was wrong with her daughter. She decided to go to Chile again because, she said, “Who is going to help pay what I owe?” She arranged for her mother to care for her youngest two daughters while she and one of her older daughters went to Chile to earn money—Antonia to pay off her mountainous debts and her daughter to earn a living because her husband died when he was electrocuted while working as an electrician. Antonia told her mother, “I am going to send you a monthly check. I am going to pay you for taking care of my children, and apart from that I am going to send you money for their food.” In the end, her mother was not able to care for the children, as she suffered a debilitating stroke shortly before Antonia was supposed to leave for Chile. Because of her desperation to make money, Antonia convinced her eldest daughter to care for the children, and she and another daughter left for Chile soon after her mother’s death. It took her 2 months to find work. Her daughter found a job in the south and had a baby by a Chilean man. Antonia explained,

I worked as a live-in nanny/housekeeper, but when my daughter came out with her news [that she was having a baby], I had to leave that job and start to live away from work. They paid me little. I had to pay [rent] for my room. I had to have food, and then I sent little to my daughters in Peru.

Antonia obviously felt great distress about this situation, which comes through in her narrative. She complained that “I tried to do my part. Sometimes the doors were closed on me. I didn’t find work. I couldn’t find work that wasn’t a live-in maid/nanny position.”

Directly following this in her narrative, Antonia talks about how it was around this time of great stress that she met her current, Chilean husband. He was supportive at first,

helping her with her children, buying her things and offering to pay for her expenses, like rent and food. She said she refused much of his economic help because she feared the consequences of accepting it. She explained,

He was like a father to me. I was in a country where I don't have anyone's support. I don't have family. I don't have anything, and he gave me all of that. And I felt very protected, very. So, I bonded a lot with him.

She said that he told her things like, "You are a suffering woman, and how you have fought to take care of your children, and you keep on suffering here in this faraway country." She related her feeling that

I was like a little girl, when one has a new toy that one has always wanted, that's how I felt and what pride for me, what happiness. And sometimes he arrived with bags from "Monserrat" [a supermarket], with three, four bags there in my room.

As she describes it, after they were married, he turned abusive, with constant psychological violence, humiliating Antonia, ordering her to do all of the household labor and attend to his every whim, meanwhile controlling their finances. Here Antonia describes how she feels that her abusive Chilean husband preyed on her vulnerabilities as an immigrant woman with so many needs and demands from her children. Although he helped her at first, he then took advantage of her weakened position. This is a common phenomenon that scholars have documented elsewhere (Dasgupta, 2007; Salcido & Adelman, 2004).

More recently, when I met with her in 2009, Antonia told me that she continued to struggle to provide for her children, in spite of her difficulties finding a secure job. She told me that monthly rent on their house is \$120,000 Chilean Pesos (roughly US\$218/month). Chilean minimum wage for a month's work is approximately equivalent to US\$318. The house has 3 bedrooms, a dining room, living room, kitchen, and one bathroom, and water and electricity are separate. She told me the costs of paying for the home are a constant source of difficulty between her and her husband. She said, "That's what makes him angry, that he works to just pay." Antonia expressed that she feels badly about this, but without a secure job, she cannot do much to help. She works 2 days a week doing housekeeping. She explained, "That work I have to do on the quiet because the doctor doesn't want me to work. Because it hurts my hands . . . because of the arthritis. There are days when it hurts really badly."

In addition to cleaning, she sometimes sells used clothing at the flea market. She does so without a permit, and therefore illegally, to earn a bit of extra money for her children. Because this activity is illegal, there is always the threat that she will be arrested, as she has seen others arrested. She explained to me how her own practice of generating a small amount of extra income for her children's necessities fits into the larger economic situation. She also gave her perspective on how the state's punitive actions punish the poor, who are simply trying to eke out a living:

Oy, they have so many people behind bars. . . . If one can't find work...what else is there? . . . One has to try to sell, to get ahead. It's like the justice system is unjust. Because one wants to work honorably, and it's like they obligate you to be a law-breaker. Because how will one give their children bread, if one can't work? . . . The ones who are really vagabonds, who don't do anything, they should take *them*. Not one who is working, who is earning the coins in an honorable way.

Although good work is hard to find, Antonia feels that by being in Chile instead of Peru, she is already providing her children with a much better life. Her agency again emerges in terms of her decision to prioritize her children's opportunities by remaining in Chile. After she told me that she was happy that President Michele Bachelet had done a lot of things for women, especially the \$40,000 Chilean Pesos per child stipend (roughly US\$72), she told me how she would not consider going back to Peru because the situation there is so bad. She said,

They say they are trying to make things better, but it's impossible. I don't believe it anymore. Fujimori sold us out. . . . He sold almost everything. . . . There is so much unemployment.

Nevertheless, when I asked her then if she would *like* to go back to Peru, she responded with a chuckle,

For myself, yes. I'm still not used to it [in Chile]. But I have no other choice. For me, I'd go tomorrow, but my girls. They tell me that if I want to I should go, but they aren't going to go. So, how can I go and leave them? . . . How am I going to be relaxed there in Peru, if they are here? So, I have to keep going, and that's that. . . . They tell me, "If you want to, go ahead, but we're staying." Because they want to be something in life. They can't in Peru, with the situation as it is. Here they have a lot of help. . . . They have given them a scholarship. . . . This month they gave them money to buy some clothes. So that makes me happy in a way. . . . In Peru, there aren't those things. For example, in Peru if you don't have money, you can't study. Here, imagine, they give them books, and all of that. In Peru you have to buy everything, a pencil, an eraser, everything. . . . The main thing is the books. And how can you study without books? And here they give you the books and everything, so all of that I have thought about, and because of all of that I stay here for them, battling, and I suffer, and everything but . . . they will take advantage, studying, and for all of that I feel happy . . .

Her narrative here is filled with her agentive references to actions she has taken, her conscious decisions, to remain in Chile. Although she wishes not to migrate, she does so to help her children. Antonia is not only a victim of globalization and inequalities but she is also a conscious actor making decisions within the conditions of possibility that present themselves to her (Cornell, 1995).

Racism

Although racism, classism, and sexism, on various scales, are in reality intertwined and entangled in women's lived experiences, it is important to attempt to disentangle some of the sources and effects of these components, which are so influential in perpetuating Antonia's intimate suffering. Antonia experienced racism both in her intimate relationship in Peru, with her first husband, and then in Chile, in the wider society and by employers. In each context, the racism she experienced was constituted by her imagined position as being somehow Other, "backward" and outside of modernity. Racism for Antonia was a form of violence that she encountered throughout her life in Peru, as a poor woman not from Lima, and in Chile, as a Peruvian. She could move geographically, yet was consistently trapped by the intersection of domestic violence, racism, and classism. The racism she experienced was reinforced in both Chile and Peru, by her phenotypic characteristics, which, when viewed through the racist worldviews I have just described, marked her as closer to indigenosity, a socially constructed category marked as inferior. Although there is much homogeneity in phenotype in Chile, there is a racial typology whereby those with blond hair and blue eyes are marked with higher status, and the more "indigenous" features—darker skin tone, black hair, short stature—are marked as lower status. Antonia is about 5 feet tall, with a plumpish and ample figure. Her skin is a light brown, and her eyes are brown. She is always very neatly dressed when I see her. In 2009, she wore a black button-up dressy jacket over a white blouse. Her ears dangled with golden earrings and she wore meticulously painted make-up. She had dyed her long jet-black hair so that it had a slightly reddish hue and she wore it artfully pulled back from her face. Antonia has a demure, submissive demeanor about her, with her shoulders almost always slouched forward and head hung slightly low, as though all of her suffering constantly bears down on her.

While she was married to her first husband, a Peruvian man in Peru, Antonia recounted to me that she suffered from the racist tones of her husband's emotional abuse. One day when she returned home, after she had been gone for some time, her Peruvian husband said to her (in her words), "Why have you come back? Didn't I throw you out? . . . [You] *serrana concha de tu madre* [cunt from the Sierras]. Get moving. I am fed up with you! . . . Get out of here! Get out of here, you shit!" The translation for the term he used to degrade her, *serrana concha de tu madre*, can be understood in terms of Alcalde's (2007) point that racism plays an important role in domestic violence in Peru. Alcalde notes that a deeply entrenched racist worldview is often invoked in intimate relationships by men to degrade women verbally and to reassert their dominance. The term "*serrana*" refers to the Sierras, a geographic region near the Andes Mountains.⁵ The Sierras constitute an area that is raced "Indian," or poor, "backward," and nonmodern, whereas the capital city of Lima, and those who are from there, are figured as "white" and therefore modern, not poor, and sophisticated.

During the group therapy sessions at Family Care that I observed in 2003, Antonia often expressed her distress over the racism she perceived against her in Chilean society. In that group, she also seemed to experience a kind of kinship of affliction, which Rapp (1999) has defined as a group that comes together with strong social and affective ties, much like

a family group, under the aegis of some form of suffering, such as disability. For Antonia, the therapy group functioned as a sort of temporary kinship of affliction to replace ruptured affective ties in the intimate relationship and also to replace affective, family ties lost or displaced in the migration process.

Her experience exemplifies the findings of a recent study by the Chilean Department of the Interior, which showed that one third of immigrants (mostly Peruvian) in Chile had experienced discrimination (Harboe, 2008). In her account, racism in the Chilean context was an important factor in maintaining the intertwined experiences of domestic violence and depression, as it greatly contributed to her social isolation and difficulties in help-seeking, already such a grave problem for sufferers of domestic violence. For Antonia this was exacerbated by her situation “the truth is that here I have no friends, I didn’t have anywhere to go to complain or anyone to tell.” She said that

In Peru I . . . had friends. . . . On the other hand, here . . . it’s like they marginalize me for being Peruvian. In the block where I live . . . all of the women are Chilean. I’m the only Peruvian woman. They try to humiliate one for the fact of being Peruvian. For that reason, I say, “What’s the fault in being Peruvian?”

Antonia related her analysis of this discrimination and its effect on her: “Here there is a lot of racism . . . it’s like all of that plays a role, and one feels really badly.” Antonia’s experience is evidence of what Narayan (1997) observed, that the “shift to a new context only exacerbates . . . gender-linked vulnerabilities and powerlessness” and this is related not only to “disempowering unfamiliarities of the new context, but also prejudice and discrimination” (p. 143). Antonia further elaborated on her feelings about her situation,

Me, alone in that room, [i.e., the one-room apartment in a boarding house that she, her husband and 4 children shared when I interviewed her in 2003] where the people are so racist. . . . Everyone looks at me . . . like a *bicho raro* [literal translation: strange insect]. I’m not friends with them. They don’t talk to me. . . . It’s as if I don’t exist in that house. . . . So, I feel alone. I feel like empty.

Racism and her immigrant status clearly play major roles in her suffering. In her narrative, Antonia links her never-ending struggles with domestic violence, racism, and poverty to sadness and unremitting depression. There is ample research, in the United States, Chile, and internationally, that women who suffer domestic violence often suffer from a variety of mental health problems, including depression and anxiety (Bonomi, 2009; Chen, 2009; García-Moreno et al., 2005; Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006). It is important to note that it was not only racist ideologies about Peruvians but moreover a racist conflation of poverty with indigenous background, or Indian ancestry, that was at work as well. In Chile, I argue, following Chilean anthropologist, Sonia Montecino (1991), poverty is raced as Indian in the popular imaginary.

There are several indicators that suggest that Peruvian immigrants, as a group, often face discrimination in Chilean society, which Antonia’s experience highlights. For

example, in a 2001 study, 70% of Chileans reported that Peruvian immigrants “should adapt themselves to Chilean customs and culture,” and 69% said that “immigrants take jobs away from Chileans.” These statistics are signs of discriminatory attitudes of Chileans toward immigrants, also borne out in media reports related to Peruvian immigrants (Stefoni, 2002b, p. 100). Staab and Maher (2006) also found pervasive discriminatory and racist attitudes of Chileans toward Peruvian immigrants. Godoy (2007) further points out that Chilean employers of Peruvian maids often think that Peruvian women are more ideal workers than Chileans because they are from a culture where machismo is more strongly rooted and therefore they are more submissive.

Further supporting this assertion about widespread racist and discriminatory attitudes toward Peruvians in Chile, in *Las Ultimas Noticias*, a very widely circulated and popular newspaper, several articles reflect a racist tone toward Peruvian immigrants. For example, a January 2007 article was entitled, “Peruvians Accused of Making a Garbage Dump out of the Cathedral” (Cisternas, 2007). In the article, a Chilean janitorial worker who cleaned the Plaza de Armas, a central meeting place in downtown Santiago for Peruvians and Chileans alike, now heavily associated with the growing Peruvian immigrant population and communities, was quoted as saying, “It has to be said, but our Peruvian brothers have a different culture. Everyday, they leave their food wrappers all over the place” (Cisternas, 2007). His comments echoed those of a priest affiliated with the cathedral, who had complained in a newspaper editorial about the trash left by Peruvians and the supposed “noise that the Peruvians make when there is a Mass.” Another story published in a different edition of this same paper was entitled, “The ‘Peruvian Killing Clown’: A Hilarious Character.” Here they reported on a street performer who was dressed as a clown, holding a fake bazooka and pretending to “kill Peruvians.”

In 2009, when I again met with Antonia, she still felt oppressed by the discrimination she perceived because she was Peruvian—this discrimination and the fear of discrimination for her were present in the wider society, in her neighborhood relationships, and in her interactions with the judicial system. In 2009, I asked her if she thought that discrimination against Peruvians in Chilean society has been changing over time, in the past decade since she had been living there. In response, she told me about how she felt she was discriminated against by her Chilean neighbor, who reported her to various authorities, claiming that she had abused her children. After a trial, Antonia was acquitted of child abuse charges. Antonia narrated her experience with this woman, who for her embodied the discrimination she felt in her everyday life, a form of everyday violence (Scheper-Hughes, 1992).

At this point in the conversation, I asked her to clarify if she thought that this has to do with her being Peruvian. She said,

I think so because she says, “What are we [Peruvians] doing here? Why don’t we go back to our country?” “Go, go back to your country,” [the woman says]. . . . So, why so much of this? The fact of being Peruvian. We are all equal in the eyes of God. Why so much discrimination?

Antonia would like to leave her house, to escape this woman, whom she feels is discriminating against her, and because of her husband’s abuse. However, it is very difficult

to find another house. Antonia told me, "Imagine, many years living in one room, and by chance I found this house. So, where?"

In Antonia's narrative she strongly links her depression to lack of economic resources, to which racist employers in Chile contributed. She explained the interaction of poverty, limited options, and depression:

I felt desperate. I don't have work. I can't give my daughters what they need. They sleep uncomfortably. I felt that my hands were tied, desperate. . . . All of this has affected me. What impotence it is not to be able to give my daughters a bed each. . . . On Monday, I felt bad. . . . We don't have money . . . I started to get depressed, like again I was going to start to fall into depression. . . . And it was true, because when I went to the doctor the other day, he got scared and told me, "Señora," he said, "You are about to have a relapse. No," he said, "It can't happen." He raised the dose of the medicine [Fluoxetine: generic Prozac] . . .

In 2009, I asked her if her depression had continued over time. She told me,

Yes, the doctor tells me that I have to take pills for my whole life. I'm taking Fluoxetine, and lately I had to ask for sleeping pills, because I couldn't sleep [at night] . . . I woke up, and I thought. I felt desperate. . . . The night for me was the day . . .

She goes once a month to the psychiatrist and once a month to the psychologist. She told me that often the psychiatrist advises her to separate from her abusive husband. Again, in 2009, similar to her narrative in 2003, Antonia explained that separation from her abusive husband would be difficult: "I don't have secure work. I don't have a house. I can't be living in one room with four children. So, what do I do? How do I pay the rent? . . . And the food? What will my children eat?"

Antonia also feels discrimination in Chilean society in her everyday social interactions. To illustrate this for me, she told me about her experiences in the waiting room of a public clinic:

I still have diabetes. The other day I went to the doctor, and in the clinic I heard a woman saying, "I don't know how this clinic is. Now it's full of only Peruvians. Before, they didn't serve these people, and now it's just Peruvians, just Peruvians." I looked at her, that's it. So that hurts, because imagine, she wants me to go to Peru. . . . *It's like I'm not a human being.*

The woman in the clinic continued, according to Antonia, saying, "I don't know why they don't go back to their country. I don't know what they want here. Only Peruvians you see here. Now, probably, we Chileans can't be seen because of them." Antonia's experiences of racism in both countries made it impossible for her to escape. Even while exiting the Peruvian nation, her raced, classed, gendered positionality was transnational, as this identity traveled with her and contributed to her suffering and depression from

which she could never escape. Her interior world was marked by a chronic depression, as diagnosed by her psychiatrists in Chile, and incorporated into her self-identity, and the facts of her social existence reinforced her suffering, making her emotional life a world of pain.

Another venue of Antonia's help-seeking was the judicial system, which she approached for the first time in 2009. At that time, she filed a court case against her abuser in the Family Court. She was waiting for the appointment to come through from the Family Court, so that he could be required to enter into treatment at Family Care. Antonia told me, "They have treated me but never him. He says he's not crazy. He doesn't have any reason to go to any place."

I asked Antonia how she had arrived at the Family Court. She said,

He treated me so badly, and he wanted to hit me. He told me that I disgusted him, that he hated me, that he had never loved me. He said that he felt sorry for me and that's why he married me. So, they were really sad things. But he didn't want anything more with me. The only thing he wanted was for me to get out of there, to leave. . . . I started to cry because I never thought he would say such ugly words. . . . Then my children came home from school, and they saw me like that, and I didn't say anything. . . . Then, during the Easter Week I discovered the [text] messages, that he had sent to another woman. . . . Then my daughters heard the problems. . . . My daughter cried to see how he insulted me. . . . In that moment I didn't know what to do. . . . The only thing was to go to the police, *po*. And I explained my situation to the police, and [the officer] told me that yes, it was psychological abuse. That he was abusing me psychologically, and in spite of the fact that I suffer from depression. He didn't have any reason to humiliate me in that way. There, I told them everything, that it wasn't the first time, that he always humiliates me, he always mistreated me. But I never had put a complaint, nothing. I told them that I was in Family Place . . . but I had never put a declaration, nothing. And the police told me, "No, Señora, you should have come before . . . to file a declaration or something." I never thought about that, never. How many years have had to pass before finally, I reacted?

Antonia was still waiting to hear from the Family Court when I last spoke with her in 2009. She hoped that they would sentence her husband to therapy at Family Care. Although her recourse to the judicial system did not produce the effects she wished, I argue that the fact of going to the Family Court and filing a complaint are important acts of agency.

Conclusions

In a recent literature review of research on the situations of immigrant women who experience domestic violence in the receiving country, Menjivar and Salcido (2002) highlight the infancy of studies on intersections of domestic violence and migration. Tellingly, they reference no articles on migration between Latin American countries even though there has been an increase in south-south migration, that is, migration between countries in the global south. It is recognized in this nascent literature that immigrant women in the United States who experience domestic violence often have difficulties reporting this to health care professionals, an important finding, because there is a range of physical and mental

health problems that can arise from domestic violence (Kelly, 2006). My analysis here addresses this lack of attention to how women's subjective experiences are shaped by intersecting forms of intimate and structural violence—economic inequalities between nations that lead women from poorer countries to seek employment in richer countries and gendered power inequalities and violence within intimate relationships.

Antonia thought of migration to a more prosperous economy as the route to her and her children's best possible futures. She continues to believe that remaining in Chile holds the most promise for her children's futures. This is why she cannot consider returning to Peru, and this is an instance where Antonia asserts her agency, as a mother. This is not a passive acquiescence to the gendered expectations of women as self-sacrificing mothers. This was her decision about how best to live her life, albeit a difficult decision, wrought out of an environment of severely constrained possibilities. In a number of ways, she has exerted her agency within contexts of gendered, raced, and classed constraints.

Antonia's situation improved somewhat over time in Chile, largely because of her understanding of Chilean society and resources available and her actions in searching out those resources. However, in many ways, her subjective suffering and sense of powerlessness remained. The poverty and lack of work opportunities were constant pressures that lacked a sustained and long-term social services intervention. Antonia's brief time at Family Care helped her, yet it was a finite, six-month period, after which she had to seek help elsewhere, as their triage system, the result of inadequate funding sources, demanded that other cases, deemed more pressing than hers, receive attention as well.

In many ways, then, her migration was not liberating, largely because of the domestic violence, racism, and poverty she has experienced in Chile. Her narratives speak to the overwhelming ways in which her gender/class/ethnicity shaped her experiences in the home country and within her intimate relationships—and how these aspects of her social identity "traveled" with her through her transnational migration processes. The intimate and societal abuses she suffered in Chile are part of the continuum of violence (Leatherman & Thomas, 2009; Moser & Clark, 2001) that she sought to escape in migrating to Chile.⁶ No matter Antonia's geographical location, nor her national belonging, she remains firmly part of the global underclass, which is feminized (Benería, 2003). Antonia's positioning within the power structures of globalization is further feminized and *amplified* through the important dimension of intimate, gender-based abuses in both home and receiving countries. This analysis highlights how Antonia's subjectivity is gendered and how her gendered subjectivity is produced and reproduced through tensions among various forms and scales of violence and agency.

Acknowledgments

Special thanks go to the woman whose life history is the subject of this article. I am also indebted to various institutions and individuals in Chile who supported my research.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author declared that she had no conflicts of interest with respect to their authorship or the publication of this article.

Funding

The author disclosed that she received the following support for their research and/or authorship of this article: This research was supported by a Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Grant and a Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Research Fellowship. Writing was supported by a NIMH Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Rutgers University Health Institute, a fellowship from the Rutgers University Institute for Research on Women, and by Southern Methodist University.

Notes

1. Antonia is a pseudonym used to protect confidentiality.
2. The term “*po*” is used in Chilean slang for emphasis or to say “of course.”
3. In reports published in 2006, Peru’s Gross Domestic Product per capita was documented as US\$5,678 (United Nations Development Program, 2006b); whereas in Chile, the GDP per capita was twice as much, at US\$10,874 (United Nations Development Program, 2006a).
4. See, for comparison, Lesley Gill’s (1994) analysis of how the employment of lower class women as maids and nannies by middle- and upper-class women in Bolivia allows for the enactment of a certain kind of femininity among women who are the employers versus women who are the workers.
5. “*Concha de tu madre*” literally translates as “your mother’s vagina”; however, more figurative translations for this are “son of a bitch” or “cunt,” which I have chosen to use here because he used it in reference to a woman.
6. Indeed, Chilean scholar Claudia Mora (2008) has argued that the gender/class/race inequalities that “prompt most migration . . . are often reproduced, and even enhanced, in the country of destination” (p. 342).

References

- Abraham, M. (2000). *Speaking the unspeakable: Marital violence among South Asian immigrants in the United States*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Abu-Lughod, L. (1986). *Veiled sentiments: Honor and poetry in a Bedouin society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Abu-Lughod, L., & Lutz, C. (1990). *Language and the politics of emotion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Alcalde, M. C. (2007). Why would you marry a Serrana? Women’s experiences of identity-based violence in the intimacy of their homes in Lima. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 12, 1-24.
- Baldez, L. (2002). *Why women protest: Women’s movements in Chile*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Behar, R. (1993). *Translated woman: Crossing the border with Esperanza’s story*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Benería, L. (2003). *Gender, development, and globalization: Economics as if all people mattered*. New York: Routledge.
- Biehl, J. G. (2005). *Vita: Life in a zone of social abandonment*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Biehl, J. G., Good, B., & Kleinman, A. (2007). *Subjectivity : Ethnographic investigations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bonomi, A., Anderson, M., Reid, R. J., Rivara, F. P., Carrell, D., Thompson, R. S. (2009). Medical and psychosocial diagnoses in women with a history of domestic violence. *Archives of Internal Medicine*, 169, 1692-1697.
- Brettell, C. (2003). *Anthropology and migration: Essays on transnationalism, ethnicity, and identity*. Oxford, NY: AltaMira Press.
- Bunster-Burotto, X. (1986). Surviving beyond fear: Women and torture in Latin America. In J. Nash & H. Safa (Eds.), *Women and change in Latin America* (pp. 297-325). South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.
- Burotto, A. (2008). *Guía de apoyo: Mujeres migrantes, mujeres con derechos* [Support Guide: Migrant women, women rights]. Santiago, Chile: Fundación Instituto de la Mujer.
- Campbell, J. C., & Dienemann, J. D. (2001). Ethical issues in research on violence against women. In C. M. Renzetti, J. L. Edleson & R. K. Bergen (Eds.), *Sourcebook on violence against women* (pp. 57-72). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chen, P.-H., Rovi, S., Vega, M., Jacobs, A., & Johnson, M. S. (2009). Relation of domestic violence to health status among Hispanic women. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 20, 569-582.
- Cornell, D. (1995). *The imaginary domain : Abortion, pornography and sexual harassment*. New York: Routledge.
- Dasgupta, S. D. (2007). *Body evidence: Domestic violence against South Asian women in America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Ehrenreich, J. (2003). Understanding PTSD: Forgetting "trauma." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 3(1), 15-28.
- Farmer, P. (2005). *Pathologies of power: Health, human rights, and the new war on the poor*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fine, M., Roberts, R. A., & Weis, L. (2007). Puerto Rican battered women redefining gender, sexuality, culture, violence, and resistance. In N. Sokoloff (Ed.), *Domestic violence at the margins: Readings on race, class, gender, and culture* (pp. 272-292). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Finn, J. (1998). *Tracing the veins: Of copper, culture and community from Butte to Chuquibambilla*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- García-Moreno, C., Jansen, H. A. F. M., Ellsberg, M., Heise, L., & Watts, C. (2005). *WHO Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women: Initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women's responses*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization.
- Giddens, A., & Cassell, P. (1993). *The Giddens reader*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan.
- Gill, L. (1994). *Precarious dependencies*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Godoy, L. (2007). Fenómenos migratorios y género: Identidades femeninas "remodeladas" [Migratory phenomena and gender: "Remodeled" female identities]. *Psykhé*, 16(1), 41-51.
- Harboe, F. (2008). *Política migratoria en Chile* [Policies migration in Chile]. Santiago, Chile: Ministerio del Interior, Gobierno de Chile.
- Kelly, U. (2006). "What will happen if I tell you?" Battered Latina women's experiences of health care. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*, 38(4), 78-95.

- Kleinman, A. (2000). The violences of everyday life. In V. Das, A. Kleinman, M. Ramphele, & P. Reynolds (Eds.), *Violence and subjectivity* (pp. 226-241). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lamb, S. (2001). Being a widow and other life stories: The interplay between lives and words. *Anthropology and Humanism*, 26(1), 16-34.
- Leatherman, T., & Thomas, R. B. (2009). Structural violence, political violence, and the health costs of civil conflict: A case study from Peru. In R. A. Hahn & M. C. Inhorn (Eds.), *Anthropology and public health* (pp. 196-218). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Maynes, M. J., Pierce, J. L., & Laslett, B. (2008). *Telling stories: The use of personal narratives in the social sciences and history*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Menjívar, C., & Salcido, O. (2002). Immigrant women and domestic violence: Common experiences in different countries. *Gender & Society*, 16, 898-920.
- Molyneux, M. (1985). Mobilization without emancipation? Women's interests, the state and revolution in Nicaragua. *Feminist Studies*, 11, 227-254.
- Montecino Aguirre, S. (1991). Madres y huachos: Alegorías del mestizaje chileno (1a ed.) (Mothers and huachos: Allegories of mestizaje Chile [1st ed.]). Santiago, Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio-CEDEM.
- Mora, C. (2008). The Peruvian community in Chile. *Peace Review*, 20, 339-347.
- Moser, C. O. N., & Clark, F. C. (2001). *Victims, perpetrators or actors? Gender, armed conflict and political violence*. New York: Zed Books.
- Narayan, U. (1997). "Male-order" brides: Immigrant women, domestic violence and immigration law. In P. DiQuinzio & I. M. Young (Eds.), *Feminist ethics and social policy* (pp. 143-158). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ortner, S. B. (1996). *Making gender: The politics and erotics of culture*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Parson, N. (2005). *Gendered suffering and social transformations: Domestic violence, dictatorship and democracy in Chile*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Pico-Alfonso, M. A., Garcia-Linares, M. I., Celda-Navarro, N., Blasco-Ros, C., Echeburúa, E., & Martinez, M. (2006). The impact of physical, psychological, and sexual intimate male partner violence on women's mental health: Depressive symptoms, posttraumatic stress disorder, state anxiety, and suicide. *Women's Health (Larchmt)*, 15, 599-611.
- Piper, N. (2003). Feminization of labor migration as violence against women: International, regional, and local nongovernmental organization responses in Asia. *Violence Against Women*, 9, 723-745.
- Rapp, R. (1999). *Testing women, testing the fetus: The social impact of amniocentesis in America*. New York: Routledge.
- Rondon, M. B. (2003). From marianism to terrorism: The many faces of violence against women in Latin America. *Archives of Women's Mental Health*, 6, 157-163.
- Salcido, O., & Adelman, M. (2004). "He has me tied with the blessed and damned papers": Undocumented immigrant battered women in Phoenix, Arizona. *Human Organization*, 63, 162-172.
- Scheper-Hughes, N. (1992). *Death without weeping: The violence of everyday life in Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Servicio Nacional de la Mujer. (2002). *Detección y análisis de la prevalencia de la violencia intrafamiliar* [Detection and analysis of the prevalence of domestic violence]. Santiago, Chile: Author.
- Staab, S., & Maher, K. H. (2006). The dual discourse about Peruvian domestic workers in Santiago de Chile: Class, race, and a nationalist project. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 48, 87-116.
- Stark, E. (2007). *Coercive control: The entrapment of women in personal life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stark, E., & Flitcraft, A. (1996). *Women at risk: Domestic violence and women's health*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stefoni, C. (2002a). *Inmigración peruana en Chile: Una oportunidad a la integración* [Peruvian Immigration in Chile: An opportunity to integrate]. Santiago, Chile: FLACSO, Chile.
- Stefoni, C. (2002b). Mujeres inmigrantes peruanas en Chile [Mujeres inmigrantes peruanas en Chile]. *Papeles de POBLACION*, 33, 117-145.
- Stewart, D. E., Rondon, M., Damiani, G., & Honikman, J. (2001). International psychosocial and systemic issues in women's mental health. *Archives of Women's Mental Health*, 4, 13-17.
- United Nations Development Program. (2006a). *Human development report 2006, human development indicators, country fact sheets: Chile*. New York: Author.
- United Nations Development Program. (2006b). *Human development report 2006, human development indicators, country fact sheets: Peru*. New York: Author.
- Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and literature*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Bio

Nia Parson is an assistant professor of anthropology at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX. She is currently working on a book manuscript based on ethnographic research in Santiago, Chile, entitled, *Traumatic States: Gender, Violence, and Governance in Chile*.