



Peruvian cross border commuters in the Chilean - Peruvian border region

A study on Peruvian cross border labour commuters



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Master thesis

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ABSTRACT

Migration is a phenomenon that occurs in many forms throughout the world. The term describes not merely the specific move of individuals from one place to another, but also defines a process that has become a way of life which often influences whole populations and their living/working environment: places where the migrants live, places where they migrate to, the places that they pass through and the people they interact with.

Some migration is short-term, mostly seasonal and over a short distance. This thesis is concerned with short-term and short distance migration in a region in the north of Chile, where people ‘migrate’ on a weekly basis between the cities of Tacna and Arica in Peru and Chile respectively. These migrants are referred to as international commuters. The term commuter is used because of their weekly journey across an international border. During the week the commuters work and live in Arica (Chile) and during the weekends they travel back to Tacna (Peru) to live with their families.

For conducting this research I used the following research question

Analysing the commuter group in the Peruvian-Chilean border region, in order to examine what social and economical influence their commuting has on the region and what impact the border has on their commuting behaviour.

My research progressed in three stages. First conducting theoretical research, second field research in the Tacna-Arica region and third, combining literature and field research results.

The bulk of the commuter flow between the two cities is comprised of about 3000 Peruvians who go to Arica to work because the wages in Chile are three to four times higher and furthermore, they are able to find work as opposed to being unemployed in Peru. Most of the commuters work in the domestic, construction and agricultural sector. About 60% work in the domestic sector, and these are all women. Construction is about 20% and the agriculture sector also takes about 20%. In total, 15% of the total Ariqueño labourers in those three sectors are Peruvian.

Such Migrants/Commuters to Chile enter the country on a seven days ‘tourist visa’. (They work without a contract and therefore they are ineligible for a longer visa.) Because of this tourist visa, they are officially not allowed to work. In practice they do work in Chile and officials in Arica allow it. It provides an opportunity for the Peruvian commuters to earn more and enables them to provide better financial support for their families. Frequent border crossing is therefore a necessity for these Peruvians and is not a major issue though they do have problems with the fact that they are not free to move and that they are being controlled every time they move and the time spent at crossing the border is a negative issue.

The seven days visa is aimed at making the border region more attractive for people and companies but it does force the Peruvians to cross the border every seven days. Hence, this visa is more or less the reason for their commuter-like existence. If the visa permitted them longer, they would doubtless do so. The commuters do not actively take part of social life in Chile. Working is an every day necessity and interaction with Chileans is not only difficult, but the Peruvians stick together and are not interested in building up a social life in the city where they work.

PREFACE

For me moving across borders has always been an attraction. Born into a mobile, much travelling family, I never saw borders as any limitation. But how is this in other parts of the world? Are we, in Europe, as free and mobile as we think if we compare it to places outside Europe? Such questions made me start thinking of a research in a foreign country; research in a country in which freedom of movement is not as taken for granted as it is in the new Europe. Besides, I was eager to move abroad for a while and to do research in another setting, to experience new cultures, to live in another place and learn another language.

I was especially attracted to the Peruvian-Chilean border region where a relatively rich and developed country, Chile, meets with one of the poorest of the Latin American continent, Peru. This provides an interesting setting for a human geographer to apply the theories and knowledge learned at the university in a real case study and to write about real people.

As Van Houtum and Van der Velde (2000) say, “Studying border and border region issues is a privilege and a rewarding field of study. It touches upon some of the fundamental values and behaviour of human being, namely the wish to explore and exploit as well as to control and defend spatially organised distinctions between human beings” (Van Houtum & Van der Velde, 2000, pg.11). I feel privileged to contribute to this field of study and to be involved with new cultures and people. I also hope this thesis and research will contribute to the current debate of border studies and that it will shed a light on border research in underdeveloped regions. Hence I report on a combination of migration, border research and development related topics.

My research in Tacna (Peru) and Arica (Chile), largely made possible by the University of Nijmegen, was a great opportunity and proved be one of the best experiences of my life. In this preface I would like to thank everybody who helped me. First of all I have to thank my friend, travel partner and classmate Annemiek Heinen. Without her the whole undertaking would have been a lot more difficult. I would like to refer to her thesis about the regional cohesion of the Tacna-Arica region. This is an excellent document to read in conjunction with mine in order to acquire a broader perspective of the issues in the research area.

I also thank my supervisor Annelies Zoomers, who introduced me with Latin America and who, with her enthusiasm, sparked my interest in the first place. I want to thank Emily Walker for her lessons in Spanish and her help with the first interviews in Spanish. Without her I would never have so much research material. Thanks also to Raul, Rocio, Manuela, Francisco and all other friends in Tacna and Arica for their friendship and support, and special thanks to Daniel, por todo.

Furthermore I have to thank Robert Tibbs, for his fantastic and professional correction and friendship, Fernando Moreno Roldán, Alvaro Gonzalez and the rest of the Ilustre Municipalidad de Arica, Roderigo Villaseñor, Carlos Vargas Mamani, Alvaro Zuñiga Benavides, Marietta Ortega, Roberto A. Herrera Riquelme, Gerald Oscar Pajuelo Ponce, Norma, all the Peruvian respondents and everybody else who made my research possible.

Last but not least I would like to thank my Dutch friends and family and especially my brother and sister and my parents, who are always my closest allies and best helpers - in everything.

Hopefully you, the reader, will enjoy learning about what is for most, an unknown region and I hope this thesis will contribute to the debate on ‘border crossing’ in our new ‘Global environment’.

Erik Bijsterbosch

INDEX

Chapter 1 Introduction.....	6
1.1 Why this research.....	6
1.2 The case study	6
1.3 Research question and main objective	8
1.4 Methodology.....	8
1.5 Readers guide	9
Chapter 2 Theoretical framework and main concepts.....	10
2.1 Commuting and migration.....	10
2.1.1 The Latin American context	11
2.1.2 Migration in developing countries	12
2.2 Border.....	13
2.3 Crossing the border	15
Chapter 3 Peru and Chile	17
3.1 Some facts and figures	17
3.2 General History of Peru and Chile.....	18
3.2.1 Pacific war.....	18
3.2.2 Recent political history and economy of the receiving country, Chile	19
3.2.3 Current regime.....	20
3.3 History and characteristics of both cities.....	21
3.3.1 Tacna.....	21
3.3.2 Arica.....	22
3.4 Relations between Tacna and Arica	24
3.5 Conventions between Tacna and Arica	25
Chapter 4 Empirical data of the Peruvian commuters	26
4.1 Characteristics of the Peruvian commuter.....	26
4.2 Commuters and labour	27
4.2.1 Domestic labour.....	27
4.2.2 Construction	28
4.2.3 Agriculture.....	29
4.3 Commuters and the sectors of labour.....	30
4.4 The story behind the commuter	31
Chapter 5 The border	36
5.1 A daily situation: Crossing the border from Chile to Peru	36
5.2 At the Chilean border, Policia de Investigaciones	37
Chapter 6 The impact of commuting and the border on the commuters and the region.....	39
6.1 Impact on employment.....	39
6.2 Impact of the illegal work status.....	42
6.3 Impact on economy.....	43
6.4 Impact on Chilean society	45
6.5 Impact of the border	46
Chapter 7 Conclusions	48
7.1 The working conditions and sectors of labour of the Peruvian commuters.....	48
7.2 The border, border policy and users of the border	48
7.3 The border in the lives of the commuters	49
7.4 Overall conclusion	49
Resources.....	51
Literature.....	51
Websites	54
Interviews	54
Index of tables, figures and frames	55

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Why this research

Improved mobility and communication allow people more flexibility. New transportation systems shrink distances and moving away from the home community doesn't necessarily mean that strings with the home have to be broken. Notions of space are changing. This change, sometimes referred to in literature as globalisation, has initiated more and bigger flows of people between certain spaces. A good regional example, is the movement of about 3000 Peruvian labour migrants between the cities Tacna and Arica, situated in Peru and Chile respectively.

Here, labour migrants who move between cities are, in fact, commuters who live and work in Arica during the week and return to Tacna during the weekend. These commuters are Peruvians who use the opportunity to work in a country with higher wages.

This thesis will give an insight view of the flow of international commuters in the Tacna-Arica region. Why does the flow occur, how is it built up and how do commuters and government deal with the flow; its positive as well as its negative effects. In short, where do they work, where do they live, why does this phenomenon occur and what impact has the border on this flow and their lives?

In literature on migration and commuting in Latin America, much is written about the long-term and long-distance migrants seeking a better life and in particular, the so called 'brain migration' which occurs when someone is highly educated and is able to earn more in a developed country. Such educated people take their whole family with them and start a life somewhere else. For example, migration within Latin America that takes place toward countries like Chile and Brazil and Argentina; countries that are better developed than their regional counterparts. Long-term internal migration within Chile results in a flow of educated people towards the economic centre, - Santiago and its surroundings.

The other flow of people that enter Chile is the group of short-term migrants. Or, in this case, better described as 'international commuters' because of the mobile characteristics of this flow, whereas migration has a more permanent character. Hence, in the Tacna-Arica region I will use the term commuters, rather than migrants.

Recent studies and literature demonstrate a growing interest in migration flows in Latin America. For example studies of migrants between Bolivia and Brazil, or from Bolivia to Argentina (Priken, 2004) as well as the flow of people from Mexico to the U.S. and studies on migration from different areas, like rural to urban and from the Andes towards other regions.

However, little is known and written specifically about the Tacna-Arica region and this research will add a new insight into literature and discourses of migration, commuting, border research and the region of Tacna and Arica.

1.2 The case study

Chile is an unusually elongated country, stretched some 4000 kilometres North- South on the Pacific side of the Latin-American continent. Geographically it is quite isolated, being bordered by the Andes, the driest desert in the world the Atacamá, the Pacific and the Strait of Magellan.

The country is relatively wealthy and well developed, especially compared with its direct neighbours Bolivia and Peru. Chile has not always been as prosperous as it is today. In the

past it has been troubled by wars, dictatorships and violation of human rights. However, in recent years Chile has managed to escape this legacy and has become a social and economic example for many other countries in the region.

Because of this, many people from neighbouring countries are attracted to the rich and better quality of life in Chile. One of those countries is Peru. Many Peruvian people try to migrate permanently to Chile in order to build up their lives in Chile. Other Peruvians just come on a short-term basis and bring money back to their families in Peru on a monthly or weekly basis. The latter are people that commute on a weekly basis from Peru to Chile.

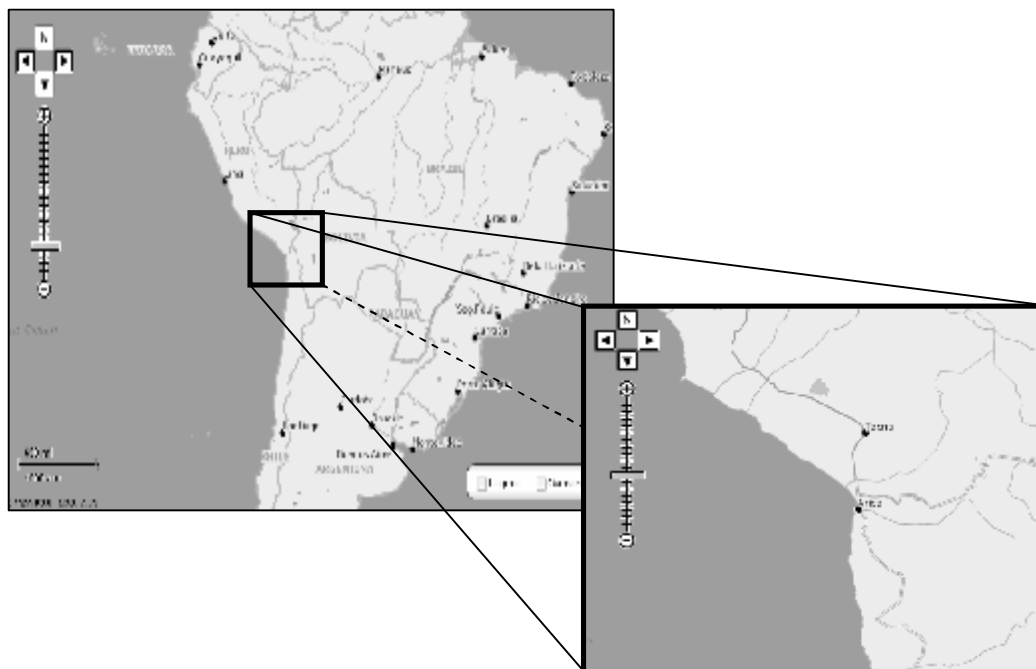


Figure 1 Tacna and Arica region within Latin America

Officially the Peruvians are not allowed to work in Arica. They travel to Arica on a tourist visa and this visa doesn't allow them to do any paid work. Regardless, the Peruvians do work in Arica and these working activities are illegal. Because of this illegal situation, there are no official figures of the Peruvian work force in Arica. Even at official institutions no figures are known, which is alarming because in this way nobody exactly knows what the size and the influence of this flow of people really is. My research will assess and analyse the impact of the Peruvian commuter flow on the region and how the border is influencing the lives and choices of the commuters.

As a result of bilateral conventions between Peru and Chile (as shown in Appendix I and II), special visa arrangements are in force for the border area. This visa allows people to travel as tourists, in order to make the border crossing more attractive for residents of both countries. Arica and Tacna share a special interdependence, being geographically closer together than neighbouring cities in their own countries and therefore it is important that people are able to visit easily. Chileans may travel beyond Tacna, as far North as Arequipa with a 10-days tourist visa and Peruvians are allowed to travel South to Arica on a seven-day tourist visa. After ten/seven days respectively the 'tourists' have to return to their native country and re-apply for a new a visa

In practice however, many Peruvians use this mechanism to cross the border and work in Arica, Chile where there are more opportunities, better wages and better work conditions. As stated, Peruvians are officially not allowed to work, but everybody knows they do and official organizations tolerate a situation which benefits many Chilean households, farms and

companies. Stopping the Peruvians coming would have a great impact in Arica, as well as on the lives of the commuters.

Furthermore there is a big group of merchants crossing the border to and from Peru every day, mostly women, in order to buy and sell goods in either country. This group is not analysed in this thesis, neither is the group of legal, professional Peruvian labourers, that work in Arica on a more stable and longer period of time in comparison to the informal, low-skilled commuters.

1.3 Research question and main objective

In this research, the following research question was formulated:

Analysing the commuter group in the Peruvian-Chilean border region, in order to examine what social and economical influence their commuting has on the region and what impact the border has on their commuting behaviour.

This research question is developed in three parts:

- Who commutes between Peru and Chile on a weekly basis? How many people commute, where do they commute to and from and what subgroups can be distinguished?
- What social and economic influence do the commuters have on the region of Tacna and Arica
- What role does the border play in the choices of the commuters and what effect does this border have in the region

To answer these questions, the main objective can be formulated as:

Examine who the commuters are, where they go and what they do, in order to analyse how this commuting and the border influences their lives and the region of Tacna and Arica.

1.4 Methodology

This research is based on an analysis of theory, a case study and field study.

The first source was literature from the university library and internet sources.

Literature secondary resources provided theoretical and formal information about the subject and the region, insight into the concepts and knowledge involved and provide a framework for further research. Internet sources were used for general information about the city, country and language.

The empirical part of this research was carried out by fieldwork in the region of Tacna and Arica. This fieldwork consists of interviews with local authorities, commuters, border officials and employers, my own experience and literature from the local libraries.

After conducting field research I returned to and focused more deeply on literature - my practical experiences having prepared me for better combining this literature with the empirical data found in the region of Tacna and Arica.

Social relevance

In analysing the commuter flow between Tacna and Arica, this research is directly linked to a widely apparent social phenomenon. The commuter flow has an influence in the region and analysing this influence and mapping the size of the commuter flow, local governments can use this research as an source of information for adapting and improving policy. In this way, the lives of the commuters might be improved. This research shows what the strengths and weaknesses of the commuter flow are. With this information the cities of Tacna and Arica can benefit from the chances and opportunities that can be extracted from this flow.

Scientific relevance

In this thesis, a commuter flow between two cities across an international border in Latin America is researched. Theoretical strands from human geography, about migration, about commuting, about borders and flows of people all contribute - and interlink - to a single case study .

The theories presented in this thesis are used to analyse the process and migration phenomenon which occurs in the Tacna-Arica region. The thesis will contribute to knowledge by showing a new insight, derived from a relatively unknown region. This research can be used in discourses, debates and research about commuters, short-term and short-distance migration, borders, flows of people and other relevant strands.

1.5 Readers guide

In chapter 1, the reason for this thesis, the research question, the case study and methodology is explained. Chapter 2 is dedicated to the theoretical framework and main concepts of this thesis. Which concepts are important for the research and how are they used in the case of Peruvian commuters in the Tacna and Arica region. Chapter 3 will give information about the context of the case study. In chapter 4 the results of the research are given, this is the empirical data gathered from the commuters. In chapter 5, the border is analysed. In Chapter 6 the theoretical framework is combined with the empirical data found in the Tacna-Arica region. The conclusions of this thesis are stated in chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND MAIN CONCEPTS

In this chapter I will address the theoretical framework and main concepts of this thesis, the terminology is used and how can it be determined. First the commuter and migration is presented. Second, the notions and the concepts of the border are presented.

In my research, two main concepts are of importance regarding the Peruvians who commute weekly to and from Chile: commuting and migration. This chapter will analyse what commuting is in practice. The concept of commuting has, as I will suggest, a tight relation with migration. Both concepts are analysed in order to see the differences and parallels of both theoretical strands; parts of both are relevant to the Peruvian commuting flow.

2.1 Commuting and migration

Commuting is working in one place and living in another; as the dictionary for Human Geography describes it: “The technical term for journeys-to-work. Because these are major generators of traffic flows within cities, models of commuting patterns have been developed to aid transport planning and decisions on the location of new residential and employment areas” (Johnston et al., 2000).

As this quote describes, commuting is a flow of people to and from work. It involves decisions of new employment areas, - apparent in the case study of this thesis.

Much is known about commuting, although most attention appears to be given to national, internal commuting.

Cross border commuting is a somewhat neglected subject. It is, mainly, only sketchily covered by discourses on migration, border crossing and border regions. Hence, finding theory on this subject in the exact definition as is referred to in this thesis is difficult. However, Rouwendal (2004) researched commuting and tried to model commuting and commuting decisions. This research is focussed on the reasons for commuting and it tries to analyse why people commute.

In his model he posits that there is a relationship between commuting and the benefits obtainable at the place where people commute to and from. If for example wages are at higher level than in the home base, people are more willing to move toward another place to profit from these benefits, without giving up their home base.

In the Tacna-Arica region the willingness to overcome an international border and the time of travelling is therefore a rational decision, a trade-off between profits gained and time /energy expended.

Turning to concepts of migration, we see an important link to commuting. Migration is defined as : “Permanent or semi-permanent change of residence by an individual or group of people” (Johnston et al., 2000). In this thesis, literature on migration is used because of the link with the international commuting as described.

With this definition of migration in mind we can basically say, that there is a move within an area, either a move from one society to another, or from one culture or nation to another. In the Tacna-Arica region, we see a semi-permanent change of residence. Peruvians live in Arica during the week and in Tacna during the weekend. They move on a regular basis, most of them for a minimum period of one year.

As Priken (2004) describes migration: “According to Johnston (2000) migration is a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence by an individual or group of people. To categorize migrants and migrations three dimensions are usually employed: space, time and

motivation (Skeldon, 1997)". Distances vary, ranging from long to short, from one city to another or from one country to another. The time as mentioned by Skeldon (1997) can be short-term, long-term, permanent, semi-permanent etcetera. Motivation depends on the individual and may be based on job opportunities, wage difference, family reunion, study, etcetera. Hence, migration, within its definition, includes many different variations.

In the Tacna-Arica region migration is relatively short-term, short-distance and very temporary. A link can be made with the concept of commuting, where people move up and down from work. In the Tacna-Arica region people stay longer than one day in the place they work to cut back on costs and travel time, hence they migrate on a weekly basis, or, they 'commute' on a weekly basis.

Those described as migrants do not necessarily cross borders. A person can also move between rural and urban or from urban to urban etcetera. In the Tacna-Arica region the move is across a border and is better characterized as commuting, but the people that migrate across this border are mostly original from the rural areas of Peru, which means they first migrated from rural to urban, and now they commute from urban to urban.

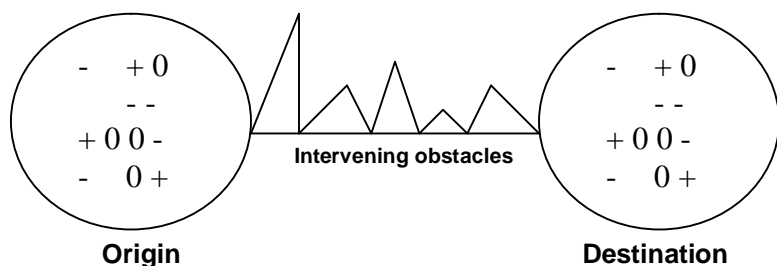


Figure 2 The push and pull theory (Skeldon, 1997)

2.1.1 The Latin American context

As I contend, migration within the Tacna-Arica region can be seen as commuting or short term and temporal migration. In literature about migration most is written about permanent migration. Hence comparative situations in the world are scarce. There is useful literature about the Poland-Germany or Mexican-USA borders - all borders between countries with huge differences in GDP, employment rates, social security and so forth.

Within this thesis, literature about migration is useable in nuanced ways, and the migration meant in the research is short-term migration or international commuting between Peru and Chile. Movements, whether they result in the permanent redistribution of population or are of a circulatory nature which causes only temporary displacement, demand greater consideration than has been given to them previously. It is mainly derived from experience in Europe and in North America where most empirical work has been done and where most data exist to make this possible. These data are far from ideal but they highlight the deficiencies elsewhere in the world. As yet relatively little account has been taken of mobility experienced in the less developed parts of the world (Kosinski, 1975, pg. 377). This quote from 1975 shows that the theoretical strand of migration mainly had its data in North America and Europe. Other parts of the world were less researched. Now, 30 years later, there has been more research in this area, but still little has been done to expose the real size of migration and the effects of migration flows within some parts of Latin America. As in the case of migration/commuting between Peru and Chile.

Most studies of labour migration in these conditions tend to treat migration as a long-term, even permanent, one-way decision, which depends on the static values of the key determinants, usually unemployment and wages. If we relax the assumptions of one-way

permanent movement and allow for strategic movement by the migrant we may get rather different outcomes, both in terms of the migrant's decision to migrate and the consequences for the home and destination regions (Van Houtum & Van der Velde, 2000, pg. 36). As is the case in the Tacna-Arica region, where migration is hardly permanent and where a strategic movement made by migrants is an everyday reality.

Following the analysis of migration in general, the next paragraph will go deeper into the terminology of migration in developing countries.

2.1.2 Migration in developing countries

Migrants are predominantly workers moving from areas where they were born and raised to others where they can find a higher return for their labour. These spatial differentials in employment opportunities represent lesser and greater levels of economic development. The investigation of migration is thus inextricably associated with issues of development and underdevelopment (Kearney, 1986, pg. 332). In the same thought, Stalker (2000) mentions, the disturbing effect of development – shaking people loose from their communities, raising new possibilities, and providing them with the funds to travel – means that as countries achieve a minimum standard of economic development, then migration is likely to increase rather than decrease (Stalker, 2000, pg. 103). This example speaks for the Peruvian case. The country is not developing quickly, and the possibilities to work in Chile are increasing, especially because of new border-crossing laws, and future change of regulations.

Generally speaking, people tend to move from low-income areas to high-income areas, from stagnant areas to rapidly expanding areas and from areas of poor or intermittent employment opportunities to areas where employment is more certain or guaranteed by contract. The economic, social and political consequences of such movements are deep and complex. They are somewhat neglected in the general development literature because they do not fit in with the classical theory of comparative advantage and subsequent trade theories, which are generally based on the assumption of immobility of labour.

Within developing countries there is a rapid, and in some cases overwhelming, flow of people, particularly landless people and more educated younger people, from the countryside into the town, creating fearful employment problems and social pressure (Singer & Ansari, 1978, pg. 215).

Divergence between the richer economies of the West and those of many developing countries has produced tempting disparities in wages and is prompting many new kinds of migration flow. While many people migrate to other countries to advance their careers, or just out of a sense of adventure, for most people the main reason is the prospect of earning more money (Stalker, 2000, pg. 21). This quote once more addresses to the fact that migration in developing countries is more a necessity than a choice.

Here, in the Tacna-Arica region migration in developing countries is not always an accurate way to analyze the problems in this region. Because migration to and from developing countries is mostly referred to as developing country versus rich countries, as opposed to the situation between Peru and Chile, where migration takes place between a developing country toward and from a less-underdeveloped country.

Hence with using the term 'migration in developing countries' we have to take into account that the term is only partly accurate.

2.2 Border

In this research, the border between Tacna and Arica, or rather, between Peru and Chile, plays an important role. On one hand, it triggers a flow of people because of the spatial, political, social and economical differences it creates. The border initiates a movement due to political, economic and social differences between both countries. On the other hand it functions as a filter. Terms like ‘in- and exclusion’, ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘discrimination’, ‘protection’, ‘trade’, ‘migration’ are used in the context of this border. Before we look at the Tacna-Arica border, it is important to describe what a border is in general, how the word ‘border’ is explained and how a border influences space. After this general description of the border, I will apply the gathered information in the context of the Tacna-Arica border in following chapters.

What is a border? How is it constructed, and how is it represented in reality? Van Houtum et al. (2005) write the following about borders and their physical presence in current space: “A barbed wired fence, a wall, a door, a gate, a river, a line in the sand or on a map are striking and well-known configurations of borders as visual objects. Yet, there is always more than the map or the eye can tell us. Crucial to an understanding of borders is not so much their material morphology, but the various forms of interpretation and representation that they embody. As Latour (1993) has argued, a key can transform a door into a border for some, but a pass-through for others, in the same way that a wall may signify protection for some while for others it constitutes a political offence or merely an irritating graffiti board (Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974).

A border therefore, should not be viewed as through a door or window, as objects per se limited to their physical delimitation (Soja, 1996). This power of borders, that which exceeds their constraining material form, is derived from their specific interpretation and a resultant (often violent) practice” (Van Houtum et al. 2005, pg. 2-3”). As this quote shows, a border is a pass-through as well as a stop. A border can be seen in many different ways. Dwyer and Jackson (2004) write about a border: “While borders may be cultural constructions, they are constructions that are backed by force of law, economic and political power, and regulating and regularizing institutions. What they come to mean and how they are experienced, crossed or imagined are products of particular histories, times, and place” (Schiller in Crang et al. 2004, pg. 5).

Van Houtum et al. (2005) mention about borders that they are legally defined, can be exactly mapped on a land register. Any modification of their course or their normative implications would entail costly administrative and legal procedures” (Van Houtum & Van der Velde, 2000). And others, like Bigo and Guild (2005) write: “The notion of border is very often considered a materialized line between two spaces. Borders are associated with differentiation between inside and outside, with control of who crosses the line. This is important since the notion of border is embedded, as far as common knowledge is concerned, into a theory of the territorial state that inhibits the capacity to understand the passage of frontier controls beyond the national territory and that is blinded by the juridical perception of embassies and consulates as delocalised parts of the nation-state. Borders, control and state are by definition intertwined” (Bigo & Guild, 2005, pg. 52).

The border of a province or a nation-state is first and foremost a legal fact, one that is reproduced, literally kept alive by a large ensemble of connected practices, ranging from printed bodies of law and maps to corporeal inscriptions and the surveillance of boundaries on the landscape. The b/order is an active verb” (Van Houtum et al., 2005, pg. 3). The term

“active verb” is used as in: A border is more than just a checkpoint. It stimulates activity as well as it frustrates activity or at least, makes some activities more difficult, illegal, or impossible.

In this thesis the word “border” is used to refer to the institutional as well as physical border crossing between two countries. However, in much literature the word “boundary” is used. The word is mainly referred to as the whole set of state tools to frame its territory. So speaking of boundary in this case, means the whole line that can be drawn (mainly just on a map) between Peru and Chile. The border however, is the place where flows of people and goods can officially cross. Boundaries may be permeable or impermeable, or may be permeable at one point in time and impermeable at another, or may be permeable for some functions and impermeable for other functions. Where political territories and systems meet – or have met in the past – there may be demonstrable effects on the people’s patterns of movement and on the landscapes around them. How these boundaries are used and perceived may in turn have additional impacts on the landscape. Boundaries may be long lasting or they may be open to considerable change, as states have vied for control over contested areas, or as new structures have been imposed or accepted, including, possibly, their functional dismantlement. Boundaries may be the source of friction between competing political entities or they may serve as peaceful reminders of contrasting but accepted differences. Boundaries may reflect the areal extent of ethnic and national identities or they may cut across such identities. Political boundaries, in short, are locations (sometimes as lines sometimes as zones) that may separate or may link, but most often accomplish both functions at one and the same time (Minghi & Rumley, 1991, pg. xvii). Here we can see the overlap with Van Houtum et al. (2005) that borders and/or boundaries are active institutions.

Hence, how active is a border? What function does it have within its surroundings? Stalker (2000) addresses attention to this: “One effect of globalisation should be “factor price equalization.” Goods, people, and capital moving across national borders should tend to equalize prices between countries. Labour should travel from low-wage to high-wage economies and capital should move in the other direction. This would tend to depress wages in the migrant-destination countries, while raising them in the sending countries. Eventually, some kind of equilibrium should be reached when the remaining wage gap represents just the costs of migration between the two countries. As a result, migration should stop.

Does this equalization happen in practice? This is difficult to judge at present. Although capital and goods can move fairly freely, labour cannot. Today, all states exert, or try to exert, very strict control over their borders and want to avoid any mass influx of new people” (Stalker, 2000, pg. 11). This quote outlines the reality that labour movement as is often more difficult than that of goods and capital. Unusually, in the Tacna-Arica region, locally significant labour movement is commonplace. Hence, labour in this region could eventually cause some sort of equalization throughout time, according to this theory. However, in Tacna there is a huge surplus of labourers and people come from all over Peru to work in Chile, therefore, the wages in Tacna stay low, as well as the wages in Arica because of the sufficient supply of cheap labourers. Equalization would be good for the regional development, but in reality I believe it will not be achieved in the near future.

Another issue that is important in the context of the border debate in the Tacna-Arica region is the Chilean Government effort to control the border and avoid any mass influx of new people. The border is quite permeable, but with limitation. Hence, territory and control are still an important issue in border policy in the region. This is in contradiction of the contemporary discourse on borders, like the example from the next quote: “Are we not living in a mass

consumer-based society, in which the production of knowledge, images, representations and simulacra are of greater significance than the hard edges of geopolitical boundaries? Our solid, rational, control-based and production-oriented society has indeed partially evaporated but this does not mean that we live in a borderless world. At best, we live in evolutionary, albeit not necessarily progressive, times. Not everything, therefore, has become liquid, fluid and de-territorialized. Empowering practices themselves – both materially and mentally – have not lost their territorial ordering and bordering functions” (Van Houtum et al., 2005, pg. 1). This is the start of the book *B/ordering space*. Meaning that, although globalisation effects (like open borders, flexible humans, communication networks) penetrate into the local level, border still influence flows of people, distribution of wealth and power, territoriality, in- and exclusion. Borders remain important institution in people’s lives and in the welfare of countries and regions.

2.3 Crossing the border

In determining actions and behaviour of people at and within national borders, borders are no longer seen merely as territorial lines at a certain place in space, but as symbols of processes of social binding and exclusion, that are constructed or produced in society as well as reproduced via perceptions, symbols, norms, beliefs, and attitudes. It is argued that the understanding of the meaning and relevance of borders is closely linked to socio-spatial identity and should therefore focus on people’s mental as well as processes for social cohesion. In this view the border is not primarily regarded as a barrier to be overcome but as a necessary constituent in people’s lives. The emphasis is therefore much less, if at all, on a computation of the effect of the border on cross-border developments, or on an analysis of the design and effectiveness of cross-border regional cooperation policies and economies, both heavily inspired by the field of economics (Van Houtum & Van der Velde, 2000, pg. 7).

This quote indicates that the current is dictated by rational economic choice, rather than the social and necessity of moving which is the case in Latin America. The necessity to move across the border is the predominant reason why people move. In short, people move because of benefits and while moving they do not consider the option to ‘stay’, because ‘staying’ for them is not an option.

Cross-border relationships are defined as actions of individuals or organizations with a spatial component and crossing a border. These actions are categorized in three broad groups: political-institutional, economic and social-cultural. Obviously these three types of actions are interrelated and influence one another. A second distinction can be made with regard to the level of scale. Economic cross-border relations on a European level differ greatly from the ones concerning the regional level" (Van der Velde 1997a; 1997b; Van der Velde & Boekema 1997). The border itself influences whether cross-border relationships come into existence. On the one hand strong, almost impermeable borders prohibit relationships, - neighbouring regions in this case can be characterized as alienated (Martinez, 1994). Integrated borderlands on the other hand, function as if no border exists at all. The effects of the border however are not stemming from the border itself, but from the region it encloses. In order to study border-effects, we have to look at the regions alongside the borders. To be more precise we have to look at (groups of) individuals and organizations in the regions and their perception of the border (Van der Velde, 1999, pg. 5).

A border is the institutional way of protecting or controlling the basis of a territory. Quite simply, Government decides who and what goes out or comes in. Territories may be regarded

as special regions. They represent politically defined spatial entities, designed as instruments of power for political and administrative authorities to regulate and define the opportunities and degrees of freedom of social practices. They are areas marked out by specific legal regulations in force and valid norms. The course of their borders, legally defined, can be exactly mapped on a land register. Any modification of their course or their normative implications would entail costly administrative and legal procedures. Regions, on the other hand, do not have established borderlines, but are characterized by ‘oscillating margins’ (Läpple, 1991), which may be subject to considerable changes over the course of time depending on variations in social practice” (Van Houtum et al., 2005, pg. 94). Thus, the latter expresses the difference between a region and a territory. In the Tacna-Arica region is more a case of two territories coming together than being a single cohesive region. Proximity of the cities, located in an otherwise relatively uninhabited environment tends to portray the area as a region, where different functions work together and where there is an obvious transaction in social, economic and political powers.

Before speaking of a ‘Tacna-Arica region’ it must be remembered that this region is not a region as it is mentioned in the literature, but a forced region because of their nearness to each other and their peripheral location in relation to their economic and political centres (Lima and Santiago) and we should not forget the territorial border they represent.

In this thesis the terms ‘border’ and ‘Tacna-Arica region’ are used as described in this paragraph. The border is a system, which is active in the lives of people and active in the control of a state. The term ‘border’ is the set of organisations, policy and the physical border crossing between Peru and Chile.

CHAPTER 3 PERU AND CHILE

In this chapter I will focus on the specific features, history and characteristics of both nations and cities; when and how both cities of Tacna and Arica evolved and emerged over time and their common history. The main historical event in the region, the Pacific war, is the key to establishment of the region as we know it today.

First I will outline facts of both countries, than I will address attention to the history of both countries. After this, I will focus on both cities and conclude with insights into inter-city relationships. The latter is an important issue in analysing the border and the commuter flow, because the cities themselves are the sending and receiving actors in the whole phenomenon and therefore critical to the whole question of border crossing.

3.1 Some facts and figures

In this paragraph I will give general facts of both countries, in order to see the differences between the two countries. I will do this with a table so comparisons are easy:

Information/Country	Chile	Peru
Capital	Santiago	Lima
Inhabitants	16,134,219	28,302,603
Land mass	756.950	1.285.220
Inhabitants p/km ²	21	22
Population growth p/year	0.94%	1.32%
GDP per capita	\$US 12,700	\$US 6,400
Unemployment rate	7.8 %	7.2% Lima, major underemployment in the rest of the country, no data known
Population below poverty line	18.2 % (2005)	54% (2003)

Table 1 'The world's fact book' and www.ine.cl (data Chile) & www.inei.gob.pe (data Peru); all data is from 2006, unless marked differently (Source: www.cia.gov).

The table shows the difference in development between both countries - especially the GDP per capita and the population below poverty line. This difference is one of the main causes of the commuting flow from Peru toward Chile. People commute to ther in order to find work and to earn better wages.

Figure 3 gives a classification of world economies. Chile is among the "Upper-middle-income economies", while Peru is in the class of "Lower-middle-income economies".

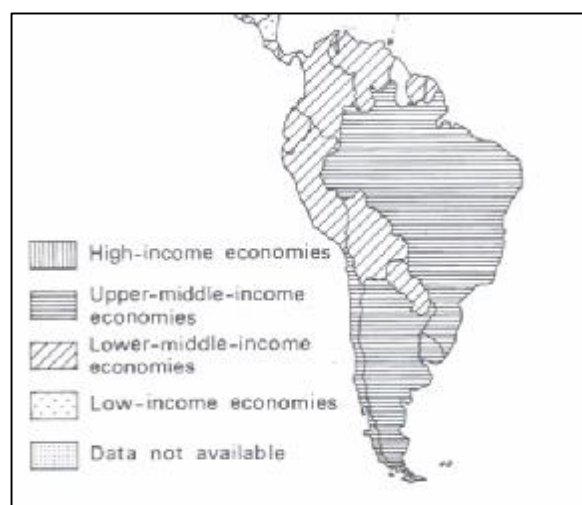


Figure 3 Classification of economies (Skeldon 1997)

3.2 General History of Peru and Chile

Chile and Peru, or at least the ground that is now called Chile and Peru, has been inhabited long since. Archaeological remains of human life date back as far as 11.000 years. Many different Indian groups lived within the Chilean territory. Seventy years before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Inca Empire dominated most of both countries. The original tribes lived in coexistence with the Incas.

In the 15th and 16th century the big exploring expeditions of the Europeans reached the Americas. First of course was Columbus in 1492 with the discovery of North America and the Caribbean. Then followed Pedro Alvarez Cabral, a Portuguese explorer, who landed in Brazil in 1500. In 1520, the Portuguese mariner Ferdinand Magellan discovered the straight of Magellan, now the most southerly point of Chile. From the north, Panama, several expeditions led to discover the south including the conquests of Diego Almagro, who defeated the Inca Empire and settled the country of Peru. From there, Almagro advanced further south and in 1536 officially discovered Chile though it took five years before the land was actually occupied. The first settlement was Santiago, founded by Pedro de Valdivia in 1541. This was the start of the occupation of Indian lands and the Indians started to work for the Spaniards, in exchange for protection and the care of the European invaders” (Villalobos, 2005, pg. 23-39). Now, in 2007 almost all original Indians have disappeared. Some communities are still intact. Small villages remain in the highlands, but most are influenced by modern cultures and outside influence. In the cities of Tacna and Arica you can still see the influence of Indian culture, especially during the carnivals that are held occasionally.

3.2.1 Pacific war

Before going to the history of both cities, I will first explain how the cities are situated (as a border region) in the contemporary region. In paragraph 3.3 I will describe the cities in more detail.

The history of Tacna and Arica is a relatively short. The main reason for the current state of the cities arose during the start of the 20th century, when Chile was involved in an armed conflict with Bolivia, and, as a result of an alliance between Peru and Bolivia, Chile came to be at war with Peru as well. In the following paragraph a short summary of this important event in the region’s history is given.

The Spanish Crown had never concerned itself with establishing precise borders for each colony. This lack of clearly defined borders was the cause of many disputes between neighbouring countries. Since the colonial era, the northern border of Chile had been the Atacamá Desert, an imprecise expression that lent itself to various interpretations. The Chilean government asserted that the border should be fixed at the 23rd parallel, but Bolivia argued that the border was at the 25th parallel – the southern border of its sovereignty. Several rounds of negotiations failed to resolve the issue. However, a treaty signed in 1873 established the border at the 24th parallel just south of Antofagasta and it contained a commitment by Bolivia not to raise taxes on Chilean companies operating between the 23rd and 24th parallels.

In the same year, Peru signed a secret treaty with Bolivia pledging mutual support in the event of war. It also sought an alliance with Argentina, which was about to sign the treaty. Peru’s primary motive for these plans was the difficulties of its nitrate industry in Tarapacá. The

Peruvian government had nationalized the nitrate mines in order to obtain more revenues for the state. By allying itself with Bolivia it could better compete with Chile in nitrate mining.

Five years after the secret treaty was signed, the Bolivian dictator Hilarión Daza, ordered a tax to be levied on the nitrate exports of the *Compañía de Salitres de Antofagasta*. When the company refused to pay the tax, Daza ordered its property to be auctioned off. On the day of the auction, several Chilean warships landed troops at Antofagasta and occupied the city. They were warmly welcomed by the population, almost all of which was Chilean. Antofagasta was occupied in February 1879. For the next four years, the conflict continued in a series of campaigns. And Chile took control over the Atacamá part of Bolivia and of Peru as far as Lima.

In 1883 a provisional government established in Peru put an end to the conflict by signing the Treaty of Ancón with Chile. Peru permanently ceded the territory of Tarapacá to Chile and temporarily ceded Tacna and Arica. The final status of those two territories was to be decided in 1893 by a plebiscite. This plebiscite was never held, but in 1929 an agreement was reached whereby Peru recovered Tacna, and Chile retained Arica” (Villalobos, 2005, pg. 145-151). Chile didn’t want to occupy Peru as far as Lima, but just wanted to drive back the Peruvian forces. This is why they kept Tacna and Arica as a trade.

As for Bolivia, a simple truce declared the end of the war. While this pact was in force, Chile was to continue to occupy the territory of Antofagasta. When the treaty was finally signed in 1904, Bolivia cede the territory of Antofagasta, and Chile pledged to build a railway from Arica to La Paz, to allow the free transit of Bolivian merchandise, and to pay a cash compensation. For Chile, the war of the Pacific meant a considerable increase in its territory and the acquisition of priceless nitrate and copper deposits. Thereafter economic prosperity increased and public and private wealth made it possible to undertake a large number of important development projects” (Villalobos, 2005, pg. 145-151).

This explains, in a nutshell, the somewhat special relationship between two cities across an international border and the ‘region’ around them that was the basis of my interest. This Pacific war is important to understand the relations and (family) ties between both cities.

3.2.2 Recent political history and economy of the receiving country, Chile

Chile’s economy was quite healthy and prosperous until after the First World War in Europe. When the Germans then invented a synthetic nitrate, which was far cheaper than the mined nitrate. Prices declined and the nitrate mining industry, the most important export product until that day, collapsed. The Chilean economic crisis was at it worst between 1929 and 1932. After this a slow stabilization of the economy began.

Economic development in Chile has always been heavily dependent on the political situation of the country. And this political situation has been far from stable during the years. The main political influence came from the infamous dictator Pinochet. In the following paragraph I will give a short overview of the Chilean politics, in order to better understand its history and culture.

The political history of Chile nowadays still reflects in its culture. For example the dedicated will to demonstrate against the government, which is expressed by graffiti in the streets and by many protests throughout the year, for example the major unrest in parts of the country at

11 September, the day on which Pinochet took power with its army. By September 1973, chaos reigned. The Armed Forces decided to intervene and, overthrew the government with a violent coup d'état. Allende committed suicide in La Moneda (Santiago) when he realized that resistance was useless. A governing junta took command. It was headed by General Augusto Pinochet. He quickly asserted his authority over his colleagues and assumed the title of President of the Republic. The military dictatorship lasted more than sixteen years. Its first task was to consolidate the regime being put in place. Left-wing forces were vigorously persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and sent into exile. About 3000 were executed. The secret services of the Armed Forces and of the Uniformed Police, such as the DINA, acted without restraint.

This violation of human rights provoked reaction throughout the world. Chile was ostracized by the international community. Discontent with the military government grew apace and, despite the difficulties it encountered, the opposition was able to voice its criticisms. Finally, the military government called an election. The winner by a good margin was Patricio Aylwin, a member of the Christian Democracy Party. He took office and governed for four years. His main task was to pave the way for a transition and to promote harmony among all sectors of society.

The economic doctrine of free enterprise, which was thought to have been buried some seventy years before, reappeared, and was strengthened under the government of General Pinochet. The military government had no economic doctrine of its own, but embraced that put forward by the so-called Chicago Boys, a group of economists who had been trained at the University of Chicago and advocated the most orthodox form of capitalism. It was intended to promote the interests of businessmen and private enterprise and, in this way, to increase national and foreign investments. This policy would benefit the upper classes of society and some day, perhaps, the poor as well, at least so it was thought.

Various state-owned enterprises were sold cheaply to powerful economic groups. as the Government pursued a policy of privatisation. Toward the end of the 1990's the economic model began to show positive results; during the governments of Aylwin and his followers the macroeconomic variables were kept in balance and the economy took off (Villalobos, 2005, pg. 193-202).

Although Pinochet was seen as a negative influence in terms of human rights and social progress he did set the basis for a flourishing economy. In December 2006 when news of the excesses of the former dictator surfaced, reactions were mixed. On one hand he helped the country grow in the eyes of many Chileans, , on the other, he was responsible for a harsh regime and the violent repression of dissent. So it is tricky to give a judgment of this controversial leader, but the fact remains that he is one of the most discussed leaders in the world of the last decades.

3.2.3 Current regime

At present the president in charge of the Republic of Chile is Michelle Bachelet, the first female president. Her task is to guide and improve the country's social, economic and cultural policies. One of the important issues her government decided is the liberalization of Arica as a separate region. In 2008 Arica will be her own institutional region, separate from Iquique, which is now the capital of the 'primera Region'. From 2008 Arica will be the XVI region, 'region de Arica y Parinacota'.

Historically Peru's political status has been rather more stable. However the country's administration has not been as successful. Peru is rich in minerals and culture but mismanagement of its resources and short-term investments policies have stunted real economic growth and prosperity especially for the majority of citizens. In Peru, there is hardly any middle class. Relatively few wealthy people have control over the country and its resources. The majority of the people are poor, and of these 54% live under the poverty line. This disproportionate division of money makes the country dysfunctional and unable to solve its own problems.

The current President of the constitutional Republic of Peru is Alan Garcia Perez and he wants to put the Peruvian economics back in the world-market. Hopefully he will succeed and will improve the status and well being of all citizens.

Between both countries, bilateral discourses are held on national and local level (as shown in appendix III). On the national level, relations between both have increased throughout the last decade and especially the new president of Chile, Bachelet, shows more openness to its neighbour Peru. However it could be a long time before both countries will really trust each other unconditionally.

3.3 History and characteristics of both cities

3.3.1 Tacna

The first groups of Spanish conquerors, members of the Almagro expedition, organized to conquer Chile arrived in the region in 1535. They established as a Spanish outpost; the last civilized place before entering the dry Atacamá dessert. Tacna was called Villa San Pedro de Tacna at this time,

In 1615 and 1784 Tacna went through violent earthquakes and many towns were reduced to ruins. However, they were rebuilt by their people who had decided to stay in the same place. Tacna was an important city during the struggle for independence. From 1810, the local patriots, (learning from their neighbours, the already independent Argentineans), began to conspire for freedom. In 1811, Francisco Antonio de Zela, made the initial call for liberation in Tacna. Once the independence of Peru was achieved, the heroism of this city was honoured by promoting it to the rank of 'Villa' in 1823. In May 26, 1828, President José de la Mar promulgated a law given by Congress by which the city of Tacna was given the title of Ciudad Heroica or Heroic City.

The present city of Tacna lies 50 kilometres from the Peruvian-Chilean border and has almost 317.300 inhabitants (www.inei.gob.pe, 2005). The city does not have access to the ocean like its neighbour Arica, and uses the city of Ilo two hours to the east and Arica for exporting her products.

One of the biggest sectors in Tacna is the so-called 'Pacotilla', ie., semi-finished products - manufactured in Tacna, to be assembled elsewhere. The greatest income for the city is the production of copper and the sales of olives and olive-related products. Outside the city, in green valleys with hundreds of irrigation channels, there is approximately 10.000 hectares of farmland used for olive production. Most tourist flow is from Chile. Chileans go to the relatively cheaper city of Tacna to buy cheap clothes, gamble, eat and drink or to use the cheaper dentists or opticians.

For Tacna, overseas relations are of major importance. This especially applies to Asia, destination of many of the semi-finished goods are exported. Most are shipped from Ilo, a port three hours from Tacna. Arica is closer, but because of the border-policies and port charges, it is more effective and cheaper to ship the goods from a Peruvian port. Arica is used more by Bolivia, which being landlocked has to ship their goods from either one of their neighbours.

For Tacna, nearest places of interest are Ilo, and Arica (Chile) each approximately two - three road hours distant. (The latter depending on the border crossing time of course) In the north, the nearest city is Arequipa, seven hours away.

In the 60's and 70's there was a drought in the east of Peru and many farmers left their land. Many migrated towards Tacna, en route to their real goal, Chile and the promise of a better living. But because many people were poorly educated and/or had little money to sustain them, they never found their way into Chile and remained in Tacna and tried to make a living here. This is important in the discourse about the commuter flow in this region. Most people that commute from Tacna to Arica, are people who come from low-educated and poor families - those who lack the opportunities or resources to go to Santiago or other better areas to earn more money.



Figure 4 Official institution in Tacna, consul general of Chile

3.3.2 Arica

In 1545 the silver mine of Potosí, in the Peruvian highlands, was discovered, and this resulted in the founding of Arica twenty-five years later, in 1570. To begin with its importance derived from being the port from which the mineral extracted from the mine was shipped, and where supplies arrived for those who lived and worked at the mine. The traffic between Potosí and Arica was carried by enormous mule trains, which brought down the silver and carried back all kinds of supplies. It is known that the first inhabitants of this zone belonged to the Chinchorro culture, the distinguishing feature of which was their mummification technique. Specimens may be seen at the Museo Arqueológico San Miguel de Azapa" (Caistor, 1997).

When the Virreinato de la Plata was created, some 200 years later, Arica lost its importance, because the new Vice-royalty of Spain included the territory where the mine was located, and so all the traffic was diverted to the city of Buenos Aires in Argentina. With the establishment of the Republic of Peru in this area in the middle of the 19th Century, the city recovered some of its splendour, and traces of this can be observed in the important buildings, which were erected in the town. Peruvian control lasted until the beginning of the 1880s, when the Chilean army took the city as part of its military campaign during the War of the Pacific. Later, under the 1929 treaty between Chile and Peru, the territory was legally ceded to Chile" (Municipalidad de Arica, 2006).

Arica (region de Tarapacá) is now a city with 191.411 inhabitants (www.ine.cl, 2000) and is situated 19 kilometres from the Peruvian border. North and south the city is bordered with desert, east the Pacific and in the west the altiplano (highlands) of the Andes with its peaks that go up to 6.330 meters. Going toward this altiplano, there are two fertile valleys provided with water from the snowy peaks of the Andes. These valleys are the 60 kilometres long Azapa valley and the 40 kilometres of the Lluta valley. Because of the high Andes, rain doesn't cross to the city, and therefore, it only rains a couple of millimetres in 10 years.

Unofficially Arica is known as the driest city in the world. The driest place in the world was found at a weather station 70 kilometres south of Arica (*national geographic*).

Arica's main source of income is the olives and chickens from the valleys and its port function for Bolivia and the south of Peru. With its year round beach climate, minimum 20 degrees in winter, tourism is also important for Arica's economy. Chileans from the south, rich Bolivians and North American cruise ships take advantage of this. It is also an important place as a travel route junction, where travellers have to change buses in Arica in order to travel to Peru or Bolivia.

As mentioned in paragraph 3.2.3, Arica is now a region with Iquique. Government decisions for the Arica region are now made by Iquique where the government of the 'primera region' is settled. But, from 2008, Arica will form its own region due to the fact that Iquique faces different problems, like less unemployment, less migrants, no border and much income from copper mining. Therefore, Arica complained that policy made in Iquique is not adapted to the Ariqueñ situation. Hence after a long period of lobbying in 2008 the new region 'Arica and Parinacota' will make its own policy and receive direct financing from Santiago, rather than through the joint Iquique region. The new Ariqueñ government will endeavour to set more appropriate policies especially on the border, labour, migration and commuting.

The nearest cities to Arica are Tacna (Peru) in the north, which is about a two hour drive, depending on the border crossing. Iquique in the south is a five hour drive and La Paz (Bolivia) is seven hours away.

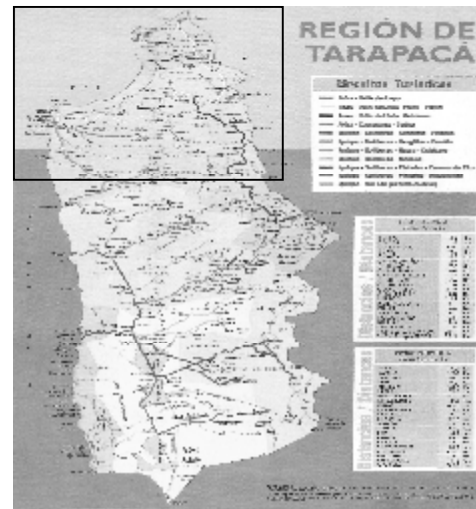


Figure 5 Arica y Parinacota region within the I region de Chile

3.4 Relations between Tacna and Arica

Characterized by conflict, the border landscape of Peru and Chile, Tacna and Arica, is a border between two nations that warred frequently over the past centuries. The struggle for power is still not over. The no-mans land between the two border crossings at Chacalluta is becoming smaller and smaller, because both nations are building new crossings closer and closer to each other each claiming parts of the no-mans land. However, there are positive indicators too. Not only the physical border is changing. New attitudes, political and cultural, are emerging. Both Peru and Chile are trying to make the border easier to cross, in order to improve economic relations between the two border towns and to improve the social relationships between the countries.

As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, Tacna is the closest city for Arica, ‘only’ seventy kilometres (even though with border control it takes two hours to cross), while the closest Chilean city is Iquique. For Tacna the nearest city of any significance is Arequipa. Because of this, and for the historical reasons, that Arica used to be Peruvian, Ariqueños have more ties with Tacna than they do with Iquique. It seems that communities within the region are more dependent on each other than with the cities in their own country.

For Tacna, Arica is very important and vice versa. Not only because of agreements, trade and nearness, but also because of the geographical distance toward their own political and economic centres. Tacna is closer to Chile and Bolivia, than it is from the capital Lima. Hence national law and decisions are important for Tacna, but more important are the agreements in the international context. The same is in effect for Arica, where Santiago is at approximately 2000 kilometres and Peru only 15. This geographic peripheral situation is an important factor in the economical development, relations, problems and possibilities for both cities (Zuñiga, 2006).

Borders and border landscapes are often linked to ‘conflicts’ and ‘aftermath’, but present research focuses more on harmonious relations between two states. However, even as relations are improved, tensions remain (Minghi & Rumley, 1991, pg.6). as balance is achieved: cooperation versus competition, national versus international, protection versus openness.

Both cities suffer from each other as well as they need each other. In Peru, a surplus of cheap labour attracts companies and investment from Chile. On the other hand, many professionals from Peru migrate to Chile in search of better, more lucrative opportunities. the effects of these flows are especially evident in the borderland because people are confronted with the differences directly because of the proximity of the other culture. Nonetheless, as Fernando Moreno Roldán from the ‘Camara de Comercio’ in Arica expresses, there is a symbiosis between the two cities, where both cities cannot operate without each other.

More about relations between both cities can be found in the thesis of Annemiek Heinen. She researched Tacna and Arica in the line of regional development in the globalizing world. The Tacna-Arica region is the case she used to ground her research. Her interesting thesis to examines more about the development and the characteristics of the region.

3.5 Conventions between Tacna and Arica

The Peruvian and Chilean governments signed an agreement in 1984, which resulted in law 597. In this law an agreement of free movement of people was arranged. This free movement is relative, but it was a step toward more permeable borders. Before the law, only Santiago could issue visas, now, three other cities could do so. Two of them are Valparaíso and Arica. These cities are chosen because they are border towns (Valparaíso has a major maritime border) and therefore are confronted with many foreigners applying for visa.

An office called ‘extranjería’ can issue those visas. If a person has the right papers to apply for a visa, it is up to this agency to decide whether to approve or decline (*extranjería*, 2006).

Another agreement, beside the issuing of visas, was approved. The governments of Chile and Peru enacted a special agreement for crossing the border to and from the southern part of Peru and the northern part of Chile. Peruvians are allowed to cross the border with Chile on a seven- days document. A similar permit enables Chileans to visit the north as far as Arica and Parinacota. Chileans can also travel into Peru as far as Arequipa after receiving a 10-days visa.

This agreement makes the cross-border ‘region’ of the northern part of Chile and southern part of Peru more economically and social attractive to people and businesses. Indeed there are closer relations between Tacna and Arica (1,5 hours) than for example Arica-Iquique (5 hours) or Tacna-Arequipa (seven hours). This is because of the physical distance between all the cities.

The Seven day visa is obtained at the border, and as a Peruvian or Chilean you only need a DNI-card “*Documento Nacional de Identidad*”; in Chile this is called a “*carnet*”.

Before the two countries, or in this case the two cities, signed this 1984 agreement, another convention dating from 1978 was applicable. This bilateral convention appointed Tacna and Arica as a special zone, where movement is more common and policy required special adaptation. The convention is called ‘el acuerdo convention de zona fronterisa Arica-Tacna’ which basically means that the region was appointed as a border region and therefore finally got more attention from the national governments (Pajuelo, 2006).

In November 2005 a commission (‘*comité de frontera*’) was assigned to establish the opening of the border to all Peruvians and Chilean so that they could travel through the whole of Peru and Chile on a tourist visa. This commission got to the point of an agreement, but because of political opposition, the agreement never got signed. And until today, the borders remain closed for those without passports and working contracts.

CHAPTER 4 EMPIRICAL DATA OF THE PERUVIAN COMMUTERS

The main data required for this research was that from the commuter group themselves. What are the characteristics, where do they work, where do they live etc. In short, how can this group of weekly Peruvian commuters to and from Chile be characterized and what role does the border play in this whole issue.

First I will analyze the main empirical data from the commuter group and secondly I will focus on the numbers and figures of the border in the Tacna-Arica region, which includes the empirical data found at this border.

4.1 Characteristics of the Peruvian commuter

Many of the Peruvian commuters are originally from the rural areas in Peru and do not have any professional qualification or skill (Pajuelo, 2006). In order to find out where the Peruvians work, I tried to find statistics and overviews of the commuter flow. But because of their ‘illegal’ work situation, there are no official numbers of this working group. What is known, is how many Peruvians cross the border every day and week (Appendix V). However, these figures merely reflect the movement at the border and do not give an insight into the activity at destination and thus the actual numbers of Peruvian labourers. A large number of these border crossings are for genuine tourist occasions as well as traders that cross the border purely for sales and purchases. Analysing the exact figures of those crossing the border to work in Chile and those is in this country for other reasons is difficult to accomplish. This is, again, due to the illegal situation the Peruvians encounter while working in Chile. No Peruvian will tell that they will work in Chile, because then they are not allowed across the border without a working visa.

I encountered the group of commuters and although the numbers are not officially known, the sectors of labour they are active in are quite obvious: low paid jobs in domestic service, construction and agriculture jobs in which it is easy to pay illegally rather than through the complex full work visa process. Later in this paragraph I will give further attention to these different sectors.

However, before this more general information about the commuter is relevant. Why do they go to Chile, and what effects does this border crossing have on their lives? Getting across the border to Chile is an opportunity for most Peruvians; the opportunity to earn more than the minimum wage and enjoy a better income for their families in Peru. The wages of a migrant contribute to the lives of the whole family. Virtually all earnings are donated to the family. All people that work in the family contribute to this, and the level of the wage is not important. The only thing that matters is that the whole family has enough to eat and to support all the other aspects of their lives (Ortega, 2006). The wages that people earn in Chile are about three to four times higher than the wages earned in Peru; thus, cross-border commuting labour contributes an enormous return of money back to families in Peru.

As noted, commuters that generate this money are active in the agriculture, construction and domestic sectors. Most are women, mainly because most work available in Chile for Peruvians is in the domestic sector. Within the other sectors the job availability varies on a seasonal or project basis. During certain periods there are more jobs and therefore more commuters, for example during the harvest season of olives and fruits. If we review labour levels in the mentioned sectors as a whole, estimates can be made on the percentage of

Peruvians that work in these sectors. These estimates will be based on interviews with commuters and employers.

At this point I should explain what the Chilean government has attempted to do to prevent illegality and to promote Chilean labourers to the employers. The local government tries to reduce unemployment Chileans in Arica and therefore they made policy which promotes hiring a Chilean over a Peruvian. Local government argues that because of the huge influx of Peruvians, many Chileans are left unemployed. Local government therefore tries to stimulate the contracting of Chilean labourers (as opposed to Peruvian employees) by subsidy. With this subsidy - applied as a tax refund - hiring a Chilean costs the same as a Peruvian.

When an employer contracts an employee, he gets a tax refund of 40.000 pesos per month for each contracted employee for a period of three months. This was incorporated in law 889. (Gonzales, 2006). For the employers it is more attractive financially to arrange a contract and therefore one would consider that employers might prefer a Chilean over a Peruvian. This law seemed promising, but in practice the complex bureaucratic process of actually contracting somebody means that most sectors (especially those with a short, seasonal character) still work without contracts and therefore, still hire Peruvians.

Working without a contract can be very risky for the employees. For example if they get sick, they do not get paid, or when they are treated badly by their employer, they have no official channels to complain. Chilean labour law is very strict and provides good protection for the legally employed. Additionally, companies have to pay a certain amount of tax per labourer” (Ortega, 2006). Two reasons why the Chilean government tried to stimulate contracting.

However, at the end of 2006, the law 889 was terminated. No more benefits for hiring a Chilean. A reason for terminating this law was, that it didn't have a big effect on unemployment due to the fact that many Peruvians take on jobs that Chileans do not want to do anyway.

A quote from the 'Camara de Comercio' in Arica to note before moving on to the sectors of labour, is that “1000 Peruvian commuters does not mean 1000 Chilean job losses”. This information is important for understanding the following paragraphs, in which the sectors of labour of the commuters will be analysed. Within these sectors, the Peruvians mainly accomplish labour Chileans do not like, or do not want to do.

4.2 Commuters and labour

In the previous paragraph I gave a short overview of the weekly Peruvian commuters to and from Arica in general. Now I will focus on the different sectors in which they are active and address the question of where they work. Each paragraph is backed by empirical data from the Tacna-Arica region. In this case, interviews with the labourers and employers themselves.

4.2.1 Domestic labour

“Empleado domestica” or in English ‘domestic workers/staff/servants’ is the main sector in which the commuters are active. Basically women from all ages work in the household of Chileans for a wage, which is less than the official Chilean minimum (Ortega, 2006).

In Chile, many middle class people have servants in the house. Mainly because people themselves work long days, six days a week. To keep time for themselves and to manage the

household, they often employ a servant who looks after the house and the children, while both father and mother are at work. Servants in Arica are mainly Peruvian, because they cost less than Chilean servants. This is because Peruvian servants work without a contract and the employers don't pay taxes or health insurance and therefore only have to pay between 60.000 (+/- 88 €) and 80.000 pesos (+/- 118 €), as oppose to the minimum wage for a Chilean, 129.000 pesos (+/- 190 €).

For Ariqueños who require domestic assistance, employing a Peruvian servant means a significant cost saving. Maid work is best characterized as informal work where typically the market for maids is unregulated and exists outside the purview of the government. Portes and Schauffler (1993:48) note that this type of work falls under the informal sector and may be defined as “income-earning activities unregulated by the state in a context where similar activities are so regulated”. That said, some maids may actually work under the auspices of governmental norms (e.g., receive the legal minimum wage, pay Social Security and income taxes, etc.), but the vast majority work as informals in albeit illegal activities. However these activities are not considered in the same manner as typical criminal activities such as drug smuggling and prostitution (Pisani & Yoskowitz, 2002, pg. 3). As this quote implies, is that the Peruvian servants in Arica can be placed in the category of servant/domestic labour-literature in other parts of the world. Because servant or domestic work or is seen as low skilled work and therefore many minorities work in this sector. Not only in the Peru-Chile situation, but almost everywhere.

Why have Chilean employers begun to hire foreign domestic workers? In part, this pattern reflects some general economic trends that have increased the need for domestic workers, decreased the number of native-born workers available for household service, and raised the costs of hiring household labour (Staab & Maher, 2006, pg. 90). As is the same case in Arica. Chileans do not want to do the household anymore, and therefore Peruvians are a perfect solution for the shortage of Chilean labourers in the Arique household market.

4.2.2 Construction

In construction there are many jobs. Building and maintaining roads, sewers, houses, offices and all manner of urban infrastructure and systems associated with a successful economy. There is an ever-ongoing demand for labourers. Most are Chilean, but this sector includes a large group of Peruvians as well. Most male commuters get jobs in construction. Peruvians work without contract because most construction jobs are on a project basis; employers do not want to start the process of applying for a (cost and time consuming) visa.

In this sector, health insurance is an important issue, because of the dangerous work it involves. Despite this, many Peruvians work without a contract and thus without insurance. If they have an accident at work, they have to pay for treatment and must accept that there will be no income in their recovery time.

Peruvians offer themselves at the international bus station and if a Chilean employer needs someone they go and choose workers at this bus station. This is how the commuters get in touch with their Chilean employers. - Apparently a good way for the employers to recruit manpower, and for potential employees to find a job.

In construction, the wages for illegal labour are higher than in the other sectors, due to the physical side of the job and the dangers involved. In chapter 4.4 I will come back to the

constructors, because I interviewed two Peruvian commuters that work for a telecommunication network company.

4.2.3 Agriculture

This group is a bit different than the others. Where in other sectors Peruvians are described as cheap labour, in the agricultural sector Peruvians are actively approached because of their skills, especially in the olive sector. According to many farmers, (like Lombardi and Bezma (2006)) Peruvians are more skilled and dedicated in picking the olives and they work faster, so that the harvesting period is shortened (Lombardi, 2006). Another factor is that during the harvest period the Chilean labour force is not sufficient to supply all farms with enough labourers. Hence during the harvest season, employers actively search for Peruvian labourers.

Within most of the agricultural sector, Peruvians get the same wage as Chileans, the only difference with Chileans is that they work without a contract. This ‘informal’ status is due to the bureaucratic process, which is inefficient and time- and cost consuming in order to give admission to the Peruvians to work with a contract. The harvest-season is only a short period (approximately three months) and the whole process of getting a temporary visa for international employees takes more than three months. Because the Peruvians don’t get a visa, they do not get any services like health care. This is a risk for the labourers, but the money earned in the olive picking is very good for them and they do not seem to care about health insurance and are willing to take the risk of being injured.

In a big olive farm like Lombardi, 30 full-time Peruvians are employed. 20 of them are informal, 10 work with a contract. In the harvest season they hire more Peruvian labourers because of their working skills and the insufficient Chilean labour force (Lombardi 2006).

At another farm, Bezma, they do the same. During the harvest season they rather have Peruvians. At Bezma they say that they rather give the Peruvians a contract, because giving a contract is better for the employees and for the employer especially because of ley 889 (before 2007). But because of the bureaucratic process and the relative short contracting period of the picking-season, it is not worth starting the administrative process for obtaining a visa (Bezma, 2006).



Figure 6 At the international bus station of Arica

4.3 Commuters and the sectors of labour

Knowing the commuters and knowing where they go, it is important to see what where they go, what they do and what their impact and influence is on the sectors they are active in. This paragraph will give an overview of these sectors. The following tables show numbers per occupation group and per economic sector.

First region of Chile	Labourers per occupation group in 1000 ^{nds} of people				
Total labourers (x 1000)	Professionals, Technicians,	Clerks, administration	Domestic employees	Salesmen	Agriculture
189,83	16,10	7,16	26,97	25,29	17,53
Drivers	Handcrafts and operators	Other handcrafts	Construction	Personal services	Other labour
17,28	31,19	6,84	14,97	21,05	5,45

Table 2 Labourers per occupation Source: www.ine.cl, 2007

These numbers are totals of the whole first region of Chile, hence this includes Iquique and the hinterlands of Arica and Iquique. The direct environment of Arica is about 1/3rd of the size of Iquique and in Arica and its surroundings there are no mines. Therefore, to make an estimation of the total sectors in Arica I will use 1/3rd of the numbers as shown in the tables. With this I estimation I can see how many labourers work in the sectors where the Peruvians are active in. These are the domestic employees, agriculture and construction. Hence, numbers for Arica would be:

Labourers per sector (x 1000 ^{nds} of people)			
Domestic	Agriculture	Construction	Total Arica
8,90	5,78	4,94	19, 62

Table 3 Labourers per sector in Arica

Estimating the impact of the Peruvian becomes imprecise because no exact numbers are available of the people per sector in Arica and the exact numbers of commuters.

Estimated there are about 3000 Peruvian commuters that work in Arica every week. These numbers are apart from the merchants and professionals. An obvious characteristic of the commuters is that most of them work in the domestic sector. If I have to make estimation, based on interviews, 60% is domestic, 20% agriculture and 20% construction. This gives numbers of 1800 Peruvian domestic employees, 600 Peruvians in Agriculture and 600 in construction. Respectively, the percentage of labourers in each sector could be divided as the following:

Peruvian Labourers per sector (x 1000 ^{nds} of people)			
Domestic	Agriculture	Construction	Total Arica
1,8	0,6	0,6	3,0

Table 4 Peruvian Labourers per sector in Arica

Percentage of total Peruvian labourers per sector			
Domestic	Agriculture	Construction	Total Arica
20 %	10%	12%	15%

Table 5 Percentage of total Peruvian labourers per sector in Arica

Hence, 15% of the total Ariqueño labourers in those three sectors are Peruvian. In the domestic sector, 20% is Peruvian, in the Agriculture sector 10% is Peruvian and in Construction 12% is Peruvian. These numbers show that the influence of Peruvians in those sectors is quite large (1/5th in the domestic sector for example).

The money that goes around in this group is high. Taken into account that no tax is paid and almost all money is brought towards Peru, it has an impact on the economy of Arica, because money flows out of this community.

4.4 The story behind the commuter

The Peruvian commuters are difficult to interview. For the Chilean government it is almost impossible to ask question about their status in Chile and about their work. Because of the informal status of the Peruvians, they are very suspicious of talking to anyone about their work and life. As a European (or Gringo as explained in frame 1), it was easier to get close to the Peruvians, because they realized I couldn't be from the government. So it helped being from a different origin in this case.

I interviewed 50 people at the bus station, and six at other locations. Those six are people whom I got in touch with through friends and acquaintances. I was able to interview those six people more thoroughly; four of them will be used in this chapter.

The group of commuters I interviewed cannot be seen as a representative sample, but it does say something about the lives of Peruvian commuters and therefore I believe it important to show these results in this thesis. The 50 interviews at the bus station are used throughout this thesis and are not separately analysed in paragraphs.

Gringo!

Gringo comes from Mexico and as a white tourist you will hear this word all the time. Gringo stands for 'Green-Go' in the times that U.S. military occasionally crossed the border to Mexico in order to prevent people from crossing or to find drugs. The Mexicans who did not know any English started saying Green Go, referring to the green army colours of the American soldiers. Hence, Gringo literally means U.S. soldier go! But nowadays stand for all North Americans that come to the south. And being white means you are from the U.S. If you can prove different, you are 'officially' not a Gringo, but most people will say this to you, based on your skin colour. (Walker, 2006). It might just be an easy word to shout at white people, but in my opinion, in many occasions people will say it in one line with negative ness and rather see you go than come

Frame 1 Gringo!

The first commuter I interviewed is Norma. Norma is a 20-year-old girl, who commutes to and from Tacna every week and works as a servant in Arica. Her employers work in the hospital and therefore needed someone to look after the children and the house on weekdays. Before Norma came to the family, the grandmother took care of the children, but now, a servant does it.

During the week, Norma lives in with her employing family. This is common with servants. In weekends, she travels to Tacna, where her whole family lives in one house. With grandma, mother and three children. Her father works in the mines in the north of Peru, and only comes home every now and again.

Travelling back to Peru is an appreciable journey, with the border as a time consuming barrier. But Norma doesn't mind going back and forth every week as she is able to see her family and friends. Her travel across the border is therefore a positive issue in her life. She has a nice life in Chile, but her heart is, and will always be, in Peru. In Arica, although there is a reasonable level of communication between the two nationalities, it is mostly on a superficial level and it is difficult to make friends with Chileans. She knows more Peruvians than Chileans.

The money Norma earns in Arica is handed to her in cash; no tax, no health insurance and no formalities. This is because she works without contract. If she would have a contract she would need a visa, a passport and many other documents and paperwork. Plus the employer would be obliged to pay more which most employers can't or simply don't want to pay. Norma doesn't mind to work without the contract, for her, like most other commuters, it is only a formality.

The money is brought back to Tacna, where part of it is invested in the family and another part is for her own savings, for study purposes and some pocket money. The income of her mother and father is basically completely used to pay for the education of her younger sister and brother - her family is focused on the future, which is, especially compared to many other families in Peru, impressive and praiseworthy.

Questioned about the border itself Norma answers that she doesn't see the border as a barrier. It is not the control that bothers her, but it is the time that it takes. She never encounters any problems with the crossing. This is a general opinion. Only exceptionally do Peruvian commuters experience difficulties, usually delays caused by people with illegal goods or exceeding their Seven-day visa. Then the waiting time is, especially in the weekends, very annoying.

Crossing the border, and the journey from and to work every week is necessary; "it is a part of life" and going to Chile is an opportunity to have a better economic living standard and better future. She sees her life as 2-sided, on the one hand, there is the weekdays working and earning, and on the other side, the weekends are to enjoy, eat, buy and other free-time activities. In Norma's case there is a clear difference between her Peruvian life, which she basically sees as her relaxing and valuable time, and her Chilean life, which is purely based on economic benefits. Another important difference she mentioned, are the family ties. In Chile, there is more individualism. Family ties in Peru are tighter. Norma prefers the Peruvian society to Chilean.

Another commuter I interviewed more thoroughly is Carla. I got to know Carla through the owner of the first hostel I stayed in. Carla works next door, in a so-called 'private house'. Carla tells me, she works as a domestic employee. I would more describe it as the 'entertainment business.' Carla lives in the house, together with her daughter. She doesn't have a direct employer, but basically her employer is the owner of the house. Together with other women she runs the business and the money earned is without contract.

Carla comes into Arica with her DNI and travels back to Peru one day in the week. Then she just goes there for shopping and travels back the same day. It is only to obtain her seven-days visa. She does not have many relatives in Tacna. Her family lives in Ica, a city between Lima and Tacna.

When I asked her about the border, and how it influences her life or choices, she tells me that the border is just a necessity and she doesn't mind travelling across it except when it is very busy, - especially from Friday till Sunday, because of the waiting time. The border influences her life because she is able to cross it from Peru into Chile and she is able to earn more than in Peru, even though by Chilean standards she doesn't earn much and given that Chile as a country is more expensive. Another issue that bothers her, or at least notices, is the fact that Chilean law is stricter, and so interferes with people's lives too much.

She doesn't like her current situation, mostly because she misses her family and friends. But she is realistic and knows that her opportunities in Peru are too few.

Carla, as oppose to Norma, says that finding friends in Chile is not difficult, and people are very friendly to her. In my eyes, it helps she does not look like a typical "Peruana" and therefore encounters less discrimination.

Two other commuters I got to know through a constructor who had two Peruvian colleagues. He arranged a meeting with them, but I felt a bit uncomfortable because they were very suspicious and didn't want to talk to me at start. But with help from the Chilean man that arranged the meeting they finally started to talk. They wanted to stay anonymous. They realized that they are illegal workers in Chile, and they don't trust anyone who asks them about their lives, afraid of losing their jobs or rights to travel across the border. In this description I will call them constructor 1 and constructor 2.

They both work in construction. To be precise, they work at a telephone network company and maintain the constructions concerning the communication networks.

Both originate from the Puno area. Their families live there and every now and again, they travel home. But during working periods they mainly just go to Tacna in order to receive their seven-days visa. Hence on weekdays they live in residenciales (a sort of family-run hostel) in Arica, and on the weekends, they live in residenciales in Tacna. As a consequence these two labourers have a very unsettled existence; never really at home, just earning money in Chile. Constructor 1 used to work in agriculture in Peru, Constructor 2 worked in transportation, but both moved about one year ago. The main reason to move was to earn more and because of the work available in Arica. How are they able to make the shift in job sectors? And why would an employer hire them instead of someone with a profession? The respondents did not have an answer to this. They said they just made the move and for some reason or the other, employers just rent cheap persons as oppose to - more expensive - professionals. Now they earn enough to live and to support their families back home. If they worked in Peru, they would earn about half of what they earn in Chile. Both try to save money in order to travel back home and to stop working for a period of time. When money runs out, they will come back to work again.

When they first arrived, they were a bit unsure about finding a job and about maintaining themselves. Other people told them about the possibilities in Chile, but nobody helped them finding a job. They managed to find a job, without any contract, meaning they had to travel back and forth between the two countries. They, as well as the other respondents, see this journey as necessary and do not think about it too much; it is part of all day life.

About their lives in Chile, both think the same way. (Maybe it is because the interview is held with them together and therefore the more dominant constructor 1 is repeated by constructor 2.) They find Chile more organized and strict. This makes living less comfortable. Also making contact with the local inhabitants is difficult. They have a very different culture and

even the language is different. This is why they mainly stick together with Peruvians and do not interfere with Chileans too much.

From these four examples some general conclusions can be drawn. Not all the Peruvians think the same about these subjects, but there is some generalism in the answers of the respondents. Some of the answers are obvious, others surprising. The fact is that little has been done to research the Peruvian group or the situation as existing in Arica by the local governments. On the following pages I will review more information about the commuters.

From the paragraphs in this chapter I can extract some distinctive problems and issues. The main issue the commuters encounter while travelling towards Chile, is that they miss their families and Peru. They say that family is the most important matter in their life. Furthermore, they find Peru less strict and in Chile they miss freedom.

Another important issue is that Peruvians earn about three to four times more in Chile than they do in Peru; a very important fact in trying to understand the commuter flow. Most Peruvian commuters do not care about a contract and health insurance. For them having a job is more important than being insured or being legal. They are happy with what they have, not unhappy of what they do not have.



Figure 7 Sign at the international bus station

Most of the commuters that work in Arica did not have a job before they started commuting. So they went from nothing to everything and to achieve this, they do not mind crossing borders, travelling and leaving their families for a period of time. It is part of life and crossing the border is an all-day-life necessity. Most do not like to travel on Saturday or Sunday because the border is too busy, but because of working hours they do not have a choice to travel on another day or time.

Most commuters have a travelling existence. During the week they work and live in Arica where they do not have much contact with Chileans. They mostly just get along with other Peruvians. In the weekends they live in Tacna; some with family, some just in hostels. In Tacna they buy their majority of goods that are needed for living, apart from food. Here I mean clothes, electrical goods, magazines etc.

For most Peruvians in the Tacna-Arica region life is at survival level or barely above it. People do need money to exist and to maintain their families. Most of them do not have spare money to spend on other goods than basics for living. In a sense, they live only to work and eat, which, especially viewed through my western eyes, is a very bad situation. For them, it is everyday life and they are happy to have some money. Many Peruvians live worse lives than the commuters - an issue I started to realize while I was there. The border is not necessarily an obstacle, but an opportunity for Peruvians to improve their lives.

Improving their lives in the sense of better wages, doesn't necessarily mean an improvement in welfare of the family. Apart from earning more money, consequential effects of the international commuting can't be neglected.

For the commuting women this means that children are often alone throughout the week, taken care of by the oldest child or maternal family. Many fathers from these families work in

mines or construction somewhere in the country, and only come home once a month or less” (Ortega, 2006). Hence, many families do live together but in reality they are more individual than they would like to be. Mothers commute and live in Arica throughout the week, and in most families, the husbands work in the mines or agriculture somewhere in Peru. Children are frequently raised by their grandparents or by their brothers or sisters. This situation is disturbing when related to the development of the children. Because they will be raised as individuals who are used to work all their life and all their time.

In order to alleviate this problem of mothers that have to leave their children at home, the Chilean government allows Peruvian children of ‘commuters’ to take education in Chile. Some mothers take their children with them to Arica, in order to give them education and to spend the time with raising the children as oppose to leaving them home alone.

After analysing the commuter group I will now continue with the border which the commuters encounter in their weekly journey. The following chapter will give an insight in the reality of this border and its daily function.

CHAPTER 5 THE BORDER

The border between Peru and Chile has only one crossing point. This point is called Chacalluta. The same name is used for the nearby tax-free zone and airport. Here, at the crossing, there are two checkpoints, one on the Chilean side, and one on the Peruvian side. In between there is a stretch of 100 meters no-mans-land. This ‘no-mans-land’ used to be about 500 meters, but both countries moved their checkpoints closer to the official border. This is more a political game, than a functional move. Chile already uses the checkpoint, which is close to the border. Peru is still building, expecting to be finished by end 2007.

I will first describe how the border crossing takes place between the two countries in order to understand the all day life situation of the Peruvian commuters.

5.1 A daily situation: Crossing the border from Chile to Peru

As a tourist, crossing the border for the first time is somewhat stressful. However as long as you follow the instructions from your driver, everything is straightforward.. I have personally crossed the Border around 15 times during my research. The experience has given me some valuable insight into the lives of our subject commuters; - lives of people who try to maintain themselves and their family by regularly crossing an international border to work in another country.

Approach the border from the Chilean side, you pass the former checkpoint, which on some days, serves as an extra check. Normally you drive onward to the official, Chacalluta crossing. At the border, everybody has to leave the car or bus, and the driver goes to the office with a list of all and all passports/ID cards.. Everybody has to line up in the same order as on the list.. As a foreigner one must also to hand in your ‘tourist-visa’, obtained at entering Chile the first day. If you do so, you get an exit-stamp and you are allowed to progress across the Chilean Border into the no-mans-land zone. Here, the driver waits with the empty car or bus that has, in the meantime, been checked for drugs, persons and other illegal goods. Everybody gets back on the vehicle again and the vehicle moves forward towards the Peruvian border past the new Peruvian Customs/Immigration building expected complete October 2007.

Arriving at the existing Peruvian Border crossing everybody has to leave the vehicle again, - as for the exit from Chile. Now however, you also have to hand in a completed form in order to get a ‘tourist-visa’ for Peru (figure 8), and an entrance stamp, which allows a tourist 90 days into the country. After these formalities you go through ‘bag-control’, a check your bag for prohibited fruits, vegetables, drugs and other illegal goods, like ‘ropa-Americana’. Only one bag of

Figure 8 Tourist visa for Peru

these ropa-Americana may be carried into Peru, because, as mentioned before, the government is afraid that nobody will buy from the official companies.

After the, in my eyes, placebo check (which is more to intimidate than an actual check), we can walk further and enter Peru. Here, the driver and the vehicle are waiting and checked by border officials. Mostly they will find some hidden 'ropa-Americana' and they will confiscate the objects or let the owner pay tax over the goods. After all the checks, forms, stamps and officials we continue the trip 50 kilometres into Peru, to the first city, Tacna.

Crossing the border from the other side (from Peru to Chile), you will encounter the same procedure, although now you will have two luggage checks, one on the Peruvian side, and one on the Chilean side.

At the border Chileans and foreigners from other continents usually cross without difficulty, save of course for the usual official paperwork. The same does not appear to apply to Peruvian nationals who are much more likely to experience difficulty not only on the Chilean side, as one would expect, but also on the Peruvian side of the border.

It is difficult to understand why this should be, but I will try to give an idea based on my own experience combined with interviews with Peruvians and government officials.

Chileans crossing are mainly tourists, who will go shopping, eating and gambling in Tacna. Similarly foreigners cross because they are travelling through the continent and will likely bring money. Chilean officials have strict orders from the government to let these spenders and foreigners with a passport through without too much interference.

Peruvians, on the other hand, have trouble on both checkpoints. Not the people interviewed, but people who go back and forth occasionally (on a daily basis) are hassled by the border officials. This is what you will see at the border crossing.

Officials know that the Peruvians that travel on tourist visa are, more often than not, travelling to Chile for work. They also know that the government of Arica tolerates this illegality. In such circumstances, the actual application of border policy becomes vague, arbitrary and unofficial (*Zuñiga, 2006*).

The result is that in an effort to stem an even bigger flow of people from the interior of Peru towards Tacna and the border, both sets of customs officials try to make it as difficult as possible. Too easy a crossing and more people will come to the border region for a try at getting through.. However, given the finite number of job opportunities in Chile, most of the hopeful new commuters will fail to get work and return penniless putting yet more pressure on the city of Tacna.

5.2 At the Chilean border, Policia de Investigaciones

The agency controlling the Chilean border is the Policia de Investigaciones. All records and statistics concerning the border are held here.

Bernardino Cardenor from the Policia de Investigaciones reported that the office controls six border sections: Chacalluta (Chile-Peru), Chungara (Chile-Bolivia), Visviri (Chile-Bolivia), the port, the train, and the airport. During the period January - June 2006 1.912.366 persons crossed of whom 1.043.163 were Peruvians. Ie, more than 50% of border crossings in these six months were Peruvians.

Apparently most of these Peruvians cross the border around 4.00 pm on Saturdays and return to Chile around 6.00 pm on Sundays. I.e., Peruvians spend less than 24 hours in their home country, and appear to return mainly to meet the restrictions of the seven-days visa. The visa consists of a small piece of paper containing information about the commuter which will be validated by a customs stamp. An example visa is shown in figure 9

In the near future, the local governments of Tacna and Arica want to change the crossing, from the current two national checkpoints border to a single, joint, Peruvian/Chilean-checkpoint as shown in figure 10.

This change in policy will improve the quality of crossing the border which should become less time consuming and less stressful. On the other hand, making the crossing easier and quicker, might attract more commuters to the border.

POLICIA INTERNACIONAL COMISARIA CHACALLUTA	
SALVOCONDUCTO N°:	_____
N° PERSONAS INGRES:	_____
CONTROL INGRESO	
CONSERVAR EL COMPROBANTE PARA EGRESO DEL PAIS.	
PERMANENCIA: 7 DIAS	

Figure 9 Seven-days visa for Arica

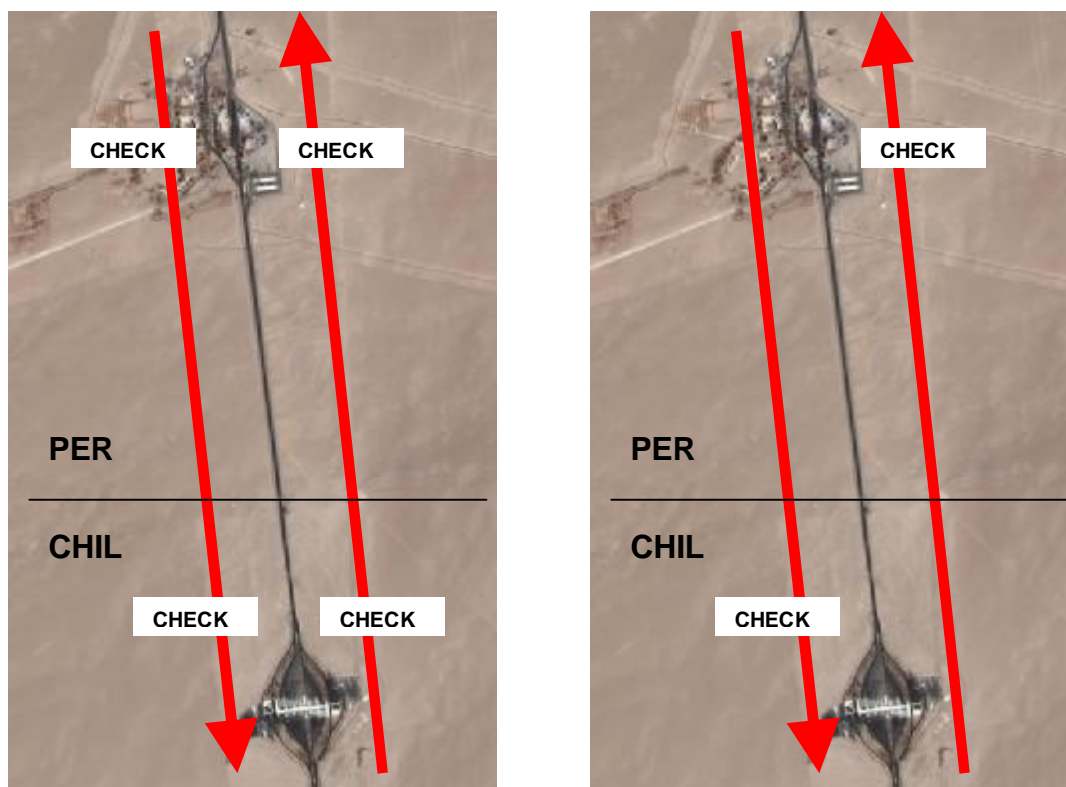


Figure 10 Left: current situation with two checkpoints on either side; Right: future situation with checkpoints on one side of the border

CHAPTER 6 THE IMPACT OF COMMUTING AND THE BORDER ON THE COMMUTERS AND THE REGION

The effects and impact of commuting in the Tacna-Arica region are partly visible within this region, some are very obvious, others are less evident but deeper rooted - and harder to grasp. The impact influences almost the whole community in the sending and the receiving city.

From the data gathered in the Tacna-Arica region the effects on those communities can mostly be found in the areas of employment, 'us' and 'them' (discrimination and 'othering'), illegality, flows of people and money. To understand what kind of effects can be distinguished and what their influence is, I will address attention to these issues separately.

6.1 Impact on employment

Commuters in the Tacna-Arica region have an influence on employment rates in both cities. But what is the size of this influence and how 'bad' or 'good' is it for the communities involved. In the Tacna-Arica region Tacna is the sending community and Arica is the receiving community.

In the city of Tacna, the outflux as well as the influx of people is high. There is a constant flow of people to and from this city. This includes the people that commute to Arica on a weekly basis and merchants who cross the border with their goods in order to sell them in Tacna or to transport them further into Peru.

There is however, another group that has to be mentioned, namely the migrants that come to Tacna from other parts of Peru, in order to prepare to move towards Chile. Many Peruvians that come to Tacna eventually want to make the leap into the other country, in order to find a job or to earn better wages.

Tourism also plays an important role in Tacna. Chileans particularly go there to eat, drink, gamble, shop because of lower prices and the relative good quality of services. Because of all these flows of people together, Tacna can be determined as a city of flows. Such dynamics create much direct and indirect employment in the city. From retailers to hoteliers, from taxi drivers to cooks. But what is the proportionate influence of commuters, this research focus, on employment rates in Tacna?

With commuting towards another city, in general, people work somewhere else and earn money they bring back into the community where they live. The receiving community benefits from the labour resource; the sending community from the resource of capital.

In Tacna, it is this money that generates more employment. Money earned in Chile is spent on family at home, mostly in Tacna. Not just food and staples, but luxury goods, clothes and public and personal services. Commuters income is 'imported' and spent – providing more cashflow for other people selling goods and services. For example, commuters need to be transported, most commuters don't own a car, so they are dependent on transport companies. Because of this, many people work in bus or taxi services. The list is endless – right down to many currency traders at the border and border officials themselves (Aduana). More people are employed in the border-crossing 'business' that is created by the commuters.

One negative issue has to be mentioned. That is the flow of people that come to Tacna from other parts of Peru with the idea of commuting or migrating to Chile – and fail, return to and then remain in Tacna - and join the job market there. These unsuccessful 'commuters' create a

lot of pressure on employment in Tacna which is influenced because there is a surplus of labour and therefore wages are lower.

In most instances of international migration or commuting, the draw off surplus labour from the sending country might be expected to reduce unemployment and perhaps cause wages to rise. Equally, the arrival of additional new workers in the receiving country should correspondingly cause wages there to fall” (Stalker, 2000, pg 75).

But because of the influx of other Peruvians into Tacna that try to commute or migrate doesn’t cause wages to rise; the opposite happens in the receiving region. Where the migrant moves into a region, which either does not have full employment, or at least does not suffer from specific shortages, then the impact is potentially less positive. In such cases the impact of the migration is to exert downward pressure on the recipient region’s wage levels.

Although the migrant benefits from a higher wage than at home and can provide remittances accordingly, the impact on domestic demand in the recipient region could be negative (domestic incomes reduced and not replaced by migrants’ incomes which are largely remitted home).

In the home region, the impact on wages and incomes through out-migration is also uncertain. The most obvious outcome is to argue that the reduction in excess labour supply has beneficial effects on wage levels. However, the loss of more productive younger workers may make production and the adaptation to new techniques more difficult and thus the short-run effect is a cumulative downward spiral” (Van Houtum & Van der Velde, 2000, pg. 42).

Therefore, the wages on both sides of the border will be influenced by the commuter flow. Presumably, wages in Arica will fall, or not rise too much, because of the major inflow of cheap willing workers.

In Tacna wages will also not rise too much, because of the high unemployment rate. If wages rise, some migrants, motivated by prospective savings in travel time and commuting costs, will stop commuting and find a job in Tacna.

Recapitulating and combining the theories and empirical data from this paragraph into an answer to the question what influence the commuters have on employment in Tacna, it appears that:

Successful commuters directly create jobs in the city of Tacna, stimulating employment by spending money they earned in Chile. The downside is that not everybody arriving from the hinterland with high hopes is able to commute successfully to Chile. Many Peruvians end up without work but stay in Tacna, which leaves Tacna with a high unemployment rate and lower wages.

In turn, the commuters have influence on the receiving community as well. Now I will address my attention to this receiving community, Arica. In Arica, the Peruvian commuters work in sectors where conditions and pay are unattractive to Chileans.

Peruvian commuters influence wage levels in Arica because they work for relatively less money without contracts and are cheaper in terms of direct and indirect costs than Chilean employees. There is a pattern of lower wages for certain jobs especially the lower income sector. Those Chileans who do work in the lower income jobs in Arica, earn less than their comparative colleagues in other cities of Chile because of the surplus of cheap Peruvian labourers. Although there hasn’t been any systematic evaluation or research on this subject, - whether the lower wages and the proximity of the border is correlated - it is an entirely plausible idea.

In short, the commuters do not have an enormous influence on employment rates in Arica overall, except in the lower-income jobs. Even then official employment rates are not affected because the commuters enter on a seven day tourist visa and are therefore not counted as employed/unemployed. However, because of the influx of cheap Peruvian labour, Chilean labourers often cannot find work. In reality therefore, unemployment rates in Arica are influenced by Peruvians.

A positive effect of the commuter group on employment is the jobs they create. Many commuters have to live in Arica during the week and if they cannot stay at the house of their employer (as most servants do), they will rent a room in one of the many ‘residential’s. These are houses with rooms, run by a family. During the week they are occupied by commuters, in the weekends they are quiet.

Also in the border-business the commuters create jobs. On the Chilean side of the border there is much work for border officials and transporting companies.

It should also be said that Peruvian commuters do not automatically take jobs away from the Chileans. Many of the jobs done by Peruvians are on offer because the Chileans don’t want them – for social or economic reasons. This is the “local labour” expressed by Stalker (2000). It are jobs at the bottom of the social ladder, as most Chileans will describe it. Low paid and low skilled work.

From the perspective of the host country, migration may affect the participation rates of native workers and the extent to which immigrants displace these workers. This will have an impact on local unemployment rates, wages, and welfare. Depending on the relative size of these effects there may be different relationships between the rate of growth in the host country and the proportion of immigrants” (Van Houtum & Van der Velde, 2000, pg. 36).

Commuters influence job creation, wage levels and unemployment rates in both cities. In Arica because commuting migrants work for relatively low pay in menial tasks and, as it were, below government statistical radar - the direct, official influence those commuters have on employment rates is small.

However, in the case of commuters or migrants that do remain in Tacna it is clear that their influence on employment rates is high. Those non-commuters stay in Tacna and put significant pressure on the local job market.

A phenomenon encountered in Tacna is the so called organised recruitment of migrant labourers. While personal contacts and networking are responsible for a high proportion of immigration and employment, the scale of activity has also created something of a commercial “migration industry” that provides many of the same services.

This is not a new phenomenon. Since the times of slavery, workers have been shipped to where they are needed. At times of rapid economic growth, European countries have set up recruitment offices to boost the supply of volunteers (Stalker, 2000, pg. 122). This especially applies to the recruitment of labourers during the harvest seasons. Many agencies or labour brokers actively recruit people locally in Tacna, in order to send them to Arica making commuting towards Arica easier and more accessible. Many workers travel independently, but an increasing proportion nowadays use labour brokers” (Stalker, 2000, pg. 123). The recruitment of Peruvian labourers for the Chilean market is an illegal activity and is not regulated meaning that labourers are easily exploited.

6.2 Impact of the illegal work status

Within the region of Tacna and Arica, the Peruvian commuters have a special status. They are not officially allowed to work in Chile, but because of the knowledge that Arica needs cheap labour; they can easily cross into Chile. However, for them travel is restricted to Arica. If they want to travel further, they need a ‘real’ tourist visa. Although the status of Peruvian labourers is illegal as regards work they are perfectly legitimate ‘tourists’ with seven days visa and may move freely toward Arica.

The question that I want to raise is how this illegal work-status, ie., for ‘tourists’ with no contract, affects the Peruvian commuters and whether it impacts on their relations with the local citizens.

Working without a contract creates some risks and problems. First, government of Arica cannot track migrants and are therefore prepared to recognize problems or to adapt policy on the developments in some sectors. Furthermore the government is unable to collect tax-income on earnings. Another problem with the illegal work status is insurance. If a Peruvian ‘tourist’ migrant is injured or otherwise unable to work there is no guaranteed healthcare or wage cover. However, most commuters are willing to take this risk. Not having a contract also makes the Peruvians vulnerable to the whim of their employer. The employer can choose who and when he or she wants to fire. Peruvians have no job security and therefore they are willing to work very hard and never complain, even when complaint is warranted. This is a major problem with illegal work-status but very difficult to analyse.



Figure 11 Waiting in line at the Chilean border to get an entry stamp or 7 days visa for Chile

Wages are in most cases lower than those for equivalent Chilean employees in domestic service and construction. In agriculture the wages are about the same for everybody, because many farmers do want to employ Peruvian labourers. Many farmers believe they are better skilled and work faster which is good for profits during the harvest season.

Most Peruvians accept the risks and inconvenience associated with commuting on a tourist visa. Some do mind the weekly trip back to Peru in order to re-apply for a visa. They do feel somewhat controlled by the governments, but the fact that they work without a visa is purely a regulatory matter for them and doesn’t affect or restrain them greatly. As long as they are healthy and have work, the commuters do not complain. They would prefer to work and live in Peru, but are prepared to accept difficulties of working in Chile for all the advantages it brings.

One issue I raised in the question of this paragraph, is how the illegal work-status affects the commuters’ relation to the local citizens of Arica. I already mentioned the relation between Peruvians and Chileans, a certain lack of integration with each other and their separate spaces within the city. Living as a commuter in another country makes the Peruvians outsiders and

less accepted in the receiving country. This is partly because their temporary status in Arica five or six days every week and the fact that they do jobs which are often socially unattractive.

6.3 Impact on economy

As I started this chapter, flows of people and money have impact on both cities in the Tacna-Arica region. Here I will analyse how big this impact is and how this impact is established. Hence, what influence do the commuters have on flows of money and how do these flows of money influence both cities.

An effect of the commuter flow for the Peruvian city of Tacna, are remittances. Remittances are resources send back to the home country by migrants. In this case, money earned by labourers (commuters) in Arica, is taken back to Tacna and invested in the family and community. This is a negative effect for Arica, because the money flows to Peru, and it slows down the development of Arica (Zuñiga, 2006).

Remittances have, apart from their benefits to migrants and their families, a stimulus to economic development and thus inhibit further emigration” (Stalker, 2000, pg. 79). Within the Tacna-Arica region, the size of the remittances flow is not exactly known, and at the moment, impossible to track. Because the biggest group of commuters come to Chile on a ‘tourist visa’ they do not have a legal working permit.

Those with an official contract pay taxes in Chile and their influence on remittances is very low. Most have migrated permanently toward Arica or other parts of Chile with their families..

For the approximately 3000 weekly commuters, no official figures are known. Estimates can be made, but it would be an unscientific estimation. Peruvians household incomes average 60.000 to 80.000 pesos per month (about 90 – 120 euro). In construction and agriculture, most people earn slightly more. The wages that people earn in Chile are about three to four times as much as the wages earned in Peru (Ortega, 2006). Amounts remitted are difficult to check because they flow towards Peru through informal channels, and not through banks or official changing agencies. It remains however that the money earned by Peruvians is invested in Peru, not in Chile.

The income from remittances has been a boon to many poor countries as a source of foreign exchange. But what effect does it have on the economy as a whole, and on future migration? A criticism frequently levelled is that remittances are used primarily for consumption rather than for investment – and are thus unlikely to have a positive effect on their home communities. Studies in the Caribbean, for example, found that remittances were largely spent on food, clothes, and housing. In Lesotho remittances have been spent mostly on consumption items, consumer durables, livestock and housing. A review in the South Pacific found that remittances were used in seven main areas: first, to pay debts (many connected with the expense of migration); second, for the purchase of consumer goods, particularly food; third, the construction or improvement of housing; fourth, for savings or financial investment; fifth, for investment in businesses such as stores or transport; sixth, on community organizations (primarily churches); and seventh, for social purposes such as weddings.

Given the immediate needs of migrants and their families, it is hardly surprising that so much is directed to immediate consumption. The low level of education of many migrants will also

reduce their opportunities to make more productive use of their funds. Even better-educated migrants will often find a lack of viable investment opportunities (Stalker, 2000, pg.81). In this quote from Stalker it becomes clear that most products bought by remittances are not seen as good investments.

During my own research, I found this 'lack of investment' a surprising aspect of spending – not only in the region of Tacna and Arica, but also in other parts of Latin America. Many houses look poorly constructed and badly maintained from the exterior but inside they are well equipped with big TVs, computers with rapid internet connections and a big kitchen.

For me, this doesn't automatically mean that they invest wrongly: TV is one of the most important - and for most families also cheapest - way of entertainment and information gathering. Investing in computers makes the people connected to the rest of world, which will give them better international opportunities. What for us might be seen as 'bad investment' is good way to invest in a better future, seen from their situation through their eyes.

An issue I do not agree with Stalker, is that remittances do not serve the community. In my opinion, buying food, clothes etc. from local community members will improve the level of income of these local members and thus the money will circulate in the local community.

A key to understanding the dynamic impact on the regional labour markets and economies is the percentages of migrants' wages that are spent in local markets, saved, and/or returned to the home country as remittances. This will determine the regional distribution of demand resulting from the increase in employment in a region. If we assume an exogenous increase in demand in one region which gives rise to a demand for labour which is met by an increased inflow of labour, then we also need to examine the potential income leakages out of the region because these will determine the overall effect on the region's growth.

If the increased demand for labour is met largely by commuting then virtually all income will be spent in the commuter's home region; a temporary migrant will be likely to remit a large part of the income to the home region, and a permanent migrant may remit at least some. Thus these financial flows may differ considerably between different cases, regardless of the actual volume of labour flows. These are critical to the estimation of the contribution of migrants to regional production and development in the host country, through local expenditure, or to regional growth in the home country, through remittances which are used to finance local investment (Poirine, 1997, in Van Houtum & Van der Velde, 2000, pg.36).

In the case of Tacna-Arica we see the flow of commuters, which can be categorized as non-tax payers and because of not paying taxes, Arica misses income. The destination region gains where it can import labour when there are shortages of specific skills, but it does not have to accept the perceived burden of the migrant as permanent resident. This may of course differ between the cases where the migrant is legal and paying taxes, etc; and the illegal case where there is no compensation to the receiving region for any additional costs. The region of origin gains because the migrant can acquire either or both skills and money that can be used to enhance the productive potential of the home region. There is in a sense a decoupling of the migrant flow from the labour market in both origin and destination regions so that neither does the migration flow respond just to the current static equilibrium value of wages or employment adjust to the flow in a given period (Van Houtum & Van der Velde, 2000, pg. 38).

Commuters are in an economic sense a very positive force for the sending community (Tacna). However the receiving community receives little benefit. Migrant workers in this category do not contribute as much to the workplace society as they do in their own, home environment. On balance migrant workers are a net drain for Arica, due to lost taxation and wage remittances.

On the other hand Arica employers do benefit from lower labour costs and are able to invest savings elsewhere. Most studies do not measure this money-saving effect of migration in the receiving country. .

6.4 Impact on Chilean society

An important aspect I need to address is the ‘social-reality’ of the Peruvians in Arica. That is, the social atmosphere in which the Peruvians operate. There is no official data about this subject and many people will deny its existence, but it is reality. I am talking about discrimination towards Peruvians by Chilean society.

During research, I encountered a “dual discourse” among middle-class employers about Peruvian domestic workers. On the one hand, employers who hired Peruvian domestic workers, for example, claimed that they did so because the Peruvians were superior to Chilean household workers in some critical ways. They maintained that Peruvians were harder working, educated, and clean; that they spoke better Spanish; that they cooked well; and that they were more devoted, caring, submissive, and service-oriented than Chilean workers.

On the other hand, widespread beliefs and narratives were expressed by these same employers (as well as in the media and among job placement agencies) stereotyping Peruvian women as dirty, criminal, lazy, backward, uncivilized, uneducated, slow, and childlike. That is, Peruvian workers were simultaneously praised and stigmatised, sometimes in the same breath by the same person” (Staab & Maher, 2006, pg. 88). This quote exactly describes my line of thought about this subject. On the one hand much of Chilean society is happy to benefit from Peruvian immigration but on the other, they frankly dislike Peruvians and consider them backward. Some Chileans would prefer no Peruvians at all. The contradiction makes the position of Peruvians in Chile rather sensitive and somewhat difficult.

Chilean culture has some problems in accepting strangers (See remarks at frame 1 Page 29 concerning gringos). Within Chilean society there is a strong sense of ‘us’ and ‘them’. This stands in the way of the better integration of the Peruvian commuters. The commuters, in turn, do not mix with the Chileans, because they feel discriminated and they do not trust their Chilean neighbours.

Such feelings are a hangover from the war 130 years ago as well as being inherent in the current ‘superior feeling’ of the majority of Chileans. The problem with this discrimination is that it is very difficult to map or frame, because most people will not say they do discriminate. Staab and Maher (2006) address more attention to this problem: “That is, employers who described Peruvian women as backward, uneducated, or indigenous thereby positioned themselves as civilized, modern, and white. Such stories did not seem to be simply a matter of individual status definition. Instead, they appeared to be part of a larger public contestation over the boundaries of class and national identities in Chile, which arguably became more actively disputed with the end of the dictatorship” (Staab & Maher, 2006, pg. 88).

Within Chilean society there is an undercurrent of discrimination which is not seen by themselves, or at least not realized. I have no preconceptions or bias but easily recognised this during my research, It highlights the considerable sensitivity of Peruvian commuter flow toward Chile.

At the busstation in Arica an interesting phenomena occurs, Peruvian space in Chilean territory, found during my interviewing period in Chile. This phenomenon exists because of the inability to integrate in Arica as well as the temporal status of the Peruvians in Chile.

“Immigrants often maintain strong ties with their homes – and in doing so are creating new kinds of communities...Migrants nowadays can develop and maintain many kinds of links, constructing social networks and life-worlds that join them to two or more locations and nation-states. This is a reality that is increasingly being explored in fiction. For these communities, concepts of culture and society can no longer be linked simply to territory or geography” (Stalker, 2000, pg. 126-128).

In and around the international bus terminal of Arica there are many Peruvian and Bolivian people. From here, there are direct buses to and from La Paz in Bolivia and Tacna in Peru. Hence all the migrants from those countries arrive here, and in the end of the week, leave from here. The latter brings a significant clustering of the Peruvians and Bolivians at the station located at Avenue Diego Portales. The Bolivian group is smaller than the Peruvian group, so they do not play a big role in the claiming of space. The Peruvian group, however, is a big group, which claims space in this area of the city. Around the bus station, Peruvians gather here, and from this place they find their way into Arica. Most male Peruvian migrants stay around the bus station area, in order to offer themselves for work, like plumbers, constructor's etcetera. Nowadays, the area around the bus station has become a Peruvian zone. Not officially, but Chileans do not feel welcome here, and Peruvians rather have their own people around them. They even built a little shrine in front of the terminal, to be able to pray and be blessed by their own national religion. This claiming of space does not contribute to improvement in the relation between the Chileans and Peruvians. The Chileans keep seeing them as *‘illegal, cheap and foreign’*, whereas the Peruvians see the Chileans as *‘arrogant, rich and only there to pay them’*.

Frame 2 Bus station in Arica

6.5 Impact of the border

Apart from the influence the commuters have, the border also has its share in the impact on the region and on the commuters. What effect does the border have in the Tacna-Arica region? What does it do with the people who use the border and how does it affect the two cities on both sides of this border. In this paragraph I will give an answer to these questions in combination with the data found in the Tacna-Arica region.

People in the Tacna-Arica region move because of the opportunities the other side of the border offers them. For Peruvians this is the work they can find and the wages that are attractive. For the Chileans these are the tourist attractions and the lower prices of goods and services they encounter in Tacna. Hence, the border establishes a ‘difference’ between both cities and/or countries.

The border functions as an attractor of people, individuals or groups of people who move across to benefit from the other. On the contrary, the border is a filter for those who want to cross without a visa, with goods that are not allowed into the country and for people who cannot afford the bus trip across. The border itself attracts people, but at the same time discourages people from crossing and thereby functions as a filter to the flow, or at least a brake (appendix IV shows an administrative filter).

This filtering of the flow is positive for Chile, because in this way, Arica is not completely overrun with commuters or permanent migrants. Each week the Peruvians need to apply for a new visa. In this manner, Chile keeps control over who comes and goes.

Many institutions in the region would like to see the border and its formalities disappear in order that both cities may interact at maximum efficiency for mutual benefit. Removal of the border would involve free movement of people and goods. Control of these subjects probably will be dispersed widely to the south of Arica and the north of Tacna, where all kind of activities that are now centred between Tacna and Arica will be established in another place. This eventually will lead to the same situation as before, with the only difference that there will be two cities in a kind of no-mans-land. The question is whether this will improve the situation of both cities.

The border has not only a practical and physical influence on the region, It has a psychological impact as well. People think in terms like ‘us’ and ‘them’. This psychological influence is an important issue in the case of border regions. As mentioned before, there is a significant discrimination in Arica. ‘Them’ are not accepted instantly in the ‘us’ community, which, in turn, causes similar attitudes on the other side. Peruvians and Chileans do not interact with each other too much - only when necessary.

Here we see the importance of the border. The border is an institution not only to control who comes or goes, but it also has direct influence on the social situation of the whole region.



Figure 12 Peruvian border (left) and Chilean border (right)

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS

This research aimed to analyse the flow of certain Peruvian people between the two cities of Tacna and Arica. In previous chapters I explained the methodology, the theoretical strands, the working conditions and sectors of labour the Peruvian commuters are active in, and the effect of the border they have to cross on their weekly journey. In this chapter, I present the conclusions drawn from this research. The chapter gives answers to the research question from the first chapter. It also combines the empirical data from the case study with the theoretical strands.

7.1 The working conditions and sectors of labour of the Peruvian commuters

The flow of Peruvian commuters to Chile is principally driven by the opportunity for Peruvians to earn three to four times more than they do in their home country where unemployment is high. Travelling to Arica where there is work is necessary to sustain themselves and their families. A weekly commute to Chile is essential. These migrant commuters do not mind the journey. Indeed they have no choice if they want to work. During the week they live and work in Chile and at the weekend they return to Peru. In making their journey they must regularly cross the international border between Peru and Chile.

The numbers of commuters crossing the border like this is estimated to be around 3000. About 60% are women and 40% are men. The main sectors in which the commuters work are domestic labour (60%), construction (20%) and agriculture (20%). Within these sectors they earn less than the local Chileans, but more than they would have earned in Peru. In total 15% of labourers in the three sectors mentioned above, are Peruvian.

Most commuters researched in this thesis work without a contract which is necessary for working legally but very difficult to obtain. They must therefore cross the border on a seven-days (easily obtained) tourist visa and work illegally. This is a very common practice which is well known to the authorities in both countries and is unofficially widely accepted by them.

Under these circumstances few Chilean employers will arrange anything by contract with their ‘illegal’ Peruvian employees in any case. This has negative effects on the well-being of the Peruvian employees. They have no health insurance, no employment guarantees and there is no oversight of working conditions. This illegal and unsupervised situation means that Peruvian labourers are a weak group and can easily become victims of harsh or unfair treatment.

7.2 The border, border policy and users of the border

The commuters have an appreciable influence on flows of money in the region. Most money is being taken out of Arica and Chile and spent or invested in Tacna or other parts in Peru. Hence, the flow of people has an influence on the economic development of Tacna and Arica.

Although many people cross the border regularly and the evidence is that there is a significant interdependence between Tacna and Arica, there appears to be little communication and cooperation between these cities. Local policy and regulations stop at the border. There is no transitional overlap or merging into a single, unified policy (Note that the special ‘Tourist’ visa administration appears to be an exception). Policy is generally fragmented and not adapted to the special needs of a border region where you would expect better coordination.

However, this problem is recognised by both governments. Tacna and Arica are improving this issue of communication and coordination in order to overcome weaknesses.

Another aspect to be noted on policy is that there is minimal official, statistical or other research on border activity. Officials know there is a big flow of Peruvians across the border, but I found limited interest in the reasons for, or the impact of, this commuting. I believe it is important to gain a better all round understanding of the commuter flow. This would have positive effect for commuters as well as for Arica and Tacna

Commuting in the Tacna-Arica region benefits Tacna, Arica and Peruvian commuters. For Tacna the positive effect of the commuter flow is the money that is brought back by the commuters and spent in the city. There are also advantages for Chile. Chileans are able to hire cheap labourers and in this way save money to invest elsewhere.

7.3 The border in the lives of the commuters

The border in the Tacna-Arica region acts as both an attraction and a filter for Peruvians. The geo-political border between the two different nations also delineates substantial economic and social differences. One country attracts people from the other and vice versa. Peruvians go to Chile for higher wages and job opportunities; Chileans go to Peru to shop cheaply, to gamble, eat and drink.

The filter function of the border is applied through a set of rules and regulations regarding who is allowed to cross and who is not. In the Tacna-Arica region there is a special set of regulations governing ‘tourist’ visas referred to previously. Peruvians are permitted to enter Chile with a seven-days visa – authority to travel as far as Arica. Chileans can enter Peru with a 10-days visa, which allows them as far as Arequipa. Both Peruvians and Chileans can also apply for a 90 day visa. This is issued only on special justification. Applying for such a visa is time consuming and costly.

The process of actually crossing the border takes time but is for most commuters not a major barrier in their lives. – more of an irritating necessity. In any event, the seven-days visa is simple to obtain and makes crossing the border far simpler than the normal 90 days visa they would need otherwise. What appears to be a tightly controlled border is in practice quite flexible and adaptable providing for the practical needs of local citizens in both countries.

One unintended and not so happy consequence is that many Peruvians that migrated towards Tacna from other parts of Peru, are not able to find work in Arica, return to Tacna and stay there, thus putting considerable pressure on the employment rates of Tacna.

7.4 Overall conclusion

The Tacna and Arica region is largely characterized by border related activity especially by large flows of people. Most significant is the regular, weekly migration of labour across the international border from Tacna, Peru to Arica, Chile. Such ‘commuters’ provide a much needed resource for employers and contribute to the economy in Arica. In exchange they remit very welcome cash income to families at home in Peru and therefore to Tacna’s economy. The two-way flow is an interesting social and spatial phenomenon in which a relatively small number of ordinary people have a direct influence on a region’s society and economy.

The border has an important function in regulating movement. Because of the seven-days visa the flow is controlled on a weekly basis. In practice, although they don't realise it, commuters who apply for a weekly 'tourist' visa are actually reconsidering the cost:benefit ratio of commuting to Arica every week – as do border officials in permitting them to do so. If the border did not exist an overflow of Peruvians would go to Arica to find work. This would cause high unemployment rates in Arica and pressure on wages and the economy there.

To improve quality of life of the commuters, the Chilean authorities should do more research into the commuter group and endeavour to make the status of the Peruvians more official. An improved and simplified contract system would give the Peruvian commuters more security. Chilean authorities would also have more control over commuters and benefit from taxes raised from contracted Peruvians.

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2. Mr. Cardenor Pera, Bernardino; Policia de Investigaciones
3. Mrs. Carla; Peruvian Domestic employee

4. Mr. Gonzales, Alvaro; Ilustre Municipalidad de Arica
5. Mr. Lombardi; Employer in the agricultural sector
6. Mr. Moreno Roldán, Fernando; Camara de Comercio Arica (Chambre of commerce)
7. Mrs. Norma; Peruvian Domestic employee
8. Organization Extranjeria; Foreign affairs in Arica
9. Mrs. Ortega, Marietta; Proffesor of Anthropology at Universidad de Tarapacá
10. Mr. Pajuelo Ponce, Gerald Oscar; Cónsul Adscrito del Peru
11. Mr. Vargas Mamani, Carlos; Camara de Comercio Tacna (Chambre of commerce)
12. Mr. Villaseñor, Roderigo; Chilean Employer in Services
13. Mrs. Walker, Emilie; Language school, foreign employee (England)
14. Mr. Zuñiga Benavides, Alavaro; Ambassador of Chile

Index of tables, figures and frames

Figure 1	Tacna and Arica region within Latin America
Figure 2	The push and pull theory (Skeldon, 1997)
Figure 3	classification of economies (Skeldon 1997)
Figure 4	Official institution in Tacna, consul general of Chile
Figure 5	Arica y Paranicota region within the I region de Chile
Figure 6	At the international bus station of Arica
Figure 7	Sign at the international bus station
Figure 8	Tourist visa for Peru
Figure 9	Seven-days visa for Arica
Figure 10	Left: current situation with two checkpoints on either side; Right: future situation with checkpoints on one side of the border
Figure 11	Waiting in line at the Chilean border to get an entry stamp or seven days visa for Chile
Figure 12	Peruvian border (left) and Chilean border (right)
Table 1	‘the world’s fact book’ and www.ine.cl (data Chile) & www.inei.gob.pe (data Peru); all data is from 2006, unless marked differently f.o.b. = free on board (without costs, insurance etc.) (Source: www.cia.gov)
Table 2	Labourers per occupation Source: www.ine.cl , 2007
Table 3	Labourers per sector in Arica
Table 4	Peruvian Labourers per sector in Arica
Table 5	Percentage of total Peruvian labourers per sector in Arica
Frame 1	Gringo!
Frame 2	Bus station in Arica

APPENDIX I

Bilateral Agreement: Document for border crossing between Chile and Peru

ACUERDO PARA EL INGRESO Y TRÁNSITO DE NACIONALES PERUANOS Y CHILENOS EN CALIDAD DE TURISTAS CON DOCUMENTO DE IDENTIDAD

El Gobierno de la República del Perú y el Gobierno de la República de Chile -en adelante las Partes- convienen en adoptar e implementar las siguientes medidas tendientes a facilitar el movimiento de nacionales de cada país en calidad de turistas, con los correspondientes documentos de identidad vigentes, otorgados de conformidad con las respectivas legislaciones y reglamentos internos.

Al respecto, sobre la base de la reciprocidad, el ingreso en calidad de turista a cada país, se efectuará de acuerdo a los siguientes términos:

Artículo 1.- Los documentos de identidad considerados como válidos para la aplicación del presente Acuerdo son:

Para la República del Perú:

- El Documento Nacional de Identidad vigente (DNI), expedido por el Registro Nacional de Identificación y Estado Civil (RENIEC).

Para la República de Chile:

- La Cédula Nacional de Identidad y la Cédula de Identidad vigentes, expedidas por el Servicio de Registro Civil e Identificación.

Artículo 2.- El Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Chile informa que la Cédula de Identidad de su país, desde 2002, se extiende en un formato que posee las características establecidas en la norma DV-1 9303 de la Organización de Aviación Civil Internacional para los documentos de viaje. La Cédula Nacional de Identidad otorgada antes de 2002 por la autoridad chilena competente, permanecerá vigente, para efectos de este Acuerdo, hasta su vencimiento.

El Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú informa que el Documento Nacional de Identidad reúne las características, requisitos y elementos de seguridad establecidos en la norma DVLM-1 9303 de

la Organización de Aviación Civil Internacional (OACI) para los documentos de viaje.

Las autoridades competentes del Perú y de Chile se informarán mutuamente por la vía diplomática, sobre las modificaciones que se aplicaren al respectivo documento de identidad indicado en el Artículo 1, y se darán a conocer el formato, el periodo de validez, así como otras características que permitan su identificación y reconocimiento. Se informarán asimismo, sobre las normas legales o reglamentarias, que adopten sus respectivos países que pudieren referirse a materias comprendidas en este Acuerdo.

Artículo 3.- El presente Acuerdo mantiene vigente la facultad que tienen los nacionales del Perú y de Chile, titulares de pasaportes, para que los utilicen como documento de viaje entre ambos países o en tránsito hacia terceros países.

Artículo 4.- Con respecto al plazo de vigencia de la calidad de turista, ambos países establecen que la autoridad migratoria competente otorgará conforme a su legislación vigente, un periodo de permanencia de hasta 90 días, prorrogables hasta por otros 90 días.

Artículo 5.- Los nacionales de una de las Partes que hagan uso de las facilidades que otorga el presente Acuerdo, podrán ingresar al otro país a través de los pasos fronterizos, puertos y aeropuertos legalmente habilitados para el ingreso y salida internacionales de personas.

Del mismo modo, podrán viajar en tránsito hacia terceros países portando los documentos individualizados en el Artículo 1, cuando el país de destino admita el ingreso bajo esta modalidad.

Artículo 6.- Para el ingreso y salida de menores de edad del territorio de una de las Partes, será necesaria la presentación del documento de identificación habilitante, además de la respectiva autorización de viaje emitida conforme a la legislación del país de salida.

Artículo 7.- La realización de actividades remuneradas por los nacionales que se acogen a las facilidades que otorga el presente

Acuerdo, así como respecto del cambio de categoría migratoria, se regirá por la legislación vigente de la parte correspondiente.

[En lo que se refiere al cambio de categoría migratoria, la República del Perú, en aplicación del principio de reciprocidad, iniciará las gestiones para cambiar su normativa a efectos de permitirlo dentro del territorio nacional.]

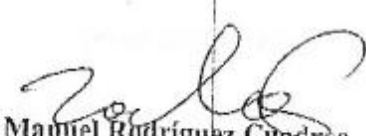
Artículo 8.- A su entrada en vigencia, el presente Acuerdo dejará sin efecto aquellas disposiciones del "Convenio de Turismo, Tránsito de Pasajeros, sus Equipajes y Vehículos" de 16 de junio de 1978, en que aquel lo modifique. !!!

Para la admisión temporal de equipajes y vehículos, se aplicarán los plazos y prórrogas contemplados en el Artículo 4 del presente Acuerdo.


Artículo 9.- El presente Acuerdo entrará en vigor a los treinta días después de la fecha de la última notificación por la cual las Partes se hayan comunicado, por la vía diplomática, el cumplimiento de sus requisitos internos de aprobación.

Firmado en la ciudad de Lima, en dos ejemplares, siendo ambos textos idénticos e igualmente válidos, a los seis días del mes de julio de dos mil cinco.

POR EL GOBIERNO DE LA
REPÚBLICA DEL PERÚ


Manuel Rodríguez Cuadros
Ministro de Relaciones
Exteriores del Perú

POR EL GOBIERNO DE LA
REPÚBLICA DE CHILE


Ignacio Walker Prieto
Ministro de Relaciones
Exteriores de Chile

APPENDIX II

Convention between Chile and Peru about movement of people

CONVENIO DE TRANSITO DE PERSONAS
EN LA ZONA FRONTERIZA CHILENO
PERUANA DE ARICA Y TACNA
COMISION DE FISCOS Y ADO
DE TACNA
BENJAMIN ABRAHAM ROSENBERG
SUBINSPECTOR

VIGENTE 01 AGOSTO 1984

CONVENIO DE TRANSITO DE PERSONAS EN LA ZONA FRONTERIZA CHILENO PERUANA DE ARICA Y TACNA

(Vigente a contar de 1.º AGO. 1984)

El Gobierno de la República de Chile y
el Gobierno de la República del Perú

Considerando el interés que anima a
ambos Gobiernos por estrechar aún más los lazos de
amistad y buena relación que unen a sus pueblos,
mediante la complementación de una más adecuada
política fronteriza, resuelven celebrar el siguiente:

CONVENIO

ARTICULO PRIMERO El ámbito básico de
aplicación del presente Convenio estará conformado por
las ciudades de Arica y Tacna. La Subcomisión Mixta
permanente de Cooperación Fronteriza acordará las
localidades aledañas a estas ciudades que se
incorporarán al ámbito de aplicación, observando el
principio de reciprocidad.

ARTICULO SEGUNDO El tránsito de los nacionales
de Chile y del Perú en la zona fronteriza definida en
el Artículo 1º, se regirá por las normas que se
establecen en el presente Convenio.

ARTICULO TERCERO El tránsito de personas a que
se refiere el presente Convenio se efectuará, desde el
Perú, por el Complejo Fronterizo de Santa Rosa y la
Estación del Ferrocarril de Tacna a Arica y desde
Chile por la Avanzada Chacalluta y la Estación de
Arica del Ferrocarril de Arica a Tacna.
Ambas Partes definirán, de
mutuo acuerdo y por cambio de Notas Diplomáticas, los
nuevos lugares de acceso que se habiliten
eventualmente para el tránsito de personas que rige el
presente Convenio.

ARTICULO CUARTO

Sin perjuicio del respeto a
los derechos y servidumbres consagrados en los
tratados bilaterales vigentes y sin menoscabo del
libre tránsito a través de las vías de acceso
mencionadas en el Artículo 3º del presente Convenio,
cada una de las partes podrá restringir dicho tránsito
en áreas y/o períodos determinados. La restricción a
que se refiere este Artículo deberá ser comunicada a
través de las autoridades políticas de mayor jerarquía
de Tacna y Arica a las respectivas Oficinas
Consulares.

ARTICULO QUINTO

Los nacionales de Chile y del
Perú que viajen a Tacna o Arica, respectivamente,
deberán estar provistos de un Salvoconducto que
 acredite su identidad y los autorice para transitar
libremente en las zonas definidas por el Artículo 1º.

ARTICULO SEXTO

Los Salvoconductos serán
expedidos por las autoridades competentes de cada país
y deberán contar con una visación consular, que será
gratuita.

ARTICULO SEPTIMO

Los Salvoconductos, como
requisito indispensable de validez deberán contener:
Número de orden, Nombres y apellidos del titular,
Lugar y fecha de nacimiento, Nacionalidad, Estado
civil, Domicilio, Profesión u ocupación, Calificación y
número del documento de identidad, Fotografías,
Impresión dígito pulgar, derecha, Tiempo de
permanencia, Fecha de expedición y de expiración, y
Firma y sello de la autoridad que los expide.

Los Salvoconductos serán
ingresados en triplicados, quedando una copia en la
Oficina Consular correspondiente. Para su debido
reconocimiento, las Partes intercambiarán
oportunitamente sus formatos procurando llegar a la
brevidad a un formato idéntico, solo diferenciado en
su color.

De manera facultativa, cada
parte podrá incluir en el reverso del Salvoconducto
una diagramación que permita sellar o inscribir el
cruce fronterizo de sus nacionales y/o residentes,
cada vez que éste se realice.

4

ARTICULO OCTAVO

Los Salvoconductos tendrán una vigencia de un año y permitirán a sus titulares permanecer por periodos de hasta siete días en las zonas definidas por el Artículo 12 y de acuerdo a las decisiones que se adopten según lo dispuesto por el Artículo 42. En casos calificados, las autoridades políticas de mayor jerarquía de Arica y Tacna, o aquellas en quienes se deleguen, podrán prorrogar el periodo de permanencia.

ARTICULO NOVENO

Los titulares de Salvoconductos no podrán transitar fuera de los límites de las zonas definidas por el Artículo 12 y deberán retornar a su país de origen dentro del plazo estipulado en el Artículo 82.

El Salvoconducto no habilita a su titular para ejercer en el otro país, con fines de lucro, trabajo, profesión, ocupación temporal o permanente, ni fijar domicilio.

ARTICULO DECIMO

La contravención de lo dispuesto en los Artículos 82 y 92, implicará el abandono inmediato del país, dentro de las veinticuatro horas de comprobada aquella, y la prohibición temporal o definitiva de accederse a las facilidades que otorga el presente Convenio. Estas sanciones serán aplicadas por las autoridades políticas de mayor jerarquía de Arica o Tacna y deberán ser puestas inmediatamente en conocimiento de la Oficina Consular respectiva.

ARTICULO DECIMO PRIMERO El derecho que se cobrará por la expedición del Salvoconducto será equivalente en moneda nacional a US\$ 2 (dos dólares norteamericanos).

ARTICULO DECIMO SEGUNDO Las autoridades de Chile y del Perú se reservan el derecho de no permitir el ingreso, así como el devolver al país de origen, a aquellas personas cuya admisión o permanencia juzgan inconvenientes.

ARTICULO DECIMO TERCERO Podrán extenderse Salvoconductos familiares que incluyan al cónyuge e hijos.

5

La expedición de Salvoconductos a menores de edad se hará con arreglo a las prescripciones legales vigentes en el territorio de la Parte respectiva.

ARTICULO DECIMO CUARTO Podrán otorgarse Salvoconductos colectivos a favor de delegaciones estudiantiles, culturales y deportivas de ambos países. Estos Salvoconductos deberán ser autorizados por la autoridad política de mayor jerarquía de Arica o Tacna, según sea el caso, y serán expedidos en las condiciones señaladas en el Artículo 62.

ARTICULO DECIMO QUINTO Podrán otorgarse Salvoconductos a extranjeros que tengan permiso definitivo de residencia y domicilio permanente en Arica o Tacna, de acuerdo con la legislación vigente en Chile y en el Perú. Los requisitos para obtener esta facilidad serán determinados por las autoridades políticas de mayor jerarquía de Arica y Tacna, en las condiciones que cada una de ellas determine.

ARTICULO DECIMO SEXTO Las autoridades políticas de mayor jerarquía de Arica y Tacna otorgarán, previo acuerdo entre ellas y en base a la reciprocidad, un Pase Especial permanente de Tránsito Fronterizo a las principales autoridades de ambas ciudades, extensivo a sus cónyuges, el que requerirá de visación consular y deberá renovarse anualmente.

ARTICULO DECIMO SEPTIMO Sin perjuicio de lo dispuesto por la Convención de Viena sobre Relaciones Consulares en su Artículo 363, las autoridades que, en razón de sus funciones, tuvieren conocimiento de o hubieren practicado la detención de un nacional del otro país - o los extranjeros a quienes se refiere el Artículo 152 del presente Convenio - deberán comunicar este hecho a la Oficina Consular respectiva dentro de las veinticuatro horas de producida la detención.

ARTICULO DECIMO OCTAVO La Subcomisión Mixta Permanente de Cooperación Fronteriza velará por el estricto cumplimiento del presente Convenio, realizará una evaluación periódica de la vinculación fronteriza y formulará las sugerencias que estime convenientes a

los respectivos Gobiernos, a través de sus Ministerios de Relaciones Exteriores.

ARTICULO DECIMO NOVENO Los equipajes y mercancías que porten los titulares de Salvoconductos estarán sujetos a las disposiciones vigentes sobre la materia.

ARTICULO VIGESIMO El presente Convenio será ratificado, regirá indefinidamente y entrará en vigencia treinta días después de efectuado el intercambio de los respectivos instrumentos de ratificación.

Podrá ser denunciado por cualquiera de las Partes contratantes con ciento ochenta días de anticipación a la fecha en que desee poner término a su vigencia.

ARTICULO VIGESIMO PRIMERO El presente Convenio, a su entrada en vigor, dejará sin efecto los acuerdos sobre Tránsito de Pasajeros entre Tacna y Arica de 13 de diciembre de 1930 y sobre Tránsito de Personas en la Zona Fronteriza Peruano-Chilena de 15 de junio de 1978.

APPENDIX III

Bilateral relations

RELACIONES BILATERALES

1

1. Reseña Histórica

Las relaciones diplomáticas entre el Perú y Chile se establecieron inmediatamente después de la independencia. La Guerra del Pacífico motivó la interrupción de las mismas hasta la firma del Tratado de Ancón de 1883. Una nueva interrupción se produjo entre los años 1910 y 1928 como resultado de las diferencias sobre la ejecución del artículo 3 de dicho Tratado, referido a la realización de un plebiscito para definir la soberanía de las provincias cautivas de Tacna y Arica. La firma del Tratado de Lima de 1929, que definió la suerte de ambas provincias, permitió el restablecimiento de las relaciones entre los dos países proyectándolas hasta nuestros días.

La suscripción del Acta de Ejecución de las Cláusulas Pendientes del Tratado de Lima de 1929, el 13 de noviembre de 1999, y la recepción por parte del Perú, a principios del año 2000, de las obras construidas a su servicio por Chile en Arica en cumplimiento de dicho Tratado, pusieron fin a los últimos asuntos derivados de la Guerra del Pacífico, lo que permitió superar el recurrente estancamiento por el que había atravesado la relación bilateral en sucesivas coyunturas.

En los últimos años las relaciones han adquirido un creciente dinamismo a la par de la recuperación de la democracia en el Perú, que se traduce en la profundización de los vínculos económicos y comerciales entre ambos países, la presencia en Chile de una numerosa comunidad peruana y la decisión política de ambos Gobiernos de impulsar una nueva vinculación basada en la cooperación, la complementariedad y la confianza mutua, como quedó plasmado en las declaraciones suscritas por los Presidentes Alejandro Toledo y Ricardo Lagos en los años 2001 y 2002.

2. Marco Jurídico de la Relación Bilateral

El Perú y Chile han suscrito una serie de instrumentos bilaterales que constituyen la base jurídica de las relaciones que vinculan a ambos países en sus diferentes aspectos. Entre ellos, por su importancia, destacan:

Tratados de Límites

§ Tratado de Paz (Lima, 20 de octubre de 1883).

§ Tratado de Lima y su Protocolo Complementario (Lima, 3 de junio de 1929).

§ Acta de Ejecución sobre los asuntos pendientes del Tratado de 1929 y su Protocolo Complementario (Lima, 13 de noviembre de 1999).

Convenios suscritos

§ Términos de Referencia para la Medición Estandarizada de los Gastos de Defensa entre el Perú y Chile (Santiago, 23 de agosto de 2002).

§ Convenio sobre Protección y Restitución de Bienes Culturales (Santiago, 23 de agosto de 2002).

§ Convenio de Intercambio Cultural (Lima, 5 de mayo de 1978).

§ Convenio de Seguridad Social (Santiago, 23 de agosto de 2002).

§ Convenio sobre un Programa Integral para el Desarrollo de actividades científico técnicas, asistenciales y de promoción de la salud (Santiago, 23 de agosto de 2002).

§ Acuerdo de Cooperación Turística entre el Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo de la República del Perú y el Servicio Nacional de Turismo de la República de Chile (Santiago, 23 de agosto de 2002).

§ Convenio de Cooperación Portuaria entre la Empresa Nacional de Puertos S.A. de la República del Perú y la Empresa Portuaria Valparaíso de la República de Chile (Valparaíso, 29 de noviembre de 2002).

§ Acuerdo de Cooperación para el intercambio de alumnos entre la Academia Diplomática del Perú y la Academia Diplomática de Chile "Andrés Bello" (Lima, mayo de 2002).

§ Convenio de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica Antártica entre el Instituto Antártico Peruano y el Instituto Antártico Chileno (Santiago, 18 de noviembre de 2003).

§ Acuerdo de Bilateral de Cooperación y Asistencia Mutua en Materias Aduaneras (Lima, 16 de diciembre de 2003).

§ Convenio Marco de Cooperación entre el Instituto Nacional de la Juventud de Chile y la Comisión Nacional de la Juventud del Perú (Lima, 26 de marzo de 2004).

Convenios en materia económica y comercial

§ Acuerdo de Complementación Económica entre Chile y Perú para la conformación de una Zona de Libre Comercio – ACE Nº 38 (Lima, 22 de junio de 1998).

§ Convenio para la Promoción y Protección Recíproca de Inversiones (Lima, 2 de febrero de 2000).

§ Convenio para Evitar la Doble Tributación y prevenir la evasión fiscal en relación al impuesto a la renta y al patrimonio y su Protocolo Modificatorio (Santiago, 8 de junio de 2001).

3. Relaciones Político- Diplomáticas Bilaterales

Las bases de la actual relación bilateral se inauguran con la instalación del Gobierno Democrático del Presidente Alejandro Toledo el 28 de julio de 2001, con la Visita de Estado del Presidente Ricardo Lagos al Perú, el 30 de julio de 2001, y con la Visita de Estado del Presidente Toledo a Chile, el 22 y 23 de agosto de 2002.

Las Visitas de Estado del 2001 y 2002 sirvieron de marco para la suscripción de dos Declaraciones Conjuntas que establecen los lineamientos de una renovada relación entre ambos países, la cual tiene como principales ejes los siguientes puntos:

- a. Consolidación de un régimen de seguridad, confianza mutua y buena vecindad y, en ese marco, desarrollo de la propuesta del Presidente Toledo sobre reducción de gastos militares en la región.
- b. Conducción de consultas políticas y diplomáticas permanentes.
- c. Coordinación de posiciones conjuntas en los distintos foros internacionales para potenciar la presencia de ambos Estados en el concierto mundial.
- d. Promoción del comercio y las inversiones.
- e. Incremento de la cooperación técnica, tecnológica y cultural.
- f. Atención preferente de las necesidades de la colonia de peruanos en Chile y de chilenos en el Perú a fin de coadyuvar al entendimiento mutuo.

Dicha asociación permitirá enriquecer la relación bilateral con mecanismos para lograr mayor fluidez en el tratamiento de los temas de mutuo interés y para abordar los obstáculos para el desarrollo de los vínculos entre ambos países. Asimismo, busca promover de manera articulada los intereses convergentes entre ambos Estados y abordar las diferencias en un marco de diálogo institucionalizado que garantice la preeminencia de una relación positiva, que permita resolver los problemas preexistentes y abordar aquellos que se generan como resultado ineludible de una mayor y más intensa relación bilateral.

La asociación preferente entre el Perú y Chile busca superar progresivamente la dinámica de competencia y desconfianza del pasado, para sustituirla por una de convergencia, cooperación y confianza.

Ambos Gobiernos han acordado importantes iniciativas en el ámbito de la seguridad y el fomento de la confianza, como se verá más adelante en el acápite 7 referido a la estructura institucional. Cabe destacar la reciente decisión adoptada en noviembre pasado por los Cancilleres Allan Wagner y Soledad Alvear de solicitar de manera conjunta la cooperación de la CEPAL y del Centro Regional de Desarme de las NNUU para el establecimiento de una metodología estandarizada entre ambos países para la medición de los gastos de defensa. El Perú aspira a que este acuerdo dé lugar a entendimientos ulteriores que consoliden una relación cooperativa en este ámbito basada en la transparencia y la confianza mutua.

4. Relaciones Político- Diplomáticas Multilaterales

En el ámbito multilateral Perú y Chile comparten una serie de objetivos comunes vinculados al desarrollo de

sus respectivas políticas exteriores y su proyección en los distintos foros y mecanismos multilaterales de los que son partícipes.

Sobre la base de estas coincidencias en los temas de la agenda regional y global, Perú y Chile han reafirmado su compromiso con la vigencia del **derecho internacional** y los medios diplomáticos para el **mantenimiento de la paz y la seguridad internacionales**.

Asimismo, han manifestado su voluntad de apoyar el fortalecimiento del sistema de las **Naciones Unidas (ONU)**, específicamente invocando la reforma del Consejo de Seguridad, para que se constituya en un órgano más democrático, representativo y transparente, en concordancia con los nuevos desafíos surgidos en el siglo XXI, así como el apoyo y refuerzo al rol del Secretario General como máximo representante político de este Organismo.

Ambos países han reiterado su firme compromiso y adhesión con los principios y propósitos de la **Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA)**. En ese sentido, han venido apoyando decididamente los esfuerzos tendientes a la modernización de este organismo y la renovación del sistema interamericano.

Perú y Chile coinciden en reafirmar su compromiso con la promoción, consolidación y defensa de **sistema democrático** y la activa promoción y protección de los **derechos humanos**, destacando la relevancia de la Carta Democrática Interamericana, adoptada en Lima el 10 de setiembre de 2001.

Es de destacar la participación de ambos países en las distintas iniciativas generadas en ámbito de la Cuenca del Pacífico, en particular el **Foro de Cooperación Asia Pacífico (APEC)** y los otros mecanismos formalmente institucionalizados en tan importante espacio de cooperación. Perú y Chile han desarrollado una activa dinámica de coordinación en dichos foros.

Ambos países comparten asimismo el compromiso de proseguir trabajando en la consolidación de la **Zona de Paz y Cooperación Sudamericana**, establecida en la Cumbre de Presidentes de Sudamérica celebrada en Guayaquil en julio del 2002.

5. Relaciones Económicas.

COMERCIO

Las relaciones económicas y comerciales han mostrado en los últimos años un renovado dinamismo que se traduce en niveles crecientes de intercambio de bienes y en la presencia de importantes inversiones entre los dos países.

Comercio Bilateral y Acuerdo de Complementación Económica.

El comercio bilateral entre Perú y Chile experimentó un impulso a partir de la entrada en vigor del Acuerdo de Complementación Económica (ACE N°38), el 1 de julio de 1998. El tratado tiene como propósito establecer una futura zona de libre comercio entre ambos países que permita la intensificación de las relaciones económicas y comerciales, la coordinación en los foros económicos internacionales, la promoción de la complementación y cooperación económica y el estímulo a las inversiones.

El acuerdo incluye un programa de desgravación; normas para la eliminación de barreras para-arancelarias, normas destinadas a dotar de transparencia al comercio evitando la triangulación comercial; y un mecanismo de solución de controversias.

El acuerdo favoreció la liberación inmediata del 46% de las glosas arancelarias que componen el comercio bilateral. Para el año 2003, luego de cinco años de la vigencia del acuerdo, estuvo prevista la desgravación de un 35% adicional, con lo que actualmente un 81% del total del intercambio goza de arancel cero.

Con la puesta en marcha del programa de desgravación se ha logrado que nuestras exportaciones a Chile

país se incrementen notoriamente, con la consecuente caída en el déficit crónico para el Perú que muestra la balanza comercial. Ello se traduce en un aumento de las exportaciones peruanas a Chile de US\$ 118 millones en 1997 a US\$ 252 millones en el 2002, de igual manera las importaciones experimentaron un incremento de US\$ 292 millones en 1996 a US\$ 391 millones en el 2002. En confirmación de esta auspiciosa tendencia, y de acuerdo a cifras disponibles del año 2003, el Perú habría registrado un superávit en la balanza comercial con Chile.

INTERCAMBIO COMERCIAL PERU-CHILE DE 1997 A 2003

Balanza Comercial
(En millones de dólares FOB)

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003*
EXPORTACION	132.068	138.438	174.268	261.414	282.030	252.084	412.455
IMPORTACION	292.034	268.578	283.102	371.091	402.167	391.271	404.400
SALDO COMERCIAL	-159.968	-130.140	-108.834	-109.677	-120.137	-139.187	8.055
INTERC. TOTAL	424.099	407.016	457.370	632.505	684.197	643.355	816.855

Fuente: ADUANAS (Procesado por la Oficina de Promoción Económica del Ministerio de RREE)

* Datos enero - diciembre 2003

Entre las actividades peruanas más beneficiadas por el ACE 38 se encuentra la industria textil. Las confecciones de algodón son muy apreciadas por todos los segmentos de mercado en Chile. Otro de los sectores dinámicos en nuestras exportaciones a Chile es el sidero-metalúrgico. Las barras de acero laminadas o extraídas en caliente son el segundo producto de exportación a Chile y tienen un margen de preferencia del 100 % en su ingreso a ese país.

Por el lado de los productos chilenos que se han beneficiado del Acuerdo destacan aquellos relacionados a las industrias gráfica, papelería y químico farmacéuticas

Convenio sobre Promoción y Protección Recíproca de Inversiones.

El Convenio fue firmado en febrero de 2000 y entró en vigencia el 2 de agosto de 2001. Su objetivo es la intensificación la cooperación económica, creando y manteniendo condiciones favorables a las inversiones que se realicen en el territorio de la otra parte y que impliquen transferencia de capitales.

Convenio para Evitar la Doble Tributación y prevenir la evasión fiscal

Suscrito por los Ministros de Economía de ambos países el 8 de junio de 2001 en Santiago de Chile. Tiene como objetivo evitar que cualquier empresa de uno de los dos países contratantes sea gravada con el impuesto a la renta dos veces por una misma operación, tanto en su país de origen como en el país contratante. El Convenio genera la obligación de ambas administraciones tributarias de compartir información que permita detectar posibles casos de evasión fiscal.

INVERSIÓN

Según cifras oficiales de PROINVERSIÓN, hasta Junio de 2003, el stock de inversión extranjera registrada en el Perú superó los diez mil millones de dólares. De este total US\$ 597,53 millones corresponden a inversiones chilenas, colocándose después de Reino Unido, España, Estados Unidos, los Países Bajos y Panamá. La Cámara de Comercio de Santiago ubica esta cifra por encima de los US \$ 3,600 millones.

La participación chilena en el mercado nacional se divide en los siguientes rubros: Finanzas (41,35%), industria (20,30%), energía (17,61%) y comercio (16,43%).

De acuerdo a las cifras de Proinversión, la evolución de la inversión Chilena registrada desde 1995 hasta el 30 de junio de 2003 es como sigue:

EVOLUCION DE LA INVERSION CHILENA EN EL PERU
(en millones de dólares)

PAIS	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003*
CHILE	207,04	289,67	291,34	324,13	423,31	438,87	552,33	597,53	597,60

Fuente: PROINVERSION

* Datos al 30 de junio de 2003

6. Cooperación

Las entidades gubernamentales responsables de administrar y canalizar la cooperación bilateral e internacional en ambos países son la **Agencia Peruana de Cooperación Internacional (APCI)** y la **Agencia Chilena de Cooperación Internacional (AGCI)**. Actualmente existen diversos ámbitos en los que se desarrolla proyectos de cooperación horizontal entre Perú y Chile.

Cooperación APCI-AGCI

La cooperación entre Perú y Chile se ha venido desarrollando en los últimos años a través de esquemas triangulares con Japón bajo el esquema del Programa de Asociación Chile Japón-JCPP. Bajo el referido esquema, la cooperación horizontal entre ambos países ha venido llevando a cabo a través de la programación de cursos, el desarrollo de mini proyectos y el intercambio de expertos, en áreas de mutuo interés como la maricultura, sanidad agrícola, desastres naturales, medio ambiente, temas sociales y manejo y prevención del fenómeno del niño, entre otros. Se tiene prevista la constitución de una Comisión Mixta de Cooperación con el fin profundizar y ampliar los niveles de cooperación existentes.

Turismo

En el campo del turismo la cooperación entre ambos países esta regulada por el **Acuerdo de cooperación turística**, cuyo objetivo es incrementar los flujos turísticos entre Perú y Chile a través de la adopción de medidas favorables para la cooperación en turismo entre los organismos y entidades de los sectores públicos y privados de ambos países. Los aspectos que enfatiza el referido acuerdo son:

§ Adopción por parte de las dependencias nacionales pertinentes de medidas para asegurar los flujos turísticos entre ambos países.

§ Coordinación y apoyo a los esfuerzos de promoción turística de cada país.

§ Compromiso de facilitar programas que integren la oferta turística de ambos países para su comercialización en terceros mercados.

§ Las partes se comprometen a promover y facilitar las inversiones recíprocas o conjuntas en sus respectivos sectores turísticos.

§ Las partes se comprometen a intercambiar información en la preparación de técnicos en turismo.

§ Elaborará un programa de trabajo bianual, que considerará prioritariamente la incidencia del turismo en las respectivas economías nacionales.

Salud Pública

La cooperación en el ámbito de la salud pública está regulada a través del **Convenio sobre un Programa Integral para el Desarrollo de actividades Científico-Técnicas, Asistenciales y de Promoción de la**

Salud, el cual establece términos de cooperación para la búsqueda conjunta de soluciones a problemas de Salud. Se suscribió en el marco de la Visita de Estado del Presidente Toledo a Chile, en agosto de 2002, y establece un programa de cooperación que se ejecutará a través de proyectos en las siguientes áreas:

- § Control de enfermedades prevalentes o emergentes.
- § Organización de modalidades mixtas (estatal, privado, cooperativo) de prestación de salud.
- § Planificación para la ejecución de las modalidades de intervención para el desarrollo de actividades en salud.
- § Intercambio de información y experiencias en el ámbito científico, técnico y tecnológico.

Academias Diplomáticas

Con ocasión de la visita a Lima del Director de la Academia Diplomática de Chile, Embajador Rolando Stein Brygin, el 25 de noviembre de 2002, se suscribió el **Acuerdo de cooperación entre la Academia Diplomática del Perú y la Academia Diplomática "Andrés Bello" de Chile**, el cual permite el intercambio de alumnos recién egresados con la finalidad de que se incorporen al último año de estudios de los respectivos cursos regulares de formación profesional, así como en aquellos otros de perfeccionamiento, seminarios, talleres y otros eventos de esta índole.

Cooperación portuaria

La cooperación entre los principales puertos de Perú y Chile se enmarca en lo establecido en el **Convenio de Cooperación Portuaria Callao-Valparaíso** cuyo objetivo es intercambiar experiencias en áreas diversas referidas a estudios portuarios, entrenamiento de personal, intercambio de información y la búsqueda de formas de desarrollar tráfico entre los dos puertos. EL convenio fue suscrito en Valparaíso el año 2002, su duración ha sido fijada en dos años, siendo susceptible de renovación.

Cooperación Técnica y Científica

La cooperación técnica y científica entre ambos países esta normada por el **Convenio Básico de Cooperación Técnica y Científica**. Este acuerdo "marco" compromete a las Partes a elaborar y ejecutar, de común acuerdo, programas y proyectos de cooperación técnica y científica.

Cooperación Antártica

Con ocasión de la última Visita Oficial del Canciller Allan Wagner a Santiago en noviembre de 2003, los directores del Instituto Antártico Peruano (INANPE) y el Instituto Antártico de Chile (INACH) suscribieron un **Convenio de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica Antártica**. El objetivo del referido convenio es aunar esfuerzos en pro de la investigación científica y antártica, así como el desarrollo de proyectos científicos en las siguientes áreas: ecología de cetáceos y respuesta de Deschampsia antártica a las variables ambientales.

Cooperación Aduanera

El **Acuerdo Bilateral de Cooperación y Asistencia Mutua en Materias Aduaneras** constituye el marco legal a través del cual ambos gobiernos se asisten para la adecuada aplicación de las legislaciones aduaneras, para la prevención, investigación y represión de las infracciones aduaneras, así como el intercambio de información que permita combatir las infracciones cometidas contra la legislación aduanera, debido a que estas perjudican los intereses económicos, comerciales, fiscales, sociales y culturales del Perú y de Chile. El referido acuerdo fue suscrito en Lima el 17 de diciembre de 2003. Asimismo, ambos Gobiernos han acordado el establecimiento de una comisión binacional de alto nivel destinada a coordinar de manera integral la lucha contra el fenómeno del contrabando.

7. Relaciones Culturales

La relación bilateral en el plano cultural entre Perú y Chile se desarrolla a través de la **Comisión Mixta Cultural y Educativa**. Otro importante instrumento que regula las relaciones de cooperación en este ámbito es el **Convenio sobre Protección y Restitución de Bienes Culturales**, suscrito en agosto de 2002, cuyo objetivo es proteger y conservar el patrimonio cultural peruano y chileno prohibiendo el ingreso en sus respectivos territorios de bienes culturales provenientes de la otra parte sustraídos ilegalmente.

Entre los proyectos conjuntos en el ámbito cultural que vienen siendo desarrollados por ambos países podemos destacar el Proyecto Qha paq Ñan ó Camino Principal Andino.

8. Estructura Institucional

a. Mecanismos de Consultas Políticas.

Comisión Binacional Permanente de Cooperación.

Creada por los Presidentes Toledo y Lagos en julio de 2001, reúne a los Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores una vez al año. Sirve de marco para revisar anualmente la evolución general de las relaciones bilaterales.

Mecanismo de Consultas Diplomáticas de Vicecancilleres.

Creado en agosto de 1989 para propiciar consultas de interés entre ambas Cancillerías.

b. Mecanismos de Consulta en materias de Seguridad y Defensa.

Comité Permanente de Consulta y Coordinación Política (2+2)

Previsto en la Declaración Conjunta Presidencial de julio de 2001, tiene como misión analizar e intercambiar puntos de vista respecto de todas aquellas materias de interés para ambos países. Está integrado por los Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores y Defensa de ambos países.

Comité de Seguridad y Defensa (COSEDE)

Creado por la Declaración Presidencial Conjunta de julio de 2001, está integrado por funcionarios de alto nivel de Relaciones Exteriores y Defensa de ambos países, con participación de las Fuerzas Armadas. Permite dar seguimiento a los acuerdos del 2+2.

Rondas de Conversaciones entre los Altos Mandos de las Fuerzas Armadas del Perú y Chile.

Este mecanismo fue instituido a iniciativa peruana en 1985, con la finalidad de profundizar las acciones orientadas al fomento de la confianza mutua y el desarrollo de una concepción de seguridad dentro de un marco regional sudamericano que, respondiendo a la estrecha amistad y la creciente cooperación entre ambos países, propicio un proceso gradual de limitación de gastos en la adquisición de armamentos. Las delegaciones participantes son presididas por los Jefes de los Estados Mayores Generales de cada país.

c. Mecanismo de Consultas sobre temas Fronterizos.

Comité de Fronteras

Es un foro de cooperación bilateral para el tratamiento de temas de interés común en el área fronteriza del sur peruano y el norte chileno. Fue instituido en el marco de la III Reunión del Mecanismo Consultas Político-Diplomáticas de Vicecancilleres celebrada en Lima en junio de 1999.

Comisión Mixta Permanente de Límites

Se encarga de la reparación, reposición y densificación de hitos y fue creada a través del "Acuerdo sobre la Conservación de Hitos en la Frontera Común" del 06 de marzo de 1997.

d. Mecanismo de Consulta en materia Económica y Comercial.

Comisión Administradora del Acuerdo de Complementación Económica.

Encargada de realizar el seguimiento y profundización al Acuerdo de Complementación Económica (ACE 38) suscrito por ambos países en junio de 1998, con el propósito de establecer una zona de libre comercio entre el Perú y Chile.

e. Comisión Mixta chileno-peruana de estupefacientes y sustancias sicotrópicas.

Este mecanismo se enmarca en el Convenio Administrativo sobre Estupefacientes y Sustancias Sicotrópicas, suscrito por Perú y Chile en octubre de 1990. Los objetivos que persigue esta Comisión son: Controlar del Tráfico de Estupefacientes y Sustancias Sicotrópicas, establecer una estrecha cooperación en el ámbito judicial entre ambos países, desarrollar unidades de Inteligencia Financiera que permitan identificar fondos provenientes de esta actividad, y finalmente en lo relativo a la reducción de la demanda de estupefacientes y sustancias sicotrópicas, prevención, tratamiento y rehabilitación, articular cursos de acción entre las entidades responsables de cada país (DEVIDA y CONACE).

APPENDIX IV

Border policies and Peruvian Migration

AMBITO MIGRATORIO Y DE LAS COMUNIDADES PERUANAS EN EL EXTERIOR

Ambito legal

La política migratoria chilena tiene como marco legal la Ley de Extranjería (Decreto Ley Nro. 1094, del 19.7.1975) y su Reglamento (Decreto Supremo Nro. 597, del 14.6.1984), la cual regula el acceso de los extranjeros, estableciendo diferentes calidades migratorias: turista, residente, residente oficial, etc. Asimismo, existe el "Convenio sobre Tránsito de Personas en la Zona Fronteriza Arica-Tacna", del 16.6.1978, que permite el ingreso de ciudadanos peruanos utilizando como documento de viaje el DNI o el salvoconducto, pudiendo transitar sólo en la provincia de Arica y con una estadía máxima de siete días. Más recientemente se aprobó entre el Perú y Chile el "Acuerdo para el Ingreso y Tránsito de Nacionales Peruanos y Chilenos en calidad de Turistas con Documento de identidad", suscrito el 6.7.2005, puesto en vigencia desde agosto de ese año, el cual permite el ingreso y permanencia en todo el territorio del otro país teniendo como documento de viaje el DNI o la Cédula de Identidad, respectivamente. En éstos casos la permanencia máxima autorizada es de 90 días. Cabe señalar que la existencia de este último acuerdo no ha derogado la vigencia del Convenio de Tránsito de 1978 que es más restrictivo. Ambos instrumentos legales son utilizados por la Policía de Investigaciones de Chile, entidad que tiene a su cargo el tema migratorio en Chile.

Ambito práctico

La aplicación en la práctica de esa normatividad revela la existencia de una política migratoria específica respecto a los ciudadanos peruanos por parte de las autoridades migratorias chilenas, las cuales centran su preocupación en evitar que más ciudadanos peruanos ingresen a Chile con el propósito de trabajar de forma ilegal. La existencia de tal política explicaría la actitud de gran parte de los funcionarios de la Policía de Investigaciones en el Control Fronterizo de Chacalluta quienes tienen la política de restringir lo más posible la permanencia de ciudadanos peruanos en Chile y los lugares a los que pueden trasladarse. Así, salvo que el ciudadano peruano lo manifieste, los funcionarios migratorios chilenos autorizan el ingreso a su territorio al amparo del Convenio de Tránsito de Personas de 1978, que sólo permite el acceso para ciudadanos peruanos hasta Arica y con una permanencia máxima de siete días. Sin embargo, si el connacional manifiesta su deseo de viajar más allá de Arica con fines turísticos, los funcionarios de migraciones les exigen más

requisitos entre los cuales está el tener suficientes recursos para financiar su permanencia. El monto promedio exigido hasta hace pocos años era de 2,700 dólares en lo que se conoce como "bolsa de viaje", requisito que no siempre es reconocido por las autoridades chilenas pero que se presume continúa exigiéndose de acuerdo a la versión transmitida a este Consulado por choferes peruanos del transporte en colectivo y buses en la ruta Tacna-Arica.

Marco jurídico de la relación bilateral consular

Principales acuerdos vigentes

Varios de los convenios o acuerdos suscritos a nivel binacional tienen gran incidencia en el caso del Perú con Tacna, por ser esta la ciudad peruana más cercana y fronteriza con Chile (distante unos 58 km). Entre los principales acuerdos binacionales que tienen incidencia con esta frontera se pueden señalar los siguientes:

- Tratado de Lima de 1929 y el Acta de Ejecución de 1999 y su Reglamento, el cual además de fijar los límites terrestres regula todo lo relacionado con las servidumbres que tiene el Perú en Arica (Malecón de Atrique al Servicio del Perú, Estación del Ferrocarril, Ferrocarril Tacna – Arica);
- Convenio de Turismo, Tránsito de Pasajeros, sus Equipajes y Vehículos de 1978;
- Convenio de Transporte Colectivo de Pasajeros Arica-Tacna;
- Convenio de Complementación Económica (ACE 38)
- Acuerdos de cooperación entre la Municipalidad de Arica y los Municipios de Arequipa y Tacna.
- Convenio sobre Tránsito de Personas en la Zona Fronteriza Arica-Tacna", del 16.6.1978.
- Acuerdo para el Ingreso y Tránsito de Nacionales Peruanos y Chilenos en calidad de Turistas con Documento de Identidad, suscrito el 6.7.2005.

7 días
solo Arica
90 días

AMBITO MIGRATORIO Y DE LAS COMUNIDADES PERUANAS EN EL EXTERIOR

Ambito legal

La política migratoria chilena tiene como marco legal la Ley de Extranjería (Decreto Ley Nro. 1094, del 19.7.1975) y su Reglamento (Decreto Supremo Nro. 597, del 14.6.1984), la cual regula el acceso de los extranjeros, estableciendo diferentes calidades migratorias: turista, residente, residente oficial, etc. Asimismo, existe el "Convenio sobre Tránsito de Personas en la Zona Fronteriza Arica-Tacna", del 16.6.1978, que permite el ingreso de ciudadanos peruanos utilizando como documento de viaje el DNI o el salvoconducto, pudiendo transitar sólo en la provincia de Arica y con una estadía máxima de siete días. Más recientemente se aprobó entre el Perú y Chile el "Acuerdo para el Ingreso y Tránsito de Nacionales Peruanos y Chilenos en calidad de Turistas con Documento de Identidad", suscrito el 6.7.2005, puesto en vigencia desde agosto de ese año, el cual permite el ingreso y permanencia en todo el territorio del otro país teniendo como documento de viaje el DNI o la Cédula de Identidad, respectivamente. En éstos casos la permanencia máxima autorizada es de 90 días. Cabe señalar que la existencia de este último acuerdo no ha derogado la vigencia del Convenio de Tránsito de 1978 que es más restrictivo. Ambos instrumentos legales son utilizados por la Policía de Investigaciones de Chile, entidad que tiene a su cargo el tema migratorio en Chile.

Ambito práctico

La aplicación en la práctica de esa normatividad revela la existencia de una política migratoria específica respecto a los ciudadanos peruanos por parte de las autoridades migratorias chilenas, las cuales centran su preocupación en evitar que más ciudadanos peruanos ingresen a Chile con el propósito de trabajar de forma ilegal. La existencia de tal política explicaría la actitud de gran parte de los funcionarios de la Policía de Investigaciones en el Control Fronterizo de Chacabuta quienes tienen la política de restringir lo más posible la permanencia de ciudadanos peruanos en Chile y los lugares a los que pueden trasladarse. Así, salvo que el ciudadano peruano lo manifieste, los funcionarios migratorios chilenos autorizan el

ingreso a su territorio al amparo del Convenio de Tránsito de Personas de 1978, que sólo permite el acceso para ciudadanos peruanos hasta Arica y con una permanencia máxima de siete días. Sin embargo, si el connacional manifiesta su deseo de viajar más allá de Arica con fines turísticos, los funcionarios de migraciones les exigen más requisitos entre los cuales está el tener suficientes recursos para financiar su permanencia. El monto promedio exigido hasta hace pocos años era de 2,700 dólares en lo que se conoce como "bolsa de viaje", requisito que no siempre es reconocido por las autoridades chilenas pero que se presume continúa exigiéndose de acuerdo a la versión transmitida a este Consulado por choferes peruanos del transporte en colectivo y buses en la ruta Tacna-Arica.

Marco jurídico de la relación bilateral consular

Principales acuerdos vigentes

Varios de los convenios o acuerdos suscritos a nivel binacional tienen gran incidencia en el caso del Perú con Tacna, por ser esta la ciudad peruana más cercana y fronteriza con Chile (distante unos 56 km). Entre los principales acuerdos binacionales que tienen incidencia con esta frontera se pueden señalar los siguientes:

- Tratado de Lima de 1929 y el Acta de Ejecución de 1999 y su Reglamento, el cual además de fijar los límites terrestres, regula todo lo relacionado con las servidumbres que tiene el Perú en Arica (Malecón de Atraque al Servicio del Perú, Estación del Ferrocarril, Ferrocarril Tacna – Arica);
- Convenio de Turismo, Tránsito de Pasajeros, sus Equipajes y Vehículos de 1978;
- Convenio de Transporte Colectivo de Pasajeros Arica-Tacna;
- Convenio de Complementación Económica (ACE 38)
- Acuerdos de cooperación entre la Municipalidad de Arica y los Municipios de Arequipa y Tacna.
- Convenio sobre Tránsito de Personas en la Zona Fronteriza Arica-Tacna", del 16.6.1978.
- Acuerdo para el Ingreso y Tránsito de Nacionales Peruanos y Chilenos en calidad de Turistas con Documento de Identidad, suscrito el 6.7.2005.

Acuerdos emanados de las Reuniones del Comité de Frontera Perú-Chile.

El Comité de Frontera Perú – Chile es el principal foro bilateral para el tratamiento de temas de interés común del área fronteriza. Las reuniones se realizan anualmente teniendo como sede de manera alternativa Tacna y Arica. Generalmente la reunión tiene lugar en noviembre o diciembre de cada año. Tiene como área geográfica de responsabilidad la Región Tacna en el caso del Perú y las Provincias de Arica y Parinacota en el caso de Chile. Los trabajos se dividen en tres comisiones, a saber: a) Comisión de Facilitación Fronteriza, que incluye temas como asuntos aduaneros, migratorios, etc., b) Comisión de Infraestructura, Transportes y Normas, donde se trabajan temas relacionados con el transporte colectivo entre Tacna y Arica, funcionamiento de los Complejos Fronterizos, etc., y c) Comisión de Integración, que comprende temas como turismo, desarrollo económico, educación, salud, desastres naturales, etc. Cada uno de los temas se tratan en sus respectivas sub-comisiones.

Al término de cada reunión, las subcomisiones pueden llegar a acuerdos, los cuales son registrados en las respectivas actas. Estos acuerdos si bien tienen más bien el carácter de recomendaciones y pueden en algunos casos requerir aún el visto bueno de instancias de mayor nivel jerárquico, pueden constituir el inicio para importantes decisiones que luego son refrendadas. En la última reunión efectuada en noviembre del 2005, en Tacna, se adoptaron 66 acuerdos, participando 195 funcionarios, 111 por Perú y 84 por Chile. En los últimos dos años destacan los siguientes acuerdos:

- Homologación, estandarización y uso de Documento Nacional de Identidad ó Cédula de Identidad para permitir el ingreso a todo el territorio del otro país, por turismo. Este acuerdo se alcanzó en la V Reunión del 2004 y luego fue consagrado mediante la suscripción el 6.7.2005, del "Acuerdo para el Ingreso y Tránsito de Nacionales Peruanos y Chilenos en calidad de Turistas con Documento de Identidad".

- Control Integrado Santa Rosa - Chacalluta

Se creó la subcomisión de Control Integrado en el marco de la VI Reunión del año 2005, luego de algunas reuniones previas a nivel bilateral para hacer realidad dicho objetivo que permita facilitar el tránsito de personas, vehículos y mercancías entre Tacna y Arica. Posteriormente, se han efectuado diversos ensayos tendientes a

identificar los beneficios de un control integrado. El Perú promueve el modelo yuxtapuesto como el más apropiado a utilizar. A partir de este año (mayo) se ha iniciado la construcción del nuevo Control Fronterizo de Santa Rosa, el cual se pretende que tenga la infraestructura apropiada para hacer realidad el control integrado antes mencionado.

La iniciativa es de gran importancia para promover un mayor nivel de intercambio de personas y de mercaderías entre ambos países favoreciendo el comercio y el turismo recíproco.

La Comunidad Peruana

Conformación de la comunidad peruana: número, edades, ocupaciones, cargos importantes

- Número

En esta oportunidad la información utilizada tiene en cuenta principalmente el Censo Nacional del 2002 de Chile, por lo que las cifras difieren con las estimaciones de memorias anuales anteriores basadas en la información proveniente de la oficina en Arica de la Policía de Investigaciones, que ha sido normalmente la fuente utilizada por el Consulado del Perú. De acuerdo con el censo mencionado existen oficialmente alrededor de 37,860 ciudadanos peruanos residiendo en Chile, la mayoría de ellos en Santiago (80%). Sin embargo, otros estudios estiman en 80,000 el número de peruanos en Chile. Si se considera las cifras obtenidas por el Censo del 2002, en la Región Tarapacá residirían alrededor de 4,565 peruanos de los cuales la mayoría viven en Iquique, por lo que en Arica residirían entre 1,500 a 2,000. Sin embargo, esta cifra se incrementa significativamente si se tiene en cuenta aquellos connacionales que ingresan a Arica por siete días al amparo del Convenio sobre Tránsito de Personas en la Zona Fronteriza Peruano-Chilena de 1978, con el fin de laborar a lo largo de la semana. No se tienen cifras precisas al respecto, pero su incidencia podría duplicar el número de peruanos residiendo en las provincias de Arica y Parinacota.

- Edades

En general, la mayor parte de la población peruana residente en este país tiene entre 15 a 44 años de edad (28,710 personas). Esta tendencia se mantiene a nivel regiones y la Región Tarapacá y Arica en particular no es la excepción.

- Ocupaciones

Se puede afirmar que existe una diferenciación marcada en la ocupación que tienen los connacionales, según se trate de los que ya tienen o no residencia en Chile. En el primer caso, se encuentran los profesionales como médicos, profesores, periodistas, administradores de empresas, ingenieros, etc., y otros empleos de menor calificación destacando las del servicio doméstico y las enfermeras por su número. Hay mujeres casadas con ciudadanos chilenos que son amas de casa. Los ciudadanos peruanos que ingresan de forma itinerante con su DNI, son en su mayoría comerciantes de menor cuantía "pacoñeros" que se dedican a comprar mercadería en Arica e Iquique para luego ingresarla de contrabando y venderla en Perú; mujeres que trabajan como empleadas domésticas; u hombres que laboran como peones agrícolas y albañiles.

Situación migratoria actual

Actualmente se estima existen alrededor de 1,500 a 2,000 ciudadanos peruanos residiendo de manera legal en Arica, lo que implica que cuentan con su correspondiente Cédula de Identidad. Por otra parte, existe una importante población itinerante, de unas 2,000 personas que ingresan a Arica semanalmente para trabajar y luego de los siete días regresan a Tacna. Esta población aprovecha su permanencia en Arica para laborar en empleos de poca calificación, principalmente vinculado con el servicio doméstico o el trabajo agrícola. En este último caso, existe un grupo indeterminado de peruanos con permanencia ilegal que vive en barracas en el campo trabajando como peones agrarios.

APPENDIX V

Figures Aduana

MOVIMIENTO MIGRATORIO AÑO 2006
CARRETERA CHACALLUTA

	ENTRADOS						SALIDOS						TOTAL MENSUAL		
	CHILENOS			PERUANOS			CHILENOS			PERUANOS					
	CL. PPTES	TURISTAS	OTROS	PASAPORTE	RESIDENTE	OTROS	CL. PPTES	TURISTAS	OTROS	PASAPORTE	RESIDENTE	OTROS			
ENERO	70048	1136	6152	18633	9113	35403	21784	0	0001	14310	8212	42636	16139	183267	
FEBRERO	83369	1136	15702	17939	8614	39543	44237	0	3789	12516	8110	40631	16379	171399	
MARZO	38274	1082	3383	15672	7479	33983	15775	1369	3331	13222	5303	35941	13345	134684	
ABRIL	35170	2600	2461	12861	6373	46476	12615	3069	2679	11666	6409	43344	13301	134684	
MAYO	61548	2337	3069	12770	5386	36377	15444	3069	3351	11271	5009	46176	13407	134684	
JUNIO	35745	1721	2170	11800	6107	30632	14622	60308	2053	9544	6327	46859	12213	148162	
JULIO	388174	10814	33162	89675	41099	321454	124873	395170	7403	73108	39364	245942	44781	854661	
CARRETERA CHACALLUTA															
TOTAL ENTRADOS	1016700			1016700			1016700			1016700			1016700		
TOTAL SALIDOS	895600			895600			895600			895600			895600		
TOTAL	1912300			1912300			1912300			1912300			1912300		
TOTAL CHILENOS ENTRADOS	392118			392118			392118			392118			392118		
TOTAL CHILENOS SALIDOS	403312			403312			403312			403312			403312		
TOTAL PERUANOS ENTRADOS	579581			579581			579581			579581			579581		
TOTAL PERUANOS SALIDOS	403312			403312			403312			403312			403312		
CHILENOS - CONVENIO ARICA TACNA															
TOTAL ENTRADOS	10144			10144			10144			10144			10144		
TOTAL SALIDOS	7602			7602			7602			7602			7602		
TOTAL	17746			17746			17746			17746			17746		
PERUANOS - CONVENIO ARICA TACNA															
TOTAL ENTRADOS	448271			448271			448271			448271			448271		
TOTAL SALIDOS	330763			330763			330763			330763			330763		
TOTAL	779034			779034			779034			779034			779034		

Handwritten notes:
 - Under ENERO: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 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1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 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1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1

MOVIMIENTO MIGRATORIO AÑO 2005
CARRETERA CHACALLUTA

	E N T R A D O S										S A L I D O S									
	TURISTAS					PELILLANOS					RESIDENTE					TOTAL				
	C.I.	CHILENOS	SAUCOS	OTROS	PASAPORTE	RESIDENTES	DSI	SAUCOS	OTROS	TOTAL	C.I.	CHILENOS	SAUCOS	OTROS	PASAPORTE	RESIDENTE	DSI	SAUCOS	OTROS	TOTAL
ENERO	45.133	4.652	6.000	13.428	6.760	53.980	27.876	1.138	154.813	154.813	1.356	147.403	21.631	1.56	382.206	382.206				
FEBRERO	55.176	5.344	3.710	14.742	5.568	57.873	25.577	670	160.067	160.067	689	150.182	20.885	689	318.168	318.168				
MARZO	39.447	3.959	3.430	14.742	5.568	57.873	25.577	670	160.067	160.067	689	150.182	20.885	689	318.168	318.168				
ABRIL	37.468	4.419	2.192	13.319	3.430	49.312	18.420	506	147.836	147.836	534	133.083	13.853	534	250.719	250.719				
MAYO	41.517	5.674	2.402	10.880	4.113	53.228	16.944	519	137.568	137.568	638	127.776	17.006	638	248.348	248.348				
JUNIO	38.551	4.641	2.098	9.734	3.432	51.988	17.751	510	132.229	132.229	635	126.467	18.441	635	248.692	248.692				
JULIO	52.470	4.091	4.177	10.766	4.305	54.075	18.483	715	149.362	149.362	814	140.545	18.814	814	291.927	291.927				
AUGUSTO	48.172	2.413	5.128	21.976	4.378	44.899	17.445	1.145	145.546	145.546	1.125	139.734	16.789	1.125	298.284	298.284				
SEPTIEMBRE	53.314	2.220	2.242	11.328	4.546	55.467	18.412	906	144.189	144.189	1.120	139.957	16.385	1.120	298.146	298.146				
OCTUBRE	61.361	710	2.659	11.623	5.012	60.942	18.308	878	162.143	162.143	826	148.494	14.748	826	318.737	318.737				
NOVIEMBRE	52.597	1.600	3.944	12.175	4.647	55.690	16.346	1.168	145.257	145.257	1.110	140.167	15.435	1.110	293.464	293.464				
DICIEMBRE	78.304	19	3.368	14.112	5.560	93.074	16.497	1.062	172.509	172.509	1.424	175.482	15.539	1.424	341.901	341.901				
TOTAL	683.819	38.162	41.747	154.830	58.103	640.064	244.061	10.023	1.702.083	1.702.083	10.023	1.709.681	226.040	10.023	1.709.681	1.709.681				

CARRUTERA CHACALITA

TOTAL ENTRADOS	1 782 886
TOTAL SALIDOS	1 709 681
TOTAL	3 492 567

TOTAL CHILENOS INTRAÇOS	643 132
TOTAL CHILENOS SALIDOS	661 284

TOTAL PERUANOS ENTRADOS	1 089 378
TOTAL PERUANOS PERUANOS	996 245

CHILENOS CONVENIO ARICA-TACNA

TOTAL ENTRADOS	33.162
TOTAL SALIDOS	39.167
TOTAL	72.329

UNITARIOS CONVENIO AGRICOLA TACNA

TOTAL ENTRADAS	874 925
TOTAL SALIDOS	794 864
TOTAL	1 65 189

