

Configurations of Peruvian Female Migration in Iquique, Chile, in the 21st Century*

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Abstract

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The article presents a state-of-the-art of studies about the Peruvian female migration in Iquique (Region of Tarapacá, Chile). Through the synthesis of qualitative and quantitative research, we offer the contextualization of social, economic and political processes that endorses the interpretation of available demographic data. We will situate the geographical limits, the political-administrative and ecological characteristics of Tarapacá and will problematize the notion that the migration in Iquique is a novel phenomenon. We will synthesize the local economic characteristics and their relationship with the sociodemographic characteristics, the labor insertion and the social networks of the Peruvian migrant population. We conclude the text by pointing out how national and ethnic identity processes are configured in Iquique, stressing the reproduction of asymmetries and frictions of alterity between Peruvian woman and Chileans.

Key words: Female Peruvian Migration, Iquique, cultural configurations, identity, Chile.

Resumen

Configuraciones de la migración femenina peruana en Iquique Chile, en el siglo XXI

Se presenta un estado del arte sobre la migración femenina peruana en Iquique (Región de Tarapacá, Chile). A través de la síntesis de investigaciones de corte cualitativo y cuantitativo, ofrecemos la contextualización de procesos sociales, económicos y políticos que facilitan la interpretación de los datos demográficos disponibles. Situiremos los límites geográficos, las características político-administrativas y ecológicas de Tarapacá y problematizaremos la noción de que la migración en Iquique es un fenómeno novedoso. Sintetizaremos las características económicas locales y su relación con las características sociodemográficas, la inserción laboral y las redes sociales de la población migrante peruana. Finalizamos el texto apuntando cómo se configuran los procesos identitarios nacionales y étnicos en Iquique, señalando las asimetrías y fricciones de la alteridad que se reproducen entre las peruanas y los locales chilenos.

Palabras clave: Migración femenina peruana, Iquique, configuraciones culturales, identidades, Chile.

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INTRODUCTION

This article characterizes the Chilean city of Iquique as a destination for Peruvian female workers, describing the social problems linked to the migratory phenomenon in the city, in the first decade of the 21st century.

The analysis carried out in the following pages derives from state-of-the-art research of qualitative (historiographical, sociological and anthropological) studies, contrasted with a synthesis of demographic data. We understand that the displacements of Peruvian migrants integrate migratory circuits in which the relationship between mobility and settlement is dynamic. Indeed, these circuits have created routes that cross Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina (Guizardi and Garcés, 2013). Nevertheless, the article focuses on understanding the particular social realities that frame these processes of social mobility in Iquique¹.

Our interest in studying the experience of women from Peru relates to the complex construction of Chilean and Peruvian national borders, identities and cultural formations in this territory² since its annexation by Chile³. In particular, it is linked to Peruvian women's centrality in the social reproduction of migrant families and networks in Chile, in general⁴, and in the Chilean northern territories, in particular⁵.

Following a reflection on the impact and contradictions of centralist ideologies on the production of national identities in Latin America (Grimson and Guizardi, 2015), we tackle with the challenge of rethinking the role of the "Great North" in the constitution of an imagined "Chileanness". Increasingly, we understand the latter as a process of production of historical national alterities (Segato, 2007), which has been completely encompassed in the relationship between Peruvians and Chileans. In doing so, we

¹ Iquique is part of the Great North of Chile, a territory located in the Atacama Desert and composed by three Chilean political-administrative regions: Arica and Parinacota (XV Region), with its capital in Arica; Tarapacá (I Region), with its capital in Iquique, and Antofagasta (II Region), with its capital in the city of Antofagasta. These regions were annexed to Chile after the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). The territories of the I and XV regions belonged to Peru before the war. Iquique is a strategically located locus to observe the relationship between settlement and mobility in the lives of Peruvian women: between Peru and Chile, as well as internally in the Tarapacá region, and between the latter and other Chilean regions. Gana (2014) and Katzman (2014) agree on this assessment in their work about the international migration in Iquique.

² See: González Miranda (1994, 2002b, 2004, 2009); Tapia (2012); Tapia and Ramos (2013).

³ The annexation was formalized in the Treaty of Ancón, signed between Chile and Peru in 1883 (after the end of the Pacific War) (González Miranda, 2009: 72, Tapia, 2012: 181, Valdebenito and Guizardi, 2014: 37).

⁴ See: Acosta (2011), Mora (2008), Setién and Acosta (2011), Stefoni (2009), Stefoni and Fernández (2011), Thayer (2011).

⁵ See: Guizardi and Garcés (2012), Guizardi et al (2014), Guizardi et al (2015), Tapia and Ramos (2013), Valdebenito and Guizardi (2015).

contemplate the need to overcome certain methodological nationalisms, rethinking the historical role played by the expansion of Chile towards the desert in the construction of the Chilean ethnic paradigm (Guizardi and Garcés, 2014a).

Understanding the current Peruvian female migration in Iquique (with its connection to long-term processes that are central to the national constructions of Chile and Peru) poses important analytical challenges. It demands a critical view of the economic and political structuring of the migrant places of destination. The configuration of the context deeply affects the subjects' (in our case, Peruvian women) experience of social situations, influencing the relationship between their practices, social structure, long-term historical processes, and symbolic mediations (Comaroff, 1985). This reflection leads us to conceptualize Iquique as a cultural configuration, following Grimson's (2011) debate in his effort to overcome anthropological culturalist and ahistorical perspectives⁶. Thinking about cultural configurations allows us to centralize the constructive context of the social identities as part of a field of disputes that is political. It leads us to investigate the crystallization of culture as an element that, in the specific case that concerns us, particularizes the contents of Chilean and Peruvian national identity ascriptions; as well as understandings about the relationship between ethnic and national identities.

Attentive to this anthropological concern about identity conflicts, we reconstruct in this article the political, national, institutional and economic aspects that make up Iquique as a particular migratory scenario. Thus, our reconstruction of the context is operated from a specific analytical perspective, focused on those phenomena that influence the situational and identity adaptation of Peruvian migrants. We hope to contribute as much to the accumulation and sedimentation of elements of analysis for migratory studies in the Chilean Great North (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012), as well as to the consolidation of interdisciplinary perspectives on the migratory reality.

⁶ The cultural configurations have four constitutive dimensions. 1) They are fields of possibility: they refer to institutions, representations and practices that, in a certain context, are possible, those that are impossible, and those that become hegemonic (Grimson 2011: 172). 2) They suppose that, in a given context, the actions, ways of being, and enunciating of relationships, experiences and knowledge keep some level of interrelation among them, but without being derived from a constitutive homogeneity. The cultural configuration would thus be heterogeneous and heterotopic (Grimson 2011: 176). 3) To be articulated, it requires a common symbolic plot. 4) Thus, even when asymmetrically, it brings together common and shared elements (Grimson 2011: 177).

GEOGRAPHICAL, BORDER AND POPULATION PECULIARITIES OF TARAPACÁ

“The desert has been unfaithful to me, / only earth, waterfall and salt, / bitter stone of my pain, / sad rock of dryness”. (L. Advis in Guerrero, 2007: 32).

Before the Spanish invasion (at the beginning of the 16th century), the territory that currently configures the Tarapacá region underwent different transformations, harboring different designs of spatial political delimitation, which have depended on the social, cultural and administrative needs of the occupying groups’ social networks. These political-social transitions intervened in the area by altering, redistributing and relocating the boundaries of cities, provinces, regions and, more recently, national borders. This active process of redefining the dispositions and limits between groups, political powers, and economic activities –which is, at the same time, a process of invention of these same limits– has not stopped in the recent history of Tarapacá.

The poem by Luis Advis with which we started this section presents an interesting metaphor about the territorial dispositions of the region. It seems that the desert has been unfaithful to the political-social and administrative boundaries that have crossed this region. A new political form, responding to the political hegemony of the day, has succeeded each of them. The permanence of the desert seems to be a contradiction to the transitory nature of the boundary constructions placed on it.

Poetic metaphors aside, the last of these transformations occurred in 2007, when the provinces of Arica and Parinacota changed their status and became a region⁷. Although the separation of the Arica and Parinacota region meant that Tarapacá lost its boundary with Peru to the north, it maintains limits with Bolivia in the east⁸, and continues to be a magnet for international migrants of Peru and Bolivia (Garcés and Moraga, 2015; Tapia and Ramos, 2013).

At present, Tarapacá limits to the north with the XV Region of Arica and Parinacota, and to the south with the II Region of Antofagasta. Since 2007, Tarapacá region has an area of 42,225.8 km², being the sixth largest region in the country, which places it above Arica (with 16,873 km²), but

7 Through the promulgation of Law 20175 the XV Region of Arica and Parinacota was created, separating the provinces that used to compose Tarapacá region (Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2007), and causing the split of the historic space that was transferred from Peru to Chile in the 19th century (Valdebenito and Guizardi, 2014:282).

8 There are three formally authorized border crossings between Chile and Bolivia in the Tarapacá region: Colchane, Hito Cájón, and Jama (Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública, 2015).

below Antofagasta (with 126,049 km²)⁹. Figure 1 represents the regions that make up the Great North of Chile, their most relevant cities, and their regional and international borders.

In Tarapacá we find the province of Iquique, which congregates the district of Iquique (with 186,000 inhabitants) and, to its northeast, the district of Alto Hospicio (with 76,854 inhabitants) (Compañía Minera Doña Inés de Collahuasi, 2008). North of the province of Iquique is the province of Tamarugal, composed of the districts of Pozo Almonte (14,950 inhabitants), Pica (12,907 inhabitants), Colchane (1,649 inhabitants), Huarra (3,095 inhabitants) and Camiña (1,167 inhabitants). According to the projections made by the Chilean National Institute of Statistics, in 2013¹⁰ the population of the region was 338,000 inhabitants (INE, 2014b). The dynamics of human settlement are characterized by high concentrations in the capital Iquique, where 55% of the regional population is located.

This demographic concentration in the capital city is the result of a progressive process. Between 1992 and 2012, Iquique increased its population by 21.9%, while other districts such as Colchane and Camiña showed negative growth (INE, 2014b). This could be explained by the transformation of the productive area of the valleys and the highlands [*altiplano*], with the installation of mining operations during the last decades, and the pressure exerted on the organization and productive activity of indigenous people. The migration and urbanization of the indigenous population from the *altiplano* and the *pampa*, as argued by studies on Aymara social groups in northern Chile (Bärh, 1980, Gundermann and González, 2008, Gundermann and Vergara, 2009), are linked to the ideologies and State policies of development and urbanization. They have been taking place since the mid-20th century (Valdebenito and Guizardi, 2014).

On the other hand, the district that has proportionately experienced the greatest demographic increase in recent years is Alto Hospicio, which registered a population increase of 1,590.3% since its creation in 2004.

9 Tarapacá is a semi-depopulated region: its population is mainly concentrated in “Greater Iquique”.

10 One of the main problems in updating demographic information about the region is the questioned Chilean Census of 2012. The most recent reports usually use projections made from the 2002 Census or the estimations derived from the Socioeconomic Characterization Surveys of Chile (CASEN) for 2011 and 2013. Likewise, it is necessary to consider that the methodologies of the Censuses and the CASEN are not adapted to capture the experiences of populations in movement. The prudent use of these instruments in studies of migrant populations requires assuming them as referential estimations.

Figure 1: Northern Chile. Current Regional Division, Important Cities and International Borders



Source: Paola Salgado, Project Fondecyt 11121177

Its autonomy as a district (it previously belonged to the district of Iquique) is recognition of its urban role in providing a housing solution in the face of the capital city's population increase, and the arrival of different migrant groups (INE, 2014a). The density of the relations between both districts creates a territorial unit known as "Greater Iquique". Due to population displacements, this unit accounted for, about 279,408 inhabitants in 2012, which is equivalent to more than 90% of the region's total population (Guerrero, 2014). To summarize, the population distribution in Tarapacá's territory is discontinuous, with well-defined centers that respond to the region's different economic activities (CIPTAR, 2012). It is logical then that this pattern of population settlement affects the territorial dispositions of the migrant population that arrives in Tarapacá.

Regarding other demographic characteristics of the region's inhabitants, the data on masculinity, age, and urban/rural spatial distribution to the year 2002 were similar to those found in the whole country (Compañía Minera Doña Inés de Collahuasi, 2008). 51.5% of the population was male, and 94.8% lived in urban sectors. In comparison, the rate of women among Peruvian migrants in Tarapacá is over 50%. Therefore, the feminization of Peruvian migration is slightly higher than the general pattern found in the Tarapacá region.

Two things should be noted about the indicators on demographic urbanization: 1) the migrant population showed the same pattern of greater concentration in urban spaces; 2) the stability of the urbanization percentages during the last years does not mean that important human movements have not taken place between the city and the rural sectors (Garcés and Moraga, 2015). In effect, due to the pressures of mining activity, depopulation and repopulation of rural and urban sectors have occurred, as well as the creation of new settlements that allow workers to live near the mining enclaves (Garcés and Moraga, 2015; Guerrero, 2014). Migrants have been an active part of these demographic displacements.

In the 2002 Census, 8.2% of the inhabitants (19,400 people) identified themselves as belonging to an indigenous group, which almost doubles the Chilean national average (4.5%). More than three quarters of this population (77%) identified with Aymara groups. In these two aspects, the Peruvian migrant population reflected the region's general population patterns. Beyond the clear insufficiencies of the Census in counting the indigenous population in Chile (Gundermann and Foerster, 2005), these data lead to important considerations. The presence of the Aymara in Tarapacá is significant, for at least three issues: 1) it represents a continuity because this

territory is, historically speaking, the social space of this ethnic group's communities; 2) because the Tarapacá region, even when considering the distortions of the Census, concentrates about 31% of the Chilean Aymara population. 3) Even though 60% of the Aymara are concentrated in the districts of Iquique and Alto Hospicio, their presence is more noticeable in the rest of the districts, due to a low concentration of a self-declared non-indigenous population in these districts (Compañía Minera Doña Inés de Collahuasi, 2008).

In the region, the indigenous population increased by 8,800 people between the 1992 and 2002 censuses. Among the reasons that explain this increase is that Chile has been leading, for twenty years, important processes of ethnic reaffirmation and ethnogenesis (Dittmar, 1996; Gundermann, 2013; Hidalgo Vallejos, 2004), resulting in an increase of those willing to assume their indigenous condition and openly state it. In addition, the increase in the Aymara population in Iquique and Tarapacá has also been fostered by international migration.

CURRENT CONFIGURATIONS OF A LONG-TERM MOBILITY

What we understand today as the Chilean Region of Tarapacá and its capital Iquique have been crossed over the past centuries by very peculiar manifestations of the relationship between the population's settlement and mobility. This territory was also crossed by human mobility practices that largely challenge the "sedentary-centric" notions (Sutcliffe, 1996) about the social experience of space. Contrary to the hegemonic ideas that naturalize sedentism as the main mechanism of territorial occupation, innumerable historical and archaeological studies have set precedents about a complex relationship between moving and settling in the southern territories of the Atacama. The latter relates to the desert's ecological and orographic particularities, and to the limitations and possibilities that they imply for human social life.

Reviewing the research on the ways of life in the south of the Atacama in the last six centuries, we find works like those of Adam et al (2007), Núñez and Dillehay (1979), Núñez and Nielsen (2011). These writings talk about a pre-Incan way of life in this area (between the late 15th and early 16th centuries), marked by caravanning practices, and by what archeologists coined as a seasonal "revolving mobility system" from the coast to the mountains, and *altiplano* (Núñez and Dillehay, 1979)¹¹.

¹¹ This phenomenon had a special impact in the establishment of alliances and conflicts between the groups in the different platforms of the desert, constituting the *systems of total prestation*

The Inca expansion over this territory, in the first half of the 16th century, impacted on this system of displacements, with the establishment of certain notions of urbanity typical of the Inca elite. The latter forged a different organization of mobility between settlements, with a centralization of imperial economic resources in the urban spaces (Urbina, 2011, 2014). The imperial administration hierarchized and segregated population densities and urbanization in the Andean south. The structure that the empire deployed there is considered discontinuous, heterogeneous and segmented (Sanhueza, 2008:59). The territory was visualized by the Inca administration as a mosaic, with different dimensions and forms, which depended as much on the political importance, as on the interest in the resources of each zone. This, logically, reorganized the relationship between settlement and mobility in the desert, but based on interests and perspectives that were not strictly linked to local groups' ways of life.

In the 16th century, the Spanish invasion of these territories implied another pressure towards the sedentarization of the populations, with a centralization of the port cities on the Pacific Coast. However, the movement of silver from the mines of the then Upper Peru [*Alto Peru*] (now Bolivia), and the plantations and trade of agricultural and livestock products of the *altiplano* would remain as a commercial system that fostered social mobility between the platforms of the desert. With the national independences of the 19th century, the territory became part of the Peruvian Republic, which coincided with the implementation of the macro economy of saltpeter extraction in the area. The saltpeter cycle demanded an enormous labor force, intensifying the migrations of Bolivians, Peruvians, Chileans, Europeans and Asians to Tarapacá (González Miranda, 2002a, 2008b, 2009, González Pizarro, 2009, Tapia, 2012, 2013).

At the end of the 19th century, the Pacific War and Chile's subsequent annexation of Tarapacá's territory would impinge on the relationship between mobility and permanence in these spaces, complicating the relationship between territories and social belongings with new national identity labels. The process of Chileanization of these areas was accompanied by developmental and urbanization policies (applied from the beginning of the 20th century), which advocated for migration from the highlands to the coastal cities (Bärh, 1980). It was understood that in order to be Chileanized, the inhabitants of the *pampas* and the *altiplano* had to be des-indigenized and urbanized (Valdebenito and Guizardi, 2014). These processes altered the social organization and the experience of space among local

(Mauss, 1979) developed by these communities and societies.

indigenous populations (predominantly Aymara). Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that the historical logics of indigenous mobility between the cities of the coast (especially Iquique), and the localities of the *pampa* and the *altiplano* have ceased to exist (Gundermann and González, 2008; Gundermann and Vergara, 2009; Vergara and Gundermann, 2007). It would also be a mistake to think that these movements were restricted to the Chilean territory, given that a large part of the mobility circuits in this area reincorporated routes created long before the establishment of national borders (Tapia, 2013; Tapia and Ovando, 2013). These routes cross Chilean, as well as Peruvian, Bolivian and Argentinean territories (Guizardi and Garcés, 2013).

Migration in Tarapacá is not, therefore, a novel phenomenon. What will be novel are the cultural configurations that these movements develop in the 21st century. With the latter in mind, how can we understand the current configuration of social mobility in the area?

Currently, the migrant population of the region is increasing which is linked to four macrosocial elements. First, there are the global tendencies in the intensification of human flows due to the international generalization of globalization in the 90s (Castles and Miller, 2004). Second, there is the intensification of Latin American intraregional migration, which has established new migratory destinations, largely due to the paperwork difficulties imposed on immigrants by developed countries since 2001 (Mora, 2008, Stefoni, 2002). The third element is the economic instability experienced by Argentina, which was, historically, the main destination of the intraregional South-American migration (Guizardi and Garcés, 2013). Consequently Peruvian and Bolivian migrants, who used to cross the Chilean Great North's roads towards Argentina, started migrating seasonally to Atacama's mining cities found on these migrant circuit routes. Fourth, the intensification of migration relates to the social, economic and political changes Chile has experienced: the increase in investments and the productive boom of the Chilean mining economy since the 90s (Carrasco and Vega, 2011), and the democratization and the opening up of the country to regional agreements that enhance the movement of people.

When we think about how these macrosocial processes influence the configurations of migration in the Iquiquean context, we find four important elements to highlight. Firstly, Tarapacá is rich in mining resources and has privileged ports. However, the natural environment, characterized by the lack of water resources, as well as constant seismic phenomena (to which there are no adequate State responses), deepens the vulnerability

of the marginal sectors inside the region. For example, the installation of mining and thermoelectric projects introduces competition for and stresses the use of water in the face of local agricultural economies.

Secondly, the region has an accentuated history of social inequalities. The establishment of extractive mining companies (from the end of the 19th century onwards) was accompanied by social violence on varying scales. These social inequalities were strongly opposed by the organized labor movement in Iquique, which suffered violent responses from the Chilean State and business sectors (González, 2007). The harsh repression suffered by these workers in Tarapacá affected the national development of the workers movement throughout Chile. This movement, made up of articulate Chilean, Peruvian and Bolivian workers in common social struggles, became the target of a Chilean State offensive aimed at dismantling the labor identity in this area (González, 2007). This offensive, which intensified in the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, prevented the formation of identity logics based on work experience which could have overcome the differences of nationality. Thus, the tensions and clashes between Chilean, and Peruvian or Bolivian workers were intensified.

Thirdly, since it is a border zone, it was constituted as a margin of the Chilean Nation-state (Guizardi and Garcés, 2014a; Tapia and Ovando, 2013; Tapia and Parella, 2015). The presence and absence of the State in Tarapacá constitute a constant contradiction: halfway between the permanent installation of national symbols (in their excessive enunciation and performance in public spaces), and the simultaneous lack of State investment in urban infrastructure, health, education and social services in general. This particular, and contradictory, absence and presence at the same time configures a lack of regulations and support for citizenship. At times this situation leads to social upheavals, to conflicts against large mining and thermoelectric projects, which do receive State investments (for example, for the implementation of transport and productive infrastructure).

Fourthly, the impact of copper mining has generated an increase in macroeconomic indicators, such as the GDP, in the Tarapacá region (Carrasco and Vega, 2011). But the benefits felt by the general population are scarce and localized (Guerrero, 2014), reproducing patterns of concentration of the economic surplus (see section 4). Thus, if the urban spaces of Iquique and its inhabitants linked to the mining projects are benefited with high salaries, these effects are not at all noticeable in the rest of the region. The mining economy is presented to the workers who move to Iquique (be they Chileans, Peruvians or Bolivians) as a promise of economic accumulation

that is not always fulfilled. The social manifestation of these benefits is always more evident in the urban space, consolidating a pattern of inequality between the city and the peoples of the *pampas* and the *altiplano*.

In summary, Tarapacá is a pole of migrant attraction configured by a context of social conflicts, infrastructure asymmetries, urban concentration and lack of services. All this shapes the way autochthones perceive new migrants: often associating their presence with an increase in the saturation of public services (health, housing, education etc). The phenomenon intersects with the imaginaries about Peruvian and Bolivian otherness, in a panorama that makes social representations about this migration more complex. Before developing this topic, we will give more details about the economic particularities of the region.

ECONOMIC CONTEXTS AND PROCESSES OF DEMOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

Currently, the economy of Tarapacá relies on transnational investment directed at copper productivity and the commercial advantages produced by the Iquique Free Trade Zone (ZOFRI, in its Spanish Acronym)¹². As pointed out by the Research Center in Public Policies of Tarapacá (CIPTAR, 2012), both elements are a reflection of the region's historical economic structure. Commercial development is linked to the port (in Iquique), while mining activity (silver and copper) is concentrated in the interior, on the *pampas*. In both cases, they are export-oriented activities.

The new Great Mining Cycle (CIPTAR, 2012), which started in the 80s and was consolidated in the 90s, focuses on copper and is one of the main contributors to Chile's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Carrasco and Vega, 2011). At the end of the 90s, while the fishing and industrial cycles faded, reducing their participation in regional GDP to 3% and 7% respectively, mining managed to consolidate itself at 35% of Tarapacá's GDP¹³, while trade reached 17% (CIPTAR, 2012). Nowadays, mining has a marked influence on the Regional Economic Activity Indicator (INACER, in its Spanish Acronym): any deceleration in mining productivity leads to an economic decrease in the region, affecting other productive sectors (INE, 2014a).

12 According to Vicuña et al (2015: 38): "the city of Iquique, capital of the First Region, acquired in 1975 –through the Decree-Law [DFL] 341– customs exemptions, which transformed its port in a Free Trade Zone: status that the city of Arica enjoyed between 1953 and 1963 (Estrada, 2010)".

13 In the first decade of the 21st century, copper sales comprised 83% of Tarapacá's regional exports, and 10.5% of Chilean national exports (CIPTAR, 2012: 21).

The ZOFRI, on the other hand, originates from the Economic Development Plan for the region established during the Military Dictatorship (1973-1989), which transferred the economic, commercial and industrial benefits from the city of Arica to Iquique, a situation that generated interregional conflicts between both districts.

Another difference between mining production and the rest of the activities is marked by wage gaps. CIPTAR's (2012) studies remark that, in 2007, the difference between the average income of a mining worker and one in agriculture is of a ratio of 3.6 to 1¹⁴. Similarly, four other sectors (or economic branches), equivalent to 66% of the workers in the region, have salaries positioned below the regional average. If we consider that trade generates the greatest number of jobs, but pays the lowest average salaries (\$229,903 Chilean pesos per month) (CIPTAR, 2012: 37), it is possible to realize the impact of the mining on the social structure of Tarapacá. Although the GDP per capita is one of the highest in Chile (the second after that of the Antofagasta Region), Tarapacá's population's economic situation has deteriorated in comparison with the productive increase experienced since the 90s (CIPTAR, 2012)¹⁵.

The economically active labor force of the region is mainly employed in the following productive sectors: commercial activity (18.73%); mining (10.57%)¹⁶; followed closely by activities such as construction (10%); education (9.22%) and transport and communications (9.2%) (INE, 2015). The unemployment rate reached 7% at the end of 2014, higher than the national average of 6.2%¹⁷.

The commercial and mining economic development that we have described here influenced urban expansion, increasing the need for labor in construction. Likewise, small-scale trade between Iquique and Tacna, the southern Peruvian city closest to the border with Chile also flourished, as well as small-scale and large-scale contraband trade between localities in southern Peru and Tarapacá (Berganza and Cerna, 2011: 135).

Taken together, these economic conditions generated attractive situations for migrants in general (Vergara, 2005, Tapia, 2012, Berganza and

14 In the case of mining, the average monthly salary is \$ 677,012 Chilean pesos, while it is around \$ 186,922 among agricultural workers (CIPTAR, 2012).

15 This reality influences the region's high levels of poverty and social marginalization. In Tarapacá, people living in poverty represented 11.8% in 2006, 15.8% in 2009, and 13.1% in 2011 (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social de Chile, 2013). Poverty is more marked in rural sectors and in those difficult to access in the *pampas* and *altiplano*.

16 Mining operations need a limited number of workers to develop. This is observed in copper projects denominated as "Large Mining Activities" such as *Cerro Colorado*, *Quebrada Blanca* and *Doña Inés de Collahuasi*, which despite their important productive weight in the region "do not exceed on average 500 workers each" (Guerrero, 2014: 223-224).

17 Tarapacá is the fourth region in the ranking of highest unemployment rates in Chile.

Cerna, 2011). However, there are gender aspects that influence the specific insertion of Peruvian migrant women. On the one hand, mining constitutes a masculinized labor universe: it offers specialized jobs where women have, until now, very limited employability. Therefore, migrant women develop “complementary” functions in the mines: they clean the workers’ camps in the *pampa* and cook for them, for example. Indeed, the main economic activity, the one that pays the highest salaries in Tarapacá, turns out to be predominantly male, which affects the economic reality of migrants and the general profile of the female labor market.

On the other hand, the importance of the ZOFRI as a catalyst for trade flows in Chilean territory, in areas of southern Peru and northwestern Bolivia (Garcés and Moraga, 2015), also conditions gender specificities in the insertion of Peruvian women. Trade and smuggling through the Andean routes between Chilean, Peruvian and Bolivian territories are activities in which Aymara women (of these three nationalities) have a leading role (Guizardi et al, 2014). The role of Peruvian Aymara women in small-scale trade and smuggling between southern Peru, the city of Arica, and the ZOFRI is a phenomenon of cross-border and circular mobility that drives the presence of Peruvian women in Iquique. While mining is a labor niche where male protagonism is undeniable, trade (which ZOFRI energizes) constitutes a pole of attraction for Peruvian Aymara women.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERIZATION OF PERUVIAN MIGRATION IN TARAPACÁ AND IQUIQUE¹⁸

General Overview of the Peruvian Presence in Tarapacá

Peruvian international migration has experienced a significant increase since 2001. If for this year the number of Peruvians who migrated totaled just over 60,000 people, in 2009 this figure had reached 2,038,107, which corresponded to 7% of the total population of Peru (IOM, 2013a). The main destinations of this migration in the last decade have been the United

18 The data presented in the tables of this section are of our own elaboration, based on the Chilean Censuses of 1992 and 2002 (which are available on the webpage of the National Institute of Statistics of Chile). We regroup the information of each one of the districts that after the creation of the Region of Arica and Parinacota, in 2007, remained part of the Tarapacá region. Therefore, when we specify the data of this region in the tables, we are referring to the information for the districts of Iquique, Pica, Pozo Almonte and Huara. For 1992 and 2002, the current Tarapacá district of Alto Hospicio had not yet become autonomous, which occurred in 2004. The information about this district integrates data from the former Iquique district. The figures that we present as referring to the Region of Arica and Parinacota are compiled from demographic data of the districts of Arica, Camarones, Putre and General Lagos that, in 1992 and 2002, still integrated the former Region of Tarapacá.

States (48.1%), Spain (10.6%), Italy (7.9%), Argentina (6.3%), Venezuela (4.7%), Japan (4.6%) and Canada (2.4%) (IOM, 2013a).

Since the beginning of the 90s, Chile has experienced an increase in its migrant population, especially of Peruvian origin (Araujo, Legua and Ossandón, 2002: 6-8; Erazo, 2009: s / n; Godoy 2007: 42; Jensen, 2009: 106; Lipszyc, 2004: 11; Martínez, 2003: 1 and 2005: 109; Navarrete, 2007: 179; Núñez and Hoper, 2005: 291; Núñez and Torres, 2007: 7; Poblete, 2006: 184; Santander, 2006: 2; Schiappacasse, 2008: 23; Stefoni, 2005: 283-284)¹⁹. This is verified not only with data from the 1992 and 2002 Censuses and CASEN, but also through the number of Residence Visas granted to foreigners by the Chilean Ministry of the Interior. There was a constant growth in the number of these visas issued: from 18,324 in 2000, to 76,335 in 2011 (Contreras, Ruiz-Tagle and Sepúlveda, 2013: 6).

The preferred destinations of this migration are areas with significant economic growth: the Metropolitan Region of Santiago and the mining sectors of the Great North (Contreras, Ruiz-Tagle and Sepúlveda, 2013: 22; Tapia, 2012: 186). According to data from the 2002 Census, 64.81% of migrants in Chile resided in Santiago (DEM, 2010: 15). However, the capital accounts for around 40% of the country's population, so migrants made up 3.35% of the total people living there (DEM, 2010: 16). In the north of the country, in the regions of Tarapacá, Arica and Parinacota, and Antofagasta, migrants constituted, respectively, 6.66%, 6.10, and 3.7% of the local population, also according to the 2002 Census (DEM, 2010: 16-17).

As we have indicated previously, Tarapacá has registered a constant movement of populations since the colonial era (and even before of it). The context of symbolic and physical violence during the Chileanization process, which included the forced expulsion of Peruvians from the Chilean territory, did not prevent the recurrence of transits and migratory flows during the 20th century (Tapia, 2012; Tapia and Ramos, 2013). However, there are two clear milestones related to the presence of foreigners in these territories: the period of the "saltpeter boom" between the end of the Pacific War (1883) and the 1930s, and at the beginning of the 90s (Tapia, 2012: 181).

19 There is a social perception in Chile that the phenomenon corresponds to a kind of "migrant invasion". The latter refers to social imaginaries regarding the Peruvian and Chilean identities, which fosters a strong rejection of the Peruvian presence (Tijoux, 2007, 2011, 2013). In turn, Argentine migrants in Chile constituted the most relevant national group in the country from the 90s and until the beginning of the 21st century (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012). Nevertheless, this migration was never understood as an invasion, and Argentinean migrants were never understood as relevant subjects of studies (Grimson and Guizardi, 2015; Jensen, 2014).

In terms of concentration of foreign population in Tarapacá, the period after the War of the Pacific presents the highest figures in the region's history since its annexation by Chile to the present. This refers to the fact that the Peruvian population residing in this territory was suddenly considered foreign: they were migrants who had never actually emigrated. After the conflict, the percentage of international migrants reached 51.9% of the population, a figure that would decrease dramatically to 12% by the end of 1930 (product of the nationalization and expulsion of foreigners) (Tapia, 2012). In the 1940s, with the crisis of saltpeter's price, and the closing of the nitrate mines, the massive displacement of population began from the north towards the south of Chile. International migrants reached 6.8% of the regional population (Tapia, 2012).

But the lowest percentage of migrant population in Tarapacá, of 1.8%, was recorded in 1992²⁰. From that moment to the present, the proportion of migrants began to increase: in 2002 it registered 3%, and in 2012, 7% (Tapia, 2012).

As the Table 1 illustrates, there was an increase in the migrant population of the five most numerous national groups. However, the Peruvian collective presented the most significant increase, going from 370 to 2642 people between 1992 and 2002. These upward trends in Peruvian population numbers in Tarapacá also remained for the period between 2002 and 2012, exceeding the increase of the Bolivian collective, the second most numerous in the region²¹. As Tapia (2012: 186) points out, "according to data from 2002, Peruvians increased by 79% compared to 1992, and Bolivians increased by 42% comparing the same years". Between 2002 and 2012, according to Tapia (2013), based on data from the 2012 Census, there was an increase in Peruvian and Bolivian migration in the border regions of Arica and Parinacota, and Tarapacá. These data reflect that, in the Tarapacá region, 17,232 people were Peruvian or Bolivian migrants, which corresponded to 77% of all foreigners in the area. Of these, 48% were Peruvian (Tapia, 2013: 233).

20 At the beginning of the 90s, the demand for Peruvian migrant labor in Tarapacá was concentrated in two markets: sporadic tasks related to trade that linked Iquique with the city of Tacna and, secondly, permanent positions related to qualified jobs (such as automobile assembly) (Berganza and Cerna, 2011). Therefore, there are two waves of mobilization at the beginning of that decade: the first related to trade, the second to industry.

21 In the north of Chile, Peruvians and Bolivians were the majority among the international migrant population, but their proportions varied clearly from city to city. In Arica, the 1992 and 2002 Censuses showed a higher concentration of Bolivians, while in Iquique, the highest numbers were Peruvian (Tapia, 2012).

Table 1: Most Representative Nationalities of Migrants in Tarapacá, 1992 and 2002 Censuses. Absolute Values by Gender

Country of birth	Respondent's sex				Total 1992	Total 2002
	Men		Women			
	1992	2002	1992	2002		
Bolivia	279	865	328	1066	607	1 931
Perú	222	1091	148	1551	370	2 642
Argentina	138	209	114	207	252	416
Ecuador	16	127	31	204	47	331
China	73	161	47	112	120	273

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the 1992 and 2002 Censuses (available on the website of the National Institute of Statistics of Chile).

Peruvian migrants (as Bolivians and Argentines) are characterized from the census surveys of 1992 and 2002 as predominantly aged from 18 to 50 (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012), constituting a population of an economically active age. The Table 2 below details these data illustrating the age ranges of the three most important migrant groups in Tarapacá in the last two censuses.

The Feminization of the Peruvian Migration in Tarapacá and Iquique

There was a marked predominance of women among Peruvian migrants in Tarapacá, according to the 2002 Census. There was also a tendency towards the feminization of Peruvian migration, since in the region “the Peruvian women went from composing 40% of the total of Peruvians in the region in 1992, to 58.7% in 2002: an increase of 18.7%, much higher than the rate of feminization we observed in the capital Santiago” (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012: 22). Table 3 illustrates Census numbers for Peruvian female and male migrants in Tarapacá between 1992 and 2002.

The data displayed in table 3 shows 148 Peruvian women in the early 1990s, but no less than 1551 in the following decade. The tendency towards feminization resulted in an equalizing of the proportions of men and women who migrate, considering that at the beginning of the 20th century Peruvian migration to Tarapacá was evidently masculine.

Table 3: Peruvian Migrants by Gender in the Tarapacá Region, 1992 and 2002 Censuses. Absolute Values

Region	Respondent's sex				Total 1992	Total 2002
	Men		Women			
	1992	2002	1992	2002		
Tarapacá	222	1 091	148	1 551	370	2 642

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the 1992 and 2002 Census available on the website of the National Institute of Statistics of Chile.

Feminization is also associated with factors that exceed the contexts of Tarapacá and Iquique: 1) The neoliberal reforms experienced by Peru, which resulted in an impoverishment and increased precariousness of female labor, positioned women's migration as an economic alternative for the social reproduction of families (which continues to be a mainly feminine responsibility, both among Peruvians and Chileans). 2) It is also due to the dynamics of the internationalization of reproductive work (Acosta, 2011, González and Acosta, 2015, Mora, 2008, Setién and Acosta, 2011)²².

Observing the census characterization of Peruvian migration in Tarapacá, we find a population whose average length in formal education is higher than that of the local Chilean population. However, this does not mean that Peruvians are employed in labor niches corresponding to their educational profile (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012). Table 4 illustrates the period of formal education (in years) by Peruvian women and men living in each of the districts of Tarapacá. Guizardi and Garcés (2012) have noted in the 2002 Census data that women have, proportionally, more years of formal education than Peruvian men in the region.

Peruvian men and women, especially those who live in the district of Iquique, predominately attended formal education for over 12 years. The migrants (men and women) with more formal schooling are concentrated in the Iquique district, which authorizes us to speak of the qualified profile of Peruvian migration inserted in the urban spaces of Tarapacá.

²² The internationalization of women's work constitutes what some authors enunciate as the formation of "global chains of care" (Acosta, 2011, González and Acosta, 2015, Setién and Acosta, 2011). The phenomenon results from the fact that the female insertion in the world of work does not have a correlation with the reordering of the reproductive and nurturing tasks in the nuclear family, generating international care chains: promoting the migration of women who take charge of these roles. Normally this migration, rather than promoting the re-evaluation of the feminine role in the processes of social reproduction, results in forms of exploitation, stigmatization and marginalization of migrant work. These dynamics are related to the specificities of the labor market of mining expansion in northern Chile and its impact on gender relations.

Table 4: Number of Years of Attendance at Formal Education Institutions Declared by Peruvian Migrants in the Districts of the Tarapacá Region, 2002 Census. Absolute Values by Gender

Comuna	Never attended	Years of attendance at formal studies declared by those surveyed																			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
<i>Men</i>																					
Iquique	30	26	18	18	19	33	25	20	40	65	40	55	355	96	39	68	34	42	8	3	1
Camuña	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	126	72	78	39	43	9	4	2	-
Colchane	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Huara	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	5	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Pica	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6	1	1	1	1	2	3	-	-	-
Pozo Almonte	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	2	9	5	2	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
Totales	31	26	20	19	19	33	26	20	42	66	43	58	375	228	115	147	76	90	20	7	3
<i>Women</i>																					
Comuna	Never attended	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Iquique	29	31	17	29	33	38	53	13	48	121	86	104	535	126	72	78	39	43	9	4	2
Camuña	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Colchane	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Huara	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Pica	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Pozo Almonte	-	-	2	2	-	2	-	2	1	2	2	1	6	2	2	-	2	-	1	-	-
Totales	29	32	17	31	35	38	56	13	52	123	89	105	547	129	74	78	43	43	10	4	2

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the 1992 and 2002 Census available on the website of the National Institute of Statistics of Chile.

Patterns of Self-ascription to Indigenous or Native Peoples among Peruvian Migrants

Regarding Tarapacá's migrant population's affiliation to indigenous and native communities, we find three interesting phenomena. 1) For the majority of the subjects surveyed in the two Censuses (1992 and 2002), and for the four most numerous nationalities (Peruvians, Bolivians, Argentines and Ecuadorians), the response "none of the mentioned ethnic groups" predominates. This either points to the fact that the subjects have no links to any ethnicity, or that the ethnicity options mentioned by the survey do not satisfy the self-ascription that the subjects recognize as theirs. 2) Ethnic self-recognition is more frequent in the 1992 and 2002 Censuses among migrants of Peruvian and Bolivian origin, over the other two relevant groups (Argentine and Ecuadorian) in Tarapacá. 3) The ethnic group most frequently identified by Peruvian and Bolivian migrants is the Aymara.

Focusing on the link to indigenous or native communities expressed by the Peruvians in Tarapacá, we find an important gender particularity in the 2002 Census. Women are identified with some ethnic ascription in more cases (8.09% of them do so) (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012). The percentage is higher than the index of ethnic self-recognition of Peruvian migrant women in Chilean regions such as Antofagasta or Santiago, but it is lower than the mark of 23% of Peruvian women who declared themselves to be indigenous in the 2002 census in the current districts of the Arica and Parinacota region (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012).

Ethnic self-ascription is relevant data, as the dynamics of production of national identity in Chile are associated with the idea that Chileans are predominantly "Creole" or "European", in contrast with Peruvians and Bolivians who are seen as indigenous (González, 2008b). The affiliation to an ethnic group by Peruvian migrants in Tarapacá inserts them into dynamics of integration/exclusion, especially in the dimensions related to ethnic economy or racial discrimination, establishing multidimensional frameworks in their migrant experience (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012).

Analyzing the ethnic recognition data by Peruvian migrants in Tarapacá in 2002, according to the districts or localities of residence (Table 7), we observed that the majority of migrants with some ethnic affiliation lived in the district of Iquique: the most important urban settlement of the region.

Table 5: Migrants Self-identified as Indigenous and/or Belonging to a Native Community. Absolute Values among the Most Numerous Migrant Groups in Tarapacá, 1992 and 2002 Censuses

Country of birth	Aymara		Alacalufe		Atacameño		Colla		Mapuche		None of the above		Quechua		Rapa Nui		Yámana (Yagán)		Total ext.	
	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002	1992	2002
Perú	3	72	-	1	-	1	-	2	4	1	336	2471	-	60	-	0	-	0	343	2642
Bolivia	124	874	-	0	-	2	-	20	0	2	398	920	-	50	-	0	-	2	556	1931
Argentina	0	0	-	0	-	1	-	0	0	4	211	410	-	0	-	0	-	0	211	416
Ecuador	1	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	1	0	25	330	-	0	-	0	-	0	27	331

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the 1992 and 2002 Census available on the website of the National Institute of Statistics of Chile.

Table 6: Peruvian Migrants Self-identified as Indigenous and/or Belonging to a Native Community in the Chilean Regions with the Highest Concentration of Migrants of this Nationality, 2002 Census. Absolute Values by Gender

Region	Sex	Declare ethnic link	Does not declare ethnic link	Total
Arica-Parinacota	Men	197	727	964
Arica-Parinacota	Women	323	934	1257
Tarapacá	Men	69	1 048	1117
Tarapacá	Women	103	1 170	1273
Antofagasta	Men	15	410	425
Antofagasta	Women	17	526	543
Valparaíso	Men	13	506	519
Valparaíso	Women	19	633	652
Santiago	Men	382	11 401	11 783
Santiago	Women	569	17 876	18 445

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the 1992 and 2002 Census available on the website of the National Institute of Statistics of Chile.

The data challenges certain common beliefs that, mistakenly, project the migrant indigenous population as settled in areas of the *pampa* or *altiplano*. As we also observe in Table 7, a relevant number of Peruvian migrants, including those who did not declare to have an ethnic ascription, affirmed that they reside in another country, and not in the Tarapacá districts in which they answered the Census questionnaire. The data is an indication of the intense cross-border mobility of these migrants (Guizardi and Garcés, 2013; Tapia 2013; Tapia and Ovando, 2011; Tapia and Ramos, 2013), disavowing statist notions about the migratory roots in border territories (Tapia and Ovando, 2013; Tapia and Parella, 2015).

Patterns of Labor Insertion and Social Networks

In Chile, the main productive sectors offering work to Peruvian migrants are commerce, transportation, financial services and social community services (Contreras, Ruiz-Tagle and Sepúlveda, 2013). The Chilean media discourse promotes the idea that certain labor practices of migrants (such as accepting jobs with low pay and precarious working conditions) have a negative effect on the wages of non-migrants.

Table 7: Place of Residence of Peruvians Self-identified as Indigenous and/or Belonging to a Native Community, 2002 Census. Absolute Values by District in Tarapacá Region

Comuna	Native or indigenous peoples with those who identify themselves	Where they declare to reside				Total
		This comuna	Another comuna	Another country	Ignored	
	Alcalufe (Kawashkar)	0	0	1	0	1
	Atacameño	1	0	0	0	1
	Aymara	25	11	24	0	60
	Colla	2	0	0	0	2
	Mapuche	0	0	1	0	1
	Quechua	51	1	29	2	83
	Yámana (Yagán)	0	0	1	0	1
Iquique	None of the above	1 084	74	1 202	36	2 396
Colchane	Aymara	1	0	0	0	1
	Aymara	1	2	2	0	5
	Quechua	4	0	1	0	5
Hua­ra	None of the above	4	3	3	0	10
	Aymara	0	1	1	0	2
	Quechua	1	0	0	0	1
Pica	Ninguno de los anteriores	4	12	5	0	21
	Aymara	1	0	3	0	4
Pozo	Quechua	1	2	1	0	4
Almonte	None of the above	9	16	18	1	44

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the 1992 and 2002 Census available on the website of the National Institute of Statistics of Chile.

Econometric studies have disallowed this notion. The proportion of migrants in Chile (2.14% of the country's population) is so small that their "effects on the national labor market are practically null" (Contreras, Ruiz-Tagle and Sepúlveda, 2013: 23).

Vergara (2005) points out that the main economic activities of Peruvians in Tarapacá are located in the city, in contrast to Bolivians who move to agricultural work environments. In the case of Peruvian women, the author identifies that they work mainly in domestic and cleaning services. Therefore, their labor insertion is usually restricted to the informal economy, whether in domestic service, or in small businesses (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012, Vergara, 2005, Tapia 2012).

Two elements characterize the working conditions of migrants in Tarapacá. First, the levels of unemployment are lower among migrants than

among Chileans (Vergara, 2005). The latter responds to the fact that migrants are integrated into labor market activities despised by Chileans: jobs with low wages or precarious conditions that remain available (Rojas and Bueno, 2014). The migrant's intense search for a stable employment in Chile is related to the paperwork difficulties imposed on migrants without a formal contract (Stefoni, 2011, Jensen, 2009). Second, the working conditions of these migrants are characterized by precariousness: low wages and longer working days, in comparison to Chilean workers (Vergara, 2005). The legal-paperwork status in Chile, and the responsibilities of maintaining a family in the localities of origin (or even in Tarapacá), usually push migrants to endure precarious labor conditions, accepting this type of employment for long periods (Berganza and Cerna, 2011: 138).

This type of work insertion allows the identification of social and cultural dynamics of migration that distinguish a significant number of Peruvian migrants. Thus, collectives of migrants with Aymara backgrounds that work as seasonal farmers and merchants are involved in particular migratory dynamics (Garcés and Moraga, 2015). Usually, these workers have family in Chile, Peru and Bolivia and they generate labor circuits among these three countries based on family economies (Guizardi and Garcés, 2013).

The process of migrant insertion in Iquique is given by a multiplicity of factors among which the transnational social networks²³ in origin and destination stand out. Thus, for example, Tapia and Ramos (2013) have studied the role of religious services such as the Chilean Catholic Migration Institute as an institution of reception and support in the labor insertion of Peruvian and Bolivian women in Iquique. The networks formed between individuals and institutions constitute a channel of access to resources in material, labor or information terms. They also influence the structuring, growth and composition of the community in Chile (Tapia and Ramos, 2013: 248). The fact that Tarapacá is near to the south of Peru allows Peruvian migrant women some flexibility in generating strategies for the social reproduction of their families (and their own migrant experience) through the circularity of their migration. The constant return to the country of origin remains a plausible option depending on the degree of success of the migratory project. The need for this flexibility is reflected in labor decisions. Migrant workers tend to accept precarious jobs, or those articulated

23 The concept of transnational social network that we adopt here reincorporates the definition of Guizardi and Garcés (2013), who characterize it as forms and practices of social connection of groups and communities that establish constant links (even when they are changing) between more than one national border (and despite the restrictions imposed by States in those territories).

by their transnational networks, if they allow certain flexibility (Tapia and Ramos, 2013). In Tarapacá, migrant networks are very important in the articulation between migrant women and a specific labor market: domestic care and services (Tapia and Ramos, 2013: 248).

The construction of these transnational networks among Peruvian migrants in Tarapacá has been a gradual process. Peruvians who arrived in the region in the 90s did not have this resource: they faced situations of greater precariousness compared to those who migrated later²⁴. The second wave of migrants found a first generation organized in support networks created by “the campers” [*campistas*]. As indicated by Berganza and Cerna (2011: 139), “those who arrived with the following waves, found a structure that allowed them to access work and places of residence. The decision to emigrate, then, not only went through a subject of evaluation of socio-economic aspects of the country of origin or of Chile, but of social networks”. According to these authors, the migrant population that arrived during the first years of the 21st century came from the same localities²⁵. Therefore, the community networks in origin acted as an element of construction of mobility and insertion in Iquique.

Networks, especially those made up of relatives, are a fundamental part of the migratory experience. In many occasions, migration is driven by a desire to improve the quality of life of the family at origin, so that the maintenance of the networks between origin and destination is not only practical, but it is one of the causes of migration. As indicated by Berganza and Cerna (2011), networks allow resources to be obtained and information to be shared with the destination, transmitting a migratory stamp and promoting new migrants. In the case of Iquique, as well as in the other towns of the Chilean Great North, women have taken on the role of leading Peruvian migrations and establishing social, economic and political connections between origin and destination (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012, 2013, 2014a)²⁶.

24 The absence of networks that facilitated the arrival in Chile led many to spend the night in tents, a situation that earned them the name of “campers” (Berganza and Cerna, 2011: 139).

25 These migrant networks were locatable in certain specific sectors in the country of origin: in the Peruvian “*Norte Chico*” (Huacho, Barranca, Supe), in the northern zone (Chimote and Trujillo) and southern zone (Tacna and Puno) (Berganza and Cerna, 2011).

26 The arrival in Chile of Peruvian women that were the head of their households in Peru establishes a new phenomenon: transnational motherhood (Acosta, 2011, Godoy, 2007, Guizardi and Garcés, 2012, Setién and Acosta, 2011, Stefoni, 2009, Stefoni and Fernández, 2011). Although the advance in communications has contributed to the shortening of distances, the transnational raising of children is always a challenge. The strategies carried out by migrants are varied. They can range from short stays in the Chilean territory (with regular returns to Peru), to a transnational motherhood based on telephone and virtual communication (with sporadic visits or family reunification at destination). The migrant women that regroup the family in Chile face some

Table 8: Labor Situation of Peruvian Migrants in the Tarapacá Region, 2002 Census. Absolute Values by Gender

Sex	Working by income	Not working, but with employment	Looking for work, having worked before	Working for a family member without payment in money	Looking for work for the first time
Men	682	23	83	3	7
Women	801	18	51	3	6
	Household chores	Studying	Retired	Permanently disabled to work	Another situation
Men	9	53	30	3	57
Women	400	50	21	4	54

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the 1992 and 2002 Census available on the website of the National Institute of Statistics of Chile.

The advantages of these networks do not lie only in the greater access to resources, jobs and information, but also to the recreation of spaces or mechanisms of identification and spiritual support, such as festivals and religious services. Thus, for example, the brotherhood of the Lord of the Miracles of Iquique “allows the recreation of an image of a united and homogeneous community of Peruvian immigrants” (Berganza and Cerna, 2011: 160), disputing the conception of the Peruvian migrant raised by the hegemonic negative autochthon representation in northern Chilean territories.

FINAL REMARKS. CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNDERSTANDING THE PROCESSES OF MIGRANT OTHERNESS

The Tarapacá region shares a particular condition of social and cultural heterogeneity with the other regions of the Chilean Great North (Arica and Parinacota, and Antofagasta). This cultural heterogeneity is shared, simultaneously, with the adjoining territories of southern Peru, northwestern Argentina and southwestern Bolivia. However, the social experiences that shaped the relationship between permanence and mobility, for the different groups that have lived on these territories over the last six centuries, were disrupted by the episodes of the Pacific War. The latter was very clear during the last decades of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, in the process known as Chileanization. This meant the execution

challenges, such as the uprooting from the territory of origin, access to quality education, mobilization of networks for the care of children.

of a State, national and identity project through mechanisms of symbolic and physical violence carried out by the Chilean government (together with civil and paramilitary groups) against Peruvian, Bolivian and Native populations.

These actions sought that Peruvians, Bolivians and Native people should “assimilate” to what at that moment was defined as “Chileanness”: this identity, ethnic and national process strongly affected the differentiation of the three countries. Thus, the construction of the Chilean national identity, in the case of Tarapacá, is a recent phenomenon, but no less vigorous. In effect, since it was constituted as a process of border construction (González, 2008b), the national identity project in Tarapacá was exercised with great force, promoting the constant updating of the boundaries between groups and spaces (Vergara and Gundermann, 2007). The territory remains marked by the contradictions of the clash between heterogeneous social groups and these ideas of nation produced by the Chilean central administration.

In addition to this contradiction, different social factors in this territory affect its border heterogeneity. Multiple forms of identities are crossed under Tarapacá’s identity (Vergara and Gundermann, 2007). These are related to the multiplication of social processes and ways of life, whose variations are noted from locality to locality; from province to province, from neighborhood to neighborhood. In these diversifications of the principles, modes and forms of identity construction in Tarapacá, the social experience of living and belonging to urban spaces will also be affected—in addition to nationality assignments (such as Chilean, Peruvian or Bolivian) and ethnicities—. People identify themselves with local identities inasmuch as with national identity. In Tarapacá, the diversification of local identities —“rurales”, “altiplánicos” or “pampinos”— is an important social and cultural issue.

In the case of the identities defined by certain geographic and political units, Vergara and Gundermann (2007) recognize a special rootedness in the region’s local spaces (as in the case of Pica) or neighborhoods (as in the case of Iquique). In the same way, emergent and more complex levels of identity, that recognize the province as a major space of belonging, are also observed. In this case, it should be noted that the sense of “being Iquiquean” was constituted also due to the intraregional conflicts among localities, as the historical disputes between the provinces of Iquique and Arica exemplify (Vergara and Gundermann, 2007). Likewise, the “Iquiquean” identity also serves to constitute differences in the provincial and district’s space, in

order to differentiate the “locals” from the “foreigners” (being them from other Chilean regions, or from other countries). The latter are usually held responsible for the emergence or deepening of Iquique’s problems and are blamed for the city’s degradation (Vergara and Gundermann, 2007)²⁷.

Back to the question of ethnic self-identification which we discussed in previous sections: there is an Aymara population of about 40,000 people in Tarapacá. As González (2000, in Vergara and Gundermann, 2007) indicates, local identities predominate over the generic “Aymara” identity. However, the self-ascription to this ethnicity is rather a recent process, at least in part due to the violence of Chileanization²⁸. The increase in the self-ascription as Aymara has been influenced by the recent State policies of ethnic recognition in Chile (implemented since 1993 onward) (Gundermann, 2013). As a consequence of the practices of Chileanization and ethnic resignification, the Aymara in Tarapacá currently exercise a dual identity that simultaneously claims being indigenous and Chilean. (González, 2000 in Vergara and Gundermann, 2007).

In terms of practices, Tarapacá’s social space is constituted as a reflection of the contradictions of these different identities. On the one hand, as indicated by Mondaca, Rivera and Gajardo (2014: 254-256), the practices of Chileanization that are still reflected in rites and public acts have their greatest expression in the permanent intention of the State, and the central administration, and by the national education imparted, in particular, in public schools. On the other hand, in the region there are different expressions that account for cultural complexity, stressing the constitution of sovereignties through processes supposedly delimiting differences between Chilean, Peruvian and Bolivian identities. This is the clear case of religious festivals such as the Tirana, in which different indigenous, Christian, Chilean, Peruvian and Bolivian elements meet and combine. The complexity of the ritual reflects this situation through the religious syncretism that manages to articulate, from a particular creed, Christian, indigenous and popular practices (Guerrero, 2011), being a space of production and reproduction of the cultural heterogeneity of the area.

27 Perhaps the element of macro-regional identification superior to local identities is that of “pampino”, constituted mainly during the period of the Great Mining (at the end of the 19th and beginning of 20th centuries). Currently, it is possible to find different associations for this identity. Nevertheless, it allows different social sectors (regional, national and international) to unite through recognition of a past associated with mining work (Vergara and Gundermann, 2007).

28 Both the processes of Chileanization and the reconstitution of the “Aymara” have part of their foundations in State policies of acculturation or of resignification of indigenous identities. Likewise, they are also subject to a symbolic, economic and political appropriation by the Aymara social groups, which implies that these processes occupy, dialectically, a place of reproduction of historical identity violence, and a place of resistance and social resignification of this violence.

But what interests us particularly in relation to the complexity of the identity and ethnic issue in Tarapacá is the understanding of how this impacts on the migrant reality in these territories; and specifically in the city of Iquique. Regarding the latter, an inductive premise emerges from our reflective process. If, as we explained before, the Chileanization was constituted from imagining that Peruvians and Bolivians are “indigenous”; then the violence of Chileanization sowed in Tarapacá (through the school, military apparatuses and cultural apparatuses) the ideology that Peruvians and Bolivians are degenerate because, precisely, they are indigenous. That is, Chileanization operated a particular (and violent) ethnification of the Peruvian and Bolivian other; and it generated a nationalization of this ethnified identity (which is often expressed in condescending phrases of the type: “all Peruvians are indigenous *cholos*”).

But this Chilean violence was also experienced by the Aymara people who remained in Tarapacá territory. Given that they are ethnified as indigenous, they are Chileans who fulfill an unfinished or insufficient national condition from the normative perspective of the Chilean ethnic paradigm, which is enunciated from the center of the country, projecting mythologies of self-representation of certain political elites (Grimson and Guizardi, 2015, Guizardi et al, 2015). The indigenous people of northern Chile, thus, access a kind of second-class Chileanness (Stefoni, 2005).

In the current context, in which there is a global process that impels the re-ethnification of the groups and, above all, of their territories and material goods (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2009), the indigenous people have discovered that their ethnicity is a global, exotic and valued commodity. The same was also discovered by the Chilean State, which is investing resources in enhancing the ethnification of international tourism in the Atacama Desert. In Tarapacá, a place where nationalizing Chileanness operated in such a fragmented, asymmetric and unequal way, this new global assessment of the ethnic reaffirms the contradiction between Chilean hegemonic identitarian ideologies and the ways of life in these spaces. Thus, the intensification of Peruvian and Bolivian Aymara migration to Tarapacá establishes a conflictive dialogue with a mythological Chilean hierarchy of ethnicity. It reproduces the difference between Chileans, Peruvians and Bolivians, and establishes a hierarchical differentiation between Chilean and foreign Aymara (from neighboring nations). This scenario derives from the crossing of the ideologies of Chileanization, with the current ideologies of re-ethnification.

These complex interactions between identities affect the way in which Peruvian migrants are represented and give way to a discrimination that is felt much stronger in the case of women (Guizardi and Garcés, 2012). Through the data analyzed in this article, it is possible to establish connections about the identity and ethnic constitution of the social experience in the territories of Tarapacá and Iquique. Nevertheless, these phenomena are deeply influenced by the expansion of the mining economy, which demands the migration of Chilean and foreign workers to the area. It is also framed by a particular economic configuration (characterized by concentration of income) that increases the gap between social classes, increasing, simultaneously, gender distortions (given the concentration of better income possibilities among male workers).

The necessary presence of Peruvian workers in mining operations is still assumed locally through imaginaries and representations that reproduce the identity distances between Chileans and Peruvians. These trends are accompanied, as we have shown, by the feminization of Peruvian migration in these territories. These data allow us to project that the Peruvian migrant women experiences—in this complex reality between economic structural forms, historical processes of national alterity and gender distortions—, end up reproducing the traditional crossing between the three most central elements in the formation of social inequalities in current capitalism, as defined by Wallerstein and Balibar (1991: 49): universalism (nationalists in this case), racism and sexism.

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