

EMBEDDEDNESS, CULTURAL CONSONANCE, AND HEALTH
IN A DYNAMIC MIGRATION NETWORK
IN NORTHERN PERU

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the effect of migrant embeddedness on cultural consonance and psychological health outcomes. Specifically, this project evaluates the extent that migrants' relative attainment of shared migration goals and lifestyle aspirations is a consequence of their position in a translocal network of fellow migrants with whom they share longstanding social relations. The research question is posed with respect to a diaspora community originating from the Andean village of Chugurpampa in La Libertad, Peru. In the late 1980s, Chugurpampa was a vibrant farming community, but 30 years of rising economic stagnation and climatic instability have driven hundreds to out-migrate to the nearby city of Trujillo to overcome poverty.

This mixed-methods project was conducted across the *pueblos juvenes* (shantytowns) and *urbanizaciones* (neighborhoods) of Trujillo Province in La Libertad, Peru, where thousands of Liberteñan migrants have found success as shoemakers, merchants, business persons, drivers, and brick masons. Some youths pursue advanced studies in technical schools and universities with hopes of becoming professionals, which most regard the only reliable way to get oneself ahead in life. Research therefore focuses on: (1) the construction and distribution of cultural models of "Chugurpampampan migration success" (CMS), including shared migration goals and lifestyle aspirations; (2) modeling the boundaries and structure of Chugurpampa's diaspora in Trujillo; (3) evaluating individual levels of mental distress using two correlated psychological instruments as outcome variables in empirical testing.

This project offers an understanding of how social structure influences cultural success and mental well-being. Specifically, research integrates concepts from social network theory and

cognitive anthropology to empirically test whether migrants' embeddedness in the Trujillo-based diaspora community shapes their cultural consonance in CMS and psychological health. Results suggest embeddedness and cultural consonance have an interactive effect against psychological stressors associated with rapid culture change. Strong ties such as close family and friends are costly to people who are more embedded and consonant overall, while less strong community ties such as neighbors, schoolmates, or acquaintances are economical because they require a fraction of the maintenance and broaden access to new resources via weak ties. Conclusions aim to explain how patterns of human mobility are embedded in hierarchical relational structures and cultural institutions that influence the knowledge, behavior, and mental wellness of immigrants.

DEDICATION

For Genaro and RMD.

Figuras paternas.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

β	beta, standardized coefficient
\$ (USD)	United States Dollar
S/ (PEN)	Peruvian Nuevo Sol
<i>Av.</i>	abbreviation for <i>Avenida</i> (Avenue [formal street name])
Ccons	cultural consonance in Chugurpampan migration success
CESD-R	Center for Epidemiologic Studies revised depression scale
CMS	Chugurpampan migration success (Cultural model)
Embed	embeddedness
GenPsy	generalized psychological distress
HLOC	health locus of control scale
IRB	Institutional Review Board
LA	lifestyle aspirations (Cultural domain)
m	meters
MAOZ	Miguel Angel Otiniano Zavaleta School
Md	median
MG	migration goals (Cultural domain)
<i>p</i>	statistical significance
PI	private investigator
PSS-14	14-item perceived stress scale
R	correlation coefficient

R^2	correlation coefficient of multiple determination (% variation explained)
UA	University of Alabama
<i>Urb.</i>	abbreviation for <i>urbanización</i> (formally incorporated neighborhood)
US	United States

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
PART I: INTRODUCTION AND STUDY BACKGROUND	1
Chapter 1: Research Question and Project Aims.....	2
Chapter 2: Anthropologists, Evidence, and the Andean Culture Region	11
An Overview of the Andes in Historical Context	17
Andean Dualism and the Enigmatic <i>Ayllu</i> : Living in Complementarity and Opposition.....	24
<i>Social Complementarity, Ritual, and Reciprocity</i>	26
<i>Ecological Complementarity and an Articulated Productive System</i>	28
<i>Gender Complementarity, Kinship, and the Household Economy</i>	31
Andean Foodways	33
Cultural Constructions of Race in the Andes	34
Andean Ethnomedicine	36
Chapter Summary.....	38
Chapter 3: A Network Approach to Andean Migration.....	39
Defining Andean Migration	42

Foundations of a Network Perspective.....	46
<i>Twentieth-Century Modern Approaches to Migration</i>	47
<i>Embeddedness and the Cumulative Diffusion of Migration</i>	51
<i>Multilevel Network Dynamics: Contextual Factors and Feedback Mechanisms</i>	56
Measuring Embeddedness: Whole Network Analysis and Migrant Centrality	58
Chapter Summary.....	61
Chapter 4: Social Networks, Culture Change, and the Biocultural Origins of Stress	63
The Stress of Culture Change.....	66
<i>Lifestyle Incongruity and the Social Stress Model</i>	67
<i>Cognitive Anthropology and Deployment of Cultural Consonance</i>	71
The Embeddedness of Cultural Consonance: Advancing the Biocultural Synthesis.....	77
Chapter Summary.....	80
PART II: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF CHUGURPAMPA’S DIASPORA COMMUNITY ..	81
Chapter 5: Ethnographic Methodology.....	82
Taking a Position: Coastal Identities and the Global Foreigner.....	87
Preparation and Techniques	96
Gaining Access and Building Rapport	101
Chapter Summary.....	105
Chapter 6: Migration Goals and the Quest for Well-being.....	106
Trujillo’s Urban Ecology	115
<i>Threats to Well-being</i>	121
<i>Coastal Subsistence Strategies</i>	126
<i>Currency, Reciprocity, and Savings</i>	132

Public Works, Private Services, and the Role of the State.....	136
<i>Basic Utilities and Premium Services</i>	140
<i>Health Care Access</i>	141
Earning a Living.....	143
<i>Power in the Modern Marketplace</i>	148
<i>The Capitalist Cycle of Boom and Bust</i>	158
Chapter Summary.....	162
Chapter 7: Lifestyle Aspirations and the Translocal Household	163
The Comforts of Home and Homeownership	166
<i>Home Ownership and Construction</i>	168
<i>The Next Room Over: Coastal-Highland Connections</i>	172
Kinship, Family Support, and the Flexible Nuclear-Extended Family	174
<i>Relations among Affinal Kin</i>	180
<i>Ritual Kinship and “Other” Relations</i>	182
Health, Wellness and Leisure.....	187
<i>Nutrition and Treatment Preferences</i>	187
<i>Fun and Recreation</i>	192
Chapter Summary.....	194
Chapter 8: Collaboration, Social Status, and the Pilgrimage Home	195
Farmers, Professionals, and Rising Social Status	198
The Infusion of Capital: Chugurpampa’s Harvest Festival as a Meso-Level Remittance	205
Chapter Summary.....	211
PART III: A MULTI-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF CHUGURPAMPA’S NETWORK	212

Chapter 9: Structured Methodology.....	213
Project Overview.....	213
Preliminary Data Collection: 1987-88 Census and 2012-14 Recensus.....	215
Research Sampling Strategy.....	218
Primary Data Collection.....	220
<i>Cultural Domain Analysis and Personal Network Analysis</i>	220
<i>Questionnaire Development for Hypothesis Testing</i>	224
<i>Consensus Modeling, Cultural Consonance, Health Survey, and Embeddedness</i>	230
Data Analysis and Hypothesis Testing.....	234
Chapter 10: Results.....	241
Phase I Outcomes.....	241
Phase II Outcomes.....	251
Hypothesis Testing.....	267
Chapter 11: Discussion.....	276
A Cultural Model of Chugurpampan Migration Success.....	277
The Structure of Chugurpampa’s Migration Network.....	283
Does Embeddedness Shape Cultural Consonance?.....	286
PART IV: CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL THOUGHTS	289
Chapter 12: Research Impacts and Contributions.....	290
Limitations of the Research.....	293
Epilogue: Personal Impact and Growth.....	295
REFERENCES	298
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW 1	335

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW 2	337
APPENDIX C: IRB APPROVAL	341

LIST OF TABLES

Table 6.1. Occupations and income-generating activities	145
Table 9.1. Results of the 2012-14 recensus of Chugurpampa	216
Table 9.2. Reported location of Chugurpampans from the 2012-14 recensus.....	217
Table 9.3. Node-level measures of centrality and network cohesion	237
Table 10.1. Basic demographic attributes for first interview sample	242
Table 10.2. Socioeconomic attributes for first interview sample	243
Table 10.3. Personal migration details for first interview sample	244
Table 10.4. Saliency and percent of 23 free-listed migration goals.....	245
Table 10.5. Saliency and percent of 35 free-listed lifestyle aspirations.....	248
Table 10.6. Summary of free-lists for first interview sample	250
Table 10.7. Basic demographic attributes for second interview sample.....	252
Table 10.8. Socioeconomic attributes for second interview sample.....	254
Table 10.9. Migration details for second interview sample.....	255
Table 10.10. Consensus analysis of migration and lifestyle domains	257
Table 10.11. Consensus analysis and consonance scores of CMS	258
Table 10.12. Cultural answer key for CMS	260
Table 10.13. Structural attributes of the network sample	264
Table 10.14. Relational ties sent during whole network analysis.....	266
Table 10.15. Bivariate correlations of test variables for hypothesis testing	267
Table 10.16. Multiple regression of depressive symptoms.....	268

Table 10.17. Multiple regression of perceived stress	269
Table 10.18. Multiple regression of generalized distress	269
Table 10.19. Interaction of consonance and embeddedness on depressive symptoms.....	271
Table 10.20. Interaction of consonance and years on coast on depressive symptoms	273
Table 10.21. Interaction effect of SES and embeddedness on cultural consonance.....	274

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1. A single migration event versus the cumulative diffusion of migration	53
Figure 3.2. Theoretical migration network formation and contraction.....	54
Figure 3.3. Contextual factors and feedback mechanisms.....	57
Figure 5.1. Four major <i>pueblos jóvenes</i> in relation to Trujillo	85
Figure 5.2. Logo of The Peru Country Brand.....	91
Figure 5.3. View of the vacant lot where my room was constructed.....	100
Figure 6.1. Recently constructed shacks in a newly settled sector	109
Figure 6.2. 1786 map of Colonial Trujillo.....	110
Figure 6.3. Google Maps satellite image of Trujillo Province	111
Figure 6.4. Provincial workers surveying a newly erected settlement	112
Figure 6.5. Trujillo Province's October 2007 land management plan.....	114
Figure 6.6. Photo of a recently constructed plaza in the Alto Trujillo.....	138
Figure 6.7. View of Trujillo from Alto Trujillo.....	151
Figure 6.8. A youth dance club practices for Carnival 2015	151
Figure 6.9. Genaro discovers how heavy zapayo grow	156
Figure 6.10. Hired workers load zapayo for transport.....	157
Figure 7.1. The <i>padrino</i> offers his blessing on room construction.....	171
Figure 8.1. Customary plate of food served at a <i>pollada</i>	196
Figure 8.2. View of Chugurpampa's new schoolhouse	204
Figure 8.3. Pigs roasting for incoming family from the coast	206

Figure 8.4. Slaughtered cows hang from the rafters of the mayordomo’s home.....	207
Figure 10.1. Scatterplot of cultural consonance in CMS	262
Figure 10.2. Comparison of psychological outcomes by cultural consonance quartiles	263
Figure 10.3. Visual representation of network sample	265
Figure 10.4. Association of consonance, embeddedness, and psychological distress.....	270
Figure 10.5. Interaction of consonance and embeddedness on depressive symptoms	271
Figure 10.6. Interaction of consonance and years on coast on depressive symptoms	273
Figure 10.7. Interaction of SES and embeddedness on cultural consonance.....	274

PART I

INTRODUCTION AND STUDY BACKGROUND

Chapter One

Research Question and Project Aims

There is a fundamental assumption in medical anthropology that persons more integrated within meaningful social groups are generally healthier. This idea is important for understanding immigrant health outcomes, as the psychological burden of assimilating into a new society is higher among persons lacking adequate social support. Anthropologists studying migration and health often draw on cognitive anthropology to show how the experience of being incongruent with cultural expectations of a group causes psychosocial stress, especially if one's pursuit of collective migration goals and lifestyle aspirations exceeds their available economic and social resources. Cultural consonance is a measure of how closely individual behavior reflects group knowledge. Low cultural consonance, that is, the poor realization of group lifestyle and status expectations in one's own life, is consistently associated with adverse psychological outcomes, including greater depressive symptoms and perceived stress. Thus, the inverse relationship of cultural consonance to these health indicators makes the construct a potent cultural predictor of mental wellness.

What remains less clear is how migrants' cultural consonance and associated measures of health are driven by their social embeddedness—i.e., their exposure, connectedness, influence, and power within their group. Specifically, to what extent is migration success a consequence of one's social position within a community of fellow migrants with whom they share longstanding relationships? I ask this question with respect to a diaspora network of migrants from the Andean village of Chugurpampa in La Libertad Department, Peru. In the late 1980s, Chugurpampa was a

vibrant peasant farming community with more than 900 residents, first described by medical anthropologist Kathryn Oths in an investigation of medical treatment choice (Oths 1991). Oths (1998) detailed the calamitous political and economic conditions under which residents struggled to maintain health and household economy during rampant inflation of the late 1980s. However, she reinforced the importance of longstanding ties of reciprocity among individuals, households, and communities as crucial resistance resources against poverty and sickness (Oths 1999).

Chugurpampa's predicament has become more complicated in the decades since Oths' initial investigation. Stagnation of rural wages and labor accompanied by expanding commercial exploitation and the escalating effects of climate change have laid ruin to peasants' agrarian livelihoods (Oths et al. 2018). As a result, many residents and households have out-migrated to the coastal city of Trujillo (~1 million)—one of Peru's largest after the capital city of Lima—in search of stable incomes, educational opportunities, and better access to urban lifestyles and services (Stein 2016). This pattern has intensified in recent years due to state investments in infrastructure, education, and health care, as well as the wide accessibility of mobile phones and social media, which connect urban migrants to highland kin and compatriots faster and more easily than ever before. In a 2012 restudy, it was determined that despite Chugurpampa's ongoing collapse, the hamlet's social structure remains intact, but its nucleus has shifted to the diaspora community in Trujillo, transferring away an entire generation of the hamlet's labor base (Oths et al. 2012; Stein and Oths 2017).

In Trujillo, Chugurpampans have settled both in formally incorporated neighborhoods and *pueblo jovenes* (shantytowns) across the province, and maintain a diaspora network based on existing kinship, friendship, and community relationships. Most reside in El Porvenir District, home to Peru's thriving footwear industry, in which several migrant families operate informal

workshops from their homes (Gesto et al. 2012). Others improve their household economies laboring in construction, transportation, and agricultural sectors, though young Chugurpampans are increasingly attending universities to become professionals (Leinaweaver 2013; Stein 2018).

This project regards Chugurpampan migration as a social, spatial, and temporal extension of household and community in which social networks regulate flows of people, knowledge, and resources (Durand and Massey 2010). In this sense, highland residents are not separate from the diaspora in Trujillo. Migrants reproduce peasant identities in cities and enact change in origin villages by showcasing urban lifestyles and instilling migration aspirations among rural youth (Paerregaard 2010). Sending and receiving groups therefore constitute an overarching network comprising long-term kinship, friendship, and community relations. Prospective migrants draw upon the diverse forms of capital embedded within these existing social ties to further their own migration aspirations (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). For instance, the ritual kinship institution of *compadrazgo* (co-parenthood) remains a crucial social resource from which recent migrants derive financial and emotional support from more established ones (Foster 1965; Wutich 2011).

Over time, as more families moved to Trujillo and the diaspora network expanded, these shifting relations have transformed Chugurpampa's social structure in ways that make migrating easier, safer, and more accessible to potential migrants. However, the increasing heterogeneity of sending and receiving populations is influential in determining who can migrate, while uneven remittance flows create new economic inequalities in both locations (Crivello 2011; de Haas 2010). As a result, specific people, families, and groups gain access to migration through more diverse network ties and social relationships. Thus, while social networks facilitate migration, so too may they restrict certain people from accessing economic and social support needed to move successfully (Durand and Massey 2010).

In this dissertation, I explore if Chugurpampans who are more embedded in the diaspora network are also more culturally consonant with group migration goals and lifestyle aspirations, and by extension, healthier than less embedded migrants. My goal is to determine the extent that being integrated within a meaningful social group influences one's cultural knowledge, relative success, and mental wellness. First, I evaluate if migrants collectively agree upon a cultural model of "Chugurpampan migration success" (CMS) to determine the extent that individuals are replicating this knowledge in their lives (cultural consonance). Next, I model kinship, friendship, and community relations to calculate three variants of social network centrality (which gauge different elements of each migrants' structural importance) as measures for embeddedness.

This was accomplished using a 1987-88 community census of Chugurpampa's original inhabitants (166 households) as a starting point, along with any new additions to their families and current whereabouts, which were documented in a 2012-14 recensus of the community. I then relied on eighteen months of ethnographic fieldwork and extensive social network analysis to detect the boundaries and structure of the Chugurpampan diaspora, understand their group motivations, and evaluate ideas about what they collectively consider important to live well and having a good life in Trujillo. Finally, I test the hypothesis that embeddedness in the network and cultural consonance in CMS are positively correlated sociocultural indicators that are negatively associated with psychological outcomes.

This research question is important because it adopts a biocultural approach to understand migration as an adaptive response to ecological pressures, and with clear implications for global human health. Biocultural medical anthropology is an interdisciplinary science that views human biology and culture as entwined and inextricably linked to surrounding social, cultural, political, and physical environments (Zuckerman and Martin 2016). Embracing this framework means

putting aside partisan analytic divides to pursue a fundamentally anthropological question: *How do collective cultural constructions translate into individual behavior and biological variation?* (Dressler 2001). Specifically, this project merges theoretical and methodological contributions from social network theory and cognitive anthropology to explore interconnections among social structure, human cognition, behavior, and health.

In doing so, I aim to advance Dressler's (2018) cultural consonance theory, Granovetter's (1985) social embeddedness construct, and Massey's (1990) cumulative causation of migration model by assessing how migrant embeddedness influences cultural consonance and mental well-being. This is not simply an effort to utilize each construct, but to bridge network and cognitive approaches within the structural-constructivist lens of biocultural medical anthropology—that is, the characteristically French philosophic tradition that plies the conceptual space between agency and structure [Bourdieu 1990])—to better understand health consequences of migration-driven culture change (Dressler 2001). In capturing this broad context, I show how individual and group social relations influence cultural knowledge and behaviors, which then interactively shape health outcomes over time and across space.

This dissertation comprises four parts. **PART I** (Chapters 1-4) presents the research question and outlines the cultural and conceptual background of this study. In Chapter Two, I provide an intellectual, historical, and ethnographic overview of the Andes culture region. The chapter begins with a brief introduction to traditional highland culture as it was defined and interpreted by mid-20th-century ethnographers, before shifting to a critical discussion about the construction and use of anthropological evidence. Next, I summarize archaeological insights for several thousand years of pre-history and offer an historical overview of the region, detailing major events and transformations since European conquest. Lastly, I introduce several major

ethnographic themes in the Andean literature, which will establish the cultural foundation of this project for all ensuing chapters.

In Chapter Three, I introduce a network approach to migration and give a short, historical timeline of Andean migration, exploring what differentiates modern patterns of mobility from historic or prehistoric ones. Next, I delve deeper into migration network theory, and specifically, how it emerged as an alternative to atomistic and ecological approaches by reinforcing the value of a multi-level perspective that integrates separate units of analysis (i.e., individual migrant, migrant household, community migration). Finally, I describe how social network analysis has been used to operationalize embeddedness in other ethnographic contexts (Schweizer 1997), and delineate the conceptual foundation I draw upon to investigate how migrants' opportunities and constraints are impacted by these layered contexts, many voices, and historical dynamics.

Chapter Four outlines the development and application of the social stress model to study migrant health. I begin, reviewing the analytic and methodological value of a cognitive approach to understand how culture shapes the well-being of individuals undergoing personal and group culture change. Specifically, I present Dressler's cultural consonance model and illuminate how it has informed stress research and migration studies, among others. I also discuss how I propose to advance cultural consonance research, by implementing it jointly with social network analysis to better understand how social and cultural forces shape biocultural outcomes of immigrants.

In **PART II** (Chapters 5-8), I present my ethnographic perspective of the Chugurpampan diaspora community in Trujillo. I start, in Chapter Five, with a more detailed introduction of the research problem and describe the methodological approach I used to gain insight into relevant migration goals and lifestyle aspirations. I also provide a comprehensive account of preparation and procedures for gaining access and building rapport, reflecting on challenges and operational

difficulties I encountered during eighteen months of fieldwork. The subsequent three chapters offer glimpses of migration from individual, household, and community levels of analysis.

In Chapter Six, I outline the migration process to show how new migrants obtain immediate resources (e.g., shelter, food, social support, source of income) and familiarize themselves with the urban coastal ecology. This is followed by a discussion about the role of the Peruvian state (broadly defined) in migrants' lives, specifically concerning the provision of critical services, public works, and basic utilities in the *pueblos jóvenes*. I end by describing the multifaceted ways in which more established (i.e., basic needs met) Chugurpampans earn their livings, including two short case studies of non-professional career paths.

Chapter Seven switches gears to the migrant household. I start by introducing the idea of lifestyle experimentation, a process through which Chugurpampans with increasing purchasing power uncover daily habits, material items, and lifestyle behaviors they perceive to improve their lives. I also discuss how migrants' inexperience with coastal customs can influence daily health and well-being. In the second section, I review Chugurpampan kinship roles and describe the flexibility of consanguineal kin terms for determining the provision of social support. I discuss the more rigid affinal kinship roles, which follow a different set of expectations than blood relations, and conclude the section elaborating the category of ritual, or other kin, which serves different purposes for migrants of varying socioeconomic backgrounds.

In Chapter Eight, I present a meso-level analysis of Chugurpampa's migrant network, including an in-depth survey of translocal community dynamics and elaboration of the widening socioeconomic divisions that have followed its growth. This includes an assessment of inter-household collaboration in times of crisis, as well as ritualized support, such as participating in Chugurpampa's migrant association. I close the chapter and ethnographic section recounting my

attendance and formal participation (economic and social) in the June 2015 patronal festival, exactly 11 months after entering the field.

Having established the conceptual and ethnographic frameworks of this dissertation, **PART III** (Chapters 9-12) presents a multi-level view of Chugurpampa's migration network, which integrates individual, household, and community levels of analysis to empirically test if migrant embeddedness in the diaspora community influences cultural success and mental wellness. Chapter Nine contains the structured methodology, along with preliminary data and the research sampling strategy: a systematic survey of diaspora members based on the census and recensus. I then detail primary data collection, a two-phase process that includes cultural domain analysis and personal network analysis in the first, and consensus modeling, cultural consonance, and whole network analysis in Phase 2. Lastly, I describe data analysis and the preparation of variables for hypothesis testing.

Chapter Ten presents the structured results followed by a discussion of the findings in Chapter Eleven. Utilizing a range of techniques for data collection (viz. participant observation, open-ended and structured interviewing) and analysis (viz. cultural domain analysis, cultural consensus modeling, cultural consonance, node-level centrality measures, and network-level measures characteristics), I show evidence of a moderately dense diaspora network in which a cultural model of CMS is widely shared and distributed across gender, age, and SES groups. As stated in my hypothesis, I expect Chugurpampans who are more embedded in the network will be more consonant with shared knowledge and thus healthier than less embedded and consonant migrants. In other words, I predict being deeply embedded in kinship, community, and friendship networks augments the salubrious effects of cultural consonance against depressive symptoms and perceived stress.

PART IV is the final module in this dissertation, in which I present my conclusions and final thoughts about the project. In Chapter Twelve, I evaluate its theoretical and methodological contributions to anthropology, migration studies, and social network analysis. I also deliberate the limitations of a whole network approach for studying migration in non-structured contexts, and consider future applications of whole network analysis and cultural consonance in more controlled and economical settings to further investigate how cultural constructions encounter structural constraints. I conclude the dissertation with a condensed Epilogue, reflecting on the entire experience of doing ethnography and its impact on my personal and professional identity.

Chapter Two

Anthropologists, Evidence, and the Andean Culture Region

The greatest challenge for anthropologists studying the Andean region is how to justly characterize the rich cultural traditions of peoples inhabiting a 4,500-mile-long mountain range, while still portraying their diversity, dynamism, and current challenges in a globalized world. Anthropological investigations in the Andes came comparatively late in the discipline. By the time ethnographers reached the region, functionalist social anthropologists had long-surveyed the savannahs of Africa and archipelagos of Southeast Asia. Andean ethnography rose in reputation after the Second World War following several major cultural and archaeological discoveries, the first of which stemmed from a growing interest in Andean cognition. This theoretical shift was spearheaded by Peruvian anthropologist and novelist José María Arguedas (1958, 1983), who through his writings and research, was an ardent defender of highland culture and advocate for Andean self-determination and intelligence (Shaedel 1988).

At the same time, doctoral student John Murra (1956) was scouring ethnohistorical and archaeological sources on Inca institutions trying to understand Andean economic organization. Previous attempts to interpret highland economies were oriented through European models of feudalism, capitalism, and socialism. Murra sought to show how pre-Columbian exchange in the Andes contrasted these systems. He theorized the Inca assembled a titanic redistributive system by exploiting resources and labor from smaller ethnic moieties called *ayllus*, who for millennia had subsisted by maintaining complementarity between vertical, non-adjacent ecological floors to control resources best adapted to each (McDowell and Hess 2012). Murra surmised that *ayllus*

had sustained this system for generations through reciprocity-based social organization in which land, resources, and labor were shared communally per long-standing relationships with kin and non-kin (Murra 1984).

Murra (1972) termed this formation the vertical archipelago, and together with the shift toward Andean cognition, what followed was an explosion of scholarship by ethnographers who sought cognitive justifications for Andean reciprocity and ecological complementarity. Thus, the community-based research of the 1970s and 1980s would come to characterize the Golden Age of Andean ethnography. Most of what is known ethnographically about traditional highland culture stems from this period. Broadly, scholars focused on Andean peoples' adaptation to high-altitude living (e.g., Frisancho and Baker 1970; Thomas 1973) or explored symbolic and ritual foundations of their reciprocity-based culture (e.g., Bolton and Mayer 1977). But ethnographers' often-virtuous portrayal of traditional highland beliefs and practices were undercut during the 1980s by an armed conflict between the Peruvian military and the terrorist group *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), which embroiled the Andean nation in over a decade of bitter insurgence.

By the 1990s, some charged that Golden-Age ethnographers had become so consumed by Andeanism—a romanticized notion of the peasantry as unchanged since conquest and perfectly adapted to their mountain ecology—they ignored escalating political and economic turbulence that had opened the doors to Shining Path. Orin Starn (1991), especially, at the height of the post-modern moment, questioned whether Andeanists' anti-racist views qualified them to give voice to the Andean narrative. He further alleged their failure to renounce oppositions like traditional/modern, rural/urban, and highland/coast only reinforced essentialized views of Andean peoples that anthropologists sought to disengage from scientific and political discourse.

Starn argued that ethnographers failed to foresee the coming conflict because they had not asked the correct questions, the consequence of which, he claimed, blinded them to a conflict which ultimately swallowed the lives of more than 70,000 peasants (CVR 2003).

The disciplinary dispute between Starn and Golden-Age Andeanists was founded in disagreement over the construction and use of ethnographic evidence (Engelke 2008). How anthropologists view evidence depends not only on the questions being asked, but the topics evaluated, and audiences informed. By necessity, then, field-based evidence must be at once selective and strategic, while still being generalizable and accessible to a broader audience of professionals and the public. But in many disciplinary circles the very mention of *evidence* still conjures up notions of radical empiricists searching for objective realities entirely disengaged from context (Hastrup 2004). Critics of the scientific method misguidedly equate evidence collected quantitatively as universal assertions of truth, such that when extended to cultural settings, even basic comparisons of sociodemographic data are dismissed for anatomizing fluid cultural forces. However, most empirically-aligned anthropologists never assert the verity of their claims so much as they present findings with a certain level of confidence. Similarly, even the most stalwart cultural relativists still speak with the same authority in their ethnographic writings, using what Engelke (2008:S2) has called a “language of evidence.”

Engelke (2008) speaks not of *certainty*, but of the *reliability* of knowledge. Data can be reliable but never certain, yet it nonetheless arises from observable human patterns performed compulsorily by research populations as elements of their social and ethnographic realities. Thus, humanistic and scientific approaches diverge along three issues: (1) What counts as ethnographic evidence? (2) What evidence *should* ethnographers draw upon to better recognize suffering and intolerance outside of research questions? (3) What larger inferences about humankind can be

made from ethnographic evidence? Wherever researchers fall along this spectrum dramatically shapes their interpretations. For example, Starn grounded his censure of Andeanism in evidence suggesting that the cultural traditions of peoples inhabiting a 4,500-mile-long mountain range could never be aggregated under the single label of Andean culture. But any researcher who has spent considerable time with highlanders would be remiss not to confess of an ethnographic and embodied reality resplendent with distinctly *Andean* modes of being (Oths 1998).

Anthropologists' task then, whether aligned with humanistic or scientific pursuits, is to interpret evidence by basing inferences on social facts relevant to the interests and beneficent to the welfare of research populations. Doing so better ensures that the value of rich, ethnographic description is realized across disciplines and audiences. Cultural relativism and the ethnographic approach are arguably anthropology's greatest exports (Funkhouser et al. 2016; Lynn et al. 2018; Stein et al. 2016), but an overemphasis on micro-evidence and hesitancy to communicate in a common evidentiary dialect has earned anthropology a poor reputation among other disciplines and entities (Gingrich 2009). This is regrettable, considering interdisciplinary collaboration has never been more important at a global moment defined by worldwide struggles for autonomy, transformed by globalization and transnational migration, and faced with the mounting challenge of climate change (Stein and Oths 2017). But Ecks (2008) and others insist ethnographers can uphold the primacy of fieldwork and still draw on diverse forms of evidence to engage other sciences, humanities, legislatures, and the public. This puts medical anthropologists in opportune positions to identify how ethnographic realities are interpreted outside anthropology, so to better communicate findings in ways that increase the exposure of cultural evidence to improve human well-being (Dressler 2005; Hastrup 2004).

In the last thirty years, Andean ethnographers have done much to align themselves with wider concerns of the global community. Humanistic and scientifically-oriented researchers alike have shifted their research expectations from “grand narratives to...more modest, diverse and complex processes of socio-economic differentiation” (Altamirano Rúa et al. 2004:322). The remainder of the 1990s saw greater elaboration how intersections of race, ethnicity, class, and gender have shaped human relationships historically. At the forefront of this movement were anthropologists who sought to identify the true magnitude of colonialism and capitalism on highland peoples (Carey 1993; de la Cadena 1995; Harris 1995; Leatherman 1996; Orlove 1998; Oths 1991, 1998, 1999; Starn 1994; Weismantel 1988). Today, many have refocused their attention to studying the impacts of neoliberalism and transnational migration on the region’s poorest inhabitants (World Bank 2015). Much of this research, whether intentionally or not, is set within a climate change framework, which is the greatest environmental challenge the global community has encountered (Bowen and Friel 2012; Watson 2009). In the Andes, ethnographers have begun to document how highland farmers and pastoralists are mitigating the swelling consequences of this worldwide issue (Crate 2011; Raymondi et al. 2012; Oths et al. 2018).

Andean studies have progressed much since the dispute between Starn and Golden-Age Andeanists. Yet, there are still oversights and omissions that continue to shape the questions asked and evidence collected. For instance, while researchers are less likely to reflexively cram ethnographic subjects into basic dichotomies like traditional versus modern or rural versus urban, they must be mindful of intrusive new binaries tailored to a neoliberal, globalized, and social-networked world. Simplified and seemingly innocuous analytic categories such as state/private, local/global, formal/informal, and even online/offline, pose detriment to study reliability if employed without pensive cultural insight. For example, Shane Greene (2006) points out in his

aply named article, *Getting Over the Andes*, that the tendency to view Peru as an essentially Andean nation obscures Amazon groups from view. Ethnographic and ethnohistorical evidence often draw on the interzonal dependency between highland and coastal regions while the Amazon receives mere afterthought, usually cited as a source of coca leaves and processed sugar or as a destination for labor migrants (Grisaffi 2010).

Amazon populations face the same struggles for autonomy and indigeneity as highlanders and urban poor across the region. In the village of Chiriaco in the Peruvian Amazon, Peruvian anthropologist Rodrigo Lazo (2016) documented how indigenous residents combined different forms of social and political organization with new technology to counter exploitation by energy and mineral extraction industries. Chiriaco recently received international attention as the site of a series of catastrophic and preventable oil spills that upended the lives of its native inhabitants. Lazo has described how they have countered powerful private and public energy companies by triangulating resources of indigenous rights groups and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). “What is different [today],” Lazo explained, “is that evidence of this struggle is captured by the media, and smartphones, the internet, and social media are changing the way indigenous groups respond to state and corporate abuses.”

Similar processes are taking place among Chugurpampan residents and migrants alike. The growing importance and availability of the internet, smartphones, and social media apps like Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp have revolutionized how Chugurpampans maintain traditional ties of reciprocity and mobilize collective resources in the diaspora community. Social relations and cultural practices once at the heart of their adaptive highland system have been restructured and retooled to be adaptive for life in the city, where refugee farmers and families assume the risks of urban living with the hope of overcoming poverty and getting ahead in life. But

investigating current forces of sociocultural change first requires understanding how Golden-Age Andeanists defined traditional Andean culture, and appreciating the historical dynamics that shaped their research populations, ethnographic settings, and resultant analyses.

This chapter serves as a brief introduction to traditional Andean highland culture and practices as understood and interpreted by mid-twentieth-century Andeanists: through themes of Andean reciprocity and ecological complementarity. This is not an exhaustive literature review nor a discussion of current forces of culture change. Rather, I aim to summarize major historical events, cultural beliefs, and related rituals vibrantly captured in Andean ethnography. This will serve as a foundation for all subsequent chapters, particularly Chapters 5-8 (Part II), in which I present my ethnographic perspective of Chugurpampa's diaspora community and describe how long-standing relations of reciprocity and cultural practices have been modified to be adaptive for life in Trujillo. I begin with an historical overview of the Andean region from the time it was first inhabited several millennia ago up to the present-day. I then discuss the theme of Andean Dualism, and conclude with three condensed discussions on Andean foodways, the cultural construction of race in the Andes, and Andean ethnomedicine.

An Overview of the Andes in Historical Context

A multitude of archaeological, ethnohistorical, and ethnographic evidence supports arguments for and against the homogeneity of the Andean region. On one hand, positioned along the west coast of South America, Andean societies were largely isolated and developed a broad albeit distinctive culture complex (Murra 1984). Alternatively, the Andes comprises over 4,500 miles of diverse geological features and climatic conditions (Zeil 1979), home to thousands of lineage-based ethnic groups, dialects, and languages that contradict the idea of a single Andean

culture or worldview (Starn 1995). The notion of Andean culture as uniform stems from the prominence of the Inka to the region's immediate pre-contact history, which has fueled a false perception of highlanders as survivals of a romanticized Incan past (Hirth and Pillsbury 2013). Ironically, the Incan Empire ruled for less than a century before being toppled by the Spanish; they were also one of various state-level societies to govern the pre-Hispanic Andean highlands. Foragers and small-scale horticulturalists subsisted in the region for several thousand years exploiting diverse mountain elevations through small-scale exchange and seasonal migration (Amilhat Szary 2007; Stanish 2001). Over time, these foraging bands grew into larger multi-ethnic polities that remained widely dispersed to maximize vertical landholdings (Murra 1984).

The *Chavín* culture (Early Horizon period, 850-250 B.C.), which inhabited the highlands of Northern Peru (just south of La Libertad Department, where the current study took place), is the earliest evidence for stratified populations, monumental architecture, and advanced irrigation systems (Burger and Van der Merwe 1990). Most archaeologists attribute its rise to the diffusion of maize from Mesoamerica (Collier 1962; Katz 1969; Kidder 1962; Lanning 1964). But Burger (1992) has argued their success was the result of high-altitude cultigens rather than imported maize. A stable carbon isotope analysis of bone samples from *Chavín de Huántar* revealed that maize cultigens, while certainly staples of *Chavín* subsistence, were consumed less than native potato and quinoa species. This supports theories that the first state-level society in the Andes ascended not through monocropping, but maximization of resources across vertically-oriented ecological floors.

State power shifted in the Middle Horizon period (500 C.E. – 1,100 C.E.) from *Chavín* culture in northern Peru to the simultaneous and adjacent empires of *Huari* and *Tiahuanaco* on the *altiplano* (plateau region) of modern-day southeast Peru and Bolivia. The *Huari* extended

northward along the Peruvian coast while the *Tiahuanaco* sphere of influence was concentrated in Bolivia and northern Chile (Stanish 2001). The diffusion of related art styles suggests these societies interacted frequently; both styles also contain depictions of deities redolent of later Inka gods. However, *Huari* and *Tiahuanaco* cultures differed in economic organization, settlement patterns, and political structure, and despite adjacent borders in the Moquegua Valley in southern Peru, their relationship is one of speculation (Owen 1994). The fact *Tiahuanaco* never expanded north may be the result of severe droughts that ultimately crippled both empires (Williams 2002).

The Inca State—known in Quechua as *Tawantinsuyu* (The Four Regions) owing to the empire's amalgamation of four primary Andean regions (*Chichaysuyu* [north], *Antisuyu* [east], *Qullasuyu* [south], and *Kuntisuyu* [west])—was a colossal pre-conquest political and economic power governed by the Inka ruling class from the administrative center of Cusco in the southern highlands of present-day Peru (Meddens et al. 2014; Rowe 1946; Zuidema 1964). Through forced and peaceful incorporation, the Inka consolidated resources of highland polities from northern Chile up through southern Colombia in a matter of two generations. Ironically, the very groups whom they subjugated later forged alliances with Spanish conquerors, who were keen to exploit their hostility against the reigning autochthonous power. According to Starn (1995), one such union between Spanish forces and *Wanka* lasted more than a decade. To a certain extent, conquistadors were viewed as emancipators early in the invasion, which helped them to quickly commandeer Inka rule (Espinoza Soriano 1973; Murra 1984).

Spanish conquerors looked to the remaining indigenous peoples for resources and labor, which at first, they extracted via relationships with local chiefs called *kurakas*. *Kurakas* provided labor tributes and collected taxes from local *ayllus* based on frequent censuses done by the Spaniards (Godoy 1986). *Kurakas* used these connections to amass political power in their

occupied territory, many becoming bilingual and versed in Spanish colonial law (Assadourian 1983; Oberem 1976). Murra (1984) designated the year 1568 as an appropriate demarcation for the Age of Conquest and launch of the Colonial Era, coinciding with the ascension of Francisco de Toledo as Viceroy of Peru. Toledo initiated the period of consolidation known as *reducciones*, which comprehensively restructured the scattered and highly-mobile indigenous populations into semi-feudal settlements called *encomiendas* (parcels) for more efficient labor and resource extraction (Amilhat Szary 2007; Bigenho 1999; Málaga Medina 1972).

Reducciones devastated Andean society. Highlanders were rounded-up and subjugated to control, exploitation, and taxation, destroying the institution of mobility at the heart of their vertically-organized system. Groups who once maximized resources across agricultural tiers were confined to plantations and forced to perform monocropping and mineral extraction (Amilhat Szary 2007). Toledo's regime endured without opposition for 200 years past his death, save small pockets of Quechua resistance. But the greatest threat to Spanish governance came in 1781 when *mestizo* (a person of European and indigenous ancestry) José Gabriel Condocanqui took up arms against the political and economic maltreatments of highland groups (Flores Ochoa 1979; Rowe 1946; Murra 1984). The basis for his support were his claims of Incan ancestry and subsequent adoption of the name Tupac Amaru II after the last *Inka* monarch, which conferred his rebellion considerable momentum (Pedersen et al. 2010). While ultimately unsuccessful, colonial rule was within fifty years of its expiration once Condocanqui's rebellion was quelled. But treatment of native populations by Republican states would not be more equitable.

As the newly independent capitalist nations were saturated by investments in mining and wool industries, Republican governments made repeated attempts to disincorporate Andean jurisdiction over land in favor of private property rights (Leatherman 1996; Orlove 1977; Wolf

1986). Communally-held lands were sold as private property and former residents relocated to private plantations (*haciendas*) where they were exploited for resources and labor. But in the decades leading up to World War Two, the power of *haciendas* began waning in the face of agricultural modernization. By the 1920s, strident pleas for autonomy from the peasantry along with the political momentum of indigenous groups resulted in the constitutional establishment of indigenous communities founded on traditional ideals of reciprocity (Cameron 2009; McDowell and Hess 2012; Vincent 2012). Their institution was considered pragmatic by state governments, who saw peasants as tools for development (Mallon 1983). However, the widest-reaching and most comprehensive land reforms would not arrive in the Andean states for several decades.

Agrarian Reform took place in the Andean region at different moments throughout the 1950s to 1970s. Each was enacted at separate times by centralized state military regimes that acquired power unelected through seizure of power (Cameron 2009). Bolivia was the first Andean country to undergo land reforms in 1953 after a violent revolution unseated its former oligarchy (Strobele-Gregor 1996). A military government also established land reforms in Ecuador in 1964, which were dissolved only two years later along with the regime and enacted once again in the 1970s (Blankenstein and Zuvekas 1973; Zuvekas 1976). Land reform in Peru commenced in 1968 following a bloodless coup by the military regime of General Juan Velasco Alvarado. Velasco enacted controversial reforms authorizing the dissolution of highland *haciendas*, abolition of labor-based rent, and restitution of lands to the communal ownership of the peasantry (Collins 1983; McDowell and Hess 2012). Naturally, he quickly gained the support of popular workers movements and peasant rights groups (Rivera Cusicanqui 1993:80).

The new communities born from the ashes of the *hacienda* system were based on existing *ayllus* that never actually disintegrated, despite their physical consolidation only centuries earlier

(Harris 1978). Murra (1984) commented on the remarkable ability of highland groups throughout history to revert to their smaller ethnic configurations following dissolution of state societies or reorganization of highland populations, and Agrarian Reform was no exception. Disestablishing the *hacienda* system yielded farming villages called *comunidades campesinos* (peasant communities), which were founded on traditional notions of reciprocity, communalism, and kinship (Strobele-Gregor 1996). However, their traditional subsistence framework proved incongruent with state demands for high yields, which required that peasants invest in expensive mechanized technology and chemical inputs to support their families (Graffam 1992; Mayer and Glave 1999; McDowell and Hess 2012; Oths 1999).

The state vision for Agrarian Reform was to implement a large-scale capitalist economy, but forcing rural peasants to participate in market exchange increased their dependence on cash crops (Cameron 2009; McDowell and Hess 2012). This labor-intensive and expensive system exposed farmers to low market prices, leaving many families barely able to support their own subsistence. It also boosted their reliance on wage labor, whereas before, reciprocal obligations would have been favored (McDowell and Hess 2012). Concurrently, state provisions of credit to more affluent peasants implemented a system of debt that widened social and economic divides among the peasantry (Brass 1983). Despite the difficulties encountered equitably redistributing land to the peasantry and modernizing their agrarian system, the success of the reforms was the increased availability of services such as education and health care. In Peru, Velasco refocused reforms on the provision of rural infrastructure rather than full-scale agricultural modernization, producing a generation of literate peasants with more exposure to urban influences and a stronger foothold in the capitalist market (Cameron 2009).

The 1980s were a difficult decade across Latin America. The persistence of widespread unemployment, weak economic growth, rampant inflation, crippling debt, and ongoing civil conflicts began to signal the decline of the state. Under the leadership of President Alan Garcia, Peru (along with many nations in the Global South) was ordered by global financial institutions (International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank) to implement structural adjustments and adopt policies toward liberalization and privatization. In Peru, dark-horse presidential candidate Albert Fujimori campaigned in 1990 in favor of expanding social programs, but upon election, enacted such stern neoliberal reforms that their impact was dubbed Fujishock. But the greatest shock for highland farmers came in 1992, when Fujimori stunned the country by abolishing the collective peasant communities established from agrarian reforms (Fernández-Maldonado 2008; Grimard and Laszlo 2013; Zoomers et al. 2011).

Peru's neoliberal shift did stabilize coastal and highland economies and calm inflation, but it led to steep inclines in poverty and income inequality, while the privatization of national mining companies and utilities further fueled state corruption and restricted highlanders from basic access to land and services (Hordjik 2005; Portes and Hoffman 2003). Liberalization and state decentralization, in theory, oblige good governance practices (Zoomers et al. 2011). But associated levels of corruption have shown neoliberal governance can be as reckless a political system as authoritarian or military regimes. Fujimori consolidated power within the Ministry of the Presidency, generating extensive corruption that ultimately led to his resignation and later imprisonment (Vincent 2012). But he had already left his mark on the country, scarring the peasantry and many of the nation's poorest inhabitants.

In 2003, Peruvian lawmakers decentralized the government by constitutional amendment, reinstating regional and municipal authority and legally requiring local governments to promote

participatory governance with citizens (Hordjik 2005). This issue resonated ethnographically, as several well-embedded Chugurpampan migrants were active in departmental politics, providing insightful case studies to contrast accounts of suffering (Part II). This very point in Peru's recent history, the period between Oths' study and Fujimori's collapse (1988-1992), is precisely when the Chugurpampan migration network (which began forming in the early 1960s before agrarian reforms) exploded in size and diversity. In the following section, I offer an abridged explanation of traditional Andean social organization and institutions and detail their transformations from privatization, out-migration, and the neoliberalization of Peru.

Andean Dualism and the Enigmatic *Ayllu*: Living in Complementarity and Opposition

Andean dualism is a main organizing principle of highland societies in which themes of complementarity and opposition provide an ideational framework that arranges the distribution of people, land, labor, and resources across thousands of hamlets in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Every aspect of traditional highland culture is conceptualized through this dualistic lens, from subsistence and reciprocal labor practices to social organization, kinship patterns, cosmology, and ritual behavior (Paerregaard 1992). While the origins of Andean dualism are pre-Incaic (Sallnow 1987), archaeologists believe it was through the dual structure of ethnic moieties called *ayllus* that Incan power structures (and earlier states) instituted control (Bennet 1946; Valcarcel 1943). Not coincidentally, it was during Inca and Colonial periods that *ayllus* acquired their most well-known qualities (e.g., clustered villages, rotational authority, communal ownership of land and resources), leading to the wider supposition of the *ayllu* being adaptive to groups under extractive relationships with larger political structures (Bigenho 1999). This is illustrated, for instance, by their importance for distributing the tax burden in highland communities, which

prevents any one family from being evicted regardless of access to liquid capital (Godoy 1986; Rasnake 1988).

Ayllus were traditionally bisected into divisions called *anansaya* and *urinsaya*, which were labels for the dual foundations of Cusco's political administration (Zuidema 1964, 1989, 1990). The suffix *-saya* means halves, which when paired with derivatives of the words *anaq* (upper) and *uray* (lower), signify upper and lower moieties and their physical locations (Gelles 1995). For centuries, there was little more than nominal consensus on the *ayllu*. Conquistadors and missionaries understood the concept to mean anything from family and kinsmen to nation or ethnic group, while early ethnographers Rowe (1946) and Mishkin (1946) struggled to define it within existing frameworks given its multi-dimensional functions (Godoy 1986). Even during the Golden Age of Andean ethnography, descriptions were location-specific. In the Andes of South Peru, Earls (1971) and Isbell (1985) emphasized the importance of the *ayllu* to manage marriage, while several ethnographers in Bolivia wrote how they reinforced segmentary social organization (Albó 1977; Platt 1976). Starn (1995) also documented *ayllus'* crucial role for organizing peasant patrols to combat terrorist activity near Ayacucho, Peru in the late 1980s.

Many communities across Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia still adhere to *ayllu*-based moiety groups. In Peru, the association of the *ayllu* with a romanticized pre-Incan, reciprocity-based society was inspiration for Peru's now-defunct peasant communities, in which land rights were usufructury—families were required to cultivate farming plots or risk losing access (Fonseca 1986; Mayer 1977; Postigo et al. 2008). Membership obliged approval from other households and obligations to share resources and labor, accompanied by communal responsibilities such as crop rotation, path maintenance, and irrigation management (Vincent 2012). Community-elected

officers and councils designated by heads of households ensured rules were followed and arbitrated disputes when they arose (Brush and Guillet 1985).

Today, land rights can be inherited, but due to the Fujimori's privatization of lands, they can also be sold for profit, rented out, or accumulated by households, which is partly what has made it possible for entire families to out-migrate to the coast permanently (Oths et al. 2018). But the continuing monetization of the highland economy has also widened socioeconomic gaps and increased relative deprivation among highland households, which has made it easier for families who are more successful cultivators or herders to convert their labor into capital. In the following sections, I briefly describe three broad emphases of the Andean subsistence base.

Social Complementarity, Ritual, and Reciprocity

Reciprocity is the core of the traditional highland mode of production that facilitates the communal ownership and allocation of land, labor, resources, and risk (Collins 1986; Colloredo-Mansfeld 1994; Guillet 1980, 1981; Mitchell 1991). Some have compared Andean reciprocity to a system of barter (Fonseca 1972, 1986; Mayer 1974, 2002; Mayer and Glave 1999), but it goes beyond the economic domain to weave together the social and productive lives of highlanders with an ecologically founded cosmological belief structure. Andeans are locked in a system of ritualized reciprocity with the supernatural realm, personified through the wills and actions of magical entities who impact the fertility and well-being of land and animals (van Vleet 2002). At the heart of this system is *Pachamama* (Quechua for earth mother), a universal force associated with soil and animal fertility. Highlanders also venerate mountain spirits called *apus* that rule the terrain surrounding each peak.

Daily life is therefore steeped in ritual observance, ranging from menial gestures, habits, and behaviors to agricultural festivals held across the yearly cycle, all performed compulsorily to maintain balance within social, ecological, and familial domains (Bourque 1995). For instance, some hamlets that still subscribe to *anansaya* and *urinsaya* moieties hold ritual battles called *t'inku* as obligatory exchanges of energy. Ritual warfare and the ceremonial spilling of blood restore social balance, promote the fecundity of plants and animals, and guarantee household welfare by reinforcing the opposing but complementary roles of males and females (Bouysson-Cassagne and Harris 1987; Cervone 1998; Platt 1987). Generally, agricultural festivals occur throughout the planting season and are fulfilled to help the plants sprout and give thanks during harvest time. They usually involve small ceremonies performed by single households or a collective of households in their fields or pastures (Orlove and Schmidt 1995:278). This is not necessarily for religious purposes, so much as they are necessary steps taken to ensure the satisfaction of reciprocal obligations between natural and supernatural worlds (Bourque 1995).

Death and bereavement, for instance, are sorrowful, often bittersweet occasions typified by periods of mourning and celebrations considered vital for maintaining reciprocal relations between the supernatural realm. Many families celebrate All-Saints Day, in which deceased ancestors whose identities live on in the consciousness of the living are rejoiced and fed offerings in hopes they drive crops from the earth (Bourque 1995; Harris 1982). Others have written about the related festival of *Dia de Los Difuntos* (Allen 2002; Bourque 1995, 2001; Corr 2002; Harris 1982; Isbell 1977; Weismantel 1988, 1991, 1995), such as in the Quechua village of Pesillo, Ecuador, where the dead are fed loaves of bread shaped like babies to signify those who passed away in childhood (Ferraro 2008). Children are recognized as having led a life of purity, free from the sin of drinking and sex (Ackerman 1985; Bourque 1995; Harris 1982). But their

deaths are feared by surviving household members, who bury deceased children with their clothes to prevent other children from encountering the evil still trapped in their personal effects.

In the earthly realm, households share labor and resources not because they are obliged, but because they voluntarily enter into reciprocal relations with other families and community members that compel them to foster those ties. Thus, reciprocity is a key part of highlanders' biocultural adaptation to their harsh and variable mountain ecology. The most common is *ayni*, which denotes a balanced exchange of labor: work is done with the expectation an equivalent service will be reciprocated when needed (van Vleet 2002). A single family hosts a work party known as a *minka* (alternatively spelled *minga* in some areas), which can range from a few extra hands to 40 able persons depending on the task (Alberti and Mayer 1974; Mayer 2002). Workers are fed hearty meals and given ample supply of coca leaves and lime powder for bursts of energy; however, the exchange does not conclude until an equal day's work is returned to each laborer by the host. McDowell and Hess (2012) have described a similar form of reciprocity called *trueque* involving an exchange of harvested agricultural products. In both instances, the system is driven not by the amassment of credits but by the continued quality and maintenance of existing relationships (Gose 1991).

Ecological Complementarity and an Articulated Productive System

Ecological complementarity refers to the cultivation of non-adjacent, vertical life zones called ecological floors to directly control the maximum variety of resources best adapted to each region (McDowell and Hess 2012; Van Buren 1996). Highland farmers and herders achieve this through reciprocal labor and resource exchange with kin and community members (Hirth and Pillsbury 2013). The concept was developed as a key component of Murra's (1972) vertical

archipelago model, in which he defines four ecozones around which Andean subsistence is organized. The lowest *Montaña* zone (500-2,300 m) is a humid region in which tropical fruits, sugar cane, and hot peppers are cultivated, as well as inedible plants such as coca and tobacco. The still-warm climate of the *Quechua* zone (2,300-3,500 m) is ideal for cereals like corn, wheat, and barley. Farmers also grow non-tropical crops such as papaya and squash (Brush 1976), while the cold, drier climate of the *Suni* zone (3,500-4,100 m) supports native tubers and grain species like *quinoa* and hundreds of potatoes varieties.

Highland agriculture is primarily a mixture of yields from *Quechua* and *Suni* zones, while the frigid soils of the high *Puna* zone are insufficient for cultivation. However, ample grasslands make it suitable for animal husbandry, also a widely-practiced element of Andean subsistence (Flores Ochoa 1979; Maxwell 2011; Webster 1973). Pastoralism is usually employed in tandem with agriculture, which adds to the ever-shifting diversity of resources. Many households keep small animals like guinea pigs and rabbits, as well as several avian varieties (e.g., roosters, hens, and ducks) that survive on cheap seeds and table scraps and can supplement household diets or serve as sources of income (McDowell and Hess 2012; Vincent 2000). Guinea pigs are a fixture of the Andean household; their small size and relative self-sufficiency have made them important for their nutritional, monetary, and health value (Luque 2007).

Andeans safeguard against food shortages using various forms of preservation to keep meat and produce for extended periods, most notably dehydration (McDowell and Hess 2012). Murra (1984:122) touted the “domestication of the cold” as a major achievement of high-altitude biocultural adaptation. Frost is nearly ubiquitous in the Andean darkness, present over 250 nights a year. Highland groups take advantage of these twelve hours of frost and subsequent daylight to preserve foodstuffs. The cold draws out and freezes moisture from plant and animal material,

which evaporates once exposed to the high-altitude sunlight, essentially accomplishing a basic form of freeze-drying (Brush 1976). Generically these foods are called *ch'uño* if plant material and *ch'arki* (jerky) for animal flesh, though each food is usually given its own specific label (Paerregaard 1992). Preceding European conquest, preserved foods were stockpiled in depots designed to each food's sensitivity to wind, sunshine, altitude, and humidity (Murra 1984). This may help explain why the archaeological record lacks evidence of famine in the Andes (Katz 1969), though vertical practices have much to do with this outcome (Brush and Guillet 1985).

Traditionally, the peasant economy was a mixture of highland subsistence practices and sporadic market participation that peasants combined through a process of articulation (Mayer 2002). But today, market transactions are less complementary to farming and herding as they are an unavoidable means of ensuring household survival in a monetized economy (Leatherman 1996; Orlove 1977). Market-bound crops require large agricultural plots and complex irrigation networks, an energy-intensive and expensive system that exposes farmers to low market prices and increases their need for cash assets. Many are forced to engage in wage labor in neighbors' fields, whereas traditionally, reciprocal labor exchange would have been preferred (McDowell and Hess 2012). During Agrarian Reform, state provisions of credit to more affluent peasants instituted a system of debt that widened social and economic divisions among the peasantry, sowing seeds of discord in communities (Brass 1983; Brush and Guillet 1985).

Foster (1965:293) notably described how peasants in Tzintzutzan, Mexico struggled to maintain "an image of limited good," essentially downplaying material and economic gains in an increasingly cash-based economy. In the Andes, too, humility is maintained in the face of poverty for fear that being perceived as overly successful will draw the envy of those who seek to reverse one's fortunes. This discordancy between traditional and capitalist modes of

production situates peasants in a vulnerable position; however, their market participation is still dictated by principles of reciprocity and ecological complementarity. And despite ethnographic case studies of market transactions being short-term and impersonal (Mayer 1974, 2002; Harris 1995), highlanders seek to establish business relations with merchants based in the same framework of reciprocity and mutual respect that dictates inter-community exchange (Ferraro 2006). For these reasons, market towns, coastal cities, and today even foreign countries can be viewed as additional ecozones that highlanders incorporate into already-mobile strategies of vertical articulation (Collins 1983, 1986; Hirsch 2017).

Gender Complementarity, Kinship, and the Household Economy

Gender complementarity involves the separate but equally important responsibilities and duties ascribed to men and women in the Andean highlands (Bourque 1995). Within this view, the household unit draws attention to how gendered spaces are drawn, crossed, and transformed (Collins 1988; Finerman and Sackett 2003). Andean households have been variably described due to their central role within interrelated life domains. Cultural depictions portray the daily activities of a kin group whose members “cook, eat, and sleep together” (van Vleet 2008:62), while economic definitions treat the entity as “a group of people with differential rights and obligations for the provisions of services and goods used in the reproduction of the group” (Vincent 1999:32). Still, others view the household socially as a kin-based collective through which members establish and reinforce reciprocal relationships with other households (Brush and Guillet 1985). Taken together, the household is the smallest social unit serving productive, reproductive, and consumptive functions in which issues of kinship, gender, and socioeconomic relations are negotiated (Butler 1990; Carey 1993; Maxwell 2011; Orlove and Custred 1980).

Ethnographers distinguish the multilateral functions of the household from the *family*, which specifically emphasizes the reproductive functions that make production possible (Rapp 1991; Vincent 1999). Highland kinship is a mix of bilateral descent with neolocal and patrilocal residence patterns (Brush and Guillet 1985). Nuclear and extended families are most common, although households contain countless formations of consanguinal and affinal kin (Leinaweaver 2013; Maxwell 2011). Highlanders also practice a ritual form of kinship called *compadrazgo* (ritual co-parenthood) that enables peasants to establish vertical ties outside their social class (Wutich 2011). *Compadrazgo* is like godparenthood because it confers economic security and mutual assistance to highlanders to compensate for existing deficiencies in kin networks (Collins 1986; Foster 1963; Wutich 2011). However, co-parenthood emphasizes not just the link between godparents and godchildren, but also the connection between sponsors and parents, who mutually address one another as *compadre* (co-father) or *comadre* (co-mother).

Sponsors may provide material support in exchange for labor and can request assistance from coparents when needed. Ritual kin are also sought for marriage sponsorship, in which godparents offer moral support to young couples at the dawn of their life together (Collins 1983). Marriage partners are expected to embed themselves in each other's kinship networks, fulfilling ritual and labor duties to partners' immediate kin (Vincent 2012). At the start of a new union, the bride-to-be usually moves in with her husband's family to begin fulfilling labor obligations to his nuclear kin (Allen 2002; Bolin 1998). Oths (1991) reported no overarching residence pattern in Chugurpampa, however, she did note that the early period of a union, regardless of location, was viewed as a trial marriage. These are useful in a culture where weddings are costly and require sponsorship, and in which the Catholic Church has made it difficult to obtain a divorce (Price 1965; Weismantel 1995). Young couples thus take time to assess their compatibility by getting

together and cohabitating; this is sometimes precipitated by the birth of a child, but couples are not bound to one another outside church-ordained marital unions.

Childbearing loads are typically high in small Andean communities because of the importance of child labor in supporting the household economy. Children impact household production positively and negatively. Very young children can hinder their mother's contribution to productive activities, though most caregivers develop techniques to balance their obligations. Collins (1983:71), for instance, was amazed how minimally childrearing inhibited the daily lives of Aymara women in Sarata, Peru. Most harnessed infants and small children to their backs with woolen slings, allowing them to participate in agriculture and herding activity. Children begin to contribute to the household economy around age four (Oths 1999), at first doing minor chores and later in productive endeavors, sometimes even engaging in seasonal migration or learning a skill from a parent or older kin-member.

Andean Foodways

Food plays an important role defining boundaries of kinship and weaving together reciprocity-based relations in the natural and supernatural world (Gose 1994; Maxwell 2011). In the harsh Andean environment, sufficient nourishment is necessary to sustain the high caloric requirements of the highland productive system. For this reason, food and feeding have been argued to surpass blood relations in determining kinship (Allen 2002; Harvey 1998; Orr 2013; van Vleet 2008; Weismantel 1995). Socially, food forms the basis of reciprocity-based labor relations such as *ayni*, which involves an exchange of person-hours predicated on the expectation the host provides the nutrients necessary to work (Gose 1991). At the supernatural level, food

cannot grow without libations to deceased ancestors, whose favor is sought by farmers in hopes their souls will thrust the season's bounty from the soil (Bourque 1995).

Ritual tributes are thus common at agricultural festivals as an extra measure to ensure the earth's fertility (Harris 1982). Food is also imbued with countless indicators of status, and both the type of food consumed and its method of preparation can reveal countless clues about the ethnic composition and social status of the household in which it was prepared (Bourque 2001). Indigenous tubers, grains, and legumes are less prestigious than European crops (Orlove and Schmidt 1995), and usually served as single-dish meals like soup or steamed cereal, whereas *mestizos* were likely to eat purchased items like rice, noodles, and white bread—staples of the coastal diet. And food boiled over a wood-fueled oven versus sautéed in a metal frying pan on a gas stove is an explicit indicator of highland gastronomy (Maxwell 2011; Orlove 1998).

Cultural Constructions of Race in the Andes

The scientific classification of humans into separate species or categories based on skin color or geographic residence is a fallacious and dangerous practice with no basis in genetics, which has been used to justify colonialism, slavery, separation of families, and the genocide of alleged sub-human types (Graves 2003, 2005). Discussing how culturally-constructed categories of race shape power dynamics and influence health and well-being is therefore a sensitive albeit critical dialogue required for all ethnographic groups. I offer a more thoughtful examination of Andean racial categories in Chapter Five as they relate to the current research site. The purpose of this section is to introduce the socially-manufactured categories reported in the literature and describe how they are constantly renegotiated and messily overlap with ethnic categories and class distinctions (de la Cadena 1995; Van den Bergh and Primov 1977).

For much of post-conquest history, the terms *mestizo* (mixed-race European/indigenous) and *indio* (Indian) have been tantamount to urban and rural; clean and dirty; literate and illiterate; wealthy and poor; and capitalist and agriculturalist (Leinaweaver 2007; Orlove 1998; Starn 1994; Weismantel 1988). Thus, “race” is determined by market participation and predicated on the division between capitalist and traditional subsistence, such that one’s identity is defined by their proximity to the land—an association based on derision of livelihoods forged in the dirt instead of the market (Harris 1995; Orlove 1998; Weismantel and Eisenman 1998). *Mestizos* are viewed as entrepreneurial, savvy merchants, and *indios* as filthy, ignorant, lazy, and incapable of market exchange (Gose 1994; van Vleet 2003). In Lima and Quito, some forms of labor are sometimes even deemed Indian work if done by migrants (Leinaweaver 2008).

Food, too, in substance and preparation, is endowed with certain cultural properties that make it intrinsically *mestizo* or *indio*, while Orlove (1998) has also commented on footwear and clothing in general as markers of race and ethnicity—prudent observations that resounded with in the current study (see PART II). Even one’s posture can be an indicator of highland identity; their subservient status physically embodied in hunched-over backs and low-hanging heads. Oths (1998) reported the label *indio* to be a racialized insult in La Libertad, which Chugurpampans avoided by identifying with the labor-based *campesino* (peasant) identity. The latter implies their contact with the land is for market exchange. However, this distinction became formally defunct after the dissolution of peasant communities in 1992, while the regional term *serrano* has entered the same negative colloquial territory as *indio*. Chugurpampan migrants who engaged in agrarian productive activities identify as *agricultores* (agriculturalists), *granjeros* (farmers), or the ever-prideful *chaquerero*, which usually signifies ownership over the land being cultivated.

Andean Ethnomedicine

Traditional Andean health beliefs are rooted in the same system of reciprocity that governs all aspects of highland life. Reciprocal ties to nature, society, and the cosmos are critical to health and wellness (Greenway 1987; Leatherman 1998). The Andean body is inseparable from its surrounding landscape, meaning illness constitutes personal or social imbalance caused from poor maintenance of reciprocity within social and spiritual landscapes (Greenway 1998). The Quechua word for human being is *runa*, which references the physical body as the locus of one's animus, or life force—the same energy found in the mountains, earth, and stars (Bastien 1985; Mannheim 1986). It can be lost, depleted, or augmented by intrusive spirits, evil winds, and the ill will of others (Allen 2002), causing bodily harm and emotional imbalances that not only threaten individual health, but put entire households, their crops, and animals at risk.

Fright illnesses are one group of maladies in which a startling or upsetting event depletes a person's animus (Greenway 1998). These are among the most commonly reported conditions in Latin America, broadly clustered under the label *susto* (fear). Generally, *susto* is instigated by an event so unnerving it dislodges one's soul from their physical body. This causes vomiting, diarrhea, muscle pains, and chills, which must be remedied through the services of a *llamador* (caller) to return the sufferer's soul back to their body (Stoner 1989). Wind illnesses (referred to in Spanish as *mal viento* or *mal aire* and Quechua as *macho wayra*) can also result from a loss of animus, especially stemming from failure to maintain reciprocal relations with the supernatural realm. In Núñoa, Peru, Carey (1993) described the illness *macho hapiska* (being grabbed by the earth or ancestors) as punishment for lapses in reciprocal obligations. Babies are especially vulnerable to these illnesses due to their helplessness, and by extension, so too are women of child-bearing age (Harris 1982).

Illness may also result from bodily imbalances caused by excessive exposure to hot and cold elements, extreme weather, and forces of good and evil (Carey 1993; Mitchell 1991; Oths 1992). As a result, many treatments are humoral-based, meaning they require counteracting a sick person's state with an intrinsically opposing element to restore the body to equilibrium (Vincent 2000). For instance, hot teas, soups, and other beverages are inherently hot foods used to treat cold illnesses, particularly ailments affecting the throat. Blood and fat are also important, and losing even a small quantity of either can be detrimental to one's health. Blood is believed to be acquired entirely in childhood, while fat is an equally critical element in the Andean frost. Losing too much of the latter is caused by the illness *liquichado*, based on legend of the *pishtaco*, or *kharisiri* (cutter): a vampire-like creature often depicted with pale yellow skin that roamed the countryside robbing unwary peasants of fat (Bastien 1985; Cannessa 2000; Weismantel 1997).

Whereas illness is a physical loss of self that stems from bodily imbalances, sickness ensues from poor maintenance of reciprocity between individuals and their social and spiritual worlds (Pedersen et al. 2010). Individual and household wellness tends to reflect one's behavior and relationships with other community members. Violation of social norms on any level may lead to injury, illness, and even death (Greenway 1998). For this reason, mental illness is more likely to resemble familial or social disturbances rather than individual pathology (Orr 2013). In Chugurpampa, for example, the illness *debilidad* (weakness) is common in households with an uneven gender ratio because it gives sufferers a socially sanctioned respite from household duties (Oths 1999). Pedersen et al. (2010) similarly describe the Quechua idioms *nākary* (worry), *llaki* (suffering), and *pinsamientuwan* (sorrow) as cultural expressions of discontent with poverty.

Highlanders have contentious relationships with biomedical physicians, whose medical models leave little room for supernatural beliefs (Finerman 1989). However, peasants are not

opposed to using biomedicine, and embrace most treatments that can be incorporated into home-based herbal remedies (Luque 2007). Oths (1991, 1994) found that despite biomedicine's high cost during a period of severe economic inflation in Peru, Chugurpampans made health care decisions based on a treatment's effectiveness. Recent years have seen the rising popularity of biomedical treatments, especially as rural areas gain better access to health services through construction of government hospitals and health posts (Mathez-Stiefel et al. 2012). But even in the wake of modernization, migration, and globalization, anthropologists have consistently found that traditional medical knowledge suffers minimal loss of importance to highlanders. However, they may become less relevant to peasants who engage in greater market participation or among seasonal and urban migrants (Leatherman 1998; Oths et al. 2013; Stoner 1989).

Chapter Summary

The disciplinary dispute between Starn and Golden-Age Andeanists has left a lasting impression on the subspecialty of Andean studies. It offers important lessons vis-à-vis the construction of anthropological evidence, which still resonate today. Foremost among these is the recognition that the research questions anthropologists ask influence the forms of suffering they can detect through their analytic gaze. Thus, collection and dissemination of ethnographic data and anthropological ideas requires an acute awareness for how such cultural forces play out *in situ*. In this chapter, I outlined the intellectual, historical, and ethnographic background of the Andes culture region. I introduced traditional highland culture as it had been defined by mid-twentieth-century ethnographers and reviewed major themes in the literature to establish the cultural foundation of this project for subsequent chapters.

Chapter Three

A Network Approach to Andean Migration

At the dawn of the smartphone revolution, some researchers jokingly began throwing around the tongue-in-cheek label *Homo mobilis* (mobile man) to describe how wireless tools of mobility had not only changed the ways people interacted, they were actively reshaping human cognition, health, and even physiology (Carr 2011; Economist 2008). Ironically, this branding could have been equally applicable to early hominin ancestors, whose prehistoric exoduses from Africa were the original mass migrations that fueled human biological diversity and spread our cultural innovations to every biome on earth (Bellwood 2013). Migration is therefore an adaptive mechanism of population movement instigated by specific ecological conditions. For humans, this includes environments shaped by cultural, social, economic, and political factors (e.g., subsistence, poverty, war) as well as natural ones like drought, extreme weather events, or climatic changes (human-influenced or otherwise) (Kearney 1986).

As a social phenomenon that may reproduce across generations, human migration cannot be understood separate from the geospatial and historic contexts in which patterns of movement occur (Paerregaard 2010). Migration is therefore a multidimensional force of culture change. It is a simultaneously spatial, temporal, and social process that transcends natural and human-made boundaries and transforms relationships among people and the diverse ecologies they inhabit (Durand and Massey 2010). These settings are shaped by endogenous contextual factors (i.e., cultural constructions) and limited by exogenous ones (i.e., structural constraints), such as global forces of colonialism, neoliberalism, and climate change, all of which have given rise to

migration and been reciprocally transformed by movement (de Haas 2010; Paerregaard 2010). Thus, current migration flows are driven by historic conditions of poverty already endemic to rural economies and should not be viewed as singular outcomes, but rather within the notion of mobility as an ongoing strategy of human biocultural adaptation (Olwig and Sørensen 2002).

A mobility lens captures the dual meanings of migration as horizontal movement across shifting natural and human-shaped landscapes, as well as vertical upward mobility to different social classes. This is relevant in the Andes, where mobility, and particularly the movement of farmers and herders across vertical life zones (Brush 1976), lies at the core of traditional subsistence (Amilhat Szary 2007; Hirsch 2017). Steel et al. (2011:509) have used the term “multi-local livelihoods” to describe how impoverished peoples utilize physical movement as a livelihood asset to secure economic, material, and social resources needed to meet household subsistence (Olwig and Sørensen 2002). Unsurprisingly, Andean migrants’ subjective reasons for migrating are fused with notions of rising socioeconomic mobility, often encapsulated in short expressions like *seguir adelante* (to get ahead), which reveal their regard for migration as an escape from poverty (Crivello 2011; Murra 1984).

Contemporary Andean migration patterns have collapsed the many physical walls and imagined borders that once divided societies (Anderson 1982; Durand and Massey 2010; Steinberg 2005). Even the most marginal groups are being integrated in a global process of urbanization that has subsumed entire continents. In the Andes, migration is fueled by state and private development programs that have brought coastal, highland, and Amazon regions closer than ever before, while the widespread access and affordability of mobile devices and social media are revolutionizing traditional ties of reciprocity. Thus, for Andeans, migration is neither an abrupt decision nor a sudden reaction to ecological pressures, but an existing aspect of their

already-mobile process of vertical articulation used to alleviate poverty (Altamirano Rúa 2003; Hedberg and do Carmo 2012; Hirsch 2017; Oths et al. 2018; Stein 2016).

Present-day political borders are dynamic cultural constructions within this mobility lens, but ones which erect seemingly natural boundaries that are traversable through social networks. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai has therefore argued for understanding migration flows through translocal notions of place. Humans experience the world through specific places, or localities, because it corresponds with their embodied reality of always being in one place or another (Appadurai 1995; 1996). However, a single social network can encompass different locations, just as many different networks can inhabit a single place. As a result, migrants can be physically absent from a community and still experience and participate in its daily social relations (Gielis 2009). Translocality references how multiple, often distant places are linked by interdependent mobilizations of people, resources, and information that flow through and transform existing relational networks, social structures, and cultural institutions (Greiner 2011). Treating origin and destination communities as translocalities recognizes how each place can be experienced by people as discrete entities without reinforcing their boundedness (Valentin 2012).

Chugurpampan migrants and residents therefore reside within a single translocality. All community members, whether in the highlands, Trujillo, or elsewhere, actively experience and participate in daily social relations without being physically present in all the different places they transpire. This translocal social structure assumes a tangible and directive momentum that shapes migrants' cultural expectations and influences how they mobilize individual and group support. This is not dissimilar from what political-scientist Benedict Anderson (1982) captured with the construct of the imagined community: how geographically dispersed communities can assume a social reality that supersedes their differences by uniting them under a shared purpose.

Thus, the communal sense of belonging many Chugurpampans derive from the translocalities in which they inhabit and interact, is what imbues the diaspora community such social and cultural potency; it simultaneously reinforces and transforms the social and cultural expectations of being Chugurpampan.

Anderson (1982) drew influence for the imagined community from an earlier question posed by French thinker Ernest Renan concerning the origins of nation-states. Renan pondered what makes people identify as members of a specific community. He surmised that groups derive solidarity from a shared sense of sacrifice, a daily decision by its members, and an overall moral force that constructs their collective identity and reinforces a desire for a common life. Renan wrote during a time of widespread industrialization in Europe and the United States, when cities and factories were on the rise and the rural-urban divide was increasing dramatically in the northern hemisphere. It was through industrialization, he proposed, that migrants shed old constructed identities and forged new ones in cities. To the extent that Renan's ideas were based on observations of the fast-industrializing West, his predictions were partly accurate. But the next generation of 20th-century migration scholars would document an entirely different encounter with industrialization, urbanization, and modernization in the southern hemisphere.

Defining Andean Migration

Andean states, much like Brazil or Mexico, exemplify the transformative power of internal migration in the Global South (Dufour and Piperata 2004; Durand and Massey 2010; Paerregaard 2010). They are among the earliest instances of rural labor migrants flooding former colonial extraction centers like Lima, often penniless and desperate for cash to feed their families (Altamirano Rúa 2003; Gesto et al. 2012). Yet, despite its magnitude, 20th-century urbanization

of the Andean states represents a mere snapshot in space and time of a much longer saga of mobility. The interzonal movement of people, labor, and resources between coastal, highland, and jungle corridors has occurred in the region since it was populated several millennia ago, well before European conquest (Amilhat Szary 2007; Stanish 2001).

Andean migration is therefore a broad category comprising several movement-based productive activities that highlanders incorporate into subsistence strategies. This includes seasonal and labor migration, temporary and semi-permanent, as well as permanent migration from highland villages to other hamlets and towns, coastal cities, and today even international locations. Notwithstanding European cultural and economic hegemony, Spanish administrative centers like Trujillo, paradoxically, depended on the land, labor, and resources of the very people whom they subjugated. Republican governments merely replaced the extractive system with a capitalist one, saturating the highlands with cash and forcing households to articulate traditional reciprocal practices with an increasingly market-based economy (Kearney 1986).

Vertical subsistence patterns persisted in diverse forms, but the growing dominance of the market and conversion of land to private property reinforced familiar circumstances, in which peasants benefitted least and suffered most. This was accompanied by the steady integration of communities ranging from the smallest mountain village to larger towns and cities, which made it even easier for urban economies to impose economic and cultural dominance over highlanders. At the same time, government investments in health, education, and infrastructure made the state a constant presence in the rural Andean countryside, serving as daily reminder to highlanders of their intrinsic opposition to urban models of “individualism, competitiveness, and reward for academic excellence” (Altamirano Rúa 2003:15).

It is unsurprising, then, that centuries-long extractions of Andean land, labor, and resources would eventually be accompanied by the outward flow of people fleeing human-manufactured conditions of poverty. To this extent, Andean migration is not dissimilar from other instances of formerly colonized and enslaved peoples migrating to a dominant culture's economic center (e.g., the African-American Great Migration or arrival of Indian immigrants in Great Britain). What distinguishes Andean migration is that movement patterns have unfolded in the context of the vertical archipelago. Thus, in the same way Andean subsistence relies on resource diversification across vertically oriented ecological floors (Murra 1984), so do market towns and coastal settlements represent additional ecozones peasants incorporate into survival strategies, however fluidly (Hirsch 2017).

At the start of the 20th century, most South Americans inhabited rural economies, while a small fraction of elite clustered in regional towns and capitals. But industrialization and agricultural mechanization caused wage and labor stagnation in rural regions, instigating wave after wave of working-age, able-bodied men toward coastal metropolises. Internal (domestic) migration was the most important during this period, although international, or transnational migration, would grow in importance following World War II (Dufour and Piperata 2004; King and Skeldon 2010; Portes and Schauffler 1993). Both forms of movement stem from similar causes (e.g., income inequality, poverty, poor living conditions, job loss, low social support, etc.), but internal almost always precedes transnational movement except when a strong diaspora network already exists (Wilson 2012).

The pace of migration quickly exceeded the population capacities of the traditionally gridded layouts of Spanish colonial cities, which were unprepared for the surge of new arrivals (Watson 2009). Along with economic inequities that made migrating through formal means cost-

prohibitive, institutional deficiencies in urban development and planning forced many to obtain housing, employment, health care, and public services informally. Migrants relied on squatting and illegal land invasions along the outskirts of cities in crude shacks without land titles or access to services and infrastructure (Dufour and Piperata 2004). As these shantytowns grew, they became conglomerated into larger slums inhabited predominantly by recent migrants and a generation of urban poor. These shantytowns have different labels across Latin America (e.g., *favelas* in Brazil, *comunas* in Colombia, *callampas* in Chile, *barriadas* and *pueblos jóvenes* in Peru), but all share the same informal beginnings that would come to define 20th-century Latin American megacities (Chambers 2005; Gesto et al. 2012; Lloyd 1980; Perlman 2011).

Informal communities became more established by the 1960s and 1970s, once again transforming migration patterns from mostly labor-seeking adult men to entire families, from women and children to elderly members in the twilight of life. Out-migration also expanded to include intermediate cities such as Trujillo, Peru and Quito, Ecuador, in addition to megacities like Lima and Sao Paulo, Brazil. New cultural identities were spawned in the process. In Andean States, the label *cholo* would typify the city-dwelling highland migrant, who had adopted urban modes of lifestyle but remained tied to their highland roots (Altamirano Rúa 2003; Dufour and Piperata 2004). But as many continued to live without access to critical services or infrastructure, they depended on existing social networks to compensate for the state's absence in the slums (Altamirano Rúa 2003; Escobar and Beall 1982; Lomnitz 1977).

Diaspora communities formed hometown associations and sports clubs to buffer the stress of acculturation by providing access to critical services such as monetary allowance for illness, childbirth, or funeral costs (Altamirano Rúa 2003; Laszlo and Santor 2009; Paerregaard 2010). Eventually, as networks matured and highlanders dispersed across the city, these clubs lost their

importance and appeal to more settled migrants (Escobar and Beall 1982). For some families, associating with hometown organizations is a purely symbolic gesture or status-gaining behavior, as Leinaweaver (2013) and Paerregaard (2010) have shown with the importance of festival sponsorship among transnational migrants. Returning migrants (and often several generations of diaspora-born offspring) serve as agents of change in origin communities by showcasing urban lifestyles and instilling migration ambitions in rural youth, reinforcing the cycle of out-migration that then sustains the network.

Rural communities like Chugurpampa are therefore not isolated but share historical and current ties to the surrounding society. These translocalities are connected by social networks that facilitate the flow of people, resources, knowledge, and expectations between all places in which Chugurpampans reside (Paerregaard 2010). But with the expansion of the diaspora in Trujillo, there are growing disputes over the boundaries of the community, and a transference of governance and wealth away from residents toward migrants (Oths et al. 2018; Stein 2016). The heterogeneity of Chugurpampans across sending and receiving locations is therefore influential in determining which individuals and families ultimately out-migrate, while the uneven flow of remittances further sows economic divisions among residents and migrants. These changes have altered Chugurpampa's communal social structure and shifted cultural expectations to reflect an individualistic, Western worldview (Crivello 2011; de Haas 2010).

Foundations of a Network Perspective

Migration studies do not benefit from a history of interdisciplinary collaboration. It is only within the last 30 years there have theoretical paradigms robust enough to accommodate diverse perspectives on the topic. Sociologist Douglass Massey (1990) sought to consolidate

existing lines of research with a network approach to migration. By redirecting the focus to networks, he demonstrated how sending and receiving locations are linked by ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. These relations do more than bridge each translocality, they actively restructure social institutions and cultural practices, reshaping group dynamics in both spaces (Altamirano Rúa 2003; Massey et al. 1993; Matos Mar 2012).

Twentieth-century migration studies were economic in nature, regardless of whether they conformed to capitalist or Marxist perspectives. But their biggest conceptual issue was that each relied on one-dimensional views of movement formulated within disciplinary cul-de-sacs that lacked theoretical or methodological convergence. Researchers often overlooked the effect of culture in structuring migration decision-making, focusing instead on micro- and macro-level push-pull factors that compel people to migrate. Massey (1990) united these approaches first by identifying four ways in which they diverged: (1) locus of migratory action (*Is migration the aggregate outcome of individual decisions or global forces?*); (2) unit of analysis (*Is the decision to migrate made by individual migrants, their households, or their communities?*); (3) cause or effect (*Is migration caused by social and economic factors like job creation, poverty, and unemployment, or does it create them?*); and (4) singular or dynamic (*Is migration the result of current events or long-term historical factors?*). These four issues can be summarized as a single, much broader question that continues to confound 21st-century economists and social scientists alike: *What structures economic decision-making?*

Laying the Groundwork: Twentieth-Century Modern Approaches to Migration

In the 1950s and 1960s, migration studies reflected the dominance of modernization theory, which was the 20th-century culmination of late-1800s neoclassical economic thought. In

The Laws of Migration (1885), geographer-cartographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein proposed the decision to out-migrate was an individual cost-benefit analysis informed by one's own rational assessment of the risks and opportunities of movement (Massey 1990). In the short term, this would cause labor scarcity in origin communities and economic growth at receiving ends. But over time, he proposed, return of capital through remittances and development would result in factor-price equalization, essentially balancing out the entire system (de Haas 2010).

Some sixty years later towards the end of World War II, while the rest of the world entered phases of reconstruction and decolonization, the United States sought to expand its political and economic interests through promotion of a free-market economy. Modernization theory captured the post-war vision of the West, which situated capitalism as the only means for advancing development and achieving global stability (Miller 2008). It was within this context that economists John R. Harris and Michael P. Todaro (1970) formulated the rational decision-making model: the decision to migrate, they posited, is based on one's rational assessment of the conditions that *push* them from origin villages (e.g., poverty, discrimination, inequality) and *pull* them to their metropolitan destinations (e.g., labor opportunities, family, education) (Kearney 1986; Pantea 2013). Migration was therefore conceived of as the aggregate sum of individual income-maximizing decisions (Brown 2002:3).

Modernization theorists take a prominently spatial approach to migration, in the sense that movement is a finite act: a unidirectional shift mediated only by the process of getting from one location to the other (i.e., origin → *transit* → destination) (Massey et al. 1994). Obscured from view, are the countless ways these communities are linked by existing flows of people, resources, and information. Also troubling, is their lack of regard for the dynamic nature of migration. Viewing movement as the sum of individual decisions reduces change to a unilineal

progression in which capitalism and democracy (and *not* socialism and communism) are ideal economic and political forms to which all societies would ultimately conform. Not only does this skew five centuries of colonial and imperialist intervention, it fixes blame for underdevelopment on the underdeveloped, whose traditional beliefs and practices are viewed as wholly out-of-sync with modern capitalist values (Inglehart and Baker 2000; Landman 1999).

Anthropologists were not immune to the lure of modernization theory nor neoclassical economics. Robert Redfield (1941) proposed the folk-urban continuum to reference the range of communities and cultural practices that exist between the most remote villages and largest urban centers. Redfield, too, expected that rural citizens would progressively shed traditional cultural characteristics as they moved along this continuum and adopted customs of destination communities. But later urban ethnographers who followed peasant farmers from rural highlands villages to the slums of Mexico City, Lima, Rio de Janeiro and other megacities (one of whom was Redfield's son-in-law, Oscar Lewis) would document how existing knowledge, practices, and social relations remain critical to migrants' biocultural adaptation to city ecologies (Collins 1988; Lewis 1963; Lloyd 1980; Lobo 1995; Lomnitz 1977; Mangin 1970).

Atomistic approaches are one reason origin villages are often portrayed as homogenous upholders of rural traditionalism and migrants as adopters of urban modernism, which runs dangerously close to the *barbarism/civilization* lens of social evolutionism (Kearny 1986; Massey 1990). But modernization theory's greatest flaw is its reduction of movement to a one-directional flow that drives processes of urbanization (*rural*→*urban*) and modernization (*traditional*→*modern*); these are usually conglomerated under the single label of development (*undeveloped*→*developed*). Thus, the notion of migration being the product of individual cost-benefit analyses of push-pull factors remains dominant within most national and international

frameworks. Neoliberal policy-makers view internal and transnational migrants as agents of development, whose mobile livelihoods can be indirectly empowered through state investments in health, education, and infrastructure (Altamirano Rúa 2009; Davis and Hertz 1954; de Haas 2010; Harris and Todaro 1970; Steel et al. 2011; Todaro 1969; Triscritti 2013)

Human ecological approaches (also termed *dependency theory* or *historical-structuralist approach*) are macro-level sociological alternatives to the individualistic lens of modernization theory (Brettell 2015; Kearney 1986). Founded in neo-Marxist critique of global capitalism, ecologically aligned migration scholars call attention to how structural and historical forces drive the “development of underdevelopment” in origin communities that then cause out-migration (de Haas 2010:1594). Immanuel Wallerstein, Alejandro Portes, and John Walton, especially, rejected the individual migrant as unit of analysis, instead emphasizing how the world capitalist system imposes systemic, institutional, ecological, and technological pressures that force entire villages into migration (Brown 2002; Portes and Walton 1976, 1981; Wallerstein 1974).

Macro-level approaches demonstrate a more refined sense for the dynamic nature of migration flows. Rather than treat rural and urban economies separately, scholars emphasize how five centuries of colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism have shifted global populations into a three-tiered hierarchy of core, semi-periphery, and periphery nations (Wallerstein 1974). These levels are intricately connected, with even the most marginal societies hidden in the jungles, mountains, and deserts of peripheral states linked to core regions via ties of dependency that serve the core (Kearney 1986). Migrants therefore do not so much *decide* to move as they are in a hierarchical and oppressive system in which group movement is a collective and inevitable response to ecological pressures. But this top-down perspective usurps individual and household agency in favor of global and historical processes, which has proven to be a poor unit of analysis

for ethnographers doing community-based research. Moreover, the shift from *rural/urban* to *core/periphery*, once again, merely re-tools and reinforces a finite and linear view of movement rather than an ongoing and cyclical process of mobility (Massey 1990).

A Network (Approach) Emerges: Embeddedness and the Cumulative Diffusion of Migration

In the 1980s, articulation-based theories offered a fresh avenue of inquiry by zoning in on the household as the social unit through which rural farmers link traditional and capitalist modes of production. This advancement was due in no small part to the insights of community-based researchers, especially Golden Age-Andeanists, whose work reflects how peasants integrate migration into household diversification strategies (Kearney 1986; Mayer 2002; Saloman 1982). Household relations are intrinsically important to economic decision-making because families already share risks, resources, and relationships (Gallego and Mendola 2013). Migration is therefore attractive as a risk-reduction strategy because it maximizes family earnings without requiring all members to out-migrate. Moreover, it can be accessed through several different forms of capital, not just economic (de Haas 2010; Massey 1990). Articulation approaches are therefore influential for having opened a window to household decision-making, within which economic action is guided by shared cultural expectations.

Sociologist Mark Granovetter (1985) argues the causes and consequences of economic behavior must be understood within the context of the social relations and institutional structures in which they arise (i.e., the means and mode of production) (Brown 2002). He uses the term embeddedness to describe how individuals and groups are embedded in webs of social relations with others, whose observed and expected behavior influences their own economic decision-making and actions. Massey (1990) extended this idea to migration: the decision to migrate, he

proposed, rather than being an individual cost-benefit analysis or a top-down ecological outcome, reflects wider social relations and cultural expectations of the translocal communities in which migrants, households, and groups are embedded. Embeddedness thus refers both to the embeddedness of people as well as the knowledge and resources they possess and share. Adaptive cultural information, material goods, job opportunities, and social support are some examples of the different capital embedded within the proprietorship of human vessels, who are themselves embedded in social relations with kin, friends, community members, and others (Portes 1998; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Villalonga-Olives and Kawachi 2017). These embedded forms of capital are then mobilized by persons depending on the level of power that they and their households derive from their own embeddedness (Brown 2002).

Massey paired this notion with several other lines of inquiry, namely, the concept of chain migration, proposed by MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) to describe how prospective migrants access employment and housing through family and close friends who have already migrated. Not long after, Mabogunje (1970) offered migration systems theory to investigate interconnected flows of people, goods, services, and information (de Haas 2010). But it was Massey's utilization of an even earlier concept, proposed by the Swedish economist-sociologist turned politician, Gunnar Myrdal, which would cement the foundation of a network approach. Myrdal (1957) had shown how the augmentation or reduction of out-migration tends to follow a cyclical, even circular pattern across vast physical territories, depending on contextual factors in sending and receiving communities at a given point in time. Thus, on a long enough trajectory, the causes of migration will always be consequences of previous patterns of movement, and in the process, influence future migration decisions and household strategies as well as transform entire communities within the limits of their individual and collective agencies (Massey 1990).

Circular and cumulative causation is the idea that migration causes shifts to social and economic structures connecting sending and receiving communities, which then make migrating more accessible to prospective migrants. Essentially, the more people who engage in migration, the greater the likelihood of subsequent emigration. Unlike a single migration event, represented by a bell curve (**Figure 3.1**), the cumulative diffusion of migration is S-shaped, meaning the more people who out-migrate, the easier, safer and less risky it becomes for others to do so. Thus, the formation and expansion of a migration network creates opportunities to migrate that would otherwise be economically prohibitive to peasant farmers. Through moving, migrants establish themselves as potential sources of embedded social and economic capital for all with whom they share relations—not just close kin and friends, but also neighbors, community members, and acquaintances as well. Granovetter (1973) famously showed how these peripheral relationships are still important, because it is through weak ties that people gain access to resources outside local networks, such as a lead on a job, a ride into the city, or a place to sleep.

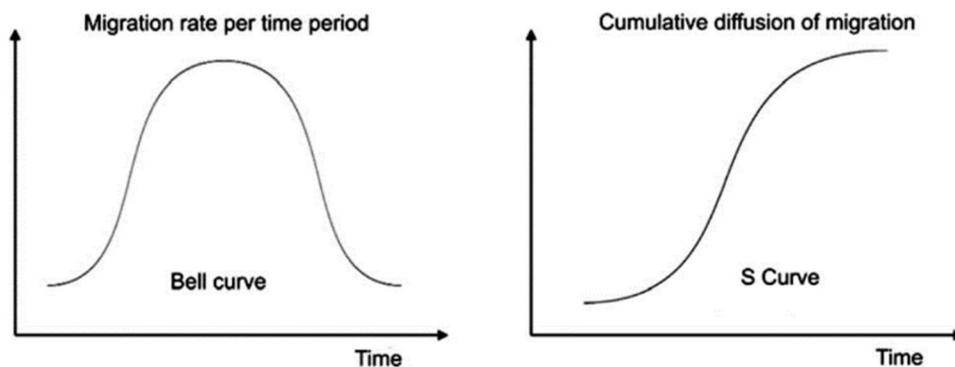


Figure 3.1. *A single migration event versus the cumulative diffusion of migration (de Haas 2010).*

Burt (1992) has similarly drawn attention to structural holes in large networks, which he coined to describe the absence of a tie between two people that must be bridged by a mutual actor. However, whether such a transaction will occur depends on the common relation, who in

this instance, holds the greatest power. In the context of migrating, the presence or absence of even a single tie (and by extension, the diverse resources embedded within) can be the difference between a decision to migrate or remain in the highlands for however long until the option is reconsidered under different circumstances. Without adequate economic capital, the decision to migrate therefore depends upon whether prospective migrants can muster sufficient resources embedded within existing social relations (de Haas 2010; Greiner 2011; Massey et al. 1993).

Pioneer migrants assume more risk than anyone who follows (**Figure 3.2**). Without existing social capital embedded in receiving communities, they must depend on their own financial and human capital to meet the requisites to migrate (Massey 1990; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). These are usually entrepreneurial young men with the greatest likelihood

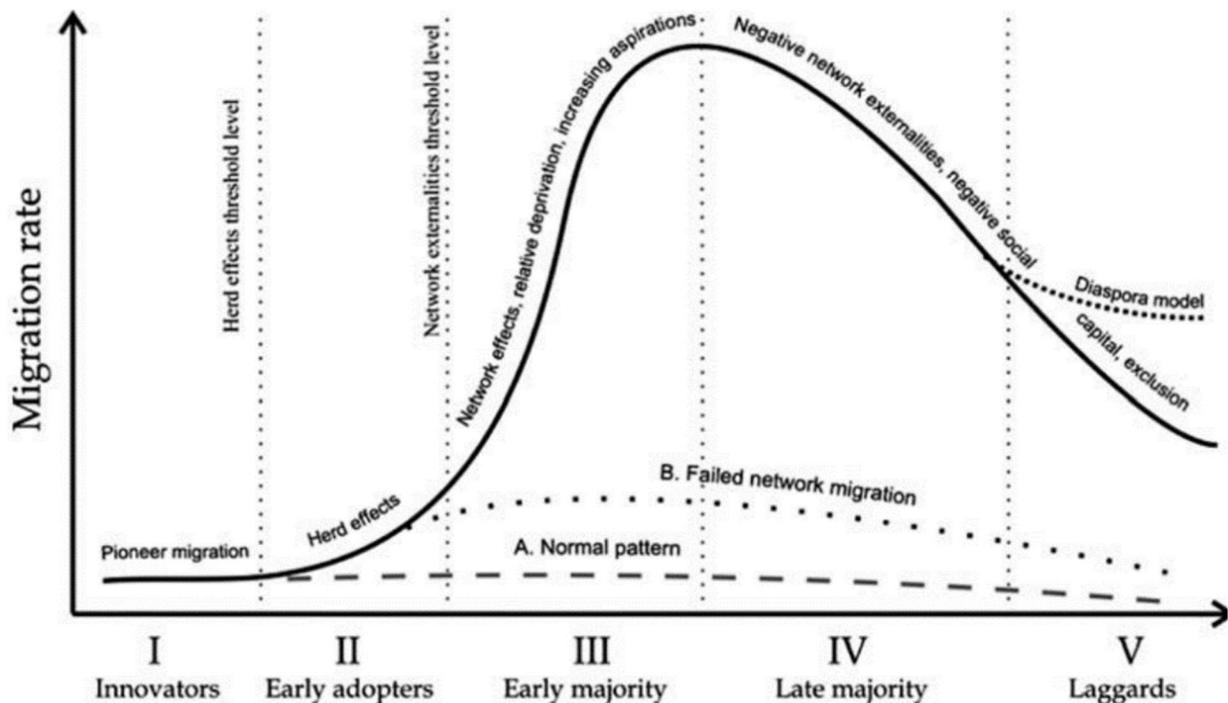


Figure 3.2. Theoretical migration network formation and contraction with alternate trajectories of population movement superimposed (de Haas 2010).

of lifetime economic returns (de Haas 2010). They come from families that are presumably better off relative to other households, considering they can afford to send away human capital toward urban markets without any guarantee of economic gain (Dewalt 1979). Households capable of assuming these risks would also possess a certain degree of cultural capital. They may be perceived by other community members as exemplars of specific cultural domains, such that their example becomes the basis of prototypes for how certain behaviors *should* be performed (D'Andrade 1995; Divjak and Arppe 2013; Medin et al. 1984; Reisberg 2015). This suggests a level of non-conformity and the liberty to implement changes to shared knowledge systems, which pioneer migrants enact when they disengage themselves from native community networks. It is therefore the initial act of migrating by first migrants within a given time, space, and social context, which instills within the collective consciousness of origin communities, an awareness of the prospect, process, price, and potential of movement.

Successful pioneers reduce the costs and risks of migration for all in origin communities to whom they extend economic or social support, making it easier for women, children, the sick, elderly, and less well-off to access the diaspora community (Wilson 2012). In this sense, networks function as translocal social security nets that alleviate poverty and food insecurity in origin and destination locations (Kearney 1986; Lomnitz 1977). But to the extent social networks facilitate out-migration, so too may they restrict certain individuals or households from accessing the resources necessary to migrate. A current migrant must be willing to assist a prospective one based on familial, moral, altruistic or even selfish reasoning. Hence, while migrants can serve as bridgeheads for those seeking upward mobility, so too may they act as gatekeepers who prevent certain persons and families from accessing necessary resources. Migration is thus a stratified process in which opportunities to migrate do not reach all group members (Greiner 2011).

Economic prosperity concentrates among specific people, families, groups, and classes, which further sew divisions into the fabric the community (de Haas 2010; Portes 2007).

Understanding Multilevel Network Dynamics: Contextual Factors and Feedback Mechanisms

Social network theory obliges a multilevel perspective that recognizes how individual, group-level, and aggregate units of analysis are interconnected (Brown 2002). From this view, migration is a multidimensional process that embeds actors within households, communities, nations, and global processes of transformation, which simultaneously structure their decision to engage in migration. Brown (2002) refers to this integrative unit as the meso-level of analysis because it connects the emic importance of household and community dynamics to economic and political currents that influence behavior and flows on every level. This preserves the agency of individual migrants, their families, and communities to willfully out-migrate, without ignoring how they are empowered and constrained by structural factors (Massey 1990; Ryan 2011).

Network migration attains its cumulative, self-feeding nature from internal and external contextual factors and feedback mechanisms that flow between origin and destination locations (**Figure 3.3**) (de Haas 2010). Contextual factors are akin to what modernization theorists called push-pull factors—broadly ecological circumstances that give rise to culture and transform it—while feedback mechanisms are cyclical, circular, and reciprocal flows of people, resources, and knowledge. These processes operate at all levels of analysis, and mechanisms on one level can influence contextual factors of another. For instance, migration undermines rural livelihoods and social institutions by removing young, healthy, and educated members, but the depletion of human capital and swelling of urban labor markets may then shape national economic growth and political policy-making (Gallego and Mendola 2013). States may also invest in rural villages

and urban slums in the form of government works projects or job-creating capitalist enterprises that improve the quality of life for all inhabitants. But it may also lead to more out-migration, which just reinforces the cycle of relative deprivation between households and communities.

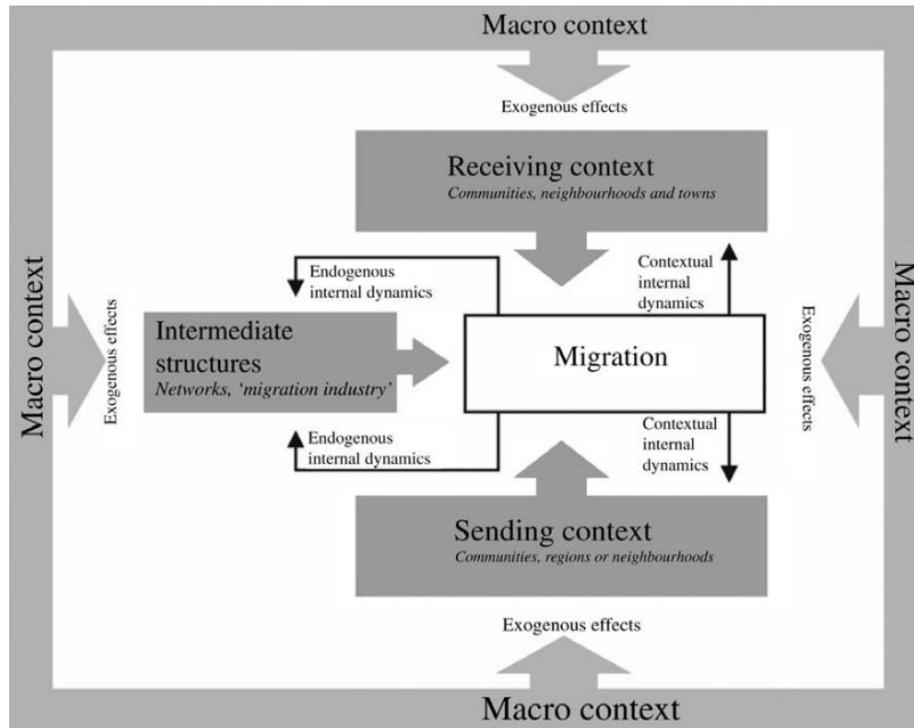


Figure 3.3. de Haas' (2010) framework of contextual factors and feedback mechanisms.

Remittances are an economic feedback mechanism: poverty-reducing monetary assets earned in destination communities that migrants invest in highland kin or productive activities (Altamirano Rúa 2009). This can stimulate growth and development in origin locations, which improves living conditions by counteracting the effects of labor loss and giving families a stronger foothold in the cash economy (Gray 2009). However, because only some households receive outside investment, these micro-level remittances also increase inequality and relative deprivation that end up pushing residents to out-migrate (Brown 2002; de Haas 2010 Massey 1990). Gray (2009) has also noted that much of the capital earned as remittances is spent on

conspicuous consumption, although many ethnographers have shown this behavior strategically reinforces ties of reciprocity in ways that highlight one's status, or embeddedness, benefitting them in other culturally salient ways.

Patron festivals, for example, which are known for gregarious displays of conspicuous consumption and status-wielding behavior, can be better understood as a meso-level remittance that inundates host villages with more economic capital than any other time of year. The influx of cash lines the pockets of humble peasants as they prepare to sell their bounties in the nearby market towns (Leinaweaver 2013; Paerregaard 2010). Thus, flows of people, resources, and knowledge on one level can influence mechanisms and contextual factors on another. Ultimately, outcomes are context-dependent and must be grasped circumstantially and ethnographically.

Measuring Embeddedness: Whole Network Analysis and Migrant Centrality

Massey (1990:17) asserts the cumulative nature of migration is best comprehended when observing how movement patterns unfold within multiple, interdependent levels of analysis. For this reason, network advocates recommend analyzing multilevel datasets that privilege interplay of individual, household, and community levels of analysis (Brown 2002). A multilevel approach is most valuable when deployed in longitudinal studies because it offers a wide-enough lens to understand how social, cultural, political, economic, and environmental variables shape sending and receiving communities through ongoing and quantifiable feedback mechanisms (de Haas 2010). Schweizer (1997) has shown how the post-structuralist recognition of layered contexts, multiple voices, and historical processes can be given rigorous empirical grounding using social network analysis to explore how actors' opportunities and constraints are influenced, in part, by their personal and group embeddedness (Borgatti et al. 2013; Schweizer and White 1998). In two

studies of *!Kung* gift-giving and Javanese ritual celebrations, he used whole network analysis to investigate horizontal and vertical linkages connecting actors to larger domains “as a problem of the statistical correlation between different types of ties and the resulting network” (Schweizer 1997:740). The holistic nature of ethnographic data therefore makes it well-suited to using social network analysis in similar and different ways to develop proxy measures for comparison with cultural consonance and health variables.

Social network research can be conducted as personal network studies, which focus on a single person (called *ego*) and their ties to others (known as *alters*), while whole network studies include the entire set of relationships among a group of actors, or nodes. Ego-based approaches are common in hypothesis testing for understanding how people mobilize the social, human, and economic capital embedded within social ties, such as obtaining a personal loan, a helping hand, or emotional support (Borgatti et al. 2013; Hatala 2007; Lin 2001). Some studies focus on *access* to these resources, while others are concerned with their actual *use* (Burt 1992; Coleman 1988; Flap 2002; Lin 1999; Portes 2000; Putnam 1995). For instance, cultural consonance researchers have confirmed that individuals with larger perceived social support networks are generally more consonant with shared expectations and have better overall health outcomes than those with fewer close contacts (Dressler et al. 1997; 2005; Szurek 2011). The only limitation of an ego-based approach is its atomistic lens—it is a great analytic tool for comparing relational attribute data, but gives a rather restrictive view of structural network features. However, ego network analysis remains a popular method because of its economy and relative ease of use, as study respondents are not required to know each other (a prerequisite for whole network analysis).

Whole network analysis is most useful when an entire network is already present, one of the reasons why it remains difficult studying social interaction outside controlled experimental

settings, such as a specific employer, research lab, city council, or any corporate entity with overt hierarchies and official records listing all potential network nodes. This is the main reason why, despite its potential analytic power, whole network analysis is seldom used to study migration flows, as the logistics of detecting the boundaries and structure of a network are substantial. One notable exception is Lomnitz's (1977) work on networks and marginality in the Cerrada del Condor shantytown of Mexico City, although this research was done long before the personal computing age revolutionized social network analysis.

The current project offers an extraordinary chance to advance urban network studies by investigating migrant embeddedness in a vibrant, translocal diaspora community. This was only possible due to the existence of a 1987-88 Chugurpampan census of the community's original 166 households that Oths (1991) conducted as part of her initial fieldwork, which we updated across three field seasons in Chugurpampa and Trujillo from 2012-14 (Oths et al. 2012; 2013; see Ch. 9). These served as starting points for assembling the diaspora network during 24 months of ethnographic fieldwork, which I undertook using respondent-driven (i.e., snowball sampling) ego-network analysis to detect the boundaries and structure of the migrant community and create a 30-year multilevel dataset—within which is captured the translocal extension of Chugurpampa through the movement of individuals and households who share long-standing relationships.

Implementing personal network analysis in tandem with participant observation made it possible to conduct whole network analysis among a sample of migrants to assess the horizontal and vertical linkages connecting them. Migrant embeddedness is calculated from centrality scores to compare with cultural and health variables to test the hypothesis that embeddedness is positively correlated with cultural consonance and negatively with generalized psychological distress (see Ch. 4, 9). Centrality is an individual measure of structural equivalency frequently

used in hypothesis testing to evaluate one's importance within a network, based on the number of ties sent from or received by that person. Central actors are often interpreted as having greater autonomy, control, influence, exposure, knowledge, power, prestige or visibility.

Atran et al. (1999, 2002), for example, found that residents of a migrant community in Guatemala, when asked to identify persons with forest expertise, were likely to list individuals with high centrality scores. Thus, knowing *who* is central can be important in instances when one is searching for economic resources or social support. From a sociological view, central persons are perceived by others as trustworthy leaders but may also function as powerful gatekeepers who use their position to restrict resources from others. Centrality therefore creates opportunities for individuals and those around them to influence others through transmission of information, support, and material assistance (Borgatti et al. 2009, 2013; Brass 1983). It is thus a powerful metric for determining flows and events that can be usefully employed as a proxy measure for individual embeddedness in kinship, friendship, and community networks (Borgatti et al. 2013).

Chapter Summary

A network approach avoids a linear view of migration by privileging social, cultural, and economic links connecting Chugurpampa to the diaspora community in Trujillo (Massey 1990; Stein 2016). In this chapter, I defined Andean migration and described Massey's (1990) unified network approach for understanding how sending and receiving communities are connected by circular and cyclical flows of people, resources, and knowledge (de Haas 2010; Durand and Massey 2010; Epstein 2008). I provided pre-historic and historical overviews of the Andean institution of mobility in relation to modern migration patterns and reviewed how social network analysis has been used previously to operationalize Granovetter's (1985) embeddedness concept

(Schweizer 1997). Lastly, I explained how I propose to advance migration studies using whole network analysis to systematically analyze the structure of Chugurpampa's diaspora community.

Chapter Four

Social Networks, Culture Change and the Biocultural Origins of Stress

The relationship between social networks and health has been established in the social sciences at least since Émile Durkheim (1897) uncovered a link between social isolation and suicide. Medical anthropologists aligned with allied health fields such as epidemiology, public health, and medical sociology have long recognized that persons possessing more diverse social contacts, financial capital, cultural knowledge, and emotional support are better off according to manifold physiological and psychological health indicators (Dressler et al. 1997; Trostle 2005). This is certainly true in cases of rapid sociocultural change, especially circumstances fueled by global developmental processes like transnational migration, urbanization, and modernization. These observations were catalyst for formulation of the social stress model: a robust conceptual framework born of cross-disciplinary fertilization, which social health researchers have used for more than a half-century to promote integrative and holistic views of illness (Dressler 2001).

Medical investigators initially approached stress and disease from a biomechanical lens, obscuring from their view the diverse and varied social and cultural determinants of health that result in a “generalized susceptibility” to stress and disease (Brown 1974; Cassel 1976; Mason 1975). This was problematic when it came to acculturation-related stressors associated with the experience of rapid sociocultural change. But shortly after the Second World War, social health researchers began noting how domestic and international immigrants were less healthy than their counterparts in origin communities who had not yet undergone processes of urbanization and modernization (Cassel et al. 1960). Fleeing destitution of agrarian livelihoods, peasants crammed

into dense slums where fast population growth and squalid conditions exposed them to myriad health hazards, including inadequate access to shelter, overcrowding, limited access to services, poor sanitation and hygiene, air and noise pollution, crime, and pathogens (Ruel et al. 1999).

Environmental stressors are usually compounded by increased use of alcohol, tobacco, drugs, and other unsafe behaviors that often accompany acculturation-related lifestyle changes, including adverse dietary shifts. Recent arrivals undergo a near-immediate switch to processed foods high in fat, salt, and sugar, which, along with decreased physical and occupational activity, increase their risk for obesity and metabolic syndrome. These “multiple scarcities” are a daily reality for billions of people worldwide (Ioris 2012:621), increasing their susceptibility to stress-related illness and injury. Over time, these can develop into serious long-term health issues such as cardiovascular disease, depression, Type-2 diabetes, and chronic immunological dysfunction, which may become inherited developmentally by subsequent generations (Cyril et al. 2013; Duboz et al. 2012; Fox 2014; Hernández et al. 2012; Krishna 2013; Lu 2010; McDade 2002).

Migrants respond to challenges by drawing on resistance resources, which are coping structures like social support or economic assistance that can alleviate, or buffer, the impact of daily stressors. The social support buffering hypothesis is based on the proposition by Cassel (1976) and Cobb (1976) that social networks confer protective qualities against psychosocial stress (Berkman et al. 2000). Such networks comprise nuclear and extended kin but may also include friends and community members such as neighbors, religious leaders, or teachers—any person whom one might seek during times of crisis. That subjective sense of being integrated within a community of mutual support imparts a feeling of security that has a much-replicated moderating effect against physical and mental illness (Dressler et al. 1997; Duboz et al. 2012;

Kusuma et al. 2009). This has afforded critical advances in social and cultural health research, but it has also posed the problem of how to investigate and measure sociocultural variables.

Dressler's (2018) cultural consonance theory provides a conceptual and mixed-methods framework to ethnographically and quantitatively evaluate how migrants' congruity with group lifestyle and status expectations shapes their encounters with psychosocial stressors. The concept is based in a cognitive anthropological orientation, in which culture is surmised to consist of the shared knowledge and expectations one ought to know to function properly in a group or society (Goodenough 1996). As an independent variable in hypothesis testing, cultural consonance is consistently associated with cardiovascular, psychological, immunological, and developmental outcomes, making it a potent cultural predictor of acculturation-related stress that is frequently deployed in tandem with ethnographic research.

The greater difficulty arises when trying to measure the social environment, or more specifically, one's integration within a social group. In the previous chapter, I discussed how a personal network approach has been used in cultural consonance research to quantify the social support resources embedded within respondents' immediate ego-networks (Dressler 1982; Dressler et al. 1997, 2016; Szurek 2011). I also detailed its limitations for observing how underlying social structures and institutions shape personal and household economic decision-making, such as the *decision* to migrate. I argued, following Schweizer (1997) and others, that Granovetter's (1985) embeddedness construct can be operationalized for use in longitudinal and multilevel datasets using social network analysis to evaluate the horizontal and vertical links connecting migrants and their households to larger community social institutions and cultural goals (Augoustinos and Walker 1995; Brown 2002; D'Andrade 1995; de Haas 2010).

In this chapter, I outline the development and application of the social stress model to migrant health and detail the theoretical and methodological value of cognitive anthropology to understand how culture “gets under the skin” of migrants (Dressler 2018). I then discuss how this dissertation proposes to advance cultural consonance research (and by extension, stress research and migration studies, among others) by pairing it with whole social network analysis to gauge individual measures of embeddedness. Finally, I summarize the interdisciplinary merit of this project and briefly deliberate on the potentially compound impacts it could hold for future social health and migration research.

The Stress of Culture Change

In the strictest biological sense, the human stress response is an evolved physiological mechanism that aids an organism in self-preservation against acute stressors, or threatening agents, by increasing the flow of epinephrine and cortisol to the bloodstream (Dressler 1999). This causes the heart to work faster at the brief expense of other bodily functions (e.g., immune, digestive, reproductive, etc.) until the threat is successfully confronted or evaded (i.e., fight or flight response) (Sapolsky 2004). Humans face acute stressors every day. Illness, injury, job loss, and family conflict all pose threats to daily well-being, but it is chronic stressors such as housing insecurity, poverty, systemic racism, and the lack of social support, which present the greatest hazards to long-term wellness. These social, cultural, economic and political risk factors are most pronounced in stratified societies, where status is visible and anxieties over one’s position are a constant preoccupation in the psyches of most people. The picture becomes even more complex in instances of rapid sociocultural change, especially transformations that accompany global migration flows, neoliberalism, warfare, and climate change (Dressler 2001; Paerregaard 2010).

Lingering social pressures trigger repeated activation of the stress response, causing the heart to overwork and continuously lowering immune and other bodily functions, increasing risks of chronic illness (Wiley and Allen 2013). But the medical model's singular fixation on biological disease diverts attention away from these ecological stressors. This is not to imply researchers are unaware of such influences, so much as these insights are not within the scope of their analyses. Even amid an abundance of epidemiological and sociological data showing an inverse relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and health, biomedical researchers remain steadfast adherents to a circular logic: people die at higher rates *because* they are *stressed* (Cassel 1976; Kleinman 1988). This explanation misses the link between cause and effect that initially produces such stressors. It would not be until after World War II that social and cultural origins of stress and disease would gain momentum (Trostle and Sommerfeld 1996).

Socializing the Organism: Lifestyle Incongruity and the Social Stress Model

Beginning in the 1950s, the emergent field of medical anthropology along with allied health disciplines such as social epidemiology began investigating multi-causal origins of stress. Notably, South African physician and social epidemiologist John Cassel and associates evaluated the consequences of rapid social change on Appalachian labor migrants by measuring individual health effects of the new setting on host susceptibility and resistance (Cassel et al. 1960). They discovered that first- and second-generation workers possessed cultural knowledge that more effectively buffered against daily stressors than their immigrant parents, proposing that migrating had resulted in a cultural incongruity between knowledge that migrants acquired in their initial socialization and cultural expectations of the new environment. It was from these observations, the supposition arose that migrants less capable of adjusting to shifting expectations are more

susceptible to psychosocial stressors associated with acculturation (Duboz et al. 2012; Kusuma et al. 2009; Reyes-Garcia et al. 2010).

The stress and culture change hypothesis was first proposed to answer why community average blood pressures are higher among rural-to-urban migrants, communities undergoing culture change, and New-World African-descent groups, than it is for non-New-World African populations and those of European descent (Cassel et al. 1960; Henry and Cassel 1969; Scotch 1963). Individual blood pressure is the product of several factors including genetics, individual behavior, as well as physical and social environments. When these conditions abruptly change, there is predictable variability in blood pressure between communities (Waldron et al. 1982). But whereas medical researchers concerned themselves with faulty racial-genetic hypotheses, social health researchers were enamored by a more compelling finding, which anthropologists had known since Boas' (1912) anthropometric survey of immigrant children: variability in health exists between communities (inter-group), but there are important differences within populations (intra-group) and predictable variation by age and sex (Dressler 1999; Gravlee et al. 2003).

Confronted by the dominance of biomedicine, the social stress model was by necessity interdisciplinary. But it was early cross-cultural researchers (Caudill 1953; Fabrega 1972; Fleck and Ianni 1958; Frake 1961; Glick 1967; Paul 1955; Rubel 1964; Wellin 1977), biocultural investigators (Alland 1970; Armelagos 1967; Armelagos and Dewey 1970; Baker 1984; Bindon and Baker 1985; Dressler 1982; Frisancho and Baker 1970; Hanna and Baker 1979; McGarvey and Baker 1979; Scotch 1963), political-ecologists (Turshen 1977), and renegade physician-psychiatrists (Blumhagen 1980; Brown 1974; Engel 1971, 1977; Foster 1976; Hahn and Kleinman 1983; Hughes 1968; Kleinman 1977; Kleinman et al. 1978; Mason 1975; Yap 1962)

who would unite medical anthropology with the social health agenda of epidemiologists and public health researchers (Trostle 2005; True 1996).

Dressler (1982) applied the social stress model in the West Indian island of St. Lucia, examining intracommunity differences in blood pressure and depressive symptoms to determine if the stressor lifestyle incongruity, as he termed it, had similar effects on health. The lifestyle domain starts with Thorstein Veblen's (1899) notion of conspicuous consumption, which represents material goods and leisure-time activities accumulated and performed by individuals with the explicit purpose of signaling their social and economic achievements to others. This ran contrary to conventional neoclassical economic thought, the conceptual framework upon which the modernization paradigm is founded (see Ch. 3), which positions consumption as the aim of productive efforts (Lerner 1968). Veblen noted a paradox in such thinking: the highest levels of consumption were enjoyed by those engaging in the least labor, while "industrial occupations" signaled a person as *less* wealthy (1899:2). Thus, wealth and status are communicated not only by the accumulation of material items or execution of cultural behaviors, but the accompaniment of such consumptive practices without necessary productive efforts (Spindler 2002). As a result, personal and household lifestyle aspirations in stratified societies usually hinge on achieving *at least* equivalent, but preferably greater levels of consumption than other individuals and families.

"In modern civilized communities the lines of demarcation between social classes have grown vague and transient, and wherever this happens the norm of reputability imposed by the upper class extends its coercive influence with but slight hindrance down through the social structure to the lowest strata. The result is that the members of each stratum accept as their *ideal of decency* (emphasis added) the scheme of life in vogue in the next higher stratum, and bend all their energies to live up to that ideal. On pain of forfeiting their good name and their self-respect in case of failure, they must conform to the accepted code, *at least in appearance* (emphasis added) (Veblen 1899:40).

Dressler (1982) thus defined the stressor of lifestyle incongruity as a discrepancy between culturally shaped expectations for having a good life and the actual attainment of such collective goals by individuals and households (i.e., *ideal* versus *common standards* of decency). He then operationalized the resistance resource of social support as the size of respondents' support networks, essentially using personal network analysis to measure their links to other households to test whether social support moderates the effect of lifestyle incongruity on cardiovascular and psychological health outcomes. The largest increases in blood pressure were among those with fewest inter-household relations (i.e., insufficient social support) pursuing lifestyles beyond their means; they were also at the greatest risk for hypertension and depression. In a later biocultural analysis of youth in America Samoa, McDade (2002) similarly discovered that young Samoan men who struggled to meet shifting social status expectations of the rapidly Westernizing island society—what he termed status incongruity—showed poorest immunological health outcomes (measured physiologically as individual antibody levels against the Epstein-Barr virus).

These results bear important insights for the current study and social health research in general. Namely, modernization is a stressful circumstance in which personal incongruence with the proverbial *what-it-takes* to live a good life is a repeatedly demonstrated risk factor for poor cardiovascular, mental, and immunological health (Dressler 2018; Sorenson et al. 2009). Thus, seeing oneself and being perceived by others as being incapable of attaining shared cultural expectations meaningful to a social group is a chronically stressful experience (Gravlee and Dressler 2004; Janes 1990; Reyes-Garcia et al 2010). Similar shifts to lifestyle and status are present among Chugurpampans migrants in Trujillo, which are surmised to have a similar relationship with psychosocial stressors of rapid culture change. Some live in highland-style homes made from adobe bricks and lacking electricity, while others own brick-and-cement

dwellings replete with appliances, cable, computers, and WiFi. Migrants also possess diverse goals and ambitions for socioeconomic improvement. Some men desire to find work driving a taxi or in manufacturing, while many women seek clerical positions or attended a university in hopes of becoming professional career persons, which many view as the only reliable path out of poverty. Given these shifting lifestyle and status expectations, along with increasing exposure to new social and economic opportunities in Trujillo, one goal of this project is to explore Chugurpampan migrants' host susceptibility to psychosocial stressors of acculturation..

Getting Beneath the Skin: Cognitive Anthropology and Deployment of Cultural Consonance

Dressler and others have since improved the social stress model using theoretical and methodological contributions from cognitive anthropology to focus on intra-cultural variability in ethnographic populations and understand how variation in cultural knowledge and behavior shapes well-being (Dressler and Bindon 2000; Dressler 2018). Much like social network theory does for social variables, a cognitive approach offers a more ontological understanding of how culture is shared between and within groups. This assists anthropologists to overcome an operational issue that has classically plagued biomedical and health research: the relationship of individuals to the aggregate. People may assess stressors individually based on their perceived impact and the availability of resistance resources, but these events are only viewed as stressful in the first place because they are collectively conceived so by a group (Mason 1975).

Cognitive theory therefore conceptualizes culture as systems of shared knowledge that individuals mobilize to function appropriately in social settings (Bloch 2012; D'Andrade 1995; Goodenough 1996). This knowledge is contained in countless modular cultural models, which are schematic templates of specific cultural domains (e.g., lifestyle, family, status, social support)

that direct associated behaviors, relations, and meanings (Kronenfeld et al. 2011; Shore 1996). These models are generally learned unconsciously in life because they contain cultural resources necessary for interpreting, predicting, and adequately functioning in specific circumstances. But cultural models do not have to be widely shared for them to impact local systems, as personal models are constructed not just from social participation, but also individual life histories. Thus, knowledge is distributed unevenly: cultural knowledge varies both *between* cultures and across self-identifying groups (e.g., age cohorts, ethnic or racial categories, education background).

The cognitive paradigm has always accommodated advances in mixed-methods research, which merges ethnographic data and methods with structured survey techniques to investigate empirical outcomes in cultural domains. For anthropologists deeply immersed in ethnographic settings, this translates to an openness for integrating quantitative data collection procedures in prodigiously non-controlled experimental circumstances. The cultural consensus model is the star among implements: a statistical-based modeling procedure used to evaluate the distribution of knowledge-sharing (i.e., cultural models) by connecting individual knowledge to collective expectations (Weller and Romney 1988). Developed by Romney et al. (1986), cultural consensus analysis measures inter-informant agreement around a specific cultural domain by presuming limited sharing. The level of inter-informant agreement signifies model saliency, and individuals with greater knowledge of a shared model are identifiable as having higher cultural competence, which may further reveal patterns of within-group variation in shared knowledge.

Dressler (1991), for instance, discovered four culturally salient groups within an African-American group in the US Bible Belt—an ethnographic population whose notoriously-strong community structure has historically buffered against psychosocial stressors of systemic racism and social marginalization. Remarkably, each of these self-identifying within-culture groupings

showed varying susceptibility to different stressors and distinct resistance resources, showing the value of cultural consensus modeling for resolving the problem of intracultural variation and its utility to social and cultural health research. Consensus analysis also weights the answers of the most competent persons to estimate a cultural model for a specific domain, what Dressler (2018:72) describes as a “cultural best estimate,” but is also known as a “cultural answer key.” It contains the culturally “correct” ratings for the overall model, which exclusively pertains to the sample of respondents from whom data is collected and is not a judgement of *correct* cultural practices. Nor does it constitute an exhaustive representation of an entire culture or population, but rather, offers a prototypical outline to understand how people *understand* cultural models.

With cognitive anthropology as a conceptual and methodological foundation, Dressler and Bindon (2000) consolidated notions of lifestyle/status/cultural incongruity within a single, measurable variable. Cultural consonance is a logical extension of cultural consensus because it links the knowledge contained in cultural models and possessed by individuals to their actual behavior. Thus, whereas consensus measures how cultural models are shared between and within groups, consonance measures the degree that individuals approximate these expectations in their own beliefs and behaviors (Dressler 2012). Some people may be highly competent in cultural models, but are not, either by circumstance or choice, able to implement beliefs in their own lives. Thus, methodologically speaking, cultural consonance allows individual behavior to be measured independently of knowledge, which may then serve as a measure of cultural congruity for empirical testing with health outcomes (Dengah 2013, 2014).

In the relatively short period of time cultural consonance has been a formal construct, it has been put to remarkably broad use in diverse ethnographic settings by numerous researchers to empirically investigate a range of stressors, resistance resources, and outcome variables. The

now classic example is the extensive work by Dressler and colleagues in Ribeirão Preto, Brazil, for which they not only replicated the statistical correlation of lifestyle incongruity and blood pressure, but also found associations for multiple domains and health outcomes (Dressler et al. 1997, 2002, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2015, 2016). Sweet (2010) replicated this association among African-American high school students in a midwestern US city by building an ethnographically sound cultural consonance measure of high-status material items, social activities, and group expectations. But whereas Dressler et al. (2005) reported the association of cultural consonance and blood pressure was moderated by interactive forms of consonance, Sweet observed the association only when moderated by the economic status of students' parents.

Shultz (2014) encountered similar findings in an examination of blood pressure among the Tsimane', a mixed-subsistence society in lowland Bolivia undergoing varying degrees of development, which has unevenly expanded their access to wage labor and market exchange. He replicated the association by developing a measure of cultural consonance in life priorities. As with Sweet's (2010) work, the effect of cultural consonance on blood pressure was moderated by economic status. This association is a curious one, which, as Dressler (2018:149) admits, leaves unclear whether it is "a function of how cultural consonance is associated with health outcomes in general, or whether it has something to do with blood pressure specifically." Technically, one way to explore this relationship would be to *not* use blood pressure as the outcome variable, but something else associated both with the human stress process and cultural consonance.

Indicators of mental health are obvious alternatives, not only for their connection to the stress process, but because they are robust markers of psychosocial distress used by biomedical, social health, and anthropological researchers. Depression symptom checklists, for instance, are common in social epidemiology research, and are often used in tandem with blood pressure and

other markers as simple-to-implement instruments (Trostle 2005). Recently, Dengah (2013) developed a measure of cultural consonance in “the complete life” for Brazilian Pentecostal Protestants in Ribeirão Preto to compare with psychological distress. His research question originated from a finding in Dressler et al.’s (2007) investigation of cultural consonance and psychological distress, in which they found intracultural variability in multiple domains along lines of religious denomination. They picked up on separate religious models of the lifestyle domain that differ from secular knowledge, but also overlaps with it. In his later study, Dengah (2014) found evidence for an interaction of secular and religious cultural consonance in shaping believers’ encounters with psychological distress.

Much like for blood pressure, the relationship between cultural consonance and mental distress is a highly replicated association in cultural consonance research. Jackson (2009) used Cohen’s perceived stress scale and an anxiety symptom checklist to interview expectant mothers in Jalisco, Mexico to explore these variables’ association with cultural consonance in an ideal pregnancy. For a group of mostly Mexican immigrants in rural Mississippi, Read-Wahidi (2014) assessed immigration stressors to compare with cultural consonance in *genuine* devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe, a Mexican-Catholic Marian icon, which she found to buffer against psychosocial stressors of immigration. Reyes-García et al. (2010) assembled a checklist of different emotions and behaviors to derive a localized scale of psychological well-being for the Tsimane’ of Bolivia (detailed for Schultz [2014]). They not only replicated the association of high cultural consonance and positive emotions, but like Dressler et al.’s research program in Brazil, they incorporated a longitudinal design. Snodgrass et al. (2013, 2014) took cultural consonance virtual, creating online profiles for the massive media online gaming platform *World of Warcraft*, discovering associations of cultural consonance in real-life and virtual-life success

with a psychological checklist for internet addiction. And in an Andean research site not far from Chugurpampa, Brooks (2016) explored the relationship between cultural consonance in being a good [Andean] farmer with levels of psychological distress (measured with depression and perceived stress checklists); he also found associations between cultural consonance and symptoms of the cultural illness *susto* (see Ch. 2).

Two insights from these investigations carry enormous importance for the current study. First, indicators of mental health include a broad range of valuable and adaptable measures for operationalizing elements of the human stress response. Second, in deriving scales of cultural consonance to measure individual congruity with collective knowledge, what all consonance research shares, despite different settings and varied research aims, is an overarching focus on localized notions of cultural success—and the individual health consequences of not attaining shared expectations (i.e., cultural models) in one’s own life. Life success is thus the underlying foundation of this research, whether concerning religious life, maternity, lifestyle, subsistence, or status. Imaginably, it is not the only way the construct can be used (e.g., cultural consonance in “inappropriate political conversations” or “people who just don’t get it”). But for the purpose of investigating stress and culture change, cultural consonance captures how people who are not successful (according to local standards) suffer more.

Another aim of this project is determining if Chugurpampans in Trujillo share relevant migration goals and lifestyle aspirations to model the distribution of knowledge-sharing and to construct a measure of cultural consonance in “Chugurpampan migration success” (CMS). It is hypothesized that if such a cultural model exists, migrants less capable of enacting cultural expectations in their own beliefs and behaviors (low cultural consonance in CMS) will suffer most distress. Following Dressler et al. (2007), a generalized measure of psychological distress

was created from Spanish-language versions of the Center for Epidemiological Studies Revised Depression (CESD-R) checklist (Eaton et al. 2004) and Cohen's 14-item Perceived Stress scale (PSS-14) (Cohen et al. 1983). Each is highly reliable and associated with cultural consonance, along with countless physiological outcomes such as blood pressure and other markers of the human stress process (Reyes-Garcia et al. 2010). This makes the CESD-R and PSS-14 fitting instruments to explore how cultural consonance moderates and is moderated by other variables such as age, gender, SES, and network embeddedness.

The Embeddedness of Cultural Consonance: Advancing the Biocultural Synthesis

The primary objective of this dissertation is to assess if Chugurpampans' embeddedness in the diaspora network shapes their cultural consonance in CMS and associated psychological health outcomes. As I detailed in Chapter Two for the Andean region and in Chapter Three concerning migration studies, operationalizing any social or cultural variable in mixed-methods research requires investigators to navigate a middle ground of often polarized analytic spheres of influence. For the current project, this task is assuaged by Massey (1990) and Dressler (2018), among others, who have already done much to untangle the relationship of the individual to the aggregate for respective subject matters. In the process of socializing myself to these arguments to understand their impact for a study of embeddedness, cultural consonance, and psychological wellness, I was struck by the theoretical congruence of network and cognitive approaches within a structural-constructivist lens.

Dressler (2001) has argued for integrating a structural-constructivist approach in medical anthropology. The term derives from a lesser-known work of the late French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu (1990), in which he attempted to resolve the analytic rift between *constructivism* and

structuralism. In the scope of philosophic thought, these camps go by different labels depending on topic and discipline. But all are grounded in basic distinctions between culturally constructed ideas, knowledge, behavior, and relations of individuals in groups, and the objective, material, social-structural settings within which their interactions occur (1990:123). Bourdieu argued it was not possible to study humanity without considering “how individuals are situated within and constrained by social structures and how those individuals construct an understanding of and impose meaning on the world around them” (Dressler 2001:455). As outlined in this chapter, this understanding is a foundational component of the theory of cultural consonance.

Following Bourdieu, Dressler (2001) calls for synthesis of these two approaches in medical anthropology to understand how social and cultural forces interactively shape health.

“[A]s anthropologists studying health, we have stumbled into an arena that demands that we understand how structure and cultural construction intersect, because that intersection leaves its mark on the human body. At a basic level, it is the inclusion of the human body in our subject matter that forces us to take seriously this relationship between structure and construction, because the disjunction between what happens to the body and how those happenings are culturally constructed is often too readily apparent” (Dressler 2001:457).

Social networks are like cultural models in many ways. Both are shared and mobilized by individuals; direct associated behaviors, relations, and meanings; are learned as key elements of socialization and enculturation; are shaped by individual life histories; and contain resources to interpret, predict, and function in a culturally constructed social group (Bloch 2012; Kronenfeld et al. 2011). Thus, while objective social structures and institutions may dictate the arrangement of individuals and groups, their directive authority rests on shared cultural models from which people derive meaning for these relations. “When we ask what is in a social tie,” Schweizer (1997:740) reasons, “we are asking about cultural beliefs. It is [therefore] important to assess the meaning of social ties and the schemas and decision rules guiding action.” Just as the purpose of

using cultural models in medical anthropology is to highlight the *distribution* of knowledge-sharing (i.e., intracultural variability) to uncover health disparities, whole network analysis is a way to examine how imbalanced channels of social transmission influence this process.

As I mentioned briefly in Chapter Three, the notion of embeddedness refers not only to the hierarchical embeddedness of people, households, and communities within larger political-economic structures, but the cognitive embeddedness of cultural models within the individual agents who negotiate those structures and are constrained by them (Schweizer 1997; Dressler 2005). I propose that integrating concepts of embeddedness and cultural consonance within the structural-constructivist lens of biocultural medical anthropology offers the chance to understand how social structure and cultural knowledge interactively shape migrant well-being (Stein 2018; Stein and Oths 2017). I further contend that network and cognitive approaches to migration can be used in conceptually and functionally equivalent ways in mixed-methods research to operationalize these outcomes. Whole network analysis brings to the *social* sphere what a cognitive anthropological orientation has come to represent for the domain of *culture*.

Social networks and cultural models exist as culturally constructed elements of the lived realities of individuals and groups, and can therefore be investigated through a wide range of data collection techniques to take a snapshot of sociocultural forces *in situ*. These quantitative data should supplement cultural insights from long-term ethnographic fieldwork to thoughtfully evaluate the impact of social structures and cultural knowledge on migrants' bodies. Two things are known about cultural consonance: first, there is such a thing, and second, that low cultural consonance is associated with poorer health status. Beyond these aspects, very little is known about the construct. Hence, among the ways cultural consonance research can be advanced, this study seeks to determine whether embeddedness contributes to a migrants' cultural consonance

and psychological wellness. This is important because, as I demonstrated for existing studies (Dressler 2018; Schultz 2014; Sweet 2010), just about the only thing relevant to having high or low cultural consonance is socioeconomic status. Chugurpampans differentiate in these terms, but the differences are less extreme than socioeconomic variation documented by Dressler and colleagues (2005, 2007) among favela and upper-middle class groups in Ribeirão Preto, Brazil. Thus, understanding if and how embeddedness contributes to cultural consonance in “migration success” will add an interesting dimension to research.

Chapter Summary

Cultural consonance is a measure of individual congruity with collective knowledge that is based in a cognitive approach to culture. Medical anthropologists examining migration and culture change have used the construct to evaluate how the experience of being incongruous with shared cultural expectations generates stress in the form of physical and mental illness (Reyes-Garcia et al. 2010). In this chapter, I detailed the development and application of the social stress model to investigate how perceiving oneself and being seen by others as not attaining shared expectations is essentially a stressful experience (Gravlee and Dressler 2004). I also outlined existing research of cultural consonance and discussed how I propose to advance the construct by implementing it jointly with social network analysis to better understand how social and cultural forces influence immigrant health.

PART II

**AN ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE OF
CHUGURPAMPA'S DIASPORA COMMUNITY IN TRUJILLO**

Chapter Five

Ethnographic Methodology

The second part of this dissertation is an ethnographic description of Chugurpampa's diaspora community in Trujillo. I was first acquainted with the study population in August 2012 as a member of a research team assembled by my advisor Kathryn Oths. Our goal was to assess changes to health beliefs that had occurred in the twenty-five years since she began investigating medical treatment choice in Chugurpampa in the late 1980s. It was during that field season that we witnessed the long-term deterioration of the hamlet's *in situ* social and economic structures. Agriculture is no longer a certain productive activity—the land simply does not produce like it once did. These days, just about the only crops families can grow dependably for the market are wheat and yellow potato, which require considerable cash, labor, and chemical inputs to cultivate but reap minimal profit unless sold in large quantity. These pressures have been exacerbated in recent years by unforeseen climatic changes, wreaking unpredictable droughts, torrential rains, and blight, among ills, which are all but dismantling Chugurpampans' agricultural livelihoods.

Residents expressed to us feelings of economic isolation in their highland village, many confessing the inevitability of one day having to migrate to the coast, as many households have already done. In years prior, economic hardship would have been confronted collectively. Oths (1994) vibrantly noted how Chugurpampan families activated horizontal and vertical ties of reciprocity to meet household health care and subsistence needs during a period of Latin American economic inflation known colloquially by Peruvians as *la alza* (the rise). But in the process of updating a 1988 community census of Chugurpampa's then-166 households that Oths

conducted during her initial fieldwork, we were shocked to learn that migrants disproportionately comprise the middle age demographic: 20-45 years old. This dispersion of a generation of Chugurpampa's labor base away from the hamlet is causing a breakdown of community structures and cultural institutions, while the privatization of land and disincorporation of peasant communities only exacerbates the searing privation of poverty.

"I don't hear well!" joked Ernesta, a 78-year-old migrant who had lived in Chugurpampa her entire life. Hard of hearing and suffering a Parkinson's-related tremor that belabored her speech, she moved to Alto Trujillo in 2009 after her husband passed away, to live her remaining years with her children. "There are no people in the highlands," she lamented. "Everyone has gone!" The old woman's complexion reddened as she strained to force out each word. "It's just—" her voice cracked, a meniscus of tears readying to burst from her tired, wrinkled eyes. Ernesta's grandson Juan overheard the conversation, springing from his nearby shoemaking workstation to comfort the fragile, old woman.

"Please excuse my grandmother, Max," he urged. "She's very delicate and nowadays she doesn't hear ver—" Ernesta gripped her grandson's wrist, tugging at his tattered work apron with the other hand.

"It's alright, *hijo* (child). Sit down," she interrupted, removing a small handkerchief from her bright red cardigan to wipe the few stray tears from her cheeks as Juan slowly seated himself, his tending gaze never abandoning his dear *abuelita* (grandmother). "It's just such a shame," Ernesta resumed. "Everyone left. Well, I guess that's how it is nowadays. You leave or you die."

Poverty is a life in which one cannot provide basic means of subsistence for themselves or their household. At the most fundamental level, Chugurpampans are leaving their ancestral home to escape poverty for means of survival. In Peru's 21st-century market economy, highland

peasants are starkly aware that making ends meet and fulfilling one's obligations are unfeasible via exclusively agricultural productive activities, especially now that the highland climate is so irregular. As a result, there is little work for which peasants' abundant agrarian knowledge is valued, a scarcity makes it impossible for already desperate families to sustain an economic base. Chugurpampans have therefore been out-migrating with the long-term goal of getting themselves ahead in life in hopes it will lead to a better future.

Trujillo has long been regarded as a source of good work, especially skills, trades, and professional careers that are secure and have pay stability. While most Chugurpampans came to the coast in the last 30 years, others moved in the mid-1980s just before Oths' arrival. But there was a smaller, more distinguishable group of pioneer migrants who came to Trujillo as early as the 1960s to perform seasonal and wage labor in either construction or agricultural sectors. A few came as children to pursue secondary-school studies that were not available in Chugurpampa or the now-provincial capital of Julcán, which, at the time, was a district seat within Otuzco Province (Huanes Vargas 2015). Julcán did not even establish a secondary school until 1968, meaning Chugurpampan households could either send their children to the then-provincial capital of Otuzco, to live with family on the coast, or to labor in the fields.

Many Chugurpampans have taken residence in shantytowns called *pueblos jóvenes*, such as El Porvenir, La Esperanza, Florencia de Mora, and Laredo (**Figure 5.1**). These communities began as squatter settlements but have been incorporated as municipalities and extensively developed over the past 50 years. However, new migrants continue to occupy unplanned slums with limited access to services and infrastructure, while more-established families with decades-long coastal legacies live comfortably in integrated residential zones called *urbanizaciones*. The greatest concentration of households today is in El Porvenir District ($N=140,000$) (INEI 2013),

which is home to many established *barríos* (neighborhoods) and recently integrated sectors. The district also comprises over half of Trujillo's small- and medium-sized enterprises, including its thriving footwear industry, in which some Chugurpampan families participate (Benites 2013; Urcia 2013). Others find stability in manufacturing, construction, transportation, retail, service and professional sectors.

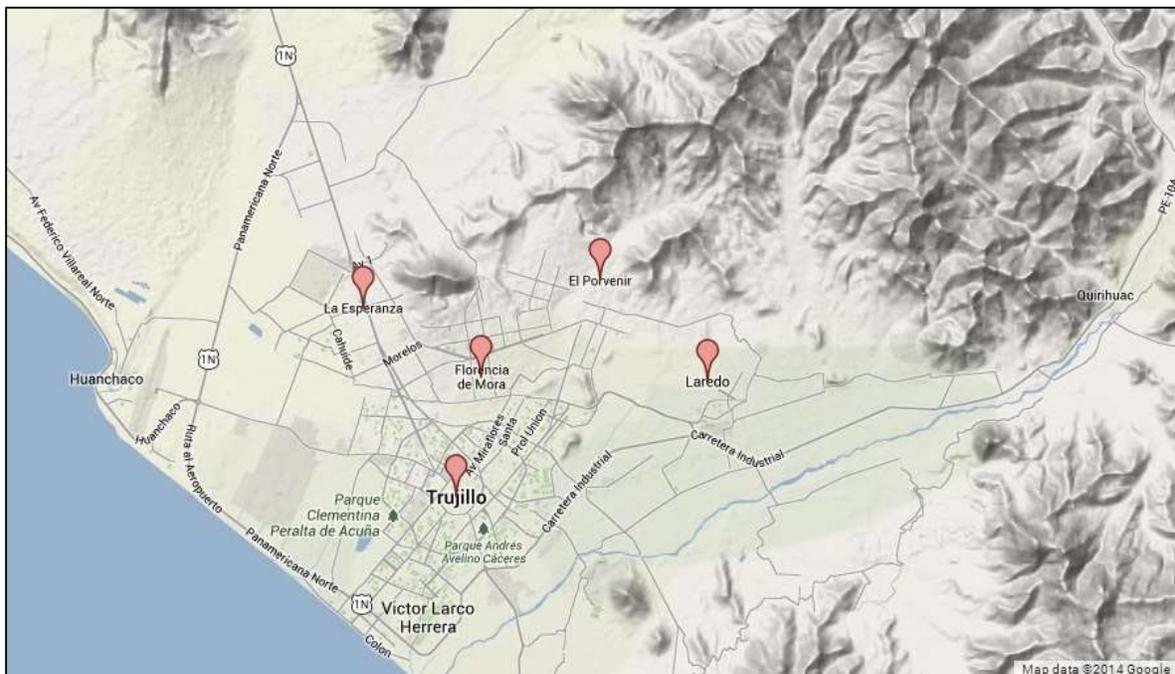


Figure 5.1. Four major pueblos jóvenes (shantytowns) in relation to Trujillo (Google Maps 2014).

Plunging myself into the migrant community helped me to understand the seemingly stark contrasts between the lifestyles of Chugurpampan residents and diaspora members on the coast. In Trujillo, there is a community, a mild and predictable climate, better work prospects, and plenty of opportunities for education. Chugurpampans have been migrating for the promise of comfort without as much struggle and toil; a life in which they can obtain a skill or trade to assist their kin pursue advanced studies and become professionals. For elderly highlanders who

are alone in Chugurpampa, oftentimes there is no other option than leaving for the coast where so many already reside— “Where all the people are,” as Ernesta put it.

A successful migration story is one accomplished through excruciating persistence, stymied by family tragedy and personal vice, and realized in the aspirations and triumphs of individual migrants and households whose dream is to *seguir adelante* (get ahead). Part II of this dissertation offers a glimpse into the lives of migrants in Trujillo with the aim of outlining major insights gained from long-term ethnographic fieldwork. The content in the following chapters is arranged semi-chronologically based on how insights were gained. When I arrived in Trujillo in July 2014, I walked around the entire city, used public transportation, ate foods in local markets and eateries, and built a basic understanding of the province in the three months before I moved to El Porvenir (Aug 2014-Oct 2014), where I had arranged to live with a Chugurpampan migrant family during primary fieldwork.

The next fourteen months (Nov 2014-Dec 2015) were spent doing participant observation to gain insight into the Chugurpampan diaspora community. During ethnographic research, I was acquainted with more than 300 migrants from Chugurpampa alone. They welcomed me into their homes, places of work, and favorite leisure spots with a mix of polite welcome, quiet suspicion, and outright rejection. Many accompanied me to formal and informal community events and extended direct invitations to attend masses, parties, dances, fundraisers, and barbecues. This culminated in my attendance and participation in Chugurpampa’s annual patron-saint feast, The Sacred Heart of Jesus: a four-day celebration that concludes at morning mass on the second Sunday every June. What began as a small-scale religious harvest celebration has taken on new meaning in Chugurpampa’s diasporic era, transforming into an annual homecoming celebration

for which migrants from Trujillo and beyond return with their families to reinforce their coastal status and pledge eternal devotion to the land of their birth.

I present insights from my own voyage to understand the lives of highland migrants in Trujillo, Peru. Many elements are discussed for descriptive purposes, but also for their relevance to migrants' daily routines. Transportation, construction, business, food, health, and education sectors are broadly detailed because many migrants have attained comfortable lives as drivers, masons, merchants, cooks, doctors, nurses, teachers, and other careers. I also highlight some of my successes and failures, and introduce several Chugurpampans whom I knew well, including my research assistant, Genaro Aguilar Sandoval. In the remainder of this chapter, I examine my position as a researcher, not only in relation to the study group, but also to the manifold local and global identities inhabiting Peru's fast-growing northern coast. Lastly, I detail my preparation and techniques for fieldwork and describe the process of gaining access to the Chugurpampan diaspora and continually building rapport.

Taking a Position: Coastal Identities and the Global Foreigner

At some point in the not-so-distant history of anthropological thought, the tendency to view rural migrants as undergoing processes of modernization, urbanization, and Westernization fell out of favor with many ethnographers. As I detailed in Chapter Three, it became recognized that these mechanisms were products of 21st-century economic liberalism; a culmination of the 500-year diffusion of Western cultural, economic, and political hegemony that reified the free-market economy as a natural element of human existence. The postmodern critique of anthropological sciences has forced researchers to critically reflect upon how their theories and methods advance a Western, capitalist agenda. It obliges all ethnographers to consider how their

positionality (i.e., their position in space and time in relation to the group studied) and research questions impact their study populations (Bourke 2014).

For the current project, I did not interpret this critical appraisal as a polite suggestion, but as imperative. A biocultural medical anthropologist by training, my mixed-methods background emphasizes a professional position at the crossroads of disciplines, where theoretical and methodological approaches from across the qualitative–quantitative spectrum are merged and applied towards the benefit of human health worldwide. In this dissertation, I draw key concepts from migration studies, social network theory, cognitive anthropology, and Andean studies to understand human mobility as an adaptive mechanism. My aim is not just to combine them, but to be conversant in their literatures and disputes to ensure this project’s academic merit is not limited to anthropology. However, the main obstacles I faced in the field did not involve linking these concepts, but rather, negotiating what the postmodern critique meant for my investigation.

Chugurpampans have been undergoing modernization and urbanization as elements of global development and progress. These processes are cultural constructions, but their worldwide implementation impacts humans on every continent. I am not suggesting an innate progression of human biological or social evolution. Rather, I want to acknowledge how neoliberalism and globalization (i.e., free-market global capitalism) have shaped the biocultural lives of rural-to-urban migrants in ways that have reinforced these processes as seemingly natural forces of culture change. Chugurpampans outline motives for migrating using expressions that illustrate their perception of a one-directional, linear progression out of poverty, hardship, and suffering, to a more equitable future. Phrases such as *seguir adelante* (to get ahead) and *superar la pobreza* (overcome poverty) reveal embedded notions of a process facilitated by the accumulation of economic and material capital. Assessing *modern* migration patterns therefore means studying

the consequences of urbanization and development on immigrants' bodies, social networks, cultural knowledge, and resultant behavior.

Today, modernization has not only accelerated, but is more complex with advances in communication and expanding infrastructure. Coastal elements are already common in highland towns and villages, which are being transformed by public and private investments from once-quiet settlements into bustling city streets with running water, electricity, and 4G LTE internet. Many highland merchants, teachers, doctors, and accountants are former migrants themselves, living in Trujillo and commuting to work on weekdays, bringing *serranos* in direct contact with coastal customs. Prospective emigrants therefore gain expectations about migration early in life, visiting and hosting migrant family, and equipping themselves with the cultural capital and social resources needed to ease their eventual transition to the coast. No longer are adolescents arriving dressed in black, woolen suits, well-worn leather shoes, and a trusty fedora. Today, people command multiple identities and walk carefully along the thin line that separates these worlds (Paerregaard 1997).

But living in a major city means endless exposure to modern influences, the result of which is a race for status and economic distinction that is entirely antithetical to traditional Andean values of humility and reciprocity. As such, there is an ever-diminishing lag time in terms of how quickly migrants can erase their highland roots (de la Cadena 1995; Weismantel and Eisenman 1998). This was precisely the issue in my own research for which I encountered hurdles negotiating the postmodern critique. It seemed that every effort I made to consider my positionality relative to migrants only reinforced the analytic divide between us. The more I tried to hide my cultural expectations, experiences, and biases, the harder they tried to figure them out. In retrospect, I do not believe I grasped the social and cultural meaning of being a young, North

American male outsider in Peru. After all the preparation, all the time learning across disciplines, and all the personal and financial risks I assumed; after all I did to *understand* Peruvians—they sure knew a lot about me.

I became aware early on of a popular archetype held by Peruvians of what I have come to call “the global foreigner” from the Spanish word *extranjero* (lit. stranger). While racial, ethnic, and national labels are used frequently to address people on an individual basis, *extranjero* is a broad, generally positive branding given to anyone perceived to be non-Peruvian. In Trujillo, outsiders who fit this model hail from diverse national origins, but ethnically, are mostly white twentysomethings from Europe, Australia, and the Americas looking to experience the world. Most fall into one of several locally-defined groups, including tourists, volunteers, missionaries, professionals, and wanderers. The majority cluster around historic districts and middleclass neighborhoods, where they are a visible and valued minority for their typically high disposable incomes, far-reaching social resources, and worldly connections.

One reason for this infusion of outsiders in Peru, as well as their generally warm reception, is due to a particularly ingenious marketing strategy carried out in 2009 by Peru’s Exports and Tourism Promotion Commission, or *PromPerú*. The focal point is a simple but powerful logo written in an adapted version of Bree typeface called Bree Peru, in which the P spirals like a Nazca line (**Figure 5.2**). It adorns tags of clothing, notebook covers, and billboards within a 20km radius of Callao Province in Lima, where visitors from around the world arrive at Jorge Chávez International Airport to embark upon a cultural expedition to the land of the Inka. Post cards with distinctively Peruvian imagery invite outsiders to explore the country’s national wonders: “Dare to imagine more” set against the backdrop of Machu Picchu; “Lay out your own

path” spanning the scorching dunes of the Atacama Desert; “Crossroad of culture” zoomed-in on delicate, multi-colored fibers being carefully woven amid a lush, green Amazonian jungle.



Figure 5.2. Logo of The Peru Country Brand (PromPeru 2018).

Peru’s logo is far more than a clever advertising ploy to stir up tourism. The insignia is what its creators, design-firm FutureBrand, call a “country brand,” the idea behind which is to stimulate all-around economic growth. The Peru Country Brand is founded on three intersecting goals: (1) communicate the quality of and worldwide demand for Peruvian exports; (2) invite the world to enjoy the Peruvian mosaic of cultural and historical diversity; and (3) attract investment to become an engine of global development and progress (PromPerú 2018). Enjoyed *quinoa* with a recent meal? Caught up with an acquaintance who just returned from a trip to Machu Picchu? Notice Peruvian dining options popping up in suburban US communities? Meet the work of the global foreigner: not a tourist, entrepreneur, professional, student, volunteer, missionary, nor a person of any specific nationality, religion, race, or ethnicity. An agent of global development, and an amalgam of possibilities linking endless multiethnic pockets of the 21st-century world.

The Peru Country Brand is specifically designed to attract the global foreigner, which is a precious import in the neoliberal age, especially in Trujillo. As the largest metropolitan area on Peru’s northern coast and the heart of a regional identity that starkly contrasts southern Peru,

Trujillo draws visitors from every background. Ones I knew were eager to experience first-hand the challenges faced by Peru's poor, which they achieved doing rotations at local hospitals or volunteering at orphanages in the *pueblos juvenes*, typically. Others taught English in town, engaged with or owned businesses in the province, had married someone from Peru, or were just vagabonds whose stopover ended up being longer than expected. But the one thing that many shared was that once night fell, they retreated to beach-side and downtown bars to discuss over beers with other foreigners and *Trujillanos* how the city's migrants and urban poor led valueless lives.

"I wanted to come to a third world country to see the world," I was once told by a German medical student spending a semester abroad working at a hospital in Florencia de Mora, "and what I see is a country full of poor people leading meaningless lives. I mean work, home, sleep—what kind of life is that? Where's the excitement? Where's the adventure? Larco District is a real oasis in an otherwise rundown third-world country. Trust me, I've been to places like La Esperanza [District]—it's a big, dusty nothing." This example is extreme, but it does capture a common sentiment, and not just among foreigners. I also encountered *Trujillanos* with less than favorable views of migrants and could always perceive an uneasy gulf between them.

One of my Spanish teachers told me the only time she ever visited El Porvenir was in college after being dared to do so. Conversely, many migrants and highlanders consider any neighborhood beyond the *pueblos juvenes* as Trujillo. So, there remain these robust, albeit fluid and permeable socioeconomic barriers that continue to messily segregate Trujillo's citizens into opposing groups. However, when most *Trujillanos* voice their opinion of migrants, or residents of *pueblos juvenes* generally, they do so indirectly by referencing supposedly shared knowledge

in the plural third-person: “They say migrants... drink too much...cry about being poor.” Still, others were franker about their (dis)regard for highlanders and migrants alike.

“Their lives were fine!” a *Trujillana* acquaintance once bellowed when I proposed that highlanders’ lives had improved since the 1970s Agrarian reform, not realizing her family were former Liberteñan plantation owners. “Humble?” she sternly implored? “Yeah, but what else did they have back then? They had community, right? They had responsibility. *They were dignified!* And now? They just threw it all away at the plantation owners’ expense, so they can frivolously waste money getting drunk and then cry about being poor. What disgrace!” I was left speechless. Never did I expect to encounter prejudice in a way so strikingly redolent of the racism depicted in Golden-Age literature.

As I briefly touched on in Chapter Two, ethnographers have written extensively about highland migrants undergoing a transition from *serrano* to *cholo* and finally *mestizo*—racialized categories that align with ethnic and class-based distinctions. Historically, the *cholo* position has connoted a hybridity typical of city-dwelling highlanders, who no longer match the derogatory image of Andeans as dirty, stupid, and ignorant but have yet to embrace modernity enough to be considered *gente decente* (decent people) (Greene 2006; La Barre 1948; Orlove and Schmidt 1995; Starn 1994; Van den Berghe and Primov 1977; Weismantel and Eisenman 1998). Today, *cholo* is an often-positive, sometimes negative label that concurrently captures the connectedness of highland and coast while also reifying the socioeconomic and cultural differences separating them. It seizes upon a form of personhood shared by residents of *barrios* across the region, in ways that national labels like Peruvian or Chilean cannot. *Cholo* is therefore both a position of status and one of a struggle mutually endured by urban poor across Latin America.

“All of us are *cholos*, Max,” boasted Edwin, a migrant in his early twenties from Ayunguy village near Chugurpampa, who attended secondary school with several younger migrants I knew well. “The people here aren’t *Trujillano*, but they’re no longer full highlander anymore either. We remain humble, but we’re not ignorant.” Edwin spoke candidly about issues of identity, bringing up a perceived divide between the northern coast of Peru and Lima. “When people from Lima say *cholo* it’s as an insult, just like in Trujillo when they say *serrano*,” he huffed. He shared with me his surprise when, during a visit with family in the Victoria District of Lima, a simple request for shampoo prompted a storeowner to inquire his hometown.

“I go to this store and I say, ‘Madame, please, sell me a travel-size shampoo bottle,’ and she’s like, ‘Ah, you’re from Trujillo!’ Here I am asking for shampoo and suddenly this bitch thinks she knows me.” Similarly, *cholo* and *serrano* are often used pejoratively by *Trujillanxs*, the police, and political and authority figures, whose negative connotations are unmistakable. However, despite these longstanding structural barriers, most migrants describe life in Trujillo today as nothing like it had been thirty years prior when Oths first arrived in Chugurpampa.

“Discrimination just doesn’t exist nowadays as it had in years past, like back in the eighties and nineties when my brothers and I came to the coast for secondary school,” clarified Victor, a successful merchant and vice president of Chugurpampa’s migrant association, who also had the honor that year of serving as organizer of the 2015 Patron Festival. My 18-year-old family member Eliza, who moved to the coast in 2012 to study interior design at a technical school, echoed a similar embrace among the country’s youth.

“Do you feel like you are respected by people from the coast?” I asked her one afternoon as she prepared to leave for class.

“Certainly!” she replied. “At school it’s a real mixed group. My school friends always include me and even help me out when I’m short on money.”

Migrants’ shifting perceptions of racial, ethnic, and class relations are a product of Peru’s embrace of globalization, but they also stem from a national discourse of *interculturalidad* (interculturality), the prevailing neoliberal credo that commands *costeños* (coastal, typically city-dwelling peoples) to respect traditions of highlanders and *amazónicas* (Amazon-dwelling groups), and to value their contributions toward Peruvian society (Peruvian Ministry of Culture 2018). This is a more recent cultural trend in Peru, although Gaines and Farmer (1986) have similarly noted that in France, immigrants who adopt French language and customs and are seen to be contributing productively to society are regarded as French.

Similar forms of tolerance appear to be emerging today in Trujillo, but mostly to the extent that *Trujillanos* can suppress their biases with the understanding that prejudice only decelerates migrants’ eventual transition from *gente humilde* (humble people [i.e., farmers]) to *gente decente* (decent people [i.e., job security in market economy]) (Oths 2002:66; Oths et al. 2018). Thus, there is still much discrimination against highland and migrant populations, even if I sensed a broadened acceptance for their efforts to adopt coastal ideals. And in the smartphone age, Facebook and YouTube are uploaded with videos of people encountering hate and racism on a daily basis. Thus, understanding this dimension meant being perceptive not only to forms of discrimination migrants encounter, but ways in which prejudices of the dominant coastal class are translated into forms of self-hatred within the diaspora community.

Psychologist Kurt Lewin (1948) described this form of behavior among members of German-Jewish and American-Jewish diasporas, though the phenomenon is documented among many US immigrant groups (Finlay 2005). In Brazil, culturally constructed categories of race

also align with notions of class identity but are mutable, such that a goal among Brazil's urban poor is to "become white" (*branqueamento*) as an intrinsic element of their social status (Alfredo Guimarães 2012; Loveman et al. 2012). I often observed these habits to dominate the anxieties of certain Chugurpampans, but especially persons with higher, stable incomes and greater overall purchasing power. For instance, Dani, a professionally educated accountant in her mid-thirties who migrated to Trujillo in 1999, was preoccupied with eating peaches during her second son's pregnancy because she heard on Dr. TV (the Peruvian Dr. Oz) it would lighten his complexion.

Dani is well regarded among the diaspora community for her high status and humbling story of *superación* (advancement). She constantly uses her higher socioeconomic position to support those around her, not only family and friends, but migrants and residents whom she has known her entire life and vows never to forget. But on several occasions, I witnessed Dani deride people for behavior she viewed as wholly incongruent with how a coastal migrant ought to carry oneself, using slights like *serranita* (little mountain girl) for migrant women whom she felt just did not get it. At the same time, she is apprehensive about the future. Specifically, whether she and her husband Frank will be able to give their boys Franky and Panchi opportunities they never had. Throughout the ethnographic section of this dissertation, I delve deeper into these widening socioeconomic and ethnic differences, and expound upon how they are changing Chugurpampa's translocal community structure.

Preparation and Techniques

I arrived in Trujillo in July 2014 accompanied by my friend and anthropology colleague Rodrigo Lazo, whom I met two years earlier on Oths' research team. Rodrigo assisted me in conducting pilot research, including hiring a research assistant, probing the migrant network, and

pre-testing my interview schedule. I hired Genaro Aguilar Sandoval, an older migrant with a rich history living between highlands and coast, whom Kathy recommended as an assistant. Together with Genaro, who was the elected Lieutenant Governor of Chugurpampa at the time, she was able to conduct the 1987-88 census, a remarkably involved task that entailed surveying more than 900 residents living across 166 households. When I met him, Genaro's primary occupation was working in his nephew Alan's tannery, a home-based workshop adjacent to Genaro's lot, so he said most of our interviews would have to be in the late afternoon or evening. This was good, ultimately, because Chugurpampans were mostly unavailable during the daytime unless we visited them at their place of work.

A second reason for the pilot research was to find a place to live. There were countless places throughout Trujillo in which I could have stayed inexpensively, comfortably, and safely, and in neighborhoods with professional Peruvians and *extranjers* like myself. But I figured due to the level of cultural immersion needed to access a so-called imagined community (Anderson 1982; see Ch. 3), the best option for my ethnography was to live in a *pueblo joven*, preferably with migrants from Chugurpampa. Genaro lived in a prominent enclave of Chugurpampans (and more generally, *Juclaners*) households in the Jaime Blanco sector of El Porvenir, some with migration histories dating to the 1960s. I knew his house was proximate to several extended family members, and I wanted to see what opportunities there would be to make one of their spaces my residence and research base. But I also feared for my safety—concerns Genaro's nephew Fráncó did little to curb when he arrived at the bus station in his taxi earlier that morning with a head injury from a robbery the night before.

“Fráncó!” I shuddered, struggling in broken Spanish to find out what had occurred. “My friend, what you happens to the head? Who you does this to you!?”

“*Me ha robado anoche,*” he replied, as I stood there with a perplexed look on my face.

“Did he just say he got robbed!?” I pressed Rodrigo in English as Fránco loaded our bags into his old, yellow Daewoo taxi. He covertly hushed me, darting a facial expression I could tell meant I was attracting unwanted attention.

“*¿Cómo te vas, amigo?*” Rodrigo bade suavely as we drove away from the bus depot. “*A los tiempos, ¿no? Dime, ¿Cómo estás? ¿Estás bien?*”

“*Sí, pues. Gracias a dios,*” Fránco chimed. “*Se pasó cuando llegué a la casa anoche, fuera de la casa. No lo resistí cuando me quitó del celular y la billetera, pero cuando me ha tratado de quitar de las llaves del carro—¡Es un alquiler, pues!—se me golpeó con la culata de pistola.*”

“What did he say?” I clamored in the front seat, staring back and forth between him and Rodrigo straining to understand their exchange.

“He said he was robbed last night in his taxi outside his house. They took his wallet and cell phone but resisted when they tried to take his taxi because it is a rental, so they hit him with the...how do you say...handle of the gun?”

“They gun-butted him!?” I exclaimed in horror.

“Yes,” he answered, “that’s it—the gun butt. They gun butt him outside his house when he came home last night because he tried to fight back, and they made him unconscious.”

I had to consider carefully whether to live in a *pueblo joven*. Ideally, I planned to ask Fránco’s parents—Genaro’s brother Agosto and sister-in-law Feliza—if I could move into their household in Trujillo. They themselves had not left Chugurpampa, but around 2008, they bought half of Genaro’s lot to build a house for Fránco and his older sister Suni. By the time I arrived, the siblings lived there full-time with their two younger cousins, Jhonaton and Eliza, with whom

they were raised (their mother being Feliza's older sister Martina, both still residing at their homestead in Chugurpampa). But concerns about safety made me anxious, especially watching Feliza scrub the red stain from her son's blood-soaked hoodie.

"It's very dangerous on the coast, Max," Feliza cautioned. "There are people who carry pistols and gangs that rob people every single day. On top of that, there are no security networks in the *barríos*. In other words, Max, if you live on the coast, I'm telling you, you must watch yourself because the people here are wicked."

Living in El Porvenir would be risky, but I was more worried of the consequences of not doing my ethnography there. While there was a shortage of living space in their coastal home, I noticed only the front third of their approximately 15-foot by 60-foot lot was developed. The rest was a courtyard with two sinks, a staircase leading to a finished upstairs, stored materials, and several wood ladders leading to adjacent lots occupied by extended family (**Figure 5.3**). After a video call to Kathy to assist with translation, we worked out a deal in which I would build a room in the back of their lot, complete with a bathroom and securable entryway. That afternoon I entered my first Andean relationship of reciprocity. Feliza welcomed me to live in their home for as long as I needed, pledged to watch after me, and offered her family's support and the necessary quiet to work. In return, I promised to transfer ownership of the habitation to their family once research concluded, and with no expectation of monetary exchange.

It seemed like the perfect plan, and once the family contracted a builder from Julcán, we learned construction would only take about three months. In the meantime, I took up residence in a traveler's hostel near Trujillo's Historic Central District, from where I began to explore the city using public transportation to learn its layout. But little time was spent in *pueblos jóvenes* beyond visiting to see the progress of construction. I also decided, after several humiliating exchanges in



Figure 5.3. View of the undeveloped courtyard where my room was constructed (Photo by author).

broken Spanish, to seek out classes to improve my skills and gain some perspective. I was fortunate to make the acquaintance of a middle-aged English expatriate named Kevin Hurley, who along with his *Trujillana* wife, owns and operates a language school called *Medical*

Electives. They cater to English-speaking medical students in their twenties, offering hospital rotations in the morning and Spanish classes in afternoons, with weekends free for travel and activities. As far as *extranjers* go, Kevin falls into the category of professional. Knowing that research funds were limited, he offered me a deal: I would work in the office for four hours on weekdays while the students were doing rotations, and in exchange, he would let me take any classes I wanted for as long as I wanted. My second relationship of reciprocity!

Discovering Kevin and *Medical Electives* was a fortuitous occurrence that solidified my foundational understanding of Trujillo, including how *Trujillanxs* and resident outsiders with economic and social resources navigate formal and informal power structures. The three months I spent working with him and his associates, from August to October of 2014, broadened my array of social contacts, including doctors, hospital administrators, and many other professionals my age and older. This structured environment, made possible in no small part by Kevin and his endless support, was one of the reasons my fieldwork was successful. By the time I moved into my new home in El Porvenir on November 10, 2014, I was conversant in Trujillian Spanish and a recent expert of the ins and outs of coastal living. Three days earlier, Kathy finalized and sent the updated census, which Genaro and I began dissecting immediately to strategize how we were going to locate everyone (see Ch. 9).

Gaining Access and Building Rapport

Moving to El Porvenir was not without its cultural challenges. There is a rapidness to how highlanders speak that was at times perplexing to me. I could barely understand Genaro the first few weeks; he used all sorts of highland jargon, mumbled, and often skipped syllables. For instance, the way he pronounces the auxiliary verb *haber* in the pluperfect tense initially went

straight over my head, so phrases like ‘*Se ha roto*’ (It has broken) or ‘*Se ha muerto*’ (They have died) sounded like ‘*Se roto*’ and ‘*Se muerto*.’ Some people confused me with simple greetings such as ‘*Buensdi*’ (*Buenos días*) or ‘*Dóndestás*’ (*Dónde estás*), while migrants are also more direct in their language, using the indicative command tense more than middle-class *Trujillanxs*. They also throw in small splashes of Quechua into everyday speech, but only to the extent that Italian and Yiddish words are used by people of Italian-American or Jewish-Americans ancestry.

Kathy noted that as I became used to speaking Spanish that I would understand the ways highlanders break formal grammatical rules, and she was not wrong. Despite initial challenges, overcoming them was satisfying and productive to my efforts at gaining rapport. It did not take long before I settled into a daily groove. It also helped to establish rapport that I was falsely rumored to be Genaro’s illegitimate child. But because of our close association, most people just assumed it to be true no matter how much I insisted otherwise. For his part, Genaro offered little clarification to the contrary because of the associated status gains this rumor caused him. But what this connection did, basically, was give me access to his entire kin and social network. His children became my brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces became my cousins, his family ancestry my own. In retrospect, Genaro’s prestige alone would have been sufficient to build rapport with the research population. But to have been widely considered his flesh and blood meant I too was understood to have Chugurpampan blood coursing through my veins. Thus, whereas most outsiders saw us as father and son, Genaro’s family admired and respected me as an intimate ally and benefactor whose affection and esteem they actively carried under the guise of ritual kinship and friendship.

However, I also encountered several major cultural obstacles and operational issues that threatened to upend the study, and which warrant mention and discussion. The earliest and most

frequent challenges to gaining rapport were obvious language and cultural barriers, as I have mentioned. My initial disorientation to important social norms and expectations caused my adoptive family protracted anxiety over my ability to care for myself. Their response was, at first, to socialize me to acceptable beliefs and behaviors much as one would a child: via sanction, discipline, and correction. Nearly all these attempts were, for better or worse, sincere efforts to ease my assimilation, guarantee my safety, and gain my friendship. But I learned to discern these more genuine instances from less well-intentioned ones, which I came to understand as reflective of a self-identified, Peruvian attribute of *ser vivo* (craftiness).

The term *vivo* simultaneously connotes positive and negative affirmations of a person's cunning. In most instances, this manifested with me paying the tab: purchasing beer, sweets, sometimes dinner—trivial items, gestures, and requests I was expected to provide as a token of my commitment to friendship and intent to build *confianza* (confidence; rapport). On rarer occasions, however, I found myself confronted by more tactless exploitation of my friendliness, naiveté, and widely perceived status as a *gringo norteamericano* (a white man from the US). This materialized in the form of loan requests or suspiciously frantic pleas for cash advances by persons I either never saw again, or who later confessed to me they had no intentions of returning payment. According to a *Trujillano* medical student I knew through Medical Electives, it is “the Peruvian style” to use someone until the benefits no longer outweigh the costs. These instances were plentiful and constant throughout fieldwork, but I learned how to discern this behavior from more sincere efforts to establish vertical links, and quickly gained the ability to defend myself from *vivos, mentirosos y engañadores* (tricksters, liars, and cheaters).

A person capable of *defenderse* (defending themselves) holds their own in an argument or dispute, especially when antagonization is initiated purposely by someone with dishonest

intentions. This phrasing has been documented extensively and in many forms since the Golden-Age, most notably in the title of Billie Jean Isbell's classic ethnography *To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village* (1985). Peasants expressed to Isbell having to defend themselves against the duplicitous ploys of *mestizo* merchants, who persistently attempted to use highlanders' inexperience with market exchange to their own advantage. Familiarizing myself with this cultural prototype was my most valuable ethnographic tool, which conferred to me its adaptive properties throughout the course of my fieldwork. It protected against everything from trivial exchanges and unsolicited provocations to serious arguments and physical confrontations.

Another operational challenge was my ignorance to the social importance of being invited to drink. Part of this was because I do not enjoy beer, which is most always the drink of choice. And while I do not mind a beer or two, this was never the case. What would begin with an offer to crack open a pair of bottles could turn into an hours-long drinking session, or even a full-on dance or party, which lasts until six o'clock the next morning. But I learned my refusal to drink, hesitancy to invite women to dance, and general dislike of parties was harming rapport-building. Men, especially, are distrustful of anyone who does not accept an offer to drink (and reciprocate accordingly), which is the simplest indicator of *confianza* (trust). Remediating this potentially disastrous matter required me to surrender my bodily autonomy to the authority of persons who had already relinquished their own self-control to the bottle.

"Max!" they'd shout with beer bottles flailing, "Come over here! What's the hurry!? Max!!!" Occasionally, people I knew would show up at 10am ready to drink, banging on my door and Genaro's trying to get us to come out and join them. "Gringo! Gringo! Max!" they'd shout. "Come on out gringo! Why are you always working? Come drink! Drink!" In those instances, my only line of defense was to see if they got Genaro first, because if he hadn't begun

drinking, there was still time for us to sneak out to go interview. To check, I'd scale a wooden ladder to the roof of my room and shimmy across the sidewall where I could get a view of the street. If I saw Genaro moseying down the sidewalk to the beer vendor whistling his favorite tune and swinging his metal key chain back and forth with two or three empty bottles in the other hand, I knew it was already too late.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I provided a detailed introduction to the research problem and described the methodological approach used to understand Chugurpampans' shared migration goals and lifestyle aspirations. I also detailed my preparation and the procedures I used to gain access and build rapport with the diaspora community and reflected on some difficulties encountered in the field. In Chapter Six, I introduce the domain of migration goals from the perspective of the individual migrant, and describe the diverse ways new arrivals meet basic subsistence needs.

Chapter Six

Migration Goals and the Quest for Well-being

“How much does it cost to move from Chugurpampa to Trujillo?” I posed to one of my earliest informants, an older gentleman who’d been on the coast about two years.

“Me?” he replied puzzledly.

“Yes, you,” I retorted, “but also Chugurpampans generally. How much does it usually cost them to move to the coast?”

“Well,” he started, eyes meandering back and forth between his hands and the cement ceiling as he counted on his fingers, “You definitely gotta buy the [bus] fare, so, I’d say ten *soles* more or less.” ‘Ten *soles*?’ I thought to myself. That can’t be right. What about renting a place to stay? What about food? What about moving with family members? ‘Clearly,’ I resolved, ‘the man must not have understood the question.’ But then it happened again, and then several more times no matter how differently I phrased the inquiry.

As it turns out, Chugurpampans understood my question just fine. The problem was that I had yet to detach myself from the notion of migration as a finite action, rather than within the institution of Andean mobility. It really does cost 10 *soles* (~\$3.17) for a seat on a Trujillo-bound bus from the market town of Julcán. Today in Peru, there are countless private transportation companies, which, at least in La Libertad Department, operate nearly-24-hour service between countless destinations across the coast and highlands. Along with state investments in roads and infrastructure, these elements have all but modernized the physio-spatial aspect of Andean verticality (Hirsch 2017; Oths et al. 2018). A ride to the coast can be obtained even cheaper if a

passenger does not mind standing. Or, if they know the right people, the trip can be as simple as a cost-free, door-to-door ride in the comfort of a personal vehicle. In my household, the easiest, most comfortable way for family members to get to the coast was for Fráncó to retrieve them in the flatbed pick-up he rented for work. His younger cousin Jhonaton owned a dirt bike he kept in Chugurpampa to travel to highland construction sites. He never drove it to the coast, but I knew other migrants who did, especially when flash floods and landslides made car travel deadly.

The next best option for migrants is to take a bus from Julcán, which first entails walking there on foot (1-2-hour hike) or hiring a motorcycle driver in Chugurpampa to carry them across several longer road routes. Some households own donkeys, horses, and mules that make the trek a bit easier, though this convenience can also be acquired from extended family members nearby. As for those who are among the last in their family to leave, they usually sell their livestock in town before boarding the bus to provide a temporary economic cushion to establish themselves. But in the direst of situations, there are always those who, struck penniless with no alternatives, simply walk to the coast with nothing but their clothes and anything they can carry. Sometimes they can hitch a ride or sneak onto numerous passing dump trucks from the booming trucking industry. I never personally met anyone who moved to the coast in such a manner, though I heard plenty tales of people who have. Moreover, hundreds make pilgrimage from Trujillo to Otuzco on foot every December as a reciprocal obligation to *La Virgen de La Puerta*, so the feat is done frequently.

Once on the coast, the next crucial resource is a place to stay. At bare minimum, this entails shelter with a secure place to sleep and a source of nourishment, but ideally, can include a lead on a job, a means of earning cash, or a source of social support. Seasonal and labor migrants are usually provided room and board by state or private agribusinesses, which house workers in

communal barracks. If that option is not available, a new migrant can also pay for a rental, either a room or a single-family dormitory, which can be obtained monthly for 100 *soles* (~\$32). But most new migrants do not have an economic padding or a source of income, which makes either option inaccessible, especially to non-working persons such as students and the elderly. Many take refuge with a more established relation, a residence pattern referred to as *posado* (perched, landed). As an adjective and an adverb, *posado* references a bird's brief settlement on a branch to metaphorically capture the temporary nature of the migration experience. Recent migrants, for whom the label is also applied as a plural noun (*los posados* [the landed]), *perch* themselves in the homes of family, friends, and relatives provisionally as they expand their resource base.

The *posado* label derives from the practice of transient squatters erecting tent villages on the outskirts of cities, far from formal *or* informal development, to share in what meager means they can procure. In Trujillo, borderland communities creep into the foothills far beyond the farthest settlement of the city. These areas are patrolled by land-traffickers, who transport prospective migrants to the coast to fulfill an indentured servitude fabricating sun-dried adobe bricks to construct basic, one-room housing structures called *ranchitos*. The temporary and crudely-built shacks (**Figure 6.1**) are settled illegally in spaces intended for non-residential purposes—a common occurrence in Latin America. From a structural perspective, housing insecurity stems both from inadequate urban planning and development based on incongruous Western models (Altamirano Rúa 2003; Steinberg 2005; Watson 2009).

Trujillo is an interesting case in terms of their dealings with squatting populations and attitude toward land invasions in general, which starkly contrast the demolition and eradication approach employed in the *favelas* of Rio di Janeiro (Perlman 2011). The city lies along a narrow plane of desert (~4-5 miles wide) between the coastline and foothills just north of the Moche



Figure 6.1. Recently constructed shacks in a newly -settled sector beyond the farthest boundaries of Trujillo. Sun-dried adobe bricks bake to the right of the frame while rubble and discarded brick fragments line the dirt road awaiting utilization (Photo by author).

River Valley on the west coast of South America, where rainfall and melting glaciers from La Libertad and beyond drain down ravines and ancient irrigation canals before emptying into the Pacific. The land has been inhabited for thousands of years, sustaining two pre-Incan state societies: the Moche (100-700 AD) and Chimú (~900-1470 AD). Much like Trujillo's current residents, they subsisted on local marine life and agricultural yields, which thrive in the nitrogen-rich desert soil, as well as resources imported from other regions via the pan-regional system of vertical articulation (Klaus and Toyne 2016).

Spanish conquistadors founded the colonial extraction center of Trujillo in 1534, one of the earliest of its kind in the Americas (Prescott 1843; Stern 1993). Its original layout has been preserved within the boundaries of *Avenida España* in an area known as the Historic Center of Trujillo (**Figure 6.2**), or *Centro*, for short. At its founding, cardinal directions were assigned

based on the city's orientation to the ocean and the highlands, so that everything towards the coastline (~2.5 miles) was considered *south* of the settlement and all land to the foothills (~2.5 miles) was *north* of town, essentially rotated ninety degrees clockwise from cardinal north (Figure 6.3). This localized perception is important because it influenced areas that highland migrants would ultimately settle. Therefore, any reference to direction with respect to Trujillo Province and its nine metropolitan districts (Trujillo, Larco, La Esperanza, El Porvenir, Huanchaco, Florencia de Mora, Laredo, Moche, and Salaverry) conform to this perspective.

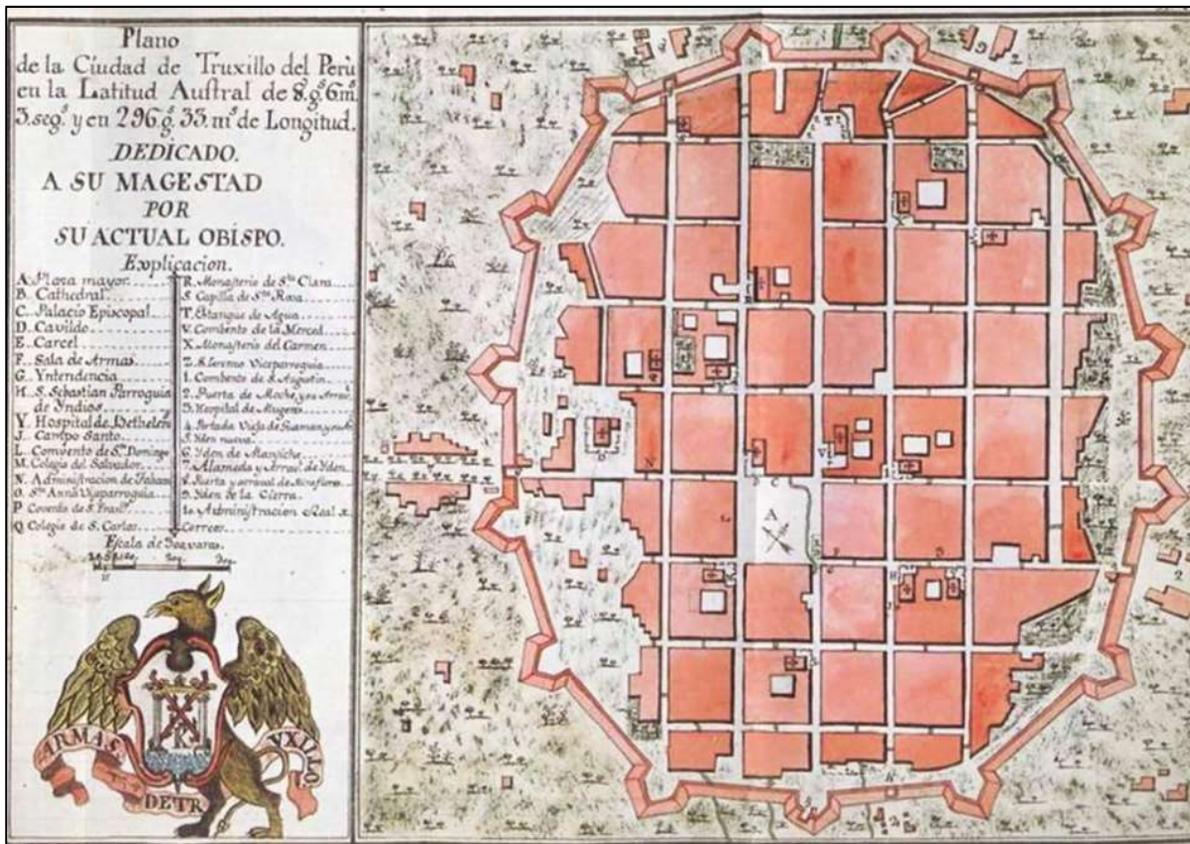


Figure 6.2. 1786 map of Colonial Trujillo enclosed by a defensive wall, which was transformed in the late-19th century into Avenida España when the city formally expanded outward. The Plaza de Armas (labeled A in the map legend) is denoted by the X icon (Martínez Compañón 1803).

Trujillo did not extend beyond its colonial gates until the 20th-century, developing an area within current-day *Avenida América*, the large, outer transportation artery that circumvolves downtown Trujillo and *Centro*. It also spread southward toward the coast, expanding into lands once owned by the famed plantation-owner-turned-philanthropist, Victor Larco Herrera, for whom the district is named. But informal settlement of the *pueblos jóvenes* in the northwestern expanse of land between the city and foothills has followed a different course of development. Urban planners did not intend this land for residential purposes; the area features several natural land formations called *cerros* (hills) that were not considered habitable by provincial authorities.



Figure 6.3. Google Maps satellite image of Trujillo Province’s nine consecutive metropolitan districts (11 total). Larco District is south of downtown Trujillo while Huanchaco and the major *pueblos jóvenes* are west and north of the city. The Moche River Basin east of the city runs through Laredo and Moche Districts and into the seaport of Salaverry (Google Maps 2018).

Population explosions after World War II commenced the widespread invasion of these territories, which were incorporated in the mid-1960s as the three original *pueblos jóvenes*: La Esperanza (The Hope), El Porvenir (The Future), and Florencia de Mora (Blackberry Florence). Formally integrating these communities (**Figure 6.4**) empowered municipal planners to extend services, infrastructure, and utilities, paving the way for future investments. Many new sectors initially lack potable water, which must be delivered by tanker to makeshift community cisterns that are contaminated easily (Tickner and Gouvela-Vigeant 2005). Over time as districts grow and expand, what began as squatter settlements develop into fully-functioning *municipalidades* (municipal districts) complete with public works (sidewalks, streets, parks, town plazas), basic utilities (electricity, water, drainage), municipal services (sanitation, pest control, security, health care), communication (cell service, internet, cable), and transportation (taxis, collective transit).



Figure 6.4. Provincial workers surveying a newly erected settlement in the Cerro Cabras region of Alto Trujillo. While difficult to envision, this location will one day be a bustling urban enclave with roads, stores, markets, hospitals, and more (Google Maps 2017).

In El Porvenir, the district in which I resided, shops line the corners and streets of every block, while markets and businesses large and small swamp commercial avenues of the district. Thousands of small eateries, bakeries, and food vendors sell familiar highland provisions along with curious new coastal fare that migrants are compelled to learn. There is even a *Plaza Vea*, a Walmart-style superstore, outside the front gates of the district. Residents can get by without ever visiting Trujillo, and some never venture beyond their sector without an explicit purpose. In 1995, Trujillo's provincial authority formalized their more tolerant attitude toward land invasions by implementing a Guided Occupancy program. The idea was to guide settlers away from land not earmarked for residential purposes, and make available government-sponsored loans for families to obtain inexpensive lots (**Figure 6.5**) (Gesto et al. 2012). At least that was the state's vision, but it has not eradicated the incidence of squatting.

"Some people are just too poor to move to Trujillo," Fráncó often quipped as he drove us through a less developed sector of the city. It was never a value judgement. Fráncó was very calculated and careful in his thinking, an attribute he gained from his father Agosto and mother Feliza. Along with his older sister Suni, the pair learned from their parents how to navigate the hazards of systemic poverty, but also knew how much worse life could be without social support or a solid nuclear household (Oths 1998). But even after all his personal and family sacrifices, Fráncó struggled to fathom how anyone could do it without social resources. But some haven't the choice. There are only two outcomes of poverty: adaptive strategy and suffering. From this perspective, a successful migration story is one in which the first outweighs the second. For new migrants who effectively settle themselves in Trujillo (irrespective of the means), the next step is to adjust to the urban coastal ecology. This is a daunting task—if not for the sheer size of Trujillo then most certainly due to its diversity of cultural beliefs and practices.

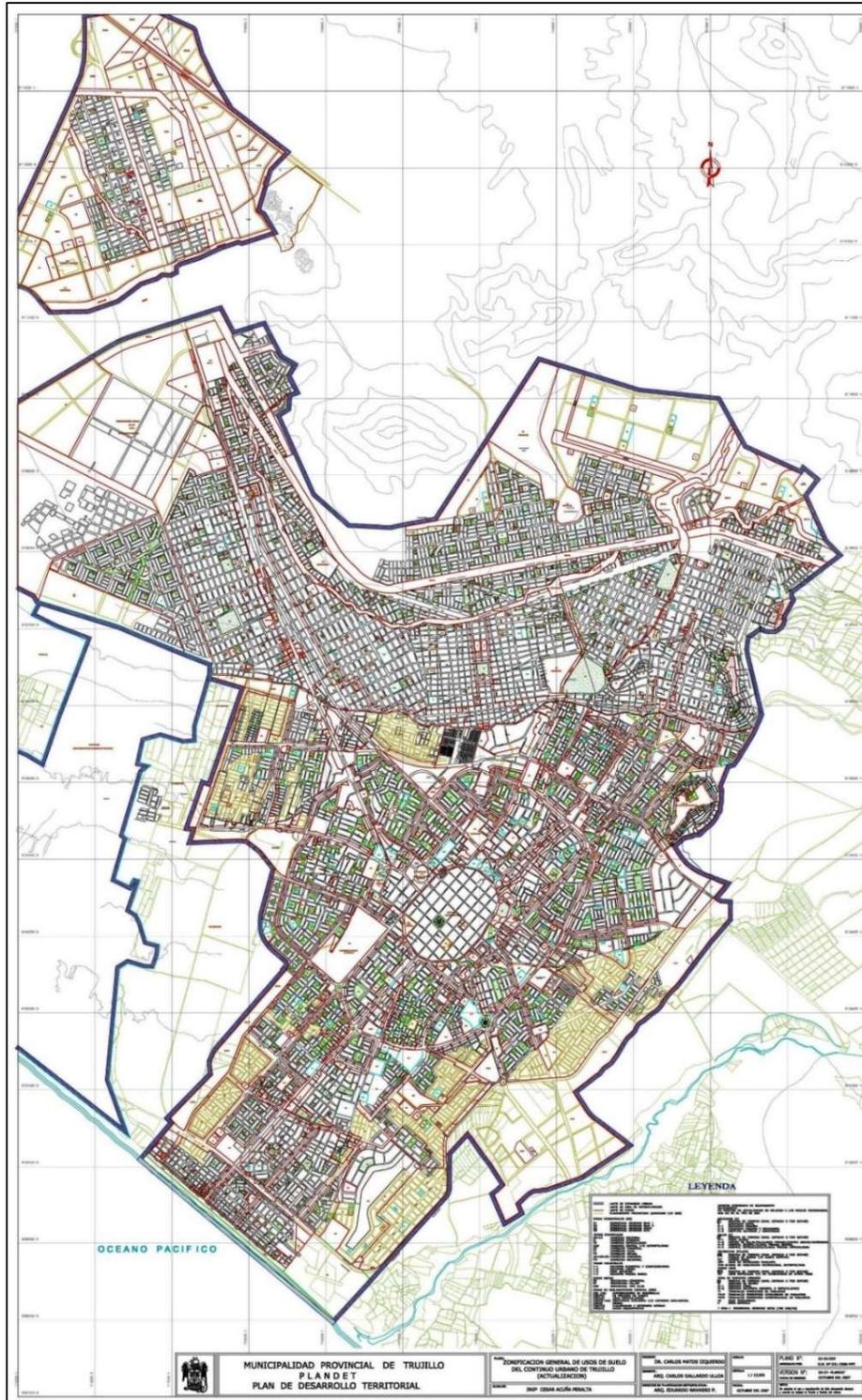


Figure 6.5. Trujillo Province's October 2007 land management plan showing recently integrated sectors in light-green. The large land formation around which the pueblos juvenes are positioned is Cerro Cabras, where many land invasions still occur today.

Trujillo's Urban Ecology

Downtown has the classic feel of a former Spanish colonial city, and an interesting layout commercially in that merchandise and services are clustered by type. For instance, currency exchanges and eyeglass stores are grouped on opposite ends of *Jirón Bolívar*, while stores selling clothes, electronics, and appliances are practically built on top of each other. This organization is also typical of market spaces, where bounteous quantities of the same product, usually from the same source, are concentrated in areas that are never designated but always *known* to be a source of a commodity. *Mayorista* market is one of Trujillo's main markets, containing fruits, meats, vegetables, medicines, clothes, and household items packed into a dizzying maze of corridors and hallways. It is also known informally as the inferno, for the rancid conditions and foul odors pouring out from the meat-section of the market, where a variety of slaughtered animals are butchered, sold, and cooked daily into every dish known within La Libertad.

Larco District comprises the entire expanse of land directly south of downtown to the coast. It has the highest human development index (HDI) in the province, primarily home to Trujillo's middle- and upper-class residents, many with established histories and considerable social and economic clout. The district is also the most robust (formal) commercial zone in Trujillo, and one of the few sections where grass lines the medians of its transport corridors. It features ornate parks, boutiques, shops, cafes, and quaint little markets of every variety. Four universities operate within the district, not to mention the ever-expanding collection of private schools and international institutions offering bilingual classes in Spanish and British English. There are also thousands of inexpensive room rentals along with supermarkets, a booming night life, and a growing collection of malls and commercial centers housing global brands, movie theaters, and chain restaurants like TGI Fridays, Pizza Hut, Starbucks, and KFC.

West of Larco District are the ruins of *Chán*, a tourist attraction and active archaeological site of the late *Chimú*. Beyond that is *Huanchaco*, a fishing-community-turned-tourist-trap where global foreigners often outnumber the locals. There are also various semi-formal settlements in the region where a few Chugurpampans families live (e.g., *Los Tropicales*, *Huanchaquito*). Though not aesthetically different from recent sectors in Alto Trujillo, these neighborhoods are growing faster because they are situated along the Pan-American Highway. Plus, land is cheap because the communities are far from downtown and require transportation to get anywhere. Genaro has several extended family members who live in those communities, including two cousins and an adult niece. One cousin lives a content lifestyle as a driver for a nearby trucking company, so he does not mind being on the outskirts of the city.

On the east end of the Pan-American Highway is Moche District, a recently expanded section whose residents are largely employed by industrial agribusinesses to work in the fields harvesting pomegranate, asparagus, cranberry, and mango, among other produce. These areas are easily recognizable by plane or satellite imagery from the massive green fields fed by the Moche River. A little further down the road is Salaverry District, Trujillo's port of call, where corn and beef are exported and imported daily to and from Argentina and other places. There is a small beach area where residents of the *pueblos jóvenes* visit in summertime to enjoy *ceviche* (lime-cooked seafood), pork rinds, beers, soft-drinks, and snacks under cabanas that are provided to restauranters by Backus and Johnston, Peru's major brewery.

Unlike Huanchaco and downtown, which attracts all the tourists, the beaches of Moche and Salaverry are typically off the radar of travelers or sightseers (although the provincial *terrepuerto* [bus station, lit. land port] is nearby). An hour's drive down the coast (cardinal south) is Virú Province, where several Chugurpampans also work in agribusinesses raising

artichoke, avocado, and soursop. To Chugurpampans, Trujillo and Virú are one in the same: both on the coast and each accessible by interregional bus line for 10 *soles* (~\$3.17). Granted, it takes longer to get from Chugurpampa to Virú because it still requires traveling to Trujillo. But, at least for recent migrants, Virú is just as much considered a source of work.

Northwest of town the city takes on a sense of hybridity—the people, buildings, vehicles, customs, behavior, and language shift to an eclectic mix of lifestyles. Approaching the *pueblos jóvenes* reveals the extremes of this process: short, older ladies in highland fedoras, skirts, and sweaters lugging goods on their back through crowded streets, nearly toppled over by young students in skinny-jeans and Ray-Bans, whose eyes are fixed on their smartphones. There are completed homes replete with every amenity and modern convenience, towering alongside crumbling, dirt-floor *ranchitos* with wood-burning stoves and minimal plastic furniture. Some sectors create the impression you have awoken in a highland hamlet—roosters heralding each day's arrival; amalgams of adobe, cinderblock, and iron rebar with unfinished rooftops.

Getting around was the city is a complicated process for the uninitiated because there are multiple options. *Micros* are small passenger busses that operate within Trujillo Province. They are labeled such to differentiate them from *buses*, which is reserved for interregional *omnibuses* (touring bus), such as the ones that travel between Julcán and the coast. Some are brand new, outfitted with safety features, overhead and side railings, and lighted stop buttons in the front and back of the vehicle. But most are older vehicles rigged together from an combination of parts. I often spied the driver's seat being nothing more than a repurposed, vinyl beach chair or wooden bench. *Micros* are operated by two people: the *conductor* (driver) and *cobrador* (fare collector). The fare collector hangs out the bus door announcing their route to upcoming pedestrians, and is also responsible for punching a time card at several checkpoints on the route.

Micro teams are usually young men. I never encountered a female *conductora*, though I had on several occasions paid fare to a woman *cobrador*. Unlike in Lima, which imposes strict rules on its transportation system, *micros* in Trujillo can be flagged down anywhere simply by extending the arm palm-face down and flicking the wrist up and down 2-3 times. But there are still busy areas where passengers congregate in large groups, especially east of *Centro* along the *César Vallejo/Av. Los Incas/Av. Costa Rica* corridor, where several lines carry passengers from the *pueblos jóvenes* to the central and southern districts. *Micros* are most dominant along *Av. America*, from where they travel to the farthest reaches of the city, which gives riders access to numerous different lines and transfers.

“Get on! Get on! Get on! Get on!” the *cobrador* hollers as he scoots passengers aboard. Most people jump on quickly, but *micro* teams are patient for elderly highlanders and migrants towing cargo, usually offering to help them drag their items on the vehicle. The front bench is reserved for these persons, as well as pregnant women and passengers with small children. For residents of the *pueblos jóvenes*, *micros* reach capacity once they pass the gates of those districts (both coming and going), though teams still manage to cram an unthinkable number of riders during rush hour. Disembarking is done easily by walking to the front of the bus and telling the *cobrador* where to let you off.

The greatest disadvantage of *micros* is that they are slow, even with experienced drivers who can weave through traffic like the best motorcycle drivers. People also avoid them during busy times because the tight cabin space makes good hiding spots for pickpockets, while late night and early morning runs are often held up by thieves armed with knives and pistols. For a faster, and only slightly more expensive alternative, *colectivos* are sedans that operate like busses. They are run by independent companies and stick to pre-determined routes indicated by a

sticker in the front windshield. Fares vary by route and destination, but most charge between 1-2 *soles* (~\$0.64). Hailing one is a little trickier than *micros* because seats are limited, requiring potential riders to indicate the number of seats needed with their fingers on an outstretched hand.

Colectivos range in quality from beat up Dodge Darts and early Hyundai Elantras to newer, compact Chevrolets and Kias, but their capacity depends on the route. The *Gran Chimú* line, for instance, which carries passengers from *Centro* along the eastern border of El Porvenir, often stuffs four adults in the back and two upfront (excluding the driver.) This may increase if children are riding, sometimes reaching up to ten riders in a compact sedan, which is only ever possible because there the seatbelts are removed. In my experience, *colectivo* drivers were all young men, and among the most unsafe in Trujillo. They race up busy one-way streets, cutting off others to make each round trip faster and maximize daily earnings. Amid the tight quarters, the lack of a *cobrador* also means riders have more contact with the driver, whose attention is often distracted by three people requesting to pay all at once.

Unsurprisingly, *colectivos* cause many crashes, but the advantage is that they are faster, secure, and more dependable than *micros* when driven by a skilled *chofer*. Some even open the trunk to let riders store groceries, especially market-bound *colectivos*, which are heavy older automobiles outfitted to haul goods and passengers at full capacity. Most *colectivos* also run at nighttime at a slightly increased fare, and are sometimes the only ride to the *pueblos jovenes* during hours when *taxistas* refused requests to go. In Trujillo, *colectivos* are most prominent in the city, typically filtering through and around *Centro District* and *Avenida España*, though some take riders as far as *Moche* and *Salaverry*. There are also interregional *colectivos* that carry passengers from the *pueblos jovenes* to locations throughout *La Libertad*, but these are almost always new sedans and passenger vans equipped with seatbelts that do not cram riders. They are

more expensive, sometimes costing up to 50 *soles* (~\$16) depending on the hour and demand, and for this reason, are really set apart from daily, city-based transportation operations.

Combis are large passenger vans, usually Toyotas, used for longer-distance commutes between Metropolitan Trujillo and remote corners of the province (e.g., Moche, Huanchaco, distant sectors of the *pueblos jóvenes*). They are faster than *micros* and roomier than *colectivos*, enough to have a fare collector on-board, but can also become confined if packed beyond the 16-passenger capacity. Moreover, because they venture down the Pan-American Highway, *combi* crashes are usually at high speeds and result in many fatalities. In Lima, the label describes what *Trujillanxs* consider to be *micros*, but the name *combi* originated from the widely-manufactured Volkswagen Type 2, also known as the Bus, Camper, Microbus, Transporter, and Combi. It was a critical form of transport in the slums of Lima in the 1960s, which may explain why the term has a broader definition there. But in Trujillo, the word *combi* refers specifically to passenger vans to distinguish them from the larger city busses.

Mototaxis are a common form of transportation in the *pueblos jóvenes*, essentially a converted motorcycle with a back axle and frame to support a 2-person bench seat. They are practically ubiquitous around major markets, where residents need inexpensive transport to haul sacks of goods home. Outside *Hermelinda* market, for instance, *mototaxis* line up along the entrance waiting to take passengers to any location within the *pueblos jóvenes*. They are also popular in *Huanchaco*, where they cater more to tourists and beach-goers. Most drivers encase the passenger carriage in a blue or red vinyl enclosure with plastic windows to reduce outside exposure, while others drive barebone vehicles down to the frame. However, several drivers go as far as to conceal the bench seat entirely from view to give young couples an inexpensive and private place for intimacy. Conversely, market *mototaxis* are heavier and often have a flat palate

in the rear of the vehicle for oversized items. But all are characteristically slow compared to automobiles, which is why it is rare to see them anywhere south of *Centro*, except perhaps around larger markets and coastal communities.

Threats to Well-being

The Andean literature is teeming with descriptions of the menaces and ills that plague highland peasants. From mechanical and environmental threats of the high-altitude ecology to pathogenic diseases and culturally-salient ailments like *susto*, *mal aire*, or *debilidad* (Oths 1999), there is never a shortage of health hazards in the *sierra*. In Trujillo, life has the potential to be easier and safer, but daily routines in the *pueblos juvenes* can be just as dangerous. There are a host of threats that await unsuspecting and often uninformed migrants, whose unfamiliarity with coastal amenities and ways of life may end up harming or killing them or others.

Hazardous elements characterize many parts of Trujillo, especially areas in ongoing states of flux and development, which bear the indelible mark of a *before* picture. With a little inspiration, it is easy for most to envision how the *after* picture might one day look: completed houses with finished facades stacked neatly on dustless, paved streets with green, flower-laden parks and quaint intersections with colorful shops and market kiosks. Years down the road, this could be a reality for thousands; but for now, environmental hazards are endemic to *pueblos juvenes*, where dangerous household conditions are practically part of the decor. Rebar erupts from the cement columns of unfinished homes, built brick-by-brick, room-by-room, as resources and finances permit. Many people take do-it-yourself to the next level, fabricating mudbricks to construct enclosed structures, installing faulty electricity, leaky plumbing, and jerry-rigging internet and telephone lines with homemade tools. Kitchen areas can become littered with rotting

food, while numerous reservoirs of standing water and piles of waste give flies and mosquitos fruitful oases to lay their eggs and spread disease.

I sensed early that migrants' attitudes toward waste disposal and hygiene are different than that to which I was accustomed. Not all highland residents are aware of appropriate ways to dispose of plastic waste, which, in the mountains is just burned or left on the sides of roads or in fields. Along the south road from Chugurpampa to Julcán, fields are scattered with pesticide containers that have no natural place there. Migrants bring many of these practices with them to the coast, where market sectors and commercial avenues are trashed from the moment vendors opened their kiosks. By the end of the day, garbage overflows onto the medians and sides of streets, spilling a rotting mix of food waste, excrement, paper products, and plastic waste that gives off such a foul odor, there are some piles even street dogs refuse to reconnoiter. But by midnight, trash heaps are meticulously disassembled by people rummaging for plastic and glass recyclables. And around 3pm each morning, municipal street cleaners arrive clad in thick, blue coveralls and protective ear-to-ear facemasks. Every single article of waste and disarray is cleaned, so that not two hours later, vendors and their customers are greeted by a clean space upon which to resume their economic activities.

There are also dangers associated with transportation and the hazardous driving habits of *choferes*, including their general disregard for pedestrians and the near-absence of safety belts in most vehicles. Not to mention the high-carbon emissions of 30-year-old vehicles, which spew noxious pollutants into the already dusty desert air. The air quality around commercial avenues, market sectors, and transport corridors such as *Av. America*, *Av. Los Incas*, and *Av. Jaime Blanco* is so poor that a thin film of black soot covers everything from the sides of buildings to the skin of fruit being sold by street vendors. When I first started taking public transit and walking around

Trujillo during the interim phase, I returned home every night to scrub layers of dirt and grime from my face and hair. Not surprisingly, most adolescents in my neighborhood suffered chronic coughs and respiratory ailments. The insides of homes are coated daily by a grainy stratum of desert sand that is nearly impossible to prevent or even clear entirely, while ashes and fumes of incinerated sugar cane from the processing plant in Laredo District frost nearby neighborhoods in flurries of carbon-flakes. When my housemate Dani's son Panchis was born, he suffered such a severe respiratory infection that she whisked him to Chugurpampa so he could get fresh air.

Interestingly, the coastal climate attracts many Chugurpampan migrants, who cite it as more pleasant and healthful than the highland climate, which was unpredictable. Thus, even with the risks of illness, injury, and death posed by the urban coastal ecology, migrants tolerate these hazards as necessary elements of *superación* (economic advancement). Most complain little about their living conditions, although they do complain about other things. The ills of poverty are communicated in manifold ways, both consciously and unconsciously, often via metaphoric or embodied expressions of suffering. But there is no complaint more explicit than the issue of crime. "*Es muy peligroso*" (It's very dangerous) is a phrase that migrants, highlanders, and *Trujillanxs* alike use to describe the *pueblos jóvenes*. Some middle- and upper-class *Trujillanxs* regard these neighborhoods as dangerous ghettos where crime festers and progress has stalled, but the urban poor who inhabit these areas know it just comes with the territory.

Crime is an unfortunate and unavoidable element of Latin American urban development. Residents live in daily fear of break-ins, thefts, and hold-ups committed by adolescent thieves and pick-pockets. In more serious cases, residents face verbal threats, intimidation, physical harm, embezzlement, extortion, and murder at the hands of gangs, drug dealers, and corrupt

police officers, especially in newer, informal areas, where services are minimal and taxi drivers often refuse to take riders at night.

“I don’t go to El Porvenir,” they’d interject with a stern glare. Others are more remorseful having to pass on the fare: “Ooh my friend, El Porvenir? I don’t like El Porvenir.” Newer taxi companies have vehicles fast and durable enough to speed through the dark, empty corridors of the district, strewn with debris and road hazards that could easily disable their vehicle and strand them in the dead of night. These companies also wait for the rider to enter their home safely and are less likely to gouge prices. Other drivers are more suspicious: “What part of El Porvenir?,” some asked me with a single eyebrow raised. A few gave the polite, “Um, more or less, what sector are we talking about specifically?” But no driver was ever in the mood to visit higher settlements like Alto Trujillo or Nuevo Porvenir, where the risk of being carjacked is greater due to the rocky dirt roads. The only people who do it regularly are older yellow taxis because many of those drivers live in such neighborhoods,

“Of course!” they’d proclaim proudly. “I know El Porvenir well! Where am I taking you? Hop on in! Get in! Get in!” Some people say there are parts of El Porvenir and other *pueblos juvenes* that were less safe decades earlier. Genaro mentioned our neighborhood was way more dangerous when he moved in, but that things had normalized as it became more established. This is partly due to a heightened presence and expansion of the Peruvian National Police in these sectors. There are two stations within a kilometer of the house in which I resided, where, at least several times a week, officers target taxi and *colectivo* drivers whom they knew do not have their documents in order, requiring drivers to cough up a small bribe. In addition to the police, there are private security forces called *serenazgo* contracted by neighborhoods and municipalities to combat the crime. They dress like combat soldiers, carry firearms and semi-automatic assault

rifles, and are funded by residents as part of their monthly tax (though they wear no badge of public authority). The service is common in wealthy areas where the police presence is already pronounced, though they usually just drive down roads in their specially-equipped trucks attempting to intimidate potential wrongdoers.

In the *pueblos jóvenes*, crime is a chronic adjunct of uneven development that residents understand as an inescapable element of coastal life. Indeed, these areas are dangerous, certainly rough around the edges, but having been a resident for nearly two years, I was encouraged by the sense of routine and community that reverberates throughout each district. During data collection, which brought Genaro and me to every corner of the Province, there was always someone around to greet as we arrived in each neighborhood. They were likely sizing us up, but their salutations were cordial enough.

“Who might you be looking for, gentlemen?” we were frequently asked. Oftentimes, Genaro just cut to the chase and dropped by a local corner store to ask if they knew the family and could point us in the right direction. People were generally welcoming, so long as they had no reason to feel threatened or intimidated by us. In my own case, I was humbled by how quickly I was allowed resident status in our neighborhood. For instance, if there were ever a visitor to our block who asked where the gringo lived, they were likely told, “Max lives over there,” always acknowledging me by my name. But there was one neighbor at the end of the street who insisted on calling me *gringo*. I thought he was insulting me, until one day when I passed by his house at the same time as a rowdy group of teenage boys, he came running out the front door with a two-foot piece of rebar in hand.

“Gringo!” he darted. “You ok?” I was a bit shocked, mostly because I realized in that instant he never used the label pejoratively. In fact, as the old man stood there, shirtless and

huffing with his iron baton ready to crack some skulls, I couldn't help but think he was being a bit protective. I wasn't just any gringo. No, I was *his* neighborhood's gringo, and he would be damned if some young punks messed with his things. This is not to say that neighbor networks (Chugurpampan and otherwise) are particularly strong or even that dependable; there are many reasons for households to maintain their privacy. But there is enough of a sense of community among them that they generally look out for one another. It is the least they can do to combat daily crime in an area where authorities lack the resources and will to do so.

Coastal Subsistence Strategies

Food, as a resource, is most precious to those who understand the time, energy, and labor needed to extract it from fields and pastures. In the highlands, subsistence activities are deeply connected to survival because the caloric energy gained from a single meal is a fraction of the nutrients required to sustain the overall system. Thus, the customary way of offering someone food—"I invite you" (*te/le invito*)—is based in an openness to establish ties of reciprocity by extending one's self-preservation to another. Highlanders and migrants often invite others to dine using the diminutive suffix (*-itx*) to disclose the sometimes meager, yet humble portion they have to offer: ¿*Deseas sopita?* (Care for a little soup?); ¿*Quieres comer arrozita?* (Want to eat some rice?). It is as if to say, 'It's not much, but I want to share it with you.' By extension, the diminutive conveys a wholesomeness of food prepared in the home (*en la casa*) by a familiar cook, usually a mother, aunt, sibling, close cousin, or grandmother, whose purity of intent is indisputable (Tapias 2006). As a *Trujillana* once condensed like poetry: "Nothing **with** the diminutive is **without** love."

On the coast, few resources are more crucial to migrants than *at least* one meal daily; preferably lunch, and ideally preceded and followed by a meatless soup, hot drink or bread loaf in the morning and evening. Someone who manages to acquire subsistence each day is as lucky as they are shrewd, but those who never have to worry about their next meal really have it made. This is the case for most recent arrivals already staying with an established relation from whom sustenance is also accessed but is not necessarily *free*. Monetary exchange is rarely expected of children, students, housewives, or the elderly/retired, who fulfill other roles. But working-age *posados* are expected to pay their way, even if payment is not monetary. Social relationships are mediated by ties of reciprocity, so recompense can include labor hours, complementary services (e.g., drivers, merchants), assisting with daily subsistence (i.e., putting food on the table), or even just the continued maintenance of an existing relation of generalized reciprocity (Gose 1991), as is often the case with adult siblings or childhood friends.

Food is therefore a powerful cultural tool that forms the basis of household kinship, mediates reciprocity-based social relations, and is a potent device used to discipline and censure family members behaving against expectations (Maxwell 2011). Holding sustenance hostage sends a clear message to the offending member, usually a child, that their access to the family hearth is privileged (Orr 2013). Migrants are too aware of the delicateness of human subsistence to allow children to complain about food they had been served. The problem is that in Trujillo, connections between the production of food and its consumption are lost amid the conveniences of city life, with its massive market economy, colorfully packaged processed foods, restaurant-lined streets, food vendors on every corner, and expanding sprawl of commercial development.

Traditionally, the highland tuber-based diet revolves around three elements: a food's starchiness, its fat content, and saltiness—respective sources of caloric energy, critical nutrients

(e.g., omega-3), and flavor, broadly-speaking. This is further typified by various grains, breads, soups, stews, porridges, and animal products customarily served in common cooking vessels such as a clay *olla* (pot) to emphasize “the abundance of food, both in terms of its quantity and its degree of starchiness” (Orlove 1998:212). In her original fieldwork, Oths (1991) noted how processed foods like white rice and egg noodles, which were considered culinary status symbols of the coastal *mestizo* diet, had begun creeping into some Chugurpampans’ meals to impress guests—especially soups, which would traditionally be brimming with highland-grown tubers.

Today, these items along with long pasta noodles, saltine crackers, and cookies are staples of highland homes, their high-status distinction having been replaced by the flashy packaging and name brands of even less healthy products full of sugar and fat. In Trujillo, these are served frequently and accompany native tubers, grains, and breads that are also popular for being cheap, easy to make, and plentiful. Thousands of merchants, stores, and vendors across the province sell grains, fruits, vegetables, and animal products from coastal, highland, and Amazon regions of northern Peru and beyond. Rice, for instance, is sold in several different varieties and prices depending on its quality (length, shape, texture, and color). The most expensive was long-grain bleached rice that was smooth and durable.

Recent arrivals seldom eat anything except these foods because they are familiar and made in the home. This category should not be confused with the related word *casera*, meaning homemade, which appears on processed foods as a familiar-sounding buzzword to boost sales. Conversely, *hecho en la casa* (made in the home) is a distinction for any meal cooked, prepared, or offered by a known source, such as a family member, friend, neighbor, or employer. Soups, coffee, and tea varieties are cornerstones of migrants’ diet, not just for their nutritive value, but for their health benefits for being humorally warm (Vincent 2000:294). These are consumed

constantly, especially during breakfast and dinner. Even in the moderate coastal climate, hours surrounding dark still activate the same precautions in migrants as their highland kin to prevent *mal viento* (cold airs; see Ch. 2) by taking these items.

Caldos (soups) are, in essence, bone-and-vegetable stocks with seasoning and a mixture of starches. If finances permit, each bowl may have several chunks of parboiled meat, ideally a whole chicken, which makes a flavorful broth and can be sectioned into as many as 16 portions. But *caldos* are also popular because they are a safe bet—the meat is boiled long enough to kill any bacteria before the remaining items are added based on a cook’s preference and ingredient availability. Not all soups are served with meat, although families who prepare meatless soups due to scarcity always manage to scrape together a rich broth from bouillon cubes and a couple stray vegetables from a nearby corner store, compensating with heaping portions of noodles, rice, and potatoes. The most nutritious meatless soups are ones prepared with native tuber varieties like *olluca* or boiled whole wheat, but most migrants, especially younger ones, do not appreciate getting skimmed on refined starches.

Conversely, hot drinks (which were usually referred to simply as *café* [coffee]) feature familiar grain varieties, such as toasted barley, quinoa, oats, or grits, but are often as simple as instant coffee. They are usually accompanied, if not by *caldo*, then by a wheel of homemade farmer’s cheese served with honey, a fried egg, or often a *tamal* when available. Unfailingly, breakfast is served with a personal bread loaf called a *pancito*, which are sold by the bagful in markets, neighborhood bread-bakeries, and by mobile vendors. Lunch is the largest meal of the day, enough that many Peruvians go home to dine with their families before returning to work and school around 3pm. Migrants get a bit more creative in the kitchen for this meal, typically

serving rice or potatoes (or both) along with some meat braised in a pepper-gravy and a legume or bean. When visitors are in town or there is a celebration, soup may be served as an appetizer.

In the highlands, so much time, effort, and care goes into household subsistence. On the coast, there is a certain impersonalness migrants face having to rely on food from markets and vendors rather than one's own fields and hearth. But it is also a convenience knowing that these staples are available in such abundance. However, Chugurpampans with whom who spent any length of time on the coast discussed feeling socially or culturally compelled to *aprender* (learn) to eat and appreciate coastal cuisine. This category means radically different things depending on the person. For newer transplants, it refers to anything cooked outside the home or off the street, but settled Chugurpampans use the term specifically to represent food, resources, or cooking methods not considered intrinsically highland. Seafood falls into this list, especially the bounty of fish and shellfish plates such as *ceviche* or *paella*.

More broadly, in Peru, food beliefs exist within a national gastronomic domain centered on the diverse and ever-evolving fusion of flavors that make up creole cuisine. This includes indigenous, Spanish, Chinese, Italian, and pan-Latin influences, among others, and various cooking methods such as grilled, braised, marinated, sautéed, oven-baked, and fried. Rice is usually jazzed up and served as the focus of the dish. Cilantro-beer rice and Peruvian-Chinese fried rice are hugely popular, although most migrants are perfectly content with a heaping plate of white rice along with some boiled potatoes, a flavorful gravy, and a fried egg. Meat choices include young chickens, sometimes a fat hen if there is money, or a tough old rooster. Turkey and duck are also available poultry options, but more in restaurants than households, as ovens are valued but quite expensive. Cheap cuts of red meat are popular, including sheep and goat around holidays and special occasions, while fish, shellfish, and guinea pig are frequently incorporated.

Restaurant food was is considered coastal cuisine. This generic label encompasses everything from restaurants and eateries to food vendors and mobile merchants. The easiest alternative to cooking is to dine in or carry out food from a neighborhood *menú*—a shortened term for *menú económico* (economic fare). *Menus* include an appetizer (*entrada*), entrée (*fondo/segundo*), and refreshment (*refresco*) for an average price of 6 *soles* (~\$1.90). Down in Larco District *menus* cost around 7-10 *soles* while closer to the *pueblos jóvenes* lunch can be obtained for as low as 4 *soles*, though the structure remains intact. *Calderías* (soup shops) are also popular alternatives, especially establishments specializing in *caldo de gallina* (hen soup). But if there is money to be spent, the most desirable and expensive option is to dine-in or take-out from a *pollería* (chicken restaurant).

Pollerías specialize in coal-roasted chicken, a tantalizingly-delicious chicken dish marinated in a distinctly Peruvian medley of flavors for at least twenty-four hours before being roasted in a glowing hot rotisserie and served with fried potatoes and a salad. Once a delicacy available only to those of sufficient means, the dish is a national classic, available from *pollerías* to the aisles of supermarkets. In Trujillo, the dish is common in Chinese restaurants, frequently served with fried rice in place of fried potatoes. Sunday is the biggest day for *pollerías* because many migrants have off and spent their hard-earned cash feasting on large meals with family and friends. The average cost of a quarter chicken, the most common portion, ranges from 11 *soles* (~\$3.50) in El Porvenir to around 13-18 *soles* (~\$4-6) in Centro. Larger groups just purchase the entire bird (with sides for 4) for 30 *soles* (~\$10), so for those feeding upwards of 10-30 people, Sunday dinner can cost around 300 *soles* (~\$95).

On the other end of the spectrum, the cheapest food alternatives are prepared street foods, which is found throughout Trujillo and embraced by all corners of the city. These are handy

options for on-the-go students with little pocket money or older migrants who lack the ability or means to cook for themselves. Most vendors have plastic forks, plates, napkins, and bags so the food can be consumed there or prepared to-go. For instance, 70-year-old Mariela, who had been on the coast about 15 years with her adult children while her husband tended the homestead in Chugurpampa, sold *tamales* twice a week by the gates of El Porvenir. *Tamales* are a pan-regional favorite across Latin America. The Peruvian version is served in a corn husk with chicken bits, olives, hard-boiled egg, and topped with vinegar-dressed cabbage and a splash of prepared *aji* (pepper sauce). Several vendors also ride bicycles or stroll through neighborhoods streets with a pushcart or satchels stuffed with *tamales*, announcing their offerings to residents.

Currency, Reciprocity, and Savings

Cash is the preferred method of payment throughout Trujillo, though an increasing number of vendors accepted credit card and debit/bank cards. But unless dining at a local tourist trap or buying clothes from a department store, paying by card is a cumbersome process. Nearly all the migrants with whom I became acquainted did not possess one because they were skeptical of putting money on plastic. Most had also heard horror stories about people being abducted by kidnappers posing as taxi drivers or police officers and held hostage until their bank accounts were emptied. I want to say this was urban legend, but nightly news reports confirmed otherwise. Moreover, most migrants I met did not have the liquid capital needed to open a bank account, nor were they prepared to trust a bank for anything save paying utility bills or making change.

Migrants therefore rely primarily on cash and coins (generically called *plata* [lit. silver] or *lucas* [bucks]) to pay for expenses, consumer items, leisure activities, life events, holidays, harvest festivals, savings, investments, and remittances. But paying with cash presents its own

challenges: it is nearly impossible to pay for anything with large bills. As paper currency, the Peruvian *Nuevo Sol* (PEN) is minted in denominations of 10, 20, 50, 100, and 200, though anything beyond 20 *soles* is excruciatingly difficult to break at most places in the *pueblos jóvenes* except banks. Migrants usually keep cash in wallets, which also holds their national ID card and driver's license, if applicable.

Paper currency is neither more convenient nor safer than debit or credit cards, so most people only venture out of the house carrying coins, which are minted in denominations of 5, 10, 20, and 50 *centimos* (cents) and 1, 2, and 5 *soles*. With the perfect combination, one can safely carry home an entire week's pay without any fear of robbery. Who was going to waste a bullet for coins? Perhaps in the foothills by Alto Trujillo, but desperation usually targets expensive consumer items like unguarded smartphones and laptop bags. But despite migrants' integration into the market economy and familiarity with large sums of liquid assets, reciprocal forms of exchange remain deeply engrained in migrants' suite of adaptive survival skills. Genaro referred to two reciprocity-based forms of exchange, *trueque* and *minga*, the first involving the exchange of resources between households from different ecological zones.

“We used to trade with people over in Uzquil [Otuzco Province]. Had to walk like twelve hours round-trip to get there,” he detailed. The second form of exchange, *la minga* (alternatively spelled *minka*), refers to communal labor parties organized to perform individual and collective work projects. These forms of reciprocal exchange are less common, though still enacted in the highlands. But to some extent, they remain practical and functional in a far more informal way on the coast. For instance, currency exchange among Chugurpampan migrants does not always apply because not everything has a monetized value. A family member asked by another to pick them up something from the store may not be paid back, but the exchange is completed in some

way. On one occasion when Genaro fell on hard times, he was recruited by friends to paint the walls of their new home but was not immediately paid. Two weeks later, there was still no monetary recompense for his time.

“Why haven’t they paid you yet?” I asked. “Genaro, you don’t get the feeling sometimes that maybe they’re *vivo* and just tricking you?”

“It’s not like that Max,” Genaro corrected me. “I don’t help them for the work because money’s practically worthless. It’s friendship that’s valuable.” Thus, while Chugurpampans may not explicitly practice traditional reciprocal institutions such as *trueque*, the importance of these relationships remains valuable to survival, even in a highly-monetized economy. Maintaining social and economic balance, whether through the exchange of currency, goods, food, a place to sleep, or just generic social support, is therefore a vital goal of making ends meet.

Migrants who achieve some success expanding their economic base often invest coastal earnings into other endeavors. I observed Chugurpampans and many more migrants save money by three interconnected means: agriculture, purchasing land, and buying foreign currency. Many re-invest capital into agricultural endeavors in Chugurpampa, one of several ways remittances are shared with highland kin and countrypersons. Migrants either return twice a year to plant and harvest or send money directly to family still in the hamlet. The former instance is usually the case for households that had abandoned the village entirely and return only to supplement coastal incomes. However, in the latter case, agriculture and land purchasing remain active productive activities of the translocal network. But the most resourceful migrants are ones who are willing to take risks investing in foreign currency.

When my fieldwork began, the US-dollar-to-Peruvian-sol exchange rate broke a 14-month plateau, skyrocketing from 2.79 PEN/USD to 3.15 PEN/USD in only three months.

Dollars were a hot commodity, eclipsing Euros and Great Britain pounds sterling in popularity. With foreign currency on the rise, what may have cost migrants x amount of *soles* to purchase may be worth far more depending on fluctuations in the exchange rate. The key is finding the cheapest and safest means of turning them back into PEN. Walking around with hundreds of foreign bills is dangerous. Migrants need to know more than the exchange rate: Where will the exchange take place? Will they need to hire a trusted cab driver or can they make it on foot? Will they be dealing with a trusted broker? How many others should come with us or should we go alone? Thus, currency exchange can be worthwhile if migrants have the resources, skills, and patience to wait for appreciation.

During the patron festival in Chugurpampa, for instance, Genaro was offered the right of first refusal to purchase a plot of land above his homestead that he had sold for \$700 some years earlier because it did not have irrigation access. The original investment had appreciated so much that Genaro purchased the land back plus two additional plots, giving his family water privileges to the once-inaccessible source.

“Can you help me exchange dollars?” he discreetly inquired one Saturday afternoon.
“You know the best exchange rates, right?”

“Sure, Genaro,” I replied, “you know I’ll help you. We can head over to *Centro*. They’ve got the best ones there. How much you need to exchange?”

“I’ve got \$700,” he whispered, holding a tightly-wadded roll of fourteen \$50 bills. I nearly fell out of my office chair.

“Where’d you get that!?” I sputtered loudly.

“Shhh!!!!” he hushed, peering out the window to check for any renegade stares. “It was given to me as payment for a parcel of land I sold five years ago in the highlands. It’s been in my roof hidden.”

“Wait,” I barked, “this whole time you’ve had this money?”

“It’s not money! They’re dollars!” he struggled to clarify, “I stuffed them away in a hole in the roof a few years back for security.” Sure enough, Genaro had hidden the money in a small, cylindrical inlet he bored and sealed into the top of a cement column, yet he never considered it liquid capital. Even when he was penniless and couldn’t afford food or medicine, he never felt it warranted turning the dollars into *soles* until he got the opportunity to buy back the land. Genaro could have just purchased the two smaller plots of land five years earlier to access the irrigation source. Instead, he took a calculated risk converting land he already owned into foreign currency, which appreciated enough that he came out on top without investing any additional capital.

Public Works, Private Services, and the Role of the State

In migration literature, and especially many contemporary urban ethnographies, informal migrant communities are often portrayed as having been abandoned by the state. Forty years ago, Golden-Age Andeanists detailed highlanders’ wariness of government authorities, a mistrust no doubt founded in their historic disenfranchisement and maltreatment by Colonial and Republican regimes. Chugurpampans are skeptical of all state officials irrespective of their position or pay. Even door-to-door municipal workers are treated suspiciously, especially in up-and-coming *barrios* where corruption and crime are pervasive, and privacy and security valued. At the same time, *pueblos jóvenes* are increasingly extended services faster than ever before, and not all are

state-run enterprises. In my neighborhood in El Porvenir, our household either paid for or had access to basic utilities in addition to premium communication services like internet and cable.

Despite state programs, there remains a general sense of doubt in the virtues of liberal democracies captured in short absolutist phrases like “All politicians are corrupt!” Migrants complain of rampant corruption, patchwork development, the dire funding situation of the *El Minsa* health care system, and the empty promises of crooked politicians. Many harbor distrust for police and security officials, whom they dismiss as always being on the lookout for a tip. In fact, the ease with which bribery lubricates a regularly complex bureaucratic system is both a point of shame and necessary convenience to Peruvians. Chugurpampans therefore have mixed feelings about the role of the state in their lives. Some speak optimistically about public works projects municipal governments are undertaking, installing sidewalks, parks, town squares, and extending utilities and services, schools, and government buildings. Others are less moved by what they consider increasingly minimal changes that waste more money than they improve lives. For instance, I was impressed one morning when municipal workers passed through our street to paint the curb bright yellow.

“How about that, Genaro!” I nudged him with a smile. “Looks pretty good, doesn’t it?” He just shrugged.

“Fucking waste in my opinion. I would’ve been happier with a dozen eggs and a bag of rice!” One time a municipal worker knocked on the front and offered to sign our household up to participate in a new recycling program, but Franco and Dani were not enthralled.

“Max,” Franco started, “the municipality just wants the bottles so they can sell them and take the money for themselves.” Dani smirked as she cleared our dinner plates.

“Yeah, politicians are always in cahoots with the businesses,” she chuckled. “Always making promises but never making good on them.” Political candidates get elected by promising more public works, but deliver menial projects to distract their constituents from widespread corruption and regular misappropriation of public assets. As a result, development is uneven: there are some sectors (especially in *Alto Trujillo*) complete with newly poured sidewalks, plazas, electricity, busses, *colectivos*, and waste management, but lacking paved streets or even running water (**Figure 6.6**).



Figure 6.6. Photo of a recently constructed plaza in the Alto Trujillo region of El Porvenir taken from the unpaved dirt road (July 2014) (Photo by author).

My fieldwork began during the 2014 Liberteñan elections, in which Cajamarcan-born César Acuña Peralta ascended to the regional governorship. Before stepping into politics, Acuña was a businessman widely known for having founded several private universities across Peru. He represented La Libertad Department as a member of the Peruvian National Congress between 2000 and 2006 and served as Mayor of Trujillo from 2007 to 2014. Migrants love Acuña, but it

is difficult not to favor lively politicians with populist appeal. His face and name were plastered on the sides of busses and billboards across Trujillo, and he would pop up on advertisements during primetime television shows talking about “achieving excellence” and “tools for success.”

Acuña commands strong support from migrants, because he himself hails from humble beginnings, and is the quintessential success story. Having only completed primary school, he left the Cajamarcan highlands at a young age and spun his own rags-to-riches success story in the *pueblos juvenes* of Trujillo. But his ascent has resulted in two, distinct backstories, the first, of a poor migrant boy who overcame poverty and elevated himself to the national stage. The second origin story is more urban legend than confirmable fact, something that his supporters and critics respectively boasted and decried: his universities and businesses are a front to clean revenue from a multinational cocaine operation, his political positions a mere necessity to hurdle legal obstacles. It does not help Acuña’s reputation that he has been accused of nepotism on several occasions, illegally appropriating funds through his political party, and buying votes to maintain power. He ultimately resigned from his post as Liberteñan governor in October 2015 (after 10 months in office) to announce his bid for President of Peru. His use of the regional governorship as a stepping stone was not lost on Peruvians nor the press, and he later lost the nomination to Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, who recently resigned in disgrace from his own corruption scandal.

Acuña nonetheless remains inspirational to many highlanders and migrants who seek to become successful businesspersons and professionals. Acuña holds the economic distinction many hope to achieve. Several Chugurpampans have entered the political sphere themselves, serving positions in municipal, provincial, and departmental governments. My housemate Dani was Julcán’s Regional Counselor to La Libertad from 2010-2014, working in the government offices off the main plaza in Trujillo. She’s not the only one either. Sixty-year-old Efigenio, the

oldest of five siblings from a prominent Chugurpampan family, was a pioneer migrant who came to Trujillo in 1968 for secondary school, which he parlayed into a successful career as a potato importer in *Hermelinda*. In 2014, he lost a bid for Julcán's mayor to an associate from Ayunguy, but four years later, he was back in the running for the 2018-2022 cycle. Thus, while there is still little trust or confidence in the state as far as making migrants' lives easier, some are moving into position of power and beginning to occupy important and influential roles in society.

Basic Utilities and Premium Services

Peru's neoliberal turn in the last thirty years has precipitated the privatization of several formerly nationalized industries, especially in communication and transportation sectors, which, to its credit, has improved the lives of many by expanding access. Water and electricity are the only public utilities, most others having been deregulated in the 1990s (Fernández-Maldonado 2008). The quality of these services is decent from what I experienced, although power outages are routine and usually around the concentrate around the *pueblos jóvenes*, where constant improvements are being made to accommodate surges in growth. Even as high as Alto Trujillo, provincial and regional governments are upgrading infrastructure, improving sanitation and waste management, modernizing public water lines, funding dengue eradication campaigns, and establishing police stations and security patrols to combat crime.

Premium services like internet, cell phones, and cable/satellite television are now hugely desired. About ten years ago, a landline and presumably living near a payphone may have been important. But these days most people have cell phones, so the only landlines people own are typically bundled with their internet and cable. What premium services have in common with basic utilities, is that one does not necessarily have to pay for these items to access them. Internet

is expensive: 189 *soles* (~\$60) monthly. Slower speeds are available, but they are not adequate for much beyond checking e-mail. Plus, most people just pay for the highest speed and purchase a couple 30-meter CAT-V ethernet cables to share with family and neighbors for a price. Or if they have access to a WiFi router, they can practically cover the bill by pooling resources from anyone with a smartphone or tablet, which are growing in popularity.

To my initial surprise, migrant households have no trouble justifying the cost of internet for students to study, but educational purposes are the only reasons cited for having internet. Two-hundred *soles* is not much when compared to the importance of a coastal education for long-term advancement, so migrants are often strategic about using the premium service. Suni and her cousin Eliza paid for high-speed internet for school, but canceled services when classes were not in session. However, despite its primary function as an educational device, there are secondary uses of internet access, especially social media apps like WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter, as well as video upload sites like YouTube, which are similarly popular.

Health Care Access

The Peruvian National Health Care System comprises three formal sectors: *El Ministerio de Salud* (The Ministry of Health; *El Minsa*, for short), *El Seguro Social* (The Social Security System; *EsSalud* for short), and private health care. The Ministry of Health offers basic services to the poor via *El Sistema Integral de Salud* (Integral Health System), or *El Sis*. Treatments for tuberculosis, cancer, and AIDS are offered free of charge, with tuberculosis therapy mandated by law. Most other services cost 4 *soles* (~\$1.27) per visit and are available across rural and urban municipalities as the mosaic of state hospitals, health posts, and clinics expands. But *El Minsa* only has minimal resources, and state-funded doctors strike often in demand of higher wages,

materials, and supplies. In contrast, *EsSalud*, the national health system for the middle class, has greater resources, better technology, and more diverse treatments. Doctors' visits cost about 98 *soles* (~\$31) for dependent plan holders and 140 *soles* (~\$44) for independent ones. However, this refers to whether their insurance is work-sponsored, in which case their employer pays the difference, though not all employers offer this option.

The most expensive sector of the Peruvian National Health Care System is the private option, which has the best technology and care, the most advanced treatments, and the cleanest facilities. An appointment can cost 80-250 *soles* (~\$25-80) depending on the physician and their specialty, while private insurance options start at 380 *soles* monthly (~\$120). The reasonable cost and quality of private insurance makes it the preferred option for many Peruvians, but its popularity has severely undercut funding for public health. *El Minsa* is always the hardest hit, forcing poorly-paid doctors to resort to drastic measures like reusing vaccination needles or not properly sanitizing equipment; these are among the many reasons they strike. During my time in the field, the frequency with which this occurred was high because state physicians did not feel they were being fairly compensated in proportion to Peru's recent economic growth.

"One of the problems," detailed Rocky, a medical student doing his residency at the *EsSalud* hospital in Florencia de Mora, "is the government is constructing more hospitals than they need instead of investing in resources and manpower they already have." He described a new health care option that is changing Trujillo's health marketplace: donation-driven religious organizations. The *Madre de Cristo* clinic in Alto Trujillo, for example, is administrated by the Catholic Church and funded privately by donations from foreign benefactors. They require that patients split the fee, but a routine examination is only 14-20 *soles* (~\$4-7) and there were better

resources and technology that surpass even *EsSalud*. Several times each year, they will offer free services to the poor, although many clients are middleclass (i.e., they meet criteria for *EsSalud*).

“People have a lot of confidence in the clinics,” Rocky assured. “And they don’t promote their services or look for clients because they are not in it for the money. But it does take away from the state-run health system.”

For Chugurpampans, hospitals are a worst-case scenario, but biomedical treatments are frequently purchased from neighborhood pharmacies, and pharmacists sought for medical advice independent of doctors. Health posts are also visited in instances of severe illness or acute injury. These facilities are older and require patients (or their families) to purchase supplies from an on-site pharmacy or one of several outside facility gates. For instance, the health post closest to my residence in El Porvenir was clean and equipped when I visited one night early on in fieldwork. My housemate Eliza accidentally walked into a newly installed sliding-glass door, gouging open her left leg just above the kneecap. The materials only cost 22 *soles* (~\$7) and the nurse waived the cost of the visit, which is common when the cost of materials exceed services rendered. But the relatively quick, clean, and convenient experience of the uncrowded municipal health post was starkly contrasted by the few unfortunate times I visited area hospitals, which migrants are likely to visit hospitals for life threatening injuries or when specialized medicine is needed.

Earning a Living

Peru has a vibrant market economy, no doubt a product of the country’s widespread monetization and privatization over the past 50 years, in which one’s access to economic capital determines their power against the structural violences of poverty (Farmer 1996). As I discussed previously, migrants can get to the coast relatively inexpensively, sometimes even for free if they

have enough social resources. But unless the social relation who helps them is immediate kin, a spouse, a coparent, or there were existing bonds of reciprocity, recent transplants are bestowed the new migrant role for only so long before they are expected to support themselves. Recent arrivals thus express an urgent need for work to afford daily living costs, whether that means engaging in sporadic wage labor, learning a skill or trade, becoming a merchant, starting a business or company, pursuing higher studies to become a professional, or picking up odd jobs and vending food in the street.

In Chapter Three, I addressed the difficulty determining migrant occupation due to the role of the informal marketplace. The messy analytic division between formal and informal sectors complicates efforts to ascertain employment status, because all informal workers are technically unemployed. Migrants therefore make an important distinction between people who are out-of-work and those who do not engage in income-generating activities. Students, retired persons, housewives, and the elderly fall into the latter group because they do not contribute financially, but fulfill other vital cultural roles. Among those actively seeking employment, what distinguishes any economic activity, position, career, skill, trade, or profession as a good job is subjective determination. But broadly, migrants evaluate job prospects based on whether it is steady work and has stable pay (**Table 6.1**). The only occupation I documented as having stable pay but no job security, was short-term contract work. These positions are usually in highland towns and municipalities, which are in perpetual need of skilled laborers and professionals from the coast, both to replenish the highland workforce drained by migration, and to satisfy demands of their burgeoning service economy.

Table 6.1. Occupations and income-generating activities available to migrants actively seeking employment sorted by job security and pay stability.

	Fluctuating Pay (<i>Ingreso Eventual</i>)	Stable Income (<i>Ingreso Estable</i>)
No job security (<i>Trabajo no seguro</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wage laborers • Out-of-work^a • Informal sector (odd jobs, street vendors) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Short-term contract work
Job Security (<i>Trabajo seguro</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drivers • Merchants • Microbusiness owner 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salaried professional • Large business owner • Skilled worker

^a Excludes those not actively searching for employment or labor.

Most migrants lack job security and rely on fluctuating pay daily. Suni worked a six-month position in the Municipality of Salpo, where her cousin Jhonaton often found contract-based construction work. Among his siblings and cousins, Jhonaton was in El Porvenir least frequently, splitting time between Trujillo, Chugurpampa and other places across La Libertad depending on the time of year and labor demand. But Suni was an up-and-coming professional who took night classes at the Catholic University of Trujillo, so she was never gone for more than a day or two, if that. She usually traveled to the highlands each morning by interregional *colectivo* and was home to attend her evening classes. Highland contract-work is desirable insofar as the pay is stable, the responsibilities are beyond manual labor, and there is better-than-decent pay if one does not mind traveling to the highlands daily. But it is still not secure work, as once the New Year arrives, many municipal governments undergo mandatory changeovers in leadership that require them to contract new employees.

A greater proportion of migrants have secure work and fluctuating pay, but identify as having a career. Most are self-employed in the formal market, meaning although their jobs are secure, pay fluctuates daily and varies depending on individual effort, as is the case for drivers or seasonal workers in the shoemaking industry. But people who own their means of production are always better off than those who do not. Alberto, for instance, a *motortaxi* driver who works by *Hermelinda* market, owns his own vehicle and avoids the daily operating fee charged by rental companies. Other migrants own small stores or neighborhood hardware shops that they operate informally from their homes because there are minimal operating costs.

While employment is a driving force behind Andean migration, there has always been an underlying, but less prominent notion of migrating for educational purposes. Today, education access holds a much-recognized role in Peruvian internal migration (Altamirano Rúa 2003). In fact, I met very few migrants who had only attended primary school, and while secondary school has become the standard since Agrarian Reform, younger migrants are increasingly seeking post-graduate degrees to become professionals (Leinaweaver 2008). This is a broad category that may include teachers, nurses, accountants, and doctors, among others—career paths associated with steady work and long-term well-being (Crivello 2011).

Professional work thus carries implications of an advanced degree beyond secondary school, whether at a technical or trade school or one of several local universities in Trujillo Province. But the professional category is often conflated in ordinary conversation with the generic notion of having a career or profession. For example, a shoemaker has a profession and a skillset, which is often acquired at a technical school or apprenticeship. Most report steady work and stable incomes, save several times across the year when demand drops. But these persons, however skilled, do not consider themselves, nor are they seen by others, as professionals in the

same way as a doctor, teacher, or accountant. Thus, if the purpose of finding employment is to make ends meet, and a skilled career can ensure steady comfort, then the professional path is the best guarantee of life success and happiness. It is therefore not surprising that education pursuits are often integrated in household strategies.

Fránco worked weeks at a time driving a dump truck transporting construction materials to remote hamlets across *La Libertad*. The work was early in the morning when it was still dark because the roads were less congested, meaning he would usually be back home to El Porvenir by lunchtime before heading back up with several more loads. But even with the infrastructural improvements to highland thoroughfares over the past decade, road-travel remains a dangerous task during the day, a risk illustrated by memorials deposited along the edges of canyon roads where others met their tragic end. Not to mention the possibility of being robbed, as Fránco learned one morning when he and his partner were stripped of their wallets and cell phones at a remote pass. One day, after spending five weeks in the highlands, he returned with a computer desk strapped to the top of the truck roof, and a grin plastered across his face. His sister Suni and their younger cousin Eliza emerged from the house squealing with excitement, before running upstairs to disassemble the computer and clean the area where the piece of furniture would go.

“It gets better little by little,” Fránco nudged. This is a common notion among migrants, and it is never surprising to see a far-from-finished home with several televisions and seemingly indulgent coastal amenities. But to them, there is nothing wasteful about it. Not only did Fránco and Suni have a computer with internet access, their humble home now had a formal computing station—a coveted cultural artifact that reinforces to young migrants their ongoing path forward. And for Fránco, someone who is not a professional, knowing the role he plays in his siblings’ advancement is every bit of why he worked long periods in the highlands.

However, not all professionals are active professionals, in the sense that some engage in income-generating activities that does not require their advanced training. Dani is an obvious example—trained in accounting and a former elected official of the Province of Julcán to La Libertad, she was taking time off to raise her boys while they were still in their early childhood. Contrast her circumstances with that of Ricardo, who came to the coast in 1978 with his family and trained to be an engineer at Universidad Nacional de Trujillo (UNT). Rather than work in the industry, he owns a truck rental company with his brother and operates a quaint, little market cubicle selling groceries near his home in *Urb. El Chimú*. But despite its known security, the professional route is the road least traveled because of the time and resources needed to excel in that domain. Most Chugurpampans who achieved a level of security did so in the marketplace as merchants or skilled artisans. In the following sections, I offer brief profiles of two commonly sought non-professional career paths.

Power in the Modern Marketplace

In Chapter Two, I discussed how merchants were portrayed in Golden-Age literature as crafty *mestizo* townspersons who always held the upper hand in dealings with *serranos* (Mayer 1974, 2002; Harris 1995). Oths (1991) described Chugurpampans' market-based interactions as intimidating, even nerve-wracking at times, but they reluctantly partook in the dominant system for means of household and collective survival. Highlanders' anxieties over market exchange have not dissipated, something I could sense in Genaro, who always requested a receipt from unfamiliar merchants so they could never accuse him of theft. What *has* changed, is the composition of vendors and merchants from whom highlanders and their coastal counterparts purchase goods and services. The monetization of Peru's economy and neoliberal turn of the last

three decades has brought the career full-force into the domain of highland migrants. Becoming a merchant or entrepreneur, starting a business, and doing business, are valued occupations and income-generating activities assumed by several Chugurpampan families whose livelihoods are fed and drained by daily market demand.

Full-scale mercantilism is a lucrative, albeit risky venture that requires large amounts of capital for merchants to earn beyond household subsistence. I learned quite a bit about the trade during my fieldwork because Genaro and I visited markets often to do interviews, especially *Hermelinda* market, the largest in Trujillo, which offers nearly every agricultural and animal product from coastal, highland, and Amazon regions of Peru. At the gate of the complex there is a sign that announces to all: A MODERN MARKET. It is an explicit and unmistakable reminder that only monetary exchange (and *not* reciprocal exchange) is permitted on the premises. But, as I have detailed, transactions among merchants, providers, and clientele remain dictated by the same principles of reciprocity and respect that govern interhousehold exchange (Ferraro 2006).

Hermelinda rents out hundreds of market stalls, kiosks, warehouses, and cart spaces to independent merchants, grocers, importers, and larger producers. Vendors sell to thousands of marketgoers daily to stock homes, in-house bodegas, local markets, eateries, street corners, and parks of Trujillo. On my block, there was a small shop two houses down that sold groceries, a corner store that purchased fresh produce and meat each morning, a wholesale beer vendor, hardware shops, and even a stationary store just across the street—in addition to profuse street vendors and mobile merchants who meander the neighborhoods on push carts and bicycles offering fruits and prepared meals like *tamales*.

Daily items can be acquired so conveniently that some people never leave the block, let alone the district. What each of these income-generating activities share, and what distinguishes

them from larger importers and market-based merchants, is they are all employed in the informal market. Informal mercantilism is viewed less as an occupation than it is a quick way of earning cash to afford necessities for the household. This is the reason why, for instance, early during fieldwork I was forced to omit a question about monthly income, because wide participation in the informal economy meant their earnings could only be appraised insofar as it put food on the table each night. But just as not all merchants are *formally* employed, not all mobile or cart-based merchants are *informally* employed.

Adolfo paid 3 *soles* daily (~\$0.95 cents) to sell limes from a large, wooden cart at a breezeway with heavy foot traffic in *Hermelinda*. He owns the cart and purchases limes from several larger suppliers, which he then sells mostly to marketgoers, but also has set relationships with restaurant owners who purchase large sacks daily. Adolfo and his family live among a small cluster of households at the base of Cerro Cabras in Alto Trujillo (**Figure 6.7**), adjacent to his siblings and their father Esgar, who moved his family there in the late 1990s when his wife died from cancer. Given the lack of infrastructure, there is no way Adolfo can simply nor safely get the cart home. For him, the benefit of renting space at *Hermelinda* is that there are nightly security patrols and the facility is gated, so he felt confident leaving his cart overnight.

Conversely, Aron and his wife Ofelia rented their marketspace in Julcán every weekend. Every Saturday for the past 25 years, they have transported several varieties of clothes, shoes, household items, and bath/beauty accessories from *Mayorista* market in downtown Trujillo to sell in the highland market at a sensible markup. Unlike some families, Aron and Ofelia did not abandon their land, but after ten years on the coast (circa 2000) once their children Elsa and Alex



Figure 6.7. View of Trujillo from the base of Cerro Cabras. The green house at the bottom left of the picture is one of several Chugurpampan households in the immediate area. The brick wall at the end of the street is a local market where formal and informal mercantilism thrive (Photo by author).



Figure 6.8. A youth dance club practices for upcoming Carnival 2015 celebrations in a section of Urb. Chimú where several better-off Chugurpampan families reside. Even in established neighborhoods, roofs on many residences are incomplete and await future construction (Photo by author).

finished primary school, they acquired a rental in a quaint section of *Urb. Chimú* where several Chugurpampan families of some means have resided since the late 1970s (**Figure 6.8**). By the time I made their acquaintance, their children were professionals, she a secondary-school teacher in Trujillo and him a biologist at the provincial hospital in Santiago de Chuco. And while Aron still returned to Chugurpampa twice each year to plant, harvest and maintain usufructury land rights, their livelihoods were forged in the marketplace.

I was forever astounded not only by how many Chugurpampans found comfort in the market economy, but the diversity of ways in which people engage the regularly indiscernible divide between formal and informal sectors. Small-scale mercantilism is such a widespread economic activity because it only requires a commodity or service to sell, making it accessible to anyone, even physically disabled persons and the elderly. There was a gentleman around *Centro*, for instance, who began shining shoes for a living after a freak accident took both his legs below the knee. Beside him sat delicate old highland women on the sidewalk of a busy corner selling herbs for teas or daily bounties of bread stuffed in large baskets called *canastas*.

Vending to supplement household income is such an accepted economic activity that I was never approached by a beggar in Trujillo or the *pueblos jóvenes*. Not once. No one asked for money without offering something in exchange, even if it was a piece of candy, gum, or a tiny flower. Not surprisingly, there are more street and mobile vendors than market-based merchants, and even fewer who would identify themselves as successful due to the economic backing and social capital needed to excel in that industry. But I noticed to some extent, such an outcome depends not only on one's resource access, but their entrepreneurship, ingenuity, gregariousness, honesty, and business acumen. As far as Chugurpampan merchants go, none are more successful

nor well-known than Efigenio, who operates a medium-sized enterprise in *Hermelinda* importing potatoes from across La Libertad (including Chugurpampa).

Efigenio is the quintessential migrant story. He is the person who unsuccessfully ran for Julcán's mayor in 2014, and one of Chugurpampa's earliest pioneers, having moved in 1968 to attend secondary school. Back then, he lived in his paternal aunt's house while he familiarized himself with the coast, attended classes, and honed his aptitude for the marketplace. By the time I made their acquaintance, his family had grown into a large, respected clan of market purveyors, farmers, students, politicians, professionals, and retirees, inhabiting several translocal homes across La Libertad and beyond. Their collective prosperity stems partly from the decision to invest the necessary economic resources to send Efigenio to Trujillo in the 1960s. As I detailed in Chapter Three, pioneer migrants assume considerable risk engaging in migration because there are very few people known in destination communities, and no guarantee of remuneration (especially for students). But Efigenio's parents Antonio and mother Hilda were fortunate to possess strong social resources, which they activated to begin their own household's transition.

I had the pleasure of meeting several generations of Efigenio's family, including his parents, siblings, and many of their progeny. However, Efigenio's reputation preceded him long before I made his acquaintance. Early on, he was identified by several people as middleclass, a man of high regard for his acuity, generosity, humility, faith, and successes in manifold domains. He forged a route to *superación* (advancement), carrying along with him his family and *pueblo*: importing from highland peasant farmers; opening his home to subsequent migrants; upholding community obligations of reciprocity by participating in Chugurpampa's migrant association; serving as organizer of the harvest festival; and actively participating in regional politics.

Efigenio is the prototype many seek to emulate: a walking cultural model of migration success on Peru's northern coast. We first met on March 1, 2015, at a barbecue sponsored by the migrant association to raise funds for the June patronal festival. A man of average height with an imposing belly, within a minute of entering the event ground he waltzed over to Genaro beaming the most cheerful of smiles. We were standing by the entrance conversing with Genaro's adult nephews (via his paternal half-sister), Victor and César, the former whose optimistic outlook on discrimination I presented in Segment I. The brothers migrated to Chimbote (an hour up the Pan-American highway) in the 1980s and 1990s for secondary school, ultimately moving to Trujillo where they attained modest success as zapayo merchants in *Hermelinda*. They had recently become active in the migrant association, and Victor, as mentioned prior, was serving as organizer of the 2015 harvest festival that year.

If the brothers' path to *superación* seems oddly like Efigenio's, it should come as no surprise they were also among those who identified him as middleclass. Upon joining our small conversation, Efigenio was greeted by Genaro with an ice-cold bottle of Pilsen Trujillo, which he gratefully accepted before handing Genaro's grandson 50 *soles* (~\$16) and instructing him to purchase a case of beer. But by the time he returned, Efigenio had moved on to greet the next group of attendees, not even enjoying a single sip of the 20-bottle case. It was an explicit display of prestige; a status-gaining behavior that reinforced his respected position among his peers and compatriots. On the other hand, Efigenio's gesture, which he replicated many times that day, was also an action undertaken as a social responsibility to his homeland by reciprocating his bounty of the wealth they helped him gain, however indirectly. His behavior, and the well-being of all whom he elevates, signals to everyone in the community, *the* cultural knowledge, customs, and behavior that one must know to overcome poverty and secure a better future for their families.

Efigenio clearly influenced the up-and-coming zapayo merchants, who revere his humility and faith. *Zapayo* is a type of gourd cultigen like the pumpkin, but a bit less sweet. The brothers sell in bulk, a venture they undertake with several business associates with whom they share the liabilities and expenses. Some crops are harvested from fields they owned, both highland- and coastal-based, although their origin varies depending on several factors not limited to climate, supply, or demand. It is usually consumed in soups, especially during the winter, when it must be imported from the highlands. But in spring, Victor hires cheap labor to extract it from coastal growers. In all, they move about 15,000-20,000 kilos each week, priced by unit at 90 centimos (~\$0.29) for the first kilo and 70 centimos (~\$0.22) for each additional one. They then sell to restaurants and smaller vendors using the same price calculation, but at a rate of 1.20/1.00 *soles* (~\$0.38/0.32 cents). Their combined overhead totals about 2000 *soles* (~635) each month, two-thirds of which goes to renting the marketplace and the rest to pay for transportation and labor.

Genaro and I dropped by the market early one morning around July 2015 to see if either Victor or César were available to sit down for the second interview, which we had finalized the night before. Sure enough, Victor was there bright and early, and accepted my invitation to join me for breakfast in a small, market cafe. After the interview, he invited us to accompany him to a *campo* (field) in Moche District to harvest a crop of *zapayo*, which we accepted. Genaro rode in the truck along with the hired workers, while Victor welcomed me on the back of his dirt bike. We arrived at the field just after ten o'clock, about 20 minutes ahead of the truck and crew, so he gave me a tour of the crop.

“I’ve already lost out on almost 30,000 *soles* in earnings from blight,” he glowered. “It’s caused by a virus that prevents plants from getting sufficient water. It shrivels the vines and

discolors the fruit.” He turned over several *zapayo* to inspect the extent of the damage. “Frankly, I prefer growing my own product, but,” he sighed, standing up to remove a handkerchief from his back pocket to wipe the dirt from his hands, “there’s just less risk buying it from someone else. We actually just met this grower. First time buying from him. I guess we’ll see.”

Just then the truck arrived, and a crew of four workers piled out of the vehicle with wooden planks to lay across the irrigation ditch separating the field from the road. Each was placed carefully and securely using a shovel to ensure no accidents occurred as grown men lugged sometimes 100-pound gourds across a 3-foot trough. The brothers’ primary business associate waltzed across the makeshift footbridge with a skip and strolled to the far end of the field, where he began harvesting fruit with a kitchen knife and rolling units from each row aside for workers to collect. Manual labor was done entirely by the laborers (except when Genaro had a go; **Figure 6.9**), including one on the truck organizing the load and three in the field carting *zapayo* in wheel barrels to an electric scale manned by Victor.



Figure 6.9. Genaro discovering how heavy *zapayo* can grow as Victor (left) and his business associate Carlos watch amusedly (Photo by author).

There were 16 rows in total, each taking an average of 10-20 minutes to clear based on the number and quality of *zapayo* harvested from each (about 20). As the workers loaded units onto the scale, Victor wrote on each fruit its weight minus the initial kilo. He also kept a knife close by to perform quality checks, as some *zapayo* had grown in puddles of water and were misshapen. Others were covered in bulbous, wart-like bumps while a few were off-color or showed signs of dark, black stains or spots called *manchas* underneath the outer layer of flesh. The worker on the truck effortlessly plucked the fruit from the scale by hurling it backwards using his legs, and diligently stacking them so they would not shift in transport (**Figure 6.10**).



Figure 6.10. Hired workers load the heaviest *zapayo* into the truck as Victor marks the weight for each (Photo by author)..

Just before noon, the field owner arrived with a *caja* (a case of beer) and a 2-liter bottle of Inka Kola, accompanied by several friends and his wife. The purchase of a *caja* signifies the business partners have entered a relationship of economic exchange, but one that is mediated by traditional bonds of reciprocity. After 30 minutes discussing the cost with the field owner over beers, Victor dispatched for another *caja* to symbolically seal their reciprocal bond, along with two large containers of *ceviche* and *sudado* to be shared communally. There are distinct cultural

meanings between inviting one to drink versus inviting someone to eat, but both generally serve the function of establishing confidence among those engaging in an exchange. As they finished loading the truck, Victor gifted an entire *zapayo* to every person present, before motioning me with a wink to hop back on his dirt bike. Back at the market, he arranged for lunch and a *caja* for the workers, whom his brother César supervised as they unloaded and stored the *zapayo* into cages with locks and chains. He pulled the best aside to sell to marketgoers and saved the rest for several local restaurants who buy from them weekly. Just one more day in the marketplace.

The Capitalist Cycle of Boom and Bust

Trujillo's footwear industry accounts for the greatest domestic production of shoes in Peru, supporting thousands of shoemakers and leatherworkers who run small and medium-size microbusinesses from home-based workshops (Gesto et al. 2012; Rubio et al. 2013). Most are concentrated in El Porvenir, which holds the distinction as Peru's Footwear Capital. Shoemakers are called *zapateros*, and most enjoy high incomes, pay stability, and comfort, not to mention their personal ownership over the means of production (i.e., materials, labor, and overhead). Some learn their craft at a vocational schools or apprenticing for a family member, friend, or neighbor; established crafts persons even embroider their own fashion logo onto each shoe to spread their reputation. Customarily, shoemakers do not work Sundays or Mondays, and other than a demand slump in September, they live with fewer concerns over job security than others.

Shoemakers' main competitors are medium-to-large-scale manufacturers that employ unskilled workers to mass produce cheap, low-quality footwear on large assembly lines. Hourly workers earn limited wages, certainly not enough for many of them to claim steady work or stable pay. Some are accustomed to going weeks without a single shift, which translates into

considerable hardship if it is a household's primary source of income. Skilled laborers might work full-time, and may receive employer-sponsored insurance, but the pay is still minimal and job security only as stable as demand. However, hourly wage workers do not have the shortest end of the stick in the industry. That role goes to tanners in Trujillo's suffering leather trade.

While shoemakers have seen their incomes skyrocket over the past 20 years, the leather industry is falling apart at the seams from the meteoric rise in popularity of synthetic material. Synthetics entered the market in the mid-1990s after Fujimori's neoliberal reforms, which caused international trade to skyrocket, introducing cheap material from foreign markets that undercut domestic demand for leather. Today, people on the coast overwhelmingly prefer shoes made from synthetic material because they are flashier and more colorful, which has pummeled the once-comfortable lifestyles of leatherworkers. The influx of synthetics is a glaring example of the impact of neoliberalism in the Global South; it is also a potent illustration of a contemporary genre of ethnography Ortner (2016) calls "dark anthropology," which highlights how inequality and power asymmetries influence human dimensions of social life and subjective suffering.

The capitalist cycle of boom and bust is a recurrent theme in Latin American history, and one that retains potency in the neoliberal era (Burkholder and Johnson 2010). Market booms are characterized by goods and products that are cheap, mass-produced, and expendable—qualities that run contrary to most material items important to highlanders, especially footwear. Genaro is from a family known for their fine leatherworking and animal husbandry skills. The fourth of six children (and middle of five brothers), he was raised on a homestead just down the road from Chugurpampa's center of town, which he now owns and is inhabited by his daughter Lola and her family. Like all young highlanders, Genaro married in the mid-1980s, but tragically lost his new wife in childbirth, along with the baby, which was stillborn—one of the reasons Genaro was

available to assist in Oths' 1987-88 research. Not long after, he joined his eldest brothers Jesus and Diego on the coast, who had discovered prosperity in the leather industry around 1985 when they began traveling to Trujillo for wage labor, and stumbled into the booming leather trade.

When Genaro joined his brothers five years later, he too found instant success. After two years, he purchased a 30-by-60-foot lot in the Jaime Blanco sector of El Porvenir for \$2,995.00 (~S/10,000) in US currency. Soon after, his parents and fourth oldest brother Roberth began spending more time in his coastal dwelling, eventually moving there permanently around 1992. Jesus purchased a lot just a couple blocks over around 1995 to move his wife and five children to the coast to begin secondary school. Their brother Diego and his oldest son Alan bought back-to-back lots next to Genaro to open their own leather workshop, where Genaro immediately began working. In those days, they enjoyed steady work and stable incomes because leather was in high demand by shoemakers across Trujillo. But leatherworkers were dealt a blow to their booming livelihood with the introduction of cheap synthetic materials, which ignited in popularity for their inexpensiveness, availability, and ease of manipulation. Today, it is self-employed shoemakers alone who enjoy the fruits of economic boom, while tanneries are closing daily.

"I prefer synthetics because they're not as stiff as leather and a lot easier to work with," remarked Eber, a recent migrant and new father in his early twenties who fell into the business when he moved in with his wife's family. "They're also cheaper to produce. What costs 30 *soles* in leather only costs 20 for synthetics. That's a third less!" Another shoemaker named Roger, a middle-aged man with three teenage children expressed similar sentiments, despite Genaro's stern reminding that the increased demand for synthetics decimated Trujillo's leather industry.

"Yes, Genaro," he retorted, "synthetics are lesser in quality but they're more economical for people because they're cheap and expendable. What else are we to do? If people want

synthetics, you've gotta give it to them, right?" Genaro acquiesced, however begrudgingly, politely brushing it off with a characteristically Andean tongue-click and head-jerk. He was not so much angry with Roger, as he was upset with his shrinking role in an industry that once gave comfort—comfort his friend now enjoys he no longer does. Sitting there in Roger's workshop, a finished living room packed with new electronics, two sofas, and a six-chair dinette set, Genaro directed his frustration toward his long-time friend. For his part, Roger was not offended. He understood the hardships faced by leatherworkers since the introduction of imported synthetics. But not everyone could brush off their loss of livelihood. Genaro's son-in-law Miguel, who had been working Genaro's place for several weeks in early 2015 after the latter injured himself, also accompanied me to several interviews. One was with Genaro's adult son Juan, the grandson of Ernesta, who I introduced in Chapter Five.

Juan was raised by his mother in her family's household but was fully recognized by Genaro. However, Genaro could not accompany us because he did not get along with Juan's family, even if his relation to his son was pleasant. Born in Chugurpampa in December 1988, where he was raised in a multigenerational and translocal household, Juan's uncles and aunt had migrated around three years earlier to a small enclave of dwellings in Alto Trujillo. Juan finished primary school in 2000, after which he too migrated permanently to the coast, where he became acquainted with a neighbor who operated a small, in-home workshop as a weaver. After gaining two years of experience assisting in the man's home workshop, Juan soon opened his own workstation in the main room of his mother's home in Alto Trujillo. As proprietor of his own in-home microenterprise, Juan admitted a preference for synthetics.

"Market vendors pay 20-25 *soles* (~\$7.15) per pair of sneakers," Juan explained, "so I end up making anywhere from 3-5 *soles* more each pair I make using synthetics." It was at this

point in the interview that Miguel became visibly upset over Juan's use of synthetics, while their own father struggled in the declining leather industry. But Juan just shrugged: "Leather's more expensive and less fun working with."

Thirty years after Genaro and others struck gold, smaller tanneries have endured the brunt of Trujillo's leather bust. In May 2015, Alan was forced to let Genaro go, shutting his doors for good only two months later so he could begin looking for work as a driver. That could be a good job for Alan if he knows the right people, but the independence and self-reliance he once enjoyed owning his own business ceded to a rapidly shifting market. Following Genaro's departure from the leather industry, he sometimes went weeks without work, getting by with odd jobs or renting out the unfinished room of his house as a garage. Often, he asked family and friends for small loans or called a few contacts who owed him money. Thankfully, there is always agriculture.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I expounded on the migration process to show how new arrivals obtained resources like shelter, food, social support, and a source of income. I offered a detailed depiction of the urban coastal ecology and discussed the role of state and private sectors in the provision of basic utilities, premium services, public works, and critical care in the *pueblos jóvenes*. There are also many ways more established Chugurpampans earned their livings, which I discussed in relation to separate migration goals of finding secure work and having stable pay. Lastly, I ended with two case studies non-professional careers paths in the coastal market economy.

Chapter Seven

Lifestyle Aspirations and the Translocal Household

For individuals who have spent most of their lives harvesting wheat and potatoes on the Andean countryside, establishing new routines in the bustling city of Trujillo is both challenging and fulfilling. The challenge is at once financial and cultural, and whether one can fully settle into a coastal lifestyle depends not just on their access to social and economic resources, but also their capacity to adapt their beliefs and behavior to the expectations of a new setting. However, for those who secure basic shelter, sustenance, support and pay stability, their lives are opened to exciting and often intimidating experiences, ways of thinking, and thousands of new contacts who possess access to diverse economic resources and opportunities. Coastal living is all about lifestyle experimentation. Migrants are barraged with new items, beliefs, and routines that are constantly added to the mix, along with rising incomes to *probar* (sample) how certain practices fit into their lives. Recent arrivals suddenly gain endless access to coastal fashion, furniture, appliances, construction materials, vehicles, electronics, and leisure-time activities like they had never known in the highlands. Thus, for many families, conspicuous consumption is high, life is celebrated regularly, and each day is a blessing worth showing off as evidence of success.

Material-driven displays of wealth and status are characteristic of the transition to the coast (Janes 1990; Reyes-Garcia et al. 2010). As I described in Chapter Two, Latin American peasant households are wary to let others know their possessions, for fear it will invite jealousy or theft (Foster 1965). It also promotes social complementarity by reinforcing an egalitarianism central to the smooth-functioning of a peasant community. On the coast, the humble peasant

archetype runs head-on with households' shifting material and lifestyle aspirations. This then increases social stratification and augments divisions in the translocal community structure.

When I moved to El Porvenir, I thought these behaviors were simply conspicuous consumption on overdrive. But there is another side to this behavior, especially among recent migrants, which I did not recognize until I reconfigured my thinking to understand their consumptive practices as lifestyle experimentation.

Everyone wants the best for their families, but it is difficult to discern what qualifies as *lo mejor* (the very best) or *lo más importante* (most important) when markets are saturated with things to buy. Thus, there is constant negotiation to discern items that are (culturally) vital for having a good life in Trujillo versus superfluous and wasteful. When Dani was pregnant with Panchis, her husband Frank bought a washing machine he hoped would relieve her of the two-days labor it took to wash clothes by hand. Her mother Martina and Aunt Feliza usually came to the coast weekly to help around the house, but they weren't always available, especially closer to planting season. Dani was therefore alone quite often to care for her 3-year-old son Franky, as everyone in our house either worked or studied during the day. By her third trimester Frank was desperate, determined to find any solution to ease his expecting wife's discomfort.

Dani was wild about the machine, singing its praises to family, friends and anyone who was unfamiliar with the appliance. She loved being the first person to introduce it to others, until the water bill arrived and its luxury tax became vexingly apparent. She was furious, instructing her family never to use it again, ultimately removing the connection hose to ensure its permanent decommission. It sat outside my room collecting dust for a year until Frank needed the money and sold the cursed appliance. Her cousin Franco wasn't surprised Dani abandoned the once-championed machine; he was always skeptical about it anyway.

“I really just don’t understand it,” he tittered. “Why is a machine needed for work that’s better done by hand?” For him it didn’t add up, but Dani was ever-receptive to different ideas, suggestions, and ways of life. She was eternally concerned with giving her young family access to every item, occasion, or social group that could potentially improve life, regardless whether it briefly bankrupted them. Even small successes, perhaps a handy tool picked up in the market, a sugary packaged food, or a great new restaurant, are well worth the money wasted on frivolous expenditures. Dani and Frank saw them as signs of good fortune: micro-indicators of success that reinforce to themselves and others the perception of upward mobility and *superación*.

The problem is that larger purchases are far more frequent than smaller ones, and even trivial items like takeout or the weekly beer tab add up, making it difficult for families to get and stay ahead. And never is the desire to spend stronger than when cash is available, leading to what can seem like an endless cycle of celebration, expenditure, and consumption followed by bouts of depression and shame once resources are depleted. “*No hay plata*” (There’s no money) and “*Somos pobres*” (We’re poor) are common excuses offered in times of scarcity and suffering. Mayer and Glave (1999) have described Andean cash budgeting as tangible in/out accounting, in which “profit is realized only by the flow of money but not the cost of making that flow” (345). Essentially, when there is money there are new electronics, household items, restaurants, beers, parties, and clothes for all. But when cash is tight, there is only the humble peasant.

In the following chapter, I discuss many of the daily habits, items, and lifestyle behaviors Chugurpampans perceive as necessary for living well and having a good life in Trujillo. I briefly describe how coastal customs influence dietary and health care practices, and outline several of the most popular leisure-time activities. Lastly, I review kinship roles and detail their differing expectations vis-à-vis the provision of social support, and end with a description of ritual kin.

The Comforts of Home and Homeownership

The first time I ever ventured into the *pueblos jóvenes*, it was difficult for me to see a functioning neighborhood, because I was unfamiliar with the sight of underdevelopment. But there are so many elements of life in those districts that diverge from depictions in the literature of stark inequalities between established communities and up-and-coming ones. Most people live in unfinished, modest structures built from red brick and cement with televisions, computers, internet, satellite TV, stereo equipment, and random pieces of furniture assembled like a puzzle of dreams with countless missing pieces. Other homes are single-room structures made of adobe bricks, wood beams, and sheet metal with dirt floors, unfinished walls, and wood-burning stoves.

At the time, the residence in which I lived exemplified the former. Upon entering through a large entryway that could fit a car, visitors walked into a garage area that doubled as a kitchen and makeshift bedroom for out-of-towners. The kitchen had basic appliances and several pieces of furniture for food preparation. Generally, cooking materials are considered very important. Every home I visited had some combination of pots, pans, plate ware, drinkware, and flatware, which are cheap and widely available. The only person who did not own pots was an older construction worker who could not cook, and he lived near family who expected him to dine with them daily. Most homes have a gas stove, which can be as simple as a single burner device or a four-burner appliance with an oven.

In Trujillo, gas gives migrants a convenient, dependable way to cook food that wood-fueled stoves cannot. The only households that prefer the latter have elderly family members who have retained control of the hearth. But for most people, wood-burning stoves are not very efficient when gas tanks are delivered to the door. Similarly, ovens are valued but not considered essential because the recipes cooked in migrant households usually involved boiling, frying, or

sautéing. A blender is an essential appliance in the Peruvian kitchen, so universally valued it transcends class lines in its importance. Some homes lack plates and forks but have *at least* one well-functioning mixer. It is vital for making fresh juices, sauces, and marinades. Hot pepper sauces, for instance, are prepared by lightly boiling or sautéing deseeded and deveined peppers before blending them into a pulpy finish, which may then form the basis of many other recipes or be served as a condiment. Once, I spotted Dani plop chicken livers into the machine for a quick puree and then back into the pot to add richness to the dish.

Directly beyond the inner, sliding-glass entryway of the garage was a mostly unfinished courtyard with no roof, which housed a kitchen utility sink to wash clothes and had a staircase leading to a finished second story. The upstairs habitation contained two complete bedrooms, each with its own flat screen television, a shared complete bathroom, common room with dining-room table, a refrigerator, and a computer station with a printer, internet access, a landline, and WiFi to share among family members and neighbors. Beds, tables, and chairs are basic items that most people own or have access to within their living space. Only in rare instances, did I witness people sleeping on the floor. However, most homes I visited did not have much by way of a fully-furnished home. There were always a couple pieces of furniture around, usually several different small tables, rudimentary or repurposed wood ones as well as cheap, plastic furniture.

Beyond these elementary items, the first formal piece of furniture that recent migrants are likely to buy to improve their living space is a dining-room table. Families gather around tables to eat communally and share in the bounty of their earned capital; being able to do so on a formal eating space versus huddled over small makeshift tables and chairs confers legitimacy to a home and its constituents. Televisions are similarly communal—arguably the prototypically modern status symbol in lifestyle studies of Westernizing populations (Skidmore et al. 2010). But I was

shocked by not only how many migrants agreed about its value for having a decent life, but what a mundane, reasonable possession it turned out being. Thus, most migrants at least have access to a television in their homes. Several also have cable or satellite, but it is more common for an old Yagi-Uda UHF-antenna to be affixed to the roof since programs are still broadcast in analog.

The most popular programming is the daily news, which is practically background noise throughout the day, available on the same 24-hour cycle that dominates US cable programming. Soap operas and daytime television are also hugely popular, most being syndicated Mexican programs. Nighttime programming centers on a mix of news and *This is War*, a popular game show centered on two recurring, mixed-gender teams who engage in gender-segregated dance-offs and physical challenges. On weekends, WWE is popular, as are campy and big-budget action flicks like the *Fast and the Furious* series or anything from the martial arts genre. It was amusing watching roomfuls of people gasp during the most suspenseful and scripted parts of television shows, especially dramatized scenes between wrestlers or shocking confrontations between characters in a *telenovela* (daytime soap opera).

Home Ownership and Construction

The label of homeowner is misleading. Superficially, it signifies proprietorship over an item, but in the context of coastal living, the term fails to capture dynamic residence patterns that members of a single-family household often practice. Typically, when married couples build a house or purchase a home together, each considers themselves owners. But there are instances of matrilineal and patrilineal residence patterns as well, especially on the coast where people are still likely to pool resources. Often, due to conjugal relationship status, men live with their families, while their children live with his spouse and her family until they can arrange something more

stable. Dani and Frank were in the process of building a second-story addition to his mother's single-story home, technically making them homeowners. However, Dani and her boys spent most of their time staying in their cousins' Suni and Fráncó's house in Jaime Blanco to be close to family and enjoy the amenities of an established home. This was not an isolated incident either; many families welcomed Genaro and me into homes they considered secondary residences. Manuel, a taxi driver and entrepreneur with several businesses across the province, has a similar case in which he and his wife own a home in Alto Trujillo, but spend most of their time in her father's residence near the entrance to El Porvenir.

While the practice of extended families living in a single domicile is hardly uncommon in Andean or migration literatures, what *is* striking is that despite their co-residence, each nuclear family considers itself an individual household unit. Thus, the number of people living under a roof is not indicative of household size, nor suggestive that all share a household economy. The *posado* (staying) label is so common that for some migrants living in the same home, the only things they share are living space, meals, and domestic chores. Of course, there are different degrees of resource pooling that depend on several factors not limited to between-household relations. Victor the *zapayo* merchant lives in a house with his widowed mother, five siblings and their children and spouses. Their late father purchased the home twenty years ago, which his widow inherited upon his death. But the domicile's current members consider themselves three separate households; two sons built second- and third-story additions they now own separately.

These examples are not a handful of interesting case studies, but rather the ethnographic norm. The practice of multiple generations building their own section or floor in a family member's home is so common that many established migrants conform to this residence pattern. This is how Suni and Fráncó bought their lot from Genaro: he built a cinderblock wall straight

down the middle of his property, giving them half of his garaged enclosure and courtyard so they could begin to build. Most families start off with a small enclosure of adobe or red bricks with wooden beams supporting a corrugated tin-roof ceiling, which they improve over time as more funds and resources are obtained. But not everyone goes this route of homebuilding.

Dani and Frank's new home was the product of five years of diligent savings from the combined incomes of dual breadwinners. Frank is from Huamachuco (~40,000) in the Sanchez Carrion Province of La Libertad south of Julcán. His family moved to a small, one-level house in *Urb. Los Naranos* in the 1990s along with his father, mother, older sister and brother. Not long after establishing themselves, their father passed away and his brother returned to Huamachuco to teach primary school, leaving Frank responsible for his mother and sister. Thankfully, the concrete home remained in the possession of Frank's mother, so there was a place to live. But when Frank brought home news that he and Dani were expecting a baby, the pair were shocked when his mother denied Dani residence in their home.

The only way Dani and her children would be allowed to live with Frank in that locality meant building their own home as a second-story addition with a separate entrance and address. But Frank was never cheap about things. A true adherent of status-driven consumption, he was not your typical one-brick-a-day kind of guy. Frank desired the very best, and he wanted it all at once, so he could engage close friends and family in customary rituals associated with building a new home and hearth. This includes a ceremonial work party on the day the cement roof is poured and blessed by their godfather, who is essentially a ritual sponsor of the construction project (**Figure 7.1**) (Leinaweaver 2009). But achieving the coveted migration goal of owning their own home as Frank and Dani envisioned would end up costing them upwards of 60,000 *soles* (~\$19,000) once all was said and done. It is a beautiful home, and they love being able to

host friends and family for birthday parties. Dani often invited Chugurpampans she saw in the market (and knew only peripherally) to stop by for lunch.

For Dani, it was more than just about showing off material possessions. She wanted to be seen sharing her successes with others to reinforce that she had not relinquished her reciprocal obligations to her people. Thus, the humble peasant archetype remains important even among migrants with expanding resources, regardless of whether they are still consonant with such a model. Dani and Frank have come far from the kids they were when they arrived separately in the late 1990s. They loved showing visitors pictures of themselves when they came to Trujillo and were uninitiated to coastal living. But those pictures were taken long ago, and their lifestyles have since diverged from the humble peasant routine. That aspect of *superación* is not easy for many people to accept, a theme which I discuss at greater length in Chapter Eight.



Figure 7.1. Frank and Dani salute their padrino (ritual sponsor) for offering his blessing on the quality of construction with a sacrificial bottle of champagne (in yellow bag). This ceremonial act signifies the formal establishment of a new hearth and household (Photo by Genaro Aguilar Sandoval).

The Next Room Over: Coastal-Highland Connections

Life in the highlands, despite growing availability of coastal amenities, is an arduous, physically demanding lifestyle. Thus, many Chugurpampans view coming to Trujillo as a vacation. Some visitors even jokingly refuse to lift a finger, brushing off requests proclaiming, “We’re on vacation!” Highlanders come to see family anywhere from once a year to multiple trips a week. Time on the coast is a respite from the backbreaking obligations of mountain life, usually spent celebrating with family and friends. Men and children visit the least, as livestock, agricultural, and school responsibilities make it difficult for them to come more than a handful of times. Some men do sporadic wage labor to earn extra money, but most are there for recreation to drink with friends or take their families to dinner.

Women rarely cast their time on the coast as vacation time. For highland matriarchs, their main purpose in Trujillo is maintaining the coastal domicile in support of their household. Thus, whereas men are given free rein to relax, women and children are not free from domestic chores. Cooking, cleaning, and caring for ill family members are responsibilities for which there is no vacation. Some visits last a single afternoon, which is feasible since bus fare is cheap. The cost of a round-trip ticket to bring homemade bread and soup to a flu-stricken student is negligible compared to the long-term gains of that household member becoming a professional. Plus, the visiting member can stop by a market before returning to their highland dwelling.

In this way, it is easier to envision coastal dwellings as extensions of highland homes rather than being separate from them; despite their 100-kilometer distance it often seemed to me like highland kin were just the next room over. When Dani was pregnant, her mother and aunt were around constantly during the third trimester, cooking food, doing laundry, and catering to her every craving. There are superstitions surrounding the well-being of a mother and fetus over

fear of the evil that can befall the child in utero. For this reason, her mother and aunt did their best to keep her out of stressful situations. Sometimes, the pair would remain on the coast for as long as two weeks, especially during the holidays when there are more family members in Trujillo.

Highland Chugurpampans are similarly likely to seek residence with coastal kin during severe illness. One afternoon in Chugurpampa, Agosto was thrown from his horse on the ride home from Julcán, gouging his head open and shattering his right arm. His injuries were life-threatening, and Feliza fearful enough that after having his wounds dressed in Julcán, she called Fránco to come bring them to a provincial hospital in Trujillo. Within the first few days on the coast, the outpouring of support from visitors was never-ending. Relatives near and far stopped by the house to check on Agosto, exchanging pleasantries and words of encouragement. He and Feliza remained for an entire month, attending doctor appointments and getting relief from the demands of the highlands, while Jhonaton assisted his mother tend to the homestead.

Although they have spent their lives in Chugurpampa, Agosto and Feliza know they will probably die on the coast, a reality affirmed daily by their family's increasing reliance on coastal resources and incomes. As sickness worsens with age, and as the allostatic load of a life spent toiling in the fields becomes unbearable, elderly persons cannot survive alone in a land where younger women and men struggle to till the ever obstinate earth. But for now, while they can still maintain their agrarian livelihoods in Chugurpampa, Feliza and Agosto are reassured knowing there is security and comfort in their foreseeable future. Unfortunately, not all are as fortunate. In the following section, I elaborate on the different kinship distinctions used by Chugurpampans, which are vital for determining the provision of social support.

Kinship, Family Support, and the Flexible Nuclear-Extended Family

When it comes to labels of consanguinal kinship, Chugurpampans call them as they see them. Families are quite large, so terms normally reserved for nuclear kin are assigned liberally to differentiate important family members from a collection of extended kin. Mother (*Mamá*), father (*Papá*), child (*hijx*), sibling (*hermanx*), aunt/uncle (*tíx*), niece/nephew (*sobrinx*), and cousin (*primx*) are consanguinal kin distinctions that mean different things depending on several factors, one being their substantive function. For example, my five adult housemates (siblings Suni [24] and Fráncó [22] and their cousins Dani [33], Jhonaton [20], and Eliza [18]) were raised in the same household by two sisters, so rather than use the generic label for cousins, they use *primos-hermanas* (cousins of sisters) to equate their relationship to “like siblings.” All five collectively address Feliza and Martina as *Mamí*, who reciprocally call all their children and grandchildren *hijitos* (children).

Genaro has a similarly close relationship with two of his maternal first-cousins, Camila and Bruno—children of three sisters (i.e., maternal parallel cousins) whose bond they inherited. The elder sisters had many children, but Genaro, Camila, and Bruno consider themselves *primos-hermanos* because they were raised in the same age cohort, something typical for families of 5-10 children. Genaro, the youngest in the trio, accepts the label *mi hermanito* (my little brother) and uses *mis hermanazxs* (my big siblings) to return the sentiment. This added distinction is thus vital for identifying close nuclear-extended kin from less close familial-extended kin. The latter category includes cousins, aunts/uncles, and nieces/nephews—generic terms loosely applied to distant relatives or friends, depending on the context.

Other consanguinal kinship terms are age-appropriate; generational differences usually take precedence over actual kinship distinctions. One time when Genaro and I visited Camila,

which we did once a month to catch up over beers in the small bodega she operated from her home, her 15-year-old grandson walked through the shop on his way out to meet friends at the mall. “Say hello to your uncle and cousin,” she ordered, as he amusingly twirled around a rooster to shake our hands. Camila could have explained to her grandson how he was related to Genaro, but it was easier to dictate their expectations through the avuncular role. Conversely, first cousins might share an uncle-nephew relationship if their age difference is wide enough. That is one of the most difficult aspects of deciphering Chugurpampan kinship: many people have uncles and aunts the same age or younger whom they regard as cousins, or may see as siblings.

Around my household, Dani always called Genaro by his first name, while her younger sister Eliza opted for the more formal *Don* Genaro until about halfway through fieldwork when she switched to calling him *tío* (uncle)—an obvious upgrade in her perception of their closeness. Neither Eliza nor Dani were related to Genaro by blood, but because he was caretaker for his progeny and those of his brothers Agosto and the late Diego, his guardianship extended to all persons concerned. So, when his granddaughters Liana (14), Paz (12), and Mayra (7) were in Trujillo for the summer, they eagerly assumed Dani’s household chores in the final weeks of her pregnancy. Dani’s admiration for Genaro and her regard for his girls immediately brought them close; they referred to her as *tía* (aunt) and she called them *sobrinas* (nieces). She fed them three meals each day in exchange for their support, and allowed their mother, Genaro’s daughter Lola, to wash laundry in her clothes basin.

Thus, the analytic distinction between nuclear-extended and familial-extended kin is vital because it dictates who is family versus just relatives. It is from these shifting categories that familial support is apportioned. For example, there are times when family members have work and other times they do not. When confronted by the latter situation some rely on cash loans

usually only offered to close kin. Naturally, this support does not have to be monetary. In Chapter Six, I discussed the importance of being invited to partake in *x*, where *x* is a resource such as a plate of food, a beverage, or shelter. Conversely, a migrant soliciting support may use the same verb (*invitar* [to invite]) in the imperative mood: ‘*Invítame a x*’ (Invite me to partake in *x*). This is equivalent to the question “May I have some *x*?” and appears in similar forms to elicit different types of support: *Préstame x* (Can you loan me *x*?); *Regálame x* (Can you give me *x*?); *Llévame* (Can I come with you?).

Importantly, not all nuclear families are intrinsically functional units or reliable sources of support. In-fighting and soured relationships are common among nuclear kin. Genaro did not speak to his older brothers Jesus or Roberth for reasons involving his inheritance of their late father’s homestead. And while I lived with a tight-knit family unit of nuclear-extended kin, like countless other migrant families, their domicile is situated among a cluster of extended family members with whom they were variably close. Accordingly, provision of familial support is tied to the quality of relationships, but kin-based social support depends on continued maintenance of reciprocal ties. Highlanders and migrants keep meticulous registers of horizontal, reciprocity-based transactions in their recall memory, and always know what they owe others and what others owe them. The basis of this system, upon which smooth family functioning depends, is knowing when and how to reciprocate to keep relationships from becoming lopsided. People who forget debts or are uneven in delivery of reciprocal exchange are either *vivo*, ignorant, or just perpetually unlucky or poor. But regardless, these persons become known by their penchants for negative reciprocity and are avoided.

In our cluster of extended-family households, this recurring role went to Genaro’s niece Elena and her son Carlos, who were always looking for something from family. As discussed in

Chapter Five, I encountered much *vivo* behavior in the field, but none as equally irritating and endearing as Elena's approach. She never stood on ceremony, was unabashed in her requests to family, and made no attempt to hide her need for assistance.

"Maaax—" she tugged constantly with her best puppy-dog eyes, "loan me 100 *soles* (~\$32) pleeaasse, just until next month."

"I just gave you 50 *soles* yesterday!" I snapped brashly. "What happened?"

"Yeah, well, there's no work! We're poor! But we need to eat! My son Carlos must eat. Look at him! He's eight years old, and everyone says he's six. What are we to do?" Elena could lay on the guilt, because regardless of how dismissively she was treated by family, she also knew they were never cruel enough to let her or Carlos starve. To her credit and in her defense, Elena did not have the easiest upbringing, having been orphaned in infancy when her mother (one of Genaro's two older sisters) tragically passed away (Elena's biological father was not around at the time of her birth). As a toddler, she was indulged incessantly by Genaro's aging parents, presumably to quell their pain of loss.

As Elena grew from a helpless child to an independent youth, she found it increasingly challenging getting her needs met. This is not to insinuate that her family, which includes Genaro, did not care about her. They care deeply. However, he and his siblings have children of their own, so in times of need when push came to shove, resources were never prioritized with Elena in mind. So, she had to scrimp for every piece of food, and once Carlos came along, her responsibilities doubled (Carlos's father was known but inconstant in his life). She therefore never hesitated to ask family for loans or support, often without having paid previous ones, and had a knack for negotiating herself the most prosperous transactions.

“Alright, Elena.” I acceded, feeling like a real jerk having insulted her. “How about if I give you 50 *soles*? Would that be ok?”

“Umm,” she muttered, as my facial expression slumped back into the sarcastic glare I reserved only for her and Carlos. “Eighty would really be better.”

“Come on, Elena!” I grumbled.

“Sixty? Ok fine, fifty,” she agreed. “And a liter of Cola! Yes, 50 *soles* and a soda for me and Carlos. Perfect! Thanks, love!” she chirped.

I understood Elena’s behavior, as did most of her kin. She never apologized for making ends meet, and perhaps rightfully so. But Carlos picked up many of these habits, and since Elena was not always around, he was forced to scrounge nutrients from pitying relatives and neighbors just like she had 25 years earlier. At certain times, especially around the holidays or after major festivals when money was tight and work scarce, Elena and Carlos dually exploited family members to their breaking point. Fatigued kin resorted to locking doors and eating at odd hours to avoid them. But it is nearly impossible to be inconspicuous when single-family units are connected by open-air roofs and intricate ladder systems used to access an urban terrace of rooftops. One time, when Lola and Miguel were in town with their three girls, Carlos observed Lola getting out of a taxi with what he presumed to be restaurant food, perhaps from a *pollería* or *chifería*. But his only chance of getting invited was sneaking in because he would be ignored or turned away if he tried knocking on their door or entering from his bedroom two buildings over.

Instead, he ran a street over to *Calle Los Héroes* and entered his Uncle Alan’s three-story home, ascending to the highest ledge overlooking the tannery to get a better look. Genaro’s back-door was partially shut, obstructing Carlos’ view. ‘That means they’ve got something good in there!’ he must’ve thought to himself. But he needed to get closer if he was going to confirm, so

he carefully descended the back wall down to my rooftop and leaped behind a small workshop in the back of Genaro's lot, all the while evading detection. It was there he spied the golden goose: three whole coal-roasted chickens with plenty of scraps to spare for a hungry, little 8-year-old. It would be impossible to refuse him!

"Hi family!" he announced, springing from his hiding place wearing a smile full of missing teeth, "What a dear miracle to see you!"

"CARLOS!!!" sounded everyone present. "How did you get in here, you little brat?" Genaro reprimanded, dragging him into the bedroom by his collar to spank him for disobedience. But his tears ceased immediately upon being served a wing, a half-eaten thigh, and a small portion of fried rice, which he scoffed upon receiving and did not even finish, probably just to make a point. Carlos didn't eat much, anyway. But he, like his mother, knew no member of their family would let him starve, no matter how much he annoyed them.

"Sometimes you have to get beat to eat!" he chimed over the table of reticent diners.

"The two of them are a couple brats!" Dani often complained. "But," she sighed, "Carlos is my nephew and it's clear that he is suffering. So, I called Feliza and said it would be the right thing to do to have Elena cook all the meals so she and Carlos can eat better." Dani spoke about her own experiences growing up with a father who was never around after he left her mother, despite several regular rendezvous over the years that resulted in the births of her siblings Jhonaton and Eliza.

"My mother forgets easily because she has a strong heart," Dani uttered to me with her eyes fixed on the floor. "But me," she continued, raising her head slightly, "I'll never forget the pain he caused my family and continues to cause us."

Elena and Carlos have little in comparison to Dani and Frank, and certainly out of the goodness of Dani's heart, she offered much needed support to Elena in having her prepare meals. Carlos benefitted the most, because it gave him greater daily stability and the added benefit of being treated like nuclear kin rather than just some extended relation. His family began stressing the importance of politeness, correcting him every time he was rude, even when Elena insisted no one could discipline him but herself. She knew she could get whatever she wanted with Genaro. He was the closest thing she had to a father and he had given up on resisting her demands many years ago. But with Dani, Elena did not just defer to her authority, she submitted to her control. So, when she disciplined Carlos, Elena was powerless to do anything but cook and overhear her son being chastised and punished.

"Carlos!" Dani bellowed across the table. "That's a bad habit! You're a very bad child!" Sometimes she'd berate him all afternoon, regardless of whether Elena was present. When she was not there, Dani derided his mother's absence, insisting she was concerned only with having fun rather than her son's well-being. The price of Dani's support, it seems, was constant sanction and castigation. This aspect of her assistance was more self-serving than it was from the heart, in that it served to validate to Dani and others, her rising status and power. Most of the time, this did not bother Elena or Carlos, who were already so accustomed to scorn but also enjoyed the security of daily meals and close kin. After all, it was they who needed the support and not the other way around. But that's the benefit of having nuclear family.

Relations among Affinal Kin

Traditionally, ethnographers have noted that while highlanders use consanguineal kinship terms loosely, they are more specific when reporting affinal ties because such relationships are

imbued with explicit responsibilities and obligations (Collins 1983, 1986; Mayer 1977). I noted several ways in which affinal relations have become less stringent. Frank, for instance, always called Dani's cousin Fránco his brother-in-law rather than cousin, because she and Fránco were raised together. But Frank not only extends the label to Fránco, he infuses it with every right and obligation that brothers-in-law ought to share. That is why, when Fránco was having difficulty as a taxi driver, getting mugged left and right, Frank practically forced him to take a more stable job delivering construction materials to sites across the highlands.

Superficially, it appears Frank's generosity to Fránco is predicated on his affinal tie to Dani. After all, it was she who brokered their relationship through the highland institution of cohabitation. As I detailed in Chapter Two, *convivientes* are people who maintain the rights and responsibilities of spouses, but are not religiously or legally married. The verb *juntarse* (to join together) denotes the action of two people entering informal spousal roles, often upon the birth of a child. Unlike in small highland villages, in which cohabitation is practiced among relatively proximate households, in Trujillo, partners may hail from distant localities and socioeconomic backgrounds. In fact, Chugurpampans do not generally intermarry once on the coast, and to find such an instance is rare.

Reconsidering Fránco, Dani, and Frank's triadic relationship from the lens of highland reciprocity, Frank directly invests in Fránco with the clear expectation of return, and Fránco does reciprocate day after day. During Dani's pregnancy, Fránco and Jhonaton turned their room into a private nursery and devoted all their earnings to ensure her comfort. It was the most luxurious room in the house, with a full-size bed and adjacent crib so Dani could co-sleep, a bureau Fránco converted into a changing table, Suni's new white sheets, Jhonaton's sound system, and even the 55-inch television mounted to the wall. In the waning months of their residence in El Porvenir,

shortly before Dani and her boys moved into their new home, Frank was around often but never considered himself a resident. If he had to spend the night, he stayed downstairs on the bed in the garage. During the day he sometimes went up to the bedroom to nap with Dani and the boys, but when other housemates were around he usually gave them their privacy. Dani tried staying with Frank when little Franky was born, but she butted heads constantly with her mother-in-law.

Affinal ties are the most difficult kinship relations to maintain in the Andes, especially for young wives marrying into households in which they are subordinate to their husband's mother and sisters (de la Cadena 1995; Harvey 1994; Van Vleet 2002, 2008; Weismantel 1988). There has been greater effort by anthropologists in the past 20 years to document forms domestic violence against women committed by someone other than a male spouse (Bartolomei 2015; McChesney and Singleton 2010; Wies 2011). Across ethnographic contexts, male partners are most likely to commit domestic violence. But rates of abuse by other affinal family members, particularly women affines, are understudied and likely underreported by victims, because such treatment is culturally sanctioned under rigid marriage rules (Van Vleet 2002). In India, for example, a legal path for marriage dispute resolution that was originally created to empower women, paradoxically, is often used as a legal strategy of affinal kin to inflict structural violence against a female spouse and her family (Basu 2015).

Ritual Kinship and "Other" Relations

The ritual kinship system of *compadrazgo* (co-parenthood) is viewed as an economic transaction that establishes vertical ties between social classes. This is a major form of support for highlanders and migrants, because it brings together people who are otherwise unrelated. In common usage, the label *padrino* (godfather) is used informally to mean sponsor. For example,

the first person to notice a baby's teeth have erupted is known as Godparent of the Teeth, and must purchase the child's first plate and spoon. Sponsorship is essential for baptisms, weddings, and graduations, after which, all aspects of the relationship are dictated by cultural expectations for ritual kin, which includes moral and financial support. Ideally, one's *compadre* (or *comadre* for women) would be a close friend or relative. Vilma, the organizer of Chugurpampa's 2016 harvest festival, referred to her Chugurpampan *compadre* as "my right arm." Similarly, Genaro's cousin Camila explained that her *compadre* was originally her neighbor, and that they'd always maintained a close friendship in Trujillo.

Not everyone reports close ties with coparents, but this does not immediately imply their dissatisfaction with the arrangement. Some ritual relationships are just more symbolic than they are functional. That is, for some it is simply enough that the role is occupied for important life events, even if the eventual flow of support does not match cultural ideals. In fact, I encountered few instances in which coparents were cited as important for economic support, although most were named as sources of social support. Beneath its utilitarian value, the goal of fictive kinship is never resource exchange, but to nurture the triadic relationship in which coparents are actively involved in the lives of the sponsored. Alternatively, there are also instances of people who are related but would rather not be considered kin. *Hermanos de padres* (siblings of a parent) is a recurrent distinction used by two or more half-siblings to connote persons who share a single parent. This should not be confused with step-relations, which are indicated by adding the suffix *-astrx* to basic kinship labels (e.g., *hermanastra* [step-sister], *padraastro* [step-father], *hijastrxs* [step-children]). Most maternal half-siblings are the result of women who have children with different partners, usually due to separation or the death of a spouse. But for men, the reason is almost always chocked up to sexual infidelity. As consequence, legally wed men (i.e., bound by

Catholic law) sometimes deny paternity. In refusing to recognize an out-of-wedlock child, a biological father bars their offspring from the privileges of sharing a surname or birthright.

In small communities like Chugurpampa, illegitimate children are a mark of shame to a married man, his spouse, and his children. But their disgrace will never amount to the lifelong humiliation and embarrassment heaped upon an unclaimed child, to whom family members deflect the anger and resentment they feel for their head of household. Their unrecognized kin will forever embody a living, breathing reminder of their father's infidelity and betrayal, such that many families go to extreme lengths to exclude them from family events and kin support networks. Such is the plight of the *hijo particular* (private child). I became familiar with the concept during preliminary fieldwork from a story Kathy told about Genaro's brother Roberth, who was better known by his soccer jersey number: "80." During her initial research, Roberth fathered a son that was his spitting image, but his denial of paternity drew disapproval of others who tried to shame him into recognizing the child. Kathy participated in the socially approved rebuke by nicknaming the baby "40," making it impossible for Roberth to further deny paternity.

During my fieldwork, I was reacquainted with the term when interviewing Vilma, who is the recognized daughter of Pablo Veracruz—a man better known by the nickname *Perro* (Dog). Before we even met, Pablo was described to me by several people as an *hijo de puta* (son of a bitch). A recent convert from Catholicism to Evangelical Christianity, Pablo broadcast his self-described penchant for discerning right from wrong. But his newfound devoutness and disavowal of others did little to erase from the memories of his friends and compatriots why exactly he had earned the nickname Dog at a young age.

"He was always just like the dogs howling at the window trying to get the bitches to come out and play," Genaro coarsely explained. But I'm almost certain that whatever attitude

Genaro had toward Pablo was due to the fact they used to run as part of a pack. A once-married widower, Genaro found his way back to the bachelor's life after his young wife's death. Pablo continued to father several children in and out of wedlock, a badge of shame he publicly regrets in his older years. So, when interviewing Vilma, whom I had forgotten is his *hija particular*, I accidentally asked her if she *knew* Pablo "Dog" Veracruz.

"That's my father!" she chortled, struggling to contain her amusement. Thankfully, Vilma and I were acquainted several times throughout fieldwork, and along with her reverence for Genaro, she was happy to withhold judgement. Plus, as Pablo's claimed daughter, she not only enjoyed the same rights and privileges as her half-siblings, she and her family also evaded the shame of not being recognized. So, it was not too personal an issue. But during the interview, Vilma shocked me by revealing two additional half-siblings whom Pablo refused to recognize despite his decades-long affair with their mother. Unlike with Vilma's mother, Pablo's family did not share confidence with that household, and so formally recognizing the adolescent boy and girl (and conferring to them his name and legacy) would only bring greater dishonor.

Therefore, instead of taking one surname from each parent, both of Pablo's illegitimate children use the same names as their mother and her siblings (i.e., their maternal grandparents' household). This is quite common, especially in families with children numbering in the double digits who were born across 20-, 30- and even 40-year periods. Genaro's eldest Lola was also born out of wedlock and adopted by his parents, while her own son (whom she had at a young age) was adopted by Genaro's brother Agosto's family. There are also important legal reasons for this practice, as having different surnames than other household members makes a complex bureaucratic system even more difficult to navigate, which can potentially impact the provision of critical services. Common among these instances, regardless of whether an *hija particular* is

claimed, is that each person has some form of kin support. But in rare instances, an *hijx particular* may be born into poorly embedded family with limited access to resources or social support.

This was case for Flora, Genaro's niece through his estranged brother Jesus, whom the latter fathered as a much younger man. Flora was raised by a single mother in Chugurpampa but was sent to Tarapota at age 12 to earn money washing clothes and cleaning houses. Not three years later, she moved to Trujillo when a recommendation from a former employer secured her a live-in housekeeping position in the upscale neighborhood of *El Golf*. She remained there until finding a sales position in a perfume boutique off *Av. España*, the same shop where she met her husband 11 years later. The pair began cohabitating when Flora became pregnant with their first child. But her relationship to her own father and her half-siblings has always been poor.

"It's very delicate," she calmly explained. Flora was searching for a godmother for her son's secondary-school graduation and stopped by the house asking to speak with Dani or Suni. Dani conversed with her for about an hour in the kitchen before graciously accepting the offer to serve as godmother. Flora put much effort into properly developing her new relationship with Dani, stopping by the house at least once a week to say hello and offer assistance around the house. It was the closest she had to family on her father's side, since Dani was already close with Genaro. I always wondered whether she felt it conferred her some legitimacy, having a member of his family (however peripherally) become her *comadre*, but Genaro insisted it had more to do with Dani's rising status. Nonetheless, ritual kinship, like consanguineal and affinal relations, has the potential to be a vital form of social support, but it may also impede one's own *superación* if the delicate balance of reciprocity between vertically aligned fictive kin is not even and stable.

Health, Wellness and Leisure

Nutrition and Treatment Preferences

Chugurpampans' nutritional beliefs are changing rapidly, influenced by every small piece of advice picked up from a diverse combination of experience, household knowledge, medical doctors, television programming, and other sources. Migrants are not unaware of the health risks associated with increased consumption of carbohydrates, fats, and sugars that often accompanies rural-to-urban movement. Not long before my fieldwork, Genaro became a staunch crusader against saturated fats, after severe abdominal pain landed him in the hospital late one evening.

“The doctor told me my high-fat diet was choking my arteries, so he sent me to a nutritionist. She told me to quit eating food with lots of fats or oils. Only foods parboiled because it's healthier.” From that day forward, Genaro refused food he deemed unhealthy or too fatty, always letting his distaste known for any food he felt contained a lot of fat. He prided himself on his new habit, announcing to guests that meals were boiled and served with vegetables, beans, and rice cooked without any fat. His diet change had two unintended consequences. First, and he may not have been aware, but it dissuaded family and friends from inviting themselves to dine with him, because they loathed the taste of food without fat. This is understandable, given fat's importance to highland subsistence and survival (Orlove 1998).

Weismantel (1997) has written about the infamous *kharisiris*, or fat stealers, who are believed to roam the *sierra* at night trapping unsuspecting highlanders to kill them and steal their fat—without which they cannot survive the bitter Andean night, labor in the fields, nor maintain humoral balance to stay healthy and prevent illness. Bastien (1985:600) elaborates:

Fat...is considered a critical element in the cold of the Andean night, the loss of which can lead to sickness. One particular way of losing fat is through the sickness *liquichado*, based in the persistent urban legend of the *pishtaco*, or *kharisiri* (cutter),

which, in Andean discourse is broadly understood as fat-stealers that roam the rural countryside robbing people of their body fat, and take the form of doctors, lawyers, and priests. Ethnomedical healers will often prescribe diets with higher contents of fat to ensure the patient restores their balance of health.

Given its importance, I always found it somewhat surprising that Genaro could so easily resist food because it contained too much fat; especially meat, which is arguably migrants' most valued food category (though it was less important in Oths' [1991] original study). In Trujillo, grains are plentiful and cheap, while, apart from potatoes, teas, and herbs, fresh vegetables are less popular, usually going straight into meals. But the value of a plate is determined by the presence, quality, and amount of meat served, such that I received frequent pleas for forgiveness on occasions when I was not served it. Initially, I was so confused why they kept apologizing to me because I made clear my affinity for vegetables the day I moved in. They were shocked to learn that I was more interested in veggie stir-fries, fermented cabbage, and homemade sriracha sauce than I was working meat into my daily diet.

"You really like vegetables don't you, Max?" Dani often asked me. "Hmm," she always pondered, "I thought you would have wanted meat and rice every night." But I soon realized that their apologies were never to assuage my own inconveniences, but rather, were out of shame for having allowed *need* to creep into the most basic domain of their household.

"Max," Fránco began one afternoon as we sat down to enjoy *repollo saltado* (sautéed cabbage) over a hefty plate of white rice and yellow potatoes, "do you like cabbage?"

"Fránco, you know I love vegetables!" I assured him with a pat on the back. "How about you?" I asked.

"Of course! *Repollo saltado* is what you eat when there's no money for meat. Personally, I love it! Tack on a plate of white rice and a fried egg—Mmm! *The best!*"

I always appreciated Fráncó’s humility in times of scarcity. Indeed, it always seemed there was some soup that could be thrown together from random vegetables lying around, a misplaced bag of rice or potatoes for rationing, or even a quick gravy whipped up with poultry-flavored bouillon and corn starch. But in their minds, there is nothing that can hide the absence of meat, without which the meal would never be complete—no matter how generous. More than that, it is embarrassing not being able to provide or offer adequate sustenance, which can have grave consequences if there are children in the house whose growth and development depend on meat. This brings up the second unintended outcome of Genaro’s dietary and lifestyle shift: it may have saved Genaro’s life, but for his 20-year-old grandson Alois, the absence of meat in his diet caused a severe seizure early one morning. Thankfully, Fráncó was in town with his pick-up and was able to take him to the hospital in 10 minutes, but the event shook Genaro emotionally.

“Maybe you’re eating right but a young boy like Alois, he’s not getting what he needs!” Elena yelled at her uncle in the hospital hallway. “He needs to eat eggs! Meat! He needs a little bit of fat! Do you understand!? No child is going to eat well like that!” Dani was more reserved about the entire situation, realizing another reason for Genaro’s diet was his limited resources.

“It’s not so much about avoiding fat altogether, Elena. It concerns choosing the right fats,” she detailed. With a child on the way, Dani was always concerned well-being, and weighed medical suggestions from all sources, whether traditional, home-based knowledge, or advice of specialists at the hospital. Once, she called her mother to ask which root should be boiled into a topical cream to reduce swelling. When her second son Panchis was born, she heeded a doctor’s suggestion to reserve vegetable oil for cooking and only consume olive oil raw on salads and breads. A pediatrician gave her a colorful guide stating what newborns could and should eat each new month of their lives; it included a good deal of vegetables and grains to help babies pass

food. But Dani's aunt Mariela (the *tamal* vendor), and several older Chugurpampans, advised her that vegetables are inherently cold, even if boiled, and were likely causing the baby's discomfort.

Dani acknowledged that doctors do not subscribe to humoral beliefs other than drinking warm beverages to protect the throat, which she explained is a reason her parents' generation are more cautious seeking biomedical advice. Dani was keen to avoid cold drinks and spicy items during pregnancy, guidelines her mother and aunt ensured were abided. They blamed Panchi's frequent digestion problems on Dani's diet, since she breastfed him the first six months of his life. But not all newborns have the same benefit. Many are fed enriched milk formulas because they are inexpensive and available in every corner store. The product is supposedly fortified with vitamins, but Feliza always said babies love it because of all the added sugar, which is basically poison for their growing bodies. You can always tell which children are fed formula, because they are underweight and stunted for their ages, not to mention their mouthfuls of dental caries. It is such a prevalent public health issue that hospitals and clinics post advisories telling mothers to avoid feeding children anything but breastmilk (Oths et al. 2018).

Dani's biggest concerns were the chemicals in processed foods. She often spoke how meals cooked in the home were better in quality because the chef can account for every detail of its preparation. But she also fed her family sugary starches high on the glycemic index. One time, Franky sat in his highchair eating margarine straight from the carton as his mother recited recent medical advice she gained.

"I heard in a television program called Dr. TV it's good to consume plenty of *chilcano de pescado* (parboiled seafood stew) during pregnancy at least twice a week because it contains phosphorus and potassium, which they say is very good for strengthening the baby's brain. I eat plenty of that. And I drink plenty of water because they tell me the baby will be born whiter. So,

I drink plenty of water and lots of fruit. Peaches, strawberries. They tell me peaches are good for [lightening] the baby's skin. And after all that any kind of food is fine. But for the most part low on the peppers because it gives babies allergies. It makes them allergic.”

Thus, consistent with Oths' (1991) initial findings and a 2012 re-study in Chugurpampa (Oths et al. 2012), Chugurpampans rely on pluralistic knowledge to counter sickness and injury. Yet, despite the rising popularity and access to biomedicine, there endures a culturally shaped and experiential skepticism migrants reserve for all treatment options in a plural health system (Oths 1994). Most medical knowledge is a mix of folk, alternative, popular, and biomedical practices, though each person has their own preferences based on experiences and encounters of their own and others. For instance, when Fránco and Jhonaton were assaulted at a party early on in my fieldwork, Dani and Suni cared for the boys that evening with a mix of medicines.

“Fránco uses medicine from the highlands, and Jhonaton takes medicine from the United States,” Dani told me, referring to the fact that Jhonaton preferred to take 500mg of Tylenol for pain and inflammation and go to bed, while Fránco always opted for traditional folk treatments. He was a bit more conservative in the sense that he only sought coastal or biomedical treatments as a last resort. A month or so after his injury, I noticed he was preoccupied with a thick layer of red scar tissue lining the bridge of his nose.

“Max,” he started one day as we ate a modest lunch of rice and beans, “what medicine do you know is good for scars?”

“Hmm,” I thought for a second, “when I was a teen I got a scar on my face and the doctor told me to break open vitamin E supplements and use the liquid like an emollient. Other than that, just avoid exposing the scar to the sun, and eventually it should get better.” In this instance, Fránco heeded my advice despite his resistance to treatments outside highland medicine, because

the suggestion was offered with circumstantial proof of my own experience. Thus, migrants in Trujillo continue to rely on pluralistic health knowledge, and still experiment outside traditional beliefs when relief is not attained, or when they are presented with proof a treatment is effective. Fráncó surprised me because he was such a staunch adherent of highland medicine, so I never expected him to be so open to my recommendation. But this is just one of many examples of the continuity of traditional knowledge, despite greater access to biomedical services.

Fun and Recreation

La diversión (variably, fun, diversion, amusement, distraction) is a broad category that includes several popular leisure-time activities: from innocent pastimes like kicking around the soccer ball, spending the day at the beach, or cracking open a few cold ones with friends, to the more enigmatic behaviors that creep out at parties, like drug-use, gambling, cock-fighting, and extramarital sex. Migrants find reasons to celebrate on a near constant basis; there is always a *baile* or *fiesta* happening somewhere for some occasion. A *fiesta* can range from a couple of family members and close friends to an all-out celebration with bands and loud music. The best parties last until six in the morning and conclude with breakfast, but there are many different purposes to celebrate: patron festivals, holidays, sporting events, birthday parties, and life-cycle events, for instance. The money spent on these events is extravagant, and that is not factoring in the many thousands of *soles* certain families spend at Chugurpampa's festival every June. Dani and Frank expended 1,000 *soles* on little Franky's second birthday—over \$300 for a 2-year old.

“It would have been more extravagant had Frank not been in the accident earlier that month,” Dani groaned. Some households nearly bankrupt themselves of all available capital to achieve status gains from being able to invite large groups of family and friends to celebrate

important events. Sometimes there are collaborations that add up to something, but it is always the host who foots the main bill.

Quarrels and fights are common at dances and parties, where migrants from across the highlands congregate to spend the better part of a day drinking. Hometown pride exacerbates the already tenuous interactions of men who do not share confidence, ultimately leading to physical altercations. They break out in the day, sometimes at night, even in the wee hours of morning, and always over an issue of one's honor. Two partygoers casually conversing one moment may be scrapping the next. The literature is full of examples of men becoming so drunk they become belligerent, violent, or completely dependent on their loved ones (Harvey 1998). Nothing fuels a fight like beer, especially when an inebriated male attendee sees a younger sister or cousin being courted by an unknown person.

Beer consumption is counterintuitive to the humoral Andean medical system, since most drinkers prefer their beverage chilled. Feliza always warned me about the harm cold beers cause the throat, especially at night, but this is widely disregarded among regular drinkers. From time to time, there may be a member of a drinking session with their own glass and room-temperature bottle, attempting to avoid the known harm that cold liquid wreaks on the throat. But they are teased constantly for their preference, as drinkers are accustomed to cold beer. Women do not drink like their male counterparts. Some drink occasionally, but most women do not view the practice positively or negatively, since its consumption is practically ubiquitous in Trujillo. Men justify their drinking in various ways. Some only drink on the weekends with family and friends, while others incorporate beer as an essential component of business transactions. Thus, beer drinking occurs for recreation and leisure, but is also often steeped in other less noticeable

functions concerning economic relations or the maintenance of reciprocity. In the following chapter, I elaborate further on the ritual role that heavy drinking rituals play in patron festivals.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented the translocal migrant household, and proposed the idea of lifestyle experimentation to describe the process through which Chugurpampans negotiate daily habits, material items, and lifestyle behaviors they perceive as necessary for advancement. I outlined consanguineal, affinal, and fictive kinship roles, and described the flexibility of nuclear-extended relations for determining the provision of social support. I discussed how affinal ties follow a different set of cultural expectations than blood relations, which may create tension among affines, and elaborated on the category of ritual and other kin. The chapter ends with short summaries of migrants' health, wellness, and recreational practices, and how they differ from daily life in the highlands.

Chapter Eight

Household Collaboration, Signals of Status, and the Eternal Pilgrimage Home

Social support is an interesting domain to study ethnographically, because it can manifest in ways that do not necessarily conform to basic notions of economic or kin networks. In the abstract, Chugurpampans directly reference notions of support, both social and structural, such as support from other people or state services. But in mundane conversation, the act of providing social support, usually to households or people that fall outside kin relations, is called *dar colaboración* (collaborating), and the support itself a *colaboración*. This is a generic term that can mean very different things depending on the family in need, reason for support, and people collaborating. For example, donations are given this distinction in the context of Chugurpampa's patron festival, regardless of whether it amounts to three sacks of corn, a cow, or 2,000 *soles* for a brass band from Otuzco. This is a ritualized form of collaboration emphasizing the communal nature of the event, so that all contributions are valued equally despite their differences in value (Bourque 1995; Cervone 1998; Murphy and González Faraco 2013; Paerregaard 2010).

For many, this formalized community-level collaboration is too demanding for families preoccupied with their survival. Far more common, are inter-household collaborations such as *polladas*—chicken barbecue fundraisers hosted by individual households to finance medical care by selling plates of food from their homes. On my block alone, it seemed as if there was at least one *pollada* each week—both a reassuring sign of community support and a disturbingly honest indicator for pathogens of poverty (Chesnut 1997; Eisenstein 2016), as most of the medical care needed is for cancer treatment and tuberculosis. As I've detailed, such expenses are subsidized

by the Peruvian state as part of the *El Minsa* welfare system, but families are still required to pay a portion of the cost. Not to mention, households in those circumstances need as much support as possible. Since everyone needs to eat anyway, food campaigns draw wide support. The actual food is served at lunch on Saturdays, but a host family often pre-sell vouchers in their immediate neighborhoods earlier in the week to afford the meat, vegetables, and supplies. Plates can also be ordered the day of the *pollada*, but are more expensive than pre-sold plates. Come the event, host families set up a coal-fired grill outside their home to advertise their offering: roasted chicken, boiled potatoes, and a carrot, beet, and lettuce side-salad with vinaigrette (**Figure 8.1**).



Figure 8.1. Customary plate of food served at a pollada (chicken barbecue fund-raiser).

For highlanders and migrants, cooking is as much a skill as carpentry or leatherworking, and particularly one that has been perfected within the household domain of the *ama de casa* (housewife). Some even build reputations for themselves and their households, meaning the person doing the cooking at a *pollada* may be the difference between a successful fundraiser and

a waste of time and money. Feliza's aunt Mariela, the tamal vendor, lent her services to many *polladas*, as her culinary repute brought in much support. Funerals also reap collaborations from families across the translocal community. When Carolina of Alto Trujillo passed away from accidental electrocution while changing a lightbulb with wet hands, word spread fast. The next morning, Genaro's daughter Lola arrived with her mother-in-law Juana.

The trio discussed putting together a small collaboration of long-grain rice and spaghetti. At the household of the bereaved, Carolina's body had already been prepared for burial. The front room of their modest, Alto Trujillo home was cleared out for the viewing, the back wall draped with a heavy, grey-velvet curtain and white coffin ornately decorated with gold trim. So many Chugurpampans came to pay their respects, that a line stretched out the door as each took one last glance at the dearly departed. Opposite to her casket sat the bereaved, accepting the condolences of well-wishers. Seventy-year-old Juana did not even have the chance to see the remains before weepily hurling herself around Carolina's mother as the old woman practically collapsed into her arms.

"She was dead when they found her!" she wailed. The women continued their embrace for another ten minutes before letting go, enough time for their tears to cease briefly before the next mourner entered to take Juana's place. We returned later that evening around eight o'clock for the rosary. The family rented an event tent for mourners to congregate outside their home as smaller groups entered the house. Whereas the viewing brought support from across Trujillo, the rosary was more private, attended by nearly 100 Chugurpampans. Drinking is a central aspect of rosaries, but markedly tamer than the celebratory bottles of beer that characterize parties. Genaro brought several liqueurs and some whiskey, along with a bagful of *coca* leaves, which are also

customarily chewed at rosaries. Packs of cigarettes also made the rounds, something usually only common at *fiestas*, although funerals in Trujillo are as much reunions as any other occasion.

Farmers, Professionals, and Rising Social Status

Migrants' aspirations of *superación* (overcoming, improvement) often clash with their self-described label of *gente humilde* (humble peasant), which, for many, is a reminder of their beginnings. Essentially, as the dominant notion of poor but humble crashes into ideas of upward social mobility and material accretion, for some, there is a sense of guilt abandoning collective goals for individual ones. Suni was constantly confronted by this struggle. She preferred other Chugurpampans not know her rising status, because she continued to identify with the highland struggle, while at the same time looking to better herself and her family. I wondered if Suni also hid her status because she was aware of the responsibilities and obligations expected of high-status persons, which she was, at the time, not financially comfortable meeting. But Dani was a different case. She and Frank openly identified as poor and humble people, and while they were by no means wealthy, the pair were in an important position economically relative to others.

“Frank has money,” Miguel often brushed off dismissively whenever someone brought up his successes. But as incomes increase, so do the expectations that well-off families sponsor less well-off ones. Dani revered the status gains that accompany her socioeconomic ascent. After Panchis' birth, she received sporadic assistance from several women she befriended in town, one of whom was a former neighbor (non-Chugurpampan) she knew from years prior who had fallen on hard times. Dani offered to let the woman do her laundry at the house, which she graciously accepted, insisting on doing Dani's laundry and cooking a large meal with rich ingredients. Not

long after, Dani ran into a former neighbor from Chugurpampa—Ana, an older sister of the recently passed Carolina—and invited her to engage in the same form of reciprocity.

In the highlands, redistributing resources maintains allegiances and friendships, and this practice seems to remain in various forms on the coast. Dani is well known, not only due to her former role as Regional Counselor of Julcán, but in her own right as a Chugurpampan, daughter, mother, wife, and successful migrant. She has no problem when others see her advancing, but she is strategic in making sure she and Frank are seen giving back.

“When I was young and moved to Trujillo, I was fortunate to live with my mother’s family, my Uncle Fernando and Aunt Santos. They never charged me to rent the room and I always ate. Her next-door neighbor was the woman who comes over to wash the clothes. We always got along well, and she looked out for me back then, and just by happenstance, we ran into each other at the market recently. She told me she had just split with her husband and was suffering a great deal. So, I spoke with my husband, with Frank, and asked if we had 50 *soles* bi-weekly for her to come and do laundry. It helps me because I can care for the babies without having to depend on my mother and Aunt Feliza. I know suffering and not knowing when you’ll eat your next meal. It’s something I’ll never forget.”

At the same time, it seems that the farther people come from the label of *gente humilde*, culturally speaking, the more likely they are to remind people it still applies to them. I had the chance to meet several Chugurpampan migrants not based in Trujillo, who returned to the hamlet to attend the annual festival. I was loosely acquainted with a Lima-based migrant named Bella, a cousin of Feliza’s, whose parents moved their family from their ancestral home in Chugurpampa around 20 years prior. Bella is proud of her hamlet and her people, and her dream is to make it the next great spot for agritourism, an offshoot of the ecotourism movement geared to generate revenue in agrarian communities worldwide. To realize her vision, she maintains a Facebook page to stir up publicity about her hamlet, hopefully increasing foot traffic of global foreigners. The webpage is loaded with colorful pictures of residents laboring in the fields, grinning children

frolicking on rolling green hills, and weather-worn Chugurpampan women standing proudly over freshly assembled bowls of food from the highland hearth.

I was excited to meet Bella, who heard about my research through the grapevine and messaged me on Facebook around August 2014. Bella explained she and her father return twice a year, once in spring (Sep-Dec) to plant and once at the end of summer to harvest. Her ancestral home is a beautiful, three-room villa constructed from red-brick and cement, which is positioned along the road to Julcán. The central location of their residence should have been a red flag that Bella's family have greater wealth relative to other Chugurpampans, likely even before they had migrated. Moreover, the fact they went to Lima, something few Chugurpampan households have accomplished, should have further indicated to me that their family possessed ample economic capital and social resources. I should have realized these things, but it was around the start of my fieldwork and I was happy to have come across such a promising lead, so I graciously accepted her invitation to take me to Chugurpampa the following month. I figured any kin of Feliza's is kin of mine, but I was to learn otherwise later that week when Franco and I met in Trujillo. Apparently, mentioning the online interaction to Feliza over the phone the day before made her anxious over her extended family's often meddlesome ways.

"My mom says you're traveling to Chugurpampa next week," Franco casually introduced as we dined on a saltier-than-usual plate of *arroz chaufa* off Avenida España.

"That's right! I'm real excited!" I proclaimed. "I haven't been to Chugurpampa since August of last year."

"That's nice, Max," he replied without any inflection. "Who are you going with?"

"Um...Bella! I think she's your cousin?" I asked, a bit confused why bringing her up didn't elicit a warmer reaction.

“It’s best not to,” he calmly advised.

“No?” I pressed, puzzled by Fráncó’s response.

“No. There’s strong rains this time of year and it’s dangerous for drivers who don’t know the highlands,” he explained. “Plus, we don’t have confidence with them.” I stared blankly for a second trying to process what he was talking about. Was she really family? How did she hear about me? What did she really want?

“Is she a *viva*?” I blurted rather loudly, prompting Fráncó to hush me as he anxiously peered to see if other diners overheard our conversation.

“Let’s just say, we’re not very integrated with them. It’d be better if you only travel to Chugurpampa with us.” I eventually did meet Bella at Chugurpampa’s harvest festival the following June, though by that point I had lived in El Porvenir long enough to understand. She arrived the Friday of the festival in a brand new SUV wearing designer clothing and glasses. As she opened the back hatch of the vehicle, a mountain of camera and videography equipment tumbled out along with a miscellany of equipment for outdoor activities she enjoyed doing in the highlands. One of her hobbies was paragliding, a popular recreational sport in Lima, though festival attendees who never witnessed such a sight were horrified by the spectacle. Bella spoke in surprisingly critical ways about her own people. Sunday morning of the festival when we met up to exchange photos, she balked when I showed a picture of Lola holding two guinea pigs she was about to turn into dinner, complaining about the poor treatment of the animal.

“Oh my God! These *serranos* know nothing!” she remarked, shaking her head back and forth. ‘Is she serious?’ I thought to myself. I initially believed this behavior to be characteristic of migrants in Lima, as Frank told me a similar story about visiting cousins from Huamachuco, who migrated to Lima some decades earlier. However, perhaps it is not so much Lima that facilitates

this transformation, but exposure to modern influences that reinforces a sense of superiority people feel when they begin to perceive themselves socially as above their peers. And no place in Peru contains the sheer concentration of modern influences as does Lima, a classic megacity of nearly ten million residents from all over the world. But this attitude is hardly exclusive to Lima migrants. In one interview with an older Chugurpampan who had been on the coast since 1985, her college age son interrupted her to share his view about what Chugurpampans *needed*.

“Chugurpampa has the capacity to harvest more produce for export if only they had the common motivation to achieve it,” he explained between bites of cookies and sips of cappuccino his mother served us. “The problem in the sierra isn’t that the climate is bad for planting. It’s that there’s no community to coordinate an agricultural system to support the demand for exports. Chugurpampa could make tons [of money] if they only had a community structure. I’m telling you, there are distinct tastes throughout Peru, and plenty in Chugurpampa that could be just as successful as quinoa has become. Enlighten me! In your country, do you eat quinoa?”

“Oh definitely!” I replied, “In my country quinoa is pretty pop—”

“Of course, you do!” he interjected, as I realized the rhetorical nature of his question. “Because quinoa is an export that is popular throughout the world! Chugurpampa could produce so much more than they already do if they could only gather the collective motivation to do so.” For him, it is simple. But he was born on the coast in relative comfort, enjoying many privileges highlanders and migrants do not possess. He was not accustomed to daily struggles of peasant life, so his understanding of his mother’s ancestral home (his father was Julcanero) is based on a ritualized understanding of the hamlet, established via religious participation in Chugurpampa’s Sacred Heart of Jesus migrant association (*La Hermandad* for short) and the annual patron-saint festival. The ceremony and pageantry of these events insulates the Trujillo-born generation from

the insufferable realities of living in a farming community in which the autochthonous system of collective support diffused elsewhere. But there is a small group of established migrants who increasingly embody a disconnect between ceremonial understandings of the community and the needs of contemporary households. For instance, whereas successful merchants like Efigenio and Victor, or professionals such as Dani are admired for making so much with so little, Ricardo, a migrant who had been living on the coast since 1978, was seen mostly for his privileges in life.

Ricardo's father is the retired principal of Chugurpampa's primary and later secondary school, an institution that today bears his name. Initially, Ricardo and several of his cousins showed no interest in participating in my study, although I had met his parents several times, who were charming elderly migrants living on the ground floor of a three-story home (each its own household) in the cozy neighborhood of *Urb. Chimu*. This was frustrating, because in addition to their dismissals, Genaro was never too adamant about contacting them, for reasons that were not clear to me at first. He always gave an excuse for not calling them or shyly kicked around the subject, even though he and Ricardo were close in age.

"Ahh, we're really just acquaintances," he'd shrug, always trying to change the subject. But one weekend when his son-in-law Miguel was in town and I brought up the topic, Miguel stopped me in my tracks.

"Max," he pressed, "don't you understand? We're farmers and they're professionals. During the fiesta they have no problem conversing with us, 'Hello, Genarito,' Hope you are well, Miguelito,' but in Trujillo they don't care about us."

I remember the moment Miguel uttered this phrase because it hit me like a thunderbolt, certainly for its ethnographic richness and simplicity, but more because it captured sentiments borne of the widening socioeconomic rifts within a once-corporate peasant community. Thus, I

relinquished attempts to facilitate an interview with Ricardo. But about a month after the patron festival, he contacted Genaro outright about a piece of land he was looking to sell, and Genaro, being a resourceful person and committed research companion, used the request as leverage to get me my interview. The plot of land in question was owned by Ricardo's father and Genaro's maternal uncle. When the latter passed, his Trujillo-based daughters inherited the property and Genaro pledged to care for them. Julcán's municipal government resolved to assist the hamlet build a new schoolhouse from modern materials, but Ricardo was concerned Genaro's nieces would be so eager to sell the property that they would deflate whatever offer he could get.



Figure 8.2. View of Chugurpampa's Five Corners in foreground with the new schoolhouse in the background circa February 2018 (Photo by Chugurpampaperu).

Ultimately, it did not throw a wrench in the process, as there now stands a new red-brick schoolhouse on the former soccer field (**Figure 8.2**). But Ricardo is known for that behavior, which most find boorish for someone who actively divests himself from the community, except when advantageous to himself or his family. Such a person is seen for their negative reciprocity, but Ricardo does not see it that way. To him, land is capital, and capital should be maximized.

Thus, there are growing divisions within the diaspora that continually drive a wedge in the community. Farmers and migrants make continuous sacrifices to educate their children in hopes they become professionals, only to see the social and economic gulfs between them widen. And at no time during the year were these differences more apparent than the patron festival, in which poverty was overlooked so that pageantry could take center stage.

The Infusion of Capital: Chugurpampa's Harvest Festival as a Meso-Level Remittance

*I am Chugurpampa, native child
 I am generous and a farmer
 Always with my head held high
 Burned and frozen by wind and sun
 It is Chugurpampa, land of enchantment
 That has hills oh so wide
 Where in the afternoons I relax
 To contemplate towards the summits
 Laughing fields, green paths
 Your streams and grassland
 That make you laugh while you rest
 Fresh and pleasant from the source*

*Fertile countryside of wheats
 Of beautiful flowers and camphor
 That giant land of treasure
 And blessed farmers
 Your green meadows are my refuge
 And your madrigal cottages
 Where I live ever-content
 Under the spring sky,
 Through the slopes reverberate the echoes
 Of the Shepard's tender cries
 The chirping of awakening birds
 With the whistle of the farmer.*

The patron-saint feast in honor of The Sacred Heart of Jesus is the highlight of this ethnographic research project. Highland towns and villages come alive during festivals like no other moment each year. Festival-goers come from neighboring locales, as migrants return from the coast and even international residences, to reunite with family and friends to reaffirm ties of reciprocity and establish new ones (Paerregaard 2010). Otuzco's patronal festival, which occurs every year in December, brings in attendees from all over the region. Chugurpampa's festival is much smaller, but it is attended by residents of local hamlets and towns. By Friday morning, the main road into town is inundated with automobiles, *combis*, and even busses dashing across the muddied roads carrying people from across La Libertad and beyond. The daughters and sons of Chugurpampa proper return from metropolitan routines in Trujillo, Cajamarca, Virú, Lima,

Chile, and as far as Spain, clad in sneakers, blue jeans, ball caps, down-feather jackets, fancy suits, and blaring music from their car radios to really show the people.

Incoming families are greeted by friends and kin with the warmest of welcomes. Families slaughter whatever animals are around to create memories that will long outlast the festival itself. Genaro's daughter Lola and son-in-law Miguel roasted a pig for our arrival (**Figure 8.3**), while closer to town, farmers slaughtered animal after animal in preparation for the coming feast. Bulls, cows, chickens, sheep, and guinea pigs all meet their fates in greater numbers than any time of the year, so that festival attendees could dine (**Figure 8.4**). Villagers fill their storerooms with cases of beer to sell, while local shops stock shelves with every possible amenity from food to cosmetic products like shampoo, and plenty of sodas and beer sold at a hefty markup.



Figure 8.3. Pigs roasting to prepare for incoming family from the coast.

The drinking and partying at these events is incredible, especially among men, who drink, eat, and party at levels I had not even witnessed in Trujillo. On Saturday afternoon's dance, I saw a pair of brothers locked in a drunken embrace desperately trying to support one another. Other times, attendees become so inebriated they are carried out by friends, who, ironically, are likely to be carted off themselves at some point later in the weekend. The event demonstrates the purest

expression of *chupe* (from Spanish *chupar* [to suck]), a tradition of heavy drinking performed as a major part of festivals (Cervone 1998; Harvey 1991). These seemingly destructive behaviors are culturally and socially programmed ways that Chugurpampan residents reinforce existing ties of reciprocity and establish new ones. For prospective migrants, nothing is more valuable than establishing a bond of reciprocity with migrants, as it could one day facilitate their own move.



Figure 8.4. Slaughtered cows hang from the rafters of the *mayordomo*'s home on the plaza for all to see.

Peasant life is hard, as is life for migrants in Trujillo. The festival is their one scheduled time each year to let loose, and they eagerly await the date as it approaches. Most have cash in hand from the recent harvest, which gives them stamina to party nonstop, cement relationships, create new ones, and do some politicking and business all at the same time. Granted, plenty of festival-goers take breaks when needed, and many refuse to drink on Sunday either due to the scheduled mass or a head-splitting hangover. But for most, and especially those who no longer engage in farming, returning to Chugurpampa once a year is their only form of vacation, so every associated behavior can be explained simply: “Well, it’s the festival after all!”

The harvest festival is also an amazing opportunity for peasant households to earn large sums of cash quickly. Residents take advantage of every opportunity, setting up roadside stands

outside their homes to sell food or installing makeshift huts closer into town. Recent migrants haul as much plastic kitchenware and household items as busses allow them to stow, neatly positioning their goods on blankets close to Chugurpampa's main plaza for festival-goers to peruse. At dances, mobile vendors meander through crowds at dances selling cigarettes, gum, sweets, and mints, while dirt bike taxi drivers kept from the bottle to maximize their earnings.

For an entire week, the money pours into Chugurpampa as a meso-level community remittance. As I discussed previously (see Ch. 3), much of what is understood conceptually as a remittance falls within the individual and household domain, usually in the form of investments in agriculture. At the community level, these translocal mixed-subsistence strategies are upheld primarily through nuclear kin and existing reciprocal ties with non-kin, which benefit people in both localities. But neither compare to the sheer magnitude of capital infused into the highlands during patron festivals. Traditionally, these feasts were small, localized religious celebrations funded and coordinated through material collaborations of peasant households. The only cash contributions were for community efforts related to the church or schoolhouse (Oths 1991). But commodification of Chugurpampa's festival over the past 30 years has shifted its focus to reflect coastal customs and causes rather than issues important to highland residents.

In theory, ownership of the festival is collectively shared among Chugurpampans. But these days, hosting responsibilities fall within the responsibility of migrants in Trujillo and beyond. Murphy (1994) similarly touched on aspects of the *Romería de El Rocío* in Andalucía, Spain undergoing the same popularization and appeal to outsiders, such that there is no longer a single proprietorship of one group over the festival. However, Chugurpampa's festival is largely under the control and coordination of the *mayordomxs* (organizers) and *La Hermandad* migrant association—roles voluntarily undertaken on a rotational basis. These leadership positions are

not exclusive to *La Hermandad*, but responsibilities fall within the group because it includes many well-off migrants with the economic and social resources needed to fund such an event.

Mayordomxs assume great financial burden in that capacity, which is why successful ones solicit collaborations from kin, friends, and community members to offset their costs. Collaborations vary depending on the individual and family, although gender and economic status have become more influential than previous decades (Vincent 2012). Cash contributions total around 100-300 *soles* (~\$30-100), but some families and groups of extended kin pool their resources to fund big-ticket items like festival security, radio airtime, fireworks demonstrations, orchestras, or to help purchase balloons, curtains, and mementos in bulk. Three months before the festival, the migrant association also hosts a *parrillada* to raise funds ahead of the festival. *Parrilladas* are large, one-day parties featuring diverse meat and food selections, bands, music groups, and a mountain of beer cases delivered by the distributor. Like with smaller *polladas*, plates of food are presold to finance the event, with proceeds devoted entirely to the festival.

Despite the economic requirements of assuming leadership responsibilities, the reason a person decides to become *mayordomx* is often an individual issue. Patron festivals are, after all, religious by design. Thus, becoming *mayordomx* is also seen as a form of religious reciprocity undertaken by migrants to give thanks for (and safeguard against losing) their prosperity by maintaining social balance with other translocal community members. The *mayordomxs* for Chugurpampa's 2015 Harvest Festival, Victor and César the *zapayo* merchants, sought to give thanks for their entire family's collective *superación*. But the following year, responsibilities were assumed by 40-year-old Vilma and her husband Ernesto (from Julcán) to fulfill reciprocal obligations with *El Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*. Their eldest daughter was born with a disability, a condition that has caused their family a great deal of emotional hardship. On the girl's eighth

birthday, Vilma and her husband prayed for assistance through the toughest years of their lives, for which they pledged to assume the *mayordomía* (stewardship) if their daughter survived.

Regardless of its religious foundation, the commercialization of the harvest festival in recent decades has transformed the event into a constant demonstration of status and life success, which is most visible to those with the least resources. Conceptually, this makes the festival akin to the Kwakiutl potlatch in that it provides a culturally sanctioned venue for high-status persons to reinforce their prestige, embeddedness, and cultural consonance. For instance, *mayordomos* are traditionally expected to provide basic meals as a token of friendship, but Victor sought to host a festival like never before, with nonstop meals, bands, dances, and enough alcohol to invite the entire region. His sisters oversaw food operations with help from extended family, who each worked tirelessly throughout the weekend to feed festival-goers.

Victor also had the idea to install a 2,500-liter tank of *chicha de jora*, a fermented corn beverage, accompanied by a sign reading “CHICHA FOR ALL.” It was a rather ingenious, and well-received innovation the family was certain people would remember for years to come. The ability to invite hundreds of people to drink and eat for a week, and without scarcity, commands immeasurable deference and prestige. And with Victor at the helm, always front and center at religious events, dutifully roaming the festival grounds, everything went exactly to plan. The migrant association also uses the opportunity to collect donations for religious purposes. In 2015, it was reconstructing the church from redbrick and cement, although this was shelved later that year when the opportunity arose to construct a new schoolhouse with provincial support.

Thus, while Chugurpampa’s mass out-migration in the past 30 years signals its decline in many ways, the patron festival may very well be one of the driving forces keeping the hamlet intact. Following the fiesta, everyone returns home complaining of all sorts of ailments, most

involving sore throats, which is unsurprising considering the endless beer drinking. Precautions against the cold are seldom heeded during the festival. On Sunday morning, directly following Saturday's massive dance, Victor struggled to speak through a hoarse, crackling voice. Back in Trujillo, Elena's lips were cracked and she complained of throat pain. Genaro and Franco also described throat discomfort, admitting that they had not heeded highland medical advice. As a result, returning migrants miss days of work, which, after having spent everything at the fiesta, can be problematic. But for most it was well worth the trouble. It's the fiesta, after all!

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I analyzed Chugurpampa's translocal community from the meso-level of analysis. I emphasized several circular and cyclical network dynamics and feedback mechanisms such as remittances, agricultural investments, inter-household support, and religious devotion, and elaborated on the widening socioeconomic divisions resulting from the diaspora's expansion. Lastly, I recounted my attendance and formal participation in Chugurpampa's 2015 patron feast and proposed the event to represent a meso-level remittance in which capital floods the hamlet. This is the final chapter in the ethnographic section of this dissertation, which, along with Part I, established the conceptual and ethnographic bases of this study. In Part III, I present a multi-level analysis of Chugurpampa's migration network using mixed-methods to operationalize cultural consonance and embeddedness. I test the hypothesis that these variables are positively associated sociocultural indicators that are inversely related to depressive symptoms and perceived stress.

PART III

A MULTI-LEVEL PERSPECTIVE OF

CHUGURPAMPA'S MIGRATION NETWORK

Chapter Nine

Structured Methodology

This research pairs long-term, ethnographic fieldwork with social and cognitive theories, which are operationalized using a range of mixed-methods that ensure high data reliability and replicability. In this chapter, I outline structured methods I use in this dissertation for hypothesis testing. First, I review the sampling strategy, a systematic process to determine the boundaries of the study group (i.e., Chugurpampan-born migrants living in Trujillo; $N=398$) using respondent-driven interviews with embedded name generators and interpreters. These were deployed in Phase I to probe the network structure, along with cultural domain analysis to assess relevant migration goals (MG) and lifestyle aspirations (LA) to test for a shared cultural model of “Chugurpampan migration success” (CMS). In the second phase, a structured survey was used to measure migrant embeddedness, cultural consonance in CMS, and generalized psychological distress (GenPsy) using Spanish-language versions of two psychological measures: Center for Epidemiologic Studies Revised Depression Scale (CESD-R) and Cohen’s 14-item Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-14). I empirically test whether embeddedness and cultural consonance are positively correlated sociocultural indicators that interactively buffer against psychosocial stressors of culture change.

Project Overview

This study explores how Chugurpampan migrants’ embeddedness within the diaspora network influences their migration success, status acquisition, and mental wellness. As discussed previously, the Andean village of Chugurpampa in the north Peruvian highlands has experienced

severe economic stagnation and climatic unpredictability over the last three decades, prompting many to out-migrate to the city of Trujillo (Oths et al. 2018). High network embeddedness may help to explain the already well-documented role of high social support and cultural consonance in buffering against psychological stressors associated with rapid sociocultural change.

The goal of this investigation is to explore the interaction of social networks and cultural models on immigrants' bodies. Network centrality is a measure that represents an actor's social-structural position in a group, and is used frequently in behavioral research to identify persons or groups of people with greater autonomy, influence, prestige, knowledge, and power (Borgatti et al. 2013). Cultural consonance is a measure of cultural congruity with collective knowledge that is associated with diminished depressive symptoms and lower perceived stress (Dressler 2018). The aim of this research is to explore the interaction of embeddedness and cultural consonance in shaping migration success and psychological health outcomes.

This study hypothesizes that: (1) Chugurpampan migrants in Trujillo maintain a low to moderately dense network of longitudinal kinship, friendship, and community ties, in which specific migrants are more central than others (embeddedness); (2) Chugurpampan migrants in Trujillo share a cultural model of migration success (cultural consensus), but some people are more successful enacting such ideas in their own beliefs and behaviors (cultural consonance); (3) Embeddedness positively correlates with cultural consonance, and the sociocultural measures are negatively associated with indicators of psychological distress.

To test these arguments, research was conducted in two phases. In the first, I performed 12 months of participant-observation (Jul 2014–Jun 2015) to verify the existence of the diaspora network and identify its structure; understand Chugurpampans' reasons, goals, and motivations for leaving home and coming to the coast; and assess which material items and leisure activities

they consider important for living a good life in Trujillo. These were accomplished using respondent-driven personal network analysis (i.e., name generators and name interpreters) to detect the diaspora community's boundaries and structure, and paired with cultural domain analysis (e.g., open-ended interviews, free-lists, focus groups, etc.) to explore relevant migration goals and lifestyle aspirations.

In the second study phase, which lasted from June until December 2015, I used a semi-structured questionnaire containing open-ended questions, rating tasks, psychological surveys, and whole network analysis to interview a second sample of Chugurpampan migrants ($n=88$). This includes: (1) separate measures of cultural consensus and cultural consonance to determine the distribution of knowledge-sharing for each domain, and measure the extent that individuals reproduce these cultural expectations; (2) whole network analysis to assess the structure of the diaspora network and generate node centrality variables; and (3) measure several indicators of psychosocial stress. After leaving the field, data analyses were performed in SPSS, Anthropac, Pajek, Ucinet, and Gephi to isolate independent and dependent variables for hypothesis testing and visualization, in which I explore associations of embeddedness, cultural consonance, and indicators of psychological distress.

Preliminary Data Collection: 1987-88 Census and 2012-14 Recensus

This study presented the daunting challenge of locating about 400 migrants across a city with over 1 million permanent, semi-permanent, and temporary inhabitants, many of whom also migrated from highland towns and villages across La Libertad Department. The purpose of this task was to assemble a register of Chugurpampans permanently residing in Trujillo to utilize for whole network analysis in Phase II. This would not have been feasible without possession of a complete 1987-88 census of Chugurpampa's 166 households ($N=928$) that Oths compiled in her

initial research. From 2012-14, she returned to Chugurpampa accompanied by a small research team (of which I was a member) to update the census by revisiting existing households and reviewing entries with current residents to identify demographic changes (Oths and Booher 2013, 2015; Oths et al. 2012, 2013). **Table 9.1** is a side-by-side comparison of the original 1987-88 census with results of the 2012-14 recensus.

Table 9.1. Results of the 2012-14 recensus of Chugurpampa.

	1987-88 Census (N=928)	2012-14 Recensus (N=1170)
Deceased	-	139
Omitted	28 ^a	41
Added	-	242
Active total	N=900	N=962

^a Non-Chugurpampans residing with family recorded in the census.

Twenty-eight of the original 928 inhabitants were either not from hamlet but resided with kin during the census, or were born there and counted in the census before moving elsewhere, and were omitted. Among the remaining 900 residents, 128 were confirmed to have died. By the time data collection for the current study concluded, this figure had risen to 139 people, two of whom were study participants. The 2012-14 recensus also added names of 242 people, one who ended up being deceased and another 41 who were born elsewhere. The combined results of the census and recensus brought the active total (gross total less deceased, omissions, and additions) to N=962 Chugurpampans. Residents and households with whom Oths and her team spoke were also asked to detail the whereabouts of any families or individuals no longer in Chugurpampa (**Table 9.2**). Most emigrants have remained within La Libertad Dept. (89.0%), with nearly half (45.8%) still residing in Julcán District. In the early 1990s, Chugurpampa split into a separate

hamlet called Victor Julio Rossell, east of the town plaza in Chugurpampa’s former highest part, near the neighboring village of Ayungay.

Table 9.2. *Reported location of Chugurpampans from the 2012-14 census including persons born since the original 1987-88 census.*

	<i>n</i> =962
La Libertad Department	856 (89%)
Julcán Province	445 (46.3%)
Carabamba District	2 (0.2%)
Huaso District	2 (0.2%)
Julcán District	441 (45.8%)
Chugurpampa	254 (26.4%)
Julcán City	19 (2%)
Victor Julio Rossell	147 (15.3%)
Nearby <i>caseríos</i>	21 (2.2%)
Otuzco Province	27 (2.8%)
Pataz Province	2 (0.2%)
Sanchez Carrion Province	1 (0.1%)
Santiago de Chuco Province	14 (1.5%)
Trujillo Province	363 (37.7%)
Virú Province	4 (0.4%)
Beyond La Libertad	68 (7%)
Ancash Department	15 (1.6%)
Arequipa Department	1 (0.1%)
Cuzco Department	1 (0.1%)
Lima Department	50 (5.2%)
Madre de Dios Department	1 (0.1%)
International	25 (2.6%)
Argentina	3 (0.3%)
Chile	11 (1.1%)
Cruise ship	1 (0.1%)
Mexico	1 (0.1%)
Spain	9 (0.9%)
Unknown	13 (1.4%)

About a quarter remained in Chugurpampa (26.4%), while a smaller proportion (15.3%) had become residents of Victor Julio. But the greatest concentration of Chugurpampans, more than one third their population (37.3%), resided full-time in Trujillo Province, most within the

nine metropolitan districts. Moreover, an astounding 60 percent of respondents in the recensus reported from one to eight children who had left the highlands, and were said to be on the coast (Oths et al. 2012). This finding was catalyst for the current research problem, and inspiration for the conceptual and operational pairing of social network and cognitive approaches to evaluate the health consequences of migration.

Research Sampling Strategy

The 2012-14 recensus provided a starting point for locating migrants in Trujillo. It was ascertained from several families during preliminary research that many Chugurpampans reside in the *pueblo joven* of El Porvenir, where some reportedly migrated as early as the 1960s. This presented the additional task of locating those who had left Chugurpampa prior to the 1987-88 census and determining their relationship to the network. This undertaking was aided by the fact Hispanic cultures customarily use dual surnames to denote paternal and maternal descent, which makes discerning kinship links among early migrants, recent migrants, and residents manageable and verifiable. The greater challenge was obtaining details about early migrants, and establishing if they were active in the community (i.e., Who are they? Do their migration histories reflect the analytic prototype of the *pioneer migrant*? What are their embeddedness and consonance levels relative to later waves of migrants?).

A respondent-driven sampling strategy was used to accomplish this task. Prior social network research has used respondent-based and snowball sampling to probe for network nodes in instances when population boundaries were unclear (Borgatti et al. 2013). Essentially, each person entered into the study further assists recruitment by providing information about others who fit sampling criteria. Maiolo and Johnson (1992) used this approach to study king mackerel

fishers in the southern United States, which included those who fish for commercial and sport purposes. The researchers obtained commercial license records, which could have been used for random sampling, except the lists did not include sport fishers, nor did they specify the type of fish targeted. As a solution, records were used as a starting point, and each new informant asked to identify others who target king mackerel for sport or to earn a living. Interviewing continued until responses reached saturation, the point at which no new names are added.

Respondent-driven snowball sampling was performed in the present study in essentially the same way: equipping data collection with a printed register of the 363 (37.7%) Trujillo-based Chugurpampans identified during the 2012-14 recensus to review with participants. But before this was shown to them, each was queried about the diaspora community using a name generator, which is basically a free-list of people (Borgatti 1994). This was done as the last part of a semi-structured, open-ended questionnaire and paired with six name interpreters to gather additional details for each person cited in the interview, including their: (1) relationship to the participant; (2) age; (3) approximate location; (4) occupation; (5) if they held roles or positions (either in the diaspora community or generally-speaking); and (6) any available contact information (Borgatti et al. 2013). Paired with the printed list, which was reviewed with each respondent following the name interpreters, this sampling strategy increased data reliability by providing a comprehensive registry of migrants ($N=398$), along with a more refined ethnographic sense of the familial and social interconnections among them.

Sampling began among key informants established in pilot research, primarily consisting of my family and nearby kin in the Jaime Blanco sector of El Porvenir. Recruitment was based on five criteria: (1) they were born in Chugurpampa; (2) they attended primary school at Colegio Miguel Angel Otiniano Zavaleta (MAOZ) at least an entire school-year; (3) they had migrated no

less than six months prior; (4) Trujillo was their primary residence for at least six months; and (5) they were no younger than 18 years old. Interviews took place in several different locations. The earliest were in my family's domicile, though most remaining interviews were done in participants' houses, their places of work, or public areas like convenience stores, bars, eateries, and parks. All were offered some form of compensation for their time, either 15 soles (~\$4.62) or the value thereof spent on food, drinks, or taxi fare. All protocols and modifications were approved by the University of Alabama (UA) Institutional Review Board (IRB; OSP#:5859).

Primary Data Collection

Primary data collection was performed in a two-phase sequence, including open-ended and semi-structured interviews conducted from November 2014 to December 2015, along with daily cultural immersion and participant-observation. In Phase I, $n=77$ Chugurpampans were interviewed in Trujillo using cultural domain analysis and personal network analysis to explore cultural models of CMS and strategically map their diaspora community. This stage of data collection lasted seven months (Nov 2014-Jun 2015), culminating in my attendance and formal participation in Chugurpampa's annual harvest festival. Phase II was performed in the final six months of fieldwork (Jul 2015-Dec 2015) with $n=88$ migrants (50% resampled from Phase I). The semi-structured interview used in this phase includes open-ended questions, rating tasks, health and psychological scales, and whole network analysis to generate cultural consensus, cultural consonance, and embeddedness measures for hypothesis testing.

Phase I: Cultural Domain Analysis and Personal Network Analysis

Cultural domain analysis and personal network analysis were performed using an open-ended interview with imbedded free-lists, name generators, and name interpreters. The goal of

this stage is threefold: (a) understand cultural models of “Chugurpampan migration success” (CMS) utilizing cultural domain analysis to explore relevant migration goals (aims, reasons and motivations for emigrating) and lifestyle aspirations (material goods and leisure-time activities considered necessary to live well in Trujillo); (b) model the diaspora by pairing respondent-driven personal network analysis with results of the 2012-14 recensus to identify the community boundaries; and (c) refine the printed record of Chugurpampans in Trujillo using ethnographic immersion to probe the network structure and finalize the list of Chugurpampans for Phase II.

The final version of Interview I (Appendix A) is a 27-question survey divided into three parts: 1) Personal/Family Information; 2) Migration Details; and, 3) Census of Chugurpampans in Trujillo. Part One includes 12 items (7 open-ended, 5 semi-structured) to collect respondent names; date of birth; contact details; marital status; names, genders, age, and locations of their children; names, genders, and age of household members/relationship to the participant; home ownership; current address; employment status; job description; highest level of education completed; and religious affiliation.

Several modifications were made to this section of the instrument during pretesting. Gender was removed as an official question to avoid causing offense, as were two questions about individual and total household income, which I was informed were insulting respondents, since many people do not have formal employment. I also added *conviviente* (cohabiting) to civil status to reflect the common Andean practice of entering non-binding marriages, and asked each respondent their partner’s origin and length of time together. Two options were also added to home ownership, including *cuidador* (caretaker) and *posado* (staying with family or friends).

Part Two comprises 12 open-ended items (9 containing embedded free-lists) querying: (a) reasons Chugurpampans are migrating; (b) respondent migration details (year of migration,

personal reason, intentions of return); (c) goals and aspirations for life in Trujillo; (d) resources and support needed to migrate to Trujillo; (e) current work status/job history; (f) an estimate of monthly personal and household income (omitted); (g) the Chugurpampan diaspora community; (h) relevant social groups, organizations, clubs, or churches in Trujillo; (i); interaction with non-Chugurpampan migrants and *Trujillanxs*; (j) involvement in local or regional politics; (k) things needed (broadly) to have a good life in Trujillo; and (l) items, devices, and activities (inside and outside the home) are necessary for living well in Trujillo. Several elements of this section were also modified. Questions about resources/support (economic and social domains) were originally separate, but later combined to avoid redundancy, while a question about work accessibility in Trujillo versus Chugurpampa was omitted because it is widely understood migrants' purpose for being in Trujillo is economic advancement and the availability of work. All items, including the nine with imbedded free-lists, were posed as open-ended questions.

Part Three only contains two items, the name generator and name interpreters, but it drove the sampling strategy. For each respondent, data was recorded into a 29-by-7-cell matrix with the name generator in the first column and a single row for each cited alter. The six name interpreters are in each of the remaining columns: (1) relationship to the respondent; (2) gender; (3) age; (4) approximate location; (5) relevant social positions; and (6) contact details. During pretesting, this section of Interview 1 was called Social Network Analysis, but was later renamed Census of Chugurpampans in Trujillo to make it easier for informants to connect the current project to Oths' earlier fieldwork.

Many Chugurpampans, regardless of whether I formally interviewed them, nostalgically recalled the days when Oths roamed the paths, hillsides, and ravines of Chugurpampa alongside them. As a result, Chugurpampans with whom she was acquainted were usually comfortable

speaking with me, and regularly vouched for me to younger household members born after the census. The only limitation of this change, which Genaro and I were keen to make clear, was that our census is only related to the 1987-88 census and has no government affiliation, nor would their responses be shared with any person or authority. This was reiterated constantly throughout the interview from informed consent to completion. Thus, introducing this section as a census made it familiar to Chugurpampans, who were then more likely to understand the instructions.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, there were no minimum or maximum constraints placed on the number of alters respondents were asked to generate (interviews are equipped with two double-sided pages for data collection [capacity=4 matrices; 116 alters], but we always kept extras on hand despite never using them). Generally speaking, there is no agreement how many names respondents *should* be asked to list. Most investigators acknowledge this detail is study-specific and depends on the population of interest, the questions asked, and the eventual sample size. For instance, McCarty et al. (2007:725) suggest 45 alters to be a sufficient cutoff point for the name generator, saying it maintains the stability of structural measures without burdening respondents. But others have argued this number is still high, and may nonetheless cause fatigue and ultimately hindering the quality of data (Merluzzi and Burt 2013).

With respect to the current research population, I was hesitant to place any requirement or limitation on the name generator activity, because I felt it could have the unintended effect of intimidating, discouraging, or confusing participants with additional criteria. In pretesting, this was determined to be true. Five of 13 participants were asked to list *as many as* 30 alters, four were asked to list *at least* 5 alters, while the remaining four were given no limit. High and low constraints resulted in significantly shorter lists than no requirement at all (One-way ANOVA, Tukey post-hoc; $p < 0.05$). It was further determined, asking respondents to “provide the names

of Chugurpampan migrants you know personally and have seen in the past year” was laden with criteria that were confusing to several respondents. Conversely, simply explaining to them I was continuing Oths’ work and asking for help filling in some blank spaces, had the opposite effect.

Approximately 70 percent of respondents were interviewed individually. I initially had intended to only conduct personal interviews, although I did not discourage participants from consulting with any household members present, nor with Genaro, so long as they only asked him for clarification to a question. This collaboration not only produced more alters, but more reliable data, and resulted in six impromptu, family focus groups in which responses of each member were recorded separately. Groups included: (1) a widowed matriarch and her six adult children and their families in the comfortable *Urb. El Bosque*, who began migrating in the 1980s to attend secondary school and are now successful merchants; (2) a trio of two brothers and their paternal cross-cousin in their late twenties and early thirties, who earned stable livings as drivers, and whose nuclear families still resided in Chugurpampa; (3) two sisters in their late fifties who migrated in the 1970s to a once remote sector of northeast El Porvenir, where many of their siblings also live; (4) a husband-wife pair who migrated separately as adolescents in the 1990s and later married; (5) a translocal, multi-generation family whose members began moving to several proximate *ranchitos* in Alto Trujillo around 2002 following a period of severe drought in Chugurpampa; and (6) a single-family household that abandoned their land in 2004 and settled a lot in a remote cooperative for craft persons just north of Huanchaco.

Preliminary Analysis: Questionnaire Development for Hypothesis Testing

Basic sociodemographic attributes and migration details were analyzed in SPSS 22.0. Gender is coded by *female* and *male* (binary), while civil status (*single; married/cohabiting;*

separated/divorced; widowed) and highest education level (*no/some formal education; primary school; secondary school; advanced degree*) are coded into four-point scales. Current work status (*unemployed; unskilled; skilled laborer; business owner; career person/professional*) has five categories to distinguish unskilled or unemployed persons (i.e., informal mercantilism or wage labor) from those who simply do not work (viz. housewives, students, retirees). The latter also includes three farmers, which is to say, they are highlanders who were on extended stay on the coast, but were not discouraged from joining focus groups. However, this distinction only applies to Interview 1. All Phase II participants are full-time migrants.

Partner details are coded in two separate categories, partner origin (*from Chugurpampa; within Julcán District; within Julcán Province; within La Libertad Department; outside of La Libertad*) and region of origin (*highlands; coast; Amazon*), while religious affiliation is dichotomized by *Catholic* and *other Christian*. Finally, reason for migrating (*work; study; work and study; health care access; closer to family/friends; accompanied someone; came for child's education; alone after death of a spouse; other*) includes nine loosely grouped categories for descriptive purposes. Due to omission of the question querying individual and household monthly income, a simple measure of relative socioeconomic status (SES) is calculated by summing highest education level and current work status (range: 1-9). Independent-sample t-tests are used to compare age in years (c. 2016), number of children, household size, age at migration, and years on coast (c. 2016) by gender, age, and SES where applicable ($p < 0.05$).

Free-list data for migration goals (MG) and lifestyle aspirations (LA) domains were cleaned and analyzed in Anthropac 4.983 (Borgatti 1996) to generate frequency details and salience scores for survey development (Smith 1995). Interviews were transcribed for accuracy and to extract relevant narratives, while daily ethnographic notes were catalogued and expanded

to enrich formulation of the consensus/consonance questionnaire. Lifestyle items, including household appliances, daily habits, and leisure activities, were easy to integrate into the rating activity, but migration goals were trickier to capture in that format. For instance, it is redundant to ask someone to rate the importance of having a good job for living a good life in Trujillo. But asking them to rate the separate importance of having job security and a stable income, more effectively breaks down a generic goal into its elementary structures (Kronenfeld et al. 2011).

Seventy-nine separate items were extracted from a combination of free-lists, interviews, field notes, participant-observation, ethnographic insights, and relevant literatures. In the final instrument (Appendix B), these are organized into a two-column table (1st=40 items, 2nd=39 items), with the first 44 items including material goods, lifestyle habits, and practices (*home ownership; kitchen items; home furnishing; household appliances; home bath; home electronics; services and utilities; purchasing practices; dietary preferences*), and the remaining 35 being mostly migration goals (*family and household; neighborhood and community; higher education; productive activity; being Chugurpampan*) interspersed with overlapping lifestyle elements (*mobility and transportation; health-seeking behavior; leisure-time activities*). Adjacent to each item are two blank cells, one for the consensus rating (1=not important; 2=somewhat important; 3=important; 4=the most important) and the other a simple consonance checklist (0=does not possess/have access to item/engage in behavior/subscribe to belief or goal; 1=possesses/has access to item/engages in behavior/subscribes to belief or goal).

I found several operational modifications necessary for the current project and group, which deviate from preferred methods of consensus and consonance analysis (Dressler 2018; Weller 2007). Namely, I conducted these exercises consecutively in the same interview, and allowed repeat sampling of respondents from Interview 1. Typically, cultural domain analysis,

cultural consensus modeling, and cultural consonance analysis are performed sequentially but with separate samples. This derives from the conceptual notion of intracultural variability in collective knowledge, the methodological assumption being that independent samples are most representative of such variation, and thereby increase the reliability of data (Weller and Romney 1988). Recruiting previous participants and consolidating consensus and consonance measures into a serial of semi-structured rating tasks would therefore (theoretically, at least) decrease the potential range of variation that can be analyzed with these methods.

Several factors distinguish the current study group from prior investigations. Foremost, I sampled from a limited population of Chugurpampan-born migrants in Trujillo ($N=398$), whose names, family information, and approximate locations were identified in Phase I. During the first round of interviews, it became clear that household size constantly fluctuates depending on time of the year, current household economy, and highland climatic conditions, among others. Thus, the members of a residence usually change from season to season. Phase I interviewing began in late November 2014, following the sowing of crops in Chugurpampa, and lasted through mid-February 2015—basically the summer in Peru, when many highlanders visit family on the coast.

Phase II interviewing commenced in July 2015 after Chugurpampa's June harvest festival (a week ahead of the winter solstice in the southern hemisphere [6/21/2015]), long after highland agriculturalists had resumed their full-time productive activities in Chugurpampa. Most coastal abodes thin out to permanent migrants, including laborers, students, craftspersons, professionals, housewives, and retirees, mainly. Thus, there is a dynamic element to household size I suspect may also influence knowledge (consensus) and behavior (consonance), and which I sought to control for by resampling from Phase I (replacement criteria=50%).

As for performing consensus and consonance exercises in the same interview, this was an issue of economy. Chugurpampans live busy lives, such that most Phase II interviews took place either at respondents' place of work during the day, their homes in the evenings, on Sundays (a day which many took off), or attending family/community events (e.g., parties, holidays, mass, visitors, festivals). With consecutive rating activities, psychological scales, and whole network analysis to integrate, the challenge was combining them into a single, reasonably timed interview (\approx 40-60 min per IRB) to avoid respondent exhaustion. My solution was collapsing the 79 items into a two-column table and reviewing them sequentially with respondents—once to measure cultural consensus and again for consonance analysis. In pretesting, this worked smoothly for the consensus task, but for the consonance checklist, there were 27 items that were either awkward when asked in that format, redundant based on earlier questions, or better asked as open-ended questions ahead of rating tasks. These items are consolidated into 17 open-ended questions ahead of the consensus and consonance table, before the latter activity is introduced. But I was still concerned that reliance on different rating tasks (6 total) would burden or confuse respondents.

It was ascertained in Phase I that Spanish literacy is high among Chugurpampans. In fact, the few I encountered who were not able to read were all elderly women who either never attended school or dropped out before finishing primary. Genaro and I used this to our advantage in Interview 2, printing out the options for each exercise, so that rather than dictating responses to participants, we could show them the available choices for clarity and expediency. The result was a series of six, 4-item scales in 23-point Helvetica font (sans-serif) printed landscape wide on 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ -x-11-inch strips of paper and laminated for durability. This worked better than expected in pretesting, cutting interview time by about 20 minutes without omitting any questions, wording,

tasks, or speeding through. The visual aids made it so, in most cases, we only had to explain the directions for an activity or scale once, and participants also responded more quickly.

As for network data collected in Phase I, these results are being analyzed as an extension of efforts by Stein and Oths (2017) to model the dynamic nature of Chugurpampa's network, which began with the 2012-14 recensus and continued through primary data collection. Thus, the name generator and interpreters assisted in tracking down Chugurpampans in Trujillo, widening the scope of analyses to include those who migrated ahead of the 1987-88 census, and refining the list of Trujillo-based migrants for Phase II whole network analysis. But the broader purpose of reviewing the dataset with informants was to improve it. Chugurpampans, including those formally interviewed and others, were sought to help fill in gaps for years between original and updated censuses, including births, deaths, marriages, year of migration, and location of others.

Each new piece of information collected was carefully compared to the original census and confirmed by several different knowledgeable Chugurpampans whom I visited regularly, before being integrated into the dynamic dataset. Thus, once Phase II interviewing began, the list of Chugurpampans in Trujillo had been refined to include previously unidentified pioneer migrants and early adopters, whose migration details expand the temporal range of this project by 30 years (c. 1960). The systematic process of assembling this register ($N=398$) ensured its reliability for whole network analysis without risking structural instability of centrality measures or the embeddedness variable. Names were organized alphabetically by head of household per the 1987-88 census in a series of two-column tables in the last five pages of the interview.

Accompanying each entry are empty cells for three name interpreters: (1) respondents' relation to an alter; (2) how often they see an alter; and (3) how well they know an alter. The first two functioned as expected in pretesting, but evaluating respondents' *perception* of each tie (i.e.,

asking them to assess the quality of their relationship) in a way that was neither leading nor rude (e.g., *Do you like this person? How close are you to them?*) was challenging. Genaro suggested asking, “How well do you know them?,” along with the options: *very little*, *somewhat*, and *well*. I added the fourth option *very well* to maintain consistency with the other scales, though Genaro claimed there would be no difference. In pretesting, the latter was used mostly for close family members, whereas *well* was common among best friends or first cousins.

Phase II: Consensus Modeling, Cultural Consonance, Health Survey, and Embeddedness

The final version of Interview 2 is an 85-question survey divided into four parts: (1) Personal and Family Information; (2) Details of Life in Trujillo; (3) Health Evaluation; and (4) Social Network Analysis. Part One includes five items to collect respondents’ names/contact details; date of birth; civil status/partner information; children/their locations; and the names, genders, and ages of household members and their relationship to the participant. Unlike in Interview 1, in which broad, open-ended questions were used to collect Personal and Family Information, many sociodemographic attributes (e.g., work status, education, income) are core elements of cultural domains, examined strategically in the following section as part of cultural consensus modeling and measurement of cultural consonance.

Part Two is a 19-item, structured rating activity designed to: (1) assess if Chugurpampans share a cultural model of CMS (cultural consensus) and (2) measure the degree individual migrants reproduce collective expectations in their own knowledge (goals, aspirations) and behaviors (status achievement) (cultural consonance). The first 17 questions are the consonance items that were restructured ahead of rating tasks: residence details (*homeowner*; *renter*, *staying*; *caretaker*); home address, home ownership details (if applicable); work or study details (where

applicable); highest education level; religious practices; personal migration details; family residing in Chugurpampa; support for migration; neighborhood details; perceptions of identity; perceived social support; ritual co-parenthood; collaboration with others; links to highlands; role in the harvest festival; and (personal) history of festival stewardship.

The remaining two questions in this section are the consensus and consonance rating tasks. First, respondents were shown the 79-item table and given the following instructions:

“Continuing on, this is a list that contains household items and such that were gathered by asking Chugurpampans: ‘What items and things are important and necessary for having a good life in Trujillo?’ In this activity, I am going to review this list with you and need you to tell me, for each item, if it is ‘*not important*,’ ‘*somewhat important*,’ ‘*important*,’ or “the *most important*” for living a good life in Trujillo. You may use each option as many times as you please.”

As a reminder, this is the first task for which participants were given a laminated answer key with the 4-point rating options. To further ensure they understood the activity, questions for each individual item were posed in the following formats: “How important is *x item* for living a good life in Trujillo?”; “*x item*: In your view, how important is it for having/living a good life in Trujillo?; or “With respect to Chugurpampans in Trujillo, how important would you say *x item* is for having/living a good life in Trujillo?” Once a consensus rating was acquired for each of the 79 items, respondents were given instructions for the consonance checklist: “Now we are going to review the list once more, and I need you to tell me if you *have* or *do not have* that item.” This was a purposely vague way of introducing the task, because like the consensus rating, each item was posed as a separate question, tailored to fit migrants’ ethnographic and personal realities.

Most people own a cell phone, for instance, so it was logical to ask about ownership (i.e., Do *you* own a cell phone?). Conversely, many items and utilities (e.g., cookware, electricity, internet, furniture, appliances, bathroom) are purchased by a head of household but communally shared by members. Thus, it was better to ask respondents about their *access* to those items (i.e.,

Is there a kitchen table in your home?; Do you own a television or is there one at home if you wanted to watch?). However, some luxury items such as a stereo system or a tablet computer are more exclusive, so it was okay to inquire about ownership instead of simple access. The second column includes migration goals along with remaining lifestyle behaviors and expectations; each question was again asked to evaluate if respondents subscribe to a belief or goal; engage in a behavior, practice, or ritual; or agree with an attitude/expectation. Any item for which they offered a more detailed explanation, a time mark was placed by the item for later transcription.

Part Three comprises 55-items, including self-reported height and weight, self-reported alcohol and tobacco use, and the psychological surveys to determine levels of mental distress. The section begins with measurement of blood pressure using an Omron Bp785n 10 Series Advanced-accuracy Upper-arm Monitor. Obviously, this was not necessary for hypothesis testing; it is a remnant of an earlier, more complex research design that included arterial blood pressure as a physiological marker of distress. This would have required taking four separate measures throughout Interview 2, which was not feasible considering the already demanding tasks at hand. Plus, given our often informal interview settings, I was concerned about stability and eventual reliability of the measure, and therefore omitted it during preparation for Phase II.

As it turns out, Chugurpampans are familiar with having their blood pressure taken; they understand the practice as an essential component of biomedical check-ups and treatment. And because it is a non-invasive biomarker, most see it as a reliable and effective indicator of health. My housemates and their nearby kin requested measurements on a regular basis, including Genaro, who asked for weekly readings. So, when I told him I planned to drop it, he suggested measuring blood pressure one time would be seen as a bonus, especially if strategically placed in the middle of the interview. Sure enough, placing the health survey (5-7 minutes long) between

cognitive (Part 2) and network tasks (Part 4) was a nice transition, and a fortuitous deterrent against informant exhaustion. However, I was careful to clarify that I was not a trained medical professional, and that my interpretation was based on biomedical criteria for normal resting blood pressure (120/80 mmHg) (American Heart Association 2018; Whelton et al. 2017).

Blood pressure is followed by self-reported height (cm), weight (kg), and weekly alcohol and tobacco use. The next 14 questions (35-52) comprise the Spanish-language Health Locus of Control scale (HLOC; Wallston 2005), for which respondents were read statements of health attitudes and asked to indicate their agreement with each (*entirely disagree; disagree; agree; entirely agree*). This is followed by the Spanish-language Cohen's 14-item Perceived Stress Scale (PSS-14; Cohen et al. 1983; Tapia et al. 2007). Respondents were read 14 questions, each dealing with a specific thought or feeling, and asked how often they'd experienced that sentiment in the past month (*never/almost never; from time to time; frequently; almost always*).

The final 18 questions make up the Spanish-language Center for Epidemiologic Studies Revised Depression Scale (CESD-R; Eaton et al. 2004; Radloff 1977). This is administered in essentially the same way as the PSS-14, except the items are statements instead of questions, and reference thoughts and feelings experienced in the prior week (*very little [0-1 day]; some [1-2 days]; occasionally [3-4 days]; frequently [5-7 days]*). The CESD-R was originally a 20-item instrument, but the items "I wished I were dead" and "I wanted to hurt myself" received poor reception in pretesting and were excluded. Genaro also suggested the item "I lost weight without trying" did not align with the four multiple-choice options, but I kept it having already omitted two.

Part Four is whole network analysis of the register of $n=398$ Chugurpampan migrants in Trujillo. In just a single item (Question 85), respondents were read the entire instructions:

“I am going to present to you a list of Chugurpampans who live in Trujillo. These names were gathered by asking Chugurpampans to list the names of people who were born in Chugurpampa, currently live in Trujillo, and are older than 18 years old. Review the list with me and indicate the people whom you have seen in the past year. I am sure there will be many people you know personally, but only indicate those whom you have seen in the past year. For each person that you’ve seen in the last year, also explain: (1) how they are related to you; (2) how often you see them; and (3) how well you know them. All your answers are private and confidential and will not be shared with anyone. Every name, including your own will be replaced with fake names and the original interviews destroyed. It will not be possible to connect your answers back to you.”

The first name interpreter is open-ended (yet still structured), while the second and third are the final 4-point scales for which laminated visual aids were provided. In line with the other rating tasks, the name interpreters were posed as three separate, consecutive questions: (1) “How do you know them?” (open-ended); (2) “How often do you see them? (*daily [2-6 times a week]; weekly [2-4 times a month]; monthly [4-12 times a year]; yearly [1-3 times a year]*); and, (3) “How well do you know them?” (*not well; somewhat; well; very well*).

Data Analysis and Hypothesis Testing

Basic demographic attributes, migration details, socioeconomic attributes, domicile/home details, health/lifestyle details, community participation, and highland-coastal connections were coded and analyzed in SPSS 22.0. Eight of the categorical variables from Phase I analysis are reused used in the second phase: gender (*female, male*), civil status (*single; married/cohabiting; separated/divorced; widowed*); partner origin (*from Chugurpampa; within Julcán District; within Julcán Province; within La Libertad Department; outside La Libertad*); partner region of origin (*highlands; coast; Amazon*); religious affiliation (*Roman Catholic; other Christian*); reason given for migrating (*work; study; work/study; health access; closer to family/friends; accompanied someone; came for child’s education; alone after death of a spouse; other*); highest education

level (*no/some formal education; primary school; secondary school; advanced degree*); and current work status (*does not work; unskilled; skilled laborer; businessperson; professional*).

A measure of socioeconomic status (SES) is calculated by aggregating highest education level, current work status, job security, commercial activity, and professional training. Item ratings for cultural domains of migration goals (MG) and lifestyle aspirations (LA) were cleaned and aggregated separate informant-by-item matrices as interval data in Anthropac and analyzed using consensus analysis to model shared knowledge (Borgatti 1996). This is the minimum residual method of factor analysis (unweighted least squares) for an informant-by-informant correlation matrix. Generally, data are considered to reflect cultural consensus if the eigenvalue ratio of the first-to-second factor is at least 3:1 (Romney et al. 1986). Cultural consensus analysis also estimates each respondent's cultural competence, or knowledge in the model (first-factor loadings), and provides a cultural best estimate of correct answers for domains (Weller 2007).

Respondent-level cultural consonance scores were developed first by aggregating binary responses into informant-by-item matrices and weighting each item by its answer-key rating. Weighted scores of all items are summed for each participant to create a single index of cultural consonance in CMS. The psychological scales were cleaned and compiled into separate indices according to each prescribed technique (Eaton et al. 2004; Tapia et al. 2007; Wallston 2005). CESD-R and PSS-14 scales respectively gauge accumulation of depressive symptoms and perception of stress, in which higher scores indicated greater levels of suffering. These are used as dependent variables in empirical testing, and were entered into principal component factor analysis to extract a single variable of generalized psychological distress (GenPsy).

The HLOC index has three subscales (*internal, powerful others, and chance*), each measuring a dimension of health related to one's perceived locus of control. Internal HLOC is

the degree that one feels in control of their health outcomes. This is the only scale in which higher scores indicate a greater perception of control. Powerful others gauges how much influence an individual perceives others to have over their health, while chance is essentially structured the same, but with reference to health being the product of luck, fate, or chance. Each subscale was aggregated separately, the internal HLOC inverted to align with the other scales, and all three entered into factor analysis to generate a single HLOC variable.

Whole network analysis responses were initially stored in three, informant-by-informant matrices containing open-ended relationship descriptions, the frequency of contact rating, and the perceived strength rating. These data files were cleaned and aggregated into a single data set called an edgelist, in which each row is an arc, or directional tie, and the first two columns contain IDs of those sending and receiving the tie. The interpreters are stored in three additional columns. Edgelists were analyzed in SPSS to verify proper cleaning and assess the frequency distribution of open-ended relationship labels. For descriptive purposes, arcs are partitioned into two separate categorical variables: (1) kin, friend, and community ties; and (2) friend, nuclear kin, affinal kin, extended kin, ritual kin, neighbor, scholastic, and acquaintance ties (8-item).

Frequency ratings were inverted to align with the strength ratings (i.e., higher scores indicate *more frequent* contact and *stronger* evaluation of a tie) and the two variables multiplied to create a combined interval scale (range: 0-16). The network sample was exported from SPSS to text file and converted to .net format in Notepad++ (Ho 2016) to make data readable in Pajek for exploratory visual analysis (Batagelj and Mrvar 2003). From there, data were exported to Ucinet 6 (Borgatti et al. 2002) to generate node-level centrality measures along with network-level measures of cohesion (**Table 9.3**).

Table 9.3. Node-level measures of centrality (structural equivalence) and network cohesion measures used to analyze Phase II network sample.

model-level centrality	
measure	
in-degree centrality	the total number of ties received by a node
in-eigencentality	accounts for centrality of alters in ego's score
in-beta centrality	function of in-degree centrality of all alters within ego's maximum reach
Network-level measures	
of cohesion	
total arcs	total directed ties in a network
arc reciprocity	probability a tie will be mutually reciprocated
bi-directional arcs	total reciprocated arcs (known as edges in non-directed networks)
density	probability a tie exists between any pair of randomly chosen nodes
components	maximal set of nodes in which every node can reach the others somehow
connectedness	proportion of node-pairs that can reach each other by a path of any length
fragmentation	inverse measure of connectedness
degree centralization	extent a network is dominated by a single node
mean weighted in-degree	average in-degree centrality
average distance	average geodesic distance (shortest path between two nodes)

Three variants of centrality are used in the current study. Degree centrality is the most basic metric. It represents the total ties sent (*out-degree*) or received (*in-degree*) by an actor in a network. In *directed* networks, that is, ones in which ties sent are not necessarily reciprocated, high-degree actors tend to be important. In that sense, in-degree centrality can represent a gauge of popularity or prestige depending on the questions asked. In a friendship network (e.g., “Please list your three best friends), someone with high in-degree centrality would be popular. Similarly, in kinship networks, degree centrality may relate to sources of emotional or economic support. But if respondents are asked to name three trustworthy and three untrustworthy politicians, there would clearly be contested notions that reduce degree centrality to a gauge of relative exposure. This is not an issue if interested in a finite quantity of ties, such as asking respondents whom they see around town, or especially, if looking at linear networks (Borgatti et al. 2013).

Gravlee (forthcoming) uses degree centrality to analyze citations in the biocultural medical anthropology literature to graphically display the proverbial *flow* of scholarly influence.

But the measure can also be used in *valued* networks, in which ties are rated, or given a strength based on specific criteria. Thus, in-degree centrality has a great deal of analytic value and broad applicability, even as a simple gauge. The problem arises in empirical testing when attempting to use it as a proxy measure of one's power in a network, because the metric tells little beyond the individual actor. While it does account for the quantity of ties and tie strength, someone who is connected to five pendulums (a node connected by a single tie) is treated structurally equivalent to someone linked with five well-connected actors. Eigen-centrality, also known as eigenvector (EV) centrality, accounts for the centrality of alters in each ego network by summing their in-degree in respondents' scores. In valued networks, these are weighted by the strength of the shared tie, making eigen-centrality more than an individual attribute, as persons with high EV centrality are not only well connected, but are connected to others who are themselves linked in.

The one limitation, like the previous measure, is that EV centrality does not explain the nature of alters' high centrality. That is, high EV centrality may equally be a product of several highly connected alters or many low-connected ones (Borgatti et al. (2013). Beta-reach centrality is a more refined measure of exposure, especially in directed knowledge networks, because it accounts for the centrality of respondents' alters like a strength of schedule for sports rankings. The metric was devised by Bonacich (1987) by summing the in-degree centrality of one's alters as a function of their own power, or reach (e.g., influence of, access to, etc.) The β -value can be adjusted to specify the maximum length of a walk (number of nodes an actor must pass through to reach others). In Ucinet, the β -value automatically adjusts to maximize the greatest potential influence of all nodes in a network, where negative values indicate limited power dynamics. It is thus more flexible than degree or EV centrality for capturing individual structural equivalence.

These three measures are not only useful for determining *who* is influential, but *how* they are empowered and constrained by their own centrality, and in turn, how they then use this sway to empower and constrain others. They are also highly correlated measures, and the only ones that accept directed and valued network data. For this reason, they are often combined into a single variable with principal components factor analysis for empirical testing (Borgatti 2016; Borgatti et al. 2013). A single factor is extracted from in-degree, in-eigenvector, and in-beta centrality for kinship, friendship, and communities ties (9 total variables entered) to extract a single latent variable to represent embeddedness in hypothesis testing. Several network-level cohesion measures are calculated for the whole network and for comparisons between friendship, kinship, and community ties. This includes total arcs, arc reciprocity, total bi-directional arcs, density, total components, connectedness and fragmentation, degree centralization, mean weighted in-degree, and average distance.

Total arcs is a simple count of directed ties sent in a network, while arc reciprocity is the probability a tie will be reciprocated, and total bi-directional arcs is a tally of reciprocated arcs (also known as edges). Density represents the probability a tie exists between two random nodes. Put more simply, density is a proportion of the ties sent over all ties possible, which can be calculated for directed and non-directed networks, as well as for valued data. A component is the maximum set of nodes in which actors can reach all others in some way. For instance, an isolate, or a node that receives no ties and is therefore isolated from the network, is considered a single component; these are common in less dense community and friendship networks. Connectedness is the proportion of node pairs that can reach each other by a path of any length (Krackhardt 1994), while fragmentation is an inverse measure of the former (Borgatti 2006). Mean weighted in-degree is the average in-degree centrality accounting for tie strengths, while average distance

is a measure of mean geodesic distance, or the shortest path (i.e., channel of communication) between two nodes (Borgatti et al. 2013)

Bivariate correlations are performed for nine test variables including GenPsy, CESD-R, PSS-14, age, gender, SES, HLOC, CCons, and Embed. Three separate regression models test the main hypothesis that cultural consonance and embeddedness are inverse predictors of depressive symptoms, perceived stress, and generalized psychological distress, controlling for age, gender, SES, and HLOC. An additional three multiple regression models are done post-hoc to further explore interactions among test variables. The first two separately test if embeddedness and years on coast moderate the effect of cultural consonance on depressive symptoms, controlling for age, gender, and SES (and years on coast for CCons x Embed), while the third tests if socioeconomic status moderates the effect of embeddedness on cultural consonance, controlling for age, gender, and years on coast. Cohen (1988) has argued that for studies in which there is no chance of a Type I error (i.e., there is an effect to be detected), it is illogical to adopt a rigid significance level at the expense of an interpretable effect size (beta) (Ellis 2010). Therefore significance is determined at $p < 0.10$ for the post-hoc tests of interaction. Lastly, the network sample is visualized in Gephi with in-eigencentrality and tie strength represented by size and color.

Chapter Ten

Study Results

Phase I Outcomes

Table 10.1 presents basic demographic attributes for the first interview sample ($n=77$). Mean participant age is 44 and ranges from 20-80. There are no differences by gender, but low-SES respondents are significantly older. The total sample is 44% female with no differences by age, while low-SES migrants are significantly more female. More than half are married or cohabiting (58%), while a quarter (26%) are single without a previous spouse. Among married, separated/divorced, and widowed, a third married other Chugurpampans (35%), while half are from elsewhere in La Libertad (51%) and 13% from outside the department (but within Peru). Most spouses are highlanders (86%), compared with less than a tenth from the coast (9%) and only one person from the Amazon region. Median children is two and household size four, though there are many configurations for each, ranging from 0-8 children and 1-12 family members. The sample is mostly Catholic (87%), with a fraction of Evangelical Christians (13%).

Socioeconomic attributes for the first interview are presented in **Table 10.2**. Respondents all completed primary school except three, low-SES women (one younger than mean age). About half of respondents completed secondary school (48%), while 35% only finished primary school, the latter significantly more female and low-SES. A tenth hold an advanced degree, all of whom are high SES, although differences by age and gender are negligible. There are relatively equal proportions of non-employed persons (29%), unemployed/unskilled workers (30%), and skilled

Table 10.1. Basic demographic attributes for the first interview sample and by gender, age, and socioeconomic status (SES) with significant differences indicated (* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.001$).

	Total Sample (n=77)	Female Migrants (n=34)	Male Migrants (n=43)	Migrants < Mean Age (n=39)	Migrants ≥ Mean Age (n=38)	Migrants < Md SES (n=35)	Migrants ≥ Md SES (n=42)
Mean age (±sd)	44.0 ± 15.3	46.0 ± 15.6	43.0 ± 15.1	32.1 ± 7.30	56.1 ± 11.2	50.3 ± 17.9**	38.7 ± 10.2
(range)	(20-80)	(20-80)	(20-77)	(20-43)	(44-80)	(20-80)	(20-60)
Gender (% female)	34 (44%)	-	-	16 (41%)	18 (48%)	24 (69%)**	10 (24%)
Civil status							
single	20 (26%)	9 (27%)	11 (26%)	13 (33%)	7 (18%)	10 (29%)	10 (24%)
married/cohabiting	45 (58%)	18 (53%)	27 (63%)	24 (62%)	21 (55%)	17 (49%)	28 (67%)
separated/divorced	5 (7%)	2 (6%)	3 (7%)	2 (5%)	3 (8%)	1 (3%)	4 (10%)
widowed	7 (9%)	5 (15%)	2 (5%)	-	7 (18%)	7 (20%)	-
Partner origin (%)							
within Chugurpampa	20 (36%)	8 (32%)	12 (40%)	9 (32%)	11 (41%)	11 (50%)	9 (27%)
within Julcán District	5 (9%)	3 (12%)	2 (7%)	4 (14%)	1 (4%)	1 (5%)	4 (12%)
within Julcán Province	3 (6%)	1 (4%)	2 (7%)	1 (4%)	2 (7%)	-	3 (9%)
within La Libertad	20 (36%)	9 (36%)	11 (37%)	10 (36%)	10 (37%)	7 (32%)	13 (39%)
outside La Libertad	7 (13%)	4 (16%)	3 (10%)	4 (14%)	3 (11%)	3 (14%)	4 (12%)
Partner region (%)							
coast	7 (9%)	-	7 (23%)	3 (12%)	4 (14%)	-	7 (23%)
highlands	47 (86%)	25	22 (73%)	22 (85%)	25 (86%)	24	23 (74%)
amazon	1 (2%)	-	1 (3%)	1 (4%)	-	-	1 (3%)
Median children	2	2	2	1	3**	3	2
(range)	(0-8)	(0-7)	(0-8)	(0-5)	(0-8)	(0-8)	(0-5)
Median household size	4	5	4	4	5	5	4
(range)	(1-12)	(2-12)	(1-12)	(1-12)	(1-12)	(1-12)	(1-12)
Religious Affiliation							
Roman Catholic	67 (87%)	30 (88%)	37 (86%)	32 (82%)	35 (92%)	28 (80%)	39 (93%)
other Christianity	10 (13%)	4 (12%)	6 (14%)	7 (18%)	3 (8%)	7 (20%)	3 (7%)

tradespersons (33%), with fewer than a tenth in either business or professional positions. Half of women (50%) and low-SES (54%) respondents are neither employed nor seeking employment, while the same proportions of men (47%) and high-SES informants (52%) are involved in skilled or trade labor. But there are no differences in the proportion of unskilled/informal wage laborers among age, gender, or SES groups, which range between a quarter a third. The seven migrants engaged in commercial or professional work are high SES, mostly men, and older, perhaps due

to the capital required to excel in that line of work. Relatedly, men have significantly higher SES scores, although differences were found not for age groups.

Table 10.2. Socioeconomic attributes for the first interview sample and by gender, age, and socioeconomic status (SES) with significant differences indicated for median SES (* $p < 0.000$).

	Total Sample (n=77)	Female Migrants (n=34)	Male Migrants (n=43)	Migrants < Mean Age (n=39)	Migrants ≥ Mean Age (n=38)	Migrants < Md SES (n=35)	Migrants ≥ Md SES (n=42)
Highest education level							
no/some formal education	3 (4%)	3 (9%)	-	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	3 (9%)	-
completed primary school	27 (35%)	15 (44%)	12 (28%)	9 (23%)	18 (48%)	22 (63%)	5 (12%)
completed secondary school	37 (48%)	13 (38%)	24 (56%)	23 (59%)	14 (37%)	10 (29%)	27 (64%)
completed advanced degree	10 (13%)	3 (9%)	7 (16%)	6 (15%)	4 (10%)	-	10 (24%)
Current work status (%)							
does not work (e.g., housewife, student, retiree, farmer)	22 (29%)	17 (50%)	5 (12%)	13 (33%)	9 (25%)	19 (54%)	3 (7%)
unemployed (e.g., small-scale mercantilism, wage labor)	23 (30%)	11 (32%)	12 (28%)	11 (28%)	12 (32%)	13 (37%)	10 (24%)
skilled laborer (e.g., trade labor, microbusiness owner)	25 (33%)	5 (15%)	20 (47%)	13 (33%)	12 (32%)	3 (9%)	22 (52%)
business activity (e.g., owner of incorporated business)	5 (7%)	1 (3%)	4 (9%)	1 (3%)	4 (11%)	-	5 (12%)
professional (e.g., teacher, doctor, civil servant)	2 (3%)	-	1 (2%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	-	2 (5%)
Median socioeconomic status	5	4	5*	5	4	4	6
(range)	(2-9)	(2-8)	(3-9)	(2-7)	(2-9)	(2-4)	(5-9)

Table 10.3 presents migration details for the first interview. Median emigration year is 1999 for the total sample, which is consistent across gender and SES groups despite the 50-year timespan (1960-2013). Mean age at migration is significantly higher for low-SES respondents, but no differences are found for mean years on the coast—about 17-18 years (range: 3-56). Most

came for work, school, or both purposes, while some cite being closer to family, friends, and access to government services as motivations, especially older and low-SES respondents.

Table 10.3. Personal migration details for the first interview sample and by gender, age, and socioeconomic status (SES) with significant differences indicated (* $p < 0.05$).

	Total Sample ($n=77$)	Female Migrants ($n=34$)	Male Migrants ($n=43$)	Migrants < Mean Age ($n=39$)	Migrants \geq Mean Age ($n=38$)	Migrants < Md SES ($n=35$)	Migrants \geq Md SES ($n=42$)
Median year of emigration	1999	1999	1999	2004	1995	1999	1999
(range)	(1960-2013)	(1976-2013)	(1960-2013)	(1985-2013)	(1960-2006)	(1960-2013)	(1985-2013)
Mean age at migration (\pmsd)	25.4 \pm 12.7	27.2 \pm 14.5	24.0 \pm 11.1	18.7 \pm 5.8	32.7 \pm 14.2	30.0 \pm 16.4*	22.1 \pm 7.8
(range)	(3-64)	(9-64)	(3-59)	(3-35)	(16-64)	(9-64)	(3-43)
Mean years on coast (\pmsd)	17.8 \pm 9.4	17.8 \pm 8.8	17.9 \pm 10.0	13.1 \pm 6.3	22.9 \pm 9.7	20.0 \pm 11.2	16.5 \pm 7.7
(range)	(3-56)	(3-40)	(3-56)	(3-31)	(10-56)	(3-56)	(3-31)
Reason for migration							
work	34 (44%)	13 (38%)	21 (49%)	18 (46%)	16 (42%)	14 (40%)	20 (48%)
study	18 (23%)	8 (24%)	10 (23%)	13 (33%)	5 (13%)	4 (11%)	14 (33%)
work and study	2 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (2%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	-	2 (5%)
health care access	2 (3%)	2 (6%)	-	-	2 (5%)	2 (6%)	-
be closer to family	8 (10%)	4 (12%)	4 (9%)	3 (8%)	5 (13%)	5 (14%)	3 (7%)
accompanied someone	4 (5%)	3 (9%)	1 (2%)	3 (8%)	1 (3%)	3 (9%)	1 (2%)
a child's education	3 (4%)	2 (6%)	1 (2%)	-	3 (8%)	2 (6%)	1 (2%)
widowed and alone	3 (4%)	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	-	3 (8%)	3 (9%)	1 (2%)
other	3 (4%)	-	3 (7%)	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	2 (6%)	-

Results of the 23-item free-list of migration goals and reasons for migrating are shown in **Table 10.4** with item descriptions, frequency details, and salience scores. The most salient items are *find better work* (72%) and *greater access to education* (57%)—broad categories that mirror personal migration details. Other high-salience items and several lower scoring ones are equally economic in nature: *get ahead in life* (40%), *achieve a higher economic station and improve your quality of life* (28%), *no work in the highlands because the fields don't produce* (25%), *become a*

Table 10.4 (page 1 of 2). *Salience and percent of 23 free-listed migration goals and reasons for migrating for the first interview sample (n=77).*

Migration goals and motivations (23 items total)	Item Description	Salience (%)
Find better work	search for better work (<i>buscar mejor trabajo</i>) (36), for work (<i>trabajar</i>) (16), work reasons (<i>el motivo de trabajo</i>) (4)	0.452 (72%)
Greater access to education on the coast.	to study (<i>estudiar</i>) (24), for studies (<i>los estudios</i>) (14), higher education (<i>estudios superiores</i>) (5), so children can study (<i>para que los hijos estudian</i>) (4), greater educational opportunities on the coast (<i>educación está por acá</i>) (2), become educated (<i>educarse</i>) (1), there are no opportunities to study in the highlands (<i>no hay oportunidades para estudiar en la sierra</i>) (1)	0.291 (57%)
Get ahead in life	get yourself ahead in life (<i>superarse en la vida</i>) (19), overcome economic adversity (<i>superación</i>) (4), carry on (<i>seguir adelante</i>) (4), get a bit ahead (<i>progresar adelante un poco</i>) (2), excel (<i>sobresalir</i>) (1)	0.219 (40%)
There's no work in the highlands because the fields don't produce anything.	no work in the highlands (<i>no hay trabajo en la sierra</i>) (5), nothing grows in the highlands (<i>la chacra/sierra no produce nada</i>) (4), nothing left in Chugurpampa (<i>no hay en Chugurpampa</i>) (2), agriculture is a lowly way of life (<i>la agricultura es un poco medio bajo</i>) (1), get nothing from agriculture (<i>la agricultura no da</i>) (1), no future for agriculture (<i>la agricultura no tiene buen futuro</i>) (1), potatoes are cheap (<i>las papitas son baratas</i>) (1), no money for farming (<i>no hay plata para la agricultura</i>) (1), farming doesn't provide a living wage (<i>sembrar no paga lo básico</i>)	0.179 (25%)
Achieve a higher economic station and improve your quality of life	improve your household economy (<i>mejorar su economía</i>) (6), be a little better off (<i>estar poco más mejor</i>) (4), find a better economic standing/quality of life (<i>buscar mejor estación económica/nivel de vida</i>) (4), improved quality of life for the family (<i>mejorar la familia</i>) (3), personal improvement (<i>mejorarse</i>) (3), the [coastal] economy (<i>la economía [de la costa]</i>) (3), economic reasons (<i>motivos económicos</i>) (3), overcome economic adversity (<i>superación económicamente</i>) (1)	0.153 (28%)
Search for a better future	look for a better future (<i>buscar un mejor futuro</i>) (7), search for a different path in life (<i>buscar nuevo futuro</i>) (3), have a better life (<i>tener una vida mejor</i>) (3)	0.146 (20%)
Be near family	be with family (<i>estar con familia</i>) (8), accompany family to the coast (<i>acompañar familia a la costa</i>) (5)	0.125 (18%)
Become a professional	become professionals (<i>ser profesionales</i>) (11), have a professional career (<i>una carrera profesional</i>) (1), become a profesor (<i>ser profesores</i>) (1)	0.096 (22%)
Make ends meet	survive (<i>sobrevivir</i>) (3), make ends meet (<i>cumple tus compromisos</i>) (1), be able to live (<i>poder vivir</i>) (1), afford basic necessities (<i>sostener un base económico</i>) (1)	0.059 (10%)
Form a company and/or engage in business dealings	form a company (<i>formar empresa</i>) (4), set up some kind of business (<i>poner algún negocio</i>) (3), become a market-based merchant (<i>ser comerciante</i>) (1)	0.058 (13%)
A higher, more stable income	earn more cash (<i>ganar mucho más dinero</i>) (3), the coast is a cash economy (<i>la economía por dinero</i>) (1), greater means of compensation (<i>más medio de compensarlos</i>) (1), have a stable income (<i>tener ingreso estable</i>) (1), greater pay security (<i>más seguridad del ingreso</i>) (1)	0.057 (12%)

Table 10.4 (page 2 of 2). *Salience and percent of 23 free-listed migration goals and reasons for migrating for the first interview sample (n=77).*

Migration goals and motivations (23 items total)	Item Description	Salience (%)
Coastal climate is more predictable and healthier	the weather (<i>el clima</i>) (3), coastal climate better for health (<i>el clima es más sano y saludable</i>) (1), highland weather is insane (<i>el clima es locura en la sierra</i>) (1), people aren't accustomed to recent climatic changes (<i>la gente no se acostumbra por mucha lluvia que ya es típico de la sierra</i>) (1), it's too cold in the highlands (<i>mucho frío hay en la sierra</i>) (1)	0.056 (10%)
Health care access and medical treatment choice	health reasons (<i>razones de salud</i>) (2), search for well-being (<i>buscar de un bienestar</i>) (1), availability of treatments (<i>disponibilidad de tratamientos</i>) (1), was sick and couldn't care for self (<i>estaba enferma y no podía cuidarme</i>) (1)	0.056 (8%)
Escape poverty	poverty (<i>pobreza</i>) (3), get out of poverty (<i>salir de pobreza</i>) (1)	0.047 (7%)
Visit the coast	pass the time (<i>pasar el tiempo</i>) (2); visit [with family] (<i>visitar [con familia]</i>) (2), come and go (<i>vienen y van</i>) (2), the coast is the mouth of the highlands (<i>la costa es la boca de la sierra</i>) (1)	0.040 (8%)
Experience new things/live a different life	try new things (<i>aprender otras cosas</i>) (1), get to know the coast (<i>conocer a la costa</i>) (1), become accustomed to a coastal lifestyle (<i>acostumbrarse a la costa</i>), live a different life than in the highlands (<i>tener vida diferente que en la sierra</i>) (1)	0.036 (7%)
Start a family of your own	have a family (<i>tener una familia</i>) (3), have children (<i>tener hijos</i>) (1), find a spouse (<i>tener un esposo</i>) (1)	0.029 (8%)
Obtain a career	have some kind of profession (<i>tener alguna profesión</i>) (3), start a career (<i>obtener una carrera</i>) (2)	0.028 (8%)
Be closer to highlanders who already migrated	many Chugurpampans already in Trujillo (<i>hay cantidad de chugurpampinos acá</i>) (2), was alone in the highlands (<i>estaba sola en la sierra</i>) (1), migrated when elderly mother passed away (<i>me migré cuando murió mi mamá</i>) (1)	0.027 (7%)
Purchase a home	purchase a house (<i>comprar una casa</i>) (4)	0.025 (7%)
Have a little something more	have a little something more (<i>tener algo</i>) (3), have a bit more capital (<i>tener poco más de capital</i>) (2), have possibilities (<i>tener posibilidades</i>) (1)	0.014 (7%)
Support Chugurpampa	support the well-being of Chugurpampa (<i>apoyar a Chugurpampa para que será mejor</i>) (2), invest coastal earnings into agricultural ventures in Chugurpampa (<i>regresar a Chugurpampa con capital para la agricultura</i>) (1), return to the highlands with a professional career (<i>volver a la sierra con una profesión</i>) (1), have an important position or role in the community (<i>tener cargo en la comunidad</i>) (1)	0.014 (5%)
See the world	travel to other countries (<i>viajar a otros países</i>) (2), see the world (<i>ver al mundo</i>) (1)	0.014 (5%)
Low frequency items (not included in analyses)	coastal food is better (<i>los alimentos de la costa son mejores</i>) (1), find a bedroom (<i>tener cuarto</i>) (1), live near development (<i>vivir por desarrollo de proyectos</i>) (1), purchase an automobile (<i>comprar un carro</i>) (1)	

professional (22%), search for a better future (20%), form a company or engage in business (13%), earn a higher, more stable income (12%), obtain a career (8%), have something more (7%), purchase a home (7%), and escape poverty (7%). The remaining items echo less common personal reasons for migrating, including *health care access and treatment availability (8%)* and the *predictable coastal climate (10%)*. *Being near family (18%), starting your own family (8%), and being closer to others who migrated (7%)* are also mentioned with some regularity, while the least frequent items include *visiting the coast (8%), experience new things/live a different life (7%), see the world (5%), and support Chugurpampa (5%)*

Item descriptions, frequency details, and salience scores for the 35 free-listed lifestyle aspirations are shown in **Table 10.5**. *A good, decent-paying job* is the most salient item, cited by the majority of respondents (86%). Several less salient items are also economic in nature, such as *engage in business/own a company (24%), access to liquid assets (22%), opportunities to study (22%), obtain a career (16%), become a professional (12%), and economic distinction (9%)*. Notably, these items involve more specific ideas about economic advancement than ones free-listed for the migration goals domain, but there is still a fair degree of overlap among the two. Relatedly, *basic utilities (29%), health care access (21%), eat well (19%), have family nearby (19%), a place to stay (16%), access to social support (14%), a community of Chugurpampans in Trujillo (14%), be able to purchase things (7%), and government support (5%)*, all touch on some basic element migrants need to make ends meet and sustain an economic base.

Most remaining items are material artifacts, household appliances, and amenities. To restate, these items were elicited by asking respondents *what* Chugurpampans need to live a good life, followed by *which* items, artifacts and things are important? As a result, the lifestyle domain is much larger than migration goals; there are over twice as many items cited and double the

Table 10.5 (page 1 of 2). Salience and percent of 35 free-listed lifestyle aspirations and leisure-time activities for the first interview sample (n=77).

Lifestyle aspirations (35 items total)	Item Description	Salience (%)
A good, decent-paying job	a good job (<i>buen trabajo</i>) (23), decent-paying work (<i>trabajo que te compensará</i>) (18), job security (<i>trabajo seguro</i>) (10), work constantly (<i>trabajar todos los días</i>) (9), better work opportunities (<i>mejor trabajo</i>) (2), a good-paying job (<i>buen capital/remuneración de trabajo</i>) (2), good job performance (<i>buen desempeño</i>) (2)	0.809 (86%)
Home Ownership	a house (<i>casa</i>) (25), your own home (<i>casa propia</i>) (8), fix up your house (<i>arreglar su casa</i>) (1), a completed home (<i>casa completa</i>) (1)	0.435 (59%)
Stove	stove (<i>cocina</i>) (40), gas stove (<i>cocina de gas</i>) (8)	0.433 (79%)
Television	television (<i>televisor</i>) (28)	0.300 (62%)
Refrigerator	refrigerator (<i>refrigeradora</i>) (31)	0.261 (53%)
Home furnishing	bed (<i>cama</i>) (21), assorted furniture (<i>muebles</i>) (13), chairs (<i>mesas</i>) (11), tables (<i>sillas</i>) (7), dining-room table (<i>comedor de cocina</i>) (3), a fully-furnished home (<i>casa amueblada</i>) (2)	0.201 (53%)
More stable access to liquid assets	cash (<i>dinero/’plata’</i>) (8), earn well (<i>ganar bien</i>) (4), better earnings (<i>mejores ganancias</i>) (2), a bit more cash (<i>poco más de dinero</i>) (1)	0.152 (22%)
Blender	blender (<i>licuadora</i>) (20)	0.139 (34%)
Opportunities to study	studies (<i>estudios</i>) (5), opportunities to study (<i>oportunidades de estudiar</i>) (5), a good education (<i>buna educación</i>) (3), live near a school (<i>vivir por una escuela</i>) (2)	0.139 (22%)
Basic utilities	in-home connection to public water (<i>agua con seguro</i>) (14), electricity (<i>luz</i>) (11), basic utilities (<i>servicios</i>) (6), gas service (<i>gas</i>) (3), drainage (<i>desagüe</i>) (1)	0.132 (29%)
Engage in business or own a company	own a small business (<i>mantener negocio propio/microempresa</i>) (15), become a market-based merchant (<i>ser comerciante en los mercados</i>) (2)	0.122 (24%)
Health care access/medical treatment choice	good health (<i>buna salud</i>) (9), medicine (<i>medicina</i>) (2), health insurance (<i>seguro de salud</i>) (1), cultivate medicinal herb garden (<i>cultivar jardín de hierbas para curarse</i>) (1), live near a hospital or health post (<i>vivir por hospital o posta médica</i>) (1)	0.122 (21%)
Washing machine	washing machine (not necessarily automatic) (<i>lavadora</i>) (15)	0.088 (26%)
Sound equipment for listening to music at home and gatherings	sound system (<i>equipo de sonido</i>) (8), listen to music (<i>escuchar música</i>) (4), go dancing at parties (<i>bailar en las fiestas</i>) (1) listen to Christian music (<i>escuchar música cristiana</i>) (1), listen to <i>cumbia</i> (<i>escuchar música cumbia</i>) (1)	0.080 (19%)
A place to stay	a place to sleep (<i>dormitorio/habitación</i>) (7), a place to live (<i>lugar donde puede vivir</i>) (3)	0.071 (16%)
Internet	internet (<i>internet</i>) (9), WiFi (<i>WiFi</i>) (1)	0.071 (17%)

Table 10.5 (page 2 of 2). *Saliency and percent of 35 free-listed lifestyle aspirations and leisure-time activities for the first interview sample (n=77).*

Lifestyle aspirations (35 items total)	Item Description	Saliency (%)
Tableware and glassware	plates (<i>platos</i>) (10), flatware (<i>cubiertos</i>) (5), mugs (<i>tazas</i>) (3), tableware (<i>vajilla</i>) (1), drinking glasses (<i>vasos</i>) (1)	0.068 (17%)
Economic distinction	better economics (<i>mejores económicos</i>) (2), diverse economic resources (<i>recursos económicos diversos</i>) (1) a distinguished economic position (<i>posición económica distinta</i>) (1), have more than everyone else (<i>tener más que todos</i>) (1)	0.067 (9%)
Respect of people from the coast	get paid, not exploited (<i>que te paguen y no te exploten</i>) (1), a living wage (<i>remuneración digna que te paga sus gastos</i>) (1), “We are Incan! We came first!” (<i>¡Somos Inca! ¡Somos primordiales!</i>) (1), be understood (<i>tener comprensión</i>) (1), have the respect of people from the coast (<i>tener respeto de gente de la costa</i>) (1)	0.062 (9%)
Cell phone	cell phone (<i>celular</i>) (9)	0.061 (16%)
Get along well with others	get along with others (<i>llevarse bien con los demás</i>) (4), meet up with friends (<i>reunirse con amigos</i>) (2), be good neighbors (<i>ser buenos vecinos/ciudadanos</i>) (2)	0.060 (10%)
Computer	home computer (<i>computadora</i>) (8), laptop computer (<i>laptop</i>) (3), tablet computer (<i>tablet</i>) (2), printer (<i>impresora</i>) (1),	0.059 (14%)
A complete, fully-functioning bathroom	bathroom (<i>baño</i>) (6), toiletries (<i>productos para bañarse</i>) (2), shower/bathtub (<i>ducha/bañadero</i>) (1), toilet (<i>inodoro</i>) (1), latrine (<i>letrina</i>) (1), vanity (<i>lavacara</i>) (1)	0.055 (14%)
Obtain a career	obtain a good career or profession (<i>obtener [buen] carrera o profesión</i>) (9)	0.051 (16%)
Government support	government support (<i>apoyo del gobierno</i>) (1), state support (<i>ayuda de facilidades</i>) (1), unemployment benefits (<i>pensión para las personas que no trabajan</i>) (1)	0.048 (5%)
Clothing iron	clothing iron (<i>plancha</i>) (9)	0.046 (16%)
Telephone	telephone (<i>teléfono</i>) (8)	0.046 (14%)
Clothing	clothing (<i>ropa</i>) (6)	0.035 (10%)
Be able to purchase things	be able to make purchases (<i>poder comprar sus cosas</i>) (3), afford all necessary living costs (<i>gastar en lo que necesite</i>) (2)	0.031 (7%)
Become a professional	become a professional (<i>ser un profesional</i>) (5), have a professional career (<i>trabajo profesional</i>) (2)	0.025 (12%)
Low frequency items (not included in analyses)	electronics (<i>cosas electrónicas</i>) (6), microwave (<i>microonda</i>) (5), oven (<i>horno</i>) (5), cable television (<i>televisión por cable</i>) (4), pots (<i>ollas</i>) (4), personal transport (<i>transporte personal</i>) (4), freezer (<i>congeladora</i>) (3), juicer (<i>extractora</i>) (3), kitchen sink (<i>fregadero</i>) (3), firewood (<i>leña</i>) (2), insurance (<i>seguro</i>) (2), learn new things (<i>aprender otras cosas</i>) (1), live close to transportation (<i>estar donde hay transporte</i>) (1), copy paper (<i>hojas de papel</i>) (1), church nearby (<i>iglesia cerca</i>) (1), afford Christmas gifts (<i>juguetes para niños por la Navidad</i>) (1), preserve highland identity (<i>quedarnos serranos</i>) (1), head to Chugurpampa (<i>llevarse a Chugurpampa</i>) (1), travel often (<i>viajar frecuentemente</i>) (1), see the world (<i>viajar a otros países para conocerlos</i>) (1)	

average list-length (**Table 10.6**). *Homeownership* (59%), a *stove* (79%), a *television* (62%), a *refrigerator* (53%), a *blender* (34%), a *washing machine* (26%) and an *iron* (16%) are the most salient items, while *home furnishing* (53%), *sound equipment for listening to music at home and gatherings* (19%), *tableware and glassware* (17%), and a *complete, fully-functioning bathroom* (14%) represent loose groupings of comparable items that were conglomerated for analysis.

Table 10.6. Summary of free-listed domains for first interview sample (n=77).

	Migration Goals and Reasons for Coming to the Coast	Lifestyle Aspirations and Leisure-time Activities
average list length	3	7
total cited items	246	512
total unique items	75	109
total omissions	52	74
Final after omissions	23 items	35 items

An *internet connection* (17%), a *cell phone* (16%), a *computer* (16%), and *landline telephone* (14%) are all telecommunications with relatively equal frequency and salience scores, while the least salient items are *live in peace and quiet* (17%), *get along well with others* (10%), and *respect of people from the coast* (9%). These items involve ideas about safety, crime, home security, relations with *costeños* and other migrants, and issues of identity and personal dignity. Several low-frequency items and duplicates were omitted from both domains for analysis, but were influential in designing the consensus/consonance instrument. Items warranting mention include electronics (e.g., *television*), household appliances (e.g., *freezer, oven, microwave*), forms of mobility (e.g., *personal transport, live near transportation, travel to Chugurpampa*), and collective vs individual goals (e.g., *preserve highland identity, learn new things, travel often*).

Phase II Outcomes

Demographic attributes for the second interview sample ($n=88$) are presented in **Table 10.7**. Mean participant age is 49.4 (range: 20-84) with low-SES respondents significantly older. They are also significantly more female (63.3%) than high-SES respondents, among whom only a third are women (33.3%). Women are also about five years older than men on average, but the difference is not significant. As is the case for the first interview sample, half of respondents are married or cohabitating (53.4%) while a third are single and never married. More men and high-SES respondents report spouses, but also account for 75% of divorces and separations. Widows are all older women residing with family. Relatedly, mean years with partner is higher among women and low-SES informants, but not significantly. Between a quarter and a third of partners (including separated/divorced/widowed) are Chugurpampan, fewer than the first sample (36%), but half report a spouse from within Julcán Province (vs 51% within La Libertad in first).

Partner region is also similar to Interview 1, with most respondents marrying another highlander (85%). But low-SES respondents ($n=49$) report only endogamous marriage with other highlanders, while a third (32%) of high-SES spouses are from the coast or Amazon. Median children is two with nearly 90% reporting at least one child (range: 0-9); there are predictable differences by age for median children as well as proportions with children (chi-square test for independence; $p < 0.05$). However, median household size is consistent across groups at about four members. Most respondents also report non-nuclear kin living adjacent to their home or nearby; this is higher among men, older migrants, and low-SES persons, although the practice is generally so widespread (83%) that differences are trivial. As with the first sample, more than 90% of respondents are Roman Catholic, while median church attendance is also low, around five visits annually, but varies widely among respondents (range: 0-365).

Table 10.7. Basic demographic attributes for the second interview sample (n=88) and by gender, age, and socioeconomic status (SES) with significant differences indicated (*p<0.05, **p < 0.000).

	Total Sample (n=88)	Female Migrants (n=44)	Male Migrants (n=44)	Migrants < Mean Age (n=46)	Migrants ≥ Mean Age (n=42)	Migrants < Md SES (n=49)	Migrants ≥ Md SES (n=39)
Mean age in years (±sd)	49.4 ± 16.6	52.6 ± 16.8	46.3 ± 16.1	36.5 ± 9.0	63.6 ± 10.2	53.0 ± 18.1*	44.9 ± 13.6
(range)	(20-84)	(20-83)	(20-84)	(20-49)	(50-84)	(20-83)	(23-84)
Gender (% female)	44 (50.0%)	--	--	21 (46%)	23 (55%)	31 (63.3%)*	13 (33%)
Civil status							
single	27 (31%)	14 (32%)	13 (30%)	17 (37%)	10 (24%)	17 (35%)	10 (26%)
married/cohabiting	47 (53%)	20 (46%)	27 (61%)	26 (57%)	21 (50%)	23 (47%)	24 (62%)
separated/divorced	6 (7%)	2 (5%)	4 (9%)	3 (7%)	3 (7%)	1 (2%)	5 (13%)
widowed	8 (9%)	8 (18%)	-	-	8 (19%)	8 (16%)	-
Partner origin (%)							
Chugurpampa	17 (28%)	10 (33%)	7 (23%)	5 (17%)	12 (39%)	12 (38%)	5 (18%)
Julcán District	10 (17%)	7 (23%)	3 (10%)	5 (17%)	5 (16%)	8 (25%)	2 (7%)
Julcán Province	3 (5%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	3 (9%)	16 (57%)
La Libertad Dept outside La Libertad	25 (42%)	10 (33%)	15 (50%)	14 (48%)	11 (26%)	9 (28%)	-
	5 (8%)	1 (3%)	4 (13%)	3 (10%)	2 (7%)	-	5 (18%)
Partner region^a (%)							
coast	7 (12%)	2 (7%)	5 (17%)	4 (14%)	3 (10%)	-	7 (25%)
highlands	51 (85%)	27 (90%)	24 (80%)	23 (79%)	28 (90%)	32 (100%)	19 (68%)
Amazon	2 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	2 (7%)	-	-	2 (7%)
Median number of children	2	2	2	2	3**	2	2
(range)	(0-9)	(0-9)	(0-8)	(0-7)	(0-9)	(0-9)	(0-7)
Median household size	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(range)	(1-12)	(2-12)	(1-12)	(1-12)	(1-12)	(1-12)	(1-12)
Religious affiliation							
Roman Catholic	80 (91%)	40 (91%)	40 (91%)	42 (91%)	38 (91%)	45 (92%)	35 (90%)
other Christianity	8 (9%)	4 (9%)	4 (9%)	4 (9%)	4 (9%)	4 (8%)	4 (10%)
Median church attendance	5 visits/yr	12 visits/yr	2 visits/yr	3 visits/yr	10 visits/yr	7 visits/yr	3 visits/yr
(range)	(0-365)	(0-365)	(0-104)	(0-365)	(0-52)	(0-365)	(0-104)

Table 10.8 shows socioeconomic attributes for the second interview, including aggregate socioeconomic status (SES) scores. As with the first sample, more than half finished secondary school (53.4%), while a quarter only completed primary school (24%). The five respondents who report no/some formal education are again all women, older, and low SES; however, women are also three times more likely to hold a university degree. Conversely, men hold 2-yr degrees from technical/trade schools at a 2:1 ratio to 4-yr Bachelors, and more than a third engage in unskilled or informal work (35%). There are equal proportions of skilled tradespersons (23%) and people who do not work (24%), but the latter group is significantly older, female, and low SES.

Men and women perform unskilled labor at comparable rates, but informal employment is mostly done by low-SES respondents. High-SES persons hold most skilled positions (85%) and comprise all commercial activity and professional careers. Interestingly, women are twice as likely to be professionals, while men engage in three times the commercial activity. Among the 67 respondents who report some line of work, nearly half does not have job security (43%), while about a third have secure work with fluctuating pay (37%). Only 20% report secure work *and* stable pay, all high SES, while 4 of 5 low-SES informants faces job insecurity.

Women are more than twice as likely as men to be job insecure, but equal proportions of men and women, and younger and older participants, claim total job security. When small-scale mercantilism and informal street vending are included, nearly half of the sample engages in some economic exchange (44%), but that drops to less than a third (31%) if limited to persons with a formal trade, marketplace, storefront, or legally-incorporated business. Only a quarter of these respondents operate a large commercial enterprise—the remainder run in-home stores, groceries, workshops, or renting small market stalls. Seventy percent of professional are active, which is to say, the remainder either report work that is unrelated to their career training, or they are simply

Table 10.8. Socioeconomic attributes for the second interview and by gender, age, and socioeconomic status (SES) with significant differences indicated for median SES (* $p < 0.05$).

	Total Sample (<i>n</i> =88)	Female Migrants (<i>n</i> =44)	Male Migrants (<i>n</i> =44)	Migrants < Mean Age (<i>n</i> =46)	Migrants ≥ Mean Age (<i>n</i> =42)	Migrants < <i>Md</i> SES (<i>n</i> =49)	Migrants ≥ <i>Md</i> SES (<i>n</i> =39)
Highest completed education level							
no/some education	5 (6%)	5 (11%)	-	-	5 (12%)	5 (10%)	-
primary school	21 (24%)	13 (30%)	8 (18%)	6 (13%)	15 (36%)	20 (41%)	1 (3%)
secondary school	47 (53%)	17 (39%)	30 (68%)	30 (65%)	17 (41%)	23 (47%)	24 (62%)
advanced studies ^a	15 (17%)	9 (21%)	6 (14%)	10 (22%)	5 (12%)	1 (2%)	14 (36%)
<i>technical school (%)</i>	7 (47%)	3 (33%)	4 (67%)	6 (60%)	1 (20%)	1 (100%)	6 (43%)
<i>university (%)</i>	8 (53%)	6 (67%)	2 (33%)	4 (40%)	4 (80%)	-	8 (57%)
Current work status							
does not work (student, housewife, retiree, farmer)	21 (24%)	18 (41%)	3 (7%)	7 (15%)	14 (33%)	19 (39%)	2 (5%)
unskilled/out-of-work (small-scale mercantilism, wage labor, odd jobs)	31 (35%)	17 (39%)	14 (32%)	21 (46%)	10 (24%)	27 (55%)	4 (10%)
skilled (trade labor, owner of home-based microbusiness, market-based mercantilism)	20 (23%)	2 (5%)	18 (41%)	10 (22%)	10 (24%)	3 (6%)	17 (44%)
commercial (owner of formal incorporated business[es])	9 (10%)	2 (5%)	7 (16%)	4 (9%)	5 (12%)	-	9 (23%)
professional (teacher, doctor, engineer, civil administrator)	7 (8%)	5 (11%)	2 (5%)	4 (9%)	3 (7%)	-	7 (18%)
Job security (%)							
no job security (wage labor, odd jobs, street vendor)	29 (43%)	17 (63%)	12 (30%)	17 (43%)	12 (44%)	25 (83%)	4 (11%)
secure job with fluctuating pay, usually no benefits	25 (37%)	5 (19%)	20 (50%)	17 (43%)	8 (30%)	5 (17%)	20 (54%)
secure job with stable pay, often benefits	13 (19%)	5 (19%)	8 (20%)	6 (15%)	7 (26%)	-	13 (35%)
Commercial activity (%)							
sells goods or services informally, usually mobile	12 (31%)	9 (53%)	3 (14%)	6 (32%)	6 (30%)	12 (86%)	-
operates microbusiness from home or market	21 (54%)	6 (35%)	15 (68%)	10 (53%)	11 (55%)	2 (14%)	19 (76%)
operates large business selling goods or services	6 (15%)	2 (12%)	4 (18%)	3 (16%)	3 (15%)	-	6 (24%)
Professional training (%)							
training for career	3 (23%)	2 (25%)	1 (20%)	3 (33%)	-	1 (100%)	2 (17%)
inactive professional	3 (23%)	1 (13%)	2 (40%)	1 (11%)	2 (50%)	-	3 (25%)
active professional	7 (54%)	5 (63%)	2 (40%)	5 (56%)	2 (50%)	-	7 (58%)
Median socioeconomic status^b (range)	11 (6-25)	10 (6-25)	12* (7-23)	10* (7-25)	10 (6-23)	--	--

not seeking employment. Most active professionals are women, as are two of the three younger respondents training for professional careers, but only one is low SES. Median SES is 11 (range: 6-25) overall, with significantly higher scores among men and younger respondents.

Migration details for the second interview are reported in **Table 10.9**. Median year of emigration is 1996 and ranges from 1960-2013; it is earlier than the first sample (1999) because it includes people who migrated ahead of Oths' census. Men and high-SES respondents emigrate at significantly younger ages than women or low-SES persons, but differences are not significant by gender or SES for mean years on coast (c. 2016). A quarter report migrating to study, while about a tenth cite either *work and study* or *working to support a family member studying* (9% each). But the proportion that came solely to work is lower than the first sample, and there are more respondents who left Chugurpampa because they were accompanying family.

Table 10.9. Migration details for the second interview sample (n=88) and by gender, age, and socioeconomic status (SES) with significant differences indicated (*p < 0.05).

	Total Sample (n=88)	Female Migrants (n=44)	Male Migrants (n=44)	Migrants < Mean Age (n=46)	Migrants ≥ Mean Age (n=42)	Migrants < Md SES (n=49)	Migrants ≥ Md SES (n=39)
Median year of emigration	1996	1998	1995	1999	1985	1997*	1995
(range)	(1960-2013)	(1970-2013)	(1960-2013)	(1987-2013)	(1960-2005)	(1960-2013)	(1970-2010)
Mean age at migration (±sd)	27.2 ± 14.0	30.4 ± 14.8*	24.0 ± 12.6	20.4 ± 7.4	34.7 ± 15.8	31.7 ± 15.5**	21.5 ± 9.4
(range)	(5-64)	(6-64)	(5-64)	(5-41)	(11-64)	(5-64)	(6-46)
Mean years on coast (±sd)	22.2 ± 12.0	22.2 ± 11.9	22.3 ± 12.2	16.1 ± 7.3	29.0 ± 12.5	21.3 ± 12.1	23.4 ± 11.9
(range)	(3-56)	(3-46)	(3-56)	(3-29)	(11-56)	(3-56)	(6-46)
Reason for migration							
Work	33 (38%)	12 (27%)	21 (48%)	20 (44%)	13 (31%)	19 (39%)	14 (36%)
Study	22 (25%)	11 (25%)	11 (25%)	15 (33%)	7 (17%)	6 (12%)	16 (41%)
Work and study	4 (5%)	3 (7%)	1 (2%)	3 (7%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	1 (3%)
Health	3 (3%)	2 (5%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	2 (5%)	3 (6%)	
Be with family	5 (6%)	3 (7%)	2 (5%)	-	5 (12%)	4 (8.)	1 (3%)
Accompanied other	13 (15%)	9 (21%)	4 (9%)	5 (11%)	8 (19%)	10 (20%)	3 (8%)
Children's education	4 (5%)	1 (2%)	3 (7%)	-	4 (10%)	1 (2%)	3 (8%)
Other	4 (5%)	3 (7%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	2 (5%)	3 (6%)	1 (3%)

Table 10.10 presents results of cultural consensus analysis for migration (30 items) and lifestyle (73 items) domains. Migration goals contains 24/30 items that overlap with lifestyle, meaning there are only six unique migration items and the remaining 47/79 overall are exclusive to lifestyle. Eigenvalue ratios for both domains exceed the suggested 3:1 (MG=3.41; LA=7.35), confirming that respondents generally agree about the distinctive features of items within each. They share an average of 60% of ideas in common for the lifestyle domain, which is equivalent across age, gender and SES groups, although competence for women and high-SES participants is significantly higher than men and low SES. There are mixed results for the migration goals domain. Cultural consensus is only present among women, younger, and low-SES respondents, although mean cultural competence scores are consistent across the sample, with respondents sharing an average of 50% of ideas in common about items in the domain (range: 0.03-0.84)

Consensus results for the aggregated cultural model of Chugurpampan migration success (CMS) are reported in **Table 10.11**. The eigenvalue ratio for all 79 items is 6.95, lower than the lifestyle domain, but relatively unchanged by the inclusion of the six unique migration goals. This further confirms that respondents broadly agree about the distinctive features of items within the model, with an average of 60% of ideas in common (range: 0.22-0.84) and roughly the same proportion of variation explained in two factors as the lifestyle domain (91.9%). Consensus is present across gender, age, and SES groups (range: 5.25-8.78), with the highest eigenvalue ratios among younger and high-SES respondents with trivial differences by gender. Women have the highest average competence (0.63) in the same, and share a significantly greater proportion of ideas about CMS than men (0.57), while high-SES respondents (.62) are significantly more competent than are low-SES persons (0.58).

Table 10.10. Consensus analysis of Migration Goals and Lifestyle Aspirations cultural domains for the second interview sample and by gender, age, and socioeconomic status (SES) with significant differences indicated (* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.000$).

Cultural Model (2 total)	Total Sample ($n=88$)	Female Migrants ($n=44$)	Male Migrants ($n=44$)	Migrants < Mean Age ($n=46$)	Migrants \geq Mean Age ($n=42$)	Migrants < Md SES ($n=49$)	Migrants \geq Md SES ($n=39$)
<i>Migration Goals/Reasons for Coming to the Coast</i>	(30 items)						
Scale reliability	$a = 0.968$	$a = 0.942$	$a = 0.937$	$a = 0.944$	$a = 0.937$	$a = 0.942$	$a = 0.934$
Ratio of first-to-second factor	24.895/7.298 (3.41)	13.212/4.006 (3.30)	12.143/4.301 (2.82)	13.718/3.541 (3.87)	11.856/4.384 (2.70)	13.686/4.714 (2.90)	11.345/3.129 (3.63)
% variation explained in first and second factors	65.7/85.0%	65.1/84.9%	62.9/85.1%	67.0/84.3%	61.2/83.8%	62.7/84.3%	66.7/85.1%
Mean competence (\pm sd) (range)	0.51 \pm 0.16 (0.03-0.84)	0.52 \pm 0.17 (0.03-0.83)	0.50 \pm 0.15 (0.17-0.78)	0.51 \pm 0.17 (0.03-0.83)	0.50 \pm 0.15 (0.17-0.78)	0.50 \pm 0.17 (0.3-0.78)	0.52 \pm 0.15 (0.17-0.83)
<i>Lifestyle Aspirations and Leisure-time Activities</i>	(73 items)						
Scale reliability	$a = 0.981$	$a = 0.969$	$a = 0.957$	$a = 0.968$	$a = 0.959$	$a = 0.964$	$a = 0.963$
Eigenvalue ratio of first to second factor	34.029/4.631 (7.35)	18.729/2.739 (6.84)	15.736/2.298 (6.85)	19.434/1.968 (9.87)	15.548/2.731 (5.70)	18.384/3.218 (5.71)	16.174/1.778 (9.10)
% variation explained in first and second factors	80.9/91.9%	80.8/92.6%	80.1/91.8%	83.9/92.4%	76.5/90.0%	76.8/90.3%	83.6/92.8%
Mean competence (\pm sd) (range)	0.61 \pm 0.14 (0.16-0.86)	0.64 \pm 0.12* (0.36-0.86)	0.58 \pm 0.15 (0.16-0.83)	0.63 \pm 0.15 (0.16-0.86)	0.59 \pm 0.12 (0.24-0.83)	0.60 \pm 0.15 (0.16-0.83)	0.63 \pm 0.12 (0.40-0.86)

Table 10.11. Consensus analysis and consonance scores of Chugurpampan Migration Success cultural model for the second interview sample and by gender, age, and SES with significant differences indicated (* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.000$).

'Chugurpampan Migration Success' (79 items)	Total Sample ($n=88$)	Female Migrants ($n=44$)	Male Migrants ($n=44$)	Migrants < Mean Age ($n=46$)	Migrants \geq Mean Age ($n=42$)	Migrants < Md SES ($n=49$)	Migrants \geq Md SES ($n=39$)
Scale reliability	$a = 0.980$	$a = 0.967$	$a = 0.955$	$a = 0.967$	$a = 0.957$	$a = 0.962$	$a = 0.961$
Eigenvalue ratio of first to second factor	32.956/4.740 (6.95)	18.106/2.727 (6.64)	15.227/2.387 (6.38)	18.806/2.143 (8.78)	15.061/2.869 (5.25)	17.851/3.260 (5.50)	15.578/1.925 (8.09)
% variation explained in first and second factors	80.4/91.9%	80.4/92.6%	79.3/91.7%	83.1/92.6%	75.8/90.3%	76.5/90.5%	82.8/93.1%
Mean competence (\pm sd) (range)	0.60 \pm 0.13 (0.22-0.84)	0.63 \pm 0.12* (0.34-0.84)	0.57 \pm 0.14 (0.22-0.82)	0.62 \pm 0.14 (0.22-0.84)	0.58 \pm 0.12 (0.24-0.82)	0.58 \pm 0.15** (0.22-0.82)	0.62 \pm 0.11 (0.39-0.84)
Cultural consonance							
Avg. items (\pm sd) (range)	48.0 \pm 9.8 (26-70)	46.2 \pm 10.1 (26-65)	49.7 \pm 9.3 (31-70)	48.5 \pm 8.5 (31-65)	47.4 \pm 11.2 (26-70)	43.1 \pm 8.0 (26-60)	54.1 \pm 8.4 (36-70)
Mean wght. score (\pm sd) (range)	140.9 \pm 26.7 (80.3-199.5)	136.6 \pm 27.3 (80.33-185.8)	145.2 \pm 25.6 (97.5-199.5)	185.8 \pm 141.9 (91.8-185.8)	139.8 \pm 30.1 (80.3-199.5)	127.7 \pm 21.6** (80.3-171.3)	157.5 \pm 23.0 (108.8-199.5)

Table 10.12 shows the cultural answer key for the cultural model of CMS. The highest-rated items (≥ 3.00) only include material goods and lifestyle practices considered essential for maintaining household economy: a stable source of income, essential utilities, a safe place to stay with a store or market nearby, a working bathroom, basic cookware, furniture, health resources, a cell phone, etcetera. They also include several broader migration goals vis-à-vis education and career aims, as well as being closer to family other forms of social support. The migration goals *return to highlands with career* (3.35) and *use coastal capital to plant* (3.03) are also among items seen as important or most important for a having good life in Trujillo; they emphasize the interconnections of highland and coastal regions in household subsistence strategies. Even *take vacations* (3.08), for many, means visiting family in Chugurpampa on holidays or for the June harvest festival, while *go to Chugurpampa at will* (3.07) refers to emergency situations.

Moderately rated items (≥ 2.50) include many household articles, amenities, and lifestyle practices that are available because of expanded economic access. *Have business dealings* (2.97) and *become a merchant* (2.92) are common economic strategies utilized to obtain higher-rated aims like *secure work* (3.53) and *a stable income* (3.47). Similarly, a *computer* (2.99), *printer* (2.78), *internet access* (2.56), and often, *learning a second language* (2.94), are important for households with students working to *become professionals* (3.73). Even a *clothing iron* (2.96) is important for the latter goal, considering “professionals don’t wear wrinkled clothes.” To this end, a *rice cooker* (2.54) and *eating coastal food* (2.53), while perhaps trivial or undesirable to some, are handy options for respondents with fast-paced lives.

Among remaining moderately rated household items, *televisions* (2.94) and *radios* (2.72) are common in both coastal and highland homes, valued foremost for their utility as information

Table 10.12. Cultural answer key for cultural model of Chugurpampam Migration Success (Items in normal text common to migration and lifestyle domains).

Home ownership	3.73	Learn second language	2.94
<i>Essential utilities^a</i>	3.61	<i>Television</i>	2.94
Secure work	3.53	Have partner	2.93
Eat highland food	3.49	Become a merchant	2.92
<i>Bathroom sink and toilet</i>	3.49	Participate in harvest festival	2.86
Become a professional	3.49	<i>Store nearby house</i>	2.84
Stable income	3.47	Collaborate with migrant assc.	2.80
<i>Bed</i>	3.45	<i>Printer</i>	2.78
<i>Glassware</i>	3.45	<i>Co-parents in Trujillo</i>	2.78
<i>Tableware</i>	3.45	<i>Home furnishing</i>	2.76
<i>Silverware</i>	3.45	<i>Radio</i>	2.72
<i>Pots</i>	3.45	Home herbal harden	2.72
<i>Home security</i>	3.39	Travel Peru	2.67
<i>Tables</i>	3.37	<i>Collaborate with people in need</i>	2.66
<i>Chairs</i>	3.36	<i>Make necessary purchases</i>	2.62
Return to sierra with career^b	3.35	<i>Landline</i>	2.59
Shower/bath	3.33	<i>Celebrate all holidays</i>	2.57
Modern home construction	3.31	<i>Internet</i>	2.56
University education	3.27	<i>Rice cooker</i>	2.54
<i>Gas stove</i>	3.25	<i>Home stereo system</i>	2.53
Trade school education	3.22	Eat coastal food	2.53
<i>Good neighbors</i>	3.19	<i>Go to beach</i>	2.44
Have children	3.18	Visit other countries	2.42
Be respected	3.14	<i>Oven</i>	2.40
Be active in community	3.13	<i>Automatic washer</i>	2.35
Family nearby	3.11	<i>Dual cell carriers*</i>	2.31
Use natural medicine	3.09	Personal transport access	2.30
<i>Take vacations</i>	3.08	<i>Monthly cell contract</i>	2.30
Go to Chugurpampa at will	3.07	<i>Cable television</i>	2.29
Use prescription medicine	3.06	<i>Freezer</i>	2.27
<i>Blender</i>	3.05	<i>Microwave</i>	2.24
Hospital nearby	3.05	Mayordomo of harvest festival	2.18
<i>Cellphone</i>	3.04	<i>Attend parties</i>	2.11
Use coastal capital to plant	3.03	<i>WiFi</i>	1.96
Market nearby	3.02	<i>Eat restaurant food</i>	1.95
<i>Refrigerator</i>	3.01	<i>Drink beer</i>	1.82
<i>Computer</i>	2.99	<i>Tablet</i>	1.72
<i>Family dining area</i>	2.99	<i>Smartphone</i>	1.58
Have business dealings	2.97	<i>Beer vendor nearby house</i>	1.55
<i>Clothing iron</i>	2.96		

^a Item exclusive to 'Lifestyle Aspirations' domain.

^b Item exclusive to 'Migration Goals' domain.

* Peruvian cell carriers *Movistar* and *Claro* offer discounted rates for service between customers, so people who use their devices daily (i.e., students, businesspersons, professionals) keep SIM cards for each.

sources than indicators of rising status. But *home stereo system* (2.53), *celebrate all holidays* (2.57), and *home furnishing* (2.76) involve material goods and lifestyle practices that are more accessible to people with a stabilized economic base. Several items of moderate importance also include ideas about community involvement and social support. *Participate in the harvest festival* (2.86), *collaborate with migrant association* (2.80), *coparents in Trujillo* (2.78), and *collaborate with families in need* (2.66) are perceived by many to be vital reciprocal obligations as Chugurpampans, while others emphasize the economic burdens of becoming so integrated.

The lowest-rated items (< 2.50), those generally considered not important or somewhat important, are mostly ancillary household artifacts that vary in their use-value between gender, age, and SES groups: *oven* (2.40), *automatic washer* (2.35), *multiple cell carriers* (2.31), a *cell phone contract* (2.30), *personal transport access* (2.30), *cable television* (2.29), *freezer* (2.27), *microwave* (2.24), *WiFi* (1.96), *tablet* (1.72), and *smartphone* (1.58). Several leisure activities are rated low despite their frequency in migrants' lives: *go to the beach* (2.44), *attend parties* (2.11), *eat restaurant food* (1.95), *drink beer* (1.82), and *have beer vendor nearby the house* (1.55). *Visit other countries* (2.42) and the migration goal *being mayordomo of the harvest festival* (2.18) also vary in importance, but generally still have low ratings overall.

Cultural consonance scores reported in **Table 10.11** are first analyzed as a simple raw count of the 79 items and then weighted by the cultural answer key (**Table 10.12**) for further analysis. Average raw consonance is 48 items (range: 26-70) with no major differences by gender or age; the higher average among high-SES respondents is not significant. The weighted consonance score ranges from 80.3-199.5 with a mean of 141. Average weighted scores are higher among men and younger respondents, but the only significant differences are by SES:

mean consonance scores are 15% lower among low-SES persons, which includes more than half of all respondents (55.7%).

Figure 10.1 is a scatterplot of normal scores for cultural consonance and socioeconomic status. Immediately noticeable is that the two variables are positively correlated, which is not surprising, given their known connection in the cultural consonance literature. This could indicate that SES and consonance will have similar effects on psychological outcome variables. But perhaps less obvious from the scatterplot, is the fact that women are both the lowest-SES and highest-SES persons in the sample, as well as among the least and most consonant. In contrast, the differences in consonance and SES scores among male respondents are lower than those for women, while the two most consonant participants overall are men. Collectively, these data imply an importance of, and possible relationship among, cultural consonance, SES, and gender.

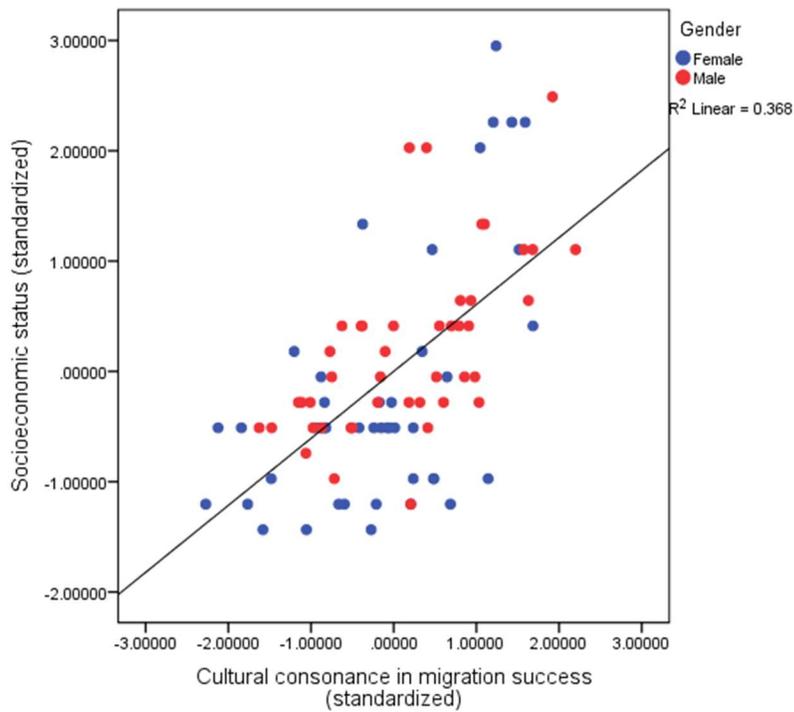


Figure 10.1. Scatterplot of cultural consonance in Chugurpampan Migration Success and socioeconomic status with gender indicated.

Weighted cultural consonance scores are partitioned into quartiles to visually compare with mean scores for depressive symptoms (CESD-R) and perceived stress (PSS-14) (**Figure 10.2**). Generally, average measures for each scale decrease across the four consonance groups, which is to say that people with higher consonance tend to have fewer depression symptoms and perceived stress, while those with lower cultural consonance score higher on the psychological scales (i.e., greater distress). This pattern is not only visible across all quartiles, it is present between them as well. Further inspection also reveals that while there is little variation between average scores for CESD-R and PSS-14 across consonance groups, the first and second quartiles (lowest consonance) report greater depressive symptoms than perceived stress, while the reverse is true for the third and fourth quartiles (highest consonance). However, the only significant differences are for CESD-R between first and fourth quartiles (One-way ANOVA, $p < 0.05$).

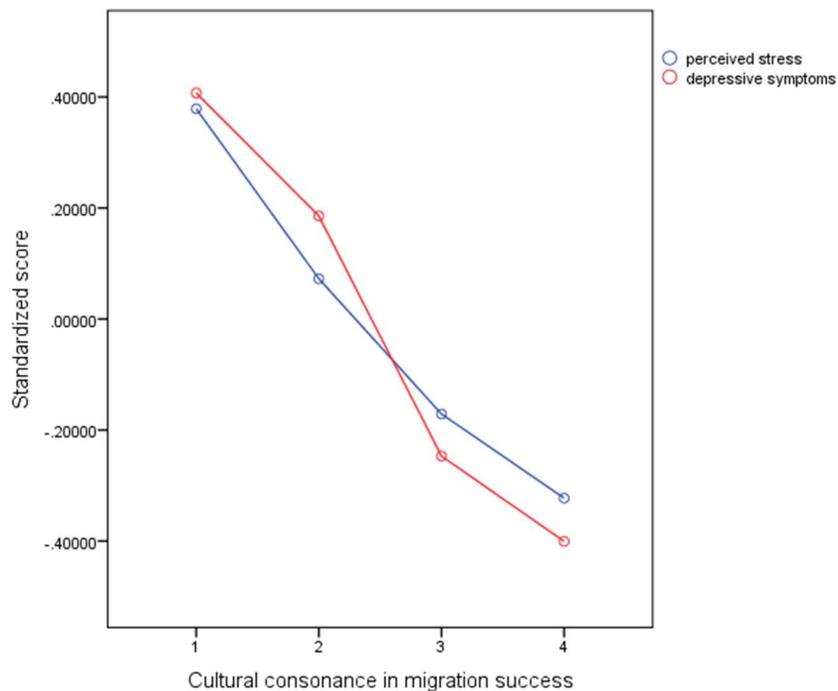


Figure 10.2. Comparison of psychological outcomes by cultural consonance quartiles.

Results of whole network analysis are reported in **Tables 10.13** and **10.14**, including network-level structural measures for the network sample and partitioned by friendship, kinship, and community relations. A visual representation of network results are also illustrated in **Figure 10.3**. There are 2,961 arcs (directed ties) sent of a potential 7,656 (88×88 matrix less diagonal). Relations among participants represent a moderately dense network sample (38.7%) with a single component (full-connectedness), fairly centralized structure, and moderate-to-high closure. Mean weighted in-degree (arcs received) is 184.3 ± 7.0 (range: 8-457), while the low mean distance between nodes (1.63 ± 0.52) could translate to shorter channels of transmission.

Table 10.13. Structural attributes of the network sample and by friendship, kinship, and community ties.

	Global Network	Friendship Network	Kinship Network	Community Network
total arcs	2,961	697	1,749	517
arc reciprocity	0.601	0.324	0.627	0.132
bi-directional arcs	890	113	548	34
network density	0.387	0.091	0.228	0.068
components	1	25	3	20
connectedness	1.000	0.734	0.955	0.777
fragmentation	0	0.266	0.045	0.223
degree centralization	0.545	0.377	0.425	0.248
mean weighted in-degree (\pm sd)	184.3 ± 97.0	36.8 ± 30.8	125.3 ± 14.0	22.2 ± 14.0
(range)	(8-457)	(0-152)	(0-304)	(0-92)
mean distance (\pm sd)	1.63 ± 0.52	2.36 ± 0.78	1.95 ± 0.66	2.86 ± 1.03
diameter	3	5	4	6

In all, there are 28 unique relations offered by respondents, almost two thirds of which are kinship ties (1,749 arcs), including *nuclear*, *affinal*, *extended*, and *ritual* kin. Extended family relations are the largest network category, both among kinship ties and total relations, accounting for more than half of arcs overall. The remaining kin ties combined do not constitute more than 10% of the entire sample. Structurally, the kinship relations share many characteristics with the

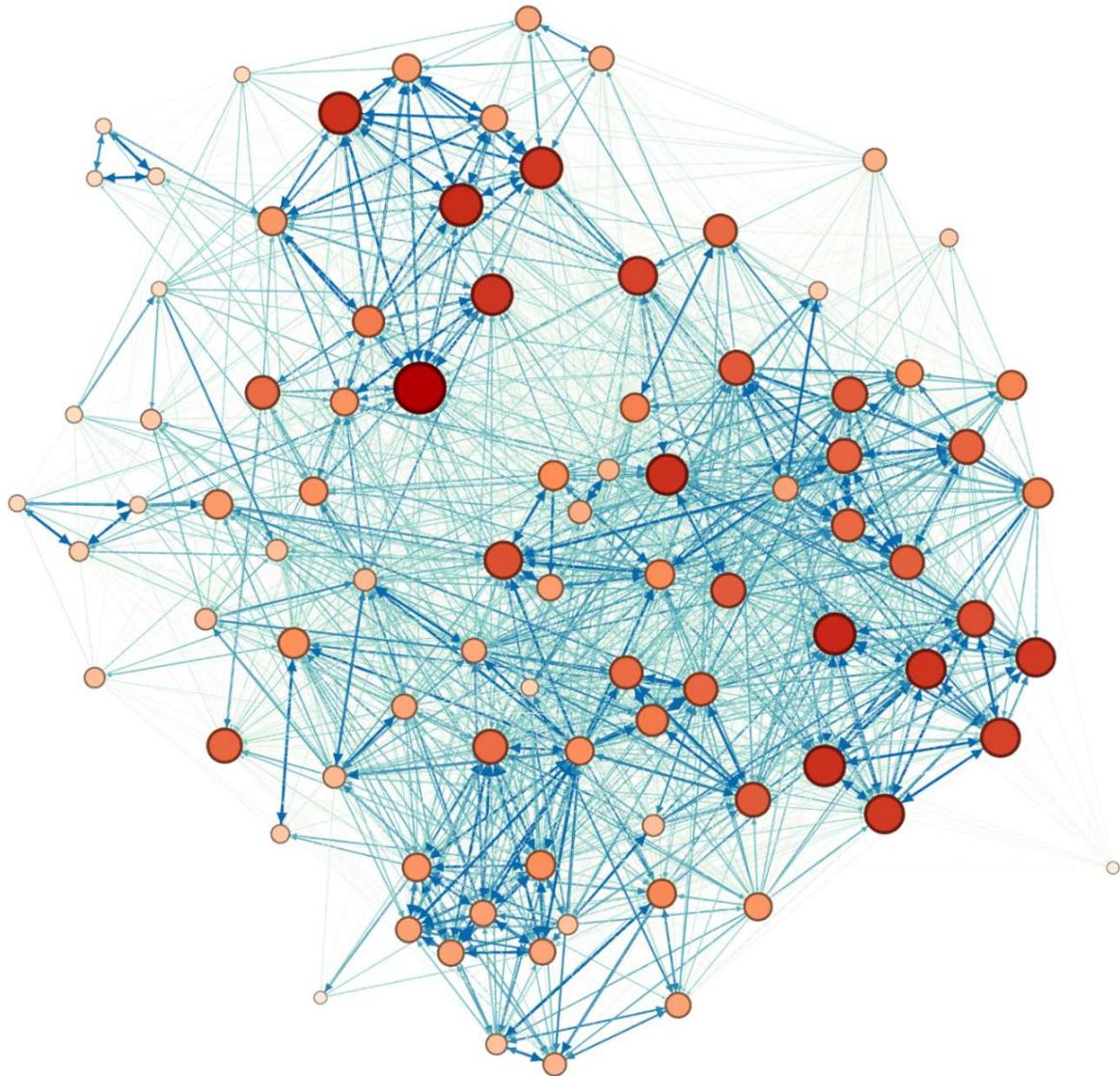


Figure 10.3. Visual representation of the network sample ($n=88$) with node color (red palette) and size showing weighted in-eigencentrality and arc color (blue palette) and thickness depicting weighted tie strength. The network layout is determined using a force-based algorithm in which linked nodes attract and non-linked ones are repelled.

entire network sample, which is not surprising considering the frequency and diversity of kin ties. It is also about 16% less dense than the global network and contains four total components versus three. But it still retains a somewhat centralized structure with moderate closure and a relatively low mean distance (1.95 ± 0.66).

Table 10.14. Relational ties sent during whole network analysis among n=88 participants in second interview.

Friendship ties	697 (23.5%)
Kinship ties	1749 (59.0%)
<i>Nuclear Extended</i>	212 (7.2%)
mother	19
father	10
daughter	11
son	18
sibling	121
half-sibling (mother)	1
half-sibling (father)	2
first cousin	27
grandparent	1
grandchild	2
<i>Nuclear Affinal</i>	33 (1.1%)
spouse (f)	3
spouse (m)	3
sibling-in-law	9
ex-spouse	2
ex-sibling-in-law	14
<i>Familial Extended</i>	1497 (50.6%)
aunt	231
uncle	176
niece/nephew	314
cousin (non-specific)	595
unspecified family	183
<i>Ritual Co-parenthood</i>	5 (0.2%)
godparent	1
co-parent	4
Community ties	517 (17.5%)
<i>Community incidental</i>	59 (2.0%)
neighbor (in Chug)	21
neighbor (in Trujillo)	14
neighbor (generic)	24
<i>Scholastic incidental</i>	30 (1.0%)
teacher	1
student	16
classmate/cohortmate	13
<i>Acquaintance ties</i>	428 (14.5%)
	2,961 total ties

Hypothesis Testing

Bivariate correlations of variables for empirical testing are presented in **Table 10.15**. Generalized psychological distress (GenPsy) and depressive symptoms are inversely correlated with gender, and positively with health locus of control (HLOC). CESD-R and PSS-14 are also negatively associated with cultural consonance, but neither instrument is significantly correlated with embeddedness. Age is inversely related to SES and positively associated with HLOC and embeddedness, while gender correlates positively with SES and embeddedness. SES and cultural consonance are strongly correlated, which is consistent with the positive association presented in **Figure 10.2**. HLOC is negatively associated with both cultural consonance and embeddedness, the latter two being positively correlated variables.

Table 10.15. Bivariate correlations of test variables for hypothesis testing.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1: GenPsy	--							
2: CESD-R	.822**	--						
3: PSS-14	.822**	.351**	--					
4: age	.069	.105	.008	--				
5: gender	-.329**	-.351**	-.191	.190	--			
6: SES	-.201	-.196	-.135	-.244**	.297**	--		
7: HLOC	.237*	.227*	.163	.356**	-.147	-.201	--	
8: CCons	-.403**	-.333**	-.329**	-.044	.163	.559**	-.263*	--
9: Embed	.107	-.087	-.208	.229*	.245*	.138	-.339**	.303**

Tables 10.16 – 10.18 present separate regression models of depressive symptoms, perceived stress, and generalized psychological distress as outcome variables controlling for age, gender, SES, and HLOC, with cultural consonance and embeddedness as predictors. In the regression model for CESD-R (**10.16**), gender is the only significant predictor (-.309), but there is a weak partial correlation for cultural consonance (-.261) in Bloc 1. When consonance is

Table 10.16. Multiple regression of depressive symptoms controlling for age, gender, SES, and HLOC with cultural consonance and embeddedness as predictors (* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.)

	Bloc 1	Bloc 2	Bloc 3
age	-.035	-.007	-.061
gender	-.309**	-.307**	-.341**
ses	-.084	.086	.089
locus of control	.177	.122	.180
cultural consonance	[-.261*]	-.300*	-.327*
embeddedness	[.085]	[.137]	.145
R	.401	.467	.483
R ² adjusted	.118	.167	.172

added in Bloc 2, the effect size increases (-.300) without altering the effect size of gender (-.307), and explains 16% greater variance than Bloc 1. For Bloc 3, embeddedness does not significantly predict depressive symptoms, but its inclusion increases the effect size of gender (-.341) and cultural consonance (-.327) on CESD-R, which remains significant despite modest overall gains to explained variance.

In the regression model with PSS-14 as the outcome variable (**10.17**), gender (-.163) is only significant when cultural consonance is also in the model (-.354), which is a moderate inverse predictor of perceived stress in Bloc 2. Similar to the regression model for depressive symptoms, there is a partial correlation of cultural consonance with perceived stress in Bloc 1. While its effect size increases in Bloc 2, the inclusion of embeddedness in Bloc 3 makes gender not significant, and decreases the effect size of cultural consonance (-.342) despite an uptick in explained variance.

The regression model for the combined generalized psychological distress variable (**10.18**) is similar to the model for CESD-R, in that gender and cultural consonance are again consistent significant predictors of generalized distress across blocs; there is also a moderate partial correlation of cultural consonance with GenPsy in Bloc 1 [-.345]). But the effect sizes of

gender for each bloc are lower than those in the CESD-R model, while the opposite is true for cultural consonance. Moreover, while there is no significant partial correlation for embeddedness in Bloc 1 (-.061) or Bloc 2 (.137), inclusion of the variable in Bloc 3 again strengthens the effect sizes of gender and cultural consonance, although the increase to explained variance is minor.

Table 10.17. Multiple regression of perceived stress controlling for age, gender, SES and HLOC with cultural consonance and embeddedness as predictors (* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.)

	Bloc 1	Bloc 2	Bloc 3
age	-.097	-.064	-.040
gender	-.164	-.163	-.148
ses	-.079	.121	.119
locus of control	.158	.093	.068
cultural consonance	[-.291*]	-.354**	-.342*
embeddedness	[-.105]	[.137]	-.058
R	.259	.382	.386
R ² adjusted	.018	.090	.081

Table 10.18. Multiple regression of generalized distress controlling for age, gender, SES, and HLOC with cultural consonance and embeddedness as predictors (* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.)

	Bloc 1	Bloc 2	Bloc 3
age	-.080	-.043	-.061
gender	-.288*	-.286**	-.297**
ses	-.099	.125	.127
locus of control	.204	.131	.151
cultural consonance	[-.345**]	-.398**	-.407**
embeddedness	[-.061]	[.137]	.050
R	.397	.507	.509
R ² adjusted	.114	.209	.200

Figure 10.4 visually depicts the association of cultural consonance, generalized distress, embeddedness, gender, and SES. Immediately noticeable is that high cultural consonance (+0.5 sd) is almost exclusively an attribute of high SES respondents, who are again, about 75% male. But the women among this group are also embedded relative to others in the sample as well as

the most men. Perhaps most interesting, is that there is much greater variance in distress levels among low consonance persons, who report high and low levels. But those who are most distressed appear less embedded and are more likely to be female, possibly reflecting the increases in effect size to gender and cultural consonance when embeddedness is included in Bloc 3 of the regression model for generalized distress (**Table 10.18**).

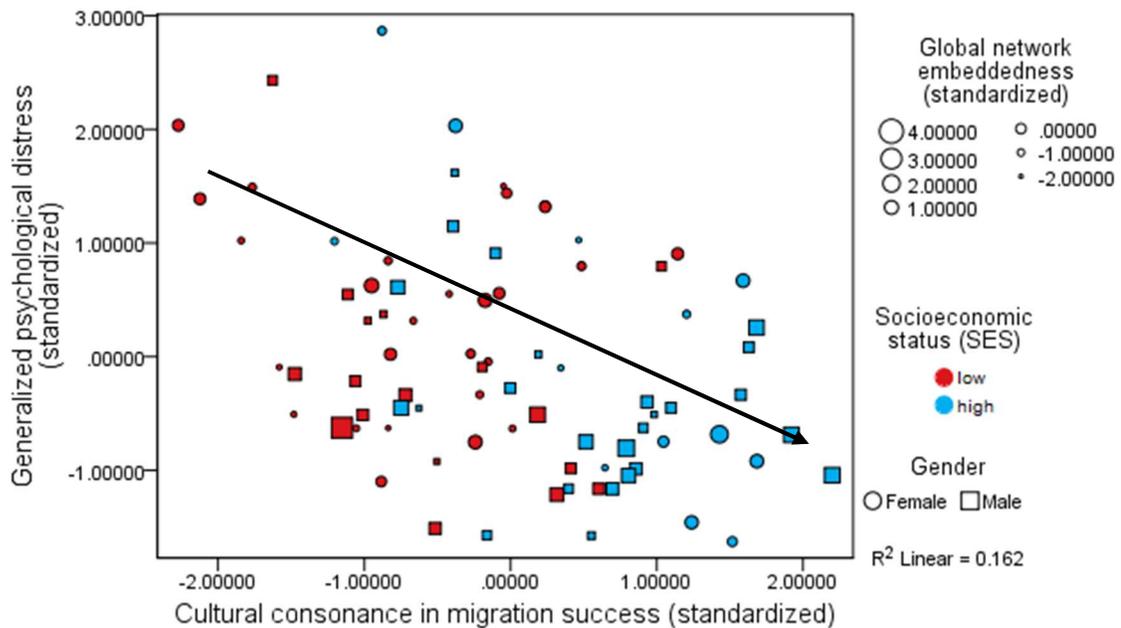


Figure 10.4. Association of cultural consonance, embeddedness, and generalized psychological distress with socioeconomic status and gender represented by color and shape with regression fit line shown.

Results for the first interaction effect are reported in **Table 10.19**. Gender is the only significant predictor among Bloc 1 control variables (-.329), although there is a significant partial correlation of cultural consonance (-.357). In Bloc 2, the addition of consonance, embeddedness, and the interaction variable augments the effect size of gender (-.361), but only cultural consonance (-.339) significantly predicts depressive symptoms, while embeddedness and the interaction variables do not. However, **Figure 10.5** illustrates the explanatory value of the interaction variable. Embeddedness enhances the effect of cultural consonance when scores for

Table 10.19. Interaction effect of cultural consonance and embeddedness on depressive symptoms controlling for age, gender, SES, and years on coast with standardized coefficients reported * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

	Bloc 1	Bloc 2
age	-.057	-.099
gender	-.329**	-.361**
SES	-.130	.071
years on coast	.126	.176
cultural consonance	[-.357**]	-.339*
embeddedness	[-.013]	.048
consonance × embed	[-.195]	-.146
B ₀	15.3 (se=1.1)	--
B ₁	--	15.5 (se=1.1)
R	.380	.499
R ² adjusted	.100	.178

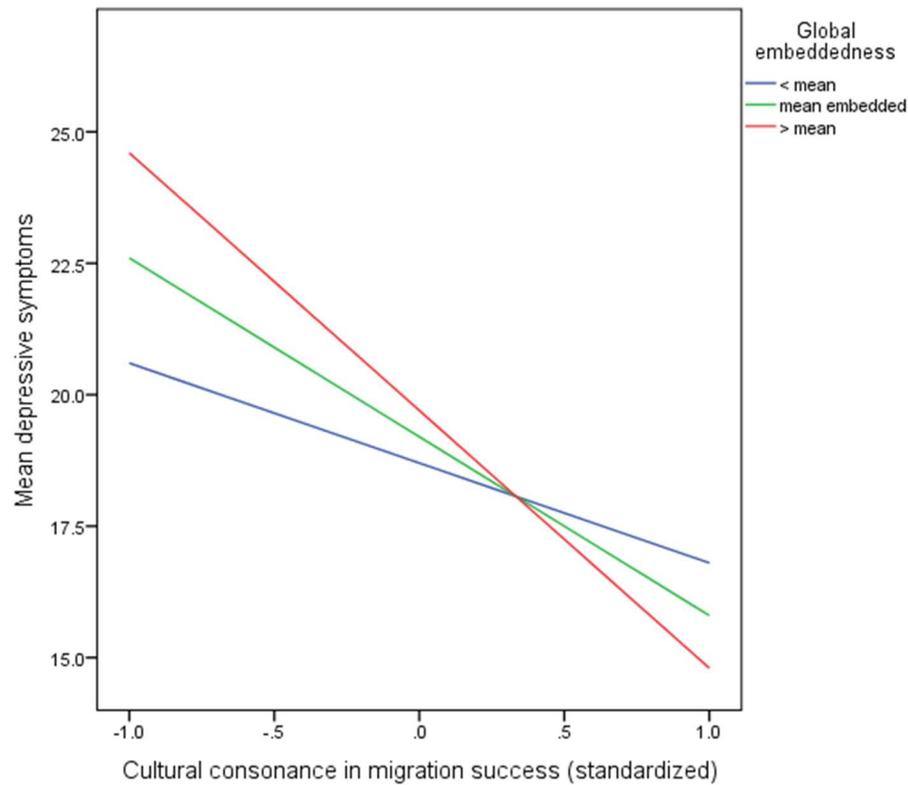


Figure 10.5. Interaction of cultural consonance and embeddedness on mean depressive symptoms.

the latter are a standard deviation above the mean, but they are inversely related in all other circumstances. Essentially, there appears to be no effect of embeddedness for persons with average consonance, other than perhaps a minor increase in mean depressive symptoms. However, people who are highly embedded but have low cultural consonance are the most depressed overall. In other words, being embedded among other high-embedded migrants (i.e., having ample access to social resources) and *still* not being consonant with shared expectations may say more about that specific group of people than the entire community.

Table 10.20 tests the second interaction effect of cultural consonance and years on coast on mean depressive symptoms controlling for age, gender, and SES. Gender (-.321) and cultural consonance (-.329) remain significant inverse predictors of depressive symptoms, with relatively equivalent effect sizes. The interaction variable (-.180) is significant in this model within $p < .10$, which is depicted in **Figure 10.6**. Generally, cultural consonance appears to inversely predict CESD-R regardless of how long respondents have been on the coast. However, recent arrivals (-1 sd) have the least variance in mean depressive symptoms, whereas people with long histories on the coast (+1 sd) have the greatest. In other words, the highest depression scores are among people who have lived on the coast for more than two decades and are *still* low consonance. Like the prior interaction effect of cultural consonance and embeddedness, this finding may suggest more about that group of people or household than the entire community.

Table 10.21 tests the interaction of socioeconomic status and embeddedness on average cultural consonance controlling for age, gender, and years on coast. Years on coast (.267) is the only significant control variable, positively predicting cultural consonance, although there are partial correlations of socioeconomic status (.557) and embeddedness (.284). But the significance of years on coast drops off once the latter two variables are entered along with the interaction

Table 10.20. Interaction of cultural consonance and years on coast on depressive symptoms controlling for age, gender, and SES * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

	Bloc 1	Bloc 2
age	.022	-.074
gender	-.318***	-.321***
SES	-.105	.079
cultural consonance	[-.329**]	-.329**
years on coast	[.126]	.182
consonance \times years	[-.213**]	-.180*
B_0	15.4 (se=1.1)	--
B_1	--	15.4 (se=1.1)
R	.367	.507
R ² adjusted	.101	.198

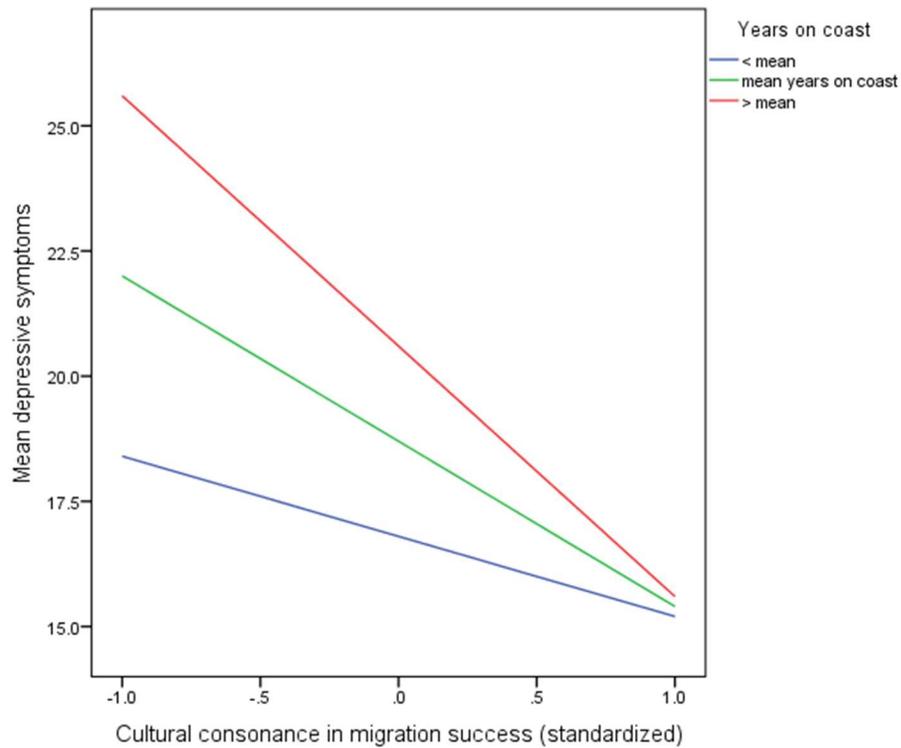


Figure 10.6. Interaction of cultural consonance and years on coast on mean depressive symptoms.

Table 10.21. Interaction effect of socioeconomic status and embeddedness on cultural consonance controlling for age, gender, and years on coast * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.00$

	Bloc 1	Bloc 2
age	-.168	-.020
gender	.131	-.048
years on coast	.267*	.077
SES	[.557**]	.529**
embeddedness	[.284*]	.224*
SES \times embeddedness	[.113]	.090
B ₀	141.0 (se=2.8)	--
B ₁	--	141.0 (se=2.4)
R	.274	.617
R ² adjusted	.042	.335

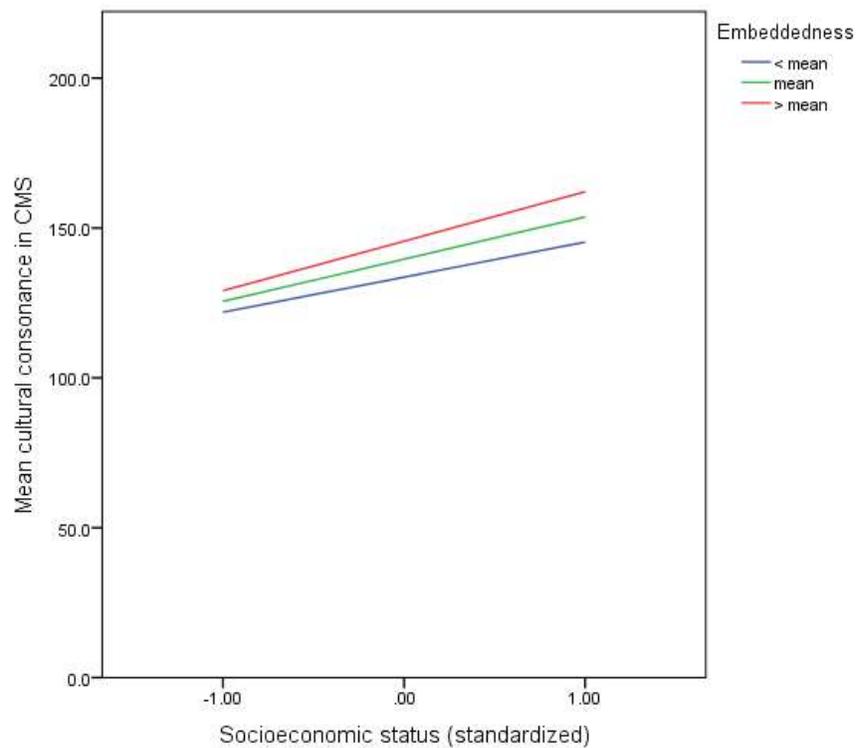


Figure 10.7. Interaction of socioeconomic status and embeddedness on mean cultural consonance.

variable, the latter which is not significant. SES and embeddedness appear to positively predict cultural consonance independently, though the effect size of the former is nearly twice that of the latter (**Figure 10.7**). This means that embeddedness is not interacting with SES, although the two variables share similarities in their effect on cultural consonance. Namely, respondents with the lowest consonance scores tend to be low SES and poorly embedded, while highest consonance scores correlate with high SES and greater embeddedness.

Chapter Eleven

Discussion

Medical anthropology has long sought to explain how the social sphere shapes individual health (Panter-Brick and Eggerman 2018). This transdisciplinary problem is of interest to many social health researchers studying migration and culture change (Levin and Browner 2005), as migrants are known to experience a mismatch between cultural models learned in their initial socialization and those dominating new settings (Cassel et al. 1960). For those undergoing rapid sociocultural change without adequate resources or support (Cobb 1976), this cultural incongruity is a risk factor for elevated blood pressure, psychological distress, and risky lifestyle behaviors, which can lead to more severe, chronic physical and mental illness if left unmanaged.

Dressler's (2018) theory of cultural consonance captures this discrepancy in a single, measurable variable, and across nearly 30 years of research on the construct, two things are abundantly clear. As a concept and measure of congruity with shared expectations, cultural consonance captures how individual behavior reflects knowledge that is collectively meaningful within a social group. Second, low cultural consonance is a known predictor of several physical and psychological markers associated with the human stress process. Aside from these insights, very little is known about what drives cultural consonance other than age, gender, and high socioeconomic status, but even these demographic attributes are context dependent.

This dissertation therefore investigates how embeddedness shapes cultural consonance and associated health outcomes. My aim is to determine if being embedded within a migration network of kinship, friendship, and community ties influences migrants' personal attainment of

desirable cultural goals, and whether it further impacts their encounters with stressors of rapid culture change. In the previous chapter, I confirm that Chugurpampans maintain a moderate-density diaspora network of long-term kinship, friendship, and community relations. They also share a single culture model of “migration success,” which is to say that respondents broadly agree about the most ideal outcome of migration.

I also present results of cultural consonance analysis, whole network analysis, and psychological outcomes, which are the main variables in empirical testing. These data are consistent with the primary hypothesis that Chugurpampans who are more embedded in the diaspora network are also more consonant with a cultural model of migration success, and therefore report fewer depressive symptoms and perceived stress. In this chapter, I discuss the meanings behind several interactions, both in relation to study respondents and the investigation of stress, culture change, and health.

A Cultural Model of Chugurpampan Migration Success

Cultural domain analysis was implemented to determine the presence of a cultural model of Chugurpampan migration success (CMS), which includes the smaller, interrelated domains of migration goals (MG) and lifestyle aspirations (LA). The contents of each were elicited using an open-ended interview containing embedded free-lists to explore migrants’ aims, reasons, and motivations for emigrating, along with material goods and leisure activities they consider vital or desirable for living well in Trujillo. This was followed in the second interview with a rating task of all 79 items across both domains, to empirically assess the distribution of knowledge-sharing surrounding a single cultural model of CMS. While data satisfy the one-culture assumption of

cultural consensus, it was not initially clear if migration goals and lifestyle aspirations are separate models, or if they capture different elements of an overarching one.

Chugurpampans do not identify as migrants, so when free-listing for the migration goals domain, I specifically did not reference migration. Instead, I asked why Chugurpampans “are leaving behind” (*están dejando*) their hamlet, how long they “have been living” (*están viviendo*) in Trujillo, and whether they (collectively) have objectives, aims, or aspirations “for coming” (*para venir*) to Trujillo. In doing so, I was attempting to capture broad push-pull reasoning and individual motivations for highland-to-coastal migration without alluding to the domain itself. In Chapter Four, I detail that migration goals and lifestyle aspirations are inherently economic domains involving culturally constructed ideas for *relative* and *ideal* standards of decency. As a result, there is much overlap between them. While the domains are qualitatively different, and each independently satisfies the one-culture assumption of cultural consensus, their similarities are more evident than their contrasts, which is why I analyzed them separately before combining them into a single cultural model of CMS.

For instance, the highest rated items in each model center around an assortment of push-pull motivations related to the breakdown of the highland agrarian system and quest for well-being. These ideas emphasize the need to make ends meet and attain a common standard of decency (e.g., access to utilities, health care, eating well, having family nearby, a place to stay, support networks, a diaspora community in Trujillo, money to afford expenses, etc.). Several moderately rated items are also present for both models, but these revolve more around an *ideal* standard of decency that comes from long-term *superación* (economic advancement), such as a good job, homeownership, a family, owning a business, and a professional career. Importantly, some people do not have to attain a common standard of decency before reaching the ideal. But

for those who do, these individuals are still so deeply connected to their own subsistence, that their only tangible goals or motivations for doing anything are survival, at least until their economic base stabilizes. This is not to say they are unaware of such opportunities, so much as they are not directly concerned with intangible aims when hunger is a daily threat.

The lowest rated items also offer evidence in support of this conclusion. They are most compelling because they emphasize an interconnectedness of highland and coastal households, but in ways that are more suggestive of traditional vertical articulation than a linear process of rural-to-urban migration (Hirsch 2018; Murra 1984; Oths et al. 2018). In the initial MG free-list, there are several low salience items grouped as *visiting the coast*, which highlight an emic and integrative spatial orientation of the highland-coastal corridor. Phrases such as “pass the time,” “come and go,” and “the coast is the mouth of the highlands” are subtle indicators of perceived links between highland and coastal regions. The six unique migration goals are also suggestive of a social and cultural reality in which Chugurpampa and Trujillo are merely dissimilar places in the same translocal space (Appadurai 1995; Gielis 2009; Greiner 2011). These items relate to the collective advancement of Chugurpampa and its people, such as reinvesting coastal earnings back into agriculture, learning a career to work in the highlands, or keeping up reciprocal obligations with the network through collaboration and support.

Results are indicative that Chugurpampans do not think in terms of migration, but rather in terms of household, family, and community (usually in that order), and doing whatever is necessary to fulfill their obligations within each sphere. In this way, data demonstrate the continuity of adaptive vertical strategies and support Massey’s (1990) claim vis-à-vis the inadequacies of neoclassical economics to account for the cyclical, circular, and reciprocal flows of people, resources, and knowledge in migration (Durand and Massey 2010; Lomnitz 1977;

Massey and Zenteno 1999; Myrdal 1957; Mabogunje 1970). As I discussed in Chapter Seven, coastal households swell in summertime (Dec-Mar) with visiting highlanders and labor migrants in between school semesters and farming seasons. They gradually filter back into the highlands once summer vacation concludes, only to be reunited with returning migrants and sources of embedded capital three months later at the June festival. Thus, there are links between highland and coast that render notions of migrating irrelevant to many.

It is possible the earliest Chugurpampans to come to Trujillo did think in these terms, or at least economic ones, as both free-lists clearly demonstrate. This is one reason why many high-SES and high-consonance persons still maintain ritualized connections to their hamlet through festival attendance and the diaspora network (Altamirano 2009; Cervone 1998; Paerregaard 2010). But most people just consider themselves mobile, an aspect of highland life that never started or stopped at any point in the last century. It had always been that way, even if pioneers dramatically changed the translocal landscape by extending their institution of mobility to the coast. In this way, pioneer migrants might be considered instigators of culture change; ones who have the economic or social capital to disengage from their native networks to realize entirely different cultural expectations than their compatriots (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993).

Henrich and Broesch (2011) have proposed the biased social transmission of knowledge. They theorize that when people learn, they do not randomly seek out knowledge, but search in a biased way for those who most embody group expectations. These persons are granted prestige by others based on the shared perception of their proficiency, which enables others to narrow their search for knowledge by seeking out persons with the highest status in any meaningful social group. Thus, people do not look to the depressed as models of success, because such persons do not exemplify how successful people *ought* think and behave (Divjak and Arppe

2013; Reisberg 2015). They rely on cheerful, agreeable, gregarious, culturally consonant, and embedded persons, who carry prestige for their refined knowledge of life success and overall well-being. Dressler (2012) suggests that such a person reproduces culture in a demonstrative way, and would therefore possess greater agency relative to others; they may be capable of more easily introducing revolutionary concepts and initiating culture change.

Gender and socioeconomic status also have interesting roles in these results. There are more than twice as many high-SES men than women, who are significantly younger and engage in commercial activity at three times the rate of female respondents. In contrast, women are most likely to be low SES, job insecure, and the least educated. Initially, I interpreted these differences to be an effect of women's low SES relative to men. But women are also twice as likely to be in professional positions, and hold university degrees at three times the rate of male counterparts. Some are prominent teachers, doctors, nurses, civil administrators, accountants, and pharmacist technicians. Thus, as is captured in **Figure 10.1**, women migrants are both the least consonant and low SES respondents, as well as the highest SES, most competent, and most consonant ones.

Internal migration is a notably gendered process in which working-age men are attributed the greatest probability of lifetime economic return (de Haas 2010). The main emphasis has thus been on the mobile male migrant and his pursuit of economic survival, whereas women migrants are often relegated to secondary roles (Harris and Todaro 1970). Despite ethnographers having meticulously described the participation of highland women in small-scale mercantilism and wage labor (Ferraro 2006, 2008; Mayer 2002), migration studies often reduce their economic contributions as supplementing household subsistence rather than being equally supportive. As I detailed in Chapter Two, Andean gender relations revolve around the complementary roles of women and men in balancing productive and reproductive domains (Bourque 1995). But these

expectations change rapidly once on the coast. Male migrants increasingly adopt independent attitudes that partly stem from exposure to Latin American gender expectations of *machismo* (maleness). This situates men as strong, virile, and brave providers for their families, who are expected to enjoy independence and assert their will over their wives, families, and others of equal or lower status (Brusco 1995).

Women are expected to uphold virtues of Catholic Marianism (femaleness) as dutiful wives and devoted mothers (Valencia-Garcia et al. 2008). On the coast, but also across Latin America, Marianism forms the basis for the *ama de casa* (housewife) cultural archetype. It is therefore not surprising that many women respondents who are not formally employed report their occupation as *ama de casa* rather than *sin trabajo* (without work) or *no trabajo* (does not work), which further reveals the influence of coastal gender roles. In this way, *amas de casa* are the structural foundation of Chugurpampa's migration network, which explains why they are so less consonant than men overall, but most competent in the cultural model of CMS. Women do not typically come to Trujillo to realize their own migration success, but to support household members in *their* pursuit of cultural consonance. Few migrants deny that a professional career is the most secure means of economic advancement, but not everyone is interested in or capable of achieving such broad notions of success.

Women are therefore more likely to think of the long-term gains of moving to the coast, especially the prospect of someone in their household becoming a professional. Men agree no less about the utility and security of a professional path for long-term *superación*, but the bar for success among men is squarely within the market economy. Thus, with the professional career, Chugurpampan women appear to be occupying an additional niche in the migration process, one which would not be possible without the economic and social support of *amas de casas* and the

household members who support their *superación*. It would be interesting for future research to look at notions of success within each of these domains (i.e., What makes a successful *ama de casa*? How do you become successful merchants? How do you become a professional?) to assess whether the effects of high cultural consonance within any of those domains buffers against low cultural consonance in the overarching model of migration success.

The Structure of Chugurpampa's Migration Network

Social network analysis was performed to detect the boundaries of the Chugurpampa diaspora community in Trujillo and model migrant social relations to determine its network structure. A list of $N=398$ potential respondents was assembled by pairing respondent-driven personal network analysis with results of the 2012-14 recensus, and used in Phase II to conduct whole network analysis. Kinship relations are the most frequent in the network; half of all ties are sent to an extended relation, usually a non-specific cousin or aunt/uncle, while only a quarter are friendship ties and fewer than a fifth are community relations or some acquaintance. The dominance of kinship is not surprising, considering that in the original 1987-88 census, Oths (1991) recorded extensive inter-household relations among former nuclear kin (e.g., siblings, cousins) who had established their own multi-generational families.

White (1997) terms this intra-community marriage pattern structural endogamy, which echoes several ethnographic insights gained in the process of performing personal and whole network analysis, as well as participant-observation. Respondents constantly referenced "Chugurpampa's three or four big families," and so many people share paternal and maternal surnames that discerning kinship links would not have been possible without Oths' original household analysis. In small villages, kinship is therefore a fundamental institution that forms the

basis of social control, inter-household exchange, and overall community cohesion (Bolton and Mayer 1977; Brush and Guillet 1985; Maxwell 2011; Rivers 1910). In the context of migration, family relations retain their importance, whether in the case of cyclical and circular network migration or acute population movement that accompanies war, endemic violence, and natural disasters (Brettel 2015; Crivello 2011; Gallego and Mendola 2013; King and Skeldon 2010).

In a seminal anthropological work, White and Johansen (2001) paired long-term data collection with social network analysis to conduct genealogical analysis on multiple generations of Aydinli nomads in Turkey. In doing so, they systematically demonstrated the importance of kinship in the formation, maintenance, adaptation, and dissolution of societies. But Schneider (1984) and others have argued that anthropology's legacy of genealogical and kinship analysis strongly biases notions of relatedness based on Western definitions of biological ancestry (Franklin and McKinnon 2001; Peletz 1995; Sahlins 1976). The current study differs from genealogical analyses because kinship is an element of research, but not the primary focus. Respondents were not asked to detail any family relations other than the people living in their immediate household. Therefore, all network ties described are emic categories assigned by respondents, which reflect the cultural diversity and functions of social relations.

It is also worth recalling that the centrality measures and embeddedness scores are calculated for respondents from the number of ties each received. Thus, whereas previous consonance research has explored participants own perception of available social support (Dressler et al. 1997, 2005; Szurek 2011), embeddedness is a refined measure of exposure that captures *others'* perception of each respondent (Borgatti et al. 2013). These data support the structural importance and inherent limitations of human kinship in general. When family ties fail, either due to fragmentation, insufficient capital, or a lack of cultural competence, people turn to

friends and less-strong community ties (Bourdieu 1986; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). Kinship is therefore the basis of social cohesion and solidarity and the genesis for its collapse, which instigates the formation of new networks, diversification of resources, and the attainment of novel cultural knowledge that may feed back to the larger network or constitute a separate group altogether (White 1999).

It appears that in her original study, Oths (1991) captured a snapshot of a community directly before the initiation of its diasporic era. The social network data corroborate that by the late 1980s, despite the hamlet's strong community structure, the earlier dispersal of pioneer migrants beginning around 1960 put into place the structural mechanisms conducive to network migration. Thus, it was only a matter of punctuated economic and climatic events, such as privatization of lands and severe droughts in the decade after Oths' study (Oths et al. 2018), which activated the herd effect and peopling of the Trujillo diaspora community (Epstein 2008; Massey and Zenteno 1999). It is therefore difficult to state conclusively whether the event has depleted Chugurpampa or is sustaining it, especially today now that the ease of communication and mobility have, at least partially, erased the notion that internal migration breaks up families.

In the short term, these seem to benefit the greater Chugurpampan diaspora community, but it is unclear how much longer the network will sustain itself. There are signs the situation is improving. The hamlet's recent construction of a new schoolhouse and the growing participation of residents in provincial and departmental politics offer evidence for its persistence, even if most of the translocal population does not reside in the highlands. This strategy may be adaptive to the community's survival, perhaps out of sheer desperation, or possibly as what Goodman and Leatherman (1998) have called adaptive disintegration. In my opinion, whether the network will

continue to facilitate movement between Trujillo and Chugurpampa, and for how long, depends on the proportion of migrants who become professionals.

As I described in Chapter Eight, the widening socioeconomic gulf between farmers and professionals can be relevant for distinguishing active community involvement such as *polladas* (medical fundraisers), funeral costs, and social support, from ritualized forms of ceremonial participation. While the latter may well occur as a form of duty well-off migrants feel compelled to invest in their community, it does not undo that Chugurpampa is being abandoned by residents and increasingly occupied by hired hands and squatters, whose transience does nothing for local structure, governance, or for caring about the community. As a result, it is nearly impossible for residents to get others to fulfill their community duties, resulting in poor maintenance of vital infrastructure like irrigation ditches, reservoirs, and roads (Oths et al. 2012). However, as I explained in the previous section, not everyone desires a professional career. And as long as farming remains an available income-generating activity in the highlands, I predict there will be prominent *linkages* connecting households 30 years from now, but less dense than it is presently, and perhaps not an entire migration network. Then again, much of Chugurpampa's situation stems from escalating climatic changes, which makes the hamlet's future evermore uncertain.

Does Embeddedness Shape Cultural Consonance?

This project confirms the primary research hypothesis that Chugurpampans who are more embedded in the diaspora network are generally more consonant with shared migration goals and lifestyle aspirations, and suffer lower levels of mental distress than less embedded migrants. In multiple regressions for the three psychological outcomes, gender and consonance are consistent predictors, although embeddedness does not predict any of the dependent variables. Relatedly,

interaction tests of consonance and embeddedness and consonance and years on coast are not significant, although plotting them visually does reveal insights about their relationship and effect on health markers. However, the interaction test for SES and embeddedness is stimulating, in that each independently predicts cultural consonance; this suggests the two variables influence the consonance in both similar and distinct ways.

In my view, embeddedness can be beneficial or deleterious to health depending on the type of relation. Having many strong family ties is an undeniable advantage for getting a leg up, but for those already economically and socially established, they may be the person upon whom others rely. Even people with very little to offer may still be burdened by expectations of family such as affinal kin (Harvey 1994; Van Vleet 2008), while highly embedded and highly consonant people can feel the squeeze of demands from family and friends, which accompanies their social and economic rise (Portes 1998; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Villalonga-Olives and Kawachi 2017). Embeddedness can thus be costlier to people who are more consonant overall, while less-strong non-kin ties such as neighbors, schoolmates, or acquaintances are economical because they require a fraction of maintenance but broaden access to new resources (Granovetter 1973).

Coupled with the strong correlation between embeddedness and a sense of personal control (HLOC), these results suggest the most consonant persons are consciously deciding to exercise their embeddedness because of their personal successes. These are again, high-SES and educated professionals and businesspersons, many whom I discussed, are driven by a sense of ritual duty to maintain relations of reciprocity with Chugurpampan residents and migrants by redistributing their wealth through collaboration and support. But status and leadership are double-edged sword. High embeddedness may lead to high cultural consonance, but the global

perception of someone advancing economically can also increase expectations from extended family, friends, and community members.

To this end, high embeddedness, like high cultural consonance, is not necessarily something every person aims to achieve due to the obligations that accompany greater social exposure. But not all relations are so potentially costly, especially for persons with low-to-average cultural consonance and embeddedness. For many, being embedded among friends and community members confers a sense of security, not to mention people are most likely to gain access to new resources and information through less-strong community ties. This is one of the main reasons Chugurpampans have been coming to the coast in the last 30 years. Migration is a stressful situation, but when poverty is the alternative, the “decision” to migrate is less difficult.

PART IV

CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL THOUGHTS

Chapter Twelve

Research Impacts and Contributions

Medical anthropology is a conceptually and methodologically well-positioned discipline to tackle “big tent” investigations on society, culture, and health (Panter-Brick and Eggerman 2018). Human mobility is one such issue that demands the holistic, interdisciplinary, and mixed-methods gaze that anthropologists bring to study how social relations and cultural knowledge influence the well-being of those who move (Cohen and Sirkeci 2011). For too long, migration studies have been hampered by disciplinary squabbles between neoclassical economists pushing individual rational-choice models, and macro-level ecological alternatives that treat movement as a singular outcome of global political-economy (Harris and Todaro 1970; Wallerstein 1974). Massey (1990) and others have argued for a network approach to migration, emphasizing the circular, cyclical, and cumulative mechanisms that facilitate flows of people, resources, and knowledge across physical space and over time (Appadurai 1995; de Haas 2010; Greiner 2011; Kadushin 2012; Ryan and D’Angelo 2018). But it is only recently that social researchers have begun to unlock the analytic power of social network analysis to systematically evaluate how patterns of mobility are embedded in hierarchical relational structures (Bilecen et al. 2018).

In this dissertation, I demonstrate how a network approach to migration and multi-level analyses can be incorporated within the structural-constructivist lens of cognitive anthropology to explore how embeddedness and cultural consonance interactively shape immigrant health (Dressler 2001). Conceiving of migration as a translocal extension of household and community situates movement more broadly within the scope of human mobility, and emphasizes the diverse

forms of embedded capital that prospective migrants draw upon to respond to ecological pressures (Bilecen and Cardona 2018; Bojarczuk and Mühlau 2018; Cachia and Maya-Jariego 2018; Kornienko et al. 2018; Sommer and Gamper 2018). In doing so, I diverge from finite or linear views of movement in which the decision to migrate from one community to another “is taken freely by the individual concerned, for reasons of ‘personal convenience’ and *without intervention of an external compelling factor*” (UNESCO 2017, emphasis added).

To the contrary, geospatial movement is an adaptive strategy performed by individuals as members of households, and often based on the observed and expected behavior of other people and families in their community (Brown 2002; Granovetter 1985). Yet, there remains a tendency in migration studies to view modern movement patterns as exceptional from the past rather than reflections of it. Analytic demarcations are drawn based on the belief that technological advances in communication and travel have globalized migrant transnationalism, despite the fact that the trajectory of human biocultural evolution brought our species’ genetic diversity to the farthest corners of earth millennia ago (Bellwood 2013; Mulligan and Szathmáry 2017). Thus, it is curious so many researchers favor studying transnational over internal migration (King and Skeldon 2010), being as the very idea of migrating across international borders is only relevant to modern conceptions of nation-states and their purported sovereignty (Croxtton 2013).

I offer the present-day Andean institution of mobility to challenge assumptions of linear movement, of innate differences between internal and transnational mobility, and of the modern exceptionalism of contemporary commuters and movers (Cohen and Sirkeci 2011). To suggest highland groups across the Andes are experiencing culture change from migration alone, is to disregard the effects of the autochthonous system of vertical articulation and five centuries of colonial, republican, and capitalist exploitation on current mobility patterns. A recent special

issue of *Social Networks* showcases some of the revolutionary ways personal network, whole network, and dynamic network analyses are being applied in mixed-methods research to investigate the structure and function of transnational migration networks in diverse ethnographic contexts (Bilecen et al. 2018).

The current study is significant because it is the only example to my knowledge that integrates and applies the entire suite of social network methods to explore internal migration. Dynamically modeling Chugurpampa's migration network and diaspora community mirrors the conceptual formulation and functioning of a meso-level migrant network as proposed by Massey (1990) and elaborated by others (Brown 2002; de Haas 2010; Epstein 2008; Massey and Zenteno 1999; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). This dissertation seizes a rare opportunity to use whole network analysis to operationalize embeddedness as a direct measure of one's network exposure, to investigate its influence on cultural consonance and psychological well-being. While many migration scholars focus on transnational patterns because they are relevant to international law and human rights, I argue a less passive view of internal movement presents a way to investigate the structure and function of migration networks in diverse ethnographic contexts. Future research must continue to integrate social network and ethnographic toolkits to further explore the understudied domain of internal migration and how it shapes cultural success and health.

Finally, this study once again replicates the association of high cultural consonance and improved psychological outcomes as measured with CESD-R and PSS-14 psychological health surveys. In Chapter Four, I discussed how in existing studies about the only thing relevant to having high or low cultural consonance aside from age and gender is relative SES (Dressler 2018; Sweet 2010; Shultz 2014). The conceptual and methodological pairing of cognitive anthropology with social network analysis advances consonance research by uncovering an

avenue of inquiry that fits snugly within the structural-constructivist approach of biocultural medical anthropology. Socioeconomic status and embeddedness independently predict cultural consonance in similar ways, and, at least with respect to these results, neither variable appears to moderate the effect of the other on cultural consonance. However, because consonance research is notably context-dependent, future investigations should seek to replicate the association of SES, embeddedness, and cultural consonance to further explore how they shape encounters with psychosocial stressors of rapid culture change.

Limitations of the Research

This research project was developed to test the influence of migrant embeddedness on cultural consonance in migration success among an Andean diaspora community in Trujillo, Peru. The conclusions and sociocultural patterns drawn from this investigation will not apply in every instance of migration and culture change. Whether investigators choose to focus on the individual migrant, their household, the community, or global flows of people, resources, and information, the influence of existing social relations and institutions on human movement and the so-called “decision” to migrate is irrefutable (Granovetter 1985; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). However, simply assuming a network approach to migration does not automatically signify that network migration is taking place (de Haas 2010). I used personal network analysis to identify the boundaries of Chugurpampa’s diaspora community in Trujillo so I could perform whole network analysis to analyze node-level structural equivalence and network-level cohesion measures. Future research should continue to elaborate internal network mechanisms using the full range of network methods to address issues of migration and health.

Another limitation of this study is the small sample size on which significance testing was performed, even if $n=88$ accounts for more than a fifth (22.1%) of the sample population ($N=398$), while a combined 30 percent ($n=121$) were formally interviewed overall. This outcome was not for lack of trying, but rather a result of coastal households having thinned down in the winter. Chugurpampans work and study constantly, and between the no-shows, denials, strategic scheduling around drinking sessions, and existing bonds of reciprocity I had already established and was compelled to maintain, there was simply not enough time nor resources to complete any more interviews. I must state also state that I do not claim a cultural model of “Chugurpampan migration success” to be *the* model of the ideal migration trajectory. Neither am I arguing that their diaspora community is the only network in which they engage. In fact, outside of Julcán Province, most Chugurpampans are fine identifying as *Julcaneros*, especially if they want to be perceived as having come from a town versus a hamlet. Conversely, I noted in Chapter Seven that Chugurpampans do not usually intermarry once in Trujillo. Thus, these results are intended to emphasize the fluidity of sociocultural forces rather than their rigidity, while still capturing a snapshot of human health and mobility. Future research should explore these outcomes in similar and different contexts to compare migration networks and life success models cross-culturally.

Epilogue

Personal Impact and Growth

“Travel isn’t always pretty.
It isn’t always comfortable.
Sometimes it hurts, it even breaks your heart.
But that’s okay.

The journey changes you;
it should change you.
It leaves marks on your memory,
on your consciousness,
on your heart,
and on your body.

You take something with you.
Hopefully, you leave something good behind.”

—Anthony Bourdain (1956-2018)

My fieldwork in Peru was transformative. It was the most difficult and fulfilling venture I have ever accomplished in my life. I hated every minute away from the comforts of my life back home and simultaneously savored every step toward a new existence—my very own Peruvian identity: *El Gringo de El Porvenir*, to some. This research coincided with a period of transition in my own life, which I will refrain from typifying as some cliché coming-of-age experience or hero’s journey lest I inadvertently perpetuate a *white savior/noble savage* trope (this was not *Dances with Wolves*, after all). I didn’t save anyone, either. I just studied migration and health. But in my effort to understand Chugurpampans’ migration goals, lifestyle aspirations, and translocal community structure, I ended up learning quite a bit about myself.

Barbara Bode (1989) similarly described in her heart-wrenching ethnography detailing the 1970 Ancash earthquake, how documenting stories of loss helped her cope with a similar tragedy of miscarriage she experienced before venturing into the field. Chugurpampa’s story was

perhaps something I needed to experience at a time in my life when I was still blinded by the self-doubt and tenaciousness of youth. My fieldwork brought out every insecurity, every fear, every stray anxiety, and every ounce of immaturity that eroded my confidence and abilities as an ethnographer. And then it broke me. To the person who first arrived in July 2014, daily life in Peru would be a personal agony. But to the person whom I would become, the time I spent in Peru helped me identify my strengths and confront my weaknesses. It showed me how to become a more patient and empathetic person, and brought me face-to-face with the realization that I will never have complete control over myself or my destiny.

Losing my bodily autonomy and independence was the single most difficult element of fieldwork, even if most obstacles were ones of my own creation that stemmed from a hesitancy to suspend my own expectations to follow others' guidelines. This stubbornness was the first thing that needed to go, and I did not attain any lasting level of comfort in my household until accepting that I no longer had control over how my personhood was defined. For instance, no one ever wanted my technical advice despite my proclivity for technology, but because I owned a beard trimmer, I somehow became the resident hair stylist for about five to seven people each month. Doing ethnography, I lost the ability to determine my own strengths and weaknesses. All was decided by the population with whom I lived, so I was either an expert or didn't know jack squat, and never anything in between

One of the most important lessons I learned about myself is what a slow, yet thoughtful writer and worker I have become. I am thorough and take pride in continually improving myself and my craft, but the time required for careful ethnographic analysis has made its impact on my own habits and goals. Acknowledging this strength (which I once regarded a weakness) helped to solidify my confidence as an ethnographer, as if every lesson I had learned in the ten years as

a student of anthropology suddenly activated. ‘For the first time ever,’ I wrote in one early journal entry, ‘I feel like a real ethnographer. Every lesson I ever learned comes alive in the field. Ethnography is not a job; it is a 24/7 commitment to the people you study. Every nuance, comment, gesture and behavior becomes important, and you get attuned to these things and seize on opportunities like you’d always known how’ (MJS, February 7, 2015).

In the end, the best lesson I learned about myself, about living with other people, about letting go of control, and about surrendering my bodily autonomy and personhood, was that I was wrong. About what? It doesn’t matter. I was just wrong—about so many things—and overly obstinate in my youth to see the errors of my ways. Even when I *was* right, I was wrong. That’s just how it went. That’s how the experience of ethnography unraveled for me.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE ONE

PARTE UNO: INFORMACIÓN PERSONAL Y FAMILIAR

1. Nombre completo _____ Masculino Femenino
2. ¿Cuál es su fecha de nacimiento?
3. Número telefónico _____
4. ¿Cuál es su estado civil? ¿De qué parte es su pareja?
- a. Soltero/a
 - b. En una relación
 - c. Comprometido/a
 - d. Conviviente Años
 - e. Casado/a Fecha
 - f. Viudo/a Fecha
 - g. Divorciado/a Fecha
5. ¿Cuántos hijos tiene? ¿Cuáles son sus nombres y edades? ¿Dónde viven ellos?
- TOTAL:

Nombre	Sexo	Edad	Ubicación

6. ¿Cuántas personas viven en su casa? ¿Cuáles son sus nombres y edades y cuál es la relación que tienen con Ud.?
- TOTAL:

Nombre	Sexo	Edad	Relación

7. ¿Ud. es dueño(a) de la casa o alquila, es cuidador(a), o está posado(a)?
 dueño(a) _____ alquila _____ cuidador(a) _____ posado(a) _____
8. ¿Cuál es la dirección de casa? _____
9. ¿Está trabajando actualmente? Sí _____ (ir a 9a) No _____ (ir a 9b)
10. a. Por favor, describa su trabajo o carrera. ¿Es el único trabajo que ha tenido acá en Trujillo?
 b. ¿En qué trabaja cuando Ud. se emplea?
11. ¿Hasta qué grado estudió Ud.?
12. ¿Cuál es su religión?

PARTE DOS: DETALLES DE SU VENIDO A TRUJILLO

- 13. ¿Por cuáles razones sean chugurpampinos dejando del caserío suyo?
- 14. ¿Cuánto tiempo está viviendo en Trujillo? ¿Por qué vino Ud.? ¿Deseas regresar algún día para vivir de nuevo?
- 15. En general, ¿tienen los chugurpampinos algunos objetivos, metas o aspiraciones para venir a Trujillo?
- 16. ¿Qué recursos y apoyo se necesita para mudarse desde Chugurpampa a Trujillo? ¿Cuánto dinero se necesita para mudarse a Trujillo por el primer mes?
- 17. ¿Qué trabajos están disponibles para los chugurpampinos en Trujillo? ¿Qué carreras están disponibles?
- 18. Un promedio, ¿cuántos chugurpampinos viven en Trujillo? ¿En cuántas casas viven aproximadamente?
- 19. En su opinión, ¿Hay una comunidad unida de chugurpampinos en Trujillo?
- 20. ¿De qué grupos sociales, organizaciones, clubes o iglesias participan los chugurpampinos acá en Trujillo?
- 21. ¿De qué maneras participan los chugurpampinos en sus comunidades acá en Trujillo?
- 22. ¿Algunos chugurpampinos participan o tienen cargos en la política de Trujillo?
- 23. ¿Qué es lo que necesita la gente de Chugurpampa para vivir bien en Trujillo?
- 24. Para Ud. ¿Cuáles artefactos, tanto dentro como fuera de la casa, son importantes para vivir bien en Trujillo?

PARTE TRES: CENSO DE CHUGURPAMPINOS EN TRUJILLO

- 25. La última parte de la entrevista es un censo de chugurpampinos que viven en Trujillo. A continuación, voy a pedirle que me proporcione los nombres de chugurpampinos que han salido de Chugurpampa y viven en Trujillo actualmente. Ud. no tiene que conocerlos personalmente. Pueden ser su familia, amigos, conocidos, vecinos, o gente del trabajo o las iglesias. Las únicas condiciones son que hayan nacido en Chugurpampa, ellos viven en Trujillo la mayor parte del año, ellos fueran a la escuela de Chugurpampa por a lo menos el primer año, y que tengan más que 18 años.
- 26. Por cada uno de los nombres que me proporcione Ud., también indíqueme:
 - a. ...como Ud. se relaciona con ello.
 - b. ...cuántos años tiene ello.
 - c. ...en qué parte vive ello.
 - d. ...si tiene un cargo importante en la comunidad.
 - e. ...si posible, un número telefónico

Nombre	Relación	Sexo	Edad	Ubicación	Posición	Número telefónico

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TWO

I. INFORMACIÓN PERSONAL Y FAMILIAR

1. Nombre completo _____ masculino femenino
2. ¿Cuál es su fecha de nacimiento? _____
3. a. ¿Cuál es su estado civil? _____
- b. ¿Hace cuánto tiempo ha estado casado(a)? _____ número telefónico _____
 tipo de celular: celular simple _____ smartphone _____
 tipo de servicio: Movistar ___ RPM ___ Claro ___ RPC ___
- c. ¿De qué parte es su pareja? _____
4. ¿Cuántos hijos tiene? Todos viven en Trujillo? _____

5. ¿Cuántas personas viven en su casa? ¿Cuáles son sus nombres y edades? TOTAL:

Nombre	Sexo	Edad	Relación

II. DETALLES DE LA VIDA EN TRUJILLO

6. ¿Ud. es: dueño(a) de la casa, alquila, está posada, o cuidador? dueño(a) ___ alquila ___ posada ___ cuidador ___
7. ¿Cuál es la dirección de casa?
8. ¿Cuándo Ud. obtuvo el terreno y construyó la casa?
9. a. ¿Ud. trabaja? ¿En qué dedicas? ¿Cuánto tiempo lo ha tenido? ¿Es un trabajo seguro? ¿Ud. tiene un ingreso estable?
- b. ¿Ud. estudia? ¿Dónde estudia? ¿Qué estudia? ¿En qué carrera desea dedicarse?
10. ¿Hasta qué grado estudió Ud.?
11. ¿Cuál es su religión? ¿Con qué frecuencia Ud. se va a la iglesia? ¿Ud. tiene una iglesia preferida?
12. ¿Cuánto tiempo está viviendo en Trujillo? ¿Por qué vino Ud.? ¿Ud. vive en Trujillo todo el año?
13. ¿Aún tiene familia en Chugurpampa? ¿Con qué frecuencia Ud. visita a ellos? ¿Con qué frecuencia ellos visitan a Trujillo?
14. ¿Cómo Ud. venía a Trujillo por la primera vez? ¿Tenía el apoyo de familiares, amigos, o el gobierno?
15. ¿Se siente seguro(a) en su barrio en Trujillo? ¿Tiene buenos vecinos? ¿Se siente parte de una comunidad? ¿Cómo?
16. ¿Se siente que Ud. tenga el respeto de la gente de la costa? ¿Del gobierno municipal?
17. ¿En cuántas personas en Trujillo tiene confianza para llamar si haya una emergencia familiar como una enfermedad, lesión, o muerte?
18. ¿Ud. tiene compadres o padrinos en Trujillo? ¿En qué manera Ud. puede depender en ellos en tiempos de necesidad?
19. ¿Ud. colabora en las polladas acá en Trujillo?
20. ¿Alguna vez Ud. ha regresado a Chugurpampa con capital para sembrar? ¿Ud. ha vuelto a Chugurpampa con una profesión?
21. ¿Ud. va a la fiesta patronal de Chugurpampa? ¿Cómo colabora Ud. en la fiesta?
22. ¿Ud. colabora con los mayordomos o la hermandad? ¿Alguna vez Ud. ha sido el/la mayordomo(a) o el/la albero(a) de la fiesta patronal?

23. A continuación es una lista que contiene artefactos y cosas que se recogieron por preguntar a los chugurpampinos, “¿Qué cosas y artefactos son importantes y necesarios para tener una buena vida en Trujillo?” En esta actividad, voy a revisar esta lista con usted y necesito que me diga, para cada artículo, si lo sea, ‘no importante’, ‘algo importante’, ‘importante’, o ‘lo más importante’, para vivir una buena vida en Trujillo. Ud. pueda usar cada opción tantas veces como quiera.
24. A continuación, vamos a revisar la lista otra vez y necesito que me diga si Ud. tiene o no tiene cada artículo.

1	una casa propia		
2	una casa de material noble		
3	una cocina de gas		
4	un horno		
5	un refrigerador		
6	una congeladora		
7	una microonda		
8	una licuadora		
9	una arrocera		
10	las ollas		
11	los vasos y las tazas		
12	los platos		
13	los cubiertos (cucharas, cuchillos, y tenedores)		
14	las sillas		
15	las mesas		
16	una cama		
17	un comedor		
18	una casa amueblada		
19	una lavadora		
20	una plancha		
21	los servicios higiénicos		
22	una ducha		
23	un televisor		
24	un equipo de sonido		
25	una computadora		
26	una impresora		
27	un radio		
28	un tablet (una computadora táctil)		
29	los servicios (agua, luz y desagüe)		
30	el cable mágico		
31	un teléfono fijo		
32	el internet		
33	el WiFi		
34	un celular (cualquier modelo)		
35	un smartphone		
36	celulares de ambos servicios (Movistar/Claro)		
37	utilizar RPM o RPC		
38	comprar ropa y artefactos cuando es necesario		
39	comer la comida de la costa		
40	comer la comida de la sierra		

41	tener jardín		
42	tener una tienda en la calle o cerca de la casa		
43	vivir cerca de un mercado		
44	comer la comida de restaurantes cuando quiera		
45	vivir cerca de familia		
46	tener un(a) pareja		
47	tener hijos		
48	tener compadres o padrinos en Trujillo		
49	tener buenos vecinos		
50	ser parte de una comunidad		
51	tener seguridad		
52	tener respeto de gente de la costa		
53	tener transporte personal (p.ej. carro, moto)		
54	viajar a Chugurpampa cuando quiera		
55	viajar a otros sitios del Perú		
56	viajar a otros países		
57	ir a la escuela superior o escuela técnica		
58	ir a una universidad		
59	aprender otro idioma		
60	utilizar la medicina del doctor		
61	utilizar los tratamientos de la sierra (p.ej. hierbas)		
62	vivir cerca de hospital o posta médica		
63	tener un ingreso estable/un sueldo		
64	tener trabajo seguro		
65	tener un negocio o empresa		
66	ser comerciante		
67	ser profesional/tener una carrera		
68	ir a las fiestas		
69	celebrar todas las feriado del año		
70	tener vacaciones		
71	tomar las chelas		
72	tener un vendedor de chelas cerca de la casa		
73	ir a Huanchaco (o la playa en general)		
74	volver a Chugurpampa con una profesión		
75	regresar a la sierra con capital para sembrar		
76	dar colaboración (p.ej. las polladas)		
77	colaborar con la hermandad		
79	ir a la fiesta patronal de Chugurpampa		
80	ser el/la mayordomo(a) o el/la albero(a) de la fiesta patronal		

III. EVALUACIÓN DE LA SALUD

30. Presión arterial:

Sistólica _____ | Diastólica _____ | Pulso _____

31. ¿Cuánto mide? (altura) _____

32. ¿Cuánta pesa? (peso) _____

33. ¿Ud. toma las chelas? ¿Cuántos días a la semana toma Ud.?

34. ¿Fuma los cigarrillos? ¿Cuántos días a la semana fuma Ud.?

El locus de control de la salud

A continuación, voy a leer afirmaciones de actitudes sobre la salud. Por favor, indíqueme si Ud. está de acuerdo(a) o en desacuerdo(a) con cada una de las afirmaciones.

- 35. Si me enfermo, lo que haga determinará qué tan pronto me recupere.
- 36. Tengo el control de mi salud.
- 37. Cuando me enfermo me siento culpable por la enfermedad.
- 38. Si cuido de mí mismo(a) puedo evitar las enfermedades.
- 39. Si me porto bien puedo estar saludable.
- 40. Tener contacto regular con mi médico es la mejor manera que tengo yo para evitar las enfermedades.
- 41. Cuando no me siento bien debo consultar un profesional con formación médica.
- 42. Mi familia tiene mucho que ver en que me enferme o mantenga saludable.
- 43. Los profesionales de salud controlen mi salud.
- 44. Cuando me recupero de una enfermedad es por la ayuda de otras personas como los médicos, las enfermeras, la familia, y amigos que cuidan bien de mí.
- 45. Respecto a mi salud, sólo puedo hacer lo que me dice el médico.
- 46. Independientemente de lo que haga, si voy a enfermarme, me enfermaré.
- 47. La mayoría de las cosas que afectan mi salud ocurren por accidente.
- 48. La suerte es importante para definir qué tan pronto me recupere.
- 49. Mi buena salud es en gran medida una cuestión de buena fortuna.
- 50. Independientemente de lo que haga, me enfermo muy fácilmente.
- 51. Si está destinado a ser me mantendré sano(a).
- 52. La cosa principal que afecta mi salud es lo que haga yo.

Escala de percepción global del estrés

Las preguntas en este cuestionario se refieren a los sentimientos y pensamientos que Ud. ha tenido durante el último mes. Por favor, por cada pregunta indíqueme con qué frecuencia Ud. ha tenido esa sensación o pensamiento. Las opciones incluyen: nunca/casi nunca, de vez en cuando, frecuentemente, y casi siempre. ¿Se entiende?

Por favor, responde lo más rápido posible.

“En el último mes...”

53. ¿Se ha sentido molesto(a) a causa de alguna situación inesperada?

- 54. ¿Se ha sentido incapaz de controlar hechos importantes en su vida?
- 55. ¿Se ha sentido continuamente tenso(a)?
- 56. ¿Resolvió de manera exitosa las discusiones desagradables en su vida?
- 57. ¿Sintió que enfrentó exitosamente los cambios importantes que estaban ocurriendo en su vida?
- 58. ¿Confió en su capacidad para manejar sus problemas personales?
- 59. ¿Sintió que las cosas le estaban resultando como Ud. quería?
- 60. ¿Encontró que no podía resolver todas las situaciones que tenía que enfrentar?
- 61. ¿Ha podido controlar los hechos desagradables de su vida?
- 62. ¿Sintió que estaba colapsado con las situaciones que le ocurrieron?
- 63. ¿Se ha sentido molesto(a) por situaciones que estaban fuera de su control?
- 64. ¿Se ha encontrado pensando en las cosas que tiene que resolver?
- 65. ¿Ha sido capaz de manejar su tiempo bien según sus propias necesidades?
- 66. ¿Sintió que los problemas se le habían acumulado?

La escala de depresión del Centro de los Estudios Epidemiológicos E.E.U.U. — actualizado

Las preguntas en este cuestionario se refieren a los sentimientos y pensamientos que Ud. ha tenido durante la última semana. Por favor, por cada pregunta indíqueme con qué frecuencia ha sentido o ha pensado lo que le voy a leer. Las opciones incluyen: muy poco (0 a 1 día), algo (1 a 2 días), ocasionalmente (3 a 4 días), y muy frecuentemente (5 a 7 días). ¿Se entiende? Por favor, responda lo más rápido posible.

“En la última semana...”

- 67. Yo tenía mal apetito.
- 68. No podía dejar de estar triste.
- 69. Tenía dificultad para estar concentrado(a) en lo que estaba haciendo.
- 70. Me sentía deprimido(a).
- 71. Dormía sin descansar.
- 72. Me sentía triste.
- 73. No podía seguir adelante.
- 74. Nada me hacía feliz.
- 75. Sentía que fuera una mala persona.
- 76. Había perdido interés en mis actividades diarias.
- 77. Dormí más de lo habitual.
- 78. Sentía que me moviera muy lento(a).
- 79. Me sentía agitado(a).
- 80. Me sentía cansado(a) todo el tiempo.
- 81. Estaba disconforme conmigo(a) mismo(a).
- 82. Perdí peso sin intentarlo.
- 83. Me costaba mucho trabajo dormir.
- 84. Era difícil concentrarme en las cosas importantes.

APPENDIX C

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

Office for Research

Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ALABAMA
R E S E A R C H

September 22, 2014

Kathy Oths, PhD
Dept. of Anthropology
College of Arts & Sciences
Box 870210

Re: IRB Protocol # 14-014
"Culture, Social Networks, and Health among Andean Migrants
in Northern Peru"

Dear Dr. Oths:

The University of Alabama IRB has received the revisions requested by the full board on 8/22/14. The board has reviewed the revisions and your protocol is now approved for a one-year period. You have also been granted approval for the requested waivers. Please be advised that your protocol will expire one year from the date of approval, 8/22/14.

If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the IRB Renewal Application by the 15th of the month prior to project expiration. If you need to modify the study, please submit the Modification of An Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, please complete the Request for Study Closure Form.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved stamped consent/assent forms to obtain consent from your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the assigned IRB application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



Stuart Usdan, PhD.
Chair, Non- Medical Institutional Review Board

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