LA MANTA AND LA CLÍNICA: RAISING CHILDREN
IN A LIMEÑO MIGRANT COMMUNITY

By

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To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the dissertation of EMILY RENE STENDER CASILLAS find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

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Abstract

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This dissertation investigates experiences and practices of childrearing in an impoverished community of Andean migrants living in a single neighborhood in Lima, Peru. Research was conducted with families with children under five years old using observations and interviews. Parents were found to selectively change their childrearing practices in reaction to their urban cultural surroundings, while keeping many of the beliefs and methods of their natal familial experiences. Emotions of trust were key to the decisions parents made. Varying levels of trust placed in different cultural constructs, social institutions, and personal experiences determined which parenting methods participants emulated. Categories of culturally-determined systems are outlined as a way to understand the levels of value and trust placed in these systems and their impacts on practical parenting decisions among research participants.
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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the family I have created and the one I came from. Without my family, I could not have known how to strive, nor would I have had a reason to do so. My relationships with my children have given me a deeper insight into attachment, love, and the human condition. I will be forever grateful for my son’s bravery and adventurous heart as he accompanied me to Peru. My mother’s generosity, encouragement, and unwavering belief in me served to bolster my resolve during the most difficult times of this journey. She has always taught me to be a better person, and thus a better anthropologist.

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Introduction

The concept of parenting as a skill set, as a cluster of behaviors reflecting a political choice, an identity, or a lifestyle is a relatively new phenomenon in the scope of human history. Social worlds have shaped parenting behaviors throughout human history as parents have observed caregiver-child interactions in their group and learned from them. The social world has grown to include increasing numbers of people over the millennia, and that growth has accelerated in recent generations as the migration to cities has accelerated, and the mass media age has arisen. The humans who live in cities can now witness parenting activities from hordes of strangers, including migrants from around the world. Furthermore, urban environments include parenting advice from government agencies, health groups, educational entities, religious institutions, and commercial advertising campaigns.

Urban parents process this wide variety of parenting information, often contradictory, and filter it through feelings of trust, developed throughout life and under their particular socio-cultural circumstances and culture-bound beliefs about child development. These parents carry feelings of trust into a new environment filled with reasons to mistrust. The result is a parenting philosophy and behaviors that change in some ways, but only when circumstances of trust allow for it. I argue that the resultant philosophy and decisions are arrived at by way of feelings of trust and culturally driven psychological models of personhood and childrearing. The observations and interviews presented in this dissertation will show that the participating parents build trust based on
life experiences and cultural values but that the decisions are ultimately driven by emotion.

The Author’s Research Background

I studied a white, Western, middle-class parenting environment for my master’s thesis research (see Casillas 2012). The American parents I studied were highly educated, white, and mostly middle-class. That group of parents was engaged in a very conscious parenting lifestyle – full of questions, self-examinations, and options. They practiced a set of parenting methods my subjects termed “Attachment Parenting,” and met together as a group to discuss childrearing in this manner. Attachment Parenting, briefly, is typically characterized by extended breastfeeding (relative to the U.S. average), avoidance of processed foods, avoidance of technologies such as television, co-sleeping, and resistance to traditional vaccine schedules (Casillas 2012). All of these behaviors, as well as what the parents actually say about their beliefs, is a partial rejection of the medicalization of childrearing in mainstream U.S. culture. The parents in this group often used the word “natural” as a way to describe their preferred childrearing behaviors and the environment they sought to provide for their young children. They saw the parenting philosophies and behaviors proscribed by Attachment Theory as more “natural,” which to them meant that these were the parenting methods used by humans before the modern era. Medicalized parenting, which I argue is the childrearing behaviors promoted by the Western medical and psychiatric communities beginning in the early- to mid-20th century.
These parenting methods and philosophies were brought to the general American public through a series of informational pamphlets as early as the late-1800s but were popularized most widely in the early 1900s. This medicalized model had a strong focus on the prevention of disease and injury through the sterilization of the baby’s environment. The baby’s body was to be brought into adult levels of discipline through very early toilet training (beginning as early as six weeks of age), physical and emotional distance from the child in order to discourage dependency on others, and regulation of the baby’s needs by feeding and putting to sleep on a precise daily schedule. This all fit seamlessly into the era’s faith in anything that had an aura of the scientific. There was a pervasive belief among the culture’s elite that science could provide better ways for humans to live our lives, including how to raise our children (Arnup, Levesque & Pierson 1990). The medicalized model of viewing the human experience is still a key component of Western culture. However, there has been a backlash in recent decades.

Beginning with the very popular childrearing books published by pediatrician Benjamin Spock, “Dr. Spock,” and continuing through the current bestseller lists, professional childrearing advice today encourages many of the behaviors favored by Attachment Parenting, including breastfeeding, extended physical contact and being attuned to the infant’s emotional state. The Attachment Parenting community represents one component of this backlash, though there are others. One key to understanding these particular parenting phenomena is that these parenting movements are developed by and for the elite of the culture in question. These ideas then trickle down in varying ways to other members of the society. The parents who have adopted Attachment Parenting as a specific parenting method are usually economically, racially, and educationally
advantaged in the United States – as was true in the group I studied. Looking to the past, the “scientific” parenting methods popular in the early 1900s were never adopted by large swaths of the working-class, immigrant, and other non-elite American parents. In this way, these parenting methods can be seen in part as cultural trends rather than large social movements. As such, they have become exported not only to non-elite cultural minority groups within the U.S, but to societies around the world.

Messages from scientific or other biomedical authority figures about how to maximize childrearing practices are tailored to the independent-minded Westerner, with their desire to control a chaotic world (Apple 2006; Arnup, Levesque & Pierson 1990). As a group, middle-class Westerners can be eager to accept the cultural message that they can choose how to parent, and that their choices will improve their children’s lives and future prospects. All of this has collided to make the act of raising children fraught with anxiety and active decision-making for many Western parents.

I must add that I am also a white, American parent with a high level of education. Fittingly, I often related to the anxieties and active decision-making these parents discussed with me. I was attuned to the conflicted nature of what Jeannette Mageo describes as the apparent advantages and circumscribing implications of the mother identity in my culture (Mageo 2002:164).

Lima, Peru

As I planned my dissertation research, I turned to a new set of questions and away from the parenting styles I had worked with before. I approached the preparations for the dissertation research project wondering how childrearing feels for parents in a very
different socio-cultural environment from the ones I have studied before. I specifically wanted to see parenting decision-making among parents who are new to the urban, global, Western-influenced cultural world. Would these migrant parents break from the childrearing ways of their own parents, as had my thesis population? And if so, would there be any similarities in the ways those changes feel for the parents? I sought out a group of parents who were raised in environments different from urban Lima. I was seeking the experience of parenting in a life marked by cultural transition. I hypothesized that these parents would be faced with decisions that their own parents did not face, and a parenting environment that they did not witness when they themselves were growing up. What parenting behaviors would they maintain from their birth cultural environment? How would they feel about the parenting-related messaging coming at them from mass media and other non-familial sources? How would they emotionally navigate these varying parenting messages and decisions, and how would this new environment be reflected in their behaviors with their children?

The community of people I chose to study to explore these questions is the native-descendant people living in the “pueblos jóvenes” (shantytowns) of Lima, Peru. My primary informants were born and raised in the rural Peruvian Andes and moved to Lima as young adults. This particular community is comprised almost entirely of people of Quechua descent, hailing from the Quechua-speaking parts of Peru once controlled by the Incan empire. They all began their lives as parents in the city, both culturally and geographically far from where they were raised. The relative uniqueness and isolation of my informants’ natal cultural communities is a sharp contrast to the homogenizing forces of the urban coast, as is the Western individualist and biomedical lifeways. Furthermore,
the urban context is especially interesting for my work because it is the location of complex interactions between different cultural systems. Postmodern parents in industrialized societies have a wide variety of potential sources for parenting models. It was my initial hypothesis that, like the American parents I studied, the parents in my dissertation research would also seek out a variety of sources of information and combine them in personally unique ways.

Bourque and Warren (1981) argue that each Andean community is distinct and can be considered a culture group on its own. Simultaneously, they are loosely under an “umbrella” of cultures that are changing in similar ways over time and have a shared cultural heritage in a more general sense. In this current era, there is a moderate degree of homogeneity across the very large Andean region. However, in some ways it can be argued that the rugged terrain caused each village to be a small culture group within itself. Today, the people of the Andean region are mainly of the group called Quechua. This group term also serves as an identity marker for migrants living outside of the Andes. While the Inca Empire stretched to the Pacific Ocean, the coastal region is not considered the traditional homeland of the Quechua people. The subjects of my study referred to themselves as people from the mountains (the Sierra) and Quechua people in interchangeable ways. Writers use the word indigenous (indigeno/a) to describe people such as my study participants but they did not use it to describe themselves in the course of our conversations.

Rural Andean villages are not completely insular and isolated. They of course have information coming from outside communities – information that includes childcare practices, healthcare recommendations, and examples of different ways to organize a
family. Relative to the coastal capital, the rural Andean villages of Peru have much less contact with medical, psychological, and child development professionals or their childrearing advice. However, in Lima childrearing advice from medicalized sources abounds. A medicalized model of childrearing, having arisen in the West, takes a new form as it arrives in Peru on the heels of countless other cultural practices and beliefs. Medicalization in Peru bears many of the same hallmarks as medicalization in the United States: increased rates of hospital births, routine pediatrician visits, parenting classes, and public health campaigns (Fort 1989; Fraser 2008). These all interact, though, with the preexisting beliefs and practices of the region.

The parents I studied in my previous research resisted medicalization, but it is so ingrained in their culture and in their own upbringings, that they were often unaware of its presence or ramifications. To answer my current study questions, I needed to work with a population that is not “native” to the medicalized or Westernized model of childrearing. To the extent that they were familiar with these messages before arriving in the city, they were likely more aware of the foreignness of them. Existing studies indicate to me that new Limeños alter their childrearing practices piecemeal as they spend more time in the city (e.g. Lobo 1982; Bourque & Warren 1981). Newer residents from the rural regions keep many of their practices, at first only making alterations that city life requires. These first practices to change would include reducing childrearing behaviors that cannot be done simultaneously while a mother works outside the home. For example, working women might reduce breastfeeding duration due to employment outside the home.
Studying those who have been both part of an extremely small scale, insular community, and part of a globalized, urban, diverse environment provides insights into the ways in which medicalization and Westernization of attachment, infant care, and childrearing overall affect populations around the world.

I do not treat my study’s informants as representatives of all Andean or Quechua people. Rather, like Andeanists Bourque and Warren (1981), I argue their experiences are able to provide us with a general sense of people from that part of the world. I will also describe them in-depth as individuals, in the hopes that their stories, though unique, can provide insights into others in similar situations.

Notes about Language Choice

Last names in Peru, as in many of the regions formerly colonized by Spain, are passed down differently than in the United States. Children inherit the paternal surname of both their mother and father. The father’s paternal surname comes before the mother’s paternal surname. Everyone commonly uses both of their surnames but will use their paternal surname when only one name is called for. Women almost never change their surnames upon marriage and in fact several friends told me this is a ridiculous and outdated practice that conveys a husband’s ownership over his wife. Conjugal families consequently do not all share a surname. For this text, I have not followed the Peruvian naming practice when I chose pseudonyms for my research participants. Since names and lineages are not an important part of my work, I chose to simplify the process for American readers by giving each conjugal family a single surname. In this text, you will
read about the Rodriguez and Villa families most frequently though in actuality the real members of these households use different surnames from each other.

Readers will notice that I usually use the word ‘parent’ when discussing childrearing in Cerrito de las Cruces. The families I worked most closely with were composed of adults with their biological children. However, the theories I present in this text are not exclusive to parent-child relationships and instead apply much more broadly to adopted children and other close caregiver relationships. Attachment theorists, as will be discussed in more depth in chapter three, have evidence showing no difference in child-caregiver bonding between biological or non-biological childrearing relationships.

**Chapter Organization**

I begin this dissertation with a description of the community and the families I worked with, including a particularly in-depth picture of the family who would become my primary informants. I will show what these individuals can teach us about the experience of families in their cultural community and what might be extrapolated to the wider world of human parenting. Chapter One will describe the community my informants live in – a shantytown in Lima that I call Cerrito de las Cruces. In this chapter, I will position the community within the larger urban landscape, and in our globalized, postmodern world. I will also demonstrate how the physical and political environments in which my informants live affect their experience of childrearing and the decisions they make.

In Chapter Two I introduce the Rodriguez family whose matriarch was my primary research subject. The chapter will also paint a picture of the cultural environment
in Cerrito. This family will provide the central focus around which this text explores childrearing in this small community, and interrogates Western theories about child development, culture, and psychology. In this chapter, we will see what their home lives and daily routines are like, as well as hear from Milagros, the mother, about raising her children. This chapter will also explore some of the physical objects used in childrearing in Cerrito de las Cruces. The objects used by parents both reflect the childrearing beliefs of the group and guide the upcoming generations toward the behaviors and underlying beliefs the group supports. In the community we are discussing, some of these childrearing artifacts make significant statements about individual identity, childrearing philosophies, and the cultural politics of Lima.

The guiding methodology of this study is the person-centered methods that come from psychological anthropology. Close studies of individuals provide valuable insights that are the foundation for understanding the larger-scale social forces of our world (LeVine 2010; Quinn & Strauss 2006; Linger 2005). Robert LeVine (2010) argues that interpretation of behavior in anthropology is dependent on careful observations of “critical incidents” in a participant’s life and intensive fieldwork to provide the context for these incidents. He further argues that studies of mothers and children benefit especially from extended observations and interviews. These intensive field methods are necessary for reaching an understanding of the participants’ experiences (LeVine 2010). I conducted extended interviews with my primary informants, with other members of the community, as well as daily observations in the home, the workplace, and participation in social activities. Additionally, a central research method of this study was also to observe
the surrounding culture that might be influencing the research participants’ parenting choices and emotions.

To this end, I not only spent time with parents in the community, I gathered as much information as I could from the larger environment. I observed advertising targeted at parents, read mass media targeted to parents, and took notes of offhand conversations and interactions among strangers in public places. As argued by Anthony Giddens (1991a:33), I believe that there are multiple forces influencing the decision-making and belief structures of a parent, particularly one in an urban environment. Marketing and mass media entertainment are two of these forces. Billboards and posters from the Peruvian national health agency advising parents to vaccinate, supplement their children’s diets with iron, or seek prenatal care are all a common sight around Lima. Television programs and magazine articles bring not only upper class Limeño parenting culture to the masses, but Western medicine’s cultural norms as well.

In Chapter Three Western theories of child psychology, including Attachment Theory, will be introduced and examined in light of the Peruvian and indigenous cultural environment we find in Cerrito de las Cruces. These theories are very influential in academic and biomedical discussions of childhood and childrearing in the West. My fieldwork shows that these theories are also influential in Lima and for families in Cerrito.

Chapter Four includes observations of the larger urban environment that surrounds Cerrito. I will use my ethnographic observations to engage with theories about how urban versus rural social environments shape childrearing practices. The rural-to-urban migrants who contributed to this research shared changes that have occurred in
their own perspectives and practices related to family life and childrearing. This chapter also explores issues of trust and fear that were an important force in many of my conversations with Limeños.

In Chapter Five I discuss the biomedical culture of Lima from the perspective of my Cerrito participants. The kinds of medical care, facilities, and public health campaigns that they encounter as they care for themselves and their children provides a window into their overall childrearing beliefs.

In the final chapter, I bring the focus back around to the psychological processes of my informants. Chapter Six discusses how my participants examine and feel about the various kinds of parenting advice they discussed with me. I introduce the idea of my participants organizing the childrearing information they receive into different cognitive categories. I will argue that these categories provide a way for these parents to decide what advice to trust and enact under different circumstances.

**Raising Children in Cerrito de Las Cruces**

A surprising finding of this study is the overall similarities among parenting culture in lower-class Lima, and parenting culture in the educated Western U.S. Another surprising finding is that the two cultures are different in fundamental ways, sprouting from different cultural traditions. Over the course of the following chapters, I will explore these findings. I will argue that the parents I spent time with are navigating their parenting decisions through layers of cultural traditions, family history, instinct, urban multiculturalism, and difficult economic circumstances. In the end, it is the parents’ cultural environment that exerts the largest influence upon their childrearing decisions.
Decisions that appear to be instinctual, and the subjects describe as such, are derived from the cultural environment. Even decisions that appear to be consciously chosen are chosen based upon how much authority the cultural milieu has given them. In a richly diverse cultural environment like urban Lima, there are many choices available to guide a parent’s behaviors which explain the diversity in observable parenting behaviors. Culture groups use particular childrearing practices to produce cultural persons. Childrearing behaviors are coherently integrated into the local cultural model of the self and reflect the most important developmental goals of the culture (Keller 2007; Weisner 1998). The individual parents within these larger groups make choices within the constraints and opportunities of their surrounding culture.

Though “cognitive” implies conscious or at least semi-conscious processes, I am actually seeking to illuminate, not only conscious decision-making process, but also the emotions stemming from or driving the decisions. This is the more important side of the central research question, but it is more elusive. It is simple to discover whether a research subject uses a manta - but that fact does not tell us much about that parent. What is interesting to me, and what guided this research, is what a parenting choice like that means to the subject. What emotions stem from that choice, and what forces guided it? Does a choice like that cluster with other choices, all driven by the same cultural and emotional forces, or is each one experienced differently? These questions are not answerable through observation alone. Therefore, the bulk of this study’s data is from interviews conducted over seven months in Lima.

Human behavior is too complex, too multi-layered to parse out an exact motivation in all cases. The conscious choices are driven by what one perceives to be
right and good, and sometimes an improvement upon what one had before. The larger cultural picture drives the subconscious choices. Some of this has roots in evolution, but it is filled in and colored by our culture. We just feel that these ways are ‘natural,’ or are the only viable option. These cultural choices are the ones that have the most impact on how we relate to those closest to us. The conscious choices are the ones that impact how we present ourselves to the wider culture.

In the attempt to determine where the unconscious and conscious decisions diverge, I examine the cognitive structure underlying outward childrearing behaviors. Instincts in parenting are rare, I argue, though work in biology and evolutionary anthropology has uncovered fascinating examples. Most of the things we refer to as parenting instincts are actually things that we have experienced and observed our own and other parents do throughout our lives. That creates the impression that these are the only way to do those things. People can develop a feeling that there is a ‘normal’ way of parenting, and that other ways are unnatural. For the people I worked with, influence comes from many directions and in a variety of forms. Sometimes the advice they receive contradicts other advice or contradicts their so-called instincts.

**Being a Parent in Cerrito de Las Cruces**

It is easy to say that the mothers I interviewed are trying their best for their children, and that they want the same general things for their children as those reading this document do. To generalize that and try to claim a human universal is not the correct next step. Cultural anthropologists are prone to be suspicious of something labeled as a human universal. The cultural variety across the world is striking. There are so many
ways to be a human. Are there so many ways to be a mother? The evolutionary argument can help us narrow the choices somewhat. Economic theory likewise tells us when it is advantageous to nurture your offspring. When it is productive to give them sufficient food, when caring for their wellbeing will pay off. Theories also abound about chemically based emotions. These supposedly universally human brain structures mean that the feeling of maternal love will be the same worldwide when it exists. This argument will hold that for healthy mothers worldwide who have the capability to do so - they will feel that maternal love and they will take the best possible care of their children. Cultural anthropologists can step in at this point of the argument and explain how the best possible care will differ based on circumstances of the family. The research on cross-cultural interpersonal interactions and parenting experiences provide a strong argument that we do not all feel maternal love in the same way, or any other kind of interpersonal relationship. Psychological diversity extends to even the parts of our relationships that seem the most instinctual as evidenced by the work of psychological anthropologists such as Julia Cassaniti for instance, examines the emotional lives of Thai Buddhists and shows a high value placed on a lack of attachment to all things, including loved ones (2015). Psychological anthropologist Naomi Quinn described the complex set of behaviors that is childrearing as follows: “Sometimes child rearing is just care-taking; sometimes it is instruction in knowledge that may be viewed as practical in nature and having little direct relationship to values. Often, also, it is dictated by external constraints, be they local environmental ones like keeping children out of the fire or away from the hot stove, or universal developmental ones like toilet training (2005: 479).” I will focus on the childrearing behaviors that Quinn said are “dictated by external constraints.”
All these theories are interesting, and they inform some of the theoretical structure upon which the argument of this dissertation rests, though I do not engage directly with arguments about their validity. My argument comes out of a different place where psychology and anthropology intersect. I will examine the mothers’ perceptions of what their environment is, and how they feel about childrearing in their social circumstances as well as what they perceive to be the best advice available. I will not attempt to say who is right, or who are the real experts in Limeño childrearing. I will not attempt to explain what the right way to rear a child in Lima is - though I will provide some theories that others have put forward. What I will do in this dissertation is provide both a snapshot of family life in a particular place and time, as well as a theory about creating oneself as a parent in any place and time. That creation is a part of my argument. My findings do not engage an evolutionary-based argument about our circumstances dictating our choices. My findings likewise do not support an argument for a universal experience of parental love. The central argument of this text is built upon the observation that urban parents process a wide variety of parenting information, often contradictory, and filter it through their own unique set of socio-cultural circumstances and their own psychological models of personhood and childrearing and come to a malleable parenting philosophy that drives their childrearing decision-making.

This dissertation describes a unique group of people, a unique family, in a singular moment in time. Their world is changing rapidly, as are urban environments globally. The children are growing and learning, and the parents are changing their minds and feelings about all manner of things. What this ethnography can do, besides providing another tableau of the multitudinous human experience, is show us a structure for the
psychological experience of childrearing under conditions of culture change. Close readings of a group of individuals in a certain group or set of circumstances are a methodologically valid way to gain insight into psychodynamics of an easily-observed, though not easily understood process such as parenting decision-making (LeVine 2010).

The urban environment, with all of its challenges, as well as the phenomenon of culture change within a single lifetime, can surely be dealt with in many different ways. My informants show us one way in these pages. The ways in which my informants cope, feel, and think rest upon a structure that underlies their entire psychology. Delving into the childrearing portion of their lives can reveal things about these individuals overall, but also reveals one of the ways in which humans can psychologically approach the kind of culture and environment in which they live. In the childrearing experiences of my informants, we see a way of being in the mental world – one that reveals the importance of feelings of trust built over a lifetime of experience in differing cultural environments.
Chapter 1 - Cerrito de Las Cruces

The physical environment that the families in this study live in is both shaped by and shapes their daily lives. The pueblo jóven and the types of homes within it provide spaces that foster certain behaviors and suppress others. Therefore, to better understand the experiences of the families of Cerrito de las Cruces, which I will shorten to Cerrito, I will first describe their physical surroundings and discuss how these affect their lives and parenting.

The residents themselves built Cerrito – not developers or urban planners. From conception, a group of people with a shared cultural heritage and life experiences shaped Cerrito to suit their necessities, expectations and desires. To better understand the cultural heritage that might contribute to those arrangements, this chapter includes descriptions of pre-colonial concepts of community in the Peruvian Andes. I will share observations from Cerrito in order to determine how those pre-colonial ways translate into this modern community. In this chapter I also describe the homes of two Cerrito families in order to illustrate the ways in which the home’s physical arrangement reflect the family’s socioeconomic circumstances as well as their relationships.

From La Sierra

The migrants of Lima come mostly from the rural states of Peru, with the largest number coming from the mountain regions - la sierra. Those coming from the sierra are almost all people from the indigenous groups of Peru. The indigenous peoples of the
Andean region of Western South America can be divided roughly into three groups: the Uru-Chipaya, the Quechua, and the Aymara (Wilbert 1994:xxxviii). Before the Spanish conquest in the 15th century, various empires and states ruled in the region and began a homogenizing process described below.

In Peru, the large and complex Incan Empire formerly ruled the Quechua people and many of their neighbors. The Incan Empire has left its fingerprints indelibly on the landscape of its former territory, which includes most of modern-day Peru, in the form of ruins and settlements. In the pre-colonial era, the Quechua-speaking peoples, and others in the Andean region, were distinct cultural groups. The Incan Empire forced many groups to adopt the Quechua language (with the notable exception of the Aymara), trade particular goods, and alter their political organization (Wilbert 1994). In the recent centuries and spurred initially by colonialism, a great deal of migration, intermarriage and religious conversion has brought about an even more homogeneous culture group in the region. Now at least 10 million people are of Quechua heritage, spanning the national borders of the Andean mountain range in northwestern South America (Seligmann 2004:17). The Quechua people are the most numerous of the indigenous groups in Peru.

Community Organization

The Incan word *ayllus*, roughly defined as communities in the Andes, were primarily kin-based. The word ayllu is still in use and represents an important concept in Peru and the rural villages usually still reflect traditional values and social arrangements in many ways (Skar 1994). Migrants from these villages in the cities frequently remain neighbors, and associate in community groups composed of other migrants from the same
village, or at least the same district (Lobo 1982; Skar 1994), thus demonstrating the enduring valuation of the ayllu ties. Adults work for the ayllu in public-works projects, and they divide some communal lands up according to need (Wilbert 1994). This formalized service to the community, traditionally called a *mita* has a long history, usually traced back to the Inca period. The Incan state conscripted laborers from across the empire to work for specified periods. Heads of household are in charge of providing the labor from their family (Bourque & Warren 1981) in the traditional Andean villages. Village councils control local politics in the most rural settings, and a more Spanish-influenced system of elected, hierarchical leadership predominates in the less isolated towns (Bolin 2006; Bourque & Warren 1981).

I saw a remnant of the mita system in my time in Lima. My community suffered a small landslide one evening that made a section of dirt road unusable. The Lima government does not manage this road or any other infrastructure in most of Cerrito. The road was one of the main drivable arteries to the more remote sections of the neighborhood. The next Sunday, dozens of community members came to move dirt by hand all morning. The residents did not have access to heavy equipment and only the tools people could bring from home. Adults of all ages shoveled dirt onto empty potato bags and hauled it away in pairs to a more useful place. Slowly the workers shored up the fallen section of road with sandy dirt. It was a hot morning for Lima and some neighbors were passing out water to the workers. The older woman keeping an eye on me ordered me to rest and drink water by after we had hauled only a few sacks of dirt.¹ As someone who associates urban works projects with contractors and city-owned equipment, the scene left quite an impression on me. This public works project demonstrated the forced
self-sufficiency of the neighborhood and the cooperative communal attitude the residents can achieve. The workers referred to the day’s work to me as a mita. This event represents the Cerrito people adapting the ayllu and mita to serve their community needs despite Cerrito not being a kin-based community and being linked to the larger social and political spheres of Lima and Peru.

**Migration in Peru**

Peru has experienced a very rapid rural-to-urban migration over the last forty years. Demographers estimate that the percentage of the population living in urban areas in 1940 was 47 percent. By 1990 that estimate jumped to 70 percent (US Library of Congress 1). Lima, the capital of Peru, is by far the largest city at 9.13 million. The national population is almost 30.5 million. This means that approximately 30 percent of all Peruvians live in greater Lima (US Library of Congress 2). Seventy-seven percent of Peruvians are urban-dwellers, compared to the 50 percent world average. Peru’s rate of urbanization is higher than the overall population growth rate of 1 percent (US Library of Congress 2).

Much of the rural-to-urban migration in recent generations has been economic in nature, as is typical worldwide. Another important factor in parts of Peru was the outbreak of terrorist activities by the Shining Path movement in the early 1980s and the military’s harsh counter-terrorist methods. The Shining Path, *Sendero Luminoso* in Peru, is a Maoist-oriented political group that sought to overthrow the national government through violent revolution. After Shining Path followers began a terrorism campaign in the early 1980s, Peruvian military carried out retaliatory actions against people and whole
villages who were suspected of harboring the Shining Path (Hudson 1992). This situation caused at least 30,000 people to be dislocated from the Ayacucho and Huancavelica highlands regions alone in the 1980s, leaving many villages entirely abandoned (US Library of Congress 1). Historians estimate that by 1990, the terrorism and counter-terrorism campaigns caused approximately 200,000 people to leave the rural highlands for cities and caused the deaths of over 18,000 (Hudson 1992). Today over 52 percent of Peru’s population lives in the coastal region of the country, which comprises only 11 percent of the nation’s landmass (PromPeru).

The Shining Path carried out attacks in Lima as well and used some of the pueblos jóvenes as a base. A resident who grew up in the 1980s at the base of the hill below Cerrito told me that as a child he knew of the Shining Path hiding out in the neighborhood. He shared that he saw dead bodies lying in the street on more than one occasion as he walked to school. Today, the neighborhood does not show any obvious signs of the past violence. The Fujimori administration of the 1990s stamped out the Shining Path movement almost entirely through aggressive military actions (Hudson 1992). The founder of the Shining Path, Abimael Guzmán, was arrested in 1992 and the group has since almost entirely dissolved (BBC 2004).

Pueblos Jóvenes

Those who come to the city looking for work with no savings and little education come to the pueblos jóvenes. Pueblo jóven, which means ‘young town,’ was a name given to these new communities during the Velasco government in the 1960s as part of an effort to legitimize them (Hudson 1992). Pueblos jóvenes begin as squatter settlements
and shantytowns and over the decades become official sections of the city. Some Peruvianist scholars, such as anthropologist Susan Lobo (1982), argue that the pueblos jóvenes recreate the ayllu. The pueblo joven that Lobo worked in was comprised mainly of people from the same rural state; relatives often lived within blocks of each other. Lobo’s pueblo joven was very new, with many of the residents having helped found the neighborhood. Cerrito de las Cruces, where I did my research, is not so new anymore. Some of the founding residents were still around, but they were elderly and few in number. Most residents I spoke to came to the neighborhood after it had been established, and the Rodriguez family bought their plot of land from another family who had lived on it for many years.

The pueblos jóvenes of Lima radiate outward from the historic center of colonial Lima, particularly to the south. Cerrito is south of central Lima in the collection of districts known as the cono sur – southern cone. The city has grown in this way, as new residents arrive from the rural areas of the county, they build homes in open land. The open land is on hills, or far enough away from the center to be previously unoccupied. The natural landscape of the region is desert-like with little plant life that makes it easy to clear for homes. The Lima city government eventually gives the pueblos jóvenes official recognition paving the way for them to begin to receive service from city utilities and public safety. Over time, these neighborhoods continue to populate. The buildings then improve in quality and height. In the newer communities, the roads are still unpaved, garbage collects in empty lots, and residents walk long distances to access public transportation. Commerce reigns though and even the humblest of neighborhoods feature open-air markets, small stores created from the front room of a house, and street vendors
wandering the thoroughfares. On the hillsides, there are few paved roads, and most houses are accessible only by staircases.

The land of Lima is sandy though not like a beach. The sand is extremely fine and gives an impression of dust coating the ground. The grayish sand drifts with the wind that quickly builds up on stairs and patios. Empty areas around the neighborhood do not see plant life unless someone is watering regularly, and bits of broken glass and other detritus cover all uncared-for spaces. The dust, mingled with fumes from the traffic, coats everything. In the newer, poorer neighborhoods, the buildings are often unpainted cinder blocks or wood. These building, coated in a layer of dust, give the neighborhoods a monochromatic look. The poorer neighborhoods are largely gray and brown. This adds to the stark contrast between them and the wealthy sections of town, such as the Miraflores district, where the buildings are mostly white, colorful storefronts abound, and green grass grows in public spaces.

The sections of Lima, called distritos (districts), have their own elected officials and function in some ways like independent cities. Within these larger districts are individual neighborhoods. Some of these neighborhoods are pueblos jóvenes. Many districts contain pueblos jóvenes of different sizes, but not all. In the middle-class neighborhoods where I also spent time, pueblos jóvenes are a potential threat. Large walls often surround undeveloped small hills in order to keep people from moving onto them and squatting, thereby establishing a pueblo jóven. These occurrences are called invasiones - invasions. Invasions are how the pueblos jóvenes of Lima usually begin. In Peru, squatters can obtain legal rights to their land under certain circumstances. Groups of squatters have also petitioned for official recognition of their new neighborhood and
by those means have established the property rights of many people all at once (see Lobo 1982). Pueblos jóvenes have historically, and still are, seen as very dangerous slums by the Peruvian outsiders and to a lesser extent by the residents of these neighborhoods.

The local government officially classifies Cerrito de las Cruces as a pueblo jóven. Status as a pueblo jóven does not reduce the residents’ rights to representation and indeed, they have an elected mayor of the neighborhood and vote in wider municipal elections. I spent a great deal of time with this mayor, a woman I will call Rosario, who is the matriarch of the Villa family. Pueblos jóvenes do not receive as many city services as the middle-class neighborhoods, though they do receive charitable and government-funded support in the form of food and childcare.

Cerrito de Las Cruces

I first arrived in Cerrito de Las Cruces after having lived in Lima for two months. I had met a man, Manuel, who runs a charitable operation in the community. He had invited me to come along as he delivered donated blankets to needy families. It was a cold and foggy morning as we climbed the stairs to the homes my friend had determined could most use the thick comforters. Between visits, he told me about the people of the community and the various projects his organization is involved in. This connection provided me with the entry I needed into the pueblo jóven that I call Cerrito de las Cruces. That morning was also the first time I met Milagros, who would become my key informant in this research.

Cerrito de las Cruces is just one neighborhood in the district, which is itself just one district in the larger city of Lima. One crosses to other neighborhoods without
noticing. Cerrito is officially designated a pueblo jóven by the Lima city government. Having gained recognition as a proper neighborhood, even a pueblo jóven, they are entitled to elected representation and some access to city services. The presence of the city government is not as visible here as it is in other sections of the city. Police substations are fewer and not as equipped, few roads are paved, and there are no public schools or clinics within the neighborhood’s borders. Overall, there is a feeling of much less financial investment in this neighborhood than in other regions of the city.

Figure 1: Cerrito Stairs. The author’s son on a staircase leading to homes in Cerrito.

Cerrito de Las Cruces is around a generation old and is therefore well established in many ways. Residents of Cerrito are entitled to legal ownership of their plots of land, and the neighborhood receives some city services including electricity and water. A few cement homes exist along the two paved roads closest to the Western edge of the neighborhood. A few blocks down the hill from those streets is the area’s main thoroughfare, where residents can catch buses to the other regions of the city. The walk
up from the thoroughfare is steep and the homes become humbler as the peak of the hill draws closer. Soup kitchens and small churches dot the neighborhood in this section and at the corner where the dirt roads mark the beginning of the Cerrito de las Cruces neighborhood is the market. The market is unusually nice for a neighborhood this humble, with cement floors and a high roof suspended over the small cement shop stalls. Manuel’s organization organized and largely funded these architectural improvements.

The market serves as an informal meeting place in addition to a commercial center. Neighbors circulate and chat, stopping in to share news with vendors and friends. Outside of the marketplace is the closest bus stop for most residents of the neighborhood. It is also the end of the line for this privately-owned bus company, and they rent a small office attached to the market building. The bus drivers and fare-collectors hang about and purchase meals at the market. The last paved streets on the hill surround the market. Only dirt roads and staircases ascend the rest of the way up the hill. The semi-regular garbage truck parks near the market because of the inaccessibility of the rest of the neighborhood. They stop for around 15 minutes and loudly broadcast a song that beckons the residents to come bring bags of trash to toss up into the truck. The upbeat singing says “Vecinos, vecinas saca la basura!” – Neighbors take out your garbage! Residents hurry down the hill to bring bags of garbage whenever they hear the song. As in many families, teenaged Julio carries the garbage when he was available. He did this without complaint as his mother quickly tied up what bags she had collected. If garbage bags were full before the truck comes, the local informal dump is another option. A stretch of road along the bus route just below Cerrito is always piled with garbage of all sorts. Milagros would bring along a bag of trash as she boarded the bus on her way to some errand out of the
neighborhood. When passing the dump area, she would hurl the bag out the door of the moving bus. Often the fare-collector would do it for her as a polite gesture, and in any case, this routine required him opening the sliding bus door. I once saw a bulldozer piling the garbage up, and a rolling bed dump truck hauling away some of this garbage, but generally the informal dump is overflowing, and the local stray dogs are regularly digging around.

Stray dogs are a common sight in all but the wealthiest neighborhoods in Lima. They are sometimes fed by residents and semi-adopted in this way. People assume the dogs in the pueblos jóvenes are somewhat dangerous; it is common for residents to carry rocks around with them in case they need to scare off an aggressive dog. Usually, though, the dogs stay out of the way and spend their time napping or scavenging. Pet dogs are somewhat common but are not pampered in the same way as most American dogs. The Rodriguez family has a beloved dog that stays with the family at all times. They do not allow their dog inside the home, but he stays on their property when they are at home. He follows Milagros and the children down the hill each morning and stays around the market while Milagros works. If she must leave the market to run errands, she tells the dog to go home. He seems to listen to this advice most of the time. Working class people do not generally take their pet dogs to veterinarians, though the city will sometimes launch free vaccination campaigns. One day in Cerrito, I learned of the campaign because various dogs - strays and pets - were walking about with plastic bands around their necks, which I found out indicated to the campaign’s veterinarians that the dog had already received a vaccination that day. Residents mostly seem to treat the stray dogs seem as a natural part of the landscape in Lima. An informant was surprised when I explained that
stray dogs are extremely rare where I live and that there are special city employees that will take any dogs found to a holding center. The idea of spending city money on such a thing seemed ridiculous to my informant. This was understandable to me in light of the unpaved roads, unpoliced streets, and other more urgent needs the neighborhood faces.

Demographically, the people of Cerrito de las Cruces are almost all part of the same general socio-cultural group of impoverished, Quechua-descendant migrants. Outsiders to the community would label them all as migrants from the sierras, generalizing. They are lumped together with the word *serranos*, meaning people from the sierras and indigenous people. This is a very broad characterization, though not one rejected by the people themselves. The sierra region of Peru is huge, roughly comprising 30 percent of the country’s land area, and 36 percent of the national population (PromPeru). However, within the broad serrano category, they distinguish the specific region of their birth. It is a significant part of their identity, a source of pride, and an opportunity for social activity and celebration. My informants and acquaintances would tell me where specifically they were from, and often share a small anecdote about the geography or culture of the region. A few friends even enjoyed sharing with me a very negative stereotype about some other region of the Andes as a way of displaying the superiority of their own home region. Visits to relatives back in the sierras are common among my informants, though not very frequent. Every few years seems to be the average in this group. In a pattern of reciprocity and maintenance of ties also described by Lobo among serranos in Lima in the 1970s early 1980s (1982) my informants send clothing and other necessities to relatives in their home region and in turn receive special foods and other items that remind them of their birthplace.
Homes of Cerrito de Las Cruces

Though none of the families is especially wealthy, there is still a range of incomes and displays of modest wealth. The layout and design of the homes are influenced by simple material circumstances, but also reflect the priorities, values, and relationships of cohabitating family members. Homes in Cerrito are made of materials that reflect very plainly the amount of money the family had available to invest in them - particleboard and scrap wood, tarps, corrugated plastic or metal roofs, and sheets of wood siding are all typical. Cinderblock walls and cement floors are the most expensive materials you will see. Families will often build in such a way that they can expand the home when the family’s finances eventually allow for it. For this reason, it is common to see rebar sticking up out of the top of a new cinder block wall at the roof level, waiting for the day when a second story will be added to the top.

The homes in Cerrito de las Cruces telegraph the resident family’s circumstances in a public way. There are obvious signals relating to the family’s financial status, especially inside. The presence of a stove, a dining set, or a clothes washer signals a little extra income. The presence of interior walls, cinderblock walls, or a metal roof signals long-term financial stability. Large TVs, couches, and other luxuries set a family apart. Theft is rampant in Cerrito and so these items signal a level of confidence in the family’s ability to replace or protect these luxury items.

In the wealthier sections of town and in lower middle-class neighborhoods such as the one just a quarter-mile walk down the hill, the typical style of construction of single-family homes is to have a cinder block wall with wooden or metal gates that blocks the
view of the house and front courtyard from the sidewalk. Homes are accessible in this way only by yelling to the residents inside or using an intercom. This is all to improve security, as robbery is endemic throughout Lima. In Cerrito de las Cruces, the residents usually don't have such materials available, and so homes often have fences made of scrap materials if anything at all. It is still typical to stand at the property line and yell to residents inside to announce one’s visit. Front doors often have locks, but complete physical security is not possible given the flimsy construction of the buildings. A sense of security comes instead from the watchful eyes of neighbors. Residents watch the goings-on of the neighborhood and report news and concerns to each other frequently.

Financial security is not common in Cerrito de las Cruces and so there is a need to be constantly making money. Several houses run informal stores out of their front room, selling necessities such as bottled water, chips, batteries, and milk. Even more noticeable are the walking vendors. They walk the streets in all but the wealthiest areas of town; lone entrepreneurs on the busier streets, or their own neighborhood, carrying items for sale. The ones I saw most frequently in Cerrito de las Cruces were selling plastic food containers and bowls, kitchen utensils, home remedies, homemade baskets or cleaning supplies. Street vendors also walk residential areas to offer services such as knife sharpening and garbage removal. A more unusual walking vendor I saw was selling a small variety of household items but was gaining attention in the market one day by showing off handmade woven whips by pretending to strike his wife and others around the market. Upon asking Milagros what the hilarity was about, she explained that the whips were a traditional item from the sierras for physically punishing children.
Figure 2: Whip Seller. Man selling hand-woven whips in the Cerrito market.

Being invited into the Rodriguez home for the first time marked the beginning of the relationship that would inform much of this research. Much of family life in Cerrito happens in the home making this an important venue during my fieldwork. I spent time in several other homes around Cerrito over time and have chosen one to describe in addition to the Rodriguez home.

The Rodriguez Home

Up one of the staircases in the middle of the neighborhood, we find the Rodriguez home. It is typical in many ways for its section of the neighborhood. There is a small fence made from homemade materials dividing it from the public staircase. One enters through the fence door, which is approximately waist-high. The courtyard is rough cement, patched in places, and with no shade. A clothesline in the front yard catches the wind. Limeños do not usually hang clothes indoors because the high humidity levels
nearly year-round keep clothes from drying before mildew sets in. A small boulder purchased by the family serves as outdoor furniture in addition to the rock outcropping on one side of the property. The hillside is steep here, so one can see the roof of the next-door neighbor’s house on one side, and the sweep of the city below. Stacked rocks serve as retaining walls holding up the sides of the properties. The houses are close together with only around ten feet between them. Entering the Rodriguez property, one reaches the bathroom building first, separate from the house and as you reach the front door, you see the large sink positioned between the two buildings though the cooking happens mainly indoors.

The house buildings are made of a single layer of thick plywood with a few support beams of a type of raw wood poles ubiquitous in Lima that comes from the northern rainforest region. There is no insulation, sheetrock or other layer protecting the home. The roof is corrugated metal, and though old, a superior material to many houses in the neighborhood. Even houses with cinderblock walls often have these metal roofs. The poorest houses have tarp roofs, and some have a pressed board material for walls that absorbs moisture badly and fosters mold.

Despite the many small holes in the roof, the Rodriguez home stays dry inside. Lima never sees rain, just a heavy mist in the winter. The house has no interior walls but does have sheets hung in the middle to partition off a small space for the son’s privacy. The front of the home features a dining table with matching chairs, a hutch to hold various items, and one small window. The floor is paved with unfinished concrete. A clothes washer also resides in this front area and a child-sized table for Perla. The family has a small, older television that operates on an antenna.
Toward the back of the home are the parents’ bed, a crib for Perla and a dresser. Sheets hide Julio’s bed in the middle of the home along with a small dresser and his soccer posters. The home has electricity. The Rodríguez family is able to afford to pay for it rather than pirating it as many families do. The bathroom building has running water as well, featuring a toilet and shower in the windowless room.

Milagros used to tend a small vegetable garden in the plot of land opposite the staircase, which now lies bare. Milagros smiled as she said she had enjoyed gardening and would like to again, if only for the fresh vegetables she could provide her family. Milagros said she stopped because she became too frustrated by the constant vandalism the garden suffered. Kids would throw rocks, she said as she shook her head and looked at the sandy plot.

The Rodríguezes are planning to move. Despite the do-it-yourself nature of the housing in the pueblos jóvenes, city ordinances govern the neighborhood and the plots of land carry legal titles registered with the local jurisdiction. Milagros explained that she is developing back problems, which, over time will make the staircase climb to their home a hardship. Coming from a country with regulations requiring most public walkways to be accessible by wheelchair, this seems to me like a concern that would be felt by anyone in the community planning to stay through their advanced years.

The Villa Home

The Villa home is also not atypical but is different in many ways. The Villa home shows many more signs of wealth than the Rodriguez home. A tall wall entirely encloses the small Villa yard in the style of the wealthier neighborhoods. The cinderblock wall and
wood door hides the home from the view of the public staircase completely. Upon entering, one crosses a small dirt courtyard before entering the home. The Villas keep a few chickens safe in their enclosed yard, and a stray cat has taken up residence. The bathroom is inside the home, and so there is only one building. The Villas have more interior square footage than the Rodríguezes though a smaller yard. The lots are approximately the same size.

Inside, the Villas have constructed interior walls from the same thin wood siding material used in so many of the local homes, including the Rodriguez home. Two bedrooms partition the larger space, with walls that reach to the high ceiling. A kitchen, a bathroom, and another semi-private bedroom have been marked off with walls that reach only part way up to the ceiling. In addition to their young son, the Villas are caring for a teenaged relative who is living with them while pursuing her education in the city.

The main room has a feature that seems strange to an outsider and is emblematic of the do-it-yourself nature of these homes. A large section of the room, approximately six feet by ten feet is raw rock - the bedrock of the hillside. Rosario told me that the people they employed to help them build their home told them that carving away the rock would destabilize the hillside, and so it remains. The family stores various items in that side of the room and hangs laundry above.

Rosario Villa was the mayor of Cerrito de las Cruces during my stay. As such, her home was host to meetings and other community endeavors. A group of her friends and political allies could often be found on Sundays preparing food for a community fundraiser, getting together socially, or even gathering to find out more about the odd visiting anthropologist. Fitting this purpose, Rosario has arranged her main front room to
accommodate company with a six-seat dining set and extra chairs against the walls. A hutch displays trinkets, and the walls feature framed photographs and other mementos.

Community Tensions

In my time in Cerrito, I encountered some controversy and struggles that worked against a sense of community. The first was a disagreement over zoning and the second was the endemic crime. These social-environmental circumstances affect the feelings of trust that my informants have in their fellow community members who are among other things, their parenting peers.

As an official neighborhood, Cerrito de las Cruces has a neighborhood plan, with areas designated for markets, parks, schools, and other needs. The first neighborhood residents laid out these plans when the community was new and filed them with the district’s offices. A controversy had broken out around the time of my arrival wherein Cerrito’s elected leader filed papers with the district to have several homes razed. The leader said that the residents built their homes on land that was originally designated for a park; furthermore, they were built in a location that made them vulnerable to landslides. She explained to me her opinions on this matter and felt strongly that she was protecting her community. Another community member I spoke with was on the opposite side of this controversy and had relatives living in homes that were set to be razed. She recalled a community meeting many years ago where residents voted to sell the small plots of land to families looking to build homes. The money was communal and went to infrastructure projects. Emotions were very high on both sides of this controversy. I became worried that various informants would see me as taking sides. I made sure to be seen spending
time with people on both sides of the argument and made an effort to not discuss the matter. My friend Manuel also informed me that he would not speak to residents about it so that he can maintain his more neutral position as a friend to the entire community.

Figure 3: Meeting. Neighborhood meeting being held in an empty lot in Cerrito.

The second phenomena I saw as an attack on the community structure of Cerrito was crime. Home robberies were common, and the neighbors discussed them frequently. Additionally, there were young people that hung around the streets during the day that my informants pointed out as drug dealers or other petty criminals. Occasionally I would see an expensive car race by (which stood out in this poor neighborhood). Again, my informants were of the opinion that these were local gang leaders or drug dealers. My informants, who were locals and knew almost everyone they saw on the streets, took care to protect their purses and kept a sharp eye on their surroundings when out in the neighborhood. If I was taking a bus out of the neighborhood after dark, they would send a male relative to accompany me. Despite the sense of community, of knowing all of your neighbors, of shared perspectives, there was not a strong sense of safety. Passers-by call each other “neighbor,” but view some of those neighbors with suspicion.
Security has a particular meaning for parents in this environment. Parents in Cerrito de Las Cruces do not typically buckle their children’s seat belts when riding in taxis, let alone put them in car seats. Child proofing is not a significant concern, but kidnapping is. There are also dangers that they worry about but cannot do anything to change. The air in Lima is extremely polluted, especially in some of the poorer neighborhoods due to nearby factories. Childhood asthma and respiratory infections are common, but there is little parents can do to prevent and treat these conditions. Earthquakes are frightening, especially given the flimsy construction of many of the cement buildings, but, again, what can the parents do to protect their children? A sense of security can only come to them in the form of the close bonds of family and friends as they spend time together at home. The Rodriguez home felt like a safe haven as the children ran around carefree on a Sunday afternoon while the parents socialized with visiting relatives in celebration of a family birthday.

The Built Environment

The circumstances of a family’s physical environment and the organization of their time are a structure within which parenting choices are built. The environment – built, natural and social – constrains and opens up parenting choices. These simply constructed homes, “humble” as my friend Manuel describes them, do not provide the same kind of home life that larger or more partitioned homes from other cultural groups do. Cerrito family members do not have much privacy, space, or quiet. Families live in close quarters in the majority of the homes in Cerrito de las Cruces. Privacy is a luxury most families cannot afford.
The Rodriguez family enjoys spending time together. The children go off to school and Leonardo goes to work most days. The rest of the time however, they are mostly together. On Sundays, they often visit relatives, parks, or attend soccer games. During the week, Milagros and Perla spend almost all of their time together. Perla attends a nido (daycare center) for a few hours a day on weekdays, but her mother has her the rest of the time. The small, un-subdivided home fosters this family togetherness. There is no room for a child to retreat to when upset or for a parent to spend quiet time. No pursuits go unnoticed by the other members of the family. There are no private phone calls, secret hobbies, or times alone when at home. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that children grow up in a very social environment with a high level of contact with caretakers.

In this type of social environment, parents do not typically teach their children to cope with being alone, the way children in other social settings are. The stereotypical white American home where infants have their own bedrooms and sleep alone there is used by theorists of childhood as the prototypical environment that helps mold children to a particular cultural model of adult relationships (see Arnup, Levesque & Pierson 1990; Keller et al 2001; Morelli & Rothbaum 2007). The arrangement of a home into multiple, isolating rooms both reflects and is reflected in the cultural value placed on being an independent (as opposed to interdependent) adult. Peruvianist Canessa (2012) argues that the “intimate” spheres of home relationships produce national and cultural identities. The built environment of the home affects the way a child in it is raised.

In the case of the Rodriguez family and their neighbors, the home’s layout and size are not really a matter of choice, but a reflection of the constraint their financial
situation places on their decisions. Interior walls are expensive, as are houses large enough to have them, and so they are only found in some homes. However, the homes and the neighborhood layout still reflect their culture and values.

Extended families often live together in Cerrito. Sometimes this is a temporary arrangement, as young people from the sierras come to stay with relatives in Cerrito de las Cruces as they attend school. Many arrangements are more permanent, as the elderly live with their children and grandchildren, or unmarried adults stay with their parents or other relatives. The effect on childrearing in this kind of living environment is to allow for multiple caretakers contributing to the upbringing of children. This contributes to a “sociocentric” form of childrearing. Scholars argue (Levine 1974; Keller 2007) that different social goals in a culture foster different parenting techniques. Some theorists argue that cultures around the world lie on a spectrum that ranges from strongly sociocentric, to strongly egocentric (Markus & Kitayama 1991; Mageo 1998:17). Back in the rural ayllu, or sierra community, caregivers brought children up to be members of an interdependent, sociocentric community (Leinaweaver 2007). The entire community was a type of (and sometimes literal) extended family, according to Andeanists such as Jessica Leinaweaver (2007). Leinaweaver noted that extended family members lived in separate homes within the same ayllu and spent a good deal of time together in various activities that included childcare. Children being cared for by people outside of their nuclear family teaches them to be comfortable with and reliant on the extended community (Leinaweaver 2007).

Outside of the home, the physical neighborhood shapes childrearing as well. The urban environment of Cerrito encourages a sense of community, but in a different way
than the rural ayllus do. The denseness of the neighborhood, where walking is the only way to get around the majority of places, means that there is a high level of contact with neighbors, in my observation. Add to that the frequency with which residents visit the local markets, ride the same buses, and gather when the trash collectors come, and it is normal for residents to know almost all faces they see as they walk to and from their houses. Walking around Cerrito, I heard frequent calls of the respectful title “vecino” or “vecina” - neighbor - even when the individuals knew each other’s names.

Milagros would socialize with friends and acquaintances regularly from her market stall and a common topic of discussion was children. This demonstrated to me that childrearing is not an isolated activity in Cerrito. Informal discussions of children and childrearing are part of adult daily life. One telling way the social nature of childrearing in Cerrito was evident to me during my stay was the frequency with which strangers and acquaintances would offer advice and criticisms to my informants about their childrearing behaviors. This also happened to me: several of my new friends, and occasionally strangers on the street, would politely inform me that I was not caring properly for my son. The most common comment was that he was not dressed warmly enough. These incidences of social enforcement of norms happen in the United States, but they were more frequent and more direct in my observations in Peru. Encountering one’s neighbors with such frequency as is common in Cerrito allows for these commentaries - which really constitute participation in others’ childrearing efforts - to occur regularly.
A Physical Community

The built environment affects the physical movements of the people and the frequency and situations in which they interact with each other. The built environment thus both reflects and shapes the values of the community. While individuals within the community have slightly different cultural backgrounds, the built environment helps unify them into one cultural group as they all move and live within this environment. Common socioeconomic circumstances unite Cerrito residents, which in turn foster their extremely frequent interactions and a similar perspective on the world around them. As we saw with the controversies discussed above community formation does not erase individual differences and intergroup tensions. However, the overall similarities in backgrounds and living environment help foster a sense of community within the larger urban milieu.

Cities are, in many ways, constructed and held together by systems. There are small communities, as we have seen here in Cerrito, where people build the interpersonal relationships that provide their sense of security in the world. However, the city is not built of a conglomeration of these small communities. Formal systems such as governmental regulations and public schooling and informal systems such as cultural norms and kin networks tie the communities together. It is the systems that overlie every individual life, across the small communities, across the neighborhoods and disparate constituencies, which make a city function. From an anthropological perspective, these systems reflect and are the substance of the citywide culture. Subcultures exist and even thrive within the smaller communities of real human relationships. The systems, though, bring everyone together across the lines of community, family, and interpersonal trust.
In some ways, the residents of Cerrito have recreated a small-scale Andean community in their corner of Lima through the continuation of reciprocal relationships, maintenance of their kin networks, and traditional practices such as the mita. However, this is only a partial recreation and urban Lima dictates daily lives in both large and small ways. This dissertation is about how an Andean past and a Limeño present both play a role in shaping the childrearing experiences of young parents. The rhythms of their days are set by the buildings and winding paths of their neighborhood - talking with passers-by, buying food from and among more neighbors, and settling down for the night in a single room with their close family. Cultural values are embedded in the routine moments of family life. Thomas Weisner (1998) describes these moments as being the critical times when children are encouraged to develop in ways that are most desired by their particular culture.

Figure 4: Mita. A group of Cerrito residents performing a mita. This group spent most Sundays for several months carving into the hillside and creating a flat space in order to build a childcare facility called a nido.

In Cerrito, the culture that arises around the built environment is sociocentric in the main, a concept we will explore in chapters five and six. As we will see, though, the
culture of the larger city of Lima plays a role in the lives of my informants and pushes them in a different direction. The urban systems that intrude into the small, culturally cohesive neighborhoods force the people to interact in new ways with strangers and strange bureaucracies. In the more intimate spaces of home life, the city encourages a change in childrearing behaviors, beliefs, and a mix of emotions around all of it for young parents.
Chapter 2 - Childrearing from the Sierras to Cerrito

In this chapter, I describe many of the daily activities, cultural expressions, and conversations that inform the overall picture of how residents of Cerrito de las Cruces raise their children, particularly the Rodriguez family. Through closer descriptions of their behaviors, opinions, and personal histories, I share more about family structures, childrearing beliefs, and life experiences of their larger communities. I do this in order to show how culture change in the lives of the young parents of Cerrito can manifest in different aspects of life depending upon the underlying meaning and significances of the belief changes and their manifestations. After this chapter provides the stories of and feelings about raising young children, the next chapters will use social theories to better understand the meaning behind these behaviors, both for the individuals and for their larger cultural groups.

The Rodriguez Family

Milagros and Leo grew up in the same rural province but did not meet until they were both living in Lima. They met through family members who also live in Lima and were part of the community of migrants from their region of Peru. They had both migrated to the city as young adults to find work. Milagros worked as a nanny for several years after arriving in the city, up until the time her first child was born. Leo has worked as an auto mechanic for many years. He now works independently, renting a space in a
mechanic’s shop on a busy street not far from their home, but down in the city-maintained business district.

Leo and Milagros grew up in a small town in the state of Ica, which is just south of the state of Lima. Milagros describes her hometown as very peaceful and reminisced about the area’s natural beauty. She described playing outside frequently as a young child. Over lunch one afternoon Milagros tried to recall her favorite childhood memories for me. One she focused on was taking off her clothes and swimming in the acequia – irrigation canal or stream. She said she would take her clothes and shoes off and act like she was at the beach. Another memory Milagros described when I asked her about her childhood was her social life. She described how she was a very social child and loved to visit friends and family. She laughed and told how she would frequently invite groups of female friends over for lunch and irritate her mother because her mother would then need to feed several visiting children on a very limited budget. Milagros said her and her friends played many games: “Jugabamos arroz con leche... nos jugaba el trompo... a las canicas... eso me encantaba jugar.” [We would play rice with milk... we played tops... we played marbles... I loved to play that.]

Milagros is the seventh child of eleven. Each of her ten siblings has at least three children with some having four or five. She is determined to not repeat this family pattern and is stopping at only two children. Her stated reason for this is to avoid extreme poverty and other hardships she has seen her sisters endure. Her memories of her siblings

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1 Rice with milk, or arroz con leche is a popular children’s song meant to be sung to a ronda dance. When Milagros would sing it to Perla, Perla would dance in a circle to the tune. The song originated in Europe and is now popular throughout the Spanish-speaking world in various forms (Fernandez n.d.)
are fond though, and she described having fun playing marbles and spinning tops with her siblings. Before describing all this fun, though, Milagros described herself as a child who was *bien responsable* – very responsible.

Figure 5: Milagros, Leo, and Perla on an outing to the beach.

The Rodriguez family has visited the province together a few times over the years. The most recent visit had been just after Perla was born. The pictures they enthusiastically showed me were of a small town with a traditional Latin American square and lovely surrounding hills. They clearly enjoy visiting their hometown, but the trip is long and requires them to take unpaid time off work. Leo and Milagros said they have no plans to return to Ica permanently. They have made their home in Lima and intend to stay even after their children have grown. This does not mean that they do not feel connected to their hometown. Their visits to Ica, as well as visits they receive from relatives, help keep them in touch with the family and news from back home.

Furthermore, they participate in the Ica migrant community in Lima. Generations of migrants from the rural provinces have established formal clubs, soccer teams, and informal social networks in the city (Lobo 1982). Residents of Lima who come from the
rural provinces can find a vibrant community of migrants like themselves for purposes of social interaction and mutual aid. These social connections to a natal community could serve as cultural connections as well, reinforcing a shared worldview that includes childrearing practices.

One particularly demonstrative way that Peruvians celebrate their heritage is through traditional dance. All the regions of Peru have a dance and music tradition. Dances from the inland Quechua-speaking regions are typically group dances involving both genders. Dancers traditionally perform in villages during festival days. Catholicism is the dominant religion in rural Peru, and many dances have Catholic meanings on the surface. However, the music and dance predate Spanish colonization and older spiritual elements are often present, especially in the more remote regions (Canessa 2012). The dances can include almost an entire community - young and old can learn the steps or play the music. Clubs for dancers are ubiquitous nationwide, with some focusing only on their region’s traditional dances, and others practicing dances from all over Peru. The Quechua regions are also known for their very colorful traditional clothing to be worn during the dances. Many of the women’s outfits feature a colorful, woven manta tied around the shoulders. Hats are common in men and women’s costumes and the often-colorful decorations vary widely by region. Several residents of Cerrito showed me pieces of their traditional clothing with pride when I visited their homes. Traditional music and dance classes are common in schools, and dance clubs for adults exist throughout Lima. Through these social activities, families such as the Rodríguezes maintain some connections to their birthplaces and natal culture groups, even when other important cultural components such as language and occupation change.
Celebrations

Leo has a brother, Alberto, living in a different district of Lima. Alberto has a wife and several children. He also helps support one of his wife’s sisters and her children. They all live together in a self-constructed home and operate an auto mechanic business in the front yard. Their neighborhood is not a pueblo jóven, and is on flat ground, but it is still quite poor. Alberto’s home features three rooms separated by plywood, dirt floors and a tarp roof. Milagros described Alberto as a very generous and loving man for supporting so many people with his meager income. Milagros also has a few cousins and other relatives living in Lima, but no relatives as close as Leo’s brother. They frequently visit Alberto’s home on weekends to spend time together. They brought me twice and made my visit an excuse to do a traditional Peruvian cookout - pachamanca. Pachamanca is an Incan term that translates as ‘earth pot.’ This traditional and festive meal involves cooking pork, beef, chicken, corn and potatoes in a pit overnight. Alberto and his eldest son dug the pit in their front yard the day before. Leo helped dig the food up once we arrived. Everyone was excited and anticipating the feast. It was clear that the families enjoy spending time together as the children ran around the yard and the adults sipped the popular Peruvian soda Inca Cola after the large meal. This family connection provides a small sense of continuity to the Rodríguezes origins as they discuss the goings-on back in their home region.
Figure 6: Pachamanca. Leo and relatives pulling cooked food from a pachamanca pit.

Once unearthed, the adults spread the food out on a long table in the front yard directly with no serving dishes. The meat, potatoes, and corn are staples of the Peruvian diet. Peruvian cuisine, particularly in Lima, reflects the food traditions of the country’s largest ethnic groups. Potatoes are native to the Andes and are an important food source in the high altitudes. Peruvian corn, which has kernels at least double the size of and less sweet than the corn found in U.S. stores, is typically eaten by pulling kernels off by hand and eating them one by one. The Peruvian peppers called *aji amarillo* (or just *aji*) and *rocoto* are also ubiquitous in Peruvian dishes. The Spanish colonizers brought pork, beef, and chicken. Many of the ways of preparing these meats are considered traditional to criollo culture. In Peru, the criollo (creole) people are the descendants of African slaves brought to Peru. Finally, the large Asian immigrant community has heavily influenced
Peruvian cuisine, and Asian restaurants are popular all over Lima. Each of these food traditions has influenced each of the others. Peruvians are profoundly proud of their national cuisine, including the mixed heritage it has.

As my hosts sat contentedly digesting the heavy pachamanca meal, they played Peruvian pop music on the radio. When one of the young girls approached to speak to her parents, a few of the adults told her to dance to the music and promised to pay her. She smiled shyly and obliged for a few minutes. Her aunt gave her a few small coins and praise for her dancing abilities. Various adults repeated this little performance with her and another young girl twice more that afternoon and I witnessed a similar event at a separate family celebration during my fieldwork. I confirmed with Milagros that this is a typical behavior in Peruvian families, and we laughed that this must be why Peruvians are all such good dancers.

**Language**

Most adults in Cerrito speak at least a little Quechua. Even the few adults I worked with who were born in Lima knew at least a few dozen common Quechua words and phrases. The elderly adults more commonly were bilingual Quechua and Spanish speakers. They reported speaking Quechua to each other or to young children, though I only overhead Spanish in routine public conversations. A few elderly members of the community whom I met were monolingual Quechua speakers. One woman I would come across frequently in the streets, whom Milagros would refer to respectfully as *abuela* (grandmother), would always enthusiastically talk to me and hold my hands, even though
she knew that I didn’t speak Quechua. Milagros would tell me that she was complimenting my skin and asking if I had any money to spare.

Milagros speaks Quechua but claims to not be fluent. She uses a handful of Quechua phrases and words in everyday conversation, as is typical of the other adults I met in Cerrito. She is not actively teaching it to her children. Julio receives some Quechua lessons in school but is not fluent. Milagros speaks of her serrano heritage with pride, but not frequently. She and her family are part of the migrant serrano community but are not activists.

Community members of all ages were always willing to teach me a few words of Quechua and were amused by my note taking. During Sunday morning work parties that I attended (another form of mita) directed by a group friendly with the mayor, I would ask to practice and learn Quechua. Many of the community members would demure to one member of the group, Raul, whom they all claimed spoke Quechua better than them. He would confirm that the rest of the group wasn’t fluent and would amiably teach me a few words and phrases as we shoveled dirt. During one of these gatherings, the mayor confided to me that she didn’t speak any Quechua, because her parents came from the northern Amazonian region of Peru. She said that she was teased by other children in the town she grew up in for this.

I also attended Jehovah's Witnesses church services as a way to learn more Quechua, which was recommended to me by an acquaintance in the city who is a church member. The church I attended, which was not in Cerrito, gives Quechua lessons to church members so that they may proselytize to Andean migrants, specifically the
elderly. Several church members were generous with their time and gave me short lessons on the grammatical structure and introductory grammar of Quechua.

Every migrant and person of Quechua heritage I met spoke proudly of their ancestry and culture when asked though they did not all see it as part of their public life in the city. They conduct all financial and wage labor transactions in Spanish and most jobs require Western clothing. Discrimination against people from the rural Andean regions is a real struggle, and ambitious Limeños do not want to make themselves targets.

La Manta

Despite the discrimination and belittling of indigenous Peruvians, there are several outward displays of serrano identity visible in Lima’s migrant communities. The preservation of clothing styles can be seen as another example of migrants feeling the continued influence of their natal culture. It is possible that clothing or other material objects from one’s natal culture can signal a connection to beliefs that include childrearing practices. In Lima, older women (and occasionally young women) often wear traditional Quechua clothing, which varies depending upon their region of origin. Typically, this may be a knee-length skirt and a cardigan. Knee-high socks and different styles of hats are also typical. These clothing items are not worn by the majority of residents of Cerrito. It is very common in the poorer sections of the city to see women carrying children or cargo on their backs in a blanket. These mantas (Spanish for blanket) are the traditional way of carrying things across the Sierra region. The mantas are square, approximately three feet long and wide, and feature a distinct woven design. The mantas have different patterns and decorations depending upon the region, though all are
recognizably Andean. It is also common to see women in Lima using non-traditional, store-bought blankets and towels to carry children on their backs in the traditional way. Mantas are also a general symbol of indigenous femininity in Peru, as evidenced by the use of mantas being worn in many logos intended to convey native identity in Peru (Zavala 2017).

Two women with stalls in the Cerrito market used traditional mantas daily. One of the women, whom I spent a lot of time with, used it to give her granddaughter a nap every afternoon. She would wrap the girl up and go about her business as her granddaughter slept. These two women wore Western-style clothing but used the traditional mantas.

Figure 7: Manta. Cerrito market vendor with a traditional manta in use. Her granddaughter is asleep in the manta in this picture.
Other women who frequented the market pushed their young children in strollers. This mix of rural and urban childrearing equipment reflects the mix of serrano and urban childrearing practices used by Limeño families.

**Breastfeeding and Food Theory**

Breastfeeding rates are extremely high across Peru. A 1998 study put the rate at 97 percent (Marquis et al), and a 2006 study stated that almost 100 percent of Peruvian infants are breastfed at least once (Majluf et al 2006). The same 2006 study found that duration of exclusive breastfeeding among rural Peruvians was relatively high as well, with over half lasting four to five months.

Milagros reported that her mother breastfed exclusively, “Mi mamá dice que a nosotros nos ha criado como. No nos ha dado el biberón. [My mom said that we were raised like that. She did not give us the bottle].” Milagros said that her mother breastfed because it was the best thing – “es lo mejor.” Milagros also said that women in the Sierras will breastfeed other women’s infants under some circumstances, saying “una mama que tiene tantisima leche dice que daba de mamar a otros bebés – [a mother who has a lot of milk will give milk to other babies].”

My observations during fieldwork reflected these national rates. I frequently saw women breastfeeding publicly in Cerrito, and around Lima. I spoke to women in Cerrito about the tendency for American women to be embarrassed or even forbidden to breastfeed in public places and they found that very odd and nonsensical. Milagros remembers her daughter’s pediatrician advising her to breastfeed until Perla was two years old. However, Milagros says that her milk production was not sufficient for Perla’s
needs – “porque no tengo leche” [because I don’t have milk].” When Perla was six months old, Milagros began supplementing her diet with fruit and vegetable extracts, and then at one year gave her solid foods and formula. Milagros wanted to follow her pediatrician’s recommendation with Perla, as she had with her eldest child “A mí me hubiera gustado darle hasta los dos años pero no – [I would have liked to give it (breastmilk) until two years but no].” I asked Milagros if the two-year breastfeeding recommendation her pediatrician gave is common and she affirmed it was.

I followed this line of inquiry by trying to determine when is a common time for breastfeeding to cease. Milagros said that if people see a child over two years old breastfeeding, they will tell the mother to stop due to the milk not being enough nutrition for the child. She said that a breastfed toddler will refuse food, and so will suffer poor nutrition. Milagros and I initiated this conversation in reaction to a woman with a one-year-old who had visited Milagros’ juice stand. The woman’s child had been fussy, and the woman briefly breastfeed the child, which caused him to immediately calm down. Milagros commented to me that the woman was making a mistake by breastfeeding to soothe her son. She says that she used to make that mistake with her first child. She now believes that the problem was (and currently is with this visiting woman) that the child should be eating more food that is solid rather than breastfeeding. The technique of breastfeeding to soothe the child keeps the child from developing healthy eating habits. She believes now that it is wrong to “give in” to a fussy child by breastfeeding them. My description here demonstrates the focus of her criticism was on teaching healthy eating habits to one’s child, but Milagros also used the word mimado in the course of her description of children breastfed incorrectly, a word that is often translated as spoiled or
pampered. Milagros described Perla as a fussy infant when it came to being breastfed, saying Perla “es muy comelona – reclama a gritos la [Perla]. [is very hungry/eats a lot – she cries out, that Perla].”

Malnutrition is still a problem for poor Peruvians, despite decades of work by nonprofit organizations and the Peruvian government. Small soup kitchens are in every established pueblo jóven. Community members run them with financial support from the government or charities. Most families that I spent time with had sufficient food every day. However, it was common for the mothers to discuss nutrition and voice concern over their children not receiving sufficient vitamins from their food in my presence. Two different mothers, including Milagros, asked me to bring children’s vitamins from the United States when I returned to them. Milagros told me that a pediatrician had told her that Perla might not be receiving sufficient minerals in her diet, and that she needed supplements. Milagros said that the vitamins in the U.S. would be of better quality than the ones in Peruvian pharmacies. I did bring bottles of children’s vitamins back to Peru with me at these women’s request and shared them with any other families that requested them.

It was not clear to me whether these children were suffering from any actual vitamin deficiencies, and I did see them eat varied and generally healthy foods daily. What is interesting is the persistent concern with nutrition and the vitamin content of the children’s diets. I believe that the knowledge of the serious problems with malnutrition that have plagued many rural Quechua communities, including the ones that the Cerrito families came from, have left an impression on these families today. Breast milk may not be seen as a sufficiently vitamin-rich food to support a toddler or older child. The parents
want their children to grow healthy and strong, suffering no effects of malnutrition like they know their people have, and still do, face.

**Children at Work**

While parents protect and nurture children in many ways in the poor communities of Lima, they are not completely sheltered from the effects of poverty. Poverty affects family dynamic and childrearing decisions, of course. Living in poverty in Lima also creates a living environment more similar to a rural sierra upbringing than that of the middle- and upper-class communities of Lima. In Cerrito and other poor neighborhoods, I witnessed children as young as four selling small items on the streets or in market stalls. Homemade popsicles were a very common item I saw children selling on the streets during the summer months. Children will also mind market stalls for a short time while their parents run an errand or help alongside a parent in a stall or on the side of the road. I never witnessed a school-aged child working during school hours during my fieldwork, but I did see many working full-time during the summer recess.

Parents will also assign children babysitting duties in a less commercial, but extremely important job. In the Rodriguez family, Julio is enlisted to watch his young sister or mind the market stall on occasion, but only for short periods while his mother runs an errand or speaks with a neighbor. I never witnessed a complaint about this from him. From observations around the market, I rarely saw male children put in charge of watching younger siblings, but I frequently saw female children in that role. There has also been some use of the larger kin network to rear the children in Milagros and Leo’s extended families. Milagros has a sister whose husband left her to raise five young
children. Milagros and Leo took in two of the sons of that family for an extended time to help the sister during difficult times. In turn, when their son Julio was born, one of Milagros’ nieces from Ica stayed with them for a time in order to help with the baby while Milagros worked. Family care is extremely common in Peru. Live-in or full-time nannies are also common among the middle and upper classes. Peruvians also have access to daycare facilities, called *nidos*.

**El Nido**

A nido is a childcare facility for toddlers in Peru. A Quechua phrase is used for the state-sponsored nidos in Peru - *wawa wasi* (sometimes spelled as one word). *Wawa* is the Quechua word for baby and *wasi* translates to home. The *Programa Nacional de Wawa Wasi* (National Wawa Wasi Program) began officially in 1993, though there had been local programs in various regions before that. The Wawa Wasi program is for infants and children from six months to four years old. The program is for children living in poverty whose parents need to work. Wawa wasi teachers are usually hired from the local community. The Peruvian government advertises the nido program as part of their anti-poverty and women’s equality initiatives.

Wawa wasis are overcoming a bad reputation acquired in the 1990s. Several wawa wasis at that time were found to be providing substandard care. The media reported widely on instances of children being left alone in cribs for hours and children left in soiled diapers for long stretches of time.

The wawa wasi in Cerrito receives government support but also charges parents a modest rate of around a dollar a day. The nido carries a stigma in Cerrito just like in other
places but has full enrollment for its one class of around a dozen students. Milagros says she is comfortable sending Perla there because it is clean, the children enjoy themselves and are learning new things, and most importantly, she trusts the teacher. The teacher’s daughter runs a stall in the market, and so Milagros knows the whole family. She explained that this was important to her in deciding to enroll Perla.

I frequently observed women asking where Perla is when they stopped by the stall and Perla was at the nido. Milagros said that women frequently ask her how she can be comfortable sending her child there, and she explains how good the place is for the children. She makes a point of saying that the teacher is a good person, and good with the children. Milagros explained to me that there were wawa wasis in the recent past that regulators caught being neglectful to the children, but that they have all improved. She explained that there is still a reputation that the caretakers in the wawa wasis will not change the children’s diapers frequently enough and will not take care of the children in an affectionate way. Milagros speaks up for the nido that her daughter attends to every woman who asks. In one conversation I witnessed, an acquaintance asked Milagros with a very skeptical tone if she is comfortable sending her daughter there. Milagros told her yes, that she is very confident of the teacher and that she takes good care of her daughter. The woman then asked Milagros if Perla cries when Milagros leaves her there. Milagros said no, that her daughter says goodbye cheerfully and plays with friends. The woman said that in that case it was okay for her to leave Perla there.

My observations of the nido in Cerrito were very positive. The facility was indeed clean and equipped with a variety of age-appropriate toys and furnishings. The teacher did seem to be very competent and trustworthy. I would have felt comfortable sending
my own son there. The facility was a cement building with three small rooms inside comprising around 800 square feet. There was no outside play area. On occasion that I accompanied Milagros to pick up Perla, we came as the children were still finishing their mazamora, a typical Peruvian dessert similar to mixed-fruit jam. Milagros was very impressed to see that all the little children were sitting at the child-sized table eating quietly. She pointed this out to me as evidence of how good the teacher is at her job. (find those examples of when quiet children are equated with well-behaved children)

Working Mothers

Before Milagros began using the nido, Perla was with her full time. Milagros worked then, as she does now, at least ten hours a day in the market stall nearly every day. Before Perla was walking and began at the nido, Milagros had a portable crib set up in her small stall. Perla would play with toys and nap in there while Milagros cooked and served customers. She laughed and told me they used to call her a little piggy in her pen - chanchita en su corral. Milagros described how difficult it would be when she was in the middle of serving a customer and Perla would get upset and begin to cry. She said that Perla would have to wait even though she was crying. “A veces hasta he llorado porque yo estaba ocupada atendiendo y no había quien me apoye.” – Sometimes she would cry because I was busy attending to a client and there was no one to help. This is why Perla is more independent than Julio, Milagros explained, because he would never have to wait to be comforted. In this way the circumstances of work shaped Milagros’ parenting choices though she did choose the type of work she would do in order to be able to care for her children.
It was only the working situation that caused Milagros to not cater immediately to Perla’s every need. Perla, at only two, was indeed relatively independent by my own foreign standards. She loved to walk around the market with the older girls, playing games and begging treats off the adults.

Figure 8: Milagros and Perla in the market stall, looking out into the street. The crib remains in the stall in order to give Perla a place to take naps. She will occasionally play in it still when she wants to be in the small stall. At the time of this photograph she is able to climb in and out of it independently.

The other mothers in the market did not use cribs in their stalls. Most of the children were too old to need one, but the smaller children were cared for using the mantas. I asked Milagros why she had not used a manta with Perla. She said that she did not have anything against them; it was just that she felt like Perla would have been knocked into things in one since she was in such a small space in the stall.

The wealthier families that I met in Lima never used mantas, and I never saw one in use when I spent time in the wealthier districts. One middle-class mother I befriended described mantas as being dangerous for children, particularly because the child would be vulnerable to impact injuries. Wealthier families, even just middle-class ones, will
commonly employ a full-time nanny if the mother works. As I mentioned, Milagros herself worked as a live-in nanny and housekeeper before her son was born.

Many poor and working-class mothers in Lima do not work full time due to childcare constraints. As discussed earlier, nidos and wawa wasis are not universally trusted. Many poor Limeña women do work in the informal economy, selling goods on the streets with their children in tow. Women in those situations frequently use mantas out of convenience since they allow the user to carry things in their arms while the child rides on their back. When children are old enough that they cannot easily be carried in a manta, they are approximately old enough to send to school, freeing up the mother to work. Many children from poor families in Peru also work. In the rural regions, this is rooted in a long agrarian history. In Lima, it is due to poverty and assumptions about what the children need to learn in order to survive financially in the future (Campoamor 2016). Compounding these decisions is the frequent absence of wage-earning fathers. From 2007-2009 women headed over 25% of Peruvian households (Arriagada 2014).

**Milagros the Mother**

Milagros’ work as a small business owner allows her a great deal of flexibility to leave when she needs to take care of her children or handle family business. She centers her career choices entirely around what she thinks are best for her family. For example, she once told me that daughters are more difficult to raise - that they need more careful monitoring. She went on to explain that she has a plan for when Perla reaches the age when she will want to be going out with friends. Milagros intends to change her business to a stall that sells fully cooked meals. There were two of these lunch eateries in the
market, and I saw them in every open-air market I visited around Lima. Lunch is the largest and heartiest meal of the day for Peruvians, and many people eat in these casual market stalls if they cannot return home to eat. Milagros explained that if she has one of these lunch stalls, she would need her daughter to be there to help her out a lot. That will keep her out of trouble, Milagros explained with a grin. Milagros elaborated that she and Leo will not allow Perla to roam the neighborhood, as Milagros did when she was a child in the countryside. She clarified that this is a particular concern when Perla becomes a teenager – that she will need to be convinced to stay under her parents’ supervision. Julio was a teenager during this conversation, yet Milagros did not mention needing to supervise her son.

Milagros’ connection with her serrano upbringing and culture is very salient in her life. The Quechua sprinkled in her conversations, her cooking, and her sense of morality all reflect that part of her. At the same time, she is a thoroughly urban woman. She moves about the city with confidence and shrewdness. Milagros dresses in Westernized clothing that fits in in any working-class Peruvian community. She does not stand out in Cerrito, nor in the surrounding neighborhoods of working-class Peruvians of serrano descent.

Milagros spent time living in a middle-class urban home when she first arrived in Lima as a young woman and was therefore intimately exposed to all the cultural ideals of childrearing that family adhered to. However, she described that family as being of a separate world from her, a separate culture. They were upper middle class, and so in many ways she could not emulate them. She spoke of her time with that family as a time
when she learned many things, but she believes it did not change her childrearing philosophy in a fundamental way.

Furthermore, Milagros embraces all that the city has to offer her children. She wants them to receive the best education she can afford; she uses Western-trained doctors and imagines modern careers for her children. In chapter four we will explore the urban childrearing scene in more detail to see what messages this system projects to Limeños, and which of those messages have taken hold among Milagros and her neighbors. In this way Milagros reflects the hybrid childrearing techniques of the larger community. The rural-to-urban migrants of Cerrito are navigating a childrearing style that combines what they see as beneficial from the two social systems with which they are familiar. Milagros and the other Peruvian parents I discuss in this dissertation serve as an appropriate illustration of the experience of rural-to-urban migrants in Lima.

**Overlapping Influences**

Day-to-day parenting behaviors such as breastfeeding and child carrying shape the individual in small but accumulating ways. Cultural values are embedded in the routine moments of family life and serve to construct the cultural person. Thomas Weisner (1998) describes these moments as being the critical times when children are encouraged to develop in ways that are most desired by their culture. Similarly, Bowlby and Ainsworth theorize that child-caregiver attachment relationships organize in response to daily interactions over time (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Bowlby, 1969/1982). These Western theories of development will be the subject of more in-depth conversation in the next chapter.
The childrearing practices of the Rodriguez family and their migrant neighbors described in this chapter are shaping their children to hold and fit into a particular worldview, which ensures their enculturation in an urban Lima life. Their experience as migrants and as urban residents has been an important factor in forming their worldview. However, they will not be as completely acculturated as the children of urban-born parents, a perspective I take from Patricia Greenfield (2009). Greenfield argues that urban parents encourage qualities in their children that prepare them for a future in a capitalist economy such as independence. Perla and her young peers in Cerrito have only lived in urban Lima. Their environment is one important force that shapes their perspectives. This idea of the urban environment shaping residents’ perspectives and childrearing will be discussed in more depth in chapter four.

It is useful to frame the ways parents choose childrearing techniques in terms of their goals for children. However, it is important to understand that parents do not choose all, or even most, of their childrearing techniques consciously. Childrearing is a behavior that exists in the seemingly separate domains of biological instinct, cultural habit and the explicitly learned. Childrearing behaviors are often all those things at once. An example from my Limeño informants is attentive affection when infants cry. A baby was only ignored when absolute necessity took away the caregiver’s attention, and even then, just for a short time. It may indeed be that a biological drive compels humans to attend to a baby when they cry (see Hrdy 1999). However, anthropologists have observed cultures around the world where caretakers intentionally leave babies to cry for various reasons including to encourage independence (Markus & Kitayama 1991). For example, some cultural traditions hold that babies should be left to cry themselves to sleep in order to
learn how to sleep alone - a belief both unspoken and explicitly taught. Attentive affection (or the lack thereof) to distressed infants is driven by instincts, cultural imperatives, and lessons.

In my earlier work with middle-class American parents, I developed a particular interest in the interplay between cultural imperatives and perceived instincts. Culture is the force driving so many of our actions, altering our biological instincts, and shaping our thoughts in innumerable ways. Since so much of culture’s influence is invisible, it can feel very much like instinct. We often experience the childrearing choices we make as instincts and thoughts arising solely from our own consciousness. However, so many of these behaviors are in fact cultural because they are not human universals and are not unique to individuals. They are patterned behaviors common to a cultural group and function to create new citizens of that group in the next generation. The daily enactments of childrearing that we see in these families, I will show in subsequent chapters reflect the influences of multiple systems: Latin American history, Spanish colonial history, Quechua history, and modern urban life. The city environment, as well as the Peruvian state, shape residents in ways they are not always aware of, even when the methods used are out in the open. When the culture of the parent changes, their childrearing behaviors change. This is what we see with Milagros and her peers in Cerrito. Their childrearing beliefs and behaviors are always morphing to conform to the culture they find themselves in, as well as the society they expect their children to live in as adults. This sometimes happens in explicit ways, as when they talk about sending their children to better schools in order to improve their job prospects. This also happens in ways that feel completely instinctual to Cerrito parents, and they answer my questions with bemused comments.
about their behaviors simply being “natural” or “best.” This area of behaviors that feel like instincts are just as much shaped by the unacknowledged cultural environment as the explicitly chosen childrearing behaviors.

The rural-to-urban migrants of Lima, whom the parents of Cerrito will represent, can illustrate a larger story of culture change and childrearing. The intense rate at which the world has urbanized in the last two generations has consequences that social theorists are still working to understand. The families discussed in this book provide a window into the ways in which parents experience this urbanization in their own lives, and how they enact their experiences in the intimate sphere of childrearing. The consequences of culture change within the life of a single individual, who is a member of a larger group undergoing the same change, are visible in the ways they parent, and are thus a rich area for ethnographic study.
Chapter 3 - Western Childrearing Theory

In the preceding chapters we have focused on the Cerrito community and the parents I observed and interviewed there, describing their rural upbringings and the ways in which that has influenced their culture and lifestyles in their current urban environment. However, the cultural systems that influence the childrearing practices of the Rodríguezes and their neighbors include wider Peru, Latin America, and the globalized world. Giddens argues that modernity is an inherently globalizing force (1991:21). Globalization has allowed an environment for modern Western culture, and in some cases American culture even more, to become very culturally influential in many parts of the world. I found Spanish-language versions of popular American childrearing books in a mall bookstore and magazine article offering childrearing advice based on Western childrearing theory in newsstands in Lima.

Figure 9: Bookstand. A selection of childrearing-related books available in a grocery store in an upper middle-class neighborhood in Lima. Some of the books seen here are translations of books published first in the United States.
In conversations with Peruvians, they often associated American goods, media, and the English language with positive traits like quality, wealth, and fashionableness. This is by no means a universal opinion, nor does it extend to all aspects of American culture. The Peruvians I met in Cerrito and in other communities are just as critical of American politics and culture as people in any other country. However, American cultural ideals and theories of human nature have been influential over the past decades. Therefore, it is important to understand two Western cultural theories that have a profound influence on how theorists and laypeople alike study and understand childrearing and development in the West, and worldwide: Attachment Theory and Western pediatrics.

I did not begin fieldwork with the goal of debunking the dominant theories of child-rearing in Western psychology or anthropology. Understanding these theories as a student of culture interested in childrearing has been important in both fieldwork experiences. It is also important to understand the cross-cultural critiques of Western theories of child development, Attachment Theory in particular, that several anthropologists have developed. These critiques reexamine a fundamental tenet of American psychology by showing that what American families and psychologists take for granted is foreign and often maladaptive in other cultural settings. In my earlier fieldwork among white American parents, I found that my interviewees took Attachment Theory’s teachings, and the models of parenting that have arisen from them, as truth. A finding of that fieldwork was that the models of parenting and of optimal childhood development trajectories from Attachment Theory were so much a part of these American parents’ worldview that they must be part of their shared culture. Being of these parents’
culture, it was in large part invisible to them. It felt like instinct and truth, as cultural
structures so often do. Working with my research participants in Cerrito revealed that the
influence of Attachment Theory and Western pediatrics exists in their lives as well as
wider Lima. Cerrito parents also demonstrated the importance of feelings of trust for
them as parents thus showing this similarity across other cultural differences.

**Western Theory in Cerrito**

There are two primary reasons why Western childrearing and developmental
psychology theories are included in this ethnographic study of a non-Western group.
First, it is important to note that the anthropologist is a Westerner, and thus approaches
this community with an academic and cultural background that includes the constellation
of theories that are Western psychology. As a large subset of this, American cultural
ideas of childrearing are observable in Cerrito. In order to better understand this influence
and how it differs from childrearing theories of the research participants’ natal families,
this section will describe a foundational theory in Western psychology of childrearing.

These Western theories of psychology and childrearing were the foundation of
my academic training in psychology and child development. Furthermore, they are the
theories that most influenced my own parents and thus shaped how they raised me. There
are compelling cross-cultural critiques of Attachment Theory, particularly from
anthropology. Ethnographic work in a wide variety of types of societies show that the
Western model of ideal attachment does not hold up in many contexts (see especially
Cassaniti 2015; Quinn & Mageo, eds. 2013). Morelli and Henry (in Quinn & Mageo, eds.
2013:243) argue that there are important problems with using psychological constructs in communities that were not involved in the formation of those theories.

More broadly, the term attachment when used in the parent–child relationship refers to the bonding that occurs as an infant learns to rely on the caregiver(s) to fulfill their needs. The infant emotionally attaches to the caregiver and relies on him or her to protect and care for them. The attachment process is rooted in human evolution as a way to encourage adults to care for infants and for infants to elicit caregiving behavior (Hrdy 1999:116).

In interviews with various participants I used the Spanish word vínculo to mean attachment between a child and caretaker. Responses to a question I asked several participants about how an attachment is formed with an infant are typified in an interview with a young mother:

“Cuidarlo, protegerlo de todo. De todo lo malo. De protegerlo de todo lo malo y alimentarlo... llevarle al médico a sus controles todo lo que hago con mis hijos.”

– Care for him, protect him from everything. From all bad things. Protect him from everything bad and feed him... take him to the doctor for his vaccinations, all that I do with my children.”

The question was how to form an attachment – vínculo – with an infant that is adopted. In this quote we see that the speaker sees concrete actions as a way to initiate a bond with an infant outside of the childbirth and genetic relationships. Attachment, in this theory, is not an automatic process, but one that must be enacted by the caretaker despite the evolutionary processes that may encourage such behavior.
Western psychological theory includes ideas about how attachment forms between young children and their caretakers. The leading theory in this area is called Attachment Theory.

**Attachment Theory**

Attachment Theory is the preeminent theory of child development in Western psychology and developmental studies. John Bowlby first developed Attachment Theory as a theory of child development and behavior that describes the nature of emotional attachment and the effects different qualities of attachment in early childhood have on the person throughout life.

Building upon the psychoanalytic traditions of Sigmund Freud and his students, John Bowlby and his student Mary Salter Ainsworth developed the now widely accepted idea that the emotional life of the child has a significant effect on their future as an adult. After working in a juvenile detention facility, psychologist John Bowlby developed Attachment Theory to explain the effect of early childhood relationships on later adolescent and adult behavior (see Bowlby 1969 and Ainsworth et al. 1978). The theory posits that a lack of a stable, outwardly affectionate bond with a caregiver in the first year of life causes lasting psychological damage. When primary attachment is not well established, many theorists believe that a variety of problems occur for the child ranging from poor quality adult relationships to criminal sociopathy (Keller 2007:112).

There are, Ainsworth (1978:241) argues, different types of attachment exhibited in infants that reflect the different types of care they receive. The ideal form of attachment is “secure.” The securely attached infant has received a sufficient quantity of
care, attention, and affection to form a close emotional connection with a primary caregiver. If a caregiver fails to provide the required quantity of care, attention and affection then the infant will not become securely attached. The concurrent implication is that if the infant is not securely attached, as demonstrated by specific behaviors such as avoiding physical contact and resisting comforting, it is the fault of the primary caregiver.

Developmental psychologists study attachment through clinical observations of infants and young children in a standardized procedure called the “Strange Situation.” The Strange Situation is a scenario created for an infant wherein she spends time in a room with children’s toys, the mother/primary caretaker and a female research assistant. The procedure dictates specific intervals on time that include the mother exiting the room and returning twice Ainsworth (1978). The behaviors exhibited by children under these conditions elicit a classification of the child as either “Secure,” “Insecure Avoidant,” “Insecure Resistant,” or “Insecure Disorganized.” The theory states that different kinds and qualities of caregiving shape the form of attachment that the infant exhibits, and that this will be evident in the Strange Situation procedure. For example, an infant who actively seeks proximity to the mother as well as smiling or approaching the mother after she returns from her absence is exhibiting secure attachment behaviors (Ainsworth 1978).

Different forms of childrearing in other cultures foster attachment to multiple caregivers, but to U.S. Attachment theorists these interdependent parenting models are seen as pathological (Keller 2007:112). Therefore, the model of the single primary caregiver, usually and ideally the mother, is the only “good” way to rear an infant.

Some theorists forward evolutionary arguments that secure emotional attachment in infants is the reason Western parental behavioral prescriptions cannot be called into
question. Crittenden and Marlowe (in Quinn & Mageo, eds. 1991:68-9) argue that emerging understandings of the evolution of childcare, particularly cooperative care, can lend an improved understanding of variation in attachment patterns among human populations. Citing Sarah Hrdy and others, they argue that using an evolutionary approach that includes observations of current small-scale hunter-gatherer populations provides a basis for a more nuanced theory of infant-caregiver attachment patterns.

However, this does not consider the way our evolutionary ancestors likely lived. It would be a rare mother then, as now, who could cease all other forms of labor just to care solely for one infant full time (Hrdy 1999:101; Keller 2007:24). Mothers have always been responsible for acquiring food, caring for other children, and other important duties (Hrdy 1999:109). At the same time, mothers across cultures and across time have typically had the assistance of other individuals in their group to help raise their children.

Developmental psychologists have developed Attachment Theory mainly in the Western cultural context. Despite Ainsworth conducting studies in Uganda early in her career, there is a bias towards the egocentric and autonomous socialization style built into the theory and the ways of measuring child behaviors in attachment studies. Work is being done in anthropology to challenge these fundamental assumptions about the superiority of certain developmental trajectories, socialization styles, and parenting behaviors (including Keller 2007; Keller & Harwood 2009, 2007; Levine & Norman 2009; Weisner 2005). Anthropology is particularly well-suited to uncovering the cultural bias built into Attachment Theory and several anthropologists have done work with families that demonstrates multiple modes of attachment formation that serve people well in different cultural contexts. For example, Chapin describes the infant-caregiver
relationships observed in her fieldwork among the Sinhala people in Sri Lanka and finds that autonomy takes a very different form in the Sinhala self (in Quinn & Mageo eds. 2013:143-163). Caregivers do not encourage children to express their needs or desires and discourage verbal expression in general. These behaviors, Chapin argues, do not produce children who American developmental psychologists would classify as securely attached in a clinical exam (see Ainsworth 1978). However, these children grow to become fully functioning members of their society with successful relationships.

Since becoming almost universally accepted in the professional, Western psychological community, Attachment Theory has seeped into popular culture and folk models of childrearing to the extent that it is now integral to popular conceptions of the child’s mind and of human personality formation in the West and beyond. Attachment Theory is the basis for the lay conception of childhood emotional development. My 2010 research with a group of middle-class American mothers (discussed in the introduction) explored the ways in which Attachment Theory has moved into the non-professional sphere by way of pediatricians and the authors of popular childrearing manuals.

Currently, one of the more popular sources of Attachment Theory-based childrearing advice for U.S. parents is pediatrician and Professor William Sears. With his wife and son, he operates a large business that includes websites, television appearances, magazine columns, and many books. The “Dr. Bill” franchise promotes a philosophy that descends directly from Spock’s theory of childrearing and popularized Attachment Theory. Sears created the term “Attachment Parenting” and uses it often in his many media appearances. Sears describes Attachment Parenting as “a high-touch, highly responsive way of caring for your baby that helps you feel close to your baby and your baby feel
close to you. Sears’ Attachment Parenting has seven “tools:” birth bonding, breastfeeding, babywearing, bedding close to baby (preferably co-sleeping), responding to baby’s cries as communication, avoiding “baby trainers” (other parents who don’t parent using these “tools”), and balance (Askdrsears.com N.d.a). All of these parenting behaviors were part of the study participants’ parenting philosophies. Several of these childrearing techniques are widespread cross-culturally, which may give the false impression that Sears’ parenting advice is cross-culturally applicable. On this topic, Sears makes several references to how (he believes) children are raised in “traditional cultures” (see Sears & Sears 2001:110, 122), using these vignettes as examples to aspire to. The value-laden comparison Sears makes to “traditional” childrearing models and “modern” American childrearing models is a common trope harkening to Rousseau’s noble savage. While the informants who contributed to this research are observed to glorify their real or imagined ideas of their rural sierra upbringings, they are living in a more complex reality than Sears imagines. Experiences in their own rural upbringings and in the social and psychological models of urban Limeño culture can both conflict and align. Despite variation relationships of trust and interpersonal attachment develop to become apparently what Sears describes.

A feature of Sears’ philosophy that stands out as prototypically American is the emphasis on the baby’s individual feelings and desires. There is a high value placed on the infant’s individual personhood. Sears writes “Attachment parenting [AP] works because it respects the individual temperament of the child” (Sears 1987:8). “The AP child becomes programmed to the importance of interpersonal relationships…” (Sears & Sears 2001:25). When arguing for the benefits of Attachment Parenting, Sears states that
it builds attachment between the infant and mother in that “The child learns to trust. Trust creates the feeling that ‘I am a special person’” (Sears 1987:9). Attachment Parenting promotes an intense dyadic bond, while at the same time encouraging the child to attune to and express their individual needs and desires, and thus develop into an independent adult.

An important cultural value for the parents I observed in my thesis research is independence. This fits neatly into the tenets of Attachment Theory. The idea that every person is an individual is integral to classical Attachment Theory, as well as the larger U.S. model of the human self. The autonomous, individual self is adapted to the modern, urbanized U.S. (Keller 2007) and is integral to many aspects of social life and psychology. This cultural model of the self informs parents how to raise their children. In turn, psychological theory has shaped popular notions of the self in the West, even as the theories have arisen from the cultural paradigms in which they were born. Writing about parenting cross-culturally, Keller notes that “parenting strategies form organized sets of beliefs and practices that inform socialization goals. Socialization goals directly translate the cultural model of the self into developmental goals for particular developmental periods” (2007:252). Keller’s study participants, parents in Los Angeles, Berlin and Athens placed relatively little value on their infant’s development of socialization skills (friendliness, cooperation, outgoing behaviors), and valued autonomy much higher (2007:105). Attachment Parenting (based upon Attachment Theory) places a high value on interpersonal relationships in the nuclear family, seeming to contradict the American emphasis on individuality over socialization. A feature of Sears’ philosophy that stands out as different from many “traditional” cultures is the emphasis on the baby’s individual
feelings and desires. There is a high value placed on the infant’s individual personhood. Sears writes “Attachment parenting works because it respects the individual temperament of the child” (Sears 1987:8). “The AP child becomes programmed to the importance of interpersonal relationships…” (Sears & Sears 2001:25). When arguing for the benefits of Attachment Parenting, Sears states that it builds attachment between the infant and mother, in that “The child learns to trust. Trust creates the feeling that ‘I am a special person’” (Sears 1987:9). Clearly, Attachment Parenting is a Western creation.

The topic of independence came up in my conversations with Milagros, and among her friends in my presence. Milagros describes her daughter, Perla, as much more independent than her son. She explains that the independence is apparent in Perla’s taking food items from the market stall shelves for herself, opening packages herself, and telling people to give her things (as opposed to expressing a feeling like hunger). Her son did not behave in those ways in his toddlerhood, she says, and instead needed everything done for him. When I asked Milagros why she believes the children are different from each other, she says it is because she spent more time with Julio in his infancy and toddlerhood. She did not go back to paid work as soon and this fostered dependency on her. Another way this topic came up in conversation was among a small group of Milagros’ friends in the market. One afternoon at Milagros’ stall table, a friend asked her if she is worried about Julio developing romantic relationships in the future because he is so apegado – attached (to her). Milagros said that she is not worried but agreed that he is very attached. This conversation demonstrates that the attachment relationships between parents and children are important to these Cerrito parents, and that they do perceive
differing qualities of attachment relationships much as developmental psychologists do though with different perspectives and conclusions.

Ideas of how attachment is formed between children and caretakers, as well as what that attachment should look like and the purpose it should serve in adulthood vary cross culturally but can change under various kinds of cultural influence (see Casillas 2012).

**Sierra Childrearing and Attachment**

Levine (1974) and Keller (2007), among others, argue that different parenting techniques develop based upon different social goals formed by the culture. Keller provides compelling ethnographic examples that examine different attachment formations from Germany, showing how differences can be important even among Western cultures. Greenfield (2009) argues that cultural values adapt to the sociodemographic environment. Parenting methods, reflecting the parent’s theories of self and appropriate socialization, thus adapt to the surrounding social and societal circumstances.

Quechua childrearing practices described in the literature (Lobo 1982; Leinaweaver 2008; Canessa 2012) allow for some educated speculation about attachment formations in the Quechua population. Many of the rural Quechua childrearing practices described by anthropologists such as Leinaweaver and Canessa (see also Babb 1989 and Bolin 2006) are typical those seen in many small-scale cultures around the world, groups that social theorists sometimes label sociocentric or interdependent, as opposed to egocentric or independent. This would make them similar in general to the other small-scale culture groups of the wider region. A sociocentric culture values social relationships
over individuality. This is in contrast to an individualistic culture (such as the U.S.) where individuality is valued more highly (Markus & Kitayama 1991). Scholars argue that this dichotomy is false, and that cultures fall on a continuum, and that sub-groups of a culture can range widely within a culture (Mageo 2002:141; Sinha & Tripathi 1994).

Greenfield (2009) and Keller (2007), among others, describe a style of social-psychological orientation among people that reflects the scale of the society they live in. Small, rural communities outside of the Western world typically foster an interdependent, community-oriented sense of self. This related self is on the opposite end of the continuum from urban dwellers, who more typically have an autonomous, independent sense of self. Greenfield (2009) is careful to point out that all self-orientations contain elements of both interdependence and independence, and that the two should not be conceptualized as binary. Greenfield also argues that cultural groups change what they foster in reaction to changing social conditions. As cultures are adaptive and never static, neither are their theories of self. Caregivers, during infancy, are the first influencers on the self-orientation that a person develops during their life. If a child grows up in the same cultural environment as her parents, it is most likely that she will develop essentially the same self-orientation as her parents. Migrant families do not experience this level of continuity, and instead see change across generations (Greenfield 2009).

As for coastal Peru, the urban environment has been in place for many generations now. The childrearing practices of the urbanized Quechua communities fit the “autonomous relatedness” socialization behaviors as described in Greenfield (2009). Greenfield argues that an autonomous-related self is an intermediate stage in the continuum between the autonomous orientation (typical in large-scale, Western
societies), and the interrelated orientation (typical in small-scale, agrarian societies). This autonomous-related self maintains the close-knit ties of their heritage community, while also using autonomous decision-making (2009:413). As the generations pass, childrearing patterns are increasingly aligning with large-scale cultures around the world. This movement is happening first with wealthier and educated Peruvians, who are typically also the least connected to an indigenous identity.

Lupita, a Cerrito market vendor whose children are now grown, told me that when she was younger and newly living in Lima, she learned about childrearing from an employer, who was a nurse. She cared for this woman’s infant, and the woman taught her the “right” ways to do this care:

“Ella me ensañaba. ‘Cuando tengas tu bebe así le vas a bañar, así le vas a cambiar’… Yo emprendia…. Cuando ya Sali mi bebe, asi tenia que atenderle.” –

She taught me. ‘When you have your baby, this is how you bathe him, this is how you go to walk’… I learned… When my baby came, this is how I took care of her.

Lupita is explaining here how she was influenced by new acquaintances in her urban environment and by biomedical childrearing techniques.

Rural Quechua childrearing practices are very like other rural groups of the wider region and are characterized in large part by sociocentric values and early encouragement of familial responsibilities (Babb 1989; Leinaweaver 2008). Similarly, the young children of the Cerrito market were regularly left to watch after each other within the boundaries of the market, being only loosely supervised by the collective group of adults. Rural Quechua newborns traditionally accompany their mothers to work after a brief recovery
time. Mothers typically carry infants in a wrap on their back and breastfeed on demand (Babb 1989). This near-constant bodily contact with the infant is a childrearing behavior that keeps the child in the center of home and social activity, but not the center of attention (Bolin 2006). This could also describe Perla in her crib in the market – in the midst of her mother’s work, but not the focus of her mother’s attention. Attachment theorists, such as Suzanne Gaskins, associate this practice with cultures that encourage multiple early attachments, and larger kin group solidarity as opposed to nuclear family and dyadic attachment (Gaskins 2013). My fieldwork environment was different in many ways from the rural community that Bolin (2006) and Babb (1989) worked in but I did observe each of the childrearing practices discussed here in use among the families of Cerrito. The differences in childrearing practices between the Quechua people of Cerrito, and the Quechua people of the rural Andes may be in the variety. Family practices varied in my observations more than Bolin and Babb discuss in their ethnographic accounts.

Babb (1989) found Quechua infants to be desired, welcomed, and doted upon in her study of a medium-sized town in the Andes. Infants receive a lot of attention and affection from everyone in their lives. The mother-infant relationship is not solitary and not primary in later childhood. Across the Andes, the community traditionally considers children an entirely necessary component to a family (Lobo 1982; Bolin 2006). Lobo (1982) and Bolin (2006) describe parenting children as a key component of achieving full adult status in the Quechua communities they studied. However, this does not mean that children are the center of family life in the same way that they are in the United States. Quechua children are provided for and the object of much interest and planning by the parents, but they are not coddled and are considered productive members of the
household unit, even in the cities (Lobo 1982). Lobo (1982) found Quechua migrant parents in Lima to not be directly involved in their children’s care after weaning, but rather to be their financial supporters, and the general supervisors of a group of children. In her study of an extremely rural Quechua community, Inge Bolin even found that the community did not recognize childhood as a distinct stage of life (2006). Other anthropologists have also noted a limited amount of time spent in play and other child-specific activities (Nuñez del Prado and Whyte 1973). As is so common cross-culturally, rural Quechua children are responsible for the care of younger siblings shortly after toddlerhood (Babb 1989; Nuñez del Prado and Whyte 1973), a practice also seen by the anthropologist Susan Lobo among Andean migrants living in Lima in the 1970s and ‘80s (1982).

Anthropologist Jessaca Leinaweaver’s (2008b:136) observations include the growth of attachment over time between parents and children. An informant reported to her that the loss of a teenage child is far worse than the loss of an infant, because the love and bond is much deeper. Parent-child attachment does not form fully in infancy, according to this theory, but changes over time as the pair spend more time together. It follows then that the child’s attachment orientation will not fully form in infancy, and therefore the ethnotheory of child development that Leinaweaver observed would not consider a measure such as the Strange Situation, typically performed on toddlers, to be an accurate metric for a child’s psychology. Western development psychology theories hold that a child’s basic attachment orientation is effectively unchangeable by school-age, but this is not a universally-held belief.
Historically, many children were circulated around kin groups within the ayllu. Anthropologists have observed similar practices in many different groups around the world, such as Samoans (Mageo 1998; Mead 1928), the Inuit (1998), and the Murik of Papua New Guinea (Barlow 2013). The common threads among these groups is a group attachment orientation and economic need. In times of special hardship, Leinaweaver found that urban Quechua people still consider child circulation a viable option and have adapted orphanages and godparent relationships to suit their needs for continued child circulation (2007). These child circulation practices did not result in widespread psychological dysfunction in traditional sierra communities. The attachment orientation fit the social and economic needs of the people.

**Medicalization of Childrearing**

Following the developmental psychology community, modern American pediatrics has adopted Bowlby and Ainsworth’s Attachment Theory almost completely (Levine & Norman 2001:84; Keller 2007; Kamieski 2010; Levine 2011). However, the profession has taken it in a medical direction. In the U.S., childhood behavior has been medicalized to a very large extent. Many scholars of American childrearing have noted how the field of pediatrics has expanded its scope beyond treating childhood illnesses to emotional development, social skills, and other behaviors previously considered outside of their purview (Pawluch 2003:219; Conrad & Schneider 1980:145). Any behavioral deviance is subject to definition as a medical problem, an illness to be diagnosed and treated (Conrad & Schneider 1980:170).
The medicalization of childhood in the West has expanded concurrently with medicalization generally. Of relevance to this discussion is the medicalization of pregnancy, childbirth and children’s behavior. Women and children are particular targets of medicalization (Pawluch 2003:223; Malacrida 2002:67). Mother’s bodies, from pregnancy through breastfeeding are regularly interacting with the medical profession. Under this view, medical professionals no longer consider mothers knowledgeable enough to birth their own children without a doctor (Cheyney 2011:3). These medicalizing authorities, in fact, do not consider mothers knowledgeable about any aspect of childrearing without instruction. While the “maternal instinct” is still a pervasive mythology, motherhood has in many ways been professionalized (Arnup, Levesque & Pierson 1990:xix). Malacrida, describing a “medicalized motherhood,” asserts that governmental and medical authorities have targeted mothers for educational campaigns and interventions due to their inability to be “good mothers” without them (2002:367-8). Pediatricians are the face of this educational campaign in the lives of American parents. Pediatricians often offer information in addition to health-related issues, ranging to general child rearing techniques and advice. Defining something as a medical problem, be it infant sleeplessness or colic, places it under the control of the biomedical community. The medical problem is “removed from the public realm, where there can be discussion by ordinary people”, doctors replace parents as experts in their own children’s care (Conrad & Schneider 1980:249).

In this way, parental decision-making has been medicalized. Peter Conrad and Joseph Schneider (1980) describe the existence of “medical social control,” a mechanism by which medicine functions “to secure adherence to social norms” and provide
“directives… [which] serve as road signs for desirable behavior” (242). Philosopher Michel Foucault (1982) described this twentieth-century trend towards placing power in the hands of medical experts as the process of society legitimating the knowledge of certain dominant groups, thus disempowering others. The biomedical community, Foucault (1973) argues, has worked to separate the patient’s body from the patient’s mind through examination, the “medical gaze.” The medicalizing cultural system thus separates knowledge from the patient and placed in the hands of the medical expert.

**Trustng Memories or Pediatricians**

On several occasions during our conversations, Milagros criticized parenting methods that encourage children to be spoiled or overly dependent upon their parents. The behaviors she discussed in this way included breastfeeding as a way to soothe fussiness in a child over six months old, attending to a fussing toddler too quickly and keeping a child at home instead of a nido or preschool. All of these behaviors appeared common among the visitors of the market where Milagros and I were conversing. Milagros would speak of these childrearing behaviors as though they are outdated and uniformed. She contrasted the behaviors with the childrearing advice she has received from pediatricians during these conversations. The behaviors she touted and described as being from a pediatrician include speaking directly to the child and infant massages. LeVine (1991) argues that this kind of face-to-face engagement with a young child promotes independence and is suited to modern Western economics. Keller (2007) argues that the childrearing behaviors that Milagros criticizes such as the attentive soothing are associated with interdependent societies, where the children learn to rely on family to
attend to their needs. Milagros is observably embracing the childrearing practices associated with modern, urban Western culture, as recommended by the medical professionals in her life.

As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, cultural belief structures often feel like instinct and truth. One simply knows these things, and in not knowing the origin of these beliefs, they become unquestioned fact. For the migrants of Cerrito, Western attachment styles and the parenting methods that foster them do not feel like instincts, they feel new. New can be conflated with modern, and with foreign. Many of my study participants conflate foreign and modern with superior. In discussions of childrearing, these patterns are not clear cut and do not hold at all times. When participants discussed Quechua culture in our conversations, it was not expressly negative. There is an appreciation for the ancestral culture among my friends in Cerrito. They speak positively of participating in folk dance groups, show off a little Quechua, and speak fondly of the food back home. However, the participants describe their childrearing practices as being modern, informed by pediatricians and teachers, and want to raise their children to be economically successful in Lima. This is not to say that they are not employing some of the childrearing techniques and behaviors they grew up with in the Sierras, in fact it is my argument that they are. These participants in Cerrito are not aware of the size of the influence their own upbringings have on their current parenting. The changes in thought and belief experienced by the rural-to-urban migrants of Cerrito are somewhere between the deep, unquestioned cultural belief structures, and fully conscious decisions.

In the next two chapters, I will describe how the Peruvian state is working to influence Limeño parents. The influences are delivered both explicitly, such as through
public health campaigns, and implicitly through the culture changes that inevitably arise as a community urbanizes.
Chapter 4 - Urban Lima: Fear and Safety in the City

In the urban sprawl of Lima, the many disparate communities that make up the city are connected to each other through the official apparatus of the state. The laws in Lima apply to all sections of the city. Taxes, utilities, and the elections are all citywide concerns. The national and city governments assert their influence in an attempt to unify the wider populace in several ways such as public media usage funding public services.

In the next chapter, I will explore the public health system and medical culture in Lima. In this chapter, I discuss the city itself as an actor in the lives of its residents. The ways Milagros and her family talk about their identities and their lives in Lima reveal that social environment influences how they interpret new information about childrearing.

Childrearing choices and beliefs exist (in part) in the minds of parents, and in part as an enactment of the social environment. We can see the ways a modern, large-scale social system shapes the parenting beliefs and choices of its residents through the lens of the experiences of Milagros and her neighbors. The participants discussed in this chapter say explicitly that living in the city changes how they raise their children. Through discussions of safety, governmental authority and the school system we can see that the urban environment changes whom and what these parents trust when it comes to childrearing decisions.

The Rodríguezes refer to themselves as Peruvians, and as serranos from Ica. Their neighborhood in Lima is where they live, but it is not a named identity. Being residents of a pueblo jóven naturally shapes their identity, and they are conscious of that. However,
the name of the community, and the name of their district in Lima is not a significant part of their public identity presentation. In fact, being Limeños is not a frequently named identity among this group. The people are all Limeños, but that is not their primary identification. When describing themselves to me, Cerrito community members would first state where they were originally from in Peru—always one of the rural provinces. This primacy of a non-Limeño identity marker implies that marker is the more important one to the person. It is possible that this is due to the discrimination rural migrants in Lima face, as will be discussed later in this chapter, or to the communities within Lima of migrants from the same rural regions that can serve to bolster a shared non-Limeño identity.

Metropolitan Lima

My acquaintances in the city of Lima consider it to be a dangerous place. As one might expect, this opinion exists among the middle and upper classes who live in the developed and modern sections of the city. However, this opinion exists among the residents of the pueblos jóvenes as well—and not without reason. The U.S. state department reports that Peru has one of the highest reported crime rates in Latin America (OSAC 2016). Everyone I met in Lima warned me of the dangers of traveling around the city. Almost everyone shared a story with me of at least one crime that had happened to someone they knew. These were mostly thefts of purses and cell phones, but I also listened to stories of kidnappings and assaults. Whenever I left friends after dark, someone would wait with me at the bus stop. I was careful but did not shy away from moving around the city alone. I did witness one petty theft while riding the bus out of
Cerrito one afternoon. A young woman had her cell phone snatched out of her hand by a young man who ran out of the bus’s rear exit. She yelled and chased him out of the door but was unsuccessful in retrieving her phone. A friend told me that this is a typical strategy and that I should avoid sitting near the rear exit and avoid using my phone while on the bus. This kind of practical advice was given to me often, as they saw me as someone ignorant to the dangers of Lima. At the same time, my friends would talk about street crimes as an inevitability that one cannot fully protect against. These daily experiences in distrust shape how families move in the social world including limiting who they look to for modeling childrearing.

Being a pueblo jóven, people from outside the community consider Cerrito especially dangerous. Inside the community, people have a more generous opinion of their neighbors, but are still very guarded with their cell phones and bags. Cerrito residents are very aware that people from other neighborhoods consider their neighborhood to be dangerous. Outsiders usually only come to the neighborhood in two situations: as employees of the government such as utility workers, or as tourists accompanying Manuel. Manuel is a community member who operates a tour company for foreigners looking to see the “real” Lima. Manuel uses the proceeds of his tours to help the community with various charitable projects. These tourists are only seen in the company of Manuel or one of his employees. His employees travel with small groups, and they usually have very limited interactions with community members while they visit. Residents considered my presence in the neighborhood odd, even though I was not the first white American the residents had seen. People often asked Milagros questions about my presence. These neighbors were especially concerned that I could be planning
to kidnap Milagros’ daughter. Milagros defended me by pointing out that I had brought my son to visit her in the market. The fact that I did not treat the neighborhood as too dangerous for my child gave me some credibility.

My friends from across Lima do not have a deep sense of trust in their fellow Limeños, nor in the security apparatus of the regional governments. Milagros and other market women would warn me of various community member they would see passing by. I was told one man was a lookout for drug dealers, another was a drug dealer himself in a fancy car, and yet others were labeled drunks or poor husbands. I was told to keep away from these various characters. My Cerrito friends worried I would be unsafe in a different pueblo jóven that I visited. Likewise, upper middle-class Peruvians I met expressed concern for my safety as I traveled to the poorer neighborhoods. The high rate of currency counterfeiting in Peru has further eroded trust in the regional government (OSAC 2016). By contrast, elections are widely considered free and fair, and the government has been relatively stable for decades (OSAC 2016). Despite the recent stability, there is still an overall sense of a lack of safety and security for Peruvians, especially Limeños, which affects not only how they move around their environment, but I argue their sense of psychological safety and trust as well.

**Giddens’ Expert Systems**

Social theorist Anthony Giddens presents a theory about how trust and fear have changed in the modern, urban context that can shed light on the sense of insecurity Limeño residents expressed to me. Giddens argues that we are living in late modernity, a time characterized by a pervasive doubt and sense of risk (Giddens 1991a:2). Scientific
knowledge, which has exploded throughout the period of modernity and now late modernity, has brought new knowledge to the masses. This plethora of knowledge has not brought about a happy freedom from fear and risk. Scientific knowledge has conversely brought as much doubt as it has eradicated (Giddens 1991a:21). As Giddens points out, all scientific knowledge is hypothesis, not certainty (1991a:3), and so does not hold an inherent superiority to other forms of knowledge. Trust in scientific knowledge is not automatic.

Giddens argues that ultimately this modern form of ontological security, that of the “expert system,” is not the preferred form of security for individuals, including those living in late modernity. The expert system is a necessary part of our complex, urban societies. It is the system whereby we trust people we have never met, such as when we are passengers on an airplane though we have never met the pilot, nor seen the school that trained and certified him or her. We simply trust the certification process, the pilot’s license, and the intangible certifications of countless other experts in our lives. There are inherent moral rewards, according to Giddens, in placing your trust in close interpersonal relationships (1991a:136). There is no such reward in trusting an abstract expert system. There are, in fact, many reasons to distrust experts and expert systems. One such reason is the existence of multiple experts whom can contradict each other (Giddens 1994:87). Ultimately, expert systems are not capable of completely satisfying our need for ontological security. This “active” form of trust is not preferred, and our sense of security must be regularly “regrounded.” Regrounding is accomplished through maintaining close interpersonal relationships that sustain over time. When our sense of security in the abstract expert system falters, we reconnect (reground) with our interpersonal
relationships. Despite our large population shifts to cities and away from close kin network-oriented villages, people still have a need for the ontological security provided by these interpersonal relationships. This is the preferred form of security, the preferred relationship. Trusting in the expert systems is done, but not happily.

Using Giddens’ model, parenting expertise would be rooted in interpersonal relationships in small-scale societies. Trusted individuals in a parent’s life such as grandparents and aunts would advise and assist whenever there was a need. Young people would practice and be taught by their local elders about childrearing before they became parents themselves. In fact, Keller and Harwood argue that parenting practices are particularly resistant to change over time (2009:160). In late modernity, however, the circumstances of parenthood have changed dramatically (Long 2004:122-123), along with most other aspects of the parent’s life. There is, in many cases, no longer a network of nearby, trusted kin to rely upon for advice. The common practice in many small-scale societies of having older siblings and other kin help raise the younger ones is not the typical family model in Western twenty-first century suburbs. A parent in late modernity may greet their first child never having changed a diaper or cured a crying spell. That may be enough of a reason to introduce a feeling of risk and doubt in the new parent.

Maintaining a sense of security is difficult when parents place trust solely in the hands of an impersonal expert, such as the author of a public health billboard. This is not, Giddens argues, the preferred kind of trust for humans. We prefer to place our trust in traditional social relationships (Cassell 1993:295). However, in late modernity people often lack that preferred trust network and must rely on distant experts for all manner of modern activities, childrearing included. Thus, modern people “reground” by connecting
with family and friends – our preferred source of trust – when trust in distant experts falters. A community of parents to socialize with is not as easy to find in modern cities as it may be in small-scale, kin-based towns. Families are generally small and are extremely mobile. Because of this, traditional networks of supportive parents are rare in many post-industrial societies (Apple 2006:124). Media-based information sources are available in Lima as a source of parenting information outside of social networks. However, my informants in Cerrito rarely consult these types of expert sources. The Cerrito informants’ avoidance of this type of expert source supports Giddens’ hypothesis – this “active” form of trust is not preferred among Milagros and her neighbors. These parents work to maintain close interpersonal relationships that sustain over time and reground regularly, thus boosting their sense of ontological security in their urban environment. Instincts are an attractive idea for parents in part because reliance on distant experts is precarious and not preferred (Giddens 1991a). The circumstances of modernization have propped up experts in all areas in our lives. In the case of airline pilots and surgeons, we have no choice but to rely on an expert, despite our insecurities. In the realm of childrearing, modern people turn to experts out of habit, since we do live in a decontextualized urban system of expertise. Furthermore, modern parents are often ill-prepared for parenting from traditional sources, non-kin experts are sometimes the only source of the knowledge they need. Community is another vital source of security and knowledge in modern, urban circumstances under Giddens’ theory. Talking about parenting with friends is an important “regrounding” experience for some American parents and relieves them of the stress of relying on impersonal sources of expert knowledge (Casillas 2012).
However, the migrants of Cerrito are, in many ways, a typical example of the people of late modernity, seeking a new source of security. Being migrants, they are far from most of their kin and oldest friends. They encounter many modern experts regularly that they must trust. These include doctors, teachers, foreign aid workers, and influential community members who are not part of their trusted inner circle. The residents of Cerrito still have access to traditional sources of security and expert knowledge through their social network in the community, and through visits to their natal towns. However, the displacement of migration, and the influence the city and its systems exert in their lives leave these people with a new social-psychological environment to navigate. The migrants of Cerrito operate in a complex system of experts that they have not known since birth. They have worked to recreate the sense of security that their smaller natal towns provided but have primarily taken the position of other residents of late modernity, trusting in expert systems and the pitfalls that come with the system.

**Greenfield’s Pathways of Development**

According to Giddens, the urban environment affects the ways we experience and seek security and trust. It holds that the circumstances of urban life in late modernity rebounds upon attachment relationships. Psychologist Patricia Greenfield argues that the urban environment also affects the ways in which we care for our children. Greenfield poses a theory that purports to explain differences in child development patterns observed cross-culturally by attributing them to the economic scale of the family’s environment (2009). Her argument is that environments where there is a complex and large-scale socio-economic environment engender a learning environment that fosters individualism
and independence. Using a collection of studies, including several from anthropology, Greenfield argues that parenting techniques such as face-to-face contact and object stimulation are the vehicle for teaching these values. In smaller-scale, rural societies, Greenfield shows a contrasting set of values and childrearing techniques; she argues that societies lie on a spectrum between these two poles. Greenfield describes the two different environments fostering two different pathways for child development. Keller and Harwood have also described divergent developmental pathways, saying that different cultures construct different paths toward the mastery of universal developmental tasks (such as group bonding or holding a conversation) based on what traits and abilities are most valued in people (2009:161). The childrearing techniques lead directly to the child developing the values and social skills appropriate to their social context. Responsiveness and frequent breastfeeding are childrearing behaviors that are to interdependence-oriented societies by anthropologists and psychologists, notably Keller (2007). Contradictorily, the face-to-face dyadic communication and directed mental stimulation has been linked to independence-oriented societies, notably LeVine et al. (1991; see Greenfield 2009 for a synthesis).

One of the most important contributions of Greenfield’s work is the connection between the learning environment fostered by the family and their close social network, and the developmental trajectory of the child (2009). Greenfield sees cultural values as shaped primarily by socio-demographics. This is an intriguing theory, and potentially explains a lot of what anthropologists see in the cross-cultural differences in child development and childrearing techniques. However, one important piece of this developmental puzzle that Greenfield de-emphasizes is the role of culture, in addition to
that which is directly related to socio-demographics. Not every aspect of culture is contingent on socio-demographic variables, as evidenced by industrialized culture groups. These culture in industrialized, urban settings do fall in different places on the individualist-collectivist spectrum (using Greenfield’s model) and have varying degrees of resistance to the individualist values of post-industrial economics. In contrast to Greenfield’s theory, Weisner argues that individualism and collectivism should not be analyzed in contrast to each other and are better understood as “universal tensions” that operate constantly and concurrently within every culture group (2001:273). Many anthropologists would argue, as would I, that these differences are due to individual cultural differences. Keller (2009) observes that parenting practices are generally very resistant to change and are personally very important to parents. These practices work against Greenfield’s model of a natural progression of culture change to parenting behavior change. One interesting caveat of Greenfield’s study is that she says behaviors change more quickly, while values catch up eventually (2009:415).

Greenfield hints at “internal conflict” in the lives of parents experiencing culture change (2009:410) but does not delve further into this aspect of the issue. I hypothesize that these internal conflicts exist for many people, and that they are an important component of their interpretation of their own childrearing experiences. I believe that it is the internal experiences of individuals within the cultural context of change that can explain the differences we see in how communities react to new cultural environments. Even this experience is not universal, however, as evidenced by Julia Cassaniti’s work among Thai Buddhists who strive to accept impermanence in all things (2015).
My work in Cerrito provides some support to the basic theory that urbanization of a parent’s environment changes their childrearing techniques and philosophies. Milagros discussed the ways in which her beliefs and behaviors have changed the longer she has lived in Lima. An interesting example of this is Milagros’ theory about religious choice. Milagros and her husband are lifelong Catholics. When their eldest child was born, they had him baptized according to Catholic custom. However, Milagros explained that she has not had her daughter baptized, because she now believes that she should not force a religious choice on her children. They should be able to make that choice for themselves when they are ready. This is not a simple religious change within Milagros. I believe that it is a sign of a more profound change in her belief about the life trajectory her children will have in their urban society, and how her parenting methods need to foster success within this society. She has moved in the direction of acknowledging her children’s individuality and allowing them more autonomy and decision-making than had she stayed in her rural village community. Rather than see a future for her children that lies within a narrow band of options the rural sierra allows, Milagros has begun to see her children as having a wide variety of options that they will need to choose among for themselves. Her role now is to not constrain their futures through maintaining the childrearing beliefs and techniques of her own rural upbringing. Milagros describes her children as different from herself in important (to her) ways, saying Perla “es diferente a yo... es diferente mi hijita. [Julio] también.” – Perla is different to me… my daughter is different. Julio also. Milagros describes Perla as quite independent by her measure:

“Eso vertele a veces es más independiente o sea más independiente para cualquier cosa...Coge el yogur quiere llevar todas sus amigas nos dice ‘Mamá

Sometimes is more independent or would be more independent for anything…

She chooses a yogurt that she wants to bring to all her friends, saying ‘Mamá, can I take a yogurt’ the other morning…. Perla comes, ‘here come my friends’ and Perla enters. She chose three yogurts and left.

When telling this brief story, Milagros was acting as though this were an unusual and surprising behavior from her very young daughter, shaking her head and gesticulating. Milagros also classifies Perla as more independent than Sergio, describing his needs for physical care at an older age: “Sí hay bastante diferencia… a [Julio] yo le amarraban los zapatos hasta que tuviera los 5 años.” – Yes, there is a big difference, with Julio I tied his shoes until he was five years old.

Greenfield’s theories help explain how observations of Milagros and other Cerrito residents show increasing adoption of childrearing techniques and beliefs that support formal education, autonomy and individuality. At the same time, this cluster of behaviors is not universal within a single parent, nor within the community. Being migrants from a different socio-economic system, their adoption of the urban ways of being is not complete. Giddens’ theories help explain why the residents of rural communities still embrace the social networks, and their attendant belief systems, even in the face of the city’s influences.
Serranos and Discrimination

Rural-to-urban migrants, particularly serranos, suffer discrimination in Lima and other Peruvian cities. Popular culture stereotypes in Peru portray migrants as uneducated, naive, dirty, poor, and backwards. Men and women who want to have careers in the city do not wear traditional clothing and must speak Spanish fluently. Even when dressing and speaking in the Limeño way, serranos can still face discrimination based on their skin color and name. There have been many pro-indigenous changes to law and Peruvian culture in recent years. This includes now allowing the speaking of Quechua in public places, as well as the teaching of Quechua in public schools. Televised performances celebrate indigenous clothing and dance, and some Peruvian food traditions are hugely popular. The state markets display colorful examples of indigenous identity to tourists and use them to bolster national pride. However, these measures do not erase the long history of oppression and racism the colonial and modern governments have afflicted on the many native groups of Peru since the Spanish conquest. Explain and give examples; better yet have a history section somewhere. The reality is that racial hierarchies and discrimination still exist in Peruvian society in important ways.

A popular comedy program in Peru, *La Paisana Jacinta*, features a male comedian who dresses as a serrano woman in traditional clothing, including a manta on her back, who lives in Lima. His portrayal includes a large prosthetic nose, darkened skin, and blacked out teeth. Each episode shows the character having a series of misadventures centered around her misunderstandings of how society in Lima operates. The character is regularly ignorant of technology, failing to see when she is being taken advantage of or ridiculed, and becoming distraught at the difficulties of modern life. This
deeply unflattering picture of the Quechua woman in Lima is emblematic of the discrimination that real serranos face in Lima. Local anti-discrimination groups, the United Nations, and even a Peruvian congresswoman have called for cancellation of the show (Collyns 2014).

Despite the discriminatory culture, Quechua clothing, food, dance, and crafts have become symbols of national identity in many ways. This trend is part of a wider indigenous-rights movement that has been occurring across Latin America. Artisan goods and dance performances are hugely popular with tourists, and therefore contribute to the economy. After years of suppression under past political regimes, Peruvians have embraced these symbols of indigenous identity. Public schools now teach Quechua and the traditional panpipe of the Andes. After years of banning the Quechua language from public life, Peruvian television in 2016 aired its first-ever news broadcast in Quechua (Guardian 2016). However, these official gestures embracing the serrano culture have not changed the overall negative perceptions of serrano people by urban Limeños. The extreme poverty under which many serranos live in Lima further contributes to the negative perceptions of indigenous people. Parents pass down a framework for group identity and for processing the discrimination they face.

**Lima’s Educational System**

School is a large part of the parenting ecosystem for these families and can have its own effects on their parenting decisions and beliefs. The children of Cerrito attend a school on weekdays in the non-summer months beginning by around three years of age, though some parents will wait until five years of age. In contrast to Greenfield’s theory
About urban culture causing parents to prioritize independence behaviors in children, education by itself has been cited as a cause of parenting behavior changes. Keller, Borke and Yovsi cite several studies that show a direct relationship between increased maternal education levels and increased fostering of independent values in the children (2005:231). These studies do not really explain the causality at work. Beatrice Whiting (1978) brought conscious strategizing by mothers in Ugandan society to her discussion of changes in parenting styles. Post (2001) argues that in Latin America, schooling has the potential to reduce economic, gender and racial inequalities by providing equal chances at the employment that creates economic success in capitalism. Individual countries do not usually achieve these ideals though, he argues, due to the persistence of patriarchal and class oppression (Post 2001). Peru has a long history of valuing formal schooling (Post 2001:127). However, the parents in my study have mostly only achieved an education equivalent to finishing eighth grade.

Peru provides free public education for all children from kindergarten through high school. There are also public universities that are tuition-free, though attendance is very competitive. Lima also has a very large number of private schools that serve children from infancy through university. The price and quality of the private schools vary widely. The Limeños I met generally considered the public grade schools inferior to private schools as a whole. With different options available to many families, the choice of school is affected by feelings of trust in different schools.

As a note on positionality: my son attended a small private school during his time in Lima. He was four years old when he started, and his school had classes for three-year-olds through age ten. As non-citizens and temporary residents, a private school was our
only option. The school he attended was for working- and middle-class families who lived nearby. At one time, I counted four private preschools in an approximately half mile radius around our apartment. By contrast, the main part of Cerrito had one private preschool, which was less expensive than the school my son attended. Again, the environment of Cerrito itself, not the larger city, affects the choices parents make regarding their children.

The neighborhood children of Cerrito almost all attend public school at the foot of the hill. Despite public schools being officially free of charge, most families spend quite a lot of money on their children’s education. Almost all schools required uniforms, though the government has decreed that schools must assist families who cannot afford them. Schools issue lists of school supplies that the students require for the school year, including school necessities such as toilet paper and chalk. The supply lists for private school families are much longer and typically include textbooks, art supplies, and sports uniforms. Before the new school year began at the end of summer, the open-air markets began to advertise and set up extra booths to sell all of the usual school supplies students would need. Parents can easily spend over $100 per student as they prepare for the new school year at a modestly priced school or public school. This is a considerable sum for the working poor in Lima. Of course, many families cannot afford any of these things and the public schools in Lima must shoulder these costs while private schools do not.

I spent several months during my time in Lima volunteering at an after-school program for middle school students at a public school outside of Cerrito. This neighborhood was more developed, since it was older, though there was a small area near the school of self-built homes. Peru had completely rebuilt or refurbished many schools
in Lima in the few years before my time there, but this school had not yet been rebuilt. It was rundown, with broken windows, bare cement floors, and few items of furniture or classroom materials. The charitable group I was working for operated programs at schools throughout Lima’s poorer neighborhoods designed to discourage families from having their school age children work. To this end, the program required participants to stay the entire two hours after their school day had ended (a time when many children would be at work) and provided them with tutoring and homework help. The program enticed participation by feeding the children a full lunch. These were children American educators would label “at-risk.” The program was working to keep them from dropping out of school and working menial jobs at a young age.

My first-hand experience of two very different schools in Lima, my son’s private school and the school in a poorer neighborhood, demonstrated important differences from the American school system. Neither school encouraged parent involvement, whereas American schools invite parents to volunteer in classrooms, attend on-campus events, to donate money to fund programs and the teachers are usually available for impromptu conversations most days after school. The schools in Lima are much more closed off, with walls and locked exterior gate doors for security, which does not encourage impromptu meetings or volunteering. In Peruvian society, teachers are regarded as skilled professionals and are generally well-respected. Part of their culture of expertise is their distance from the parents. Schools do not invite parents into the teachers’ work spaces. Parents are meant to trust that the teachers know the best ways to handle their classrooms and students. For less-educated parents, such as the Rodríguezes, the source of these teachers’ expertise is remote and thus their trust in these teachers fits Giddens’ expert
systems model. The physical barriers between teachers and parents as well as the
treatment of teachers as high-status experts in Lima bolsters Giddens’ theories of post
modern culture forcing people to have a certain kind of trust in distant experts. Giddens’
type has utility here in helping understand the Lima school system, which is important
if we are to understand the primary influences on a young parent’s decision-making.

**Urban Trust and Ambivalence**

The immediate family, kin network, and peers are not a sufficient group to study
to understand a parent’s behavior. The city culture itself is a contributor to parenting
knowledge and decisions. Giddens’ systems of experts provide a framework for
understanding the ways in which Cerrito residents cope with the urban environment, and
simultaneously recreate the kinds of social networks their natal towns provided.

The city is an entity that we must explore in this study because it changes the
nature of the social networks that people live in. The social processes of late modernity
have not eradicated traditional sources of security, founded in love, interpersonal trust,
and locally contextualized knowledge. Tradition has remained, but Giddens asserts that
traditional knowledge no longer holds a monopoly on truth. The pervasive and
multiplying expert systems and their “access points” (Giddens 1991b:83), the experts
themselves, hold sway over the masses. Trust in expert systems may be contingent and
ambivalence creating, but when traditional support structures are not available, it does
provide some sense of security in the face of the risks that late modernity has wrought.
Therefore, these parents are acting as if they trust these expert systems by way of
participating in them and heeding their instructions. However, this is a less-preferred
trust. Or, as Jeannette Mageo dubbed it, a “subjunctive” trust (conversation 4/17/19). Douglas Hollan, discussing Levy’s work, states that “person-centered ethnography” challenges us to think seriously about whether aspects of mind and experience vary systematically not so much by particular culture but by type of community organization” (Hollan 2001:59). The small network within the larger city is an important environment in late modernity and Cerrito can serve as a picture of how this type of community serves to shape the people within it through relationships of trust and mistrust.

Theories of modernization see the world’s communities as becoming more homogenous and Westernized as they “modernize” economically. This theory of culture change is interesting as well and would explain childrearing change as occurring due to culture change by transmission (Giddens 1991a). These theories provide a frame for better understanding the ways in which migrant Cerrito informants are parenting differently from their own parents. Parenting behaviors do, at least sometimes, evolve in response to shifting economic and social conditions (Majluf & Mercado 2006). Research has shown that parents change their childrearing behaviors in small ways in order to better prepare their children for a modernized economy (Minturn & Lambert 1964; Whiting 1978; Keller & Harwood 2009). These studies seek to explain or predict parenting behavior changes based on changes in socio-economic factors. The concept of adaptive response to environmental stimuli is the underlying thread in all of the theories. What we see in the observations of Milagros and her neighbors discussed in this chapter is indeed change in response to their environment, but not a quick and total change – rather a more gradual adaptation to their living conditions. These migrants are raising their children in both urban and rural ways according to Greenfield’s classifications.
Milagros supports her children’s formal education, fosters their individuality, and relies on distant experts. At the same time, she teaches them to rely primarily on the family’s kin network and close friends within their community for practical information and a sense of security. Greenfield’s theory thus provides an interesting framework for understanding the ways in which Cerrito parents are making decisions different from their own parents, but Giddens’ theories about security and trust in systems help us understand why some parenting behaviors remain the same across the generations and migrant experience.
Chapter 5 – Peruvian Biomedical Culture

Healthcare systems are inseparable from the cultural milieu in which they arise (Kleinman 1980). Childrearing is enmeshed in the biomedical healthcare system in Lima, as is true in much of the developed world (Singer 1992; Kleinman 1980). This chapter describes the four sources of Western medical care and information in Lima: public health campaigns; public hospitals and clinics; private hospitals and physicians; and pharmacies. There are other important sources of healthcare and health information available to Limeños, including folk practitioners such as curanderos, Asian health practitioners such as acupuncturists, and religious practitioners. This chapter will only discuss Western medicine in Lima in order to assess the ways in which biomedical culture and urban culture comingle in Lima affecting the childrearing choices of parents through different relationships of trust. While it is limiting to discuss only the biomedical health environment for Cerrito residents, it is also the clearest contrast to the healthcare environment of the Cerrito participants’ childhoods.

Examining Milagros’ experience with healthcare is a good lens through which to understand her feelings as she raises her children. Her sense of confidence in any single choice regarding her children’s health is sometimes bolstered and sometimes undermined by information in her environment in ways that are clearer than in other aspects of childrearing. All forms of characters Giddens would term experts, as well as kin and other members of her social network populate the world of healthcare in Milagros’ city.
Advice from the State

One ubiquitous example of the state’s influence on the population is the billboards put up by the government’s various health campaigns. Examples I witnessed included billboards imploring parents to have their children’s blood iron levels checked, to seek prenatal care, and to have their children vaccinated.

Cerrito residents I worked with rely more heavily on non-professional social networks for childrearing information than on printed material. However, Peruvian public health campaigns seek to augment, if not override these interpersonal sources of information.

The U.S. has its own long history with public health campaigns aimed at parents. The biomedical system that birthed these campaigns has been spread globally since the 19th century pamphlets about hygiene produced by local government health departments interested in combating rampant and devastating childhood diseases (Apple 2006:3; Arnup, Levesque & Pierson 1990:190). Expanding from simple hygiene, the publications began to dispense medical tips, and soon general childrearing advice (Arnup, Levesque & Pierson 1990:190-200). Parents were given advice that included toilet training beginning at a few months of age and advised to avoid hugging children unnecessarily (Apple 2006:4). By the early part of the twentieth-century, scientific knowledge was the cultural emphasis; mothers were specifically urged not to listen to their female relatives or instincts, but rather to always consult a pediatrician when concerned about their child (Arnup, Levesque & Pierson 1990:203). These campaigns were especially aimed at immigrant communities, which were widely seen as in need of an education in the American way of doing things (Arnup, Levesque & Pierson 1990). Philosopher Michel
Foucault (1982) described this twentieth century trend towards placing power in the hands of medical experts as the process of society legitimating the knowledge of certain dominant groups, thus disempowering others. Evidence from my fieldwork demonstrates a move in Peru towards increased privileging of medical experts in the arena of childcare and childrearing.

**Public Clinics**

Throughout Lima, there are state-run clinics that provide all manner of healthcare services at a relatively low cost. Some of these clinics have been built by international aid organizations. The clinics in the neighborhood I lived in, and the clinics near Cerrito, were a collection of small standalone buildings housing the doctors’ offices with a second roof covering the compound. The mild climate in Lima permits these sorts of semi open-air facilities.

Most services do not require an appointment. Patients come when they can and are given a number, then wait for their turn to see the type of doctor they came for. When paying for the appointment, the cashier informs the patient of what medical supplies they will need to purchase at the clinic’s pharmacy before the appointment. As an example, I saw a gynecologist at a public clinic for a routine exam and was asked to bring a speculum, a pair of gloves, and a cotton swab to the appointment. When I saw an orthopedist for a minor injury at the same clinic, I was not asked to purchase any supplies.
The Orthopedist

Milagros had been growing concerned about her daughter’s stride. She had been told that she had a deformation in her feet that caused her to walk in way that created problems in her back. She was sure that her son had developed the same problem and that her daughter was showing early signs of it as well. Milagros had decided to take the children to an orthopedist at a large, well-respected hospital in another part of the city. Once a month, this hospital reduces its rates for poor citizens. Milagros told me that she wanted to take her children in because the doctors there were more knowledgeable than doctors at her local clinic. Normally she would not be able to afford that level of care, but the hospital’s reduced-price days make that possible.

To arrive in time to get a good place in line, we left Cerrito before dawn on the bus. The ride through the city took over an hour, and Perla slept most of the way. By the time we arrived at the hospital, the sun was up and there was a sizeable crowd lining up at the prepayment window and outside the doors of various doctors. Milagros got in line with the children to request an appointment with the orthopedist and pay the fee. I left to buy us all breakfast sandwiches and hot drinks from the vendors on the sidewalk outside. In the end, we waited in the hallway and waiting room for around one and one-half hours, taking turns trying to keep Perla quiet and entertained.

When we entered the doctor’s office, Milagros sat down across his desk and explained her concerns about her children’s strides. I stood at the back of the room. Milagros did not explain who I was to the doctor, and I did not speak. The doctor was a fair-skinned man approximately in his 50s. The room was large and contained a desk in one corner and various mats on the floor and against the wall. Windows let in the midday
sun. The doctor listened then began discussing his plan to evaluate the children. While he did this, he spoke to me as much as to Milagros. In response, I began looking around the room blankly, trying to appear disinterested and as if I didn’t understand what the doctor was saying. I was dismayed to think that the doctor might be altering what he was saying to Milagros based on my presence since I both wanted to witness a typical interaction with the biomedical system and not inhibit the doctor’s opinions. Milagros answered the doctor’s questions, describing the angle of her daughter’s feet when she walked and that she believes her son and her also have untreated problems with their gaits. Milagros also explained that she had problems with her spine due to gait problems that went untreated when she was a child.

The doctor instructed Julio and Perla walk across his room barefoot several times during their respective exams. As the doctor described what he was seeing in Julio and Perla, he continued to try to make eye contact with me and engage me in the conversation. I moved further away and looked out of the windows to feign disengagement. The doctor’s diagnosis was that Julio did have a slightly crooked gait, but not bad enough to cause him any problems. He did not see any problems with Perla’s gait and described it as normal for her age. He did say that Perla should be allowed to walk barefoot in the house when the weather is warm enough for it as a way to encourage a healthy placement of her feet as she grows. He smiled at me and told me there is nothing to worry about.

As we rode the bus home, Perla slept in Milagros’ arms. I asked Milagros if it seemed to her that the doctor was trying to speak to me about Perla and Julio. She said yes definitely. I asked her why that was, since she is their mother, and I was not speaking
to him. She said that the doctor assumed that I am Milagros’ employer, and was paying for the children’s medical care. So, he was speaking to me as a person in that kind of position of authority. She said it was because that was the only reason a white woman would be with them there. I told her that it made me uncomfortable and she laughed it off. I told her if we go to another appointment like that, we should introduce me as Milagros’ employee, and she laughed again.

It had been a long trip and an exhausting day trying to receive expert care for the children. Milagros did not receive this type of medical treatment as a child in rural Ica – but sought it out for her children despite the obstacles. She seemed determined and proud as she told me this as the children sat quietly in the bus on the way back to Cerrito.

**Private Clinics and Pharmacies**

There are private clinics and doctors’ offices throughout Lima. Using private clinics allows patients to choose a particular practitioner and develop a relationship with them. This is in contrast to the public clinics, where patients simply see whomever is available. Milagros’ opinion is that the private doctors are more knowledgeable than the state clinic doctors.

Perla was born in a small private hospital close to Cerrito that provides only women’s health and neonatal services. The hospital is operated by a religious group and charges a modest rate for services. Milagros still sees doctors there for her care and speaks highly of their skill. My impression of the hospital when I accompanied Milagros to a checkup was how empty it was compared to the clinics. There were no lines at the payment window and no large crowds waiting to be called into the doctor.
Prescriptions are needed for most medications in Peru, but not for standard antibiotics or birth control as in the United States. Pharmacists will advise patients on what medications to take if they are able, and routinely recommend and sell antibiotics to patients who have not seen a doctor. Pharmacies are usually small stores and are plentiful throughout the city, with the exception of the most undeveloped pueblos jóvenes. The street I lived on had three small pharmacies within a quarter mile radius of the house. However, Cerritos residents must walk down the hill to the main thoroughfare to access the nearest pharmacy. This is still only a quarter mile from the market.

**Medicalization**

The theoretical approaches to medicalization in anthropology inform this research as a model for explaining changes in childrearing behaviors in urbanizing and modernizing Peruvian communities. Medicalization is the process by which the limits of what is treatable or can be studied by medical professionals are expanded (Singer & Baer 1995; Conrad 2005), and it is spurred by the knowledge environment of modernity. The literature demonstrates that many aspects of children’s lives have become increasingly medicalized in the U.S. Building on the medicalization literature based on the observations I made in my thesis fieldwork I argue further that childhood, as a holistic activity, has become medicalized in the United States (Kleinman 1980; Conrad & Leiter 2004; Conrad & Schneider 1980). The social processes of late modernity have not eradicated traditional sources of childrearing knowledge – but as Giddens (1991) asserts, traditional knowledge no longer holds a monopoly on truth. Trust in medicalized knowledge in my study group will be demonstrated using in-depth interviews that
determine how participants value, trust and use the professional sector of childrearing advice. Thus, medicalization helps to explain why some participants might privilege the advice of medical professionals over kin. As found in my thesis research (Casillas 2012), medicalization can also be the focus of resistance, and thus help explain why some participants might privilege the advice of a social network over medical professionals.

At the very root of medicalization is the general authority of science. Scientific knowledge is highly privileged. The scientific revolution has brought a proliferation of medical technologies as well as an ever-increasing specialization (Giddens 1991a:30). Science, and concurrently the biomedical system in place in the U.S., is inextricably a part of our society. Our capitalistic economy shapes scientific practice in the U.S. by prioritizing what scientific pursuits (including in medicine) will be profitable (Singer 1992:402).

A medicalized model of childrearing, having arisen in the West, takes new forms as it arrives in Peru on the heels of countless other cultural practices and beliefs. Medicalization in Peru bears many of the same hallmarks as medicalization in the United States, such as: increased rates of hospital births, routine pediatrician visits, parenting classes, and public health campaigns (Fort 1989; Fraser 2008). These all interact, though, with the preexisting beliefs and culturally specific practices of the region.

Traditional Quechua childrearing practices contrast sharply with a medicalized model of childrearing in significant ways (see Canessa 2012; Bolin 1998; Lobo 1982). These include practices such as: who is considered responsible for the child, the best way to feed a child, and sleeping arrangements. According to theoretical models such as Greenfield’s (2009), Giddens’ (1991a) and Keller’s (2007), in an urban context the
Quechua practices should give way to the dominant culture’s forms. I hypothesize in line with these aforementioned theorists that other important attachment-formation behaviors will change as well, such as distancing practices and verbal interaction style.

Power is an important component of culture change, medicalization, and family life. Social theorists including Kleinman (1980) and Singer (1992) have analyzed power relationships under conditions of medicalization in the areas of medical professionals, bureaucracies, and cultural suppression. Medicalization also affects power relationships on a more intimate scale—within the family. Traditionally, power over children’s development is located in the immediate social environment of the family. Depending upon the specific culture group, parents, close kin, larger kin groups, neighborhoods, and local religious leaders have had all of the responsibility and control over the practice of childrearing. In the context of medicalization, power over decisions about an increasing number of aspects of a child’s upbringing are removed from these traditional power-holders to distant experts and officials. In the West, we have seen pediatrics grow from a profession that almost entirely treated dangerous communicable diseases, to one that teaches its members how to discuss intellectual development with parents (Halpern 1990; Apple 2006). As childhood becomes medicalized, parenting becomes professionalized (Arnup, Levesque & Pierson 1990; Malacrida 2002). As parenting becomes professionalized, “bad” parenting becomes criminalized. Power shifts towards the state in this situation, but also towards the child. The child, in these cultural circumstances, becomes the center of familial activity and attention. The U.S. can be characterized as a child-centric culture, while rural Peruvian families have been described as not child-centric (Lobo 1982:125).
Within the family home, power relationships under medicalization can shift as well. In some cultures, motherhood is or was a source of power with mothers conceptualized as knowing what was best and putting their families above all else (for a Peruvian example and analysis, see Alcalde 2010). When medical professionals supplant the mother’s status as the ultimate protector of the family, they strip her of that power, and thereby change the balance of power in the family overall.

The consequences for child development with the arrival of medicalized notions of childrearing are several. A medicalized model of childrearing removes the decision-making about a child’s health from the family and places it in large part with trained professionals. Furthermore, what falls into the category of a child’s health increases. Concurrently, extra-familial conceptions of child development and appropriate childcare increasingly pressure a parent to change their practices.

**Western Medicine and a Peruvian Crisis**

Criticisms of Attachment Theory and the Western influence on Peruvian healthcare and parenting become much more nuanced and difficult when discussing the serious health crises that have faced Peruvians in recent decades. The story of the maternal health care crisis of recent decades is illustrative of the change that has occurred in Peru with the spread of Western health culture. Maternal care is an arena that has seen a marked rise in the level of trust rural Peruvians place in Western medicine.

In 1990, 251 Peruvian mothers died out of every 100,000 births (WHO Countdown to 2015). At that time, only about half of all women saw a professional attendant during childbirth. The publication of these rates was shocking both
internationally, and in Peru. The Peruvian government, having begun to recover from the tumultuous political situation and terrorism that plagued the 1980s, made important changes to the funding and organization of healthcare in Peru. The World Health Organization attributes much of the success of the Peruvian government’s efforts to a focus on addressing the needs of the most impoverished and underserved communities - particularly the rural sierra regions (WHO Countdown to 2015). Over the last two decades clinics have been built across the rural portions of the country. An interesting adaptation to the difficult terrain of the Peruvian highlands are casas maternas (maternity homes) where women can go stay for days before they expect to give birth in order to avoid difficult travel during labor. National health ministry officials have worked to make these casas maternas culturally sensitive and appropriate in the communities they serve (Amnesty 2009).

A large investment of national funds undergirds these positive statistics. A World Health Organization study attributed the drop in maternal and infant mortality rates in part to a dramatic increase in government spending on healthcare (WHO Countdown to 2015). Total health spending more than doubled from 2000 to 2015 (WHO Countdown to 2015: 40). While these nationwide numbers are important and encouraging, it is important to also understand the disparities that still exist between rural and urban populations in Peru. Lima has approximately 39 health professionals per 10,000 residents, while the rural regions of the country have rates as low as 18 per 10,000 in the large state of Loreto (MINSA 2016:7). A 2008 Amnesty International report found that most rural areas do not have a health facility equipped to handle obstetric emergencies
(Amnesty 2009:18). These urban to rural disparities are an important feature of Peru’s healthcare culture.

It has taken no small amount of effort to convince the most rural families to trust their children’s births to clinics and doctors. The armed conflicts of the 1980s and ‘90s included acts of terrorism and violence in remote Andean communities perpetrated by the Peruvian military. The legacy of that time continues to effect rural communities, and has been cited as one reason rural women are suspicious of outsiders and hesitant to use the few clinics they do have available to them (Amnesty 2009:21). In another instance of the Peruvian government undermining community trust in them, Ewig (2006) describes forced sterilizations that occurred under the Fujimori administration (1990-2000). At that time, Peruvian feminists fought for expanded access to birth control for impoverished Peruvian women. The policymakers then used this context to begin sterilizing thousands of poor, Afro-Peruvian and indigenous women in an effort to decrease population growth – which was believed would improve national economic growth (see also Gribble et al. 2007). This event in Peru’s history demonstrates the complex relationships between globalizing medical technologies, values, macroeconomic theories, charitable aid, and local populations. Despite these historical challenges, Peru has made significant improvements in the maternal mortality rate in the last decade. In the Peruvian population as a whole, the World Health Organization reports that maternal mortality fell from 251 per 100,000 live births in 1990 to 68 per 100,000 live births in 2015 (WHO Maternal Health Charts). Health officials credit this change in large part to the increased use of skilled birth attendants in rural regions. 48 percent of births were assisted by a skilled attendant in 1990, which rose to 90 percent in 2000 (WHO Maternal Health Charts).
These statistics seem like an unmitigated positive. Maternal and infant death rates have dropped significantly. Peru has come a long way in solving a mortality crisis by investing heavily in Western medicine. However, this campaign is not foreign, it is a Peruvian solution funded by their own government and supported by grassroots citizen movements. However, there are cultural and psychological implications to these increases in healthcare access that are interesting. Childbirth is a time when a Western doctor, a Western method of childrearing, even infant formula, can be introduced to a young parent. Once that mother has trusted the doctors to help her through the momentous event of childbirth, she might be more inclined to trust them to advise her on other aspects of childcare. In this way, the medicalization of pregnancy, childbirth, and infancy increases (Apple 2006:10).

**Shifting Trust with Medicalization**

We see in the stories of Perla’s birth and the orthopedist visit that Milagros has greatly increased her reliance on medical specialists in the care of her children over the course of her time as a mother. I posit that this demonstrates a shift in her trust. As Greenfield’s theory predicts, Milagros has increasingly come to trust medical professionals, the representatives of science, more as she has spent more years in the city. Giddens’ theory might predict that as Milagros lost her in-person social network upon moving to the city, she was forced to rely on the experts (doctors). Furthermore, as she spent more time in the city, she became more accustomed to relying on distant experts of all sorts. However, I do not believe these theories illuminate the full picture of Milagros’ experience, and the experiences of migrants like her.
Milagros’ movement towards trust in professionalized medical care coincides with Peru’s nationwide increase in rates of access to professional Western healthcare practitioners. The experiences of Milagros’ family with the Peruvian healthcare system provides insight into the evolution of healthcare culture in Peru in the last decades. Western healthcare has become a national priority as a way to alleviate the high rates of maternal mortality, among other ills. In the rural regions, this movement is tempered by a legacy of violence, helped by adopting culturally sensitive modifications, such as allowing an upright birthing position (Amnesty 2009). For Milagros, the Western healthcare providers in her life have an even greater role. Milagros trusts their advice in aspects of childrearing that are not strictly medical - thus demonstrating medicalization of childcare theorized by Kleinman and Arnup, and observed in my own previous research in the U.S.

This chapter’s discussion of medical culture in Peru should not be seen as directional. The health statistics presented, and Milagros’ trust trajectory, can lead a reader to see the overall medicalization in Peru as inevitably increasing, and that medicalization is setting Peruvian healthcare on a path to becoming more like Western countries’ socio-medical cultures. This would be an error. Based on the unique cultural and medical history of its country, Peru interprets the incoming knowledges and biomedical culture in its own way, as every other nation does. We cannot predict how health culture will evolve in Peru’s future any easier than we can predict the trajectory of any other aspect of the culture. The biomedical culture in Peru is important to include in this study because it shapes the current reality of migrant families in Lima and influences how they raise their children. Furthermore, it influences how they feel about childrearing,
their children, and their sense of security in the world. Milagros, having become more accustomed to relying on professionalized experts in the city, seeks a sense of security from the pediatricians she sees with her children. Using biomedical experts’ advice in her childrearing practices makes her feel that she is doing what is objectively best for her children.

As with every other complex aspect of cultures, the many and sometimes contradictory childrearing messages that come to parents in Cerrito must be processed by each individual. The biomedical community, with its imprimatur from the national government health service, must especially be reckoned with. The biomedical industry in Lima has financial and formal power primarily stemming from state support. The messages from these powerful institutions are not accepted automatically, as we will see more clearly in the next chapter, as Milagros and her neighbors share insight into non-biomedical healthcare and distrust in other aspects of globalized urban cultural artifacts. The next chapter also explores how Milagros, and Cerrito migrants like her, mentally organize the different types of medical advice they encounter. The experiences of these participants shows that the dominance Westerners assume that biomedical (and other Western) institutions have as they spread through globalization is not as complete as they might think. A bias towards looking at Western cultural institutions reinforces the belief that these institutions are universally accepted and adopted in other parts of the world.
Chapter 6 – Cognitive Categories

The practical parenting behaviors we encounter throughout our lives begin in infancy and shape our cultural models of self, parenting, and relationships. In ways that are often unclear and indirect, these experiences shape our psychological models of every important component of our lives (Quinn 2005; Weisner 1998). As active participants in this process, individuals also interpret, experiment with, and refine their models. This is the psychodynamic process at work within us throughout our lives, even in the most mundane moments. When the experiences and interpretations are shared by a group of people, we find cultural models. Strauss and Quinn (1997) argue that the cultural models we develop in childhood remain with us more than those we develop or elaborate later in life. “Culture is inscribed,” they write (2006:267), “in the minds of the individuals who… enact these practices.” Keller et al. discuss cultural models of parenting, saying “cultural models of parenting integrate conceptions of agency with conceptions of interpersonal distance” (2005:229).

Weisner (2001) describes the universal existence of conflicts that emerge for the developing child as they encounter conflicting cultural values and models. His example is a society encouraging choice and exploration, while simultaneously teaching loyalty to the family (2001:273). Quinn (2010) theorizes that psychodynamic conflicts such as that must affect childrearing in all societies. Every individual interprets and copes with these conflicts in their own way, Weisner argues (2001), based upon their own social environment and experiences. It is the routine practices of feeding, soothing, and passing
the time that constitutes the complex and sometimes contradictory social world of the infant. These are the things upon which the infant, and all the infants of a culture group, will create their psychodynamic interpretations of how the social and psychological worlds operate.

In Cerrito, I spent many hours observing families with small children in their daily activities. I supplemented this time with interviews regarding participants’ childhoods and beliefs about childrearing. Milagros and her family shared many hours of their lives with me, including the routine tasks that make up the bulk of everyday life. Through these observations, structured interviews, and casual conversations, I began to construct a picture of how Milagros and her peers view themselves and their roles as parents. The parents of Cerrito encounter a great deal of information from a variety of sources about how to raise their children, and in this chapter, I seek to illuminate how they cope with this deluge and construct their own psychological model of their childrearing beliefs and behaviors.

Children’s development occurs in the context of meaningful culturally specific activities such as the preparation of food, household work and, of course, in infant soothing (Weisner 2005; Whiting & Whiting 1975; Markus & Kitayama 1991). The ways people conduct these daily activities reflect local cultural goals for the developing child. For example, the seemingly-simple decision of where families decide to sleep displays a complex system of beliefs about child development and family arrangements. Greenfield and Suzuki (1998:1068) argue that decisions around infant sleeping location reflect cultural goals, family ecology, adult needs (for autonomy), parental sleep patterns, practical constraints, and beliefs about physical and emotional well-being. Cultural goals
are the models for moral personhood and social behavior. From the field of psychology, theories about parental belief systems focus heavily on the role they play in shaping children into members of a culture group. McGillicuddy-De Lisi and Sigel state that “every culture is in part instantiated in the parent beliefs about the nature of childhood. In effect, beliefs are not products of our culture, but are, in fact, our culture” (McGillicuddy-De Lisi & Sigel in Bornstein 1995:335). How the culture thinks of development, life stages, and learning are integral to beliefs of community and interrelatedness.

The attachment-fostering behaviors participants use are forming the child’s psychological models of relationships. Psychological models of the role certain important figures in life lay, such as mother or sibling are also formed in the early childhood environment. These models are carried through life as one forms new relationships and enters into them with expectations and mental scripts for a relationship’s attendant behaviors. People enter new relationships including romantic ones or parenting with expectations of how others will behave, and how they themselves should behave. Psychological models are deeper than that, though, encompassing all aspects of the environment both exterior and interior. Psychological models interact with the human tendency to categorize objects and beings in the world around us. Relationship types can have psychological models that are applied to multiple individual others.

**Cognitive Categories**

A way to study the psychological experience of my research subjects and to understand and interpret my findings is to develop a model for cognitive categories based on observations and conversations with my informants. The cognitive categories I present
below are a way to understand the similarities of the inner experience among members of this group while also acknowledging that each person is experiencing the world in unique ways. I have focused solely on health-related issues in childrearing, though broadly defined. I found that these health-related issues were the easiest entry point to learning how parents I spoke to think about raising their children in the face of many different sources of information. Healthcare, home remedies and health conditions were a frequent topic of conversation among my research participants. Asking how to treat a condition that parents brought up was a way for me to participate in several conversations and produced data about the different categories of treatments participants use.

My use of cognitive categories draws from Kleinman (1988), who organized healthcare-seeking behaviors into three sectors: folk, popular, and professional. He organizes the many care providers he found in his fieldwork in East Asia and the U.S. into one of the three categories. I draw on this compelling theory from healthcare research to develop a model for how individuals might be coping with the various and sometimes conflicting messages about how to raise children. Kleinman (1980) found that most healthcare treatments occur in the “popular” sector (among kin and friends). It was my theory entering this study that childrearing advice-seeking in the Cerrito population will likewise happen most often among close associates. Kleinman’s work delineating sectors provides a model for how large-scale trends and power structures reach down into everyday lives in complex ways.

Postmodern parents commonly turn to a variety of sources for childrearing information (Giddens 1991a:33). I believe that parents in urban Lima are doing this, and that their sources of advice and information reflect cultural values and social
circumstances. Studying how parents organize their different sources of information allows for a more thorough understanding of participants’ enactments of different childrearing advice, reflecting their feelings about those different sources of information.

My categories are not just the people and cultural practices that provide the advice on childrearing, but the material goods associated with childrearing as well. This is because of the primacy of certain childrearing objects - such as the manta - have in Lima as representations of a person’s cultural group identity. Conversations I had with parents in Lima about childrearing included spontaneous discussions of a parent’s choice of childrearing objects, such as mantas, cribs, and bottles. The two categories I discuss here emerged in the course of my fieldwork observations and conversations. These are not exhaustive, and I believe other categories would likely emerge given additional time due to the complexity of childrearing beliefs.

The domains of child-rearing knowledge are different in every cultural community. While I did not employ the concept of the domains of knowledge in my thesis research, in retrospect I can theorize about those domains for the middle-class, white Pacific North-westerners I studied. I hypothesize that the working poor in Lima have a very different set of domains from which they draw. Furthermore, the Quechua migrants have a different set of domains than other communities in Lima.

The Natural Category

The Natural category is knowledge that my informants believe to come from nature, or from a fundamental truth, which defies all culture or human variation. To put it another way, a piece of knowledge from the Natural category is believed to be a universal
truth. Additionally, in-home medical remedies that do not come from the biomedical community and instead are shared within the social network are usually part of the Natural category. These things do not have a specific origin and can work their way into being fundamental truths or ancestral knowledge.

Many, but not all, of the subcategories and specific remedies I discuss in the Natural category are what some would call “folk remedies”. However, this category encompasses more than folk remedies. The Natural category is larger and includes the things ingested or acted out that constitute natural remedies, activities, and ways of being in the minds of my informants. This category is particularly important to understanding childrearing behaviors because my fieldwork both in Peru and in the U.S. has shown that parents often perceive childrearing as a natural set of behaviors. By this I mean that parents do not always make conscious choices because the situation seems to them to call for only one solution. This is how some childrearing behaviors feel like universal truth or instinct. When my informants said that there is only one way to behave in a given situation, they revealed an unconscious choice - a culturally driven instinct.

Milagros says that it is easier to live una vida natural – a natural life in the rural sierras, away from the city. She describes her mother as doing things in a natural way when Milagros was growing up. Milagros and the other women I interviewed used the word natural frequently in conversations which caused me to want to investigate further. I uncovered a variety of behaviors and objects that these participants describe as natural.
Quechua

Knowledge and physical objects coming from a concept of Quechua culture that is not exactly practical but rather more mythical are in the Natural category. Quechua culture, being a living culture, relates to kin-groups or peers for my research participants but is also more than that. It is peers who are specifically from the sierras, memories of childhood in the sierras and the mythic Quechua ancestry. Groups of neighbors and friends would discuss childrearing problems, or gossip about other peoples’ childrearing behaviors, around the table outside of Milagros’ market stall. These social groups reinforced one another's ideas about childrearing from the serrano migrant perspective. Conversations I observed included references to Quechua ways, used Quechua words, and referenced how things were when they were children in the villages that were described as Quechua communities. While all of this happened regularly, Quechua words or phrases were only used casually in conversations that I observed at most once a day. The most common usage of Quechua language was in single words.

Things seen as Quechua being in the Natural category connects Natural to the sense of preferred security from Giddens (1991). This is because my informants in Cerrito associate Quechua language and culture with the in-person social network of fellow migrants and kin. There are messages about Quechua culture beginning to appear in popular media in Peru, but for my informants, ideas about Quechua culture comes primarily first-hand from associates.
Unaltered Nature (Perceived)

Plant-based medicinal or nutritional treatments fall into the Natural category. The serrano people in Peru commonly use a variety of plants steeped as tea or chewed, as with coca leaves. Some serrano people in Lima sell the plants in market stalls or as walking street vendors. These plant-based treatments are in the Natural category because of my informants associating them with Quechua culture, and for their association with the natural world, being unaltered between harvest and home preparation. Essentially, alternation of a plant-based or other product from nature by humans – particularly modern humans from outside of the sierra region – reduces the trustworthiness of the product.

Related to a belief in Quechua-related natural are beliefs about Inca culture and knowledge. Flora demonstrated this belief one afternoon in the market as the topic was on the health condition called susto. Susto is often translated as “fright” and is used throughout Latin America. However, among my Cerrito informants, susto was described more as a type of fussiness or colic. Flora (Milagros’ friend and fellow market vendor) said that the Inca cured susto with egg, aji pepper, and herbs. Flora concluded by saying that the Inca “eran sabios” – were wise – and that everything bad came from the Spanish [colonizers].

Consumable goods are not the only natural objects. Milagros describes clothing and blankets woven in the sierra as natural. She described harvesting wool from sheep, llamas or vicuñas then cleaning and weaving it as a natural process. She said the blankets and clothing made in this way are natural. She said that she cannot use these goods because they are very expensive. I asked her if she had the choice, would she prefer
blankets from the store or handmade in the sierras. She exclaimed vehemently that she would of course prefer the goods from the sierras, but it is just too expensive. Not only is it natural, she said, but also it is higher quality.

Another plant-based treatment Milagros labeled natural is the use of a small stick to clean one’s teeth. She described this as a practice used before toothpaste became the norm in the rural sierras. Milagros said that this is an example of one way in which the people of the sierras traditionally kept clean antes – before.

Natural health remedies do not always involve plants. Several women in the market one day, including Milagros, reported knowing children who had benefited from a common asthma treatment - sharing a bed with a hairless dog. The dogs, which these women referred to as perros chinos (Chinese dogs), are somewhat common in Peru. The women said that having a child sleep with a perro chino cures symptoms of asthma, as well as frequent colds and general sickliness. Sharing a bed with a dog is not a common practice in Peru, especially not in poorer communities I observed such as Cerrito. There are many family dogs, but people usually keep them out of the houses and do not pamper them generally.

Another form of health treatment my Cerrito informants described to me is urine drinking. Milagros and another market vendor brought this up unprompted over lunch one day. While describing a mutual acquaintance, one of them mentioned that the woman is a proponent of urine drinking. I inquired about it, and they both reported trying this in the past. They explained that they have heard from various members of the community, including the aforementioned acquaintance, that urine drinking supports general wellbeing and can help with immune system strength. Milagros reported that a
pediatrician once advised her to give her infant son some of his own urine to drink, and to swab it on his chest and armpits with a cotton ball. Though a medical professional endorsed it, I categorize use of urine as natural because it needs no medical intervention or outside help to enact it. The women in this conversation described it as natural and contrasted it to the use of Vaporub in similar situations.

**Foods**

Foods as a group are in the Natural category of childrearing knowledge for my informants. In fact, food was the first thing Milagros and Flora discussed when defining the word natural during a joint interview. Milagros and Flora said that food prepared oneself and without preservatives is natural. They went on to describe what is not natural by describing canned food and *comida procesada* – processed food. Food prepared oneself is natural. The women used the example of orange juice prepared in Milagros’ stall is natural and is much better than bottled juice from the store. They also used the example of yogurt. Drinkable yogurt is a popular snack sold in stores in Lima. They described the yogurt as full of preservatives, and thus not natural. I inquired further about this, asking what makes the natural foods better. Milagros and Flora both said that natural food is better for the nerves and has much more protein and vitamins. Milagros and Flora trust natural foods to better serve the body. Food prepared by their own hands does not require trust in a food processing facility.

Flora: “*De Don Victorio vienen unos envasados. Todo está preparado, procesado. Eso no es natural. Porque no tiene las mismas este vitaminas y proteínas…lo natural en*”
"alimentos, es mucho mayor que lo que viene envasado." [Don Victorio\(^2\) is canned. Everything is prepared, processed. That is not natural. Because it does not have the same vitamins and proteins. Natural foods are much better than canned.]

Milagros and Flora explained that when preservatives are added to a food the body cannot absorb the vitamins and proteins of that food as well. Flora was especially firm that food is the arena where the difference between natural and not natural is most important.

Barlow (2013) argues that feeding overall is a neglected area of research in studies of childhood attachment. My Cerrito informants associate home-cooked food with Quechua knowledge and with a universal truth. This was evidenced my informants describing foods as a tool to return the body to a healthy state when there is an illness or ailment, including with children. This positions the general category of food in the category of childcare techniques because in this view providing the correct foods to a child is a key component of childrearing. Milagros said that she cooks almost everything her family eats from scratch because it is the most pure - *pura* - for her children. This also demonstrates that there is food that is in the Natural category, and food that is not.

Food has been a major vehicle for creating a unified, modern Peruvian identity (Imilan 2015; Valderrama 2009). Spanish colonialism was the first time the people bounded by the modern state borders were all under the same rule. The far-flung cultural groups of the nation, including peoples who remained largely isolated through the colonial period, have not always felt united as a nation. The colonial government left

\(^2\) Don Vittorio is a common brand of prepackaged goods in Peru that includes pasta and sauces.
many isolated groups largely to themselves – a practice that continued in the early years of the independent government (Wilbert 1994). The formation of a sense of national unity and pride is a current project of the government, in large part to attract tourism (see PromPeru). The native potatoes and quinoa have gained increased attention in recent years outside of the indigenous communities (Valderrama 2009).

My informants place a primary importance on their children receiving healthy foods daily, but also allowed sweets and non-nutritious foods regularly during my observations. In the approximately 30 meals I observed in Cerrito with children in attendance, children who were old enough to eat all types of foods were expected to eat all of the same foods the adults were eating. Milagros’ close friend and fellow market vendor, Flora, advised Milagros one day to feed her children quinoa every day while they are in school. This food will help them do well in school. Quinoa is both a whole food, and a traditional Quechua staple, placing it in the Natural category as a dietary supplement.

Figure 10: Quinoa. Traditional breakfast drink made with fruit and quinoa. Prepared by Milagros.

Some foods are remedies for specific ailments. Milagros recommended I eat sopa de dieta for my cold symptoms one day. She reported that this soup is known as a cure for upset stomachs due to drinking too much alcohol, for people recovering from surgery,
and is suitable for sick children as well. Pre-packaged foods and supplements advertise
the more general health benefit of reducing ‘inflammation.’ When describing different
foods to me, especially ingredients in juices, Milagros would point out if one is said to
help with inflammation.

Fresh juices and smoothies made from whole fruits are a very popular beverage in
Lima. They are sold from carts on the sidewalk or made to order in market stalls such as
Milagros’. Different juice blends are made to suit different nutritional needs or health
goals of the customer, in addition to simple taste. As evidence of how important juices
are to Peruvians, Milagros reported that her pediatrician advised her to begin giving Perla
juices at six months of age, as the first food to supplement breast milk. Milagros reported
that she took this advice. Milagros will give her children bottled juice and other
processed foods but does not trust them to provide the nutrition and health benefits of
freshly prepared foods. Milagros does not trust the larger food system but does trust the
information she has learned from both friends and medical professionals about the need
for various vitamins and minerals in the body.

**Breastfeeding**

My study participants stated that breast milk is natural food for infants.
Breastfeeding routinely occurs in public places without stigma or interest from passers-
by. Milagros’ pediatricians told her to breastfeed her children until two years of age.
Breastfeeding rates are extremely high across Peru. A 1998 study put the rate at 97%
(Marquis et al), and a 2006 study stated that almost 100% of Peruvian infants are
breastfed at least once (Matias et al). The same 2006 study found that duration of
exclusive breastfeeding among rural Peruvians was relatively high as well, with over half lasting 4-5 months.

In a discussion of the definition of the word “natural,” Milagros used breast milk as an example. She said that using infant formula is not natural. In a different interview, Milagros told me that mothers in the rural communities such as where she grew up will breastfeed others’ babies. She said that her mother had abundant milk and did this. When Milagros struggled to provide enough breast milk after both of her children turned one, she supplemented their diets with formula. Each woman, Milagros and her mother, used (or gave) a breastmilk supplement appropriate to her sociocultural environment.

Breastfeeding practices are a particularly rich area of investigation for childrearing beliefs. The interactions between non-Western cultural practices and the biomedical system can be studied through the beliefs and practices surrounding infant feeding. There is an existing body of literature that reveals the relationship between infant feeding and the biomedical system (for example Hulbert 2003, Litt 2000, Wallace & Chason 2007, Murphy 2000; Ball & Volpe 2013). Murphy (2000) has found breastfeeding behaviors to be indicative of mothers changing their behaviors in reaction to professional medical advice. Murphy (2000) also asserts that choices of breastfeeding versus formula feeding are conflated with discussions of morality and maternal care. Infant feeding is significant to attachment ethnotheories in many communities.

Breastfeeding rates among urban Peruvian mothers who migrated from the Andean region are high compared to rates in many other urban nations (Marquis et al 1998). Infant feeding has a great deal of inter-cultural variability and important cultural meaning which makes it a revealing childrearing behavior to study (Balle-Jensen & Goldstein
2003). Give examples Future research in the Cerrito community would benefit from a more thorough investigation of breastfeeding rates, duration and belief systems.

The Medical Category

Giddens (1991) argues that the rapid growth of expertise and specialized knowledge in urbanized societies has residents to rely on formal experts in an expanding set of circumstances. My fieldwork reinforces Giddens’ argument in certain ways. The rural-to-urban migrants I interviewed placed a great deal of trust in modern medical professionals, including pharmacists, in ways that their rural counterparts are known to not (Amnesty 2009).

Biomedical Experts

Professionalized experts control the Medical category. These are experts with formalized training in biomedicine are employed by clinics or pharmacies. Milagros has come to rely more heavily on those sources of expert knowledge she places in the Medical category the longer she has lived in Lima. During our visit to the orthopedist, described in the previous chapter, she told me that she did not take her older son to a medical expert for his gait soon enough, and that she will not make that mistake again with her daughter. The mistake was not specifically in not seeing an orthopedist, since it turned out that Perla’s gait did not require any medical intervention. Rather, in her mind the mistake was in not consulting medical professionals in general. This demonstrates that medical professionals exist in a delineated category for Milagros, separate from her social network and separate from the Natural category.
Milagros told of another way she has sought to incorporate expert advice in raising her daughter. She told me that when Perla was an infant, she asked the pediatrician what she could be doing to provide the best possible care for her daughter. At the pediatrician’s suggestion, she began to give light massages to Perla, including running a toy car up and down her body. The doctor told her this would stimulate Perla, and thus aid her development. She reported to me proudly that she would conduct this exercise daily. She never asked such a question of a pediatrician when she was a younger mother with her first child. Milagros says she is doing a better job at mothering her second child. Seeking and implementing the pediatrician’s advice is proof of this to her. I also observed Milagros advise another young mother in the market one morning, telling the friend that when she takes her children to the pediatrician, she asks what more she can be doing for them.

Biomedical experts prescribe or recommend medications, surgeries, and other kinds of interventions. This is not the limit of their methods though, and biomedical practitioners in Peru will sometimes recommend remedies that fall in the Natural category such as herbal teas, or parenting behaviors like the massages the pediatrician told Milagros to do.

Supplementation

Though I have discussed food as a part of the “natural” domain, there is another type of nutrition that is part of the medical domain. These other categories of consumables are important to examine because they can help us understand the boundaries around different categories. The examples of this I encountered in my
fieldwork are vitamins and supplement drink mixes. These are all products that are produced by corporations in cities or abroad. These are not homegrown; laypeople cannot replicate them at home and scientists have (or seem to have) developed them. These items are thus not natural, and so not in the same category as natural foods for my participants.

The most popular supplement drink mixes in Cerritos, and indeed around the other working-class neighborhoods I shopped in, is called Omnilife. Vendors in market stalls sell them in small envelopes of powder for mixing into water. There are several different flavors, each touting a specific health benefit such as mental acuity, energy, or weight loss. The people who sell these drink mixes must buy them first through a membership program that I suspect is a pyramid scheme. The people buying Omnilife packets from the Cerritos market vendor who sells them seemed to be almost entirely young men on their way to work. Omnilife, a Mexican company, seemed in my opinion to be particularly well-suited to Peru because of the general belief in the nutritional power of juices, as described above. In this way, vendors of supplements like this capitalize on the existing belief in the natural goodness of whole foods, though recognized as an unnatural supplement.

As I have discussed previously, vitamins are well-regarded among most of my Cerritos informants. They consider American vitamins to be higher quality compared to vitamins available in Peruvian pharmacies. Milagros reported to me that Perla’s pediatrician had recommended that Perla receive a few supplements for her general health and growth. Milagros requested I bring American vitamins when returning from
This demonstrates a higher level of trust in American medical institutions (vitamin manufacturers) than Peruvian ones.

**Vaccines**

Milagros vaccinated both of her children as was recommended by her pediatricians. Vaccines are an example of Milagros’ trust in the biomedical system in contrast to her trust in “natural,” I asked Milagros if vaccines are natural. Milagros said: “No creo que una vacuna es natural... pero si es bien,” – “I don’t believe that a vaccine is natural... but it is good.” This demonstrates one of the nuances of Milagros’ relationships with biomedical institutions including feelings of trust and mistrust. Vaccines are from the biomedical system and are administered by doctors. They are an example of a trusted biomedical product. This and other biomedical products are not given trust through status as “natural” but rather earn it in some other way. By being “good” vaccines are useful or beneficent in some way thus earning Milagros’ trust.

**Categorization of Healthcare**

A friend in Lima (not a member of the Cerritos community) told me about a time her mother cured a serious illness she had as a young adult. This friend is upper-middle class, a retired professional born and raised in Lima and the mother of grown children. This friend knew of my interest in rural-to-urban migrants and in learning more about the Andean peoples. She described her mother as a woman from the rural mountains and wanted to tell me her story to show how the people from the Andes know how to cure ailments despite their ignorance of Western medicine. The story goes: my friend was
running a dangerously high fever and was feeling very weak while her mother was visiting from her village. Her mother insisted on boiling water, then soaking towels in it. She then cooled the towels only to a barely tolerable temperature, then wrapped several of them around my friend’s feet. At this point in the story she says she was a little exasperated with her mother, believing that this was not going to help her. But, she says, her fever broke within hours and she was completely better the next day. My friend saw this cure as inexplicable and told the story as if it transformed her opinion of her mother’s folk knowledge.

From this story we learn two interesting things. The first is that my friend has an implicit, primary trust in Western medicine despite her mother’s rural upbringing. Her mother had to convince her to try a folk remedy. Furthermore, she felt the need to provide evidence when telling me that Andean folk remedies can sometimes be effective. Secondly, this story shows that my friend places the hot towel treatment in a category separate from Western medicine. She placed the hot-towel remedy in a category separate from Western medicine. The category, which for her was Andean folk remedies, required defending, while she accepted Western medicine without explanation.

**Categories for Coping**

In chapter four we explored how dangerous and foreign the city often feels for the Cerrito migrants. I believe part of the reason for this sense of insecurity is the information that residents are exposed to is more plentiful and varied than information in rural regions. Not only is an urban resident’s social network expanded, and consists of people outside of one’s own subculture, but the city also contains billboards, newspapers,
television programs, and all the other voices of late modernity that clamor for our attention. Categorizing the information input is helpful and can increase a sense of safety. The stress of poverty and the stress of being a migrant in an unfamiliar social landscape create a need to use psychological categories to filter information and experiences. The categories can help a person quickly sort what advice they are going to take, and even have categories of trusted experts for different issues. For a simplistic example, a parent might have various medical professionals in the category of trusted advisor for their child’s asthma but have a network of family and friends in the trusted category for curbing their child’s rebellious behaviors. I believe that part of the experience of having multiple categories for different types of information actually facilitates the individual being able to use those categories to their benefit, rather than the categories excluding each other. For example, the Natural category can exist apart from the Western Medical category, but people may use either or both depending upon the situation.

Treating these categories as distinct for the purposes of our analysis does have a drawback in that it encourages us to think of them as exclusive, or as simple. These categories are not at all simple, and in fact it can be difficult to find the boundaries between them at times. Adding to the complexity - pediatricians recommend traditional foods, especially quinoa and certain native fruits. The medical and the natural are interconnected in the minds of my study participants, and one does not exist exclusive of the other.

Both categories of health-related childrearing knowledge are important to my participants in Cerrito. Both categories also come to mind easily. When my son had a cough, Milagros advised I purchase both propoleo, a kind of cough syrup sold in
pharmacies which is made from honey and other non-pharmaceutical ingredients, and *camu camu* juice, a native Peruvian fruit known as a cold remedy (which contains high amounts of vitamin C). We also see that these categories can become difficult to distinguish, depending upon the person, with the example discussed above of the fruit juices and Omnilife juice supplements. Newer technologies, experts and systems can piggyback on existing belief systems and categorizations. Altogether, the individual must sort, prioritize, and employ these knowledges in a psychological process.

Healthcare, with its connection to the security of the body is important to people, to their wellbeing. Likewise, the desire to raise your children successfully is heavy with personal significance. These parts of life become weighted with emotion, social pressures, psychological security and cultural values. The ways in which healthcare and childrearing are enacted are the result of the caregiver’s negotiation with these different feelings and their navigation of the categories of information they encounter.
Conclusion

The young parents of Cerrito de las Cruces live in one of the large, complex urban environments of the world. Their feelings of trust or distrust are what they use to navigate this environment. Their status as migrants gives them a unique perspective on their city and helps reveal how trust can change throughout the lifespan. Changes in feelings of trust towards cultural institutions and even objects in the environment result in changed behavior as we saw here with parenting behaviors.

Lima in the World

“Half a century of migration has remade Lima into an Andean city, with the world’s single largest population of Quechua speakers. New arrivals have redefined identities and cultures, maneuvering to forge a popular culture at the fraught intersection of the autochthonous and the imported, the past and the present, the indigenous and the Western” (Star et al. 1995:460).

Peru has large and culturally important immigrant groups. Historically there have been waves of migration from Europe, Africa and Asia that have left a lasting impact. Within Peru the three primary regions - the mountains, the rainforest, and the coast - have been so culturally and geographically divided as to make the migrants from the mountains and rainforest seem like foreigners on the coast. Peru has come a long way towards embracing its indigenous heritage, but there is still a perception of the rural Quechua people as outsiders to the urban Peruvian environment.
When rural to urban migrants settle in cities their interactions with the state increase. The Peruvian government uses public health campaigns to influence parenting decisions. These campaigns address Peruvian public health concerns such as childhood anemia and maternal mortality. At the same time, these campaigns reflect a biomedical approach to healthcare and childrearing whose roots lie in the Western world, not Peru. The globalization of Western science and medicine, as well as economics, religion and language create a mix of intersecting values, practices and beliefs in cities like Lima. Giddens states that late modernity is a time of increased life options: “the more tradition loses its hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options” (1991:5).

Cities are in many ways constructed and held together by systems. There are small communities, as we have seen here in Cerrito, where people build the interpersonal relationships that provide their sense of security in the world. However, the city is not simply a conglomeration of these small communities. It is the systems that overlie every individual life, across the small communities, across the neighborhoods and disparate constituencies that make a city function. From an anthropological perspective, these systems reflect and are the substance of the citywide culture. Subcultures exist and even thrive within the smaller communities of real human relationships. However, the systems bring everyone together across the lines of community, family and interpersonal trust.
Challenges

The Andes are a difficult place to make a living. The landscape features very sudden altitude changes, difficult navigation, and extreme weather patterns. The region has always had a sparse population due to the difficulties in sustaining food sources. Over the centuries, Quechua communities developed many methods to increase their chances for survival during difficult times. Communities will plant crops at different altitudes in order to hedge against unfavorable weather. Native potatoes are dried and stored. People keep small herds of quickly reproducing Guinea pigs in the home for their meat. Pastoralists herd native camelids such as llamas and alpacas in areas with poor soil. In the modern era, the Peruvian state has established regular deliveries of basic foodstuffs to rural communities to distribute free among needy households and invested in roads to serve remote regions. vii

Lima is also a difficult place to make a living in many ways. The city has high crime rates, pockets of extreme poverty and unhealthy air and water. While the socialized medical systems are available to Lima residents, it is not as comprehensive as many of the poorest residents would like. The free public education system is also available in the city, but only top-scoring students can reach the universities. A person migrating from the Andes to Lima experiences a change in all aspects of their environment: climate, altitude, social scale, cultural influences and personal network. A breakdown in a migrant’s social network can lead to financial and emotional hardship.

Impoverished Peruvians face challenges whether they are urban or rural residents. The challenges the individuals included in this study face are magnified by the experience of migration.
The intersection of globalized social services and local cultures is a complex space with no universally ideal pathway. While maternity centers and primary schools reduce some traditional cultural practices, the local community often campaigns for their arrival. Schools, for example, can also serve as bolsters of indigenous culture when they teach indigenous languages or hire locals to teach, as has happened in Peru. Or, the educational system can be coercive as in the case of the government paying poor families to participate in programs that include making sure their children attend school, get vaccinations and receive family planning information (Gribble et al. 2007).

**Expecting the Future**

What I observed among Cerrito parents was similar in several ways to my previous research in the U.S. The parents in both groups are attempting to predict the future for their children and teach them what they need to know and how they will need to behave in order to be successful adults. Parents achieve their aim through a mixture of conscious and unconscious choices. Most strikingly, the U.S. parents were rejecting modernity in several ways from a position of power as the in-group. The Limeños included in this research are rejecting modernity in certain ways from a position of weakness as the out-group. The Limeños are engaging with the expert systems of their society with feelings ranging from ambivalence to mistrust, even when following the expert system’s instructions.

Heidi Keller theorizes that economic environments can play a big role in shaping parenting behaviors. She and her colleagues seek to connect types of socio-economic environments (such as post-industrial technology economies) to particular parenting
behaviors (Keller, Borke & Yovsi 2005). Part of their hypothesis is that as the economy of a place changes, parenting behaviors will change in rapid succession. Giddens likewise argues that post-industrial modernity gives rise to particular social institutions that directly alter childrearing behaviors (1991). These theories build in large part on the assumption that parenting behaviors, including those directed at very young infants, are preparing children for their adult lives.

The differences between the urban and rural childrearing goals I discussed in the previous chapters revolve around behaviors to ensure the future economic success of the children. Large-scale economies require workers that will move from their natal communities to take jobs that involve interaction with large numbers of strangers. Urban communities in the represent Greenfield’s Geimenschaft environment. Greenfield’s theory of the Gesselschaft environment represents small communities with relatively stable populations where long-term interpersonal relationships are a means to economic success, such as in the rural Andes. Greenfield (1998) makes a case for economic systems of different scales shaping parents’ socialization behaviors. Similarly, cross-cultural psychologist Gisela Trommsdorf writes that children are trained to be more obedient in societies where they are more valuable socio-economically (2009).

In a 2008 study of children working on street corners in Lima selling DVDs and other items, Campoamor (2016) concluded that the Peruvian effort to eradicate child labor demonstrates that the government sees parents, through their poor choices, as the cause of their children’s limited futures. This supports my argument that the Peruvian government supports a Western (neoliberal) model of childrearing that seeks to mold children into education-oriented, autonomous economic actors. Campoamor argues that
the Peruvian government ignores the social structures that lead to child labor on street
corners, and instead focuses on the easier target - impoverished mothers. I extend her
argument to say that the Peruvian government is also ignoring a different model of child
development that these impoverished mothers, many of whom are rural-to-urban
migrants, hold. Their model of childrearing does not always include a highly sheltered
period of childhood separated from other life stages. Based on his fieldwork in a remote
Andean Quechua community in Bolivia, Andrew Canessa describes the Andean life cycle
as “a series of births and transformations” (2012:144). Biological birth, he says, is
insufficient to create a person, and does not confer membership in the group. Childhood
is not a defined stage. Instead, development of the person is an ongoing process tied as
closely to group participation as to biological maturity.

My time in Cerrito provides support for this general theory that parents alter their
childrearing behaviors in response to the economic environment and the way they expect
their children to make a living as adults. I do not believe that economics are destiny for
the creation of an adult person. I argue that emotional relationships in childhood and the
caregivers’ psychological model of personhood are the primary drivers of variation in
child development. The small group of intimates in a child’s early life shapes their inner
subjectivity first. The social and cultural environment outside the home further shapes the
growing child as they seek social or economic benefits. These two spheres of influence
on the child are not isolated. They influence each other in a dialectic process that will last
the child’s lifetime. These two complex relationships – the intra-familial intimacies and
the larger social environment – come together as the child becomes a social actor.
A parent can change their beliefs about how to best raise a child during the childrearing process, as we see with Milagros and her eldest son. Her perspectives on autonomous choice have changed in a way that aligns more with the urban Western environment, according to Greenfield’s model. I also observed aspects of childrearing that are more resistant to change. The Cerrito parents’ “Natural” cognitive category is an example of resistance to cultural change. I argue that compartmentalizing types of knowledge, which are types of influences on childrearing, into a separate category protects them from the more culturally influential ideas completely subsuming them. The ideas about food, physical health and other learning originating in their rural upbringing remain with the Cerrito parents and thus influence the way they raise their children.

**Spheres of Influence**

The two interactive spheres of influence on the developing child - the intra-familial intimacies and the larger social environment - can explain variation among individuals and families. While kinship is not the basis of most Cerrito relationships outside the home, the relationships are important in shaping the residents’ experiences and approaches to childrearing. The social pressure to behave properly and influence from peers sometimes manifests in the form of gossip. Sitting around the market tables, women would frequently discuss the childrearing shortcomings of others with Milagros. The gossipers criticized parents for being too indulgent or too negligent, not prioritizing schooling or not prioritizing family. Informal social pressure such as gossip is a way of keeping community members’ behavior in line with social norms in culture groups around the world (Gluckman 1963). In my observations both in Cerrito and in my
previous research in the U.S, gossip about parenting was also a source of information for
the listener. Parents would learn about childrearing techniques and understand what
parenting decisions the speaker had made. Sometimes during these conversations, parents
solidified their decisions and reinforced norms. Applying Giddens’ theories discussed in
chapter four related to trust and security we can hypothesize that the degree to which the
parent trusts the speaker in these conversations will affect the degree of influence these
conversations have on their decisions.

Outside of the immediate social circle, parenting experts assert a more distant
influence on Cerrito parents. These experts wield influence due to their formal
credentials, the social currency that Western science has and the backing of the Peruvian
government. Giddens would describe the influence these experts have on the parenting
decisions of Cerrito residents as more difficult to sustain. Sustained interpersonal
relationships where trust forms over time and through a community network are not the
basis of this influence.

The divide between these two spheres of influence - the interpersonal social group
and the distant experts - is not as clear as this description might imply. When Milagros
and her peers sit around the market tables and discuss the advice pediatricians have given
them or criticize another parent for not following advice, they first saw in a public health
campaign, they bring expert influence into interpersonal relationships. The distant advice
becomes near at hand. Giddens argues that trusting distant experts is difficult to sustain
but when their advice arrives in the form of a trusted peer the experience changes. If
Giddens’ theory is correct, then the information about appropriate childrearing practices
that parents receive in the course of interacting with their immediate social network will
be easier to trust over time. Giddens discussed this in his 1991 book, arguing that a distinctive feature of modernity is the direct interconnection of modern institutions and the self: “globalizing influences on the one hand and personal dispositions on the other” (1991:1).

My fieldwork observations among U.S. parents showed them conflating parenting information they had absorbed from their wider culture with the idea of instincts (Casillas 2010). This included opinions about child sleeping locations, vaccination schedules, and physical contact with their infants. My conclusions after that research included the observation that my research participants were making decisions that aligned with U.S. cultural beliefs of personhood and child development, despite practicing some parenting behaviors that were outside of the norm. The parents were consulting with experts, mostly in the form of childrearing books, as a way of affirming their choices. Their choices aligned with their peers in a parenting support group. The parents in my study had chosen experts and chosen a peer group. The information they were receiving about parenting methods was coherent between the experts they consulted and a subsection of their peer group. I believe that receiving certain messages about child development and appropriate parenting methods from a variety of sources contributed to these parents believing that many of their choices were coming from instincts, as opposed to conscious choices.

In my fieldwork in Cerrito, I observed parents in a peer group they did not actively choose, much like a natal community. As is true nearly everywhere, the neighborhood is composed of families that have a lot in common not due to shared personal interests, but instead due to culture, economics, and environment. They do not
always have the ability to choose a particular pediatrician and they rarely consult childrearing literature. The Cerrito parents also did not cite instinct as a reason for their childrearing choices. In my interviews, Cerrito parents reported they made particular childrearing choices based on the advice of medical professionals, kin or friends, and based on their own experiences in childhood. The closest analogy to instincts that the Cerrito parents used with me was the “natural” word and concept. My group of U.S. parents discussed “natural” as well. For them, “natural” relates to instinctual and conveys a sense of human universals in childrearing methods. The Cerrito parents I worked with use “natural” differently. In interviews with them, natural conjured images of a Quechua-influenced, rural childhood as well as homemade foods.

What my informants in both the US and in Cerrito experience as instincts can be from nature or the biomedical realm, but they are all from the culture. They feel like instincts and so they feel like they are arising organically from a basic knowledge source. Developmental psychologists, working from the heritage of Bowlby and Ainsworth, see attachment in this way - a basic, instinctual process shaped by individual human behaviors. There is strong evidence for a biological universal attachment process in infants and all ages (see Hrdy 1999). However, there is also strong evidence for attachment being a culturally varied process that has no single universal goal or ideal outcome (see Quinn & Mageo, eds. 2013).

**Growing a Self**

I agree with LeVine and Norman (2001) that infants begin the enculturation process from birth at the latest. Especially drawing on Heidi Keller (2007) and Thomas
Weisner’s (2005) work, I argue that the childrearing environment forms the child’s notion of self-hood in a very culturally specific way. Culture groups use particular childrearing practices to produce cultural persons. Childrearing behavioral patterns and the local cultural model of the self are coherently integrated and reflect the most important developmental goals of the culture (Keller 2007; Weisner 1998). In Cerrito, families are working with intersecting cultural goals from the rural sierra and from urban Lima.

During one conversation, I asked Milagros for her thoughts on how a parent influences a child’s development. In response, Milagros described her beliefs about her own upbringing in this way:

*Gracias a Diós y mi mamá, me inculcar de los valores. Es que me porto bien. Es que no hago cosas malas... Eso me ha servido a mi bastante, bastante. Creo que gracias a eso, tengo mucha gente que me quiere, mucha gente que me respetan. Nunca he mentido... Eso es mi forma de pensar.*

Thanks to God and my mother, I learned values. That I behave well. That I do not do bad things... That has served me quite, quite well. I believe that thanks to that, I have many people who love me, many people who respect me. I never lie... This is my way of thinking.

In this quote, Milagros credits her successful adult relationships to good childrearing. She believes that her mother’s childrearing behaviors benefit her to this day. She implies that this is what guides her in her own childrearing.

Several social scientists have found that the daily routines of childrearing and the psychodynamic patterns they enact are often resistant to change (Thomas 1990; Weisner
2002; Ho & Kang 1984; Lamm et al. 2008). If that is true, then what does change becomes even more important to understand. My work in Peru provides further ethnographic evidence of change in childrearing techniques occurring after a rural to urban move.

The Self with Others

The cultural groups in Peru lie somewhere on a spectrum that ranges from strongly sociocentric, to strongly egocentric (Markus & Kitayama 1991; Mageo 1998:17). However, the binary of sociocentric and egocentric is false, in cultures as well as within individuals (Mageo 2002b:339). Even in U.S. culture, which these theorists label a strongly egocentric culture, one can observe strongly sociocentric values and behaviors. The desire for a close bond with one’s infant opposes a purely egocentric orientation, yet it is a part of U.S. cultural values (Mageo 2002).

Instead of a binary, or one location along a spectrum, some theorists argue that coexisting sociocentric and egocentric values and actions are either hypercognized or hypocognized (Levy 1984:225; Mageo 2003:31). For example, U.S. culture has a great deal of dialogue around individualism (Mageo 1998:82). By contrast, what the culture does not normalize or value is hypocognized (Levy 1984:225; Mageo 2003:31). Jeannette Mageo (2002b:348) argues that across cultures people have a need for individualistic interpersonal bonds, as well as for intra-group membership and bonding. Different cultures highlight one side of this continuum and suppress conversation and thought (hypocognize) of the other side despite a need for both. The contradictions that arise from this process can lead to contradicting values and behaviors (Hsu 1961). My own and
others’ research among migrant populations should illuminate further difficulties migrants face as they move from a cultural milieu that hypocognizes individuality to one that hypercognizes it (or the reverse). I agree with theorists such as Mageo, LeVine (1974) and Keller (2007) that the patterns of social expression and intimate relationships that a society emphasizes or suppresses will influence childrearing and inner experience. Milagros’ shifting beliefs about her own children’s individuality and her new perception of their right to make choices demonstrate that influence.

As migration rates have increased worldwide, I believe we can expect to see an increase in these changes in perception, perspective, and values. Parenting behaviors will reflect these shifts. The values, or hypercognized aspects of culture, of the migrants’ new homes will exert an influence and cause changes in the ways the next generation perceives the social-cultural environment, human nature and themselves. Likewise, consociates will reinforce the norms of the migrants’ new home through social sanctions.

The sociocentric-egocentric binary, though false in practice, can be an analytically useful construct. It can help us understand the differences that exist in cultural values worldwide and help create a model for the conditions that create cross-cultural similarities. Likewise, the positioning of instinct, culture and choice is false yet useful. Parents can deploy these three ways of shaping a parenting behavior simultaneously. They influence each other at times and can become difficult to differentiate. As my previous research among U.S. parents led me to predict, much of the experience of childrearing is unexamined for my Cerrito informants. However, my fieldwork did uncover consciously considered childrearing practices.
Parents Choosing

Keller (2011) argues that the Western middle class is engaged in a culturally patterned attempt at “optimal parenting.” I argue that this is not unique to the Western middle class, though it may be at an extreme in that culture group. I observed Milagros and her peers attempting to be “optimal” parents as well. They may not use the same kind of language, and they certainly have a different set of cultural tools, but the Cerrito parents were striving to make their children’s outcomes as successful as possible through their parenting techniques.

My motivation for closely examining the spheres of influence present in my participants’ lives, and how their behaviors change, is to better understand their inner experience of childrearing. Additionally, the inner experience of childrearing is a representation or enactment of the caregiver’s beliefs about self-hood, subjectivity, and the self’s relationship with the larger world.

Trust

People around Cerrito would sometimes ask me what I was doing spending so much time in their community. I would talk about being a university (or graduate) student, and about cultural anthropology. When I explained to my research participants that I was studying childrearing, people often commented that that is an interesting topic. When I asked about particular childrearing behaviors, however, people became more confused. Respondents often had a mildly puzzled expression and commented that their own answers were typical of all parents. This caused me to spend time explaining to my key participants the differences in childrearing behaviors and beliefs I have observed.
among U.S. parents in order to demonstrate that variability exists even within a culture group. I also used these conversations to signal my acceptance of different childrearing styles. I was wary of seeming to believe in American cultural superiority. In the end, I cannot say for sure whether these efforts were successful with all of the people with whom I spent time. I remained an outsider and a visitor from a culturally dominant world power. Despite this, Milagros and I became close. I believe she knows I respect her as a mother and a person.

Milagros, Flor, and all the parents I discuss in this dissertation shared their parenting beliefs with me and invited me into their homes to see those beliefs at work. The trust this demonstrates defies our cultural divide and the complexities of Western cultural domination. Trust was a constant theme of my fieldwork in Lima. As Giddens (1991b) observed, the environment compels urban parents to trust systems they do not fully understand. Representatives of those systems, such as doctors, rely on the status of science and Western medicine to inspire trust quickly without the development of an interpersonal relationship. Cerrito parents also trust kin and close friends based on long-term bonds and time spent together. Crime in Lima triggered distrust among my informants and me. My friends and acquaintances warned me to be wary of strangers and protective of my possessions in public places. The urban social environment is untrustworthy. My own campaign to be trusted in Cerrito was also difficult in this untrusting environment. I call my primary informant Milagros, which means miracle, because it feels like a miracle that she was able to trust me in the face of so many obstacles. Milagros is a very brave person. She left her natal home to find financial opportunities in a dangerous city. She examines the dizzying array of messages that come
to her daily from the government, the medical community, and across her shop counter. She categorizes that information in a way that makes sense to her and then chooses the degree to which she will trust the different influences. She uses all of her resources to try to build a good life for her children. She wants them to be successful in Lima - economically and socially. For this she has altered some of her beliefs about parenting behaviors both consciously and unconsciously. Measuring by her own goals, Milagros is experiencing success in raising children who are acculturated to the urban cultural environment while maintaining some of the values of their parents’ rural heritage. I look forward to following their lives and seeing what they do with the start their family is giving them.

This research is informed by dozens of her peers in Cerrito as well as other parents from around Lima who consulted and gave interviews over the course of my fieldwork. In the end I assigned Milagros the role in this dissertation of a representative of her community of young parents. As the type of person who knows every passerby this seems appropriate. More importantly though is her representativeness in terms of socioeconomic situation, cultural identification, and participation in the parenting community in Cerrito. The ways in which she forms trust of varying levels in the cultural institutions of her environment give us insight into the parenting decisions of this community.
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Appendix

The following are recipes from Milagros described as healthy, natural foods to feed her family.

**Arroz con Pollo (Rice with chicken)**

**Sauce:**

- 1 small head of garlic
- 1 whole aji amarillo pepper
- 1 large bunch of cilantro
- A few spinach leaves
- Water to fill blender

Blend these ingredients until liquified

**Chicken:**

Fry one small onion in oil. Add chicken pieces. Next add the sauce.

Prepare a large bowl of corn kernels, peas and chopped carrots. Cook 5-10 minutes. Add a chopped sweet pepper (such as bell pepper). Cook 3-5 minutes. Add water to maintain liquid consistency if needed.

Add uncooked rice and water to fill pot. Cover and cook until rice is cooked through.
Figure 11: Aji amarillo peppers. Purchased in the Cerrito market and used later by Milagros for cooking.

**Sauce for Papas Huancaina**

Place 4-5 sliced aji amarillo peppers in a hot pot for approximately 15 minutes. Remove and peel skins off. Put skinned peppers in a blender with:

- 2 packets of soda crackers
- 9 ounces of cheese
- One cup of milk
- One tbsp of salt
- Juice from ½ of a sweet lime.
Quinoa Tamalada

Boil one cup dry quinoa well with lots of water.

Boil potatoes to fill a pot. Peel and slice the potatoes.

Fry 2 sweet onions and one handful of chopped garlic.

Add aji sauce (pureed aji amarillo) and salt to taste.

Cook on low heat until stew-like consistency adding small cubes of cheese (approximately 1 ½ cups) and one small bunch of huacatay (an herb).

Serve poured over rice and potato slices.
Sopa de Chupi

Boil:

- Sliced olluco (a tuber from the Andes)
- Sliced potatoes
- 6 eggs that have been mixed
- One small can of evaporated milk
- Water to fill pot
- Raw broad beans
- Cubed cheese

Especial (my favorite of Milagros’ juices)

Put through juicer:

- One apple
- One carrot
- Half of a beet

Pour that in blender, then add:

- 2 large slices of papaya
- One small banana (6-inch-long variety)
- One quarter cup of sugar
- Water to create desired thickness
Tallarines Verdes (Green noodles)

Heat a pot 1/3 filled with water. Fill pot completes with spinach and bunch of basil. Mix down.

Drain out the water. Put the mixture into a blender, add chunks of cheese (approximately one cup), a handful of walnuts, most of one can of evaporated milk, several cloves of garlic, and one whole sweet onion that has been lightly sautéed. Liquefy the mixture.

Pour over cooked spaghetti. Top with one fried egg.

Carapulcra

Toast ¾ cup peanuts in a frying pan. Peel the peanuts. Run peanuts through blender.

Boil large chunks of chicken.

Fry ¼ cup ground aji especial. Add chicken pieces, water, a few cloves of chopped garlic, and one small chopped sweet onion.

Add peanuts, a few strips of cinnamon, some clove. Add ¼ cup red wine, approximately 6 cups of boiled, chopped, peeled potatoes.

Sopa Seca

Boil:

- One tomato in large slices
- 4 cups of basil leaves
- 1 cup of spinach leaves
- Small portion of garlic
- One sweet onion, chopped
• A little water to desired consistency

Add two packets of spaghetti broken in half. Cook until soft.
Notes

i This was one of a handful of occasions where I was left with the impression that my friends and acquaintances in Cerrito assumed that I do not have as much physical stamina as them. I did not press the point out of embarrassment, but a variety of conversations led me to believe that my perceived wealth and foreignness gave the impression that I am not capable of manual labor. This, on top of my gender, made me feel uncomfortably sheltered from the community’s work in a way I am not accustomed to.

ii The frequent incidences of strangers and friends instructing me on how to care for my son contributed to the overall feeling that I was being perceived as an incompetent person. Despite being in my 30s and a mother, I was spoken to like I did not know how to do basic adult tasks. The demeanor of people giving these bits of advice or admonishment was always sincere and urgent, giving the impression that they really feared for the wellbeing of my child due to his mother’s neglect or ignorance. On more than one occasion this came from my landlady, who observed my parenting daily and presumably could see that my husband and I were keeping our son safe. I had been told this is a common occurrence for anthropologists in the field, but it was still surprising and interesting. I took note of these occasions and they remain vivid in my recollections from the field. Caring for my son in the context of a different cultural environment was a personally significant part of the fieldwork experience.

iii Selection of verses of the song “Arroz con Leche” as heard in Lima:

Arroz con leche, me quiero casar, Rice with milk, I want to marry
Con una señorita de Portugal.

Que sepa coser, que sepa bordar

Que sepa abrir la puerta para ir a jugar.

Con ésta, sí.

Con ésta, no.

Con esta señorita me casaré yo.

---

Con una señorita de Portugal.

With a girl from Portugal

Who knows how to sew, who knows how to embroider

Who knows how to open the door to go play

With this, yes

With this, no

With this girl I will get married

---

Crittenden and Marlowe cite Hrdy 2005a, b, 2009; Sear and Coall 2011; Belsky 1997; Chilsholm 1999; Zeifman and Hazan 2008.

For an example of popular childrearing prescriptive advice that draws heavily from Attachment Theory, see “Dr. Sears’” work, particularly Sears & Sears 1996.

Omnilife shows evidence of being a form of pyramid scheme. One of the women who owns a stall in the market invited me to attend an Omnilife meeting. This meeting consisted of sales pitches encouraging the audience to begin selling Omnilife.

One of Milagros’ sisters has volunteered as a coordinator of one of these government-run food distribution groups in her rural village.