

CHAPTER 5. WELLBEING AND MIGRATION

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Soy provinciano

“For all my provincial brothers / That work the land / In order to search bread for their children and their brothers / I am a boy from the provinces / I get up very early / To go with my brothers to work / I don’t have a father or mother, nor a dog to bark at me / I just have the hope to progress / I search a new life in this city / Where everything is money and there is evil / With the help of God I know that I will succeed / And together with you, my love, happy it will be .../” (A *chicha* song by Chacalón: cited by Lockley, 2005b).

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The contemporary song, reproduced above, vividly illustrates the complex interplay between wellbeing and migration in Peru. The title reaffirms the rural social identity of the singer, despite his migration to the city. He depicts achievement of his goals – to progress, to build a new life, to be happy – as part of a greater struggle between good and evil. His attitude to money is ambivalent, whereas a sense of the importance of loving relationships to wellbeing infuses the whole song. From the outset of the WeD research we were acutely aware of the importance of migration to the lives of people in our research area, particularly the shared experience and folklore of movement from highland villages to Lima and other urban areas. Selection of research sites along a loosely defined corridor deliberately sought to encompass a range of migration sources and destinations within the country, along what Redfield (1947) described as the “folk-urban” continuum. We were aware of extensive ethnographic research already conducted into rural to urban migration in particular, and its emphasis on both economic and socio-cultural aspects of migrants’ experience. Analysis of the reproduction of poverty through social exclusion in Peru by members of the research team had already drawn on this work by emphasising the socio-cultural as well as economic obstacles faced by migrants seeking improved education and employment for themselves and for their offspring (Altamirano, 1996; Figueroa, 2001; Copestake, 2003). But in parallel with the analysis of institutions in the last chapter, we were interested in exploring how a broad wellbeing ‘lens’ might add to the analysis of migration from specific disciplinary perspectives. As both an observable action, and as the basis for informed reflection on the relative merits of living in different places, a migration ‘lens’ promised to be an empirically grounded means to learning how people thought about wellbeing more generally.²

Turning these initial thoughts into a clear, precise and coherent conceptual framework as the basis for practical empirical research was far from straight-forward. First, whilst not belittling the archetypal rural to urban migration experience, we recognised the distinctiveness of a far wider range of migration patterns:

¹ This paper was also only possible through the work of field researchers Maribel Arroyo, Lida Carhuayanqui, Martín Jaurapoma, Miguel Obispo, Percy Reyna and Edwin Paúcar. Jorge Yamamoto and Ana Rosa Feijoo also supported field work design and supervision

² Both physical movement and remittance behaviour can be regarded as revealed preferences, albeit subject to what Rao and Walton (2004) refer to as “preference constraints”. Meanwhile peoples’ views about the trade-offs entailed in living in different places can be regarded as relatively well informed stated preferences.

- rural to mining centres, albeit less than in the past as the mines have become more capital-intensive (and return back to rural);
- urban to urban, including the use of cities in the *sierra* (highlands) as a staging post for movement down to Lima;
- urban to rural, including planned return to villages of refugees from *la violencia*;
- rural to rural, both within ecological zones and between them, particularly from *sierra* to *selva* (rainforest);
- and international, to both cities (e.g. Wright-Revolledo, 2007; Altamirano, 2006a) and to rural areas (Altamirano, 2005).³

In so doing, we also recognised the need to distinguish between permanent, temporary, seasonal, and circulatory migration; and also to reflect on how all these relate to short-term spatial movement or mobility. Second, the wellbeing effects of migration are experienced by individuals not only in real historical time, with many people migrating more than once, but also in metaphysical time: as dreams and aspirations before moving, and as memory, reflection, personal stories and myth-making afterwards (Altamirano, 2006b). Third, migration affects the wellbeing not only of those who move, but also of close relatives and others left behind, and those already living in chosen destinations. This suggests the need for a higher level of analysis of collective wellbeing effects to complement those on individuals. Fourth, in seeking to understand individual motives and wellbeing outcomes for migration there is the perennial problem of how far to impose our own prior categories on their experience; doing so makes data more tractable, but risks obscuring or distorting the meaning and wellbeing effects of migration as understood by migrants themselves. Bringing these four points together: how far is migration to be viewed as an act of individual utility maximization, not least in seeking to escape material poverty? Or how far is it to be viewed as a contributor to the reproduction, destruction and contestation of cultural traditions? And how necessary is it to decide this in advance? How necessary is it to apply an already formed theory of wellbeing to migration, and how far is it possible to draw upon migrants' own experiences to inform our understanding of wellbeing?

In response to these questions two distinct components of the migration strand of our research can be distinguished. Section 5.2 reports on the first: an attempt to gain a clearer understanding of the nature and extent of migration within the research area. Here we rely on data collected using the RANQ and other closed questions, supplemented by knowledge acquired through informal and key informant discussions. Sections 5.3 and 5.4 are then concerned more with how migrants and their relatives have interpreted their experiences of migration. This relied on in-depth interviews, using open-ended questions.⁴ It focuses particularly on how migration affects subjective wellbeing via its effect on family relationships. We argue that an emphasis on the importance of migration as pursuit of income and livelihood security

³ Altamirano (2006b) discusses each of these types of migration in more detail. He also points out additional popular classifications of migrants often used in a derogatory way: *maqta* refers more to young male migrants with indigenous roots, while *chola* refers to people who occupy an intermediate cultural position between rural indigenous and urban Westernised *mestizo*.

⁴ This incorporates insights from Lockley (2005a and 2005b). Altamirano (2006a) and Wright-Revolledo (2007) also extended the ethnographic part of the research beyond the borders of Peru by interviewing migrants from Central Peru in the USA and Europe. By the end of 1998 it is estimated that over one million Peruvians (4.5% of national population) were living abroad (AL.I.o-Rodriguez, 2000 in Chant, 2003; Altamirano, 2006a). However, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to present findings from these studies, despite the growing importance of remittance income flowing back to the region from international migrants.

in the literature risks neglecting this aspect. These sections reflect in part on the relationship between migration and wellbeing in the light of data collected using the WeDQoL as described in Chapter 3. More specifically we ask what additional insights this approach provides when compared with the findings generated through more orthodox questionnaire-based and ethnographic methods reported in the earlier sections. This leads to an analysis of migration in the region as the outcome of competing and contested intra- as well as inter-personal tensions and trade-offs, particularly between the pursuit of individual self-improvement, fulfilment of family relationships and improvement of the quality of one's living environment.

Before proceeding with the above, the remainder of this section presents a brief overview of why internal migration has emerged as a key theme in contemporary Peru (Anderson et al, 2006). Throughout the second half of the 20th century Peru experienced a massive rural-urban exodus (Paerregaard, 1997). In response to deepening rural poverty and the increasing centralisation of the capital, Lima, many came to the city in search of a better life. In 1940, 35.5% of the population was urban and 64.5% rural; whereas by 1993 the situation had reversed, with 70.4% urban and 29.6% rural population (INEI, 1995). Between 1940 and 1993 the *costa* (coast) population in relation to the total population increased from 24% to 52.2%, while the *sierra* reduced from 63% to 35.8%, and the *selva* from 13% to 12% (INEI, 1995). The concentration of the population in Lima is such that today almost one in three Peruvians lives in the capital. Between 1980 and 1995, political violence and conflict between the Peruvian military and Sendero Luminoso (the Shining Path movement) compounded migration with a period of forced migration or displacement. In the 1990s stabilisation of rural areas and growing urban poverty prompted at least some of those displaced by the violence to organise collective returns (Stepputat and Sorensen, 2001), but more remained and are “invisible migrants, often confused with those who travel to the city in search of a better economic life” (Altamirano, 2003, p.58). A more recent process highlighted by the INEI (1995) is that of ‘*la selvaticización*’ – the growth of the rural and urban population in the *selva*, linked in part to the illegal production of coca.

Internal migration remains a phenomenon on the increase, especially for the poorest (DFID/WB, 2000). High levels of mobility and migration have led to the development of complex interactions and interdependence between rural and urban areas (Altamirano, 1984, 1988; Golte and Adams, 1987; Martinez, 1980; Paerregaard, 1997, 2003; Roberts, 1974; Skar, 1994; Sorensen, 2002; Sorensen and Stepputat, 2003). These interconnections between places are exemplified by terms including “multiple residence practices” and “mobile livelihoods” (Sorensen, 2002; Alber, 1999), the city being seen as a “temporary dormitory” (Long and Roberts, 1984, with reference to Huancayo). A growing proportion of the rural population can be described as “rural urbanites” as a result of circular migration (Paerregaard, 2003) and the term “*rurbano/a*” reflects the idea of a person who is not entirely rural, nor completely urban: a strategy of life combining rural with urban (DFID/WB, 2003). These studies all emphasise that mobility and migration are central to the lives and livelihoods of rich and poor alike: a necessary and inevitable norm (Paerregaard, 1997, 2003; Sorensen, 2002, Sorensen and Stepputat, 2003). As such, categorising people as migrants, non-migrants or different types of migrant is difficult. For example, in her study of Huayopampa Alber (1999) abandons any attempt to differentiate between permanently resident and non-resident households. Similarly, Paerregaard (2003) refers to “migrants” and “villagers” not as two distinct demographic groups, but rather as stages in the lives of Tapeños.

5.2. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY TO AND FROM STUDY SITES

The patterns of migration and mobility across the study sites support the argument that migration is very common: it was difficult to find a household that was completely unaffected by migration, whether their own or that of close relatives. In this initial section we build up a comprehensive picture of migration and movement using data from the RANQ on place of birth, household members away, remittances, and trips outside the community. This overview highlights the way different forms of movement - from day trips to permanent migration - combine to connect different households to the wider world.⁵ The same data is then combined with that from other sources to comment further on overall differences between the sites.

Table 5.1 predictably reveals that all household heads and their partners in the two urban sites were born elsewhere: El Progreso made up entirely of incomers (most of them from rural areas in Huancavelica, Ayacucho and Apurimac), whereas the settlers in Nuevo Lugar are mostly from Lima itself and from other urban areas, especially from central highlands. Likewise it is no great surprise to find that a high proportion of heads and partners in the two district headquarters were born there, the same being true for Llajta Iskay. Llajta Jock and Selva Manta, in contrast were more equally split between native residents and incomers. A striking finding is that most of the incomers from Selva Manta are from urban areas, this reflecting very high connectivity with relatives living in the nearest towns. Another small but interesting form of ‘reverse’ migration (not revealed by the table) comprised elderly and often more educated people moving away from city life to rural areas, often close to where they were born.

Table 5.1. Place of birth of head of household and spouse/partner.

%	L.I.	L.J.	S.M	Desc	Aleg	Prog	N.L
Total number of people	102	70	72	351	360	371	486
Born in this place	96.1	58.6	54.2	76.4	88.3	0	0
Not born in this place	3.9	41.4	45.8	23.6	11.7	100	100
<u>Where born (for those not born in this place)</u>							
<u>Rural areas</u>							
Same district	(1)	37.9	0.0	8.4	14.3	0.0	0.0
Same province	0.0	13.8	0.0	30.1	16.7	10.2	0.0
Same department	0.0	17.2	0.0	10.8	7.1	4.6	3.9
Other		17.2	6.1	26.5	16.7	65.0	9.5
Total	(1)	86.2	6.1	75.9	54.8	79.8	13.6
<u>Urban areas</u>							
Same district	(1)	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	4.3	0.0
Same province	0.0	0.0	6.1	10.8	0.0	13.5	0.0
Same department	0.0	3.4	27.3	3.6	7.1	<0.1	2.3
Major city same dept.	0.0	0.0	36.4	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0
Major city other dept.	(1)	0.0	15.2	0.0	21.4	0.0	61.7
Capital city	(1)	3.4	0.0	2.4	2.4	1.1	14
Other urban area	0.0	6.9	9.1	7.2	9.5	0.08	8.4
Total	(3)	13.8	93.9	24.1	45.2	20.2	86.4

Source: RANQ. Note: figures in brackets are absolute numbers rather than percentages

Table 5.2 provides data on remittances during the previous year between selected households and family members who did not belong to them.⁶ Receipt of transfers is

⁵ It was beyond the scope of the chapter to include a discussion of the use of different forms of media.

⁶ The definition of the household used for the RANQ was as follows. “A household is understood as a group of people normally living together. Family members or relatives that have left the household and are permanently living in other locations should not be included. On the other hand, those who

much less common in the three sites with the highest proportion of immigrants (Nuevo Lugar, El Progreso and Selva Manta). It is most common in the three sites in Huancavelica, all of which have experienced high rates of outmigration over the last few decades. More surprising is the finding that more households made transfer payments to others in the rural sites (particularly Llajta Jock) than in the urban. This can be attributed in part to their relative poverty, particularly the households in El Progreso. But it is also possible that urban households were more reluctant to mention such transfers.

Table 5.2. Households providing or making transfers from/to relatives in last year

	L.I.	L.J.	S.M.	Aleg	Desc	Prog	N.L.
Total no. of households	55	44	40	200	200	200	265
Receiving a transfer (%)	33	57	13	35	21	10	7
Making a transfer (%)	16	73	23	26	9	3	6

Table 5.3. Demographic characteristics of household members who were away at the time of interview.

	L.I.	L.J.	S.M.	Aleg	Desc	Prog	N.L.
% with members away	33	14	23	8	9	12	2
<u>Gender (%)</u>							
Male	63	59	30	35	80	63	60
Female	37	41	70	65	20	37	40
<u>Age (%)</u>							
20 yrs and under	44	53	40	32	20	22	40
21-30 yrs	48	18	50	30	15	19	0
31-50 yrs	8	18	5	24	50	22	60
51 yrs and above	0	11	5	0	15	37	0
Unknown	0	0	0	14	0	0	0
<u>Relation (%)</u>							
Head of household	4	29	0	11	50	33	40
Spouse or partner of head	0	12	10	0	5	11	20
Child or grandchild	96	59	90	89	40	41	0
Other relative	0	0	0	0	5	14	40
<u>Marital status (%)</u>							
Married or cohabiting	18	29	10	38	75	63	80
Single	81	65	90	62	20	30	20
Separated or widowed	0	6	0	0	5	7	0
<u>Where (%)</u>							
Rural area	0	0	0	5	20	70	80
Urban area same dept	7	35	60	0	0	7	0
Capital city	37	0	40	46	45	15	20
Other urban	56	0	0	35	20	7	0
Unknown	0	65	0	11	5	0	0
<u>What doing (%)</u>							
Domestic work	7	0	25	5	10	4	20
Education / study	22	29	30	35	5	15	0
Farm work	7	0	10	0	5	37	20
Other manual work	4	0	5	11	35	7	0
Marriage	0	0	0	8	0	4	0
Professional work	0	0	5	3	0	7	0
Seeking work	4	0	5	0	0	0	0
Skilled work	7	6	5	22	45	0	60
Trading	30	0	15	5	0	15	0

temporarily left the household (but are expected to come back) should be considered as household members.”

Unknown or other	19	65	0	11	0	11	0
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Table 5.3 provides information on members of households who were away at the time of interview. The absence of a member was least common in Nuevo Lugar (2% of households), and in the two rural district towns of Alegria (8%) and Descanso (9%). The higher figure for El Progreso (12%) indicates the strength of continued links with rural areas, with many of those absent being engaged in trading or farm work. Absence was highest in the two most isolated annexes of Selva Manta (23%) and Llajta Iskay (33%) from which travel to the nearest town and back again in the same day is most difficult. The absent person was most commonly in an urban location and not the household head or spouse. However, responses to this question need to be interpreted with some caution as they are specific to the time of interview (around October) when highland areas are busy with planting. For this reason they do not reflect important seasonal migration from highland to lowland rural areas, particularly to harvest coca leaves, sugar cane and coffee. These movements tend to be most common in the long school vacation (from late December through to February) and again after June, when harvesting crops in the highland finishes. (Nor do they reflect temporary migration of children during school vacations to cities, especially Lima, to work/help relatives living there).

The final piece of evidence from the RANQ data concerns visits by household members that required them to stay away from the community for more than one night during the previous year. Not surprisingly, a majority of households in all sites reported that at least one person made such a trip, with the proportion doing so being highest in rural areas. Indeed, in the light of the secondary literature reviewed in the previous section it is surprising to discover just how many individuals had *not* made a single overnight trip away in the past year. Not a single person made such a visit away from 40% of households in the two urban and the two peri-urban sites. Even in other households the trips were mostly made by just one or two household members, and only a minority of individuals made more than three such trips. Amid all the discussion of seasonal migration and movement it would be interesting to explore further how far household specific immobility is correlated with different indicators of poverty and wellbeing.

Table 5.4. Visits outside the community (involving staying away more than one night)

	L.I.	L.J.	S.M.	Aleg	Desc	Prog	N.L.
Total no. of households	55	44	40	200	200	200	265
Not a single trip (%)	9.1	22.7	20.0	30.0	40.5	43.0	46.4
At least one trip (%)	90.9	77.3	80.0	70.0	59.5	57.0	53.6
Mean no. of travellers per hh ⁷	1.2	2.0	1.2	1.6	1.1	2.0	1.3
<u>Trips per traveller (%)</u>							
One	9.7	46.4	24.3	19.6	35.1	28.3	51.9
Two	29.0	17.4	35.1	18.7	20.1	25.3	17.7
Three	30.6	8.7	16.2	19.2	20.9	11.2	16.6
Four	30.6	27.5	24.3	42.5	23.9	35.2	13.3
<u>Longest length of stay away (%)</u>							
Less than a week	85	65	41	91	38	37	31
One week to one month	6	23	57	5	44	54	61
More than one month	8	12	2	4	18	9	8

Source: RANQ

Reflecting on the data in all these tables it can be concluded that while the urban sites are markedly different there is *less* diversity between the five rural and semi-rural sites than might have been expected given their contrasting geographical locations. Indeed some of the most striking differences are between Llajta Jock and Llajta Iskay, which, apart from ease of access to the weekly market and other services at Alegria, seem superficially to be most alike.⁸ A second general point is that the importance of the historical migration from highland rural sites to urban areas should not obscure the significance of migration links with jungle areas. While destinations and activities change, the livelihood security arising from being linked to the contrasting economic and ecological systems at different latitudes remains (see Murra, 1972). A third point is that while experience of migration is almost universal, degrees of mobility between households (still more individuals) are very variable, with a significant immobile minority, particularly in the urban sites. All these observations serve as a warning against more sweeping generalizations. A high degree of path dependence in migration arises both from family and site-specific influences on people's livelihoods.

5.3. MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION AND WELLBEING OUTCOMES

It was beyond the scope of research to carry out a full and systematic survey either of the factors influencing migration decisions or of resulting wellbeing outcomes. Instead two rounds of exploratory and open-ended research were conducted to gain

⁷ For those households that did make at least one visit outside the community (staying away more than one night)

⁸ Llajta Jock has a higher proportion of incomers (mostly through marriage and from nearby villages), whereas a very high proportion of residents in Llajta Iskay were born there. Both communities have experienced a high incidence of long-term migration away, mostly in the first instance to Huancayo city or Lima. But ongoing links with migrants seem to be stronger in Llajta Jock (where 57% received and 73% made transfers) than in Llajta Iskay (where the corresponding figures are only 33% and 16%). In contrast, people from Llajta Jock made fewer overnight trips - probably in part because they can attend secondary school, the weekly market and other activities in the district town of Alegria without having to incur the expense of staying overnight. Short-term migration, mostly made by young, unmarried people rather than heads of household or their spouses, was more common from Llajta Iskay.

greater insight into diverse experiences of the process of migration.⁹ This section reports briefly on the initial round and on how data from both rounds relates to the meta-goals identified and analysed in Chapter 3. In so doing, it adopts an ethnographic approach, seeking to impute meaning into migration only from the qualitative data obtained. In contrast, Altamirano (2006) adopts a more interpretive approach that draws also on his wider experience of observing migration in the area over decades. This formed the basis for distinguishing between objective, social/cultural and individual/domestic factors for both explaining migration (further divided according to whether they are internal or external forces) and analysing impacts in both place of origin and destination. Appendix 5.1 elaborates on this framework, with reference to both rural-urban and upland rural to lowland rural migration.

5.3.1 Exploratory in-depth interviews.¹⁰

The six field researchers were asked to interview four migrants (two men and two women) from different households covered by the RANQ in the site where they were living, using a pre-tested semi-structured interview schedule. They completed and transcribed onto computer a total of 22 interviews in the time available, this data was then analysed using NVivo. Its central goal was to identify dominant themes in respondents' explanations of (a) why they migrated and (b) their perception of the consequences. The migrants interviewed were mostly well established: all but three having lived in the current place of residence for at least six years, but only four for more than fifteen years. Interviews focused on their last move although ten had moved twice, five three times one six times. The majority of men interviewed were the household heads (9/10), and the majority of women interviewed were the spouse of the household head (9/12) or female heads of household (2/12). Five were aged less than 30, three more than 50, and the majority (14/22) in between.

Starting with the reason for moving, the analysis suggested scope for distinguishing between three groups of migrants according to their main motivation.¹¹ (1) Forced migration arose due to political violence, as well as due to family conflicts and domestic violence. These migrants were hoping above all to find *tranquilidad* from the problem that forced them to move. They often moved with relatively few resources, for example, just the money for the bus fare and the clothes that they were wearing. All were heavily reliant on receiving help and support mainly from relatives already living where they moved. (2) To settle and establish. In these cases, migration was more planned. Expectations included: to have one's own house, to have work, to form a family (partner and children), to study (respondent or children); to have *chacra* (land) to sow and to have animals; or (in urban areas) a plot to build a house. In the majority of cases either the wife or husband of the interviewee was from the community they moved to, and many moved to inherit land from a parent. In other cases, relatives already living in the community provided support. Greater investment in resources was made before moving, for example, making prior visits to the

⁹ Therefore we used a broad definition of a migrant as a person who moves away from his/her place of usual residence to another place, crossing at least the boundary of a district and establishing a new residence, whether temporarily or permanently.

¹⁰ Lockley (2005 and 2006) report more fully on this part of the study.

¹¹ These categories of motivation can be seen as part of a continuum, as well as interlinked and evolving over time. For example, a migrant who moved initially to settle and establish, could with time experience increased expectations, linked also to improved understanding of their situation and possibly leading them to move again.

community to secure work or accommodation, saving money, taking belongings such as clothes, bed, cooker, furniture, household appliances, and some supplies.⁽³⁾ To improve. These migrants had more ambitious goals. In addition to acquiring possessions they wanted to improve a lot, to have more money than their fellow *paisanos*, to be professionals or to enable their children to become professionals through education. An already established connection with the destination community, particularly relatives, was again important. They also invested in resources before moving, saving money, buying *chacra*, finding a house to live in, taking clothes and belongings with them. They also emphasised the importance of personality, and of being prepared psychologically to live in a new place.

The majority of the migrants interviewed had lived in the destination community for several years, enabling them to construct a relatively stable personal narrative of the long-term consequences of the move. Analysis of this data suggested that on the continuum from negative to positive personal evaluations it was possible to distinguish three clusters, that while far from complete or perfect nevertheless captured much of the variation in responses: struggling to get by, or lacking; getting by or having enough; and doing well or improving. These are discussed in more detail below. (1) Lacking. These migrants were struggling to access the material and relational resources they needed in order to pursue their lives. At best they only had casual employment; they did not have their own house but lived in rented or donated accommodation. They had no money, or what they had was not sufficient to cover their expenses, and so they could not save. They also reported not having received the help anticipated from relatives, or having experienced problems and conflicts within these relationships. (2) Getting by. One of the most important outcomes mentioned was to have a house of their own (*casa propia*). Most of these respondents had also obtained other necessary resources: animals, some agricultural land to sow, belongings and work. To have found a partner, have children, and form a family was also frequently mentioned, as well as to be studying, or to have finished studying or to have children who are studying. Relationally, the presence of informal support networks in the community was important, in terms of exchange of help, doing favours, and friendship, and also help and support through family relationships. (3) Improving. Those improving reported that they were accumulating material resources: more money, more *chacras* to sow, improved agricultural production, and animals to sell. The respondent or spouse had stable work and a good economic situation. The importance of having children studying was mentioned as well. These migrants said they were *mejorando* or *avanzando*. Relationships with relatives had been important in terms of providing help, but these and other relationships within the community were also described as a source of frustration and pressure (especially in rural and peri-urban areas): too much '*conformismo*' (not wanting to progress, being resigned to their situation, not planning or seeking more for the future) and resistance to progress. This pressure is channelled through envy and gossip within the community.

Table 5.5 cross-tabulates the two typologies described above. Although the sample is very small and the typology very tentative a clear correlation can be detected between motive and outcome – evident in the two empty outlier cells of the matrix (from necessity to improving, and from improve a lot to lacking). The table also suggests a simple but powerful contributory factor to life satisfaction of migrants is the extent to which they continue to experience a mismatch between hopes of migration and the realities. This connects with the argument put forward in Chapter 4 that low subjective wellbeing among many Peruvians (especially in Lima) arises not

only from low basic need satisfaction, absolute poverty, unemployment and other observable measures of wellbeing but also from high social aspirations.

Table 5.5 Migration motives and outcomes cross-tabulated

Initial motivation	Perceived outcome		
	Lacking	Having	Improving
Forced	4	3	0
Settle/establish	2	7	3
Improve a lot	0	1	1

Source: Classification of 21 out of 22 migrants after in-depth interviews.

5.3.2 Migration and meta life goals.

The exploratory analysis reported in the previous section lent additional support to the idea of a ‘gap theory’ of subjective wellbeing: initial motivation and perceived outcomes mapping onto goals and goal satisfaction variables analysed in Chapter 3. However, rather than classifying migrants according to their *main* motivation, the subsequent WeDQoL analysis identified shared *meta* goals of the wider population. Some correspondence is apparent: place to live better maps particularly onto forced migration, raise a family onto migration to settle/establish, and progress from a secure base onto migration to improve or get ahead. But the meta goals add significantly to the richness of the analysis, as illustrated below.

To recap, improvement from a secure base was linked in the WeDQoL analysis with securing paid work, owning a house, children’s education, food security and health, and acquiring the status of a professional. The box illustrates the relevance of each of these goals to migration motivation, using specific quotations from migrants who were interviewed. This *meta* goal can be most clearly linked with positive motivation for migration to urban areas, particularly Lima. Many other studies in Peru emphasize a similar set of goals, including Lobo (1982), Anderson et al. (2006), Skar (1994) and Paerregaard (2003). Other words and phrases used by them to describe this goal include ‘betterment’ and ‘*superacion*’, ‘improving life conditions’, ‘securing the future’ and ‘upward social mobility’.

Box 5.1. Improvement from a secure base as a motive for rural to urban migration: illustrative quotations.

- Work. “*There’s always work, although not daily but there’s always some little jobs, ... the situation is bad for everyone ... but there’s a way in when you live in the city, in the pueblo you can only wait for the harvest, after that there’s nothing more in the pueblo, there’s no work, in contrast, in the city you search for other little jobs and you find them.*” (Migrant to El Progreso, male, 40 years old, after a 6 month period of having tried to return to live in his village in Huancavelica (where he still has family, land, and a house)).
- Housing. “*I’m well, I have my own little house, although it’s rustic but it’s my own*” (male migrant, 50 years old, lived in Nuevo Lugar 11 years, from peri-urban area sierra).
- Children’s education. “*My children force me to migrate so that they can improve, studying. We’ll go to Lima or to Huancayo with all of my family.*” (Male, 50 years old, born in La Victoria, Lima, but moved to Llajta Jock from rural *selva* due to terrorism, he’s planning to leave Llajta Jock in the future, he has five children aged between 3 and 18 years).

- Housing and children's education linked. *"I'm going to leave from here, to the city, basically for my children's education. I've just finished buying a piece of land in San Ramon... Now I'm going to start building my house there, above all for my children's education, to educate my children as far as they want"* (Female migrant, 35 years old, moved from Juaja, Junin, to Selva Manta for marriage, she has four children from 5 months to 14 years).
- Becoming a professional. *"My goal was to be professional ... I was wanting to go to study in Ica... I always wanted to be a lawyer"* (however due to lack of financial resources and family obligations he was unable to study, same person as quote below).
- Acquiring professional status and children's education linked. *"I am going to keep working in order to make my children professionals, by doing this I'll fulfil one of my goals...now I have to support them"* (male migrant, 44 years old, has lived in Alegria for 9 years, moved from Pilchaca, Huancavelica due to the terrorism, lack of opportunities, and community pressure because he was progressing. His mother-and father-in-law live in Alegria but his wife stayed in Pilchaca. He moved alone with two of his sons, now 11 and 15 years of age, the other son of 23 years is living and studying in Huancayo),

Source: First and second round migration interviews.

Some of these motives were also referred to by respondents who had moved to rural areas, particularly in search of more secure employment:

- *"Here there's work in the chacra, people always have money, you always get money and people come to find work, when you're an agricultural labourer (peon)"* (Male migrant to Alegria, 44 years old).
- *"I found agricultural work in the fields and helping with building, I managed to gather money, to save."* (Male migrant to Descanso, 19 years old, moved from Vilca, Huancavelica).

Whatever the destination, this motivation coincides with the development economics literature on migration as pursuit of higher income, tempered by the probability of securing better employment and by risk aversion.

The second meta goal, place to live better was linked to three specific WeDQoL questions: tranquility without violence or delinquency, nice and clean neighbourhood, and moving forward. The experience of migrants interviewed again helps expand on the meaning. Many migrants in El Progreso and Nuevo Lugar fled terrorism, domestic violence and family conflicts. But for many others it is rural areas that provide the better environment and providing a reason for not migrating to the city.

- *"The produce (crops) that we get from the land, there's a little of everything here in the community. At least we have herbs and green products that we consume for free. The time of harvest, like the potato, I like that a lot. To have my animals although I only have a few. To have a little of everything – meat, eggs, milk.."* (Male, 68 years old, lives with his wife and children in Llajta Iskay).
- *"The city and countryside are different, here in Acostambo you have food from the land: potatoes, peas; you can eat well, and in the city there's none of this."* (male, 48 years old, born and lives in Acostambo with his mother of 85 years, all five brothers and sisters are away in either Lima or Huancayo).
- *"I don't like Lima, I would be 'closed/shut in' there, I wouldn't have anywhere to take a walk, anywhere to go. Here in Alegria we go out to the fields, we're with the animals ...here I can see green hills... Alegria is very pretty, you can go for walks"*

here and not stay all day inside the house.” (Female, 53 years of age, born and lives in Alegria, her 6 children between the ages of 18-33 years are all living away in Lima and Satipo).

- *“The best thing here is the environment, there’s no pollution here like in the city.”* (Female, 45 years old, born and lives in Descanso with her husband and three children aged 11 to 25 years).

Factors relating to ecological variations of geographical regions of the *costa*, *sierra* and *selva*, and the cultural significance of these, also influence migration decisions, for example returning to the *sierra* from the *selva*:

- *“I didn’t adapt there, it was so hot; there were flies and snakes”* (Female, 41 years, migrated from Llajta Jock to rural area, *selva* with her husband and children. They went to visit her mother and father-in-law who were living there and to work. They stayed for one year and then returned and stayed in Llajta Jock).
- Male, 68 years, migrated from Llajta Iskay to the *selva* when young to work in the coffee harvest but he did not adapt: *“It was my first experience of travelling and it was bad, it wasn’t the same as here (Llajta Iskay), I suffered a lot. I could only stand it for six months, I don’t leave now, I don’t want to leave, never again, I’m going to die here in my community”*,

and returning from the *costa* to the *sierra*:

- *“I didn’t settle (in Lima) because of the climate, it was very humid, I felt ill (malo) because of the heat in Lima.”* (Female, 26 years old, migrated to Lima for three years to study and work. She returned to El Progreso where she lives with her partner, daughter, and her in-laws (mother and father-in-law, brothers-in-law).

The third component of this meta goal (moving forward) appears at first sight to fit better with the first meta goal (progress from a secure base). However, it reflects not only individual aspirations but a sense of how far moving forward is permitted in different social contexts: a better place to live also being about being freed from obligations to friends and neighbours, as well as the hostility and jealousy generated by personal growth.

The third meta goal raise a family introduces an important life-cycle dimension to the decision to migrate. Many migrants moved primarily as a result of marriage, or to establish an independent home and family with their partner; others put off having their own family in the hope of improving their economic situation first. Relational aspects of migration featured so prominently in the qualitative data that they merit more detailed discussion (see next section). Before doing so, however, the discussion of the three meta goals can be concluded by emphasising how they can be used to explore gender and age specific trade-offs entailed in mobility and migration. For many the sharper trade-off entailed in seeking a better livelihood through migration was not delaying starting a family but moving to a less tranquil place to live. This serves as a reminder that life-long subjective wellbeing is not just a stream of unconnected goal/outcome ‘gap’ experiences, but woven into an unfolding personal narrative along with personal and shared memories of past opportunities and disappointments, as well as changing values, identities and even aspects of personality.

5.4. MIGRATION AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS: NEGOTIATING AUTONOMY

Much of the discussion so far in this chapter has reaffirmed the importance of mobility and migration to securing a livelihood and meeting basic physical needs. However, a striking feature of the narrative data collected was how much people talked about the dynamics of interpersonal relationships, particularly family relations. While this can be linked to the raise a family meta goal derived from WeDQoL data, the two components of this goal (find a partner or spouse, have children) by themselves provided an inadequate basis for organising this data. Many respondents (relatives of migrants as well as migrants themselves) spoke at length about the separation of children from their family, whether temporarily or more permanently. While they mentioned fathers, spouses, siblings, grandparents and others the greatest proportion of the narrative dwelt on the relationship between children and mothers.

An emphasis on the primacy of this relationship in development psychology, particularly attachment theory, is perhaps no coincidence. In his review of the psychology of happiness, Haidt (2006) emphasises its importance not only in setting norms for other interpersonal relationships but also framing the wider life process of balancing dependence (and belonging) with independence (and autonomy) in the pursuit of some normative equilibrium and emergent level of interdependence. Regardless of the degree of choice exercised by those moving and staying, migration can be viewed theoretically as one form of adversity or trauma, which may result either in post-traumatic personal growth (and improvement in wellbeing) or post-traumatic stress (and a perhaps irreversible reduction in wellbeing). Picking up on the work of McAdams, Haidt also emphasises the important to subjective wellbeing of life stories, and their coherence relative to other aspects of personality and identity. Migration can be seen as both opportunity and potential threat to such stories and their coherence for both those who stay (archetypically the mother) and those who leave (the child). This section draws on the qualitative data to explore migration as a means of seeking and achieving independence. It then discusses how interdependence is negotiated and contested.

5.4.1 Migration as the pursuit of independence

The qualitative evidence of migration as a way of achieving greater independence (exercising autonomy, also choosing exit over loyalty) can be analysed in three parts: getting an education, gaining new experience as a young and single person, and starting one's own family and household.

Getting an education

A key generational change that has occurred is that fewer parents see their children's lives as being in rural areas and devoted to agriculture. The goal is more commonly for children to become professionals, to progress, and to be better than themselves:

- *“Like any father, what I haven't been able to be, my children have to be. If one of my children became a lawyer, I would feel good”*. (Male, 44 years, migrated from rural area, Huancavelica to Alegria for his children to study. He wants his children to become professionals, *“to give them what I didn't have in my childhood”* and is planning to migrate again to Huancayo for his children to study *superior*).
- *‘The main thing is for my children, for them to study and be something better than us, because, if we'd have stayed in Conayca the only thing they could have been is agricultural workers, in contrast in Huancayo there's many facilities to be able to study up to superior’* (Male migrant, 40 years old, to El Progreso from Huancavelica).

When these parents were young, it was not the norm to leave the community – people stayed in the community, got married, had children and stayed there – there wasn't even the idea of going.

- *'Since I was a child, I was thinking of staying all my life here in Alegria, then I met my wife, the children were born and I had to work hard to be able to support them ... The possibility to leave from Alegria never came to my mind because I didn't know anyone, I didn't know where to arrive in the city and it was never of interest to me to live in other places. In that period there wasn't any need to leave from Alegria, we had everything here, we didn't lack anything'*. Male, 59 years old, talking about the reasons why he stayed in the community of Alegria.
- *"When I was very young I didn't think about going...before the mothers didn't let their young children go and they married at 18 years of age and stayed for ever in Alegria"*. (Female, 72 years, lives with her sister of 78 years in Alegria, all of her five children are living away in Lima, Satipo, and one son is in Spain).¹²

Migration of children for education can happen at an early age (as young as six years), and in some cases the whole family unit relocates to the town/city for this purpose. More commonly it is too difficult to do this (leaving behind land, house, animals, other relatives, lacking resources to go) and the child goes to the city alone and stays with other relatives (usually other siblings, or aunt/uncle), helping out in the relatives' house whilst studying (see Anderson et al, 2006). One mother encouraged her son to leave Pichanaki, in the *selva*, where they were living together to go to Descanso to live with his Uncle. She said that he had to study in order to '*sobresalir*' and 'prepare himself' for the future. Another mother in Llajta Iskay said she wanted her daughter to go to Lima *"to study and become a professional so that she can look after herself"*. This goal seems so important, that it outweighs almost all other costs in terms of subjective wellbeing to both the child and the parents:

- *"Although she tells us she suffers a lot, but she has to be there in Lima for her own good"* (Father, 67 years old, lives in Llajta Iskay, about youngest daughter who migrated to Lima to study).
- *"For her own good she had to stay there even though she didn't want to."* (Mother, 51 years old, lives in Llajta Iskay, about daughter of 14 years who migrated to Lima to study, work and help her older brother).
- *"At the start I was melancholic but his trip was necessary so that he could carry on with his secondary studies...."* (Father, 66 years old, about son who has been in Lima for 2 years).

Being young and single, gaining experience

Migration was also viewed as a 'right of passage': something that one has to experience; part of growing up; but also escaping from family conflicts and pressures. For example, Maria left her home town (urban *sierra*) and went alone to Lima, where she lived and worked for three years:

¹² Compare this with Osterling (1980), who also emphasises young people's desire to achieve a career, to become professionals; Bebbington et al (2007) also emphasise how many parents no longer expect nor want their children to be *campesinos*, and also describe families organising resources, activities and time to provide their children with better educational opportunities. Lobo (1982) emphasises how adults view children's education as a very desirable and necessary goal, while Brougere (1992) reports that few parents desire for children to carry on as '*agricultores*' and want them to enter university and have a better future.

- *“My parents and my future husband made me angry and resentful, so I grabbed my things and I went to Lima.... I worked in the strawberry harvest for three years, later my future husband came to look for me in Lima, above all for a reconciliation, he convinced me and brought me to Huancayo.”*

She explains that during her time in Lima:

- *“I learnt to live together with other people, friends. I also learnt many things about life, in other words, on the one hand it was very good to have left and to have had e”perience”* (Maria, 34 years old, now living in El Progreso).

A son migrated from Llajta Iskay to Lima for three years, explains:

- *“My parents, they didn’t say anything, they wanted me to go to the city because here in the community there’s no progress, above all for me to learn some things from being in the city”* (Male, 27 years old, migrated to work, learn new skills and to help his family).

Parents commenting on the son’s migration:

- *“We’re pleased that he is learning to get through life and to have experience.”* (Mother, 34 years, El Progreso, about her son, 13 years old, who has been away for 3 months doing building work).

On becoming more responsible:

- *“...now he’s changed, he’s more responsible... the city has made him change, the best has been his change of attitude which helps him to behave with greater responsibility”* (Father, Descanso, commenting on son’s migration to Lima, working in a mine for 5 years)
- *“He’s working now with a lot of maturity.”* (Father, 67 years old, Llajta Iskay, about son, 22 years, studying and working in Lima for 5 years).

Forming own family and household

Migration is also linked to a planned attempt to become more independent (*independizarse*), and establish one’s own base and identity.

- *“I was living in Chosica and working in Lima. I wanted to become independent, to have a family... I came with my husband, we started building a house”* (Female migrant to Nuevo Lugar where has lived for 18 years)
- *“Now we have our own roof”* (Male migrant from urban *sierra* to Nuevo Lugar where lived for 10 years).
- *“To have and raise a family and to stay here. A piece of land to build a new house and another to be able to sow”* (Male migrant, 38 years, talking about his expectations of moving to Alegria, his wife’s village, to establish themselves).

There are links here to assertion of gender roles: men providing for their own dependents; securing work; being a provider, worthy of respect. Fuller (2000:98), for example, emphasises that “work for Peruvian men means having dignity, being capable, and being responsible... To be responsible means being able to sustain oneself and, especially, one’s family.” The following illustrations are about reasons for and expectations of migration:

- *“I was wanting to have my own piece of land, in order to offer something to my wife and my children”* (Male, 27 years, migrated to Nuevo Lugar 6 years ago, lives with wife and three children ages 1 to 9 years).
- *“I wanted to build a house in order to be able to live and to have a family ... to build a house with my own strength/effort”* (Male, 28 years, lives in Alegria with his wife, son, 4 years old, and his father- and sister-in-law).

- “A job – so that I can support myself and my conviviente” (Male migrant to Alegria).
- “To establish myself and strengthen my household, according to what I could do.... To have enough to eat, to survive with the family” (Male, 41 years, born in Satipo, migrated to Descanso where has lived for 20 years).

The importance of children becoming independent, autonomous, is emphasised from the parents’ perspective also, with children no longer being dependent on them:

- “She’s got together with a good man, a hard worker.... My son is working, he’s acquiring his things (his bed, furniture), thinking in his future” (Mother, 57 years, Qunitaajo, talking about her youngest daughter, 20 years old, who lives in Huancayo, and her son, 25 years, living in Lima)
- “It’s good that he works over there (Lima), what’s he going to do here?” (Mother, 41 years, Alegria, about son in Lima for 1 ½ years).
- “I know that my son has to live his own life” (Mother in Nuevo Lugar, about son of 16 years, been away for 1 year doing factory work in costal urban area.
- “I’ve realised that my daughter went for her own good, what would she have done here?” (Mother, 51 years, Alegria, about daughter in urban *selva* for 10 years).
- “It’s better, she’s earning her own money” (Father, 66 years, Llajta Jock, about daughter, 28 years, in urban area, *sierra*, for 3 years, domestic worker)
- “I was happy because she was going to work, when she was by my side, it’s worry, all the money comes from the father, now she lives her life by herself, working” (Father, 55 years, about daughter of 33 years, lived in Lima for 20 years, went to finish secondary school).
- “Whilst my children didn’t go, I was very worried about how to support them. ... Often I felt guilty for having had so many children”. (Father, 67 years, Llajta Iskay, about his migrant children in Lima).

5.4.2 Negotiating interdependence

Even the self-conscious pursuit of independence is generally embedded within some deeper form of interdependence: the wellbeing outcome of migration reflecting the changing tension or balance between personal autonomy and relatedness (cf. Ryan and Deci, 2001). In this section we focus on how interdependence is discussed and negotiated between kin, agreeing with Finch and Mason (1993:37) that: “striving for a proper balance between dependence and independence is a crucial factor in shaping kin relationships over a long period of time.” What is particularly interesting about migration is that while habitus (norms and rules of obligation and duty governing how different parties should behave) exist they are also fluid, evolving and negotiable. It cannot be assumed that migration invariably results in increased fragmentation and alienation from kin relationships. More specifically we are interested in how much loyalty and sense of duty towards parents remains with children; how far they are able to forget and to reinvent themselves; how new rights and responsibilities are negotiated. Research into this issue is still not complete, but from initial analysis two important themes emerged that are worth highlighting. These are emotional interdependence (especially between mother and children) and the role played by gifts and remittances in negotiating interdependence.

Emotional interdependence

In contrast to the emphasis in the migration literature on material effects (see Kothari, 2002) it was striking how much of the open-ended interviews were taken up with expression of feelings about the effects of migration on family relationships: the pain

of being apart, absence, sadness, feelings of emptiness and loss. Both sons and daughters also referred far more to mothers than to their fathers.¹³ When talking about the migration of a family member, people often commented: “*above all my mother cries a lot*” or “*above all my wife was very sad*”:

- “*above all my mother (was sad), even now she’s very sad, I think like any mother, right?*” (Sister, 18 years, Llajta Iskay, talking about brother’s migration to Lima where he’s been for 4 years).
- “*I was crying daily, saying why did my daughter go?, I lost my appetite, my house was empty.*” (Mother, 43 years, Alegria, about migrant daughter in Lima for 3 years).
- “*Sadness, I was sad because he didn’t return, when my son was here I was at peace, when he went it seemed like I lacked something, that I didn’t have anything, it seemed like my house was empty.*” (Mother, 41 years, Llajta Jock, her oldest son, 17 years, migrated to Lima one year ago).

Mothers talked about being anxious and worried about the migrant child, about the stress of not knowing how their children are:

- “*I cried when my son went, up to now I’m always thinking if he’s good or not, if he has problems, if he’s ill...*” (Mother, 65 years, Llajta Jock, her son has been away for 22 years in urban *sierra*).

Emotional distress can also lead to, or be associated with illness.¹⁴:

- “*when my daughter left, my wife cried a lot, she was always sad, she almost became ill with the sadness*” (father, 59 years, Alegria, his oldest daughter migrated 18 years ago and lives in a village in Huancayo province).
- “*My mother became ill with nerves due to worry, she didn’t know where I was*” (Male, 38 years, initially moved due to family problems, he first went to San Ramon where he met his wife, they then moved to Selva Manta, his wife’s pueblo).
- “*It shocked me a lot, because of the worry I had a brain haemorrhage, today I feel ill*” (father, 54 years, El Progreso, talking about his daughter, 22 years old, migrating to Lima 8 months ago, she went to work with her aunt and uncle and to study).

Crying, mentioned by the majority of respondents, can have a deeper meaning: tears “are meant to draw back those who are absent from the village... crying has the power to bring something back to its source” (Skar, 1994:78); crying “seems to be an unspoken part of the message of return” (p.235). Emotional attachment and closeness seems to reinforce interdependence, showing and expressing emotion seems to strengthen and reinforce the meaning of these relationships, it means that mothers keep on being significant in their child’s life:

“*I had a lot of sadness to leave my mother, I was saying ‘how am I going to go and leave my mother?’... I was sad, crying for my mother, being there saying ‘where am I?’..., people told me that my mother kept on being sad, crying, where did my daughter go to?*” (Female, 41 years, Llajta Jock, talking about her migration experience to rural *selva* for one year).

¹³ This corroborates the argument in Anderson et al. (2006) that mothers are particularly prominent in decisions that mark critical moments in their children’s life trajectories.

¹⁴ Skar (1994:88) also notes that in Quechua shock refers to a state of imbalance or disorientation, adding that “views of health and wellbeing take fear and shock as serious causes of illness.”

Fathers also mentioned feelings, but were more inclined to emphasise economic and material issues: the expression of affection and emotion being associated with weakness (Anderson *et al.*, 2006). A contrasting emotion was also pride.

- “*It’s a joy, my son’s fulfilling a dream that any father expects of his children, today he works as a mechanic. I’m proud of my son because he’s progressing*”. (Father, 67 years, Llajta Iskay, about oldest son who migrated to Lima 22 years ago).
- “*It only affected me when he left for his trip, but now I feel much better, and I’m proud of my children... they have their own small business (tienda de abarrotes) where they work with a lot of effort and every day.*” (Father, 53 years, Llajta Iskay, about migrant son in urban *sierra* for 20 years).

Remittances: parent to child

Remittances are an important mechanism for maintaining and negotiating interdependence. The two-way flow of remittances means that it is not just about migrant children sending money and goods to parents. Parents continue helping children, mainly sending agricultural goods but also money, especially to younger children who are trying to establish themselves in the city. This is often linked with ensuring they have enough food to eat:

- “*It’s important in order to ‘balance’ his food.*” (Father, Llajta Iskay, sends agricultural produce to son, 26 years, in Lima).
- “*It’s necessary that they have food to eat.*” (Mother, 53 years, Alegria, all six children, aged between 18 to 33 years, are away in Lima, Satipo - *selva*, and rural *sierra*).
- “*It’s so that they can eat better.*” (Mother, 49 years, Descanso, two sons, 18 and 24 years old, are in Lima studying and working, she sends them agricultural products every month).

But there is also a tacit symbolic dimension to such support.¹⁵

- “*He misses these products a lot*” (Father, Llajta Iskay, about son, 22 years old, in Lima).
- “*It’s a custom to give them produce from the chacra, at least so that my children can taste them.... The children always miss the food from the chacra, and when they taste it, even though it’s only a little, I feel happy.*” (Mother, Alegria).

This symbolic dimension is often linked to personal affection (*cariño*) and love (*amor*).

- “*This shows them that they are always present, that we don’t forget them*” (Mother, Descanso).
- “*What I give is out of love for my son...to show my love*’ (Mother in Llajta Iskay, son, 27 years old living in Ayacucho for 7 years, she sends agricultural produce once a year).
- “*It’s as a father’s affection ... It’s to show my affection*” (Father, Llajta Iskay, sons in Lima).

Underneath this is the importance to parents of continuing to feel that they provide for and look after their children. Parents see this as intrinsic to being a mother or being a

¹⁵ This again corroborates Skar (1994), who observes a very specific connection between food and land “receiving these goods, you eat again of your lands and in substance can become one again with that distant place” (p.58); food that urban kin receive from rural kin are, she says, “small symbolic remembrances of their homelands” (p.77). Skar explains the importance of the food being sent being appropriate to place: highland produce being sent to coast or jungle; tropical fruits from the jungle back to the village; money, clothing, radios being sent from Lima (p.57). This was also echoed in the interviews. The role of food as an expression of love is discussed in Anderson *et al.* (2006).

father: stemming from a mixture of loyalty, obligation and emotional need (Anderson et al., 2006); and feeling guilty if they cannot provide. For example, a father in Alegria explains that he now helps his son in Huancayo by sending money and agricultural produce:

- *“It’s a duty, it’s my responsibility as father”*, he explains that he now has *“a more peaceful conscience because I couldn’t help him when he was a child”*.
- *“To keep supporting my children, with my produce from the chacra and economically if they desire... to keep supporting them with their studies, because I only expect myself to do that”* (Father, Llajta Iskay, sons in Lima).
- *“It’s important to always help (ayudar) my children with any little thing”* (Mother, Alegria, all 5 children have migrated away).
- *“To support my children economically, because they still depend on us, their parents.”* (Mother, 46 years, Llajta Iskay, four migrant children in Huancayo and Lima, ages 17 to 27 years),
- *“She still needs my help, at least so that she can continue studying, also I do it because she’s single (sola), she doesn’t have a partner yet.”* (Father, Llajta Iskay, sending agricultural products and money to daughter in Lima).
- *“I give him 100 or 150 soles, sometimes just what I have – 50 or 80 soles. It’s important because he needs it, also he’s my youngest child and lives alone in the city... he needs my help a lot...”* (Father, Llajta Iskay, about 20 year old son in Lima).
- *“I help her like any father, it’s a father’s duty to help a daughter”* (Father, 59 years, Alegria, about his oldest daughter, 32 years old, migrated to rural sierra for 14 years).

Parents help and support their children *because* they are family, the fact that they are related seems central to understanding why they help each other (Finch and Mason, 1993):

- *“because he’s my son and as a mother it always pleases me to help (ayudar), when it is needed”* (Mother, 57 years, Llajta Iskay, about son 32 years old been away for 10 years in rural sierra).
- *“It’s necessary to help him, because he’s my son”* (Father, Llajta Iskay, son 38 years old, in Lima for 23 years)
- *“I do it because she’s my daughter”* (Father, Llajta Iskay, daughter, 28 years old, in Lima for 18 years).

For children, the help received is important in terms of their personal needs, material and emotional:

- *“Money, fruit [from selva] or whatever I need, the main thing is money. It’s so that I can keep on studying, because I don’t work, my mum’s support is necessary and the only support I have.”* (Male, 24 years, living with Uncle in Descanso, receives support from mother in Pichanaki, Chachamayo).

Receiving advice and guidance:

- *“My mother gives me advice to live well.”* (Female 26 years, lived in Llajta Jock for 7 years).

A young woman in Nuevo Lugar referred to how advice (*consejos*) from her mother makes her feel that:

- *“she’s always thinking about me and my children... I’m very close to her, we have a lot of trust. I feel like there’s somebody that tells me to keep moving forward... We have a close relationship.”* (Female 35 years, lived in Nuevo Lugar for 15 years).

Despite the advent of mobile phones and the internet, respondents also emphasised the importance of physical proximity through visits in order to be able to exchange goods in visits, or to send parcels (*encomiendas*).

Remittances: child to parent

Children also provided gifts to parents, especially essential groceries (*viveres/abarrotes*) such as rice, sugar, noodles; washing powder, soap, detergents; clothes, shoes, as well as a small cash 'tip' (*'mi propina'*; *'un dinerito extra'*).

- *"sometimes my daughter leaves me money for my expenses when she comes to visit me"* (Mother in Alegria, about 18 year old daughter, domestic worker, Lima).

For some parents these gifts were essential, something particularly mentioned by fathers and female heads of household (divorced or widowed):

- *"I have very little and with my children's help, who are in Lima, I'm moving forward"* (Father, 67 years, Llajta Iskay, five children living away)
- *"One time I needed money for my fertilizers and he (son) sent it to me, he saved me from hardship"* (Father, 67 years, Llajta Iskay, about help from son of 26 years in Lima).
- *"But it's good that she went, now she sends me money, food, although it's only a little but now we have something"* (Father, 66 years, Llajta Jock, about daughter, 28 years, domestic worker in urban area, *sierra*).
- *"Before, when my husband was here, I suffered – working a lot in the chacra, with my children, I had to clean, to cook, I didn't have a house. Now I'm good, my children send (things) to me, I don't work, only looking after my animals. I have a house with electricity and water ... they give me everything that I need"* (mother and widow, 65 years old, in Llajta Jock, six children living away).
- *"It's very important because now I don't lack anything in the house, we have groceries and everything and now I don't go to the market to shop, only to buy some vegetables"* (Mother, 53 years, Alegria, about help received from her six children living in Lima, Satipo and rural Huancayo).

Especially significant were instances of daughters continuing to help and contribute to parents after leaving the household:

- *"She's my daughter and she tries to help with any thing, she's my oldest daughter and I value what she does"* (Mother, 41 years, Descanso, about daughter in Oroya, Junin, sends groceries three times a month).

Some parents expressed relief at not still having to provide for children and to receive their help:

- *"they send a little money to me every month or every two months... Before they travelled I had more of a burden, I didn't have much income, the economy wasn't good; I had too many expenses but now that they are away, they support me sending money."* (Female head of household, 49 years, Descanso, two of her sons have been living in Lima for 3 years).

Material gifts received by parents were also charged with emotional significance. For example, it could help to offset the pain of their absence:

- *"I was sad but later I got used to it, my son always sends me something, for my birthday, whatever little thing – money, clothes, bread"* (Female head of household, 46 years old, in Alegria).
- *"Before maybe I was better when having all my children together, it's to say in the emotional aspect I felt tranquilo and happy. But also now, I'm happy because I'm achieving my goals and I'm much better than before my children went. (Why?)"*

Because I have support from my children, economically, to sow in large quantities and I get bigger earnings'. (Mother, 46 years old, Llajta Iskay, four of her eight children are living away in Huancayo and Lima).

Sending money and goods also made parents feel remembered, valued, cared for and loved. This connects with the emotional interdependence mentioned earlier. Mothers, in particular also mentioned it helped them feel the presence of their children.

- *"I feel happy that she remembers her family". (Father in Alegria talking about his daughter of 32 years, been living away for 14 years and sends him cheese and corn).*
- *"She loves me a lot". (Mother, 53 years, Alegria, about daughter in Lima who sends money).*
- *"She always remembers me, my daughter loves me and so she helps me". (Widow and mother, 72 years, Alegria, about receiving groceries from her daughter, 35 years old, in Lima).*
- *"...he does it to show the love and affection that he has for me" (Mother, 57 years old, Llajta Iskay, about son who sends food necessities, clothes, money).*
- *"It's as if my daughter was with us". (Mother, 46 years, Descanso, talking about when she receives money from her daughter, 31 years old, in Argentina for 7 years, domestic worker).*
- *"It's his affection towards me", "it's like an affection, nothing more". (Father, 67 years, Llajta Iskay, about receiving groceries from two sons in Lima).*
- *"It's important because they (children) have me, their father, present – they always remember me" (Father, 61 years old, Descanso, about money he receives from children in Lima).*

On the other hand, not all parents and children are in contact, maintaining interdependence through exchanging gifts. A minority of parents also expressed negative emotions about the lack of contact and support, and being forgotten, more often referring to sons than to daughters. These stories are the more interesting for being less common, but also left a sense of there being much left unsaid: perhaps past family conflict or the shame of not having been more successful:

- *"...sad, I've suffered... I missed her a lot, she's my youngest daughter... she's sad for me – she always telephones me, not like my son, he doesn't remember me". (Father, 48 years old, Alegria).*
- *'... my wife was crying because he disappeared for six years, she thought that he'd died... We don't know how he is now, maybe these days he might be sad". (Father, 73 years old, Alegria, referring to a son who left to live in the selva (Satipo) thirty years earlier).*
- *"I left wanting to go to Lima, I had a brother there, he was going to send my fare for the train and it didn't arrive... I waited for three days on the streets of Huancayo and there I met with a contractor who needed people for the coffee harvest in the selva, so I said – it's better that I go to the selva... It was like that that I arrived in the selva and I stayed for three years, my family thought that I'd died.... My parents thought I'd passed away, I didn't return for three years, they said that they looked for me but nobody knew where I was, I wanted to communicate with them but there was no way of doing that, and one day I decided to return, my mother was shocked when she saw me, she asked me if it was really me". (Father, Llajta Jock, explaining his own migration experience).*
- *"My father was sad... I was single when I came (to Llajta Jock) and I returned with two children... my parents didn't know that I was in Llajta Jock, somebody told my father that I was selling bread on the Izcuchaca train and he came to look for me*

but didn't find me". (Female, 40 years old, Llajta Jock, about migration from Lima to Llajta Jock).

- *"I left my house because we didn't have anything, we were poor and I wanted to work, like this I left only for a few days but I stayed for six years away from the house, my family thought that the terrorists had killed me, and they gave up hope when they didn't have any news of me"*.

This last respondent eventually found work and married. Only then did he decide to return to Selva Manta because he was missing his family. He explains:

"When I arrived in Selva Manta my family couldn't believe it when they saw me, there was so much emotion to see me alive. They thought I'd died, they'd looked for me but didn't find me, they were very sad because they couldn't even have my body to bury me, and all of this devastated the" .. (Male, 31 years old, moved from Selva Manta to urban area, coast, and later returned).

Reciprocity

What is behind these practices? For Finch and Mason (1993) reciprocity "is a key idea which is used in explaining the foundations of mutual aid in families." It is about the "way in which people exchange goods and services as part of an ongoing and two-way process. Receiving a gift creates the expectation that a counter-gift will be given at the appropriate time. Though reciprocity can take different forms, it is widely seen as being central to the dynamics of kin relationships" (Finch and Mason, 1993:34). In Peru reciprocity is embedded in social relations of kinship and good-parenthood (*parentesco*): the basis for a high level of trust (*confianza*) in a society with low levels of more generalised trust (Degregori, 2000). For Lobo (1982), in a study of social organisation in a squatter settlement in Lima, "reciprocity is fundamental to social relationships ... it is the glue which cements social relationships" (p.146). It lies behind the giving and receiving of food, setting up an underlying sense of obligation and "anticipation of an acknowledgement by reciprocation" (Skar, 1994:57).

Reciprocity between separated children and parents provides a mechanism through which it is reproduced or habituated. It especially reflects a sense of duty towards mothers.

- *"It's as an exchange, it's not so important... she sends me whatever thing, and I send to her as well"*. (Father, Llajta Iskay, about daughter of 28 years, in Lima for 18 years).
- *"I have to give back to her (mother), little by little, all that she has done for me"*. (Son, 44 years, Alegria, sending sugar, rice, fruits, and coca, to his mother).
- *"When I take these things I feel good with myself, I feel happy, because at least I bring a little help (ayuda) to my mother"*. (Son, Alegria, to mother in rural selva).
- *"She (mother) supports me when I need it, everything has to be rewarded or paid back"*. (Daughter, 35 years old, Nuevo Lugar, about her mother in town north of Lima).
- *"Because she's my mother, and as a way of thanking her, as gratitude for all that she does for me"*. (Son, 24 years old, Descanso, sends agricultural produce to mother in Pichanaki, selva).

Interestingly though, many parents seem to emphasise that help from their children is not forced: it is up to their children whether they do so or not. This is particularly the case when they are still young, studying, or starting to have own family: though in some cases there does seem to be an underlying, often unspoken, tacit, expectation that in future their help will be reciprocated.

"It's of her own free will that she helps me". (Mother, Alegria, about daughter in Lima).

- *"It's my son's own free will". (Father, Llajta Iskay, about son sending clothes and basic food necessities).*
- *"...I'm not expecting his help, he does it at any time" (Father, Llajta Iskay, about son in Lima sending groceries).*
- *"We don't expect anything from her (daughter), because she has her family and what her husband earns we expect them to save so that they can build a house, and we don't put pressure on her to send us money or something" (Mother, Descanso)*
- *"To keep supporting them with their studies... so that later they can also help me with some little thing". (Father, Llajta Iskay).*
- *"I was happy because he was going to improve himself (superarse) and to study so that he can help me when I'm in old age". (Mother, Llajta Iskay, about oldest son in Lima).*

These quotations indicate room for negotiation depending on the child's situation: reciprocity is open and flexible.¹⁶ Parental expectations that their children will look after them when they are elderly emerges only after time through an often tacit understanding, but uncertainty and ambiguity remains. Another aspect of this is discussion over whether, and if so when parents might move to join their children.

- *"My children in Lima, they wanted to take us there, but I opposed believing that I would be one more burden for my children". (Father, Llajta Iskay, five migrant children).*
- *"My children in Lima talk amongst themselves and they've told me to sell my animals, to leave everything in Alegria and go to live with them". (Mother, Alegria).*

But parents do not necessarily want to join migrant children, or their preference between siblings may be different:

- *"Even though my children want to take me to La Oroya, I don't want to go... I'm going to die here in my house.... When they take me (there) I don't know it, I get lost, and also I don't adapt to being there, there's no chacra, there's lots of traffic.... I'm shut in their house, they cook with gas, not firewood... I have to wait with patience for my children, for them to bring me to Huancayo, I don't know; I have to wait for them." (Female head of household, 65 years old, Llajta Jock).*

Some parents also doubt whether children would have the means to care for them when elderly.

- *"My children insisted on taking me together with my husband, my husband as well, he didn't agree that we should move to where my children are (and why didn't he agree?) because he believed that we would be an additional burden for my children. It's more that I don't think that our children could look after us, help us when we're elderly". (Mother, 57 years old, Llajta Iskay).*
- *"It wouldn't be the same to live with the children, because it would be a lot of expense (for them). If I go now to live with my children ... first they would be happy to have me at their side, but later they would get tired of having me there, of helping me, the sons and daughters-in-laws, they're different, they wouldn't put up with me". (Mother, Alegria).*

Migration and relationships between siblings

¹⁶ This again corroborates Finch and Mason, who argue that mutual aid between kin relations cannot be explained simply by idea that people follow well understood rules of obligation or duty towards their relatives (p.57).

These last quotations introduce into the issue of the relationships, rights and responsibilities of siblings. Lobo (1982) emphasises the importance to wellbeing of a sense of duty on the part of siblings to act in unity: “It is the bond between siblings that is seen as fundamental to one’s emotional and material wellbeing” (p.120). She also emphasises the particular responsibilities of the eldest child. “Parents and most adults treat the eldest, whether a boy or a girl, with special attention and care: the eldest child has “unique responsibilities and prerogatives” (p.128). This was evident from the interviews

- “*At least he’s found a job, now he helps me economically, for his younger brothers and sisters’ education*”. (Mother, El Progreso, about older migrant son).
- (He sends) “*a few clothes for my younger daughters, a little money – 30 or 50 soles, sometimes 100 soles... he’s the only son that has a job and I need his help... so that his younger sisters can keep studying*”. (Father, Llajta Iskay, talking about migrant son in Lima helping his younger sisters).

Alber (1999) also emphasises the growing importance of siblings to each other as they get older, observing that it is very common for them to live together, particularly sisters.

- “*I wanted to be with them (my brothers and sisters), I came with all of my family to my brother’s house, first I lived with him, later I got my own plo*”. (Female migrant to Nuevo Lugar where lived for 8 years).
- “*She wants to take her younger brothers and sisters (to Lima)*” (Father, Llajta Iskay, about daughter, 22 years of age, in Lima for 3 years doing domestic work).
- “*She’s fine, she was with her sisters*”. (Father, Llajta Jock, talking about migrant daughter in Lima), indicating trust and security in these sibling relationships.

Family duty and responsibility to help siblings was also expressed:

- “*The help is important because it’s about sharing what they have and supporting each other and maintaining the family unity and this tradition maintains the sharing and reciprocity.*” (Married son with young children, Descanso, receiving help from brother and sister, groceries, clothes and toys).
- “*I send produce from the chacra or when she comes to visit I give her potatoes and beans, it’s my duty as brother to support her always*” (Male, 44 years old, Alegria, about helping his sister).
- “*Its about sharing, and out of affection (cariño), because she’s my sister*”. (Female migrant to Nuevo Lugar, about helping sister in Trujillo, where she moved from, by lending money). She explains that “*she’s my younger sister and I appreciate her a lot, I feel good helping her*”.
- “*He (brother) helps my son who studies in Lima with food, it helps me a lot and I’m grateful to my brother, he’s like a father to my son*”. (Mother, 33 years, Selva Manta, her brother has lived in La Victoria, Lima for 10 years).¹⁷
- “*It’s important because it’s a family’s duty to give help – to lend a hand*”. (Brother helping sister).

¹⁷ Lobo (1982:114) emphasises the role of uncles and aunts in shanty towns: “parents’ siblings are often expected to step into the parental role during the absence of a parent.” There is of course a negative side to this. For example, Anderson *et al.* (2006) compare ‘*el sistema de las tias*’ with the Colonial system of bonded labour (*enganchadores*).

Joint responsibility for mothers is particularly important.¹⁸ For example, Maximo is 48, single and the oldest child. He lives in Alegria with his mother (85 years old), whereas his four sisters and one brother (aged 39 to 46) all migrated away from the village as soon as they could: two to Huancayo and three to Lima. He explains that he stayed because there were many ‘obstacles’ that prevented him from going. *“I was the oldest son and I had to look after my mother and my little brothers and sisters” ... “I had a very strong reason to stay ... my mother, because who would have looked after her if I wasn’t there, she was alone, what could she have done alone?”*... In this case, interdependence has been difficult to obtain for Maximo, whilst he has stayed to care for their mother, he has been abandoned by his siblings. *“Paulina has forgotten us, she only thinks about herself... Eusebia, she’s also forgotten us, now she doesn’t even come to visit my mother. Yola, only once a year she remembers her mother. Such has been life: I remember when we were close as children, together with my mother, but since they’ve grown up, each one seeks their own destin”*. When his mother visits Huancayo they give her rice, sugar and oil; and occasionally the daughters in Lima give some money to their mother and clothes, and send medicines when their mother is unwell. He emphasises that it is one’s duty to the family to give help. He also feels pressure to send remittances to his siblings, but lacks the resources to do so: *“sometimes I think, they will feel offended when I don’t send them something, it’s very far and costs a lot to send. Eusebia will be offended with me, and Yola – what will she say when I don’t send them anything”*. Maximo still dreams of joining his siblings by leaving Alegria. *“If there’s a way, I’m going to my sister in Huancayo and I’ll keep going, fighting for life. I know that my sister could have me at her side but on the other hand, they may not put up with me and they’d throw me out, then I’d be alone’* Even though he’s been caring for his mother, he feels he can’t depend on his siblings to support him: interdependence in this case has not been achieved.

Another respondent ended up in a similar situation: returning to his birth place to look after his elderly mother when his father died. *“When I was in Comas, Lima, I used to think a lot about my mother, because she was widowed and as a widow she didn’t have any support in the house, the chacra, with the animals, because my other brothers and sisters already had their own families and they couldn’t look after her. I was single, and for this reason I had to return to Alegria to support my mother, because as a man I had to do something for her.... My mother called me, she asked that I returned and helped her in the chacra and with the animals ... when knowing that she was needing my help, I left everything there in Lima – my business... because my mother brought me up, she fed me, looked after me, and for this reason I had to help her”*. Since his mother died he has stayed on, and still feels alienated from his siblings, who prevented him from moving ahead. *“They were always arguing and didn’t help with anything for my mother, at least they could have helped with the sowing but they didn’t.”*

¹⁸ Radcliffe (1986) notes the presence of older and married brothers and sisters in rural community, whose responsibility lies towards their own spouse and children. Single siblings, on the other hand, are recalled to the community regardless of their location if a parent dies or is ill, for example. It is the youngest child or sibling who is often expected to care for elderly or ailing parents (p.39). A migrant son who returned to Llajta Iskay to look after his elderly parents, said: *“as I’m single, I didn’t have anyone to stop me from returning and helping my parent”*.

5.5. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has reviewed quantitative and qualitative data on migration into and out of the seven WeD research sites. The quantitative data highlighted the diversity of migration within the region: how the long-term trend of urbanisation hides a far more complicated story of mobility and continued interaction between city, town and countryside, as well as coastal, highland and jungle areas. In seeking new and holistic insights into the motivation behind this mobility the qualitative data comprised as far as possible what respondents themselves thought and felt about their own migration experiences; it was also analysed using post-hoc methods that sought to avoid using prior typologies of influences on migration, although the tables in the Appendix to the chapter provide a complementary interpretive analysis of this kind. Resource limitations also precluded more ambitious attempts to test the statistical association between different migration experiences and wellbeing indicators. Of course no analysis is entirely free from the predilections and prior categorisations of the researcher. In this case both earlier work on social exclusion and the wellbeing framework prompted us to explore not only material but also social and cultural dimensions of migration, and to emphasise the important role of interpersonal relationships. However, the extent to which respondents dwelt on emotional dimensions of their experience and how it affected family relations came as a surprise.

This leads to a first main conclusion, that migration along this particular ‘corridor’ is not just a movement of individual labourers driven by real wage differentials or the outcome of carefully calibrated household livelihood strategies: it is also part of a process of seeking independence from and negotiating interdependence with relatives. These unfolding relationships are important in themselves. Not being alone is important to most people’s wellbeing, and we concur with Lobo (1982:73-74) when she reported: “the sentiment is often expressed that an individual with many kin is fortunate, secure, and in many respects wealthy, whereas one who has few kin considers himself unfortunate and poor.... Solitude is never particularly sought after, while the necessity for steady contact with people is felt to be vital.”

However, an understanding of the relational dimensions of migration should *not* be regarded as a useful supplement to a separate understanding of its physical and economic dimensions. Rather, material and relational effects of migration are embedded in and profoundly moulded by each other. For example, the last section highlighted how the flow of remittances and their effect on wellbeing can only be understood in the context of ongoing negotiations between family members. The balancing of emotional and material effects of migration on kinship relations is in turn influenced by cultural norms of reciprocity, sharing and mutual interdependence. Again this cultural dimension is tightly bound up with the material and relational aspects rather than existing in some separate domain of wellbeing. In the majority of cases we have emphasised the benign role that these affective and collective values have on wellbeing. However, we have also acknowledged that affective relationships can also be damaging and constricting of individual autonomy: as in extreme cases where migration was a flight from family violence, or a form of child trafficking into bonded domestic labour for relatives. A better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of family mediated mutual support is particularly important, given the limited reach of state social provision and commercialized social insurance services, particularly as they affect children and the elderly.

Appendix: An interpretive framework for explaining migration and its impacts.
Source: Altamirano (2006)

Figure A5.1 Rural urban migration explanatory forces

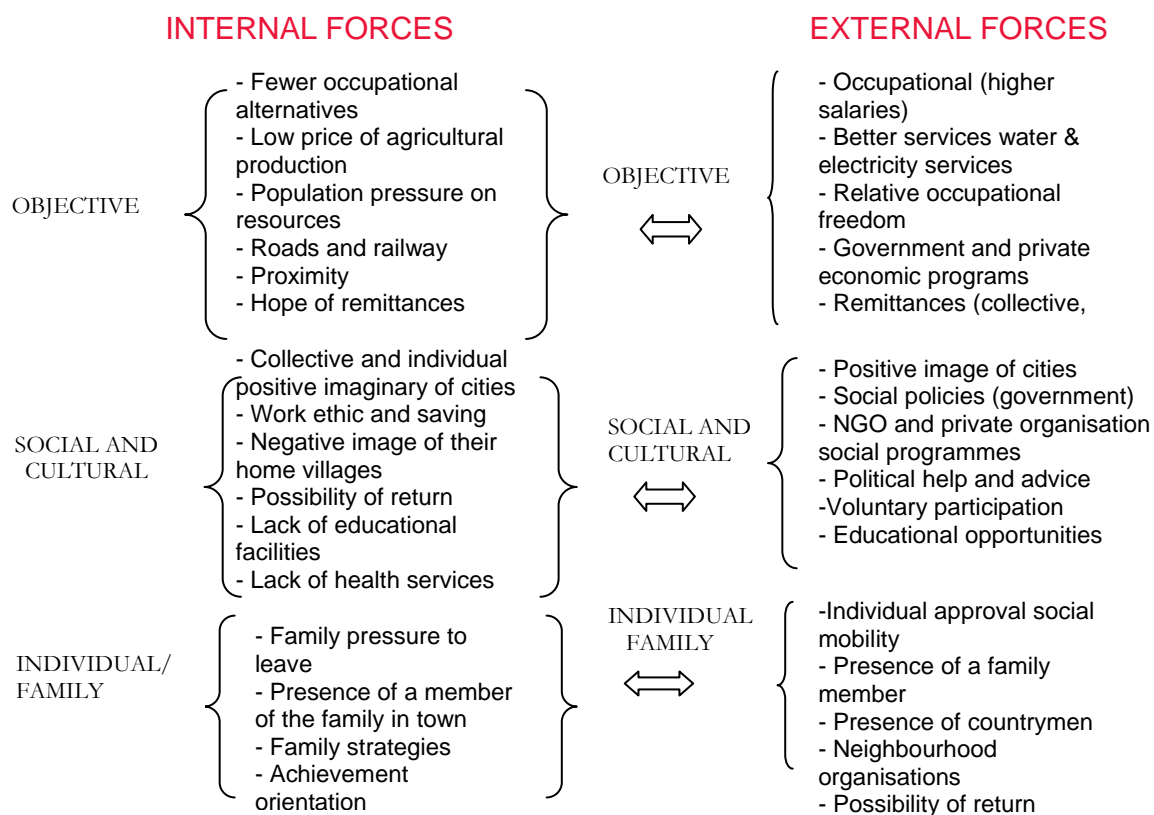


Figure A5.2. Impacts of rural-urban migration

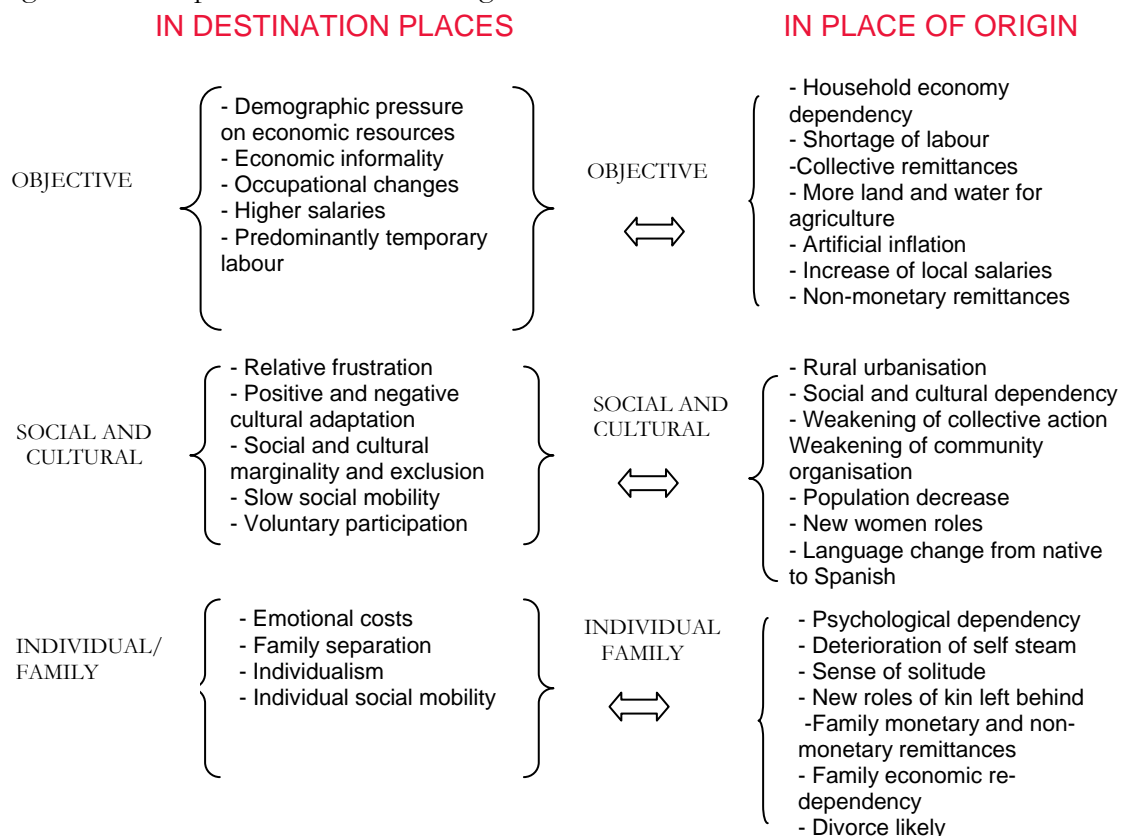


Figure A5.3 Upland to lowland rural migration explanatory diagram

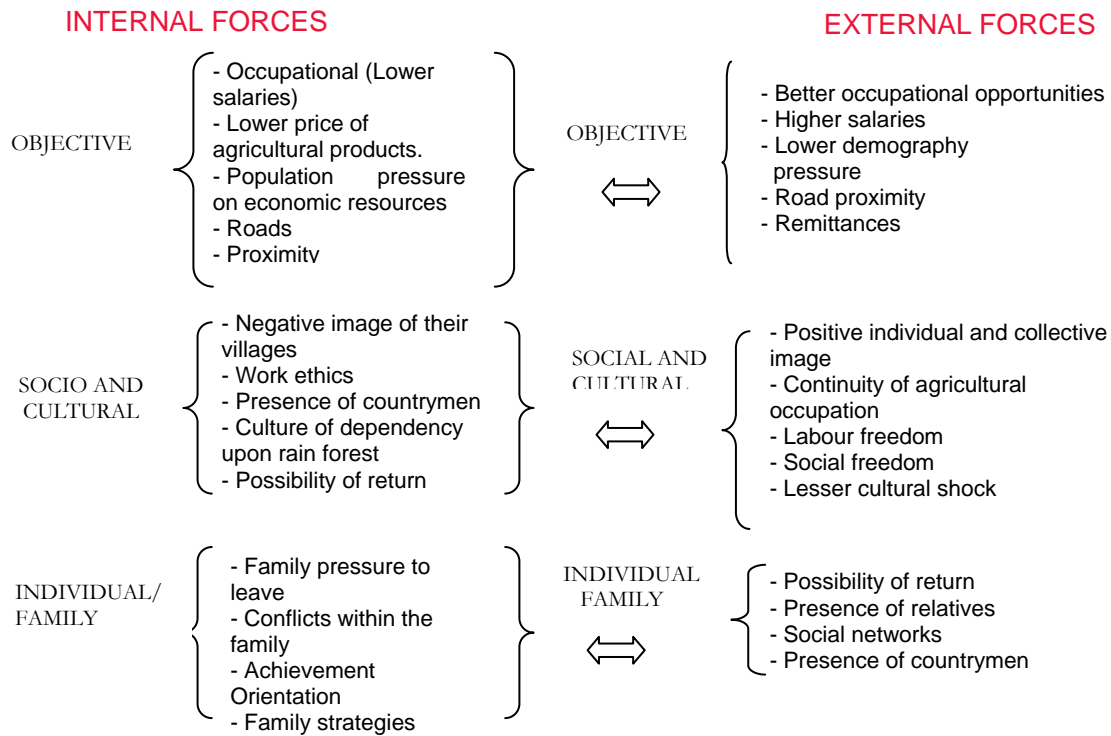


Figure A5.4 Impacts of upland to lowland migration

