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Separated from Saints and Sacred Spaces: Religion, Identity and Belonging for Peruvian Andean Migrants in the US

Alison Wuensch
University of San Francisco, atwuensch@usfca.edu

University of San Francisco

SEPARATED FROM SAINTS AND SACRED SPACES:

RELIGION, IDENTITY AND BELONGING FOR PERUVIAN ANDEAN MIGRANTS IN THE US

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Alison Wuensch

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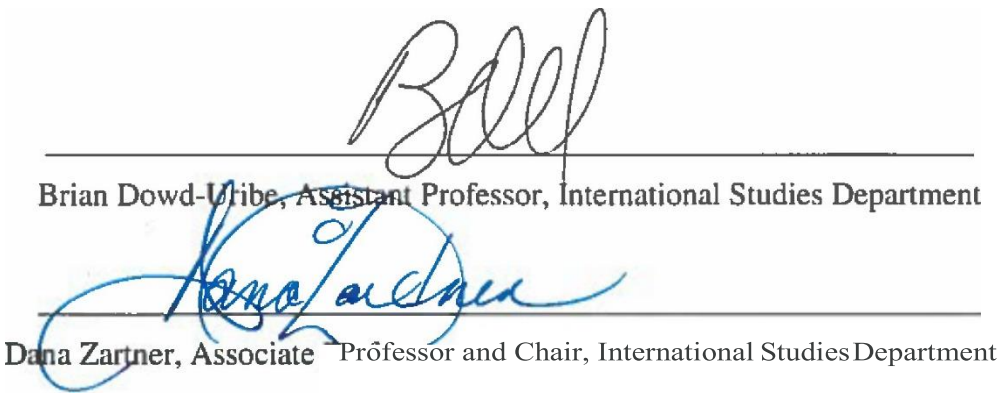

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ABSTRACT

Religious practices impact how people construct their sense of identity and belonging, and Peruvian Andean religious practices are based in the sacred landscape and local saint *fiestas*. When Peruvian Andeans migrate away from their communities in the Andes, their religious practices are altered because they are based in the sacred landscape and local saint *fiestas*. The deterritorialization of these religious practices influences how Peruvian Andean migrants then construct their sense of identity and belonging in the spaces where they have moved. This research examines how religious practices venerating local saints as well as sacred landscapes can be reterritorialized and how these reterritorialization practices inform Peruvian Andean migrants' sense of identity and belonging in the United States. The investigation uses five ethnographies of Peruvian Andean migrants' religious practices in Peru and the United States to look at how Peruvian Andean migrants construct identity and belonging based on these case studies and previous literature on identity and religion. Some of the reterritorialization strategies that Peruvian Andean migrants use include travelling back to Peru for local saint *fiestas*, organizing local saint *fiestas* from the United States and in the United States, and watching *fiesta* videos. Another strategy is using objects blessed by the saints or the sacred landscape in religious practices in the United States. Using these strategies, Peruvian Andean migrants are still able to identify with their Andean communities, but they also forge a new sense of belonging to a community of deterritorialized worshippers in the US.

KEYWORDS

Deterritorialization, identity, migration, Peruvian Andean, sacred landscape, saints

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INTRODUCTION

When thinking about identity, most people may focus on what we consider to be the fixed aspects of ourselves, such as physical and personal characteristics. However, there is a process of identity formation that each person undergoes in order to arrive at a more or less settled identity. People commonly undergo processes of identity formation in their youth, but other situations may lead people to undergo the process again; migration is one of those situations. Identity is often established in relation to places and people, and through these identity relationships, people create a sense of belonging. However, the upheaval of the migration process alters relationships with places and people, which in turn upsets a person's sense of belonging.

I began thinking about this when studying in Peru in the spring of 2017. I spent a month doing research on offerings to the earth within the context of the so-called mystical tourism industry in Cusco, interviewing Andean shamans and employees at shaman collectives that functioned as tourist agencies to ascertain their perspectives on the intersection of offerings to the earth and other Andean religious rituals and the tourism industry in Cusco. Through this research, I became familiar with the spiritual connection that many Peruvian Andeans have with their landscape, and this prompted the question of whether that spiritual connection continued when Peruvian Andeans were separated from the sacred landscape. This thought grew into the current investigation into how that separation from the sacred landscape, as well as separation from local saint *fiestas*, can have an impact on Peruvian Andean migrants' sense of identity and belonging in the United States.

Peruvian Andean migrants undergo new processes of identity formation upon migration to the United States. Here, Peruvian Andean indicates people from the highland region of Peru who grew up in a rural community there. This is generally understood to connote Peruvians with an indigenous or mixed heritage who continue to practice traditional Andean lifestyles, including farming and speaking an indigenous language such as Quechua. Rather than only leaving places and people behind, these migrants are oftentimes leaving part of the sacred behind as well. For most Peruvian Andeans from a rural highland community, the land itself is imbued with sacredness. That is where *Pachamama*, the mother earth, resides, as well as the *apus*, or mountain deities. Therefore, in migrating to a different land, migrants leave behind sacred territories, which may unsettle identities and a sense of belonging. People often use religion as a context for identity formation because it helps them to construct a cohesive worldview; it is also a means to establish

relationships with places and people. That can be useful when migration triggers a new process of identity construction, but for Peruvian Andean migrants, leaving the Andes can alter the cohesion of their religious worldview, which in turn can impact the migrants' sense of identity and belonging.

Peruvian Andean religion is unique in that it is a syncretized version of Catholicism and Andean worship, and therefore part of that religion includes sacred spaces in the Andes. Most communities in the Peruvian Andes worship a local Catholic saint, but in many cases this saint one can interpret this saint as a manifestation of one of the feminine or masculine deities of the landscape. However, the extent to which each Peruvian Andean person practices this blend of religious rituals is unique to that person. Some Peruvian Andeans may wholeheartedly insist they worship the Catholic saints in their purest forms, while others may insist that when they worship these saints, in reality they are paying respect to the deities of the sacred landscape. It might even be the case that they do not worship the Catholic saints at all and focus only on maintaining a spiritual connection with the sacred landscape. Due to the lack of data on how Peruvian Andean individuals practice the syncretistic mixture of popular saint worship and sacred landscape worship, for the sake of simplicity my investigation relies on the conceptualization that Peruvian Andean migrants venerate the sacred landscape through the celebration of local Catholic saint *fiestas*, or festivals, as well as through continued worship of the deities of the sacred landscape.

Some Peruvian Andean migrants have found ways of maintaining a relationship with sacred spaces in the Andes after leaving their communities in the Andes for other cities in Peru or cities in the US. Firstly, those with the resources often return to their region of the Andes to visit for large religious festivals. Secondly, they have people in their communities in the Andes take videos of religious festivals, which are played over and over at gatherings of migrants in the United States. Thirdly, they have sacred objects from their regions that were either part of the sacred landscape or have been blessed by the deities of the sacred spaces. Not all Peruvian Andeans do or can utilize these ways to maintain a connection with sacred landscapes in the Andes, so my investigation will instead be concerned with how religious practices venerating the local saints as well as the sacred landscape can be reterritorialized and how these reterritorialization practices inform Peruvian Andean migrants' sense of identity and belonging in the United States.

The role that separation from sacred landscapes and other local celebrations of worship has on notions of identity and belonging for migrants involves the intersection of several important

topics. Firstly, a spiritual connection to the landscape based on religious animism is common to many indigenous cosmological views but is not discussed often enough in conjunction with growing concern for the land by proponents of environmental justice. The environment is important to consider but so is peoples' spiritual connection with it. Secondly, migration is a large global phenomena, and much of the concern over it is how migrants are able to adjust to life in their new countries and how they relate to their sending countries. Understanding what impacts the way migrants form their identities and sense of belonging in a new place can help us to better understand how migrants adjust to and contribute to their new societies. Finally, this topic provides an important perspective on how kinship dynamics based on religion can contribute to identity formation in general.

BACKGROUND

In order to understand how Peruvian Andean migrants rely on religious practices worshipping saints and sacred landscapes in order to create a sense of identity and belonging in the US, it is necessary to contextualize Peruvian Andean migration to the US. It constitutes a relatively recent phenomenon and remains relatively obscure in the literature. Berg (2015) observes that Peruvian migrants to the US, alongside other migrants from South American, have not received as much attention from scholars because they are not as politically or numerically prominent as Central Americans in the United States. However, within the last decade, Peru has become one of the top three South American sending countries to the United States. Additionally, the US now has the largest congregation of Peruvians outside of Peru, a population that does not settle solely in one or two places but in sites across the US (Paerregaard, 2010). Peruvian migrants, though, are a heterogenous group. People who migrate outside Peru come from all different class and ethnic backgrounds (Takenaka et al., 2010). This makes for radically different experiences of migration depending on whether Peruvian migrants are accepted legally into the US or not, how they arrive, and where they settle.

For example, for the majority of highland Peruvian migrants, they moved to Peruvian cities before deciding to emigrate to the United States. Therefore, many Peruvian Andean migrants already have experience in being separated from their sacred landscapes because they are forced to migrate to the cities to improve their economic and social positions. However, racism and oppression of the indigenous and rural populations of Peru have been entrenched for centuries, and

in Peru, a general perception persists of Peruvian Andeans as "antimodern" and "antiurban" (Berg, 2015). This pushed some Peruvian Andean migrants to leave Peruvian cities and emigrate to the US. Eventually, after leaving Peruvian cities, many Peruvian Andeans congregated in Washington, D.C. in the 1960's and 1970's (Berg, 2015). For many rural Andean communities, this was the beginning of established communities of migrants in the United States, and Peruvian Andean migrants from communities in the Andes started to migrate to cities in the US where people from their communities had already migrated.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Much of my investigation of the role of religion in facilitating expression of identity for Peruvian Andean migrants is situated within the body of literature on the relationship between religion and identity. This body of literature is multidisciplinary and therefore takes a multidisciplinary approach in addressing the relationship between religion and identity. The literature focuses much of its attention on defining the concept "identity" and what role religion's impact on identity can play in people's lives. The conceptualization of identity occurs in various ways in the literature without general consensus on one concept of it, even within disciplines. However, there is general agreement on some aspects of identity and the role of religion in influencing it. In reviewing the literature investigating the relationship between religion and identity, consistent themes manifested themselves. These themes can be grouped as those that focus on whether religion functions as a person's main identity, whether people include religion in their self-identification, and whether religion has more influence on the individual or the collective identity. These themes illustrated the direct role of religion on identity resolution or formation. The discussion of these themes is often situated more broadly in the daily experiences of religion, at the intersection of religion and migration, or in terms of cultivating a sense of belonging or well-being.

Identity and Belonging

Though every source on the relationship between religion and identity uses particular conceptualizations of identity, identity was explicitly and expansively contextualized in three works. Kokot, Tölölyan and Alfonso (2004) suggest that identity is the construction and maintenance of boundaries between groups. They contextualize this notion of identity as the

construction and maintenance of boundaries in terms of ethnic identity, but it applies more generally as well. This conceptualization implies that when the boundaries between groups shift, identity can change. As boundaries change in a diaspora, both physical and otherwise, a person's identity will change. When the physical, emotional and mental boundaries associated with religion undergo changes in the diaspora of Peruvian Andean migrants, their identity will change. Ammerman (2003), on the other hand, states that identity cannot be based on any specific aspect of a person, but the narrative of a person's life serves as his or her identity. When considering migration and identity, when religious practices are based on a particular local context and a migrant leaves that, the religious practices will change and therefore the narrative of religion will also have to change. This will have an effect on a migrant's identity as based on religious narrative. Thirdly, Kinnvall (2004) discusses identity as a "process of becoming," specifically the process of becoming one identity in opposition to an other; this process of becoming is a psychological process that necessitates constructing a self and an other. These concepts of identity as boundaries, as narratives, and as a psychological process of becoming all discuss, implicitly or explicitly, the existence of identity as a self and identity as an other.

Religion

In terms of conceptualizing religion itself, the literature can be incredibly broad. As Rytter and Olwig (2011) point out, the concept of religion is neither fixed nor predefined but in fact varies according to the situation. Concepts of religion can have many different meanings in common or not. Rytter and Olwig decide instead to use the term "religious practices," which they perceive as covering more situations than does "religion." They assert that "religious practices" cover institutional, orthodox, formal religion as well as private/communal, unorthodox, informal practices that may be called "folk religion" or superstitious practices by others. Molero and Oshier (2005) paint religion using an even broader brush, instead electing to use the term "sacred" to imply an ordered cosmology that functions in a chaotic world. For the discussion of religion for Peruvian Andean migrants, I will use the term "religion" interchangeably with "religious practices" and "cosmology" to indicate Andean rituals considered sacred by the participants. This includes discussion of the earth and mountains as sacred places for Peruvian Andeans.

Connecting Religion and Identity

Identity as distinction between self and other is important when considering how scholars conceptually link religion and identity. There is an ongoing scholarly debate on whether religion forms the main part of a person's identity or simply one aspect of it. On the one hand, Erikson suggests spirituality is central part of identity formation because it can provide a coherent worldview, and Kiesling and Sorrell agree that spirituality is a central organizing feature of identity (Gebelt, 2009). Brandt (2013) agrees that religion is a main part of identity construction because it helps people cope with destabilization and form a coherent worldview. A coherent worldview based on religion can provide stability in identity formation because the identity formation is not disrupted by conflicting worldviews. Ammerman (2003) suggests scholars take it a step further in claiming that "true" religious identities are total, not partial. This implies that religion is the entire source of identity formation, although there is little indication that this view is shared by other scholars.

On the other side of the debate, some scholars reject the claim that religion or spirituality is central to identity but observe that it can play an influential role in identity construction for various reasons. For example, Ebstyne King (2003) suggests that religion can be richer in resources to aid in identity construction because it provides ideological, social, and spiritual roles in a person's life. However, this is not going so far as to claim that religion is the central organizing aspect for identity construction. Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman (2010) agree with Ebstyne King that religion can provide rich resources for identity construction, observing that religion can provide people with deeper meaning in life. Believing life has deeper meaning can be useful in establishing identity and belonging. In addition, religion can be neither proven nor disproven and can therefore be perceived as truer and more stable than other sources of identity (Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman, 2010). This notion of religion as stable does not completely agree with the idea of religion as a central aspect of identity construction but it resonates with religion providing a coherent worldview that lends stability to identity construction. Rytter and Olwig (2011) consider the concept of religion slightly differently, suggesting it can be fundamental in constructing identity in the process of migration because it helps maintain a moral order as well as kinship ties, but not stating that it plays a central role in identity construction. However, overall, the scholarship suggests that religion is influential in identity construction whether it plays a central role or not.

Considering religion as a central part of identity one must also take into account who is identifying people as religious. The literature discusses how the issue of self-identification as opposed to external categorization must be addressed in examining the link between religion and identity. Jacobson's (1997) ethnography on second-generation British Pakistani Muslims revealed that in considering their ethnic and religious identities, the respondents saw ethnicity as particular to a certain location and culture, while their religion, Islam, was universal. One respondent said, "Culture is a way of living in a society. Religion is living on your own" (Jacobson, 1997, p. 242). This indicates that to the respondents, the social boundaries of religion are clear and they can choose to self-identify as religious. However, although respondents could self-identify as both British and Pakistani, their identification was limited by what British society saw as their objective identity as Pakistani (Jacobson, 1997).

Other scholars agree that religion can play an important role in self-identification. Kinnvall (2004) notes that religion can provide necessary answers for self-identity because it offers a coherent worldview. Ricoeur defines identity as self-representation based on culture and relationships (Brandt et al., 2009). One can self-identify as religious based on the culture and relationships constructed as part of one's religious narrative. Both Ebstyne King (2003) and Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman (2010) talk about identity as self-concept. If identity is self-concept, this implies self-identification. However, some argue that identity requires external recognition of one's identity to achieve identity resolution (Brandt et al., 2009).

Another problem in conceptualizing the relationship between religion and identity is whether one considers the role of religion to be stronger in influencing the individual identity or the collective identity. Contextualizing religion and identity within the processes of migration and globalization, religion can be a tool of homogenizing identity, taking the collective religious identity as more important than the individual religious identity. In considering the situation of Muslims in Germany, Spielhaus (2006) notes that some discussions of Muslims in Germany assume that they are a homogenous group. This homogenization ignores the complexities of identity and ignores the realities of the individual experiences of religion. Levitt (2003) questions whether religion is a tool of globalization that homogenizes people or whether it can strengthen local identities, arguing for the latter that local religion responds to the realities of the world at large. Scholars must therefore be careful not to homogenize based on collective religious identities.

However, it is also necessary to consider that collective identities are shaped by groups which can provide a sense of belonging. Ysseldyk, Matheson, and Anisman (2010) note that distinguishing oneself as part of an in-group as opposed to an out-group can promote a positive sense of self. Internalizing a sense of belonging in a group can strengthen one's identity (Kinnvall, 2004). There are both positive and negative aspects of considering the collective identity. Ebstyne King (2003), therefore, suggests that religion must provide a balance between the collective and the individual identities in order to be most useful in identity construction. Molero and Oshier (2005) take a different approach, considering religion as a collective cultural mechanism through which community members can recall a shared cultural past. It can strengthen a sense of belonging by increasing both individual and collective self-worth. In researching religion and identity of Peruvian Andean migrants, I must avoid homogenization because of the distinct experiences each migrant has coming from the various regions of Peru.

Deterritorialization

In considering religion as defined and practiced by transnational migrants such as Peruvian Andean migrants, it is necessary to consider the impact of deterritorialization. The broadest conceptualization of deterritorialization is when a people or a practice is removed from where they were produced. Molero and Oshier (2005) point out that in today's global world, that is true for many people and practices. In this context, identity is constantly reconstructed, often without ties to a specific place. As Molero and Oshier note, people can move between different cultural worlds because many cultural practices have been detached from any specific place. People can define identity by the different cultural worlds in which they participate. Obadia (2014) describes deterritorialization as a severing of previous relationships between traditions and physical territories, but physical territories can be used in the reconstruction of identities to create a regional or national sense of belonging. He also mentions the role of imagined territories; the East has an imagined religious Otherness because practicing Eastern religious traditions in the West does not severe the connection with the East. However, this is likely not the case for Peruvian Andean migrants because for them, Peru, the territory where their religious practices originate, is not an other for them.

Obadia (2014) also seems skeptical of how important territorialization is for religion in a world of globalization. He mentions that according to Hannerz, globalization can be considered a

process of the obsession over territories, but he also mentions Appadurai's concept of globalization as a world of flows rather than a world of areas. Obadia notes that according to multiple scholars, places are made and remade, but considering religion in a global context allows scholars to go beyond essentialism and territoriality of religion. However, it seems that this conceptualization of territory fails to take into account the territory itself being considered sacred and there being a community of deities and ancestors associated with a particular piece of territory. Obadia's notion of territory relates more to the idea of territory as sacred because it is connected with a particular religious occurrence, such as the appearance of a saint or angel or an important historical religious event. When considering religious animism, though, the landscape is sacred because the landscape because deities make up the landscape.

Andean Cosmology

Looking specifically at the case of territorialization, cosmology, and religion in the Peruvian Andes in order to analyze the case studies of Peruvian Andean migrants, I will also need to draw on existing literature characterizing the nature of the relationship between Peruvian Andeans and their landscape. To understand why the separation of Peruvian Andeans from their territory affects their construction of identity and sense of belonging, first it is necessary to understand how Peruvian Andeans conceptualize sacred spaces. Deterritorialization in the Peruvian Andean case means more than a separation from a territory upon which meaning was imposed through habitual actions. Deterritorialization for members of rural Andean communities means leaving the land that gives life to everything. In the majority of cases of religious territorialization, people imposed sacred meaning on a certain territory, but in this case, the sacred meanings are inextricably linked to the territory.

The Andean landscape is sacred because of the deities that reside there. Topographic features of the land have the power to determine human destinies, as well as the land itself (Sallnow, 1991). One of the main deities is *Pacha,* or the land, who is often referred to as *Pachamama,* or Mother Earth, a general entity who is everywhere (Allen, 1988). As Allen (1988) notes, as a general rule, if a topographic feature is defined enough to be called a landmark, it has not only a name but also a selfhood. *Tirakuna*, the Quechua word for the deities of sacred places, do not only reside in those places but are those places. Allen compares the *Tirakuna* to parents of everyone in a given community—they watch everything and take responsibility for protecting and

punishing their children when necessary. They can also give their children advice through the medium of the coca leaf, although a *paqo*, or shaman, is the only one who can communicate with the *Tirakuna* through coca (Allen, 1988). Sallnow (1991) suggests that these deities came to occupy these shamans when confronted with the missionizing zeal of the Spanish in the sixteenth century.

However, Sallnow's understanding of the deities differs from Allen's in that he believes the deities only occupied the topographical features of the sacred landscape instead of being the features themselves. This implies a different conceptualization of rootedness. Sallnow does not note whether the deities returned to inhabit the landscape, but if the deities can occupy the Andean religious leaders, this connotes that they can travel despite being linked to specific topographical features. However, he also claims that the powers are inscribed in the landscape (Sallnow, 1991). This implies Andean communities are imposing meaning onto the landscape instead of the land being inherently sacred. In looking at it from a detached scholarly perspective, strictly speaking humans do establish understandings of religion and sacredness on the basis of their experiences and project them onto the world, but this lacks understanding from the perspective of an Andean believer. Allen (1988) notes that she herself could not "observe the Earth's resentment of the hoes cutting into her, nor was it obvious… that the surrounding hills and ridges watched us with critical eyes. These experiences…can be seen only through the mind's eye" (p. 37). To the Andean community, the landscape simply is sacred; they do not see it as meaning they have constructed and projected onto their landscape. Skar (1994) terms this the juxtaposition of "objectification from without as opposed to the participation from within" (p. 177). Their landscape is animate and powerful, and it is on this basis that the Andean community constructs their webs of significance (Allen, 1988).

The *apus* are generally considered the most powerful of the *Tirakuna*. The *apus* are the mountain deities. Given that many of these communities are situated in the highlands of the Andes, it is unsurprising that mountain deities are given special prominence. According to Skar (1994), the *apus* are incarnations of the ancestors, and their influence can spread far. The higher the *apu*, the broader their knowledge is and the further their influence reaches. One of the shamans in Matapuquio, the site of Skar's fieldwork, informed her that one of the local *apus*, Apu Tiklliu, knew everything about and influenced members of the Matapuquio community who were living in other parts of Peru. Many Andean communities have come to consider some of the highest peaks

as not just protectors of individual communities but protectors of the entire region. Some of the highest *apus* in the Cuzco region of Peru are shared by much of the area (Allen, 1988). Specifically, Sallnow (1991) mentions Mount Ausankati, a high mountain peak in the region of Cuzco, as one of the most powerful mountain deities in the region. There is some evidence to suggest both that the influence of *apus* can extend beyond the borders of the nation-state and that some *apus* reside in other parts of the world. The shamans told Skar (1994) that the *apus* of Matapuqiuo eventually took note of her and the *apus* of her country did not have the strength to interfere.

The shamans of Matapuquio may have believed the *apus* of Skar's country lacked strength because Skar did not provide them with the proper nourishment and respect. *Pachamama* and the *Tirakuna,* including the *apus,* are the source of nourishment and protection for Andean communities. They grow jealous when the Andean communities do not share with them part of the nourishment that they provide (Allen, 1988). The *apus* and *Pachamama* both require food, drink, and other items as offerings from the Andean people; they demand respect (Skar, 1994). Therefore, Andean communities are not only living in a sacred landscape amongst their deities but also actively working to maintain their relationships with these deities.

This outline of Andean cosmology emphasizes why Andean communities consider their landscape sacred and actively work to maintain relationships with the landscape, but in order to understand more fully the impact that separation from specific territories has on transnational Peruvian Andean migrants, it is also necessary to understand how Andean cosmology, particularly the relation to place, and Catholicism inform and interact with each other. This syncretistic religion to which the majority of Andeans subscribe influences how religion informs identity construction and sense of belonging for Andean migrants outside of Peru. However, the syncretism of Andean cosmology and Catholicism by no means constitutes a homogenous religion.

For some Andean communities, Catholicism plays more of a role than for others. In Sonqo, where Allen did her fieldwork, God and the Sun, whom the Inca worshipped, are conceptualized in similar ways. They are both detached sources of power with whom the Andean communities do not have personal relationships. For the most part, God is not involved in this world (Allen, 1988). For many communities, though, God is personalized through patron saints. In the Spanish attempts to impose Catholicism onto the Andean communities, the clergy named different saints as divine protectors of different communities. Furthermore, when the Spanish later forced Andeans to relocate into defined areas called *reducciones*, each community ended up with a saint or a set of

saints exclusive to their community, which changed beginning at the end of the sixteenth century when certain saints made miraculous apparitions and came to be venerated more regionally than locally (Sallnow, 1991). Sallnow (1991) argues that the shrines which sprung up dedicated to these miraculous apparitions have much more sacred meaning than do the venerations of local saints in Andean communities. He suggests the *fiesta*s of local saints are celebrated more as a matter of routine and any relation to Andean cosmology is largely ignored; on the contrary, miraculous shrines succeed in combining Catholicism and Andean cosmology. However, arguably Andean communities found a way to assert cultural control over Catholicism even through these *fiesta*s.

Gaps in the Literature

There are still gaps in the current literature on religion and identity, as well as on the deterritorialization of religions, which I aim to address in this research. Many of the sources on religion and identity call for more empirical data on the relationship between religion and identity. Therefore, through my analysis of the ethnographies on Peruvian Andean migrants, I will add to the body of literature on the relationship between religion and identity. I will do this specifically by considering the deterritorialization of the religion of Peruvian Andean migrants and see how that impacts the understanding of identity and belonging for the Peruvian Andean migrants in the United States. There is also a need for more research on Peruvian Andean migrants in the United States in general. According to Berg (2015), Peru has become one of the top three sending countries of migrants to the United States from South America, but they are still rarely considered as numerically or politically important as other Latinx populations in the United States. Additionally, Rytter and Olwig (2011) have noted that there needs to be more research on the family and household rituals of migrants in addition to the studies on migrants' more orthodox religious practices. It is also necessary to consider how they draw on ideas of family and kinship. Religious rituals or celebrations in the Peruvian Andes are often situated within the community and therefore depend not only on religious concepts but also how they are practiced within a community that depends on historical Andean notions of reciprocity and kinship.

Therefore, in establishing a sense of belonging outside of their regions in Peru, Peruvian Andean migrants undergo complex processes of individual and collective identity reconstruction through the practice of a religion taken outside its traditional territorial context as well as outside the traditional structures of kinship. In addition, the particular historical context for Peruvian

Andeans—namely, the historical othering of Peruvian Andeans—adds another dimension to consideration of Peruvian Andeans' creation of a sense of belonging in the United States through the practice of deterritorialized religion.

Research Rationale

Taken together, the literature on the relationship between religion, identity, and sense of belonging as well as the literature on deterritorialization, the literature on sacred spaces, and the literature on Peruvian Andean cosmology and religion, one can begin to build the conceptual framework required to analyze how transnational migration that deterritorializes the religion of Peruvian Andean migrants affects identity construction and sense of belonging. The literature review is crucial in understanding how deterritorialization impacts identity and a sense of belonging for Peruvian Andean migrants. I rely on previous literature on the relationship between religion and identity, as well as literature on deterritorialization of religion and religion and a sense of belonging, to establish a conceptual framework for my analysis of Andean migrant ethnographies. The literature review also establishes the need for more research on the practice of Peruvian Andean religion in the United States and deterritorialization studies in general. There is some information on Peruvian Andean migrants in the United States, but there is a need for more empirical work on Peruvian Andean migrants' religious practices in the United States.

METHODS AND ANALYSIS

Relying on the conceptual framework established in the literature review, I will analyze Peruvian Andean migrant ethnographies through the lens of how identity is constructed in relation to religion. It was difficult to find ethnographies specifically on the religious practices of Peruvian Andean migrants, and I was unable to find any ethnographies solely addressing Peruvian Andean migrants' connection to the sacred territories in the Andes. For these reasons, the five case studies I will address are the Peruvian Andean migrant ethnographies that emphasized the religious practices of Peruvian Andean migrants. They each focus on the veneration of each community's local Catholic saint outside the highland community. However, only three of the five ethnographies discuss Peruvian Andean migration to the United States; the other two only discuss the migration of Peruvian Andeans to other cities within Peru. I decided to include all five of these Peruvian

Andean migrant ethnographies because these five case studies provided the most useful discursive information on Peruvian Andean migrant religious practices outside the Andes.

My analysis of the text will proceed by relating this analysis to established notions of a sense of belonging as a way of understanding whether Peruvian Andean migrants feel a sense of belonging in the United States despite the fact that their religion has been deterritorialized. Firstly, in assessing the collective identity construction and sense of belonging of the migrants, it is necessary to analyze collective identity as created by boundaries between groups as well as the role of in-groups in maintaining a sense of belonging, then to analyze collective identity within the context of migrant identity, village identity, and national Peruvian identity. Secondly, the focus will shift individual identity as a life narrative, as a psychological process of becoming, and as self-concept. Thirdly, the othering of identity as a distinction between self and other and as an objective identity according to society will form the basis of anaylsis. Brandt et al. (2009) even consider external recognition of identity necessary for the resolution of identity.

I will look to see whether religion is central in identity construction or only one aspect of identity construction. It may be central if it provides a coherent worldview and a sense of stability during periods of instability, of which migration is a good example. It can also provide ideological, social, and spiritual influences in various parts of life, it can be neither proven nor disproven, and it can help maintain kinship ties. Religion can also provide a means of self-identification. It can help one identify with a particular group, thus providing a sense of belonging. For example, it can help people identify with a collective cultural past. I will also look for whether religion provides a balance between individual and collective identities as well as whether it homogenizes identity or emphasizes local identity.

Limitations

I am basing my research entirely on existing literature, meaning that I am not conducting primary research of Peruvian Andean migrants to the US. Moreover, the major data sources for this thesis – ethnographies – do not specifically focus on the relationship between identity and religion, or, more specifically, the issue of deterritorialization. Two of the ethnographers also mentioned limitations in their own studies that impact my analysis. Ulla Berg emphasizes that the way the anthropologist sees and conceptualizes the migrant's behavior is not the same way the migrant perceives and conceptualizes his or her own behavior. Berg (2015) can only consider the

construction of migrants' narratives through observations and interviews with the migrants themselves, but these methods may not be entirely representative of the truth. Berg also notes that her interviewees continually subverted the categories she attempted to use in her ethnography, and she was ultimately uneasy about categorizing them. Both of these observations lead me to be cautious about my conclusions, and I would like to be especially careful in considering my own positioning in relation to the experience of deterritorialization of Peruvian Andean religious practices and identity construction, having neither experienced deterritorialization and migration nor personally spoken to those who have experienced deterritorialization and migration. Somewhat similarly to Berg, Paerregaard (1998) mentions in "The Dark Side of the Moon" that the analogy of the dark side of the moon only applies to the researcher, but it is important to consider that there is no "dark side of the moon" for the migrants (p. 405). The migrants experience both the cultural worlds of the United States and their local communities in Peru at the same time.

Therefore, due to the limitations of the ethnographers upon whom I rely as well as limitations in constructing my own research, my findings should be understood not as conclusive but as a suggestion of where to start the investigation of how deterritorialization informs the sense of identity and belonging of Peruvian Andean migrants. My conclusions highlight more than anything the lack of qualitative information on how Peruvian Andean migrants to the US conceptualize their own identity and belonging in the US based on the deterritorialization of their religious practices. Not having detailed interviews with Peruvian Andean migrants specifically about the separation from a sacred landscape or participant observation on how Peruvian Andean migrants may maintain the spiritual connection with their landscape makes it difficult to know the accuracy of my findings.

FINDINGS

In this section, first I will introduce each of the five case studies of the religious practices of Peruvian Andean migrants in the United States which I will rely on for analysis. I will discuss each case and emphasize the possible reterritorialization strategies Peruvian Andean migrants can utilize to situate their sense of identity and belonging. Then I will discuss these possible reterritorialization strategies specifically within the context of constructing identity and belonging for Peruvian Andean migrants based on the conceptual framework on identity and religion in the literature review.

Case Studies

Four out of five of the case studies on Peruvian Andean migrants' experiences with religion explicitly discuss rural to urban migration, and in one of these cases it is explicitly described as a stepping stone to migration to the US. The first case study of Peruvian Andean religion in a migratory context is Paerregaard's (1998) article on rural Andean migrants from Tapay and their experiences in Lima and Arequipa. Paerregaard describes Tapay as a typical Quechua community in the southern Peruvian Andes where the inhabitants believe in Andean cosmology. However, about half of the total population of Tapay has left to live in other cities in Peru. Paerregaard's focus in Tapay is on the annual *fiesta* for one of Tapay's local saints, Candelaria. The *fiesta* of Candelaria is four days long, and Tapeño migrants return to the village to celebrate it. For migrants, it serves as an opportunity to present their Andean identities and reaffirm their sense of belonging in Tapay. For them, the territory of Tapay is both imagined and practiced through the *fiesta* of Candelaria until one day they can return, for many Tapeño migrants dream of returning to Tapay at some point in the future, though this rarely happens (Paerregaard, 1998). However, Paerregaard (1998) also observes a schism in identity in the Tapeño migrants who practice identity differently in the village of Tapay than in Lima or Arequipa. For them, it is a matter of "Andean rituals and Catholic *fiesta*s versus Western soccer and folklore festivals" (p. 400). This observation suggests that Tapeño migrants only practice one identity – the identity of syncretized Andean religion – or the other – the identity of sports and cultural, not religious, festivals. However, it is not that the migrants have solidified one identity or the other, but that now that they have lived two different lifestyles, they have two identities that they practice at different times but live simultaneously.

The second case study is another article of Paerregaard's (2010) on research with migrants from Cabanaconde, a village in the Andes in southern Peru, who migrated to Washington, DC. The focus is on the Cabanaconde *fiesta* of the Virgen de Carmen in mid-July and how the *fiesta* is practiced both in Cabanaconde and by the 500 or so Cabaneños in Washington, DC. The *fiesta* of the Virgen de Carmen in Cabanaconde is a privately-sponsored event despite the icon being held in the church there. The *fiesta* itself relies on Andean traditions of reciprocity and kinship in that there are two *devotos* every year who organize and finance the *fiesta*. One or both of the *devotos* can reside in Washington, DC, and oftentimes migrants, including migrant *devotos*, return to Cabanaconde for the *fiesta*. The *fiesta* itself happens when the crops are sown and involves

offerings to the *apus.* However, since the Cabaneño migrants in Washington, DC tend to earn more than their rural counterparts in Peru, under their leadership, the *fiesta* has grown to become costlier and more materialistic than in the past. In this way, Paerregaard asserts that the migrants have in effect overtaken the religious world of Cabanaconde, redirecting the focus of the *fiesta* from showing respect to landscape deities in exchange for goodwill to showing off the improved economic and social status of the migrants. Those migrants who are able to attend, especially the *devotos* from Washington, DC, assert their prominence both back in Cabanaconde by serving as examples of inspiration for younger Cabaneños who want to leave and in DC after the *fiesta* among other migrant Cabaneños. They videotape the *fiesta* and play the tape repeatedly at migrant gatherings back in DC (Paerregaard, 2010).

In 2005, the Cabaneños in Washington, DC established the Cabanaconde City Association, or CCA, to celebrate the Virgen de Carmen so they do not have to "'depend on other Peruvians anymore'," in the words of one Cabaneño migrant (Paerregaard, 2010). The Cabaneños previously participated in the celebration of el Señor de los Milagros, typically perceived as a general Peruvian religious figure, but with the establishment of the CCA, they could host their own *fiesta* for their own saint on or around the same day the *fiesta* is typically held in Cabanaconde. The CCA also routinely supports projects back in Cabanaconde, although some of the migrants want to shift the focus of the CCA to the Washington, DC community, even going so far as to buy a plot of land for the CCA in the DC area. Older migrants who still plan on returning disagree (Paerregaard, 2010).

The third case study is Berg's (2015 work with migrants from the Mantaro Valley who moved to Miami, Washington, DC, and Paterson, NJ. Unlike with the last two case studies from Paerregaard, Berg did not center her work specifically around the religious practices of the migrants, although she does describe a few religious practices in the course of her book. However, other practices she describes in addition to the religious practices are useful for understanding how Peruvian Andean migrants construct their identity and sense of belonging. Throughout her work, Berg discusses how Andean migrants are always fighting against negative perceptions of themselves, such as the perception that they are antiurban and antimodern and the perception that they have backwards religious practices. These negative perceptions experienced by the Andean migrants are effectively highlighted in the documentation and legal migration process.

The process of getting their visas to the United States, for those Andean migrants who are able to go through the legal system, sometimes requires the aid of "migration professionals" to coach Andean migrants on how to be perceived as a good applicant. These migration professionals are not necessarily legal professionals but people who will help Peruvian Andeans navigate the legal system (Berg, 2015). "Good applicant" tends to serve as a euphemism for shedding signs of "indigeneity and rural backwardness," which can refer to traditional Andean clothing, Quechua or other indigenous languages, and religious and cosmological worldview (Berg, 2015, p. 76). Even after coaching, however, Andean migrants still face discrimination in Peru. In Berg's interview with Leonora, a migrant who had worked the airport counter in Lima, Leonora informed Berg that "'We could always tell who the migrants were. The lower-class Peruvians with a lot of luggage were going to Paterson'" (p. 94). "Lower-class Peruvians" often consists of Andean migrants, and these Andean Peruvians face further difficulties upon reaching the US. One example of this is their need for financial capital. According to Berg (2015), because many Andean migrants are saddled with travel debt and sending remittances to their relations back home, their time in the US was often focused on making money. Investing time in working limits time that can be spent on religious activities and *fiesta*s.

In terms of religious activities, as mentioned above, Berg (2015) does not go into great detail, but she does mention what she refers to as the transnational *fiesta* economy. Migrants participate in this *fiesta* economy in two main ways: through returning to Urcumarca in the Mantaro Valley to celebrate the annual *fiesta* and through watching *fiesta* videos. The first is a privilege reserved for those Andean migrants who have the documentation and the funds to be able to return to Peru with any frequency. Urcumarca celebrates their patron saint, the Virgin of the Nativity, every year in September. One of the migrants with whom Berg spoke, Melanie, had returned to Urcumarca twice for the *fiesta* of the Virgin of the Nativity since getting her US residency. The *fiesta* is the most important time for migrants to visit, and those migrants who could return to Peru would schedule their visits around the *fiesta*. These visits are important not only because they are an opportunity to visit home and display their upward mobility to other members of the community but also because migrants often promised reciprocity to the patron saint before leaving, and the best way to show respect to the patron saint for their assistance and protection is to return to Urcumarca for the *fiesta* (Berg, 2015).

For those migrants who are unable to travel, *fiesta* videos play an important role not only in venerating their patron saint but also in constructing ideas of identity and belonging. *Fiesta*s in the Andes are important social and cultural events, but they are also prominent spaces for constructing and reconstructing notions of identity and belonging. Though migrants bound to the US cannot participate in the *fiesta*, *fiesta* videos, which often include interviews with community members and footage of the landscape and rituals, always prompt conversation about the community amongst migrants in the US, as these videos are often shown at migrant gatherings in the US regardless of the time of year. These migrants often have vast video collections of *fiesta*s (Berg, 2015).

The fourth case study is Molero and Oshier's (2005) work on the significance of el Señor de Qoyllur Ritti for migrants from Ausangate in New York City and Paterson, NJ. El Señor de Qoyllur Ritti is an excellent syncretistic example of Andean cosmology and Catholicism because el Señor de Qoyllur Ritti is a representation of both Jesus and the *apu* Ausangate. The myth of el Señor dates from the 1780s. The story goes that a Quechua shepherd boy ran away from the abuses of his father and brother and met a blond white boy representative of Jesus. They decided to live on their own together, but when the Quechua shepherd boy's father came looking for him, the father discovered that the blond boy's clothes bore remarkable similarity to those of the Bishop of Cuzco. The bishop sent the local priest to investigate, and when the priest and the villagers, including the Quechua shepherd's father, went to the mountain peak where the children resided, they were blinded by a white light. The priest, feeling along the tree, found the bloody body of Jesus, and at that same moment, the little blond boy died. When they buried the blond boy at the foot of the mountain, an image of the crucified Christ appeared in the rock—el Señor de Qoyllur Ritti.

The mountain became a pilgrimage site for Andean inhabitants, where they would offer coca and brandy to *Pachamama* and the *apus* outside under the rock, but the Catholic church wanted to put an end to "peasant rituals," so they built a church on the sacred site and trivialized the Andean rituals. Cuzqueñan migrants in Lima decided to celebrate there after the growth of the pilgrimage, so they eventually acquired a church in Lima where a canvas drawing of el Señor de Qoyllur Ritti, which had blessed before his true image, resided, and where monthly masses in Quechua followed by Andean dances took place. They used videos, photos, and oral histories from Ausangate where the true image resided in order to make sure they were preserving authenticity.

The church in Lima also housed other Cuzqueñan saints, and they decided to perform an annual procession with el Señor and other Cuzqueñan saints in the streets of Lima ending at the cathedral in Lima (Molero and Oshier, 2005).

In 1994, the US brotherhood for el Señor de los Milagros in New York City organized for the image of el Señor de Qoyllur Ritti to travel to New York with a delegation, including a priest who would conduct mass in Quechua. The image and his delegation were delayed by a day, but despite that, Andean migrants living in Paterson greeted el Señor de Qoyllur Ritti at the airport. Some migrants displayed great devotion by being at the airport to greet the saint's image. After Mario and his brother heard of the delay, they went home, worked two shifts and got little sleep, and returned to the airport to greet el Señor de Qoyllur Ritti. There is video of the event, and Molero and Oshier (2005) claim that one can see the emotion: there was a spontaneous procession of sorts, with dancing, hugging, and applauding. After the organized procession in New York and the mass in Quechua, some of the migrants and some of the delegation who had stayed behind decided to establish an international brotherhood for el Señor de Qoyllur Ritti. Many migrant members of the brotherhood had not known about el Señor's history and had never travelled to Ausangate, but nonetheless, after the establishment of the brotherhood, many of the members reported miracles and apparitions of el Señor in dreams. Eventually, after Mario showed other members of the brotherhood footage from the shrine, 35 members decided to make the pilgrimage to Ausangate.

The fifth and final case study is that of Skar (1994) with Matapuquio migrants to other Peruvian communities and cities. She focuses on Andean cosmological rituals of the migrants from Matapuquio. Skar (1994) begins by describing a farewell feast for migrants. Part of the ritual of the feast includes offering coca to the *apus* for protection and luck for the person or people leaving Matapuquio. In this way, the departing migrants show respect to the *apus* while their families are in effect tying the migrants to themselves and the land. Upon leaving, the migrants also take with them a special talisman from the *apus*—an *illa.* An *illa*, usually a small stone, carries the protection of the *apus* with it because it has some of the life force of the *apus*. Because the *illa* is part of the *apu*, it is kept wrapped and hidden on one's person and treated reverentially. However, the *illa* becomes weaker the longer the migrant is away from the *apus*. Stones, such as the *illa*, are children of the *apus*, and as such, they always eventually return to their source. Migration is perceived in the same way; even though people leave Matapuquio, it is always assumed they will eventually

return. Crosses also have an important role in farewell rituals because they were often planted at high mountain passes and therefore seen as sentinels of the *apus*. In addition, crosses of wood can incorporate the spirit of the trees, which are perceived as representative of the Andean ancestors' continuity with the land.

Skar (1994) goes on to then discuss the lives of the Matapuquio migrants in the cities. There is concern for the migrants in the cities because they are no longer living off the land, which means they are not receiving the nourishing power of *Pachamama* and other *Tirakuna*. The migrants are now subsisting entirely on food from places outside of Matapuquio, which means they are consuming foreign energies that weaken their bonds with their land in Matapuquio. They also may no longer have direct contact with *Pachamama*, for the first thing many of the migrants do is go out and purchase new shoes. In Matapuquio the earth is sensitive and requires respectful communication, but in the cities, especially on the paved roads, this relationship is altered. However, *Pachamama* still wants to be shown respect and know that the migrants have not forgotten about her and their duty to take care of her. This is related to the notion of worshipping Santa Rosa, the patron saint of Matapuquio. She is strongly associated with *Pachamama* as she is the protector of migrants in other cities, including Lima, and she also represents the migrants in Matapuquio during their absence (Skar, 1994). The migrants need protection in their new surroundings because they have no knowledge of them and placed at the periphery of their spiritual landscape in Matapuquio.

The migrants themselves are still involved in life in Matapuquio, however. They participate in planning projects for Matapuquio as well as involving themselves in changes in land tenure in Matapuquio. Changing boundaries implies changing continuity with the ancestors (Skar, 1994). Their relationship with the landscape is necessarily different in the city. People from Matapuquio consider knowledge as inextricable from living in a specific place, so the migrants' first priority in a new area is to create bonds with the forces of that space. For migrants who acquire land in a place, that land is not necessarily linked to existing kinship relations but will exist for future generations; they are creating their own meaningful spaces that can assist them in establishing continuity in a new place. In this way, they can build upon their existing frameworks of sacred space and collectivity. This may be difficult, though, because life in the city is often in a state of continuous flux, so settling on a new space in the city can seem fleeting in comparison with life in Matapuquio (Skar, 1994).

Simultaneously to their involvement in Matapuquio, though, the migrants' perceptions of identity and belonging begin to change. They are exposed to new influences disparate from the sacred landscape, which leads them to begin questioning whether everything truly is a part of something else. They may start to perceive Matapuquio as backwards as they become aware of a separate reality in the city, and they might begin to conceive of their direction in life due in some part to luck as opposed to the strength of their relationship with the sacred landscape deities. The perspective from Matapuquio differs, with members of the community insisting that *apu* Tiklliu continues to influence the lives of the migrants, even considering the central government in Lima to be a kind of elder guided by the *apu* (Skar, 1994).

Much of this knowledge about the Andean cosmology is considered by those in Matapuquio to be a special resource that is usually hidden from outsiders, including the rest of Peruvian society. This may be in part due to fear that the rest of the world will use this knowledge against them, which is not unfounded in a society that has systematically discriminated against them. However, migrants who have been away from Matapuquio may come to perceive this knowledge as illegitimate. In those cases, those in Matapuquio may accuse them of forgetting, meaning their bond with the landscape and kin is lost as well as the knowledge. They have forgotten their responsibilities (Skar, 1994).

Identity and Belonging for Peruvian Andean Migrants

Taken together, these five case studies provide a wealth of knowledge for understanding how and why Peruvian Andean migrants construct identity and belonging in places where their religious practices are divorced from the context of the sacred landscape. The construction of identity and belonging must be viewed at multiple levels. Because Andean worldviews are generally grounded in the collective, much of my focus is on the construction of collective identities. Within that context, I have grouped together my analysis of collective identities in relation to belonging to the migrant community, belonging to the village community, and belonging to the national Peruvian community.

One method of establishing identity and belonging as part of a Peruvian Andean migrant community is to establish boundaries of collective identities. These boundaries differ depending on whether one is focusing on the migrant identity, the village identity, or the national Peruvian identity. In looking at collective identity as boundaries, first and foremost the land boundaries have

changed for Peruvian Andean migrants. The boundaries of identity construction do not have to be physical, but in a very real way for many Peruvian Andean migrants, they are. The boundaries of their sacred landscapes in Tapay, Cabanaconde, Ausangate, Urcumarca, and Matapuquio denote where the sacred deities lie. If collective identity is viewed as relational, then Peruvian Andean migrants have lost immediate touch with a fundamental connection—the sacred landscape. This is an experience not completely unique to Peruvian Andean migrants as there are other religious followers who get separated from their sacred spaces. This can include indigenous religions around the world whose believers consider their landscape not only sacred but animated, although the number of migrants who undergo this loss is limited.

Furthermore, the boundaries created by patron saints denote collective community identity even more than a territorialized Andean identity. The saint of Candelaria for Tapay, the Virgen de Carmen for Cabanaconde, the Virgin of the Nativity for Urcumarca, el Señor de Qoyllur Ritti for Ausangate, and Santa Rosa for Matapuquio all symbolize specific community identities. As evidenced by the case studies, whether it is returning to their home community for the *fiesta*, watching the *fiesta* videos, planning projects, sending remittances, or being involved in land tenure in the community, these migrants find ways to stay connected to their sending country and in a sense maintain connection with the sacred landscape itself. These activities can be perceived as acts of reciprocity with kin, community, and the sacred landscape, which in and of themselves reinforce the idea of a collective cultural past very localized in the Peruvian Andes through the reproduction of a cosmology integrated with the land but also integrated with the community and dependent on kinship and reciprocity. However, Paerregaard (1998) reminds us that instead of kinship bonds based on obligation, Peruvian Andean migrants in cities form networks through voluntary participation and personal friendship. This maintains a connection to the Andean past and its cosmology while transforming the meaning to base it on the desire to act instead of the obligation to act.

This, too, may be how migrants who come to think of their village as backwards start to conceptualize *Pachamama* and the *apus*. They may no longer consider themselves obliged to them for everything, as they are not being nourished directly by the land and not touching the land directly, but they may still show respect out of the desire to show respect. In this way, they are still identifying with their home communities and Andean cosmology, but they are forging a new sense of belonging to a deterritorialized migrant's perspective of the issue. However, this could also be

perceived that they are rejecting their background as a rural Andean migrant integrated with Andean cosmology and coming to identify with other spiritual forces instead. From the perspective of the Andean communities, this is the *olvido*, the forgetting. Peruvian Andean migrants may choose to sever any ties with the sacred landscape and the syncretistic saints, but through working to send remittances to their relations back in their communities, they may continue to maintain ties with their communities. In that sense, religious practices are simply on aspect of identity creation.

However, Andean cosmology and local saints could also be fundamental for some migrants. Skar discusses coming to understand knowledge about the sacred landscape as secret. From that perspective, it is possible migrants still feel connected with *Pachamama* and the *apus* but do not discuss it. This presents an obvious methodological problem, though, because if Peruvian Andean migrants are unwilling to discuss whether they agree with an Andean cosmological worldview, it is difficult to discern whether they are simply performing Andean identity through participation in *fiesta*s and *fiesta* celebrations in the United States, including *fiesta* videos, or whether they simply wish to maintain kinship connections without remaining connected to the land. In any case, whether they believe in Andean cosmological aspects of *fiesta*s or not, connection with specific patron saints serves to identify them as part of a specific Andean community and a specific Andean diaspora.

On the one hand, if Peruvian Andean migrants continued to feel a connection to their sacred landscape and their patron saints, albeit differently practiced than in Peru, it could provide a source of stability during the unstable process and ramifications of migration. On the other hand, as Berg (2015) points out, Peruvian Andean migrants may be perceived in the US as indigenous Latinx immigrants, which can limit how they are able to define themselves, at least from the outside perspective. If they begin to feel limited in defining themselves as from Cabanaconde or from the Mantaro Valley, they may either cling harder to their connections to their communities or allow those connections to break. If the idea that identity resolution depends on a harmony of self-identity and identity from another's perspective, this can severely limit how they feel they can identify. However, based on the case studies, it seems that many Peruvian Andeans continue to define themselves in relation to their communities in Peru and in relation to a diaspora of that community in the United States, which at least in this case would indicate that identity resolution is not entirely dependent on the other's perspective of identity and more on self-identification. This supports the idea of identity as self-concept. Conversely, this can influence the outsider's perspective of what

they consider the "Peruvian" identity; outsiders may come to associate Andean rituals and saints with being Peruvian due to some seizure of public spaces for these rituals.

The conceptualization of Peruvian Andean identity and belonging as related to particular Andean communities based on sacred landscape and patron saint ties is in contrast to the notion of a "Peruvian" identity. Berg discusses how the Peruvian government is attempting to conceptualize Peruvians abroad as a general category of el Quinto Suyu, after *tawantinsuyu*, the four-part division of the Inca Empire. However, Berg (2015) insists they are trying to glamorize what it means to be Peruvian while obscuring centuries of structural inequalities that Peruvian Andeans have faced. This brings us back to the guarding of secrets of Andean cosmology, which Skar established in part to be a cautionary measure against oppression and exploitation. It is possible that some Peruvian Andean migrants absolutely wish to maintain their ties to the sacred landscape but do not discuss it due to a lingering internalized fear of discrimination. This begs the question of whether Peruvian Andean migrants who begin to turn away from notions of Andean cosmology do so because they have truly come to believe in other religious concepts or because they feel it is better not to be marked by an Andean identity. However, for those who do continue to believe in an Andean cosmology and its syncretistic blends with Catholicism, Paerregaard (1998) observes eloquently that "to them, essentializing and reterritorializing their native village represents a way of fighting racism and cultural prejudices and overcoming Peru's historical and social schism" (p. 404).

Peruvian Andean migrants have largely succeeded in reterritorializing their sacred landscape in a number of ways. For those who are able to travel to return to Peru, they are able to directly maintain a physical relationship with the sacred landscape. However, *fiesta* videos constitute another method of reterritorializing the sacred landscape. Though it is not physical, it allows migrants to maintain an imagined territory of the sacred landscape through images and oral histories from people who have been there. *Fiesta* videos were created there, on the sacred landscape itself, about celebrations of patron saints who have largely been "Andeanized" through associations with *Pachamama* and the *apus*. Additionally, objects that have a physical connection with the landscape, such as the canvas drawing of el Señor de Qoyllur Ritti blessed by the true image as well as objects made from the landscape itself, can lend a sense of connection. In essence, secondhand contact with the territory can help maintain a connection, although it is never explicitly stated by the migrants.

Paerregaard (1998) thought that Tapeño migrants in Lima and Arequipa would want to maintain their ways of life, but he did not find this to be the case. "Endogamy, Andean rituals, territorial enclosure, and a strong sense of reciprocity had been replaced by exogamy, change, soccer and folklore, a dispersed pattern of settlement, and a lifestyle permeated by the attitude that each person is the architect of his or her own fortune" (p. 398). However, lifestyle changes may not represent Peruvian Andean migrants completely kicking to the curb their Andean cosmological worldviews. As noted earlier, migrants do not have to live two lives at odds with each other. To the migrants, it is not necessarily a schism of identity and belonging but living out multiple identities simultaneously.

CONCLUSION

Andean cosmology can continue to inform identity and belonging even after Peruvian Andeans have left the sacred landscape of the Andes through celebration of the localized patron saints of Andean communities as well as continued contact with communities and community members within the diaspora. The importance of the sacred landscape of the Andes goes beyond the physical landscape; it provides a worldview that it is possible to sustain outside of the territory itself. In this way, continued belief in *Pachamama* and the *apus* can continue to link Peruvian Andean migrants to their identity as Andean and more specifically their identity as community members. Additionally, this belief system can serve as a source of resistance to the weight of negative perceptions in both Peru and the United States where Peruvian Andeans may face perception as "backwards," "antiurban," and "antimodern."

Understanding how Andean cosmology informs Peruvian Andeans' identities and sense of belonging could be of use to the Peruvian government that conceptualizes members of the Peruvian diaspora as homogenous. Taking an Andean cosmological worldview seriously and not just representative of a "backwards" way of living and understanding the world is a first step in dismantling systemic racism against indigenous Andeans in Peru. Moreover, in a globalized culture where everything begins to seem homogenized, recalling that examples such as Andean cosmology and syncretistic religion do exist can illustrate that not everything can be or should be homogenous. Understanding how Andean cosmological beliefs influence identity and belonging is also increasingly relevant due to the growth of the Peruvian diaspora in recent years.

Future Research

Future research is necessary to improving the understanding of the Andean cosmological worldview in Peruvian Andean migrants' experiences. My research is severely limited in that I did not interview any Peruvian Andeans firsthand. Therefore, any future research must begin with ethnographic studies with Peruvian Andean migrants with Andean cosmology in mind. However, it is also necessary to recall that not all Peruvian Andean migrants have had the same experiences and do not have the same understandings of Andean cosmology. It may be irrelevant to the lives of many Peruvian Andean migrants, but further research is required to investigate how relevant it is to any Peruvian Andean migrants. Additionally, as established by Skar, knowledge of Andean cosmology and devotion to the sacred landscape can be perceived by Peruvian Andeans as secret, to be guarded from outsiders who might deride them for their "backwards" religious beliefs. Therefore, any future research should also address whether that is a perspective widely shared by Peruvian Andeans and Peruvian Andean migrants and what bearing that may have on their identity and belonging in the United States.

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