

a very ordinary life." Brettell had wanted her mother to write her life story during her retirement but Zoe had felt there was not much of a story to tell. Why would people be interested in her life, in her career? she had asked (p. xi). *Writing against the Wind* joins the best of anthropological life histories of "ordinary" people in giving us extraordinarily rich ethnographic insights into the diversity of ways of being human in particular times and places.

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**Karsten Paerregaard**, *Linking Separate Worlds: Urban Migrants and Rural Lives in Peru*, Oxford: Berg, 1997.

Reviewer: Susan Vincent  
Mount Allison University

Paerregaard begins his book by invoking the long-standing image of Peru as two separate worlds, one modern, official, urban, Spanish-speaking and capitalist, while the other is traditional, informal, rural, Quechua-speaking and peasant. While early treatments largely left the connections between the two worlds unanalyzed, over the past two decades these connections have been made the subject of anthropological research. Paerregaard contributes to this focus on connections by writing about migrants as the manifestation of the links between the worlds.

This is a wide-ranging book, replete with fascinating detail about the lives of the villagers of Tapay in the southern Peruvian highlands and of Tapeño migrants to Arequipa and Lima. The strength of the book lies in the way disparate aspects from sports to religion are shown to be linked together. Paerregaard refuses to portray an easy homogeneous picture of Tapeño society and culture. Instead he weaves polyvalent themes of history, ethnicity and folklore, religion, kinship, livelihood and politics around the movements of migrants to present the complexity of Tapeño identity. This is an ethnographic rather than a theoretical book: Paerregaard's framework is to present a multitude of perspectives on Tapeño identity, rejecting the functionalist representation of homogeneity of much past anthropological writing.

The major focus of the book relates to ethnicity and identity which Paerregaard demonstrates to be complex and dynamic. For example, a discussion of the impact of the immigration of a family of Spanish-speaking mestizos in the 19th century, a priest and his brother and sister-in-law, reflects a combination of history, migration, kinship, politics and economics. While the priest's children (!) were identified as local people (*runa*) since he could not acknowledge paternity, his brother's children continued to be considered *mestizo* and formed the local elite. This domination ended when return *runa* migrants, with a command of Spanish as well as of political and economic process, were able to displace the *mestizo* family. Paerregaard then goes on to demonstrate that the current state of ethnic identity is differently formulated from the inherited class/cultural/linguistic division of the past. Thus, in

Chapter 8, Paerregaard presents a discussion of ritual in both rural and urban spheres, demonstrating the dynamic and contextual hybrid that comprises folk identity.

Paerregaard's focus on migration allows for a rich analysis of the interplay between ideas deriving from rural and urban worlds. For example, in Chapter 7, a discussion of Catholicism and of conversion and reconversion to different Protestant sects in Tapay is set against a background of politics and migration. The necessary abstinence from drinking, music and dancing that Protestantism entails in Tapay leads to social isolation for converts, making it difficult to participate in rural social life. Thus, Paerregaard argues that Protestantism is linked to migrants, whose image of being Tapeño is less invested in close reciprocal social ties than non-migrants. Still, many lapse back into Catholicism as they attempt to adjust to a workable identity in the context of peasant life.

Much of the literature on rural-urban migration in Peru takes the economy as a central focus. While Paerregaard's concentration on identity overshadows economic processes, livelihood activities are a part of identity. Thus, the barter-based economy of Tapay is contrasted with the participation of migrants in capitalist markets. Barter and reciprocity do not imply harmonious social relations as, within Tapay, the vertical ecology is described in relation to the competing claims of the different regions in the community: there are social and political tensions between herders and agriculturalists, and among the agriculturalists there is rivalry over access to irrigation water. Clearly, the rural and urban economies are related as the wide range of activities in which Tapeños families get involved in order to meet their needs has extended to include urban work as migration becomes a part of a family's strategy. The family, like the community, is realistically portrayed, as he shows the contradictions and disagreements which arise as children and siblings grow up and have different experiences and expectations.

The message Paerregaard conveys is complex and even confusing. He is at pains to emphasize the great differences between urban and rural Tapeño lives and insists that these worlds are separate and incompatible. Nevertheless, he simultaneously shows the ways in which these worlds are intertwined and mutually defined as migrants and villagers move or visit back and forth, send agricultural produce or money to each other, and derive their identity from being from Tapay. On top of these opposing binaries of rural and urban, separate and united, Paerregaard adds a third: anthropologist and Tapeño. He notes that "An essential observation in my study of Tapeño villagers and migrants is that the separation of Peru's rural and urban worlds is as real to the people I studied as to myself as anthropologist" (p. 250). However, he says, unlike the anthropologist, the Tapeño is not disconcerted by living a contradictory double life and, indeed, finds that this "engenders strong feelings of unity" (p. 251). For the anthropologist, the living of contradictions is the problem to be analyzed and that is what Paerregaard has done here. There is no "dark side of the moon" (p. 250) as Paerregaard has shone a light on

both rural and urban worlds by focussing on the movement between them. Still, his emphasis on rural and urban as ineluctably distinct is odd, given the way they are shown to inform and define each other.

Still with respect to the anthropologist/Tapeño binary, Paerregaard makes the important observation that “While anthropologists call for a dissociation of our traditional concepts of culture and territory, Tapeños make every effort to localize their identity within a territory. While we deterritorialize and deconstruct culture, they territorialize and essentialize it” (p. 252). This reflexivity allows a critical understanding of both anthropological and experiential practice.

There are minor faults here. Although Paerregaard does not ignore women, I could wish that gender were a more significant conceptual tool in this analysis. Also, while the qualitative data are wonderful, the statistical data are poorly explained. From his total census of 1780 people, he chose a representative sample of villagers and migrants to survey (p. 16). The size of the survey is not given, nor is information about the bases on which the representative sample was chosen.

Overall, *Linking Separate Worlds* is a wonderfully rich and wide-ranging study that is as readable as it is informative. Researchers interested in Peru, migration and ethnographic writing will find this book a great resource.