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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Barriers to Sainthood: Mormon Families, Times, and Places Between Peru and Utah

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Anthropology

by

Jason Charles Palmer

Dissertation Committee:
Distinguished Professor Leo Chavez, Chair
Professor Susan Bibler Coutin
Associate Professor Eleana Kim

2021

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DEDICATION

To

Elvira, Sajama, Zelanda and Harika.

And to

el barrio.

¡Wallatas por siempre!

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- 2020 Sacred White Places of Color: Peruvians Striving For and Against Whiteness. Paper presented at the Anthropology In Transit Graduate Student Conference, University of California, Irvine, February 7-8.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Barriers to Sainthood

By

Jason Charles Palmer

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Irvine, 2021

Distinguished Professor Leo Chavez, Chair

Employing interdisciplinary literatures on migration, kinship, race, place, and religion, this dissertation explores the literal and metaphorical establishment of a city called Zion in a zone of migration between Peru and Utah. Zion, in its Mormon instantiation, is central to the people and families who belong to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. However, Zion is paradoxical because it is simultaneously exclusive and inclusive; racist and antiracist; material and spiritual; collectivist and individualist; colonialist and *indigenista*; and modern and antimodern. The following question drives this investigation: How do Peruvian Mormons navigate and complicate the paradox of Zion as they seek to become full Zion citizens?

Ethnographic data for this investigation was gathered through three summers of preliminary research (2014, 2015, and 2016) in Peru and Utah. This was followed by two, six-month phases of full-time participant observation with Peruvian Mormon congregations, one in Salsands, Utah in 2017 and the other in Arequipa, Peru in 2018. Data took three principal forms: fieldnotes of interactions at congregational activities,

photographs of these activities, and audio recordings of semi-formal interviews with people contacted through these activities.

After transcribing the interviews and coding them together with the fieldnotes and photographs, patterns began to emerge that depicted Peruvian Mormons as a community engaged in a contradictory web of battles for and against inclusiveness in Zion. Each chapter in this dissertation assesses different valences of these battles as the specific Peruvians followed seek to become recognized as unambiguously “Mormon” without losing what it means to be “Peruvian.” Both of these identities, already highly unstable, merge in different ways to form a series of complexly volatile personhoods that disrupt linear time, transnationalize static space, and rupture the modern boundary that creates kinship and religion as distinguishable domains. The concepts of *pioneer indigeneity* and *forever family* are among many that emerge as essential to elucidating the paradoxical nature of these personhoods—now sainthoods—and to dissolving their unwieldy crystallization into this dissertation’s most oxymoronic subject category: Peruvian Mormon.

INTRODUCTION

Miniskirts, Miracles, Migrants and Modern Mormon *Mestizaje*

Imagine your ancestresses, the prophetesses of the arid lands, before these starched traditions and pews too hard to pray from, who bled true ritual and birthed their own fierce souls at creation's crowning. (Morey 2015, 43)

Blood Kin and Religious Law

A mother birthing her own soul is a paradox and an affront to patriarchal tradition, biological notions of kinship, and modernist separations of matter and spirit. She is dependent on no one, not even for her own conception, yet we depend on her. Five keywords frame this foundational paradox, the paradox of simultaneously existing subjectively and intersubjectively, in short, the paradox of family: Tradition, Need, Will, Love and Us. “Tradition” factors prominently because Mormonism, the religion I studied anthropologically from 2014 to 2020 and within which my “ancestresses” and I were born and raised, is a tradition in denial of its traditionality, making it an ideal ground for paradox exploration. “Need” plays a role because, though human “biological needs” are imagined as universally uniform, the particular community of Mormons I study with—Peruvian Mormons—needs something more. “Will” becomes relevant because it denotes the future tense, the tense in which many Peruvians wish to live. “Love” is central because whom and how much one loves reveals the principal site of conflict in what Mormons call Zion, a paradoxical place of inclusive exclusion at the epicenter of what it means to belong as a referent of the final keyword— “Us.”

A significant difference between the modern Israeli and the modern Mormon constructions of Zion is that Israeli Zion is exclusively for a certain group of people while Mormon Zion claims to be universally inclusive. Striving for inclusivity and equality within a

Zionist framework built for exclusivity and inequality generates paradoxes that Peruvian Mormons navigate as they mentally, spiritually, and—often—physically travel towards the center of their religion. Whether they consider that center to be Utah, Peru, both or neither depends on their own particular formulations of Mormonism, a modern cosmology of relatedness founded in a conflagration of antimodernity.

Mormonism combines two domains—religion and kinship—that modernity constructs as not only naturally separate, but as falling on a natural hierarchy (Carsten 2013). The project of Western modernity is to subordinate religion to kinship by raising kinship—defined as DNA-sharing—to the level of science (Franklin 2002). US-style modernity, however, owes its very existence to religion’s insubordination. The US has historically defined itself and its laws against religious beliefs it considered inappropriately literal (Harding 2000) and kinship systems, such as Mormon ones (Gordon 2002), it considered as inappropriately “Oriental” and harem-like (Reeve 2015) as the Chinese immigrants it legally excluded (Delgado and Stefancic 2017). Indeed, “neither ‘blood’ nor ‘law’ has a meaning separable from the particular religious formations through which US modernity was constituted” (Cannell 2013a, 219). Mormonism is a laboratory for demonstrating that “modern” US legal and biological notions of family, including the US Customs and Immigration Services’ notions, are just as religious as Mormon notions. “US Mormonism might reconfigure our understanding of American kinship” (217) because it shows that the ontologies of “blood” and “law” vary widely even within US settler-colonist cultures.

If US Mormonism reconfigures kin understandings, Peruvian Mormonism rewires them completely, especially in a time when Peruvians are immigrating to the historic center of Mormonism, giving Utah the highest concentration of Peruvians in the US outside of the Eastern Seaboard (US Census Bureau 2010a). This rewiring happens in part because, while Mormonism

thinks of itself as a “modern religion,” *peruanidad* (Peruvianness) denotes indigeneity, and in the minds of many, indigeneity denotes premodernity. As scholar of indigeneity, Elizabeth Povinelli (2011) remarked,

Remember, the modern is said to consist of voices freed from the constraints of kinship, the premodern to consist of those constrained by kinship. The one is said to confront the other as two different ways of life. But this claim is false in this sense: kinship and family are not modes of sociality that constrain or are constrained. Kinship and the family are not things at all, but systems of social relations and their imaginary resources. (24-25)

My six years of research demonstrates that the very possibility of a category called “Peruvian Mormonism” tells a new story about the sorts of systems kinship and religion can be. My research shows how intersecting temporalities, migrations, geographies and subjectivities come into conflict when the paradoxes specific to Mormonism cross others specific to *peruanidad* producing a Peruvian Mormon family that is always approaching, but never arriving, at a future elsewhere, joyously athwart of both modernity and full siblinship with the Saints¹ (the Mormons).

The Data

I investigate these paradoxes ethnographically through the experiences I recorded digitally, textually, bodily, and spiritually as I participated in Zion’s establishment with Mormons and non-Mormons in Peru and Utah during two summers of preliminary research in 2015 (Utah) and 2016 (Peru and Utah), and over a year of official fieldwork from 2017-2018. In that year, my spouse, three daughters and I joined a Peruvian-dominated, Spanish-speaking

¹ Throughout this dissertation I follow the somewhat controversial examples of anthropologists such as Jonathan Rosa (2019) and Savannah Shange (2019a) in capitalizing the names of identities such as Saints, Indigenous and Black. I also capitalize the c in Color as in “people of Color” as per contemporary accepted practices among scholars of Color (Martinez-Cola 2020). However, I use lower-case for Spanish-language identities in accordance with that language’s conventions.

Mormon congregation in Salsands², Utah for the first six months and another in Arequipa, Peru for the final six. I also theorize from my background as a life-long “member of record” of the largest of dozens of sects that use the Book of Mormon as their holy text—the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (hereafter “the church”). In addition to my full inclusion in congregations that spoke English (Utah—nineteen years), Spanish/Aymara (Bolivia—two years), Mandarin (Taiwan—one year), Turkish (Istanbul—one year) and Japanese (Japan—five years), my life experience includes six years of participation in Spanish-speaking congregations in California and Utah as what Mormons call an “active member,” which involves near-daily communal activities.

In and around my official field sites of both Salsands and Arequipa, I conducted walk-alongs with Mormon missionaries, visited Mormon homes, socialized with temple construction workers and temple ritual workers, hung out with undergraduate anthropology students, worked alongside Peruvian Mormons in their professions, and traveled with Utah-born Peruvian Mormon young adults. In Arequipa, I participated in dozens of Peruvian events at which I was probably the only Mormon, such as Catholic pilgrimages, *carnavales* and the anthropologically irresistible patron-saint “cargo” festivals that involve ritual negotiations of “Catholic indigeneity” through dance and drink (figure 1).

² A pseudonym.



FIGURE 1: *Arequipeña*-brand beer splashing near a vat of *chicha* (corn beer) at a patron saint festival among migrants from the high-Andean town of Lari living in the mid-Andean city of Arequipa. January 2018³.

With Mormons in both Arequipa and Salsands, I joined and/or organized multitudes of worship services, talent nights, committee meetings, weddings, baptisms, “family nights,” open-houses, leadership trainings, FIFA World Cup parties, Self-Reliance Initiative courses, mountain excursions, *alfajor* distributions (a Peruvian cookie), and *polladas* (chicken-frying fundraisers), all of which were sweetened by the ubiquity of Inca Kola, the unofficial drink of Peruvian Mormonism both because it replaces alcohol (figure 2) in situations where drinking and dancing are still mutually inextricable—and where “Mormon indigeneity” is negotiated—and because Peru’s invention of its own cola is a mark of national pride.

³ All photographs are credited to the author unless otherwise noted.



FIGURE 2: A Peruvian Mormon family in Salsands, Utah interrupting a dance to toast their *peruanidad* with Inca Kola on Peru’s Independence Day. The toast was catalyzed when the DJ played Zambo Cavero’s emotional rendition of “*Contigo Perú*” (*We’re with You, Peru*). July 2017.

I mention Inca Kola because it mirrors the oxymoronic tinge of the categories “Peruvian Mormonism” and “Mormon indigeneity.” As their words will demonstrate in this dissertation, the Peruvians I worked with are fascinated by foreignness⁴, hence their desire for a Coca-Cola-manufactured soft drink and a US-based religion. But they are also intensely tied to Peru, hence their insistence that their cola be Incan and that their Mormonism be Peruvian. Much of their words were captured from digitally recorded semi-formal interviews, public meetings, and semi-

⁴ Xenophilia carries over into Peruvian naming practices. Though I only use pseudonyms in this dissertation, I try to evoke in them the often Anglophone quality of my interlocutors’ real names.

spontaneous focus groups. The tables below (tables 1 and 2) demonstrate interlocutor characteristics relevant to this dissertation's principal concepts—family, race, and migration. Numbers in the tables only represent the participants whose words happened to be digitally recorded and not the hundreds of other people with whom I interacted for purposes of this project, people whose experiences make up much of my 4,000 pages of single-spaced field notes and whose faces appear in many of my 16,000 project photographs. Numbers in the tables are not meant to be at all generalizable to greater populations, they merely paint a partial demographic snapshot of my study participants at the time of my last recording with them. For example, just because 272 of the 298 digitally recorded Peruvian Mormons in my study happened to attend church regularly at the time of my last recording with them, does not mean that the vast majority of Peruvian Mormons in the world attend church regularly nor does it mean that those specific participants continue to attend church regularly at the time of writing.

TABLE 1: Digitally Recorded Study Participant Characteristics

Digitally recorded participants: 542
Interviewees (including focus-group members): 468
Interviewees with less than one hour of audio: 368
Interviewees with between one and two hours of audio: 67
Interviewees with between two and ten hours of audio: 29
Interviewees with over ten hours of audio: 4
Non-interviewees (usually public speakers): 74
Females: 213
Males: 329
Over age thirty: 345
Under age thirty: 197
Spanish recordings: 273
English recordings: 60
Bilingual Spanish/English recordings: 24
Recorded in Peru: 183
Recorded in Utah: 140
Recorded over internet: 34
People who identify as Peruvian (hereafter “Peruvians”) ⁵ : 358
Peruvians with a “white-passing” ⁶ phenotype: 3
Peruvians still living in Peru: 269
Peruvians with family in Utah: 144
Peruvians who have never been to Utah: 233
Peruvians still living in Peru, but who have spent over six months in Utah: 16
Peruvians born in Peru, but who now live in Utah: 72
Peruvians born in Utah: 17
Peruvians with informal US entry (clandestine border-crossing): 4
Peruvians who have ever had some form of US immigration informality (usually a tourist visa overstay): 64
Peruvians naturalized as US citizens: 21
Peruvians who were Mormon ⁷ before immigrating to Utah: 47
Peruvians who became Mormon after immigrating to Utah: 15
Peruvian Mormons: 298
Peruvian Mormons who attend church regularly: 272
Peruvian non-Mormons: 60
Temple recommend-holding Mormons: 312
Temple recommend-holding Peruvian Mormons: 211
Peruvian Mormon women: 106
Peruvian Mormon single women: 50
Peruvian Mormon single mothers: 24
Peruvian Mormons who have not been ritually “sealed” to their coresident family: 148
Peruvian Mormon returned missionaries: 145
Peruvians born into an “already-Mormon” family: 57
Peruvians with at least one Peruvian parent who was also born into a Mormon family: 2
Peruvians who married an Anglo American: 9
Peruvians who married a Peruvian: 207
Peruvians who married a non-Peruvian Latin American or Latinx: 14

⁵ Individuals identifying as both Peruvian and some other nationality were only counted here as “Peruvians.”

⁶ “White-passing” refers to my US-socialized assessment, not Peruvian standards of whiteness.

⁷ “Mormon,” in this chart, refers only to individuals baptized into The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Individuals baptized into other sects of Mormonism are problematically counted as “non-Mormon.”

TABLE 2: Non-Peruvian, Digitally Recorded Study Participants

Anglo Mormons: 76
Anglo non-Mormons: 9
Native American Mormons: 1
Native American non-Mormons: 5
African American Mormons: 1
Non-Peruvian, Latin American or Latinx Mormons: 71
Non-Peruvian, Latin American or Latinx Non-Mormons: 21

The Sites

Both Salsands, Utah and Arequipa, Peru are home to about 20,000 Mormons, but Arequipa’s total population is 900,000 and Salsands’ is 29,000. I chose Salsands because it is the central node on my Peruvian Mormon in-laws’ (figure 2) migratory network. I chose Arequipa partially because my spouse’s cousin’s *arequipeño* spouse is the one who introduced me to Peruvian Mormon migration’s potential for unearthing paradox, but also because, in 2012, the Anglo prophet of the Mormon church slated Arequipa as the site of a future temple—the ultimate instantiation of *Zion’s paradox*. Zion is a paradox because, while it is inclusive, its physical manifestation—the temple—is exclusive. In following how *arequipeños* materially and spiritually contributed to the Utah-supervised construction of Peru’s third, and the globe’s 163rd Mormon temple, I witnessed this paradox unfold.

Mormon temples must not be confused with every-day Mormon meetinghouses (chapels). Mormon temples are the only places that offer the rites of eternal exaltation (the highest form of salvation), rites that culminate in marriage and that depend on heteronormative, Utah-centric definitions of “blood” and “law.” For the prophet and president of the church corporation to have selected Arequipa as a temple site and center of a “temple district,” local Mormons in the city must have first established an administrative “Zion” to the extent that most of their small congregations (branches) meeting in rented buildings had graduated into larger

congregations (wards) meeting in relatively luxurious chapels, architecturally designed in and funded by church headquarters in Salt Lake City. These wards must have further multiplied enough to be geographically bound into many, relatively self-governing “stakes of Zion” rather than remaining under one large, Utah-controlled “mission.” The conglomeration of these “stakes” (Arequipa has seven) each with their seven or eight wards, must have enough “worthy families” to warrant the multimillion-dollar construction of a temple. My argument that Mormon Zion-establishing destabilizes the modernist domaining of “religion” and “kinship” is encapsulated in Zion’s contradictory attempts to define the “worthy Peruvian Mormon family.” Only members of worthy families get to count as full citizens of Zion. Each of the seven chapters of this dissertation first analyses a different barrier against the full Zion citizenship of Peruvian families and then explores how these families paradoxically both subvert and fortify that barrier.

The Positionality

I formulate these analyses and explorations ethnographically, but also intuitively and tacitly based on my Mormon insider status. I was socialized an Anglo Mormon in Utah from birth, as were most of my great-grandparents, and, in 2001 at the age of 21, I entered into a temple marriage (also known as being “sealed” for eternity) with a Peruvian Mormon woman. Even then, she had more kin in Utah than I did. Working with my in-laws and my church gave me personal stakes in the phenomena I witnessed and staged during this project, erasing the line between participant observation and “observing participation” (Bernard 2011, 260). My presence as an anthropologist made Sunday school lessons into focus groups even as my presence as an “Elder”⁸ turned semi-formal interviews into ritual healings. Throughout my encounters with in-

⁸ Elder is the rank of lay priesthood I currently hold. All priesthood in the church is lay priesthood. There is no professional clergy.

laws, coreligionists, and strangers, my study participants became my Sisters and Brothers (Mormon kin titles of respect), leaders and friends. Though the space this data takes up on my hard drive can be quantified, the marks these lives leave on my *soul*—an inextricable coupling of body and spirit for Mormons—cannot. These marks are both wounds and talismans. They have been inflicted and deposited in ways at once brutally violent and sublimely healing. Such spiritually dissonant contradictions have been difficult to fathom and impossible to resolve, but they have driven my investigation of Peruvian Mormon Zion.

While my insider status makes my work merely contradictory, my outsider status makes it downright unethical. I am not Peruvian, yet I claim the authority to represent Peruvians. Not only that, but I have invented a category for “them” called “Peruvian Mormon,” a category that does not exist in their lexicon. “Peruvian” is a nationality, not a race, yet it stands in for race in my arguments that pit “Peruvian Mormons” against another group that I equally problematically call “Anglo⁹ Mormons” and that Peruvians call *americanos*, *gringos*, *anglos* or *anglosajones*. In reality, there are Peruvians of many “races”—*chinitos* (usually Japanese Peruvians), *morenitos* (Afroperuvians), *criollos* (Peruvians who emphasize their non-indigeneity), *mestizos* (Peruvians who emphasize a complexly “de-Indianized” indigeneity), and even, as I discuss in Chapter Two, “93 percent *indígenas*.” However, many long-time Mormons in Peru tend to identify “racially” in the same way that their US-influenced church identifies them, as “Latinos,” a word that makes almost as little sense in greater Peruvian society as the Mormon Indigenous identity of “*Lamanite*” that I will explain below.

⁹ My use of the designation “Anglo” does not imply descent from England. I use “Anglo” as the label for the group that might be popularly termed “white people” in the US because “Anglo” is the term that my interlocutors use when they are trying to be polite. When they are not, they say “*gringo*.”

“Peruvian Mormon” is also misleading because it leaves out other categories that are equally or more important to the people to whom I assign the label. The people with whom I worked, played, and prayed throughout the six years of this project might be “cosmopolitan tourists,” “aspiring authors,” or “engineering students.” For me to call them “Peruvian Mormons” is to imply that their Peruvianness or their Mormonness is the most salient facet of their multifaceted selves. This begs the question: Salient to whom?

Creating an “other” is the only way for white people to find what they call “self” (Todorov 1999, 254). In inventing a subject categorization to highlight a fundamental difference between “Peruvian Mormons” and “Mormons,” I risk using my ethnography to cause the harms that Indigenous scholars lament—“ethnography not only ascribes presumed difference between peoples, it then proceeds to capture and maintain it” (Blackhawk 1997, 73). Nevertheless, I accept this risk because by dichotomizing the relationship between Peruvian Mormons and just normal Mormons, I expose the racist regime that allows a “just normal” category of “Mormon” to exist, a regime that requires any deviation from the “original” sense of the category to procure a new modifier, such as “Peruvian.” This is one of the many racist regimes that my Mormon friends and family in Peru and Utah creatively contort in their everyday lives. Sitting uncomfortably with it is part of contemplating the paradox of Zion’s inclusive exclusivity.

Yet, as a cog in this regime, I cannot expose it without replicating it. Vine Deloria (1969) wrote that American “Indians have been cursed above all other people in history,” (78) not because they have the generational trauma of genocidal centuries, but because “Indians have anthropologists” (78). Well, Peruvians have Mormons, and to make matters worse, they have a Mormon anthropologist who calls them “Peruvian Mormons” in the hope that, if “Peruvian Mormon” can lose its oxymoronic tenor, maybe “ethical anthropology” can too.

Embracing these grotesque ethics, I wield “Peruvian Mormon” as less a subject category than as a counterhegemonic, alternate way. I do not think this way is an amalgamation of ways that can be parsed out into “Andean” ways, “Western” ways, “Spanish Catholic” ways, and “Mormon” ways. If I tend to create caricatures out of those ways—as I deliberately do with the “Andeans” who call themselves *jaqi* (humans)—I do not do so to imply that there is some incommensurably different “non-Western” causative ether suspended in the “Andean world.” Instead, I do so as a foil to begin to “anthropologize the West; show how exotic its constitution of reality has been; emphasize those domains most taken for granted as universal...make them seem as historically peculiar as possible; show how their claims to truth are linked to social practices and have hence become effective forces in the social world” (Rabinow 2010, 241). Therefore, I keep “Peruvian Mormon” because, though it means I will be anthropologizing Peruvians whom I see as uncommon, at least I will also be anthropologizing the thing I have in common with them—contradiction.

Marilyn Strathern (1980), the elite, white Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire for services to Social Anthropology (Girton College 2009), made vital contributions to the study of relatedness and gender. She cracked the universalistic façade of what turned out to be a very situated, British kinship sensibility by wielding her knowledge of a group in Papua New Guinea she essentialized as “The Hagen,” named after a German colonial officer. I am not one to judge whether the ends justified the means in her case, but I highly doubt their justification in mine. Coming from a position of US whiteness, I will get things dramatically wrong. In the caption of figure 1, for example, I have already obviously sustained the stereotype of the “drunken Indian” (De la Cadena 2000, 277). Furthermore, in depicting (below) the brown-skinned, *cusqueño* bishop’s misogynistic *abuso de decencia* (abuse of decency), I

unwittingly reinscribed, almost verbatim, an early twentieth century *cusqueño* racial discourse wherein “abuses were the immoral acts of racially defined subalterns, whose undomesticated instincts impelled them to mistreat the defenseless” (52). As if my whiteness were not bad enough, readers will also have to contend with my heteronormative, cisgender maleness. In chapters six and seven, I focus on single motherhood as I inadvertently reinscribe yet another racial discourse—*neoindianismo*—through my “portrayal of *mestizas* as ‘matriarchs by default’ allow[ing] these women to enter the pantheon of *cusqueñismo* as a ‘typical folklore’ attraction” (239).

Most elite representatives of Cuzco’s twentieth-century racial discourses considered themselves radically anti-racist. Still, each did little more than revamp the requirements of ascension on centuries-old hierarchies of difference. This dissertation—by its very nature an elitist document—cannot but do the same. Therefore, rather than hiding my reinscriptions of the very racism I am trying to combat, I offer them as a “critical case” (Flyvbjerg 2006). If an Anglo Mormon anthropologist with my level of critical consciousness can still not manage to stop perpetuating racism, then the Mormon church, led by critically unaware Anglo Mormons, has a problem. Highlighting this problem by depicting the contradictory resistance strategies of the people who bear its brunt will hopefully produce solutions that eventually outweigh the racism and sexism of the highlighting process. That a positive outcome can stem from the unethical power dynamics that arise when those who embody historic oppression cross boundaries to help those whom they consider oppressed is not without precedent. After outlining the sexism that pervades Paulo Freire’s boundary-crossing work, bell hooks (1994) wrote,

if we really want to create a cultural climate where biases can be challenged and changed, all border crossings must be seen as valid and legitimate. This does not mean that they are not subjected to critique or critical interrogation, or that there will not be many occasions when the crossings of the powerful into the terrains of the powerless will perpetuate

existing structures. This risk is ultimately less threatening than a continued attachment to and support of existing systems of domination. (131)

My contradictory positionality can ultimately be connected to what I call *Zion's paradox*. Adult Mormons who are “temple worthy” are privileged to make an oath inside their holy temples as part of a ritual called the endowment. They pledge to sacrifice everything, “for the building up of the Kingdom of God on the earth and for the establishment of Zion” (Mormons In Transition 2011, 30). They are then left to define Zion for themselves. On the one hand, Zion claims to be open to all and is supposed to ceremonially bind all humans into a universal kinship. On the other, its ultimate symbol, its architectural culmination, and the only spot of earth where such binding— “sealing”—can be done is the temple; the same temple that is only open to the most “worthy” of Saints.

The pinnacle of Zion’s inclusiveness lies inside one of the most exclusive buildings on the planet. This foundational paradox does not exist without ramifications. In Mormon spaces, I have witnessed—and been complicit in—the vilest racism, the most sadistic anthropocentrism, and the most divisive sexism of my life all in the name of Zion and its discriminatory definition of “worthy.” Yet, also within Mormonism, and sometimes on the same day, I have experienced a unity that I can only describe as “the sacred” and that Mormon scribes characterize as a place, a place called Zion. How can a single concept—Zion—encapsulate so much evil and so much good?

Second Bishop

An example from my six months in Peru in 2018 will provide context as to how my positionality was a constant reminder of Zion’s evil goodness. Not six days after arriving in Arequipa, a city nestled at 7,500 feet above sea level on a 19,000-foot-high volcano (figure 3,

background) in the Southern Andes of Peru, my spouse and I found ourselves in the bishop's office of the large, contextually mismatched chapel of *Barrio Periféricos*¹⁰, the name of the ward (congregation) to which we were assigned by virtue of happening to choose an Airbnb rental that was within its socio-economically diverse cartographic boundaries. Bishop Paucar interviewed us, ostensibly so that he could get to know us and transfer our electronic membership records to his ward, but really so that he could size us up for one of the lay leadership roles that all members play in their wards, including himself.

I explained my project and that it was the principal purpose for our being in Arequipa. Peru is a very anthropologized nation and anthropologists have held key government and anti-government positions in Peruvian history (De la Cadena 2000). In Peru's Andean region particularly, people from all rungs on the inverted topographic hierarchy of difference (the higher the elevation of one's hometown, the lower one's status) know far more about anthropology than their US counterparts. Also, the extremely high value Peruvians place on formal education as a means of "de-Indianization" (6) increases their likelihood of having some anthropological training. In fact, Peruvians in the US are more likely to have a bachelor's degree than the greater US population (López 2015). Consequently, once Bishop Paucar announced my project to the ward, collective understandings of anthropology led to running jokes that I was "observing" everything everyone did like a spy. "Watch out, he wrote down what you just said! You're going to be the comic relief in his ethnography," was a common quip.

Bishop Paucar, a *cusqueño* migrant to Arequipa (a significant decrease in elevation) who made his living delivering cellphone-minute vouchers to kiosks throughout the city on his motorcycle, had joined the church only ten years prior and was already in his fifth year as bishop

¹⁰ Pseudonym.

(the highest position in a ward). He, his spouse and two school-aged kids lived alone as a nuclear family in an overcrowded tenement five minutes in taxi from our flat. Though his family-shape matched the norm for those usually “called” to be Mormon bishops, his income level did not. Usually bishops are selected from neighborhoods like our gated and guarded one (figure 3), a subdivision that caused ward members, whenever I would tell them our address, to stick up their noses in mock haughtiness and say “*pituco*”—Peru’s own epithet for white snobbishness.



FIGURE 3: Our neighborhood is to the right of the fence. Very few *arequipeños* own cars, much less garages. Misti is the name of the volcano in the background. June 2018.

In the bishop’s eyes, my whiteness and chosen place of residence meant that I was the geographical and racial embodiment of leadership. Indeed, there is a global “tendency among Latter-day Saints of color...to defer in decision-making to those...who are white heritage Mormons with generations of LDS ancestry” (Straubhaar 2018, 107). I was terrified that this “tendency” would land me a problematically high leadership position in *Barrio Periféricos*, one

that would not only confirm the central role whiteness plays in Mormonism but place me in that role.

Instead, the bishop relayed to me the Lord's "calling" that I was to become the First Councilor in the Elder's Quorum presidency. That position gave me credibility and access. I attended the highly sensitive Ward Council Meetings and even the top secret, male-only Executive Committee Meetings, all while avoiding the level of authority that would have skewed interpersonal power dynamics even more unethically than they already were. "First Councilor" is not a big job in any of the many age and gender-specific presidencies that make up Mormon congregations. Furthermore, compared to other ward organizations, Mormons never expected much of Elders Quorum. Unlike most Mormon organizations for males, there was no specific age at which one automatically graduated into the next highest group, in this case, the High Priests Group. Elders Quorum was, therefore, a group of males over the age of 18 whose distinguishing characteristic was that they were not righteous enough to be High Priests. I write of this in the past tense because, after three months as first councilor, I heard the church decree from the global broadcast of its 186th semiannual General Conference—always convened at Salt Lake City's Temple Square—that the Elders Quorum and High Priests Group would now be combined into one greater group uncreatively dubbed, "Elders Quorum."

Current presidencies from both groups were thereby dissolved and stake presidents (the leadership rung that presides over multiple wards) were instructed to "call," post haste, a new presidency for each ward's "Super Quorum," as our *arequipeño* stake president more aptly named the new "Elders Quorum." The week after this announcement, the stake president spoke in our ward's "sacrament meeting" (Mormon mass) and hyped up this Super Quorum. Gone were the days of Elders Quorum members sitting idly by while the bishopric and the Relief

Society (the organization for adult females) did all the work in the ward. The new Super Quorum president was to not only take charge of his quorum, he was to be a “second bishop” for the entire ward. Specifically, the new Super Quorum president was to be the “bishop for adults” so that the real bishop could focus on what his priority was always supposed to be—the youth, the future of Zion.

A week later, I—the most transitory and least orthodox member of the congregation—stood in front of my coreligionists to be recognized as the new Super Quorum president. I do not provide this story as an example of white hegemony (though it is a great one). I provide it as background for the anecdote I relate below. That anecdote is a peek into the depth of evil Mormonism perpetuates, and I will contrast it with another—exemplifying the height of good—so that I can then discuss further the paradox of Zion that lies beneath Mormonism, a “modern” religion that seems to unite good and evil with as much finesse as it unites body and spirit (the very entities that modernity decouples).

On May 13, 2018—Mother’s Day in Peru—and about one month into my tenure as the Super Quorum president, I arrived home from church to see this WhatsApp message (figure 4) from Bishop Paucar:

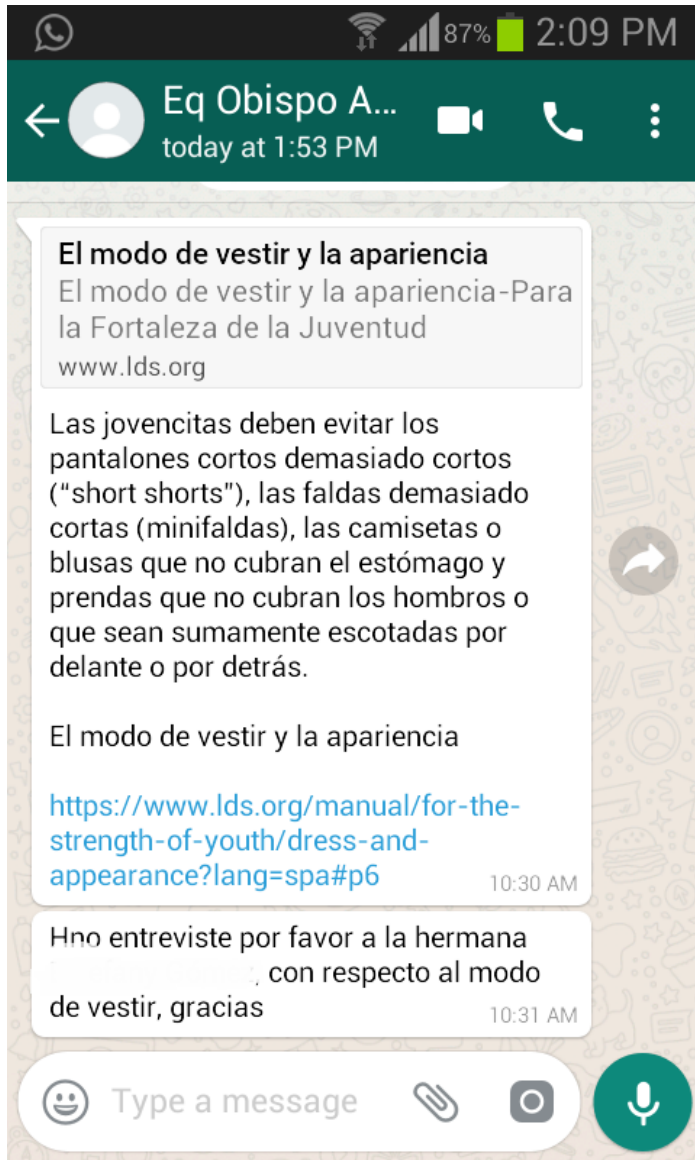


FIGURE 4: Bishop Paucar’s WhatsApp message. May 2018.

It is a link to the church’s modesty-in-dress standards from their web-based pamphlet, *For the Strength of Youth*. Their English version states, “Young women should avoid short shorts and short skirts, shirts that do not cover the stomach, and clothing that does not cover the shoulders or is low-cut in the front or the back” (The Church 2011, 7). The bishop followed this up with the short comment, “Brother, please interview Sister Safira Gonzalez regarding dress standards, thanks.” Apparently, under the bishop’s weekly surveillance of the female bodies in

his congregation, Safira's was detected as being in a state of disrobe. Furthermore, this detection seems to have happened, given the timestamp, *during* sacrament meeting—the most sacred time of the Mormon week—when Mormons are supposed to be meditating upon their own indebtedness to Jesus and not on the unwieldy nature of the female body (Bordo 2004).

I felt sick. How could a religion that believes in a God who “denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female...and all are alike unto God both Jew and Gentile” (Smith 1830, 109) also believe that I, an Anglo man, should deny a Peruvian woman the right to an un surveilled embodied experience in what was supposed to be the most sacred moment of her week? I had a great relationship with the bishop by this point, and I knew he hated being in the tower of the panopticon (Foucault 1995) just as much as he hated dragging me in there with him, but he felt dutybound to detect and exclude impurities and miniskirts in his little piece of Zion. I succeeded in convincing him to ask a female leader to talk to Safira instead, but the nausea in the pit of my stomach remained.

Jesus Asked Rosa

On other days, I have had Mormon experiences as uplifting as this was disturbing. In many interviews with Peruvian Mormons, my tears of joy joined theirs as we became unified through the unconditionally inclusive power of sacred storytelling. Rosa, a member of *Barrio Periféricos*, provides an example. She is a single mother who owns a soccer jersey sewing business she founded in Arequipa's historic downtown. She is the boss of at least three male employees, one of whom would occasionally interrupt her storytelling to ask accounting questions as I sat with her and her sixteen-year-old daughter, Jeni among industrial sewing machines and bits of fabric. Mormon missionaries had baptized Rosa before Jeni was born, but

she felt forced into that baptism and never went back to the Mormon church. I recorded our conversation¹¹ in June 2018.

Church wasn't what I needed. And no matter what church I went to—like my brother's church, what was it called? The Church of the Living Water? —it didn't sit right with me. And I did not remember the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints where I had been baptized. It was erased from my mind. But one morning when I was reading the Bible, I don't know why, but I guess I felt much more sensitive, and the light of the sun crossed my patio and entered my room, and it was so strong. There was something strange, *Hermano*, [Brother Jason] because when I started to read, my eyes looked at the letters with a brilliance around the edges. Each letter shone. I said, "it's probably just the light from the window that is making this happen," but the more I continued reading the scriptures, the stronger I felt like I was actually inside them.

Suddenly, *Hermano*, I started to feel that it wasn't me who was reading, instead it was someone else who was reading to me. When I heard the voice, I got so scared that my whole body went cold. "What? All this thinking about the Bible is driving me insane. This cannot be happening." I looked at the scriptures again, and again I felt the same, very strong voice. But this time it wasn't with all that fear, rather, this time I tried to listen to the voice, and it wasn't my thoughts. I felt the voice of the Lord, and I, in that moment, finally broke into tears, *Hermano*. It was as if I were feeling that He was there, that He was talking to me. Then He asked me if I loved Him. [crying] Those were the same words He spoke to Peter, "in reality, do you love me?" And in that moment, I finally asked myself if it was true if I really loved Him. I answered Him with all of my love, "yes!" [long pause, recovering from emotion].

That is how it happened, *Hermanito* [Little Brother]. I told Him, "Lord, I love You, but where should I go?" That is what I asked Him, "where do You want me to go if You want me to go somewhere?" That is how I talked to Him. "If I go with my mom to the Catholic church, I don't feel right. Where do You want me to go? But Lord," I said, "Lord, today I'll make You a proposal: The first person that You send to the door of my house and the first one who knocks on my door, I will ask him what church he goes to. And if he goes to the Catholic church, then so will I, and I will be forever faithful. I will show You how much I love You. And if it is my brother, *ni modo* [oh well], I'll go to his church. Even though I don't like it, I'll go."

And that is the proposal I made, *Hermano*. And so, I waited for someone to knock. So much uncertainty! "Who will be the first one to knock?" My brother was going to come at 4:00 on the dot supposedly, so "ay, please let 4:00 never come!" But nobody knocked. And it was 4:00. Suddenly—a knock! And my brother is extremely punctual. "Wow, it must be my brother. Ay, what have I done!?" But when I open the door, it was the missionaries! *Hermano*, when I saw them, I didn't think, "oh no, anyone but them!" Instead, I felt an INMENSE joy that welled up from I don't understand where. Only then did I remember that Mormon missionaries even existed. I told them, "I am waiting for you."

¹¹ All interview transcription excerpts were originally in Spanish unless otherwise noted.

As a missionary-*cum*-anthropologist, I have often thought of my former activities as ethnocide and my current ones as alterity-extracting abuse. However, being with Rosa in her telling of Jesus' unconditional love answered through missionaries, included me in shared joy. Her story created Zion between us in her sewing shop, not despite our differences, but because of them.

Theorists of radical love understand this. As Audre Lorde (1984) wrote, “the sharing of joy, whether physical, emotional, psychic, or intellectual, forms a bridge between the sharers which can be the basis for understanding much of what is not shared between them, and lessens the threat of their difference” (56). Zion is supposed to do what radical love does. It is supposed “to recognize the notion of difference as a dynamic human force, one which is enriching rather than threatening to the defined self” (45). Yet, Zion, like Lorde's US context, is equally founded upon “the belief in the inherent superiority of one pattern of loving and thereby its right to dominance” (45). For many Mormons, the resurrected Lord, Jesus Christ himself follows that superior pattern, which means He is not supposed to speak audibly to anyone but to the fifteen elite men He has called as His “modern prophets” and apostles. The fact that He would break the pattern to include Rosa, a member of one of the most excluded identities in contemporary constructions of Mormon Zion—a *mestiza* single mother—enveloped me in an overwhelming feeling of inclusiveness as intense as my previous revulsion. I gave in to this feeling and cried with her.

In succumbing to this “collective effervescence” (Durkheim 1964, 220) through togetherness that Durkheim defines as the sacred and that Mormons call “feeling The Spirit,” I practiced what Willerslev and Suhr (2015) call “methodological faith” (20) in order to experience a “radical reorienting shift in perspective” (20) gleaned not through the alterity of the

ethnographic other, but through “a form of otherness that does not belong to oneself or the ethnographic other, but entirely subsumes them both” (18). Feeling this unity to others and to an otherworldly otherness—God—is not only part of my situated praxis, but it is also the epitome of what Mormons call Zion. Zion is both *the* sacred, and *a* place. This, along with its inclusive exclusivity, is Zion’s paradox.

Justifying Israelite Occupation

The same Bible that Jesus read to Rosa states,

Not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, ... they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth... now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city. (Hebrews 11:13-16)

Mormons call this city, “Zion” and they not only build it, but they also migrate across earth toward it. Given that migration involves physical movement between material locations in space, connecting it to the realm of religion can seem contradictory from a US Protestant perspective wherein the religious is imagined as transcending the material (Cannell 2006). For Rosa and other converts to an international, US-based religion that does not distinguish between the material and the spiritual in any simple fashion (Cannell 2013b), religious migration is even more contradictory.

Lefebvre (1992), a preeminent scholar on space, could not discuss society separately from a spatial notion of the sacred. Durkheim (1964), a preeminent scholar on religion, could not discuss the sacred separately from a situated notion of society. He defined religion as “a unified set of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community all those who adhere to them” (37). This language of unity and “single moral community” is the togetherness

felt in a space as it becomes a place (Dubisch 1995). Such a unified society undergirded by an ineffable, sacred solidarity is the ideal of the city of Zion. Yet, within Mormonism, this city wants to exist as if it did not index a specific Utah-centrism; as if it were truly universal; and as if the “collective” aspect of the sacred could be placeless and still include the “effervescent” aspect. Consequently, in Mormon Zion’s modern striving for placelessness, certain bodies seen as too placeable—such as the Indigenous bodies of a wild “space” before it crystalizes into a holy, ordered “place”—become foreign bodies in Zion.

Conflict between current inhabitants and “chosen” inhabitants has been the problem with Zion since the ancient Israelites. The Bible is full of Zion-evoking scriptures, like the above, that have been appropriated by different groups—the US settler-colonists, Spanish conquistadores, African slaves and contemporary migrants—in order to highlight and naturalize the narrative motif that helps their case. Whether they focus on the actual liberation from Egypt, the journey in exile, or the God-given right to displace the non-chosen, Indigenous people currently inhabiting the promised land (Grau 2013), depends on their purpose. At the time of European contact in the early 1600’s, there were some fourteen separate Numic-speaking nations living in what is present-day Utah with a total population as high as 44,000 (C. Smith 2011). The Mormon mythology of the 1847 pioneer crossing of the Great Plains to a Salt Lake Valley that, despite this 44,000, was somehow uninhabited, is in line with “much Christian theology and preaching [on Exodus], [which] stays with the exodus and omits the settlement” (Grau 2013, 12). The “Moses” of this Mormon exodus, Brigham Young, joins a wide range of US icons who have achieved that moniker including George Washington and Harriet Tubman. These Moseses are seen as liberators, not conquerors, yet when their followers happen to be colonists of an already-inhabited land, they tend to see themselves as the new Israel “called” to bring forth a new nation

with divinely appointed borders that exclude existing indigeneity to produce a new indigeneity. In this way, “European notions of history, both theological and pseudo-theological, negated the possibility of the true existence of earlier civilizations,” (Robinson 2000, 86).

This is where *Zion-seekers* like Harriet Tubman distinguish themselves from *Zionists* like Brigham Young. I take such a distinction from one of the world’s most preeminent, yet least published experts on Zionism, Kwame Ture (1990). Ture considered Zionism to be a modern colonialist political philosophy that hitched a ride on British imperialism and, especially during the 1948 establishment of the state of Israel, tricked Jewish settler-colonists into thinking that it was, and had always been, part of their religion. According to Ture, a “Zionist religion” is an oxymoron because “Zionism must come to understand that it cannot claim or have anything to do with religion if it doesn’t seek to transcend geographical boundaries. And it does not. As a matter of fact, it makes itself boundaries” (min. 20:21). However, it is my claim throughout this dissertation that—precisely because of its oxymoronic power—Mormonism, unlike Judaism, is indeed a “Zionist religion.” It is “Zionist” in its geographic boundary-making, and it is “religious” in its transcendence of those same boundaries.

Mormonism’s own foundational text primed it for Zionist thinking. The Book Of Mormon depicts a light-skinned, Israelite family led by Lehi who is of the subtribe of Manasseh. He, his wife Sariah, their four sons (Laman, Lemuel, Nephi and Sam) and their unnamed daughters fled the Babylonian captivity of Jerusalem to arrive at what many Peruvian Mormons argue was an uninhabited American continent in 600 BCE. After Lehi’s family inhabited the Americas, Laman and Lemuel became cursed because they did not practice proper kinways. Their skin was darkened. Nephi prophesied that, though his siblings’ brown-skinned descendants—the Lamanites—would end up killing off all his light-skinned descendants—the

Nephites—the Lamanites would one day be restored to the true kinways as contained in the Book of Mormon, and their skin would be restored to whiteness.

Nephi also prophesied that the mechanism of this restoration would include European conquistadores. Their propitious removal of the more wicked among the Lamanites (the Amerindians) would prepare the way for a Euro-American nation-state that would one day allow for the religious freedom necessary to bring the Book of Mormon out of its hidden New York repository and into the heathen hands of the Amerindian descendants of its dark-skinned antagonists. In the 1830's, this book provided New York settler-colonists—who fancied themselves members of the scattered Israelite subtribe of Ephraim, Manasseh's older brother—an answer to Musa Dube's question in her feminist reading of Exodus, "Does this text encourage travel to distant and inhabited lands, and if so, how does it justify itself?" (2000, 57). In other words, the themes from Exodus as expressed in the Book of Mormon, and later in the actual Mormon exodus to Utah, provided Anglo Mormons (Ephraim) one justification for their expropriation of the lives and lands of the Ute, Navaho, Shoshone, and Paiute (Manasseh).

The other justification was that Mormons were helping the US—the bastion of religious freedom that ancient, white, Amerindian prophets foresaw—fulfill its divine destiny of "Westward expansion." This was ironic because the US considered Anglo Mormons and Native Americans equally inimical to this expansion. That Mormonism and the US national narrative have always been conflicted co-constructs stems from the fundamental paradox of US modernity: While it claims secularity, it demands religiosity (Levitt 2009). The specific kind of religiosity required has shifted over time and Mormonism was paramount during many of those shifts. For example, when sitting Mormon apostle, Ezra Benson was appointed to Eisenhower's cabinet in 1952, his utopic, nuclear family life was plastered on Time magazine (Time, 1953).

This meant that the US public not only acknowledged as successful the post-polygamy, Mormon struggle towards “American family values” but that, through Benson’s fame and the global popularity of the Tabernacle Choir, which Ronald Reagan dubbed “America’s Choir” (Mueller 2017, 228), Mormons became the epitome of the wholesome religiosity and whiteness that defined the nuclear US family against the atheist USSR commune (Mason 2013).

Mormonism became so solidified in its role as the poster-religion of US family values, that it codified many of these into doctrines, making it unable to change as counterculture movements shifted the US from under its feet. Today, for the New York Times culture critic Lee Siegel (2012), “there is no stronger bastion of pre-civil-rights American whiteness than The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints” (para. 4). Yet, while Mormonism may represent a “whiteness grounded in a retro vision of the country, one of white picket fences and stay-at-homes moms” (para. 3), it remains in lockstep with the contemporary US in most areas of welfare policy and doctrine-making especially as these relate to privileging the individuation of nuclear family and punishing dependency on “extended family.” Since these family types map statistically onto racial types in the US (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2012), the US “legal” and Mormon “religious” definitions of “family” coincide perfectly to privilege white families and to punish families of Color.

The Place That the Lord Chose

Ironically, as lampooned in dozens of virulently racist mid-1800’s political cartoons (Bunker & Bitton 1983), Anglo Mormons used to be counted among those families of Color. In the days of polygamy, not only were Anglo Mormons considered literally to be of a non-white race (Reeve 2015), but they were also considered foreigners. The latter stigma was not unfounded. Mormon missionaries had immense success in getting converts from England and

Scandinavia in the mid 1800's, and at that time, this article of faith, which Mormon youth all over the world still memorize, was taken to mean that global Mormons must immigrate to Utah: "We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion (the New Jerusalem) will be built upon this continent" (Smith 1842, 710).

Zion, at the time my own great-great-grandfather was baptized in England, was considered Nauvoo, Illinois (Gleave 2010), but when he got there in 1844, the Saints were already planning what would become their storied trek to Utah. By 1870, when the US foreign-born population was thought to be dangerously out of control at 14.4 percent (US Census Bureau 2010b), which is as high as it ever would get, Utah Territory's foreign-born population was a whopping 35 percent (US Census Bureau 1880, 426). This foreignness was one of the many things that had to stop in order for Mormons to enter mainstream (white) US society. Therefore, in 1894, the church began sending ever more unequivocal messages to its worldwide membership that Utah was no longer Zion (Mortensen 2011). These messages worked, and by 1970, foreign-born percentages were down to 2.8 percent, even lower than the national percentage of 4.7 (Perlich 2002). Soon, however, church leaders began to note a slight uptick in immigration to Utah, especially from Latin America. This was troubling given that Latin America implied indigeneity. Indigeneity threatened to expose what Utah's spirit of "pioneering" had so carefully shrouded in its Exodus-like origin myth. Therefore, the president and prophet of the church at the time felt compelled to publish the following in the church's magazine:

In that southern world of Zion, we reminded them that Zion was all of North and South America... The "gathering of Israel" is effected when the people of the faraway countries accept the gospel and remain in their native lands. The gathering of Israel for Mexicans is in Mexico. (Kimball 1975, para. 18)

The US national percentage of foreign-born later surged toward its 2010 level of 13 percent and Utah would not be immune to that increase. This is partially due to the fact that, after

1980, the Mormon message took off like wildfire in Latin America, which went from under 200,000 members to over five million by 2011 (Santos 2011).

An implicit part of that message continues to be the centrality of Utah because this centrality is imprinted upon the very bodies of the message's Utah-born vectors. In 2008, 80 percent of the 60,000 Mormon missionaries around the world were US-born, a percentage much higher than other US-founded evangelizations (Stewart 2008), such as Pentecostalism's predominantly local missionary movements (Maxwell 2006). If the September 2018 Facebook post of Mexico City's Mormon Missionary Training Center (MTC) is any indication, this percentage remains fairly stable: "We have in the MTC more than 700 North Americans and less than 100 Latinos. We love them all." As a result of these mission demographics, Peruvian Mormons have a word for Utah. They call it "*la fábrica*" (the factory), meaning the production plant from whence Mormon bodies are reproduced and distributed to the world. The cosmopolitan, super-migratory bodies of Anglo Mormon missionaries from Utah cannot help but sanctify the image of Utah in nascent Mormon dreams. This image is further etched into the minds of Mormons like Rosa by the captivating cinematographic depictions of Utah Mormonism, together with the sacred strains of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, that fill her chapel in Arequipa through closed-circuit satellite streaming every six months during General Conference. The distinctive Salt Lake City temple is featured so prominently in these depictions that it—and the marriage "sealing" rituals it symbolizes—comes to stand for the entire image of Utah in Rosa's "Mormon Dream."

ROSA: My greatest desire, and I know that with time the Lord will not deny me it, because I try every day [crying] and I want to be a temple worker—maybe get sealed to a husband because I have not been able to get myself a husband, but I know He will concede me one—my highest desire is to go to Utah because I believe that place is a very sacred place on the earth wherein I believe it would be a privilege to be, the biggest blessing, being able

to be in that temple. I like how they direct the conferences. The places that they focus on are so beautiful. I have faith that I am going to get there. And I will try my hardest as well.

JASON: Where did you learn of Utah, just through the General Conferences?

ROSA: Because of the conferences, because maybe I have also read in the scriptures that it is a city that is, I don't know, sacred place, where maybe we should go, right?

JASON: Like Zion?

ROSA: Yes, yes, that is why. It is the place that the Lord chose. It was the desire that the Lord had that the church be established in that place and no other place, right? If He chose it, it must have been a special place. And sacred, I believe.

JASON: And what would be the first thing you'd do if you went to Utah?

ROSA: I think I'd go to a conference, and to the temple in order to maybe do ordinances [rites], or maybe get sealed [laughs], that was my desire, to get married over there. I don't have bad taste.

JENI: She'll grab the first man she sees when she gets off the plane, "are you a Mormon?" "Yes." "Let's get hitched!" [laughs].

ROSA: He'll sweep me off my feet!

Rosa's mention of marriage in relation to her Mormon Dream demonstrates how the centrality of nuclear family can become inextricable from the centrality of Utah in these dreams. Combine this attraction to Utah with Peru's existing love of foreignness (Ara 2017) and penchant for emigration in general (Altamirano 1990), and it is easy to see how the advent of Mormonism in Peru dug "canals" allowing for inadvertent "flowback" to Utah.

American Mormon Dreams

The oft-critiqued (Gorman 2016), aquatic designation of immigrants as "flows" or "streams" rather than humans with agency is still a productive metaphor among migration scholars for understanding how canals are worn into the landscape in ways that tend to channel subsequent migrations. Migratory channels are important in explaining, for example, why "the

same Mexican states that supplied workers for the Bracero Program are the same source of most Mexican immigration today,” (Chavez 1997, 10), and how household cost-benefit analyses could still rule in favor of immigration to the US even as doing so becomes increasingly dangerous (Hagan 2002). At the most macro level, “world-systems analysis” (Wallerstein 2004) explains the broader issue of why, through all this migration, Mexico never reached the economic equilibrium with the US that should have eventually obviated emigration.

The theory is that “core” countries that had mastered capitalism before “peripheral” and “semi-peripheral” countries, amassed their capital and military might to perpetually restructure the global economy to work in their favor. NAFTA is an instantiation of this restructuring because it uprooted non-capitalist Mexicans, making the lowest rung of the US capitalist system their only alternative (Fernández-Kelly & Massey 2007). Loopholes created in US immigration law colluded with deliberate gaps in enforcement (Holmes 2013) to not only allow this labor into the country, but to make it always already “illegal” and, as such, exploitable (Chavez 1997). US capitalism has always required not only labor, but exploitable labor (González & Fernández 2003), and the well-constructed illegality of these immigrants allows the US to wash its hands of any social responsibility for them. This means that the US gets to fuel its means of production with bodies that Latin America pays to reproduce. To maintain the disequilibrium that motivates informal immigration to the US, “core” countries deliberately keep “peripheral” countries underdeveloped yet stable enough for the embedding of bifurcated conduits, quite literally in the case of “The Undersea Network” (Starosielski 2015, title). On one side of the conduit, supplies of oil, ore, and cheap immigrant labor flow one way toward the “core” (Frank 1967). On the other, entertainment and religion gush toward the “periphery.”

Religion and economics become so intertwined in this process that it is hard to identify which digs the channel and which flows across it. Per 1860's clergyman, Frederick Gates,

Missionaries...are introducing...modern science, steam ... electric power... and modern manufacture into foreign lands... We are only in the very dawn of commerce, and we owe that dawn, with all its promise to the channels opened by Christian missionaries. (O'Brien 1999, 53)

Commerce and consumption are part of the "American Dream" (Adams 1932), a dream wherein people can "achieve a reasonable level of economic security and social respect in American society if they work hard and live properly" (Ortner 2013, 71). In light of world systems and the naturalized notion in the US that "properly" means "Protestant," (Levitt 2009) the church from Utah that prides itself on following "in the footsteps of soldiers" (Deseret News 2016, para 11) to missionize the US' newly acquired peripheries, will always inadvertently create migration routes back to Utah from those peripheries. Not only does it create the routes, but in disseminating the religion of the "Beehive State" (an official moniker evoking hard work, not honey production), it provides the Mormon Dream that motivates some Peruvians to travel those routes.

In 1999, The Church sent a letter to be read from every non-US pulpit in the world:

We wish to reiterate the long-standing counsel to members of the Church to remain in their homelands rather than immigrate to the United States. Experience has shown that those who relocate to the United States often encounter language, cultural, and economic challenges, resulting in disappointment and personal and family difficulties. As members throughout the world remain in their homelands, working to build the Church in their native countries, great blessings will come to them personally and to the Church collectively. (The Church 1999, para. 1-4)

My mother-in-law, Nilda had an experience exemplifying the contradictory valences of American Mormon Dreams. She finally secured a US tourist visa and, already a Mormon, was going to emigrate from Peru to Utah. She, unlike Rosa, did not consider Utah to be Zion, but Utah was the principal foreign node on her global religious and familial network. Knowing that

she would soon enter the iconic Salt Lake City temple, she got an appointment with her stake president in Lima for what is called a “temple recommend interview.” This interview consists of thirteen questions designed to keep all but the most dedicated, full tithe-paying Mormons out of Zion’s most holy center, the actual House of the Lord. The stake president refused to renew her “temple recommend” card, not because she could not answer affirmatively to all thirteen questions, but because in planning to immigrate to Utah she was planning on breaking the Lord’s council found in the above letter. Though her tourist visa allowed her body entry into the bounded center of the US empire, her expired “temple recommend” barred her body from entry into the most holy of Mormon spaces therein.

Peruvian Mormons like Nilda who migrate to Utah despite the church’s missives are in a precarious position vis-a-vis Zion. Not only do they embody the browning of Utah’s hard-won whiteness, they embody a perceived indigeneity that Mormon settler-coloniality has always simultaneously celebrated and reviled. Mormon missionaries identify brown-skinned Peruvians like Nilda as descendants of an ambivalently blessed/cursed Book of Mormon tribe, the Lamanites. Mormon scripture prophesies that modern Anglos will carry Lamanites like babies and be their “nursing mothers,” (Smith 1830, 84) bringing them up to the level of an ultimately shared whiteness. Peruvians, weary of colorism and interior identity battles—Indianism versus indigeneity, cosmopolitanism versus provincialism, and brown skin versus “beauty”—find Lamanite identity comparatively refreshing. It allows them to glorify their ancestral, past indigeneity, repudiate any personal, present Indianness, and embrace their collective, future whiteness. Peruvians who become Lamanites get to be among those about whom an Anglo Mormon apostle spoke in 1881 when he dedicated “the land of Latin America” for missionary work from atop Mexico’s Mount Popocatepetl. He pleaded that “the whole land wherever the

Lamanites dwell might be dedicated and preserved unto the Lord in peace until they might hear the voice of the true shepherd ... and *help* to build up the center city of Zion” (Godfrey 1999, 144, emphasis mine). For many proudly Lamanite-identifying Peruvians, the excitement of helping build Zion overrides any disappointment about the lack of leadership opportunities implied in their perpetual canonization as “help.”

Mormonism’s complex racialization of indigeneity came about as race itself was experiencing a significant change in the US. Prior to the 1800’s, “race,” in Western contexts, was almost synonymous with lineage or offspring (Goldberg 1993), but during the time the Book of Mormon was emerging, “race,” though still heritable, took on a meaning similar to an ideal type indexing a fixed bundle of characteristics (Wade 1997). Finding one of the bundle’s items—brown skin—meant that the rest were nearby—irrationality and impropriety. However, in both the Book of Mormon and in Latin America, but less so in the US, if one item in the bundle changed, the rest could change with it. Therefore, though the Book of Mormon characters Jacob and Laman both had the same father and mother, they came to belong to different races because, once Laman became irredeemably sinful, his phenotype changed to match the cluster of moral traits that were bundled with it during Joseph Smith’s time. Thus, Jacob equates morality with melanin as he chastises his own light-skinned posterity by comparing them to Laman’s darker-skinned children: “I fear that unless ye shall repent of your sins that their skins will be whiter than yours when ye shall be brought with them before the throne of God” (Smith 1830, 128).

Four Colonialisms Prepare for a Fifth

In order to understand how Peruvians navigate Mormonism’s racialization of their bodies, the very bodies its holy book was written to explain, Peru’s own racial regimes must be situated historically. Colonialism in Peru produced a form of difference that has been

traditionally called “race” in the West, but that, in Peru, has always been more about religion (Burns 2011) and education (De la Cadena 2000) than phenotype. Peruvian conceptualizations of difference fractalized as they passed through at least four separate colonization events. These events are worth analyzing briefly before delving into the subject of this dissertation, the complexity of how a fifth event—Zion—affects Peruvians today.

Colonialism existed in Peru well before Francisco Pizarro met Atahualpa in 1532. The main textual account of this distant past is told from the stance of a man who proudly proclaimed himself Peru’s first *mestizo* and Peru’s first author, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (2009). Born in 1539, his 1609 book looks back at the stories he heard during childhood from the friends of his Spanish conquistador father and the relatives of his native Peruvian mother, Palla Isabel Chimpu Oollo. Palla was not her first name but a title, one of the highest in the complex Inca caste system based on patrilineal blood descent from the first Inca, Manco Capac. As such, she was the niece of Huayna Capac, the last emperor of *Tawantinsuyo*, an empire centered in Cuzco that extended from present-day Colombia to Chile. Filtering everything he heard of the Incas through his own conflicted interplay of self-hate, pride, and Catholic ardor, Garcilaso portrayed Inca colonialism much as he portrayed Spanish colonialism, as divine and necessary.

The Incas sent people with certain amounts of royal blood to annex other groups into their empire. Incas reached the fertile Chili river valley of Southern Peru—present-day Arequipa—in 1350 and strengthened its already productive and distinct agricultural settlements long influenced by the Wari of the central Andes and the Tiahuanaco of the altiplano (Museo Cultural de Arequipa n.d.a). The empire would then extract resources from newly annexed groups, send them to Cuzco, and redistribute them. If a group did not know how to produce resources properly, Cuzco would send settler colonists (*mitimaes*) to that area to teach the locals

(*llactayoc*) the right way to exploit land (De Murua 2010). At first, they mostly annexed by persuasion, later increasingly by force, but key to it all, according to Garcilaso (2009), was Sun God indoctrination. In his telling, the Incas always added their rational god to the top of whatever “vile and dirty thing” (28) the conquered groups had in their pantheon.

Garcilaso described so many of these pre-Inca pantheons that he actually produced an ethnological teleology of religion. In stage one, the most degraded stage, people worshiped nothing at all. In stage two they worshiped arbitrary things over which they themselves had power, such as “little, tiny rocks” (28), and in stage three they worshiped things that at least had some use to their society, like sardines. According to Garcilaso, these first three stages were the only ones present in pre-Inca Peru. In stage four, people worshiped the maximum source of all usefulness and something over which humans had no power—the sun. In stage five (found among the Romans) people worshiped unseen concepts, like “Victory.” Finally, in stage six, people worshiped the apotheosis of both the unseen and the all-powerful—Jesus.

For Garcilaso, the stage four Inca indoctrination, though “idolatrous,” was a prerequisite for summing the Catholic crest of the evolutionary hierarchy. This was evident in the sorry state of those who missed out on Inca colonization. These people,

are the hardest to reduce to the service of the Spanish and to the Christian religion, because, since they never had doctrine, they are irrational, and they scarcely have language sufficient to make themselves understood among members of their own nation. And thus, they live as animals of different species, without togetherness and without communicating or even talking to anyone but their lone selves. (32, translation mine)

Garcilaso saw religious lack as being the source of such profound alterity between people that it not only precluded kinship, it precluded being of the same species. “Species” connotes “race” in Western modernity, however, for Garcilaso, “species” differences were not innate or phenotypic.

Speciation stemmed from a lack of kinship, which stemmed from a lack of religious indoctrination and, therefore, could be overcome through learning.

A phenotypic tinge to difference did not arrive until the second colonization in Peru, that of the Spanish. At “contact,” phenotype was a stark indicator of whether one was a member of the idolatrous Inca cult or the virtuous Catholic church. Nevertheless, as Garcilaso’s personal *mestizaje* embodied, the religio-racial waters quickly became a spectrum rather than a binary. Garcilaso’s idea that one might learn oneself out of a status that in much of the contemporary US would be considered inborn, inescapable and “racial” remains an unquestioned and highly complex part of life in Peru today.

This “racial fluidity” also stems from the first two Spanish viceroys’ opposing thoughts on difference. The first Spanish viceroy saw exploitative value in Andean religions. He recognized as distinct the hundreds of *tawantinsuyano* linguistic groups, religions and social classes and picked favorites in order to efficiently extract Andean gold (Salomon 2012). The next viceroy, however, saw them all as *indios*. His goal was to legally and religiously delegitimize *tawantinsuyano* self-rule (Julien & Spalding 2012). He tasked Jesuit missionaries with indoctrinating Andeans in outdoor amphitheaters, thinking them unworthy to enter the holy halls of the newly built central churches in town squares (*daderos*). Jesuits also depopulated hillside hamlets in order to concentrate populations into the hierarchized grid structure of houses (*reducciones*) around *daderos* where *indios* could be better surveilled and where hierarchies of difference would have spatial and architectural reinforcements, imprinting them into the *habitus* of everyday life (De Acosta 2009). Many of the present-day neighborhoods in Arequipa, the central *dadero* of which the Spanish founded in 1540 atop a pre-Inca, Yarabaya settlement, were originally *reducciones* (Museo Cultural de Arequipa n.d.b).

When the first “full blooded” Spaniards born in The Viceroyalty of Peru (*criollos*) came of age, impurity between the *criollo* and *indio* poles became dazzlingly complex because of their offspring—*mestizos*—and the infusion of Africans. The Crown developed a caste system of nomenclature to appropriately Christianize—so as to appropriately liberate or enslave—each new category of person. *Indios* were in a caste destined for the *obrajes* system of sweat-shop textile production (Juan & Ulloa 1953). Incidentally, the first Peruvian immigrants to the US were recruited into New Jersey’s massive textile industry in the 1910’s because, thanks to *obrajes*, they were seen as innately suited for it (Altamirano 1990). A testament to centennial networks and migratory channels, New Jersey retains the highest concentration of Peruvians in the US to this day.

By the time Flora Tristán (2010) wrote about the racial make-up of Arequipa in 1838, reporting that it was “one fourth white, another portion black or mestizo, and a full half Indio” (179, translation mine), Indigenous people were seen through the lens of the Enlightenment as merely part of the natural history of the land itself. Scientific racism was on the rise, and light-skinned Peruvian nation-builders saw the current “fallen and superstitious” lives of Andean peoples as having little relevance to understanding the great “religious” civilization of the Incas (Salomon 2012) with which, ironically, even the lightest-skinned Peruvians longed to identify (De la Cadena 2000).

The third colonial event was the Peruvian republic’s 1821 declaration of independence from Spain. This sparked a migration from the Andean hamlets to the coastal cities, and to the inland city of Arequipa. Much of this migration stemmed from the fact that *indios* no longer had The Crown to protect them from the nation-building *hacenderos* who colonized their lands and the sexual rights to their wives and daughters—encouraged as part of whitening the new nation

(Canessa 2012). Highland, *indio* migrants made up about ten percent of the populations of coastal Lima and inland Arequipa by 1956 (Durand 2010). Nominal emancipation from *hacienda* slavery, wherein the owner of the land was the *de facto* owner of the people already on it, did not happen until 1969.

The Republic's elimination of most Indigenous land deeds led to the fourth colonial event, which continues today—foreign business invasions that result in temporary settler colonies, resource extraction, and migration from villages to company towns. In reaction to this foreign profiteering, the Shining Path *guerrilla* began in the highlands in the 1980's. President Fujimori's violent counter-reaction to it in the 1990's sparked even more migration from the highlands (Gandolfo 2009).

All this displacement put *indios*—insulted as “*cholos*,”—in places where they were not supposed to be. They were seen as a pollution of purity (Spalding 1970). Proposals were even made to require *indios* to carry an internal passport (De Soto 1986). Part of this threat to social order had to do with the phenotypic indistinguishability between the newly arriving *indios*, whose Spanish ancestry made them technically *mestizos*, and the elite coastal *mestizos* (Larson 2005) accustomed to a *mestizaje* that emphasized breeding out the brown (Roberts 2012). Highland *mestizos* able to “pass” as coastal *mestizos* created a new kind of *mestizaje* that was “doubly hybrid” (De la Cadena 2005). In Peru, fear of this pernicious in-betweenness and hybridity—though celebrated as the casting of a superior “alloy” in other Latin American racial constructions—so threatened hegemonic identities that it was defining the *mestizo*, not the differences between *indios*, *criollos*, and *negros*, that fueled twentieth century Peruvian social distinction (Romero 2004). The epithet, *cholo* took on new valences to accomplish the task of distinguishing the kind of *mestizo* who acted *indio* from the kind who acted “decently.” As

cholos increasingly came to “overflow” the coast in the mid 1900’s (Matos Mar 2004), elite artists, marketing agents, and scholars popularized this racialization of geography between the “white coast” and the “brown Andes” under the notion of “two Perus” (De la Cadena 2000, 21), which totally ignored the existence of both the Peruvian Amazon and the Afroperuvian “black coast.”

As a result of its distance and altitude midway between the coast and the Andean altiplano, its longer history of *indio/mestizo/criollo* relations in the metropole, and—as concerns Peruvian Mormons—its Catholic milieu as “the Rome of Peru,” Arequipa complicates this “two Perus” dichotomy. Like the mid-Andean Montaro Valley that Ulla Berg (2015) studied, Arequipa has an even longer history of migratory tension than the coastal city of Lima. As a result of networks established during the time when Arequipa served as the breadbasket for Spanish mining operations in Potosi, it filled with migrants from Cuzco and the altiplano when the mine began to falter in the late 1600’s, and then again during the 1780 violence of the Tupac Amaru rebellion (Museo Cultural de Arequipa n.d.c).

Today, an extremely large minority in Arequipa was born near the altiplano city of Puno. This means that *puneños* occupy Arequipa’s lowest social category, that of *recién bajados*, (recently come down from the mountains) and that they will require the most “de-Indianization” (De la Cadena 2000, 6) in order to adopt the more socially acceptable form of indigeneity captured in the identity category, “*arequipeño neto*.” Those who already consider themselves *arequipeños netos* welcome neither *puneños* nor their squatter communities on the outskirts of the city, communities that *arequipeños*, like their *limeño* counterparts (Gandolfo 2009), call “*invasiones*.” Though I personally fail to see the difference (my rods and cones will likely never become acculturated to the nuances of Peruvian colorism) *puneños* are said to have a darker skin

tone than *arequipeños netos* who admit that their city is called *La Ciudad Blanca* (the white city) for reasons more racially complex than the white volcanic stone out of which it was constructed.

Arequipeños netos are *netamente* (completely) *arequipeño*. This identity may have metamorphosed in conjunction with the *neoindianismo* of the 1940s that De la Cadena (2000) detailed in Cuzco, as a “desire to eradicate the ‘inferiority complex’” (146) that being highlanders produced in elite *arequipeños*. Rather than donning the effeminate, “tame representations of the Incas” (146) adopted by elite *limeños* who sought a monopoly on the creation of a uniquely Peruvian national identity, elite *arequipeños* contested Lima’s centrality (something they still loath with a passion) by embracing a rugged, quasi-indigenous identity called *loncco*. Since *loncco*—likely related to the Kichua word, *longo* (young person)—was originally an infantilizing epithet referencing the unsophistication of highland *mestizos*, it was the perfect term to flip bourgeoisie *limeño* sophistication on its head. *Loncco*, like *cholo*, became a token of pride and ironically “incarnated a resolute denial of whiteness” (147) in some of the lightest-skinned people in the city. Today, *arequipeños netos* speak with pride and nostalgia about their *loncco* parents and grandparents and about how these ancestors used to sing *yaravíes*, (an Inca/Castilian poetic fusion) dress like gauchos, play the *charango* (figure 5) and shout unrefined poetry in the plaza. *Lonccos* reportedly even spoke a different dialect (one with a lot of double c’s) that many *arequipeños netos* love to imitate but sadly can no longer speak.



FIGURE 5: With guitars instead of *charangos*, these *arequipeños netos* dress traditionally (left) to celebrate the *loncco* version of *carnaval* in the prestigious Arequipa neighborhood of Cayma. February 2018.

Zionist Battles

Arequipa’s positionality within Peru, my positionality within Arequipa, and Peruvians’ positionalities within the subject label “Peruvian Mormon” all have one thing in common. They disrupt the “Two Perus” dichotomy between indigeneity and coloniality, which mirrors myriad other dichotomies, all contained within what is proper versus what is improper regarding government (chapter 1), indigeneity (chapter 2), story (chapter 3), migration (chapter 4), time (chapter 5), interdependence (chapter 6), and lineage (chapter 7). If “Peruvian” stands for “*indio*” and “Mormon” stands for “white,” Peruvian Mormons stand on the verge of some strange, new *mestizaje* forged when the crucible of four colonizations—Inca, Spanish, republican, and privateer—spill out into Zionist molds.

Mormonism develops Zion in Peru in order to stem the “tide” of migration along the conduits that very development installs. This happens even as Peruvian Mormons seek to

extricate their own sacred Peruvian Mormon Dream from the barrage of holy American Mormon Dreams transmitted to them through those same conduits. In this way and countless others, Mormon Zion becomes a battleground between forces that are paradoxically both symbiotic and antibiotic; exclusionary and inclusive; subjective and intersubjective. Though this introduction has been a macrolevel overview of a few structures of power that guide these forces, as I explore Zion's paradox by following the multifaceted Peruvian Mormons who fight on both sides of these battles, structural forces fall away and irreducible personhoods—or sainthoods—emerge.

Each chapter title refers to a battle in which these sainthoods are corporally engaged, and each chapter subtitle refers to the phenomena in which they are conceptually invested as they seek to be one of “us” in Zion: 1). Shining Path versus Zion's Camp: Pioneering Self-Government in Peruvian Gospel Culture, 2). Stone Legacy versus Dark Dancing: Staking out Pioneer Indigeneity and Life through Sacrifice and Death, 3). Holy Tabernacles versus Sacred Parapets: Decentering Mormonism with Peruvian Sites and Histories, 4). A *Quinceañera* Today versus A Glimpse of Tomorrow: Peruvian Mormon Migratory Futures, 5). Extremely Single Adults versus Sad Heaven: When God's Daughters Are Late to Love, 6). Pathological Backscratchers versus *La Gringada*: Individualistic Sainthoods Living as One, and 7). Matchmaking Bishops versus Matriarchal Healers: Gender, Power, and Lineage in Zion's Borderlands.

CHAPTER ONE

Shining Path versus Zion's Camp:

Pioneering Self-Government in Peruvian Gospel Culture

We'll find the place which God for us prepared,
Far away in the West,
Where none shall come to hurt or make afraid;
There the Saints will be blessed.
(Clayton 1985, 30)

Pioneers in Zion

At every reenactment of the Anglo Mormon settler-colonists' exodus to Utah, participants sing the above hymn. Whether the reenactment takes place in Arequipa among Peruvian "descendants" of the Incas or in Wyoming among Anglo "descendants" of the colonists, reenactors feel unity as they stamp pioneer identity into the earth with each footfall along the simulated trail of sacrifice (Werbner 1996). However, the underlying question implicit in the term "pioneer" disturbs this unity: Who was first in the God-prepared space of Utah? Though the notions of time and space upon which this question rests vary within and across the contrived categories of "Anglo Mormonism" and "Peruvian Mormonism," in both Mormonisms, native Zion citizenship—being first in Zion—hinges on the label "pioneer" and on what it shares with and steals from indigeneity, that is—being first.

It is prophesied that Latin American Mormons will be last in Zion. They come from a cursed lineage, and Joseph Smith et al. (1835) canonized into perpetual futurity the day when the curse will be lifted and they "shall blossom as the rose" (192). According to *cusqueño* philosopher Ciro Marín Benítez (2015), a stark division of time labeled "future" was incongruous to the continent the Incas called *Abya Yala*. As if a prescient contestation to the

future tense of the “shall blossom” prophecy, *Abya Yala* is in the present progressive tense and means “earth in the blossoming¹” (232). In theory, the conceptual unity of time and space expressed in this place name for the Americas is similar to that which Mormon Zion captures—one indivisible space that does not segregate based on time of arrival. In practice, however, pioneer discourse causes Zion space-time to splinter into antecedent-descendant hierarchies and land disputes that summon a colonial formulation of power Elizabeth Povinelli (2011) calls the *governance of the prior*. Within this power, both indigeneity and coloniality “are caught in strategic maneuvers of temporalization and territorialization ... originating in a history that pre-dates their emergence” (16). Coloniality constructs itself as the free “governing prior” by ridding the present of the “governed prior” (the indigenous) either through genocide, through perpetual futurization or through banishment into “the customary” (24) and into the past.

In their origin myth—which they, of course, consider a “true” “history”—Anglo Mormon colonists were the pioneers, the first inhabitants of Utah’s Zion. Growing up an Anglo Mormon in Utah, I found it important to share, unbidden, that my ancestors were characters in this myth. This is because “to a Mormon, heritage is not something to be taken lightly” (Oman 2015, 78). The Anglo Mormon who made this understatement in the edited volume, *A Book of Mormons: Latter-day Saints on a Modern-Day Zion* went on to claim, “this heritage, this church, it’s in my blood.” (79). Lucky for Oman, the religion that is part of her genetics just happens to be the one “where God wants everyone to be” (82). Where does this leave Mormon converts who do not have “pioneer ancestry?” This division between those Mormons with “believing blood” who “feel the sanctity of the sacrifices” (79) their ancestors made upon arrival to a mythically uninhabited Utah and those Mormons with Amerindian ancestry canonized as being full of

¹ Marín Benítez translates this into Spanish as “*tierra en florecimiento*.” I cite Marín Benítez often throughout this dissertation, and all direct quotes from his work, including this one, are my translations of his original Spanish.

incorrect “traditions” and “abominations” (Smith 1830, 28) comes to the fore in the struggle over who gets to enact, own, and characterize Mormon pioneer stories.

Anglo Mormons appropriated Amerindian stories to create their Zion in Utah. Today, some Peruvian Mormons immigrate to Utah while others move to establish situated Zions in Peruvian cities, such as Arequipa. Throughout this movement, Peruvian Mormons recover their stories even as they reclaim and redefine the moniker “pioneer.” In so doing they wrest Zion from a Utah-centric church and, instead, center it—and the stories it generates—around themselves. They become both the governing prior and the governed prior, the first in Zion.

According to Povinelli, “we need to understand how the sequential logic of the prior is transformed into the narrative tense of the other” (22). This chapter and the next will add to our understanding of this multitemporal transformation through a discussion of how Peruvians become Indigenous Mormon pioneers despite the regimes of power that hinder this becoming. One way Peruvians experiment with this burgeoning form of what I call *pioneer indigeneity* (explained in Chapter Two) is through Mormonized reinterpretations and retellings of Peru’s Maoist, highland guerilla rebellion of the 1980’s and 90’s called The Shining Path. To highlight the significance of these retellings, I will first unpack the subject category “Peruvian Mormon” in order to explore how its correlating binaries— “Indigenous” and “settler-colonist;” “culture” and “religion”—illuminate the central dilemma of subjectivity versus intersubjectivity at the core of Zion’s paradox.

Extricating Culture from Religion

“Peruvian Mormon” is a marked category (Brekhus 1998) designating both a division that Mormonism considers tribal (Peruvian) and a solidarity it considers universal (Mormon). As

Brekhus posits, unmarked nouns, such as “man,” are understood as the default state or archetypal emblem of their category—in this case, “person”—because they are thought to unambiguously fulfill all of its requirements. Nouns that do not quite fit the categorical requirements or that are thought to be later additions to the original category are marked with a modifier, such as “wo,” as in “woman.” From the very first years of Mormonism, belonging to the unmarked category—“Mormon”—hinged upon what made a proper family. For instance, in 1846, after the Mormons were ordered to leave Nauvoo, Illinois, but before the main body arrived in Utah, 10,000 of them were illegally camped in Indian Territory between the Oto and the Omaha nations. Nigeajasha, one of the first Indigenous Mormons, was expected to meet the settler-colonist Mormons there after finishing his missionary service, but he was responsible for his sister and the many nieces and nephews under her care who had been orphaned through the Jacksonian Indian removal wars. He wrote to The Quorum of The Twelve Apostles stating that he would only be able to join his fellow Mormons if The Twelve would provide transportation for his dependent kin. Per historian Lori Taylor (2000), he wrote, “we Indians love our sisters more than whites does. Brothers, therefore, it is a hard matter for us to leave our sister behind” (269). The Twelve voted to provide transportation and replied, “You say ‘we Indians love our sisters more than whites does.’ This is quite right, but if you love your Sisters better than ‘Mormon’ does, we fear you love them too much” (269). If The Twelve thought that Nigeajasha was just as “Mormon” as they were, what could they mean by contrasting his notion of siblingship to the “Mormon” notion?

As a descendant of Manasseh, Nigeajasha was a long-lost Israelite cousin to Mormonism’s founder Joseph Smith (a descendant of Ephraim), but one who had become degenerate through the “incorrect tradition of [his] fathers,” (Smith 1830, 326), thus deserving

any depredations that “Gentiles,” (29) such as Anglo Mormon pioneers, could perpetrate on him and his people. However, if he became part of Mormon notions of white delightsomeness (528) through baptism and acceptance of the true record of his ancestors, The Book of Mormon, he could attain full, unmarked Latter-Day Sainthood. The problem was, he had already done that. Not only was he baptized, but he was also a returned missionary who pioneered the church in his family. Still, his excessive way of doing family was being pathologized as somehow less than fully “Mormon.” Neither Nigeajasha nor The Twelve could have pointed to an overt part of Mormon doctrine that quantified the correct measures of love one should budget for each kin term. Though the church recently distributed a document I see hanging on the walls of many Peruvian Mormon homes called, *The Family: A Proclamation to the World* (The First Presidency 1995), which delineates precisely how the proper nuclear family should function, it does not proclaim how much love one is supposed to give one’s sister. Still, The Twelve were confident that Nigeajasha’s love had crossed a moral line into the “too much,” into the pathological and into the realm of perpetually “marked Mormon” status.

Settler-colonists have always pathologized Indigenous kin ways in order to justify and facilitate colonization (Tuck and Yang 2012). For example, in mid-nineteenth century Hawaii, Puritan missionaries imposed “proper” familial behavior in order to prepare Hawaii for foreign annexation (Engle Merry 2000). Yet, Anglo Mormon settler-colonist theorizations of Indigenous kinways were far more complex than the classic, imperialist opinion that reliance on “kinship” rather than law put Native Americans on a level scarcely above that of animals. While the US Supreme Court (Saito 2015) and Anglo anthropologists (Blackhawk 1997) funneled this zoomorphizing through cultural ecology and social evolutionary theory to deem Native

Americans officially unfit for self-government and, as such, morally dependent on white overseers, Anglo Mormon settlers were framing indigeneity differently.

Anglo Mormon settlers were deliberately piecing together a new colonizer-indigenous kin entity, or “settler adoption fantasy” (Tuck and Yang 2012, 14) that they felt naturally fell into the domain of “religion.” Even as they were ultra-cognizant of the bundle of doctrines they were including in that domain, they were completely unaware, both in the time of Nigeajasha and in 1995 when *The Proclamation* was published, of what else they were including, namely—everything else. Embedded in their religion lay everything about their individualist, time-disciplined, settler-colonist sainthoods including various adaptations of a recently emerging (Aubert 2013) essentialist (as opposed to constructed) kin notion. This notion posited that one can only truly be “kin” to others through a linear chain of vertical “blood” descent extending from textually-verifiable “antecedents” in the past to biologically-verifiable “descendants” in the future regardless of whether one had personally spent time with any of these individual “relatives.” For Nigeajasha, this impersonal kin notion stood in stark contrast to the relatedness he had cultivated with his sister through a lifetime of “negotiated obligations and possibilities within the general field of local social belonging” (Povinelli 2011, 25), which is why he saw “Indians” as loving their kin “more than whites does.” In their rebuke that he needed to temper his kinship excesses, The Twelve wielded a formulation of power over Nigeajasha’s worthiness for unmarked “Mormon” status that ended up being the same formulation of power that required his future “descendants” to prove their worthiness for land ownership in the settler state through the vertically descended blood quantum of their relatedness to him as an Indigenous or “prior” person. “In other words, kinship and the family, by being defined by abstracted rules of descent

rather than immanent practices of affiliation, were made to conform to the tense of the other within the governance of the prior” (25).

This is all to say that in their “religion,” Anglo Mormon settler-colonists included everything from the domain that many anthropologists call “culture.” Herein lies the difficulty of studying Mormons anthropologically. Anthropologists are confident that most things people consider “natural,” or “God-given,” are in fact cultural constructs. Gender, personhood, time, and place—all concepts fundamental to many societies’ sense of kinship—are just a few such examples. Mormons, on the other hand, are confident that the aspects of “correct” kinship of which they are cognizant are *divine* constructs, and in some cases (such as gender) even pre-divine. Yet, there are many aspects of “correct” kinship about which Mormons are not cognizant. Settler Mormons have the luxury of considering these aspects to be just the way things are done. Indigenous Mormons do not have this luxury. In fact, Boatema Boateng (2019) defines indigeneity itself as “the condition in which you do not have the luxury of considering that your way is simply the way things are done” (1).

Sheer Clothing and Loose Hair

Settler Mormons are very aware of the “culture” concept yet claim to be immune to its implications. Reilly Daly is a case in point. He was a member of our informal association of Anglo Mormon expatriates in Arequipa we called “Taco Tuesday” wherein we would eat at one of Arequipa’s few Mexican restaurants, call ourselves *gringos* in “mock Spanish” (Hill 1998), and imagine ourselves connoisseurs of all things Peruvian. A generational Mormon in his late thirties from Colorado and a graduate of Brigham Young University (BYU, a church-owned university in Utah), Reilly was living in Arequipa as the head site manager of the entire temple

construction project. This high position in the “corporate side” of the church gave him greater authority over the temple site than even the highest levels of the “ecclesiastical side” occupied by native Peruvian church leaders who often came to visit the construction site or who were lucky enough to get a job with the Peruvian company that won the bid to build the temple. Reilly felt that his special positionality in the church corporation as well as his non-Utah upbringing made him uniquely able to distinguish the divine Mormon essentials of his religion from the Mormon-made cultural trappings. I interviewed him at the construction site in March 2018. We talked, in English, about what it was like for him to grow up only seeing the ecclesiastical side of the church and then to suddenly be thrust into the corporate side. He claimed that his semi-liberal, Colorado upbringing prepared him to “see how the sausage is made.” In his opinion, unlike some of the Peruvians he worked with, he was able to disassociate the questionable, cultural decisions of humans within the church from the church’s divine doctrine.

So one quick example at the very beginning of the project, there was a sub-contractor here and he had a very small portion of the work, but one of the foremen was a member of the church, a Peruvian, I think he was a High Councilor at one of the stakes [groups of many wards] here [in Arequipa]. He introduced himself and we were talking a little bit, and he mentioned to me how there was swearing or off-color jokes or something inappropriate on the [temple construction] site and that I needed to do something about it. “We can’t have that on the temple site,” he said. And I just listened to him and said, “yeah, well, you know, we do everything we can to help teach them that this is something different, but in the end, they are construction workers. It’s a construction site, and to me, the Lord is going to accept this building and their work whether they understand what the words coming out of their mouths mean or not. He accepts their faults. So maybe we should also accept and just work with their faults and everything.” And he seemed to understand, but I don’t know. I know that sometimes people think that this is a temple, and we need to, you know, everyone should be temple recommend-holders [holders of the card required to enter a finished, dedicated temple] and be members of the church to work for it, and, you know that’s—on a little bit more refined scale—that’s not how the Lord runs his corporation. There are, you know, without--- you know---hopefully without offending anyone, there are inadequate people in powerful positions in the corporation of the church. And that’s just the way the corporation runs. For whatever reason they are in that position and we just have to deal with it.

Reilly uses the word “corporation” not to mean the “body of Christ” but to mean its opposite. The corporation of the church, as opposed to its doctrine, includes all the messy carnality required to make a celestial organization function on a fallen planet. One should not expect people in the corporation to behave like Saints. In criticizing the Peruvian High Councilor’s expectations of saintliness and decency on a construction site, Reilly is attacking his classism even as he unintentionally echoes a latent racial discourse called *indigenismo*—specific to 1920’s Cuzco, but very palpable in Arequipa to this day—that glorifies the Inca ancestry of the underclasses while considering their uncouthness innate (De la Cadena 2000). “Construction workers will be construction workers,” may not sound racist in certain US contexts, but, on Reilly’s jobsite, perceived skin color gradations mapped almost precisely onto pay grades. Of course, “skin color” in Peru is not about phenotypic, verifiable hue, but about comportment, dress, education, and—often—hair color/texture, all of which can be changed. This means that as one moves up the jobsite hierarchy one “whitens,” and one’s vocabulary becomes *decente* (proper), meaning less *indio*. Temple construction workers were mostly brown-skinned migrants from Puno who, had they lived in Arequipa in the late 1800’s, would have been called “*hijos del pueblo*” (towns-children), an expression that simultaneously dignified and infantilized indigeneity (Nieves y Bustamante 2010). Temple engineers were mostly light-skinned *arequipeños netos* born in Arequipa whom, even today, are sometimes identified racially as “*gente decente*” (upstanding people).

Embedded within his critique, Reilly is subtly belittling this Peruvian High Council member for not being advanced enough a Mormon to see beyond the merely “cultural” prohibitions of foul language at the temple construction site. This is part of his greater commentary that Peruvians are not capable of seeing what is truly important—the core of what

makes a temple a temple. In our discussion continued below, I bring up something that Reilly mentioned offhand a few days prior as we left the financial self-reliance class he was “called” to facilitate in the *arequipeño* ward he attended every Sunday. He invited me to participate in the mid-week course and I jumped at the chance to familiarize myself both with him and with the church’s official “Self-Reliance Initiative,” piloted in Latin America and Africa, which I began to see as a form of racially coded “capacity building” (Pierre 2012) founded on the assumption that Latin American and African familial interdependence makes those continents unfit for self-government. After class that night, he began to more candidly criticize the Peruvian incapability of recognizing what is doctrinal over what is cultural, this time regarding the baptismal ceremony.

He said that the Peruvians in his ward thought it was important to shut the doors exposing the font immediately after the baptismal rite. He instructed them that this door-shutting was not a vital aspect of the rite. In fact, he said, it is kind of nice to leave the doors open so that family members can take photos of the participants (figure 6) while they are still wet and dressed in white (meaning often sheer) clothing. In his mind, the symbolic power of whiteness should be allowed to shine forth, trumping both the demands of modesty and the physics of the white T-shirt effect. He mentioned that President Miller—an Anglo, Utah millionaire “called” to preside over the Arequipa Mission for three years—agreed with him that this Peruvian door-shutting needed to stop. Reilly thought it was funny how difficult it was for Peruvians to see this silly door-shutting practice for what it was, just another unquestioned Peruvian Mormon tradition and not a vital aspect of the ceremony. To me it was funny that he could not see as equally silly or “traditional” the aspects of the ceremony he considered “doctrinal.”



FIGURE 6: *Barrio Perifericos* members in their chapel’s hallway taking photographs of a woman dressed in white before her baptism. May 2018.

If he were in the ritual position called “witness,” Reilly would be required to critique the submersion process and demand that it be redone if a tip of a single hair remained atop the water. If an *arequipeño* were the witness, he (the witnesses must be male²) may have a different idea of what submersion means. I have found that *arequipeños*, many of whom are migrants from high Andean villages far from bodies of warm water, do not have much occasion or inclination to submerge themselves. In fact, many Andean Mormons have told me that their first and only time being submerged in water was at their baptism and that fear of submersion kept them from church membership for years. Since Mormonism is *sui generis* to US settler-colonial society, not

² Since the first draft of this writing, this requirement has changed. Females can now be witnesses at baptisms.

to Peruvian society, how is a Peruvian supposed to distinguish which parts of the ritual are cultural and which are doctrinal in order to know whether or not the baptism is valid? Reilly declares the door-closing to be “obviously” cultural. Yet, from a doctrinally sound Peruvian standpoint, white, wet clothing reveals bodily areas the church explicitly demands be covered, and so the doors are closed. On the same token, a Peruvian witness may see Reilly’s demand to rebaptize because of a hair as a nitpicky aspect of *pituco* (snobbish) swimming pool culture, unrelated to Mormon doctrine. Yet, Reilly declares that since even “so much as a hair of their heads” (Smith 1830, 254) is a vital part of the body that will be resurrected with it, it must also be submerged with it.

Nephite Rule-Bending

JASON: So, you’ve been able to successfully divide the corporate side from the spiritual side of the church in your mind?

REILLY: Yeah. Yep.

JASON: You mentioned the example of the baptismal doors. President Miller actually came unexpectedly to the baptism of this family in our ward on Saturday [figure 7]. At the end, the missionaries kept the doors open. They didn’t close them between each baptism, but then the missionaries [one Anglo Utahan and one *cusqueño*] tried to close the doors and President Miller was like, “No, that’s ok.”

REILLY: [laughs]

JASON: “These are the Waters Of Mormon [a Book Of Mormon place name] we can keep them open,” he said. But I don’t know, do you find it pretty easy to discern the difference between a merely cultural LDS practice and the necessary, core basics of the gospel?

REILLY: Um, so I was--- most of my childhood my dad was the bishop of our ward. He was bishop for nine years. I was raised by a dad that felt it was very important to follow *The Handbook*. But no more or no less. He always taught us that, “don’t try to push your interpretation of scripture, your interpretation of *The Handbook*, or the manuals or anything onto someone else. If you wanna believe that and do it that way, that’s fine, but don’t force

someone else to change just because you think you can read between the lines better than someone else.”



FIGURE 7: President and “*Hermana*” (sister) Miller (center, back) walk in unannounced during the pre-baptism photoshoot. March 2018.

Reilly’s father’s enlightened comment misses an important tenant of linguistic anthropology. According to Peircean perspectival situatedness, a sign means nothing if it is disconnected from the one who writes it, the one who reads it and the context of both (Rosa 2019). Written words have no objective meaning in and of themselves (Kohn 2013), meaning that *all* reading is “reading between the lines.” However, the way Reilly speaks of following *The Church Handbook Of Instructions* is that there are two ways of reading it—one straightforward way, and one way that is either more or less than straightforward. Reilly has the luxury of

considering his reading of church manuals to be just a straightforward reading only because he was brought up in the “culture” that wrote them. He assumes it is his clear reading of unambiguous text that provides him access to its true meaning, when really it is his second nature understanding of the “white logics” that forged that meaning (Bonilla-Silva and Zuberi 2008). The less thoroughly one has been socialized in whiteness, the more carefully one must decipher all text that comes from Salt Lake City. Those whom the church peripheralizes through its central structure do not have the luxury of taking things at face value. They depend on those who dwell in Zion’s center for “correct” interpretation, which is precisely how centrality works to shore up the church’s power, a power that Peruvians who want pioneer status must tap. This is difficult because pioneer status recalls the pioneer characters in the paradigmatic, Great Plains-crossing, Anglo Mormon origin myth, further solidifying Utah as the center, not Peru. For Reilly, however, navigating these power differentials to determine what really matters is easy.

And so for me, I think the reason it is easier for my wife and I to recognize those differences, is because some of the things just don’t matter. But some of them do. For example, some friends of ours here, their 12-year-old son was being ordained as a deacon [the first office of Mormon priesthood and a rite of passage for Mormon males], and so the leaders came in and they were going to do it in priesthood meeting, the third hour. And so in came a [Peruvian] member of the bishopric. He said, “Ok, you know, So-And-So, let’s get up, we are going to ordain you as a deacon and give you the priesthood.” And I said to the guy in the bishopric, “well, do you think we can invite his family here? Do you think maybe they would like to see that, and have that experience?” “Oh--- oh--- ok, that might be nice, we’ll get his dad.” And I said, “Well, what about his mom? Do you think she would?” “Oh, well, we’ll go get--- oh, ok, I never thought about that before.” And then it was like, “well, what about his little brother that is in Primary [the organization for children under age 12] you know, as an example, so he can see how this works?” --- “Oh ok.” And stuff like that. Is it in *The Handbook*? No. It’s not anything that HAS to be done, but I’d say that a really good cultural thing that we see in the United States is that these important milestones in our lives are family-shared events rather than just checking something off from a checklist. And so sometimes, yeah, I think I--- but that’s why I say it--- is it in *The Handbook*? No, so--- but, but, yeah, being able to decipher and distinguish what’s cultural in the church from what’s doctrinal is important, but we have to recognize when the cultural things do have an impact on the doctrinal and the spiritual and the way we feel.

Reilly has found an occasion in which breaking his father's command to stick to the church's centrally produced and distributed handbook is justified. Suddenly, reading between the lines is alright. I have seen this phenomena so many times among Anglo Mormons, myself included, that I have given it a name—*Nephite rule-bending*. The term Nephite refers to the race of white Amerindians who had the true gospel of Christ and its correlates—proper kinship and proper ways to “work” the land. On one occasion, a Nephite missionary was so persuasive that he succeeded in converting an entire kingdom of dark-skinned Lamanites and bringing them over to live on Nephite lands. These Lamanites were so faithful to this new “religion” that they took the commandment “do not kill” literally, a little too literally for Nephite tastes. When another group of Lamanites came to kill them, the Nephites were forced to do all the fighting on their behalf because they refused to defend themselves. Nephite military commanders resorted to showing them a loophole in their vow to not kill. The strapping young boys of their second generation had made no such vow and, as such, could be led to war.

Then as now, white people refuse to recognize that their confidence in bending rules when a higher morality requires it, does not come by virtue of their superior valor, but simply by virtue of the fact that they are members of the world's hegemonic “culture” and, as such, get to define both the rules and the occasions that justify their exception (Agamben 1998). At their most generous, Anglo Mormons suspect Peruvian Mormons who do not participate in this rule-bending to be too spiritually underdeveloped to know they can. Somewhat less generously, Anglo Mormons believe Peruvian Mormons lack the moral courage to meet the demands of a higher law by bending a lower law. Either way, Anglo Mormons see Peruvian Mormons as “religiously” deficient when, in reality, their only deficiency is in Anglo “culture.” Regarding church manuals that, if followed with “common sense,” are supposed to result in little modular

Utah-Zions that belie locality, Peruvians are damned if they follow the rules and damned if they do not. Reilly concludes,

Maybe that's just, obviously, a composite of everything that happened in my life, but I think it has been easy for us to recognize what's cultural and what is doctrinal. Because big deal if they fold the sacrament [eucharist] tablecloth side to side, or front to back. Right?

Peruvian Stagnation

Anglo Mormons like Reilly are completely honest when they claim that there is an unambiguous and common-sense distinction between the core “religious” aspects of Mormonism that are vital, and its local “cultural” instantiations that are not a “big deal.” The problem for the inclusivity of Zion occurs when there is a distinction made between humans who can discern between gospel and culture, and humans who cannot. This paints those who cannot into the well-worn box labeled “unfit for self-government,” the same box into which the US and other Western societies have, at one time or another, placed almost every nation in the Global South, including Peru.

Of course, according to social evolutionary theory, this is not merely a static box, but a stage on an evolutionary teleology of “development” with the US at the apex (Zea 2012). Reilly sees this teleology as naturally mapped upon a chronological progression of years with some countries falling a quantifiable and chronological distance behind others.

REILLY: I visited a lot of different Latin American countries and--- and the membership here too. So, a lot of my theories and analyses about Peru and cultural aspects and church growth has to do with a roughly twenty-year period of umm---just uh---it---*estaque?* [stagnation] *Estancados* [stuck]...Where everything in the country just kind of stopped because of the Shining Path. And so, you look at the growth, for example, the growth of the church in Chile. It was slow, slow, slow, slow, and then—80s and 90s—it just vooom, it just went through the roof, right? But now it's leveled off. Now, we [Peru] were slow, slow, slow, slow up until the late 90s. And then it took off. I look at that, and also the economy of the country, and I attribute a lot to the Shining Path. I mean, and what makes sense to me in my mind is if you have twenty years where nothing can happen [the Shining

Path years] it's like you are building this momentum for those twenty years and when it is over something is going to happen and, man—the church growth!

JASON: Have you actually seen church statistics where baptisms kind of level off during those twenty years?

REILLY: I haven't.

JASON: That would be interesting to see.

REILLY: That would be. But I think it is, you look at where church growth is and where economic growth in the country is today versus Chile, and it's about twenty to twenty-five years behind. And, and that time period kind of coincides with that Shining Path stuff. So, I don't know. I like to analyze things and I could be totally off, but it's just kind of fun to think about ... One of my [Anglo Mormon] bosses, he was in charge of chapel construction during that time. And he remembers staying the night in Lima at hotels and bombs going off all through the night and gunfire. Kind of scary times.

In the Anglo Mormon origin story, there are many scenes of similarly scary times.

Stalwart frontier Anglo Mormons obtained their pioneer legacy by courageously pressing on through such times, the most oft depicted of which was the massacre at Hawn's Mill. Most Peruvian Mormons have seen films depicting October 30, 1838 when the bloodthirsty Missouri militia slaughtered Mormons, including young, unarmed boys (Reeve 2015), in order to expel them from the state that is still slated as the future site for the literal New Jerusalem, the Zion of Zions. Tribulations like Hawn's Mill and other Mormon removals spatially and discursively mingled Anglo Mormon pioneers with Indigenous peoples going through their own Jacksonian removals at the time.

These complex overlaps between indigeneity and "pioneer" coloniality refract further in the Shining Path guerrilla, which, like many non-Indigenous socialist movements in Latin America, such as Chile's *Allendismo*, advertised its agrarian reform as pro-Indigenous even though actual Indigenous people, such as Chile's Mapuche, are often existentially opposed to the large-scale agriculture that national socialism requires (Bacigalupo 2016). Indigenous ways of

“work” regarding land, infused as they sometimes are with spirituality and cyclicity, tend to clash with the communist credo—the land belongs to those who “work” it (Arguedas 1973)—even more than with the capitalist credo—the land enriches those who own it. What Indigenous people do with land is not usually what capitalist or communist states consider “work.” Yet, the Indigenous victims of socialist movements throughout Latin America are the very ones who get branded “communist rebels” or, post 9-11, “terrorists” in order to justify the ethnic cleansing that US-installed, neoliberal governments subsequently carry out under the guise of restoring peace (Longley 2009). Peru’s president, Alberto Fujimori was no exception to this pattern. In an act that Reilly considers a necessary evil, Fujimori had tens of thousands of highland Peruvians killed as retribution for the unrest that the elite, scholarly, non-indigenous Shining Path leaders³ brought to Peru (Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2003), leaders who are jailed, but alive to this day.

REILLY: There is a scripture, what did it say? I am paraphrasing, but it’s something about dethroning a wicked king won’t come without the shedding of much blood. And I just, I kind of parallel that to that Shining Path period and Mr. Fujimori. There was no way that they were going to get rid of the Shining Path passively.

JASON: So, Fujimori was necessary to get rid of---

REILLY: Yeah, and I hate--- we hate to say that or anything because what he did was so--*ppsshhh*--- wicked.

Peruvian Boom

Reilly credits Fujimori’s genocide, and his IMF-mandated neoliberalization, with saving Peru from falling even further behind on the chronological teleology. When Reilly posits that

³ The leader of the Shining Path, Abimael Guzman Reynoso, is from Mollendo, the *arequipeño* provincial port-city where Mormonism was first preached to Peruvians. He wrote a dissertation called *The Kantian Theory of Space* (Sullivan 2011). His colleague at San Cristóbal of Huamanga University in Ayacucho, anthropologist Efraín Morote Best, is known as the intellect behind the movement (Goñi 1994).

Peru falls twenty years behind Chile, which itself, as he explained to me on another occasion, falls twenty years behind the US, he unwittingly exposes a fascinating aspect of Zion's paradox: The reason he gives for Peru's *estancamiento* (stagnation) is the same reason Peruvian Mormons give for Peru's ascension. During the twenty years of the anti-US, Maoist *guerrilla* movement begun by a *pituco*, *arequipeño* university professor—a time in which Reilly claims “nothing happened”—Peruvian Mormons experienced the refiner's fire of their own Hawn's Mill. During this time of sacrifice and suffering when, for their own safety, all Anglo Mormon leaders and missionaries were removed from Peru, Peruvian Mormons not only proved that they were capable of self-government, they became Mormon pioneers in their own right. What Reilly considers the etiology of Peru's pathological underdevelopment, some Peruvian Mormons consider one of their largest claims to mythological pioneer greatness.

Simón Balboa is one of many *arequipeño* Mormons who renarrativize “*la época del terrorismo*” (the age of terrorism) in Peru as an epoch of immense spiritual growth through suffering akin to that experienced by those pioneers who crossed the Great Plains. Having moved on from the Shining Path's trauma to become a high-level church employee, Simón often travels between Utah and major South American cities. In December 2017, I caught up with him for an interview in Utah, and so I began asking about Utah's own progress toward Zion status. He almost immediately shifted the topic to a discussion of Arequipa's pioneer claims.

JASON: You've seen the difference between the establishment of Zion in Utah and the establishment of Zion in Arequipa and many other parts of the world. What does Utah still need in order to truly become Zion?

SIMON: I think that here [in Utah] they had the blessing of receiving the gospel firsthand, and it was marvelous. The pioneers did an incredible job in these lands, but my impression is that, as the years have gone by, the younger generations has forgotten a bit of what the pioneer sacrifice meant. Us over there [in Peru], we saw a little of what the pioneers saw here [in the US] when they started their new religion with all the opposition in Missouri, Kirtland, etcetera. Well, that same opposition was felt by us in Arequipa in the beginning.

The Catholic priests would come and attack the first Mormons there. They took a procession with their virgin to the first chapel built in Arequipa—Umacollo—and they stoned us, they threw rocks at us. Then the *Sendero Luminoso* [Shining Path] came in the 80s and 90s when I was a stake president. I received a letter that I'm going to show you, a threat letter where they gave me thirty days to get out and if I didn't, they were going to kill me and my family, and they were also going to attack our chapels. They did it, Jason. In Ica they destroyed two chapels. I was with my wife one day driving my car. We passed by the chapel and it exploded, right where I worked. I was seeing all the dust from the roof that caved in and the glass. A young man came and told me, "President, they destroyed the stake center [larger chapel] too." They exploded both at the same time. I saw that myself. Personally. But also, in other places, they attacked chapels, they destroyed, they killed Peruvian missionaries. In Arequipa, after I introduce you to the pioneer of Cuzco, I am going to introduce you to the father of one of the missionaries who died, murdered by the *Sendero Luminoso*.

JASON: Did the *Sendero* have something specifically against the Mormon church?

SIMON: No, they were basically against all religions of foreign origin. They related the church to North American interests—Pizza Hut, McDonald's, and the Mormons ... At first we had a lot of Catholic opposition, but with time, we had the communist opposition. Now the Catholics love us. There has been a change and they have seen that we are not purely Yankees. We are a people of North American *origin*, yes, a very US religion, but it goes further than simply politics. It offers you a change of life. We have won respect from the Catholics, and a little from the communists as well [laughs].

JASON: That's great that the position you now have with the church gives you the possibility of propagating the history of the South American pioneers, because nobody in the US knows those stories. In the US church, everyone only knows about the history of the Utah pioneers, but the history of the pioneers of Arequipa receives no attention even though it was just as impactful. What did you do then, when they threatened you?

SIMON: Well, I went to Lima. The church officials asked for police help from the intelligence branch. They interviewed me, gave me advice. I had the option to leave Peru, but with my wife we decided to stay. Finally, in 1992, the church decided to take out all North Americans, ALL OF THEM—missionaries, the temple president, mission presidents, managers of organizations, everyone. In one day, Jason. In a single day they got everyone out.

JASON: From what year to what year?

SIMON: From '92 to '96. Four years when we didn't have a single American. We were alone for many years. It was very traumatic for us to feel that from one day to the next we were suddenly only Peruvians. In a city like Arequipa, where among the missionaries there were forty Americans and twenty Latinos, suddenly there were only the twenty Latinos. "Now what are we going to do? Do we shut down and go away and forget about the church?" And, you know what? A marvelous thing happened, with tears in our eyes we

said, “No. Our American leaders and missionaries came, they taught us, they entrusted us with the truth. Now it is our turn.” And the full-time missionaries, the Peruvians, they started going with the Peruvian youth of the church as their companions and we didn’t shut down the programs. We kept on teaching. The baptism numbers did not diminish. They maintained. A few years later we were 100 percent self-reliant with our own missionaries for the entire country. That was a miracle. The leaders, stake presidents, mission presidents—Latinos 100 percent. What started out as an attack by The Adversary [Satan]—and it seemed it would destroy us and win the day—was converted into a blessing, and we were victorious. We learned how to manage the church without guidance from you guys. So, going back to your original question, what does Utah need? To remember the marvelous examples of the pioneers, just as we have learned from you guys.

Besieged by Catholics and communists, Peruvian suffering equates to that of the storied Anglo Mormons besieged by Missourians and the elements. In my estimation, this makes Simón himself a real live pioneer rather than someone like me who merely has “pioneer ancestry.” Simón, however, is circumspect about going quite that far. In considering Peruvian leadership success a miraculous, rather than the expected result, he seems to believe Peruvians have an innate incapability for self-rule. This makes Simón’s offhand labeling of the first *cusqueño* to join the church in Cuzco as the “pioneer of Cuzco” all the more significant. Throughout the interview, Simón uses the honorific title of “pioneer” so freely in association with *arequipeños* and *cusqueños* that I feel liberated enough to try it out myself, daring to say, “pioneers of Arequipa.” Though a non-Mormon may see this interview as riddled with internalized paternalism, our use of “pioneer” in a context outside of the Anglo Mormon origin myth imbues our conversation with a radical anti-Utah-centrism that some faithful Anglo Mormons might consider anti-Mormon. Our conversation is counterhegemonic discourse, which is why it is significant that a top church employee like Simón would risk engaging in it.

Another high-level church employee, Pedro Córdoba, who also engaged with me in counterhegemonic pioneer discourse, connected the Shining Path narrative in an entirely different way to pioneer status. The interview took place in Ogden, Utah in November 2017.

PEDRO: I was the pioneer who immigrated [from Peru] with my wife and two kids, chasing after an illusion. There were different reasons why we immigrated to Utah. We didn't immigrate looking for a better economic situation, we immigrated because of other circumstances, as a result of insecurity, reasons stemming from the danger that existed in my country in that time.

JASON: You mean the *Sendero*?

PEDRO: The *Sendero Luminoso*, yes. The terrorism. I had a very important position in the church. I was the manager of the church. I drove the administrative side of the church in all of Peru for three years. I was the object of some threats so, um, that changed my life a little. It made me realize that there was no peace, that the security had disappeared from our lives. We felt fear. So, obviously I didn't want to live in that environment, for my kids. The problem in our countries [Latin American countries] is that going outside can mean death. Going to a park can mean death ... So I had friends, people I knew in Utah, and so when I felt that the insecurity we were living was no longer allowing us to be happy—we had everything, but at the same time we had nothing—one of my goals that I had always been thinking about from the first time I found out about the church was to come here [to Utah] and study at BYU, so I left Peru and eventually went to BYU to get my masters in the church. And then I started working, and that's that. I was the pioneer because then my parents came, my sisters. My sisters were married here, and they formed their families here. So when I go back to Peru there is nobody left there, everyone is here, right? So in some sense, I was the pioneer.

The Shining Path caused Pedro to pioneer the Córdoba family in Utah. Calling himself a “pioneer” in the context of immigration is even more counterhegemonic than Simón's use of the word given that US Mormons are more predominantly Republican than any other US religious group (Lipka 2016). The Republican Party, at the time of the interview, was more blatantly anti-immigrant than it had been in decades. Despite this risk of offending Anglo Mormonism, Pedro proudly wrapped around himself the holy “pioneer” banner, usually reserved for Anglo Mormon heroes, in order to identify as a Mormon pioneer immigrant.

For others, such as *Barrio Perifericos* members Delia Zeballos and Salvador Suarez, speaking of how Peruvians took the reins of their own Mormonism during the Shining Path years is not as risky because they do not explicitly equate it with the archetypal Mormon origin story by using the term “pioneer.” Delia, a *limeña*, met Salvador, an *arequipeño*, during a missionary

reunion for those who had served in the Lima South Mission. They were later married and had two children. In relating the complex and nonlinear conjunction of stories below, Delia and Salvador do not make the lexical connection to pioneer status, but they certainly occupy the narrative role reserved for pioneers in Mormon origin stories: The vanguard of a new religion coming into its own.

Mission as Pilgrimage and Rite

In order to fully appreciate their story, which revolves around their missionary experiences, one must first understand what a mission means to Mormons. From the opening of the “mission call” envelope wherein Mormon teenagers discover together with their family the exotic or familiar world city God has reserved specifically for their evangelizing impact, the Mormon mission is both a pilgrimage and a rite of passage. For Catholics, sites are often considered sacred because a localized miracle is an announcement that “worship is to be rendered in a place” (Weibel 2005, 116). For followers of the New Age, “the planet Earth gives off energy that is stronger in some places than in others” (116). The founders of anthropological pilgrimage studies, Edith and Victor Turner, consider pilgrimage to these sacred sites a ritualistic and “liminal phenomena” (Turner 1979) in that it fosters *communitas*, or the space between the structures of society. Pilgrims seek the *liminoid*, or some kind of contact in the sacred center beyond social structure. Pilgrimage is, among other things on the Turners’ list, “movement from a mundane center to a sacred periphery which suddenly, transiently, becomes central for the individual, an axis mundi of his faith” (Turner & Turner 2011, 34). Pilgrims achieve “direct contact with the sacred” (Winkelman & Dubisch 2005, xxiii) “unmediated by holy church powers and representatives” (xxii).

In fact, one of God’s mouthpieces on earth today, a member of The Quorum of The Twelve Apostles, tried to explain his lack of mediation in the process whereby full-time Mormon missionaries (his audience for the following quotation) are assigned their own personal sacred place to missionize.

In those sessions when I... participate in deciding [which missionary] the Lord would call [to which mission], I simply would say this to you: That you be careful. If there is anyone in this room who is saying, “I wonder if I was called by mistake,” or “I wonder if that’s really the place for me,” I just warn you: You be careful! I’ll just tell you, no member of The Twelve called you. It was not a human choice. It was not a computer that did it. I’ll just tell you that of all the experiences I’ve had of having the mind of the Lord made fairly clear—or VERY clear—nothing compares to the experience of those moments of missionaries being assigned. (Eyring 2011, min. 0:49)

God himself selects the place where each missionary is to go, meaning that the mission area is an intimately personal holy land for each missionary. This makes the mission a pilgrimage. However, the Mormon mission is also a textbook rite of passage as if lifted directly from the pages of Arnold Van Gennep’s (1961) book *The Rites of Passage* where “the liminal period” between “rites of separation” and “rites of incorporation” was coined. The young missionary is first put through a ritual, called the “setting apart,” after which the missionary remains apart until being ritually “released” post mission. During this “apart” time they may not embrace members of the opposite sex, even kin, and their telecommunication with kin is severely restricted. The entire 1.5 to 2-year mission (depending on gender) is the *liminoid* in many of the ways Victor Turner (1979) outlines: The neophytes are empty vessels into which the doctrine of their society (in this case, church) is poured, if they do not “return with honor” (see Conclusion, figure 33) after having completed their full mission period they become nonpersons in their society (especially if they are male, see Doty et. al. 2015), they are at the complete mercy of their mission president, and similar to the military, they have nothing “to demarcate them structurally from their fellows” (234). Mormon missionaries must stay with their assigned “companion” at all

times except to go to the restroom. Companion assignments change every few months. Today, Peruvians are almost always called to serve missions within Peru where they are likely to have ten different companions during their mission. Five of those will likely be from Peru, Bolivia or Chile, five will likely be from the US, and two or three of those five will likely be from Utah (figure 8).



FIGURE 8: A typical missionary companionship made up of a Utahan and a *cusqueño*. They are standing on a street corner in Arequipa. July 2018.

The Anglo friends Pedro mentions having in Utah were his former mission companions who, having gone through the same rite of passage, became his blood-brothers, soldiers from the same platoon. Companionships receive identical living stipends and eat and dress the same though one companion be from cosmopolitan Sundance, Utah and the other be, as Pedro was,

from a *barriada* in Lima without running water. This temporarily equalizing aspect of the mission fosters *communitas* in the world-wide “Mormon supranation” (Knowlton 2008) through the liminality of missionary work and the “homogeneity and comradeship” (Turner 1969, 82) it engenders.

Misioneras Agueridas

The *communitas* in a mission companionship consisting of a Utahan and a *limeño* is not created from an equitable fusion of US and Peruvian cultures. The culture of Mormonism’s global “imagined community” (Anderson 2006, title) or universal supranation—what Mormons unironically call “*gospel culture*” (Oaks 2012, title)—is seen by outsiders as essentially the culture of 1950’s rural Utah (O’Dea 1957), of US settler-coloniality (Taylor 2000) and of capitalist ambition (Ong 2003). In this sense, there is nothing “Peruvian” about it. Nevertheless, since Mormons imagine *gospel culture* to be a placeless, divine construct, they believe it accrues as “cultural capital” (Bourdieu 1994) in the socio-spiritual bank accounts of all Mormons regardless of nationality. This placeless universality does not mean *gospel culture* is not implicitly centered around the place of Utah in the minds of many Mormons, it simply means that all Mormons, marked and unmarked, should, in theory, be able to fully live *gospel culture* even though doing so may, in practice, require immigrating to Utah. When Pedro returned from his mission, the shock of inequality from sudden reentry into Peruvian structure, combined with the violence of the Shining Path, motivated him to immigrate to Utah wherein the bulk of his blood-brotherhood and cultural capital had now coalesced. However, as I finally allow Delia and Salvador to recount their Shining Path pioneer narrative, we will witness the process whereby *gospel culture* becomes dislodged from its implicit association with Utah, with Anglo Mormon

pioneer stories and with settler-coloniality in order to coalesce around Peru and make way for the possibility of Peruvian Mormon *pioneer indigeneity*, a concept I discuss in the next chapter.

DELIA: One of the saddest things was when we were left without a mission president. It was very terrible because suddenly they told us, “President Openshaw left Peru,” and everyone was like, “What? Now what do we do?” What happened was that since the Shining Path was always threatening him, they had to extricate him quickly. It was in a prop plane that landed at the mission home. They had an immense garden. So, when I had a companionship change and I got to the hotel, I just happened to walk in to leave my luggage and wait for my new companion when they called me up for dinner. I go in and I find all the North American missionaries from all the missions in Peru. On one side were all those from the South Mission, so I went up to them and was like, “Elders, [title for male missionaries] what’s going on?” And they cried like children. I remember Elder Back told me, “*Hermana*, [title for female missionaries] we are leaving!” “What? you mean everyone?” And it was terrible for them. They practically had no time to even say goodbye or pack their things because the church had chartered a jet. I stayed there until a bus came and took everyone away. The female North Americans had already left months prior. And then later some of them communicated with us through letters that they had been put in other missions in the United States so they could finish their missions. And it was difficult for us because, you can imagine, I just had my change to San Juan de Miraflores. Normally that zone had eighteen missionaries, but after they left, we only had ten. It was horrible because in our area we had to cover three wards all by ourselves, we had to go to every meeting. It was really complicated. Of course, there were a lot of baptisms though because the members learned how to help us a lot. It was a positive thing because since they saw that we were only two missionaries for three wards---I remember that when we got home at night exhausted, we would always find slips of paper under our door with referrals from the members. So, the members started to become more aware of missionary work. Since there were so few missionaries, they were forced to step up. They appreciated us more.

In traditional Mormon pioneer storytelling—an important aspect of *gospel culture*—not only does every cloud have a silver lining, but God deliberately creates disasters in order to topple the next domino in his ultimately beneficent plan. In this pioneer spirit, Delia is able to renarrativize the height of violence in Lima as “a positive thing.” For Delia, the dramatic decrease in full-time missionaries required the lay membership to become missionaries in their own neighborhoods, thus spreading the gospel in an even more dramatic fashion than if the North American missionaries had stayed. This disrupted the prophesied role “Ephraim” (Europe) was to play in sharing the Book of Mormon with “Manasseh” (the Americas). Thanks to the

Shining Path, Peruvians ended up occupying the pioneer place reserved for Anglos in Book of Mormon prophecies of latter-day evangelization. Of course, Delia is careful to not narrativize this story as one of racial hierarchy-toppling or throne usurpation.

DELIA: I won't say we were anguishing, but it was a little sad not to have a mission president. We didn't have a mission president for I don't know how long, about---

SALVADOR: ---two months---

DELIA: --- almost two months without a mission president. You felt like you didn't have parents. And that president, he knew Peruvians very well, he was an amazing [*buenazo*] president.

SALVADOR: He already knew Peru. He was working in the embassy when he was a stake president and then they called him to be the mission president. So it seems that since he was associated with the United States' embassy, he got threats. And well, they took out all the Americans, even the temple president, the Missionary Training Center president, all the temple workers, everyone, everyone, everyone.

DELIA: The Area Presidency, everyone. Not a soul remained.

SALVADOR: So, with them went practically all the leadership and the experience, because the Americans were the experience, the leadership, and they left. So the church had to call local leaders to take up positions of great responsibility. So it was a difficult period for the church. It marks the history of the church because it marks the point of accelerated learning for the leaders, how to carry the church in its different aspects: Mission, temple, and perfecting the Saints. It was a process, but in the long-term it was beneficial because they learned. And the results, the blessings are seen in the present time. Because now there are more Peruvian missionaries. The missionary work was secured. People started to acquire a lot of experience to the point where today the church has two Peruvian General Authorities, Elder Uceda and Elder Godoy, right? It marks the takeoff point of a new era in the church here in Peru and in Latin America. And that makes me think that the Lord was preparing these things so that the Peruvian church could be stronger in leadership. So that stage helped a lot, not that it wasn't difficult, right? But in the end the results were seen.

JASON: The church wasn't ruined after all.

SALVADOR: No, no. On the contrary.

DELIA: It grew.

SALVADOR: It grew. The stakes multiplied.

Stakes are administrative units made of multiple wards. The name comes from Biblical imaginings of Zion as a great tent that needs more stakes to fasten it to the earth as it expands. Since so many difficult metrics must be met in order that a local Stake Presidency and corresponding High Council replace a foreign mission presidency in the oversight of many geographically proximal congregations, the multiplication of stakes is a more reliable measurement of church growth than mere baptismal statistics, which often represent people who never returned to church after their baptism. In mentioning these metrics of real church growth, it is almost as if Salvador were directly rebutting Reilly's theory of Peruvian stagnation that stems from the hegemonic theory of social evolution. In this sense, Salvador's discourse is counterhegemonic. Yet, it paradoxically bolsters US hegemony by portraying the removal of "Americans" as the true hardship that befell Peru during the time when tens of thousands of Quechua-speaking villagers were being killed. Neither the removal nor the killings, however, merit the naming of a new historical *pachacuti* (epoch)—an ancient Quechua practice that organizes time into a cyclical series of world-changing events. For Salvador, the Mormon *pachacuti* only began the moment Peruvian Mormons took the helm of their own religion. In that moment, they pioneered their own Zion and defined their own *gospel culture*. Whatever it took to catalyze that *pachacuti* was a blessing in disguise, but the *Sendero*-spurred blessings did not stop there.

DELIA: As [female] missionaries, for example, there were times when they would keep us in our rooms. "No, you can't go out for four days because of terrorism." You can only imagine with what gusto we'd finally leave our rooms. You'd leave determined to baptize half the world! So, we became much more battle-hardened [*aguerridas*] missionaries with much more desire to proclaim the gospel, right? For example, it was amazing to us when we'd go to the zone meetings and they'd give us the baptism statistics for each zone. We were surprised because in Ayacucho [*Sendero* headquarters], it was the most difficult place in all of Peru, but they always had the most baptisms. And the missionaries who left to serve in Ayacucho were very fearful. I remember when we'd have our returned missionary reunions, many of them would tell stories and they'd say, "Oye, do you remember in the

plane how you cried, ‘why Ayacucho? Why!’” But they were mixed feelings: I am willing to serve the Lord, but that doesn’t take away the terror that I feel, right? Because the missionaries that served in Ayacucho, well, they knew that no matter what, they were going to hear the bombs and the fire fights. We had two mission companions who were first jailed and then forced into military service.

JASON: For the *Sendero*?

DELIA: No, no. What happened was that Elder Huamán committed an error. He didn’t regularize his documentation before leaving for his mission, so when he got to Ayacucho, he had his companion, Giraldo, and every day there would be draft raids [*batidas*]. When it came time to see Elder Huamán’s documents, they saw an irregularity, “since your documents are bad, which is your own fault, you are going to have to do military service. Alright?” Obviously, the missionaries protested, “But, no way! Why? No.” Immediately they conscripted him. And to his companion they said, “you can leave.” “No, I can’t leave because we are companions and they told me not to leave him.” “Ah, alright then, you get in there as well.” And they conscripted him too. By the time the zone leaders [young missionaries in charge of multiple companionships] called Lima, the documentation was already entered, and they were---

SALVADOR: ---Soldiers.

DELIA: Soldiers. When the mission president’s assistants finally came, they found them with uniforms and shaved heads [laughs] and for two months they were serving their country, doing drills, everything, but they were also preaching the gospel to many soldiers and they had baptisms in there as well. But something very special happened with all of this because President Openshaw was still there. I was assigned to Cuzco at the time and he traveled to Cuzco very worried and told us, “their two months of basic training are almost up. If we don’t get them out of the army fast, they are going to enter the battlefield.” And since they were young men in Ayacucho itself, well, it was practically a death sentence. In those two months the church did all kinds of paperwork, but they were always denied, it was terrible. And Giraldo wasn’t about to abandon his companion [laughs]. He had that very clear. So, when president Openshaw arrived in the Cuzco zone we had a kneeling prayer, “Today we must start fasting,” he said, “from this very moment. We are going to fast and we are going to pray.” We prayed and the blessing was given because with only one day to spare before they went into---

SALVADOR: ---the infantry---

DELIA: ---With one day to spare, the leaders from Lima arrived in Ayacucho, president Openshaw obviously couldn’t go himself, being a North American. They couldn’t find anyone to speak with, but suddenly a car pulls up right next to them and out walks one of the generals. The area leader goes up to him, “we have a problem, people know us as the Mormons, and we have two missionaries” --- “What? What? You are the Mormons!? I had a Mormon friend, an excellent guy. I admire you people, you know that? I owe you a lot. Which young men are you looking for?” And the general himself signs them out. That

same day both missionaries were discharged. So, when the president returned to Cuzco, he said, “our prayers were answered—cutting it a little too close for my taste—but He got the missionaries out.” And Elder Huamán went on to become my zone leader, so that is how I know all about his experiences.

JASON: And his companion was a Peruvian as well?

DELIA: Yes, both of them, extremely Peruvian [laughing]. They didn’t send North Americans to Ayacucho. Many experiences like that happened, that’s for sure. And this year we are going to have a South Mission reunion in Ayacucho, August 30, to remember the old times. A lot of people will be there, even Giraldo will be there because he lives in the United States now, but he and all the rest will come to visit.

JASON: And what about President Openshaw?

DELIA: Openshaw? He has come to many of our reunions. Oh, he came to one reunion that was SO emotional, you have no idea. And he said he needed that reunion because he never got the chance to say goodbye to us because he had to leave so quickly, right? And so he came and hugged us. He came with his family and that reunion was so, so nice. The best. But one lesson to take from Peru, for example, is that Peruvians don’t allow themselves to be had. No matter how much of a president you are, if you do something wrong, the people are going to stand up. That is why a lot of people say “Maduro [president of Venezuela at the time of the interview] could never be president of Peru because the Peruvians wouldn’t permit it. No way.” Peruvians demonstrated as much with Fujimori. They called together everyone from the four *Suyos* [a Quechua word meaning the four districts of the Inca Empire] and all of Peru rose up against him, and Fujimori escaped [laughs], ran away with his tail between his legs because he was scared. And that is what characterizes Peruvians, even more now that the terrorists did us so much harm.

I remember that my parents had a restaurant, and it was obvious that business was dropping, but there was a police cooperative that was a block away from our house and they contracted with my mom for breakfast and lunch delivery. After two days of providing the police with meals, the entire façade of our house got painted, they left threats, they painted the hammer and sickle and a bunch of other terrible expressions, it was horrible. On our front door they wrote in blood, it was--- AHH! In that moment I remember that the police told my mom, “Sorry, Mam, it is too much of a risk for us to work with you, we rescind our contract.” And it was like, wow, stuff like that is too much to process and that is how the *senderistas* were. They were intolerable. On the block where I lived, they were so hateful because they would set off bombs all the time. Our windows would break, and we’d always have to replace them.

From my house, the chapel was really close, only like five blocks away and my dad would always say, “when you are on the street and you hear bombs, get against the wall, don’t run, calm down.” It was a daily thing. When we went to youth activities at church, suddenly BOOM, the bombs. But it was a special time because there were so many of us in the youth organization and we all went together. As kids we’d say, “this is our generation’s challenge.

Yes, yes, we are going to go to church anyway.” And of that whole group of youth, all of us ended up going on missions, both women and men. These difficult things strengthened our testimony [sense of the church’s veracity]. Nowadays the kids go to youth activities and there are no bombs or blackouts or dangers. Now it’s just whining, “I don’t want to go to the activity. I don’t want to go to the chapel.” Or “so early?!” While for us, we practically risked our lives to go to the youth activities and to go to early-morning seminary. So, I think that all those obstacles helped us to value having a chapel, to value having people give of their time to teach us the lessons, to value having our religion.

JASON: And nowadays kids are too lazy to go?

SALVADOR: Exactly.

DELIA: It’s laziness, pure laziness. I remember one young women from our youth group who made the mistake of running. We would always say, “when the bombs sound, don’t run.” You had to walk because if not, it was a sign that you had been the one to plant the bomb. But she ran and the police took her away. They tortured her and she was in jail for over a month. It was horrible for her, but even so, she went on her mission. She is still strong in the church to this day. Those are the types of young people we had in that generation, at least in Ayacucho and Lima where the terrorism was at its strongest. That is why I say it was a good thing.

We Have Become a Part of That History

Where did the most baptisms take place? When and where were missionaries miraculously liberated from certain death? When did the highest percentage of youth complete their mission pilgrimage and rite of passage? If the answers to these questions include the times and places of the most intense violence imaginable, then nothing less than a truly Mormon pioneer story is afoot. In their continuous narrative, Delia and Salvador hit all the hallmarks of pioneer origin myth. Another of these marks, as both Simón and Reilly also demonstrate, is the seamless conflation of Zion-building with state-building. For example, Delia goes from talking about a mission president to talking about a national president without skipping a beat. This conflation of church and state formation happens in other venues as well. In academia, historians portray Westward-crossing Mormon pioneering as not only opening up the West to the preaching

of the Mormon gospel, but as opening it up to “civilization” in the forms of irrigation and agriculture (Wescoat 2010).

In order for a story to be a Mormon pioneer narrative that lives up to *gospel cultural* norms it must have the potential to scale out until it becomes the causal force behind all global “advances.” Mormons of many nationalities have told me that radio was invented so that the Mormon Tabernacle Choir would have a venue of distribution and that flight was invented so that missionaries could get to their missions. In Delia and Salvador’s tale, the fate of Peru is inextricably tied to the fate of Peruvian Mormonism because the age of terrorism produced “local” leadership, which is something that they saw as naturally scarce in both the Peruvian church and the Peruvian nation. This forging of leadership is what sparked my final question.

JASON: That whole age of *Senderismo* seems like the history of Zion’s Camp. You know in the Doctrine and Covenants [canonized Anglo Mormon history] how Joseph Smith and many others went to fight against the Missouri militia? They didn’t end up getting to fight, and it all went horribly wrong, but from that harsh experience of Zion’s Camp emerged all the future leaders of the church, like Brigham Young.

DELIA: Yes, yes.

JASON: Something like that, right? And do you think that, because of all this, that the church was run in more of a Peruvian style afterwards?

SALVADOR: Yes.

JASON: In what way?

SALVADOR: Yes, the *peruanidad* [Peruvianness] of the church was reinforced a lot during that time. Because it used to be the church of the *gringos*, it had that image. But once the terrorism happened, the Peruvians themselves, over time—because it was only in 2015 when they started sending North American missionaries again—the Peruvians started to finally take control of the church out of necessity, and so they learned a lot. The idea that the church is of Jesus Christ was strengthened. It isn’t an American religion, right? It is a restored, ancient religion. So that idea was really strengthened and that is why the church has grown so much in Peru. We are more than a half million Peruvians who are baptized, with four temples [announced, but only two actually constructed], so you can see the solidity of the church. In the same time frame in which the church in Chile was established, in Brazil, in Argentina, the church has progressed a lot more in Peru. In Chile

it was less because even though the church started much earlier there, I think in 1919, in Peru it didn't start until 1950. So, in only 50 or 60 years the church has matured much more in Peru than it has in 100 years in Chile. And one of the reasons, one of the factors is that the Americans left, and the Peruvians had to be the ones to hold up the church. Not that there weren't MANY mistakes.

DELIA: A lack of experience.

SALVADOR: Yes. As Peruvians, we are characterized for our lack of honesty. We aren't that honest. And that got reflected in the church, right? There were a lot of people excommunicated because they grabbed tithing money in order to pay off personal debts. There was apostasy, there was mistreatment, but that is also one of the proofs that the church is not led by men, rather it is led by the Lord and He attends to his accounts and He sees the way in which imperfect people like us can become perfect through experience, through trials, through adversity, and through the refinement that one has to go through in order to humble one's self and ask for help. And the blessings come. So it was a difficult stage and we have lived it. We have become part of that history---

DELIA: --- we have been attacked by terrorists---

SALVADOR: ---But, in the present day we can see the blessings of that, right? Because Peru is a more prosperous country. Certainly, we still have a LONG way to go. We have a lot more advancing to do, but compared to those decades, things have gotten a lot better. There is more economic capacity now, the church is more mature. So, the Lord has blessed these lands. He has caused a lot of blessings and a lot of suffering as well. There were a lot of deaths, the economy was terrible, it wasn't enough, there was no food. Maybe it was like what is going on in Venezuela right now. But Peru is going towards good paths now, it's on a good track and that is all thanks to the faith of the members of the church.

Mormon pioneer stories, in their strong association with evolutionary hierarchies, hegemonic notions of Western supremacy, and Utah-centrism, seem impossible to weave into a Peruvian *gospel culture*. Nevertheless, this is precisely what Simón, Pedro, Delia and Salvador do. Salvador is somehow able to make a nod to the veracity he perceives in North American supremacy while simultaneously and specifically reversing Reilly's racist twenty-years-behind-Chile theory of Peruvian *estancamiento*, all without betraying any sign of cognitive dissonance. To these Peruvian Mormons, the same *Sendero Luminoso* pioneer story that, to me, seems utterly contradictory, makes perfect sense within the Peruvian *gospel culture* that they pioneer by overcoming God-given adversity. Without disrupting Utah-centrism, they use Peruvian-style

renarrativization (Vogel 2014) to ingeniously recenter Mormonism around Peru and prove that Peruvians are indeed capable of self-government, apparently resolving part of the paradox that stems from Zion's inclusive exclusivity.

However, the *Sendero* story is not the only way that Peruvians make claims to *gospel culture's* coveted title of “pioneer.” In the next chapter, I explore other, more structurally profound ways this is done, ways that complicate the resolvability of Zion's paradox in a context of multivalent *pioneer indigeneity*—being first in Zion.

CHAPTER TWO

Stone Legacy versus Dark Dancing:

Staking out Pioneer Indigeneity and Life through Sacrifice and Death

And should we die before our journey's through,
Happy day! All is well!
We then are free from toil and sorrow, too;
With the just we shall dwell!
(Clayton 1985, 30)

Tribulations Bring Blessings

The moral of both the Anglo Mormon and the *Sendero* Mormon origin stories is that God turns tribulations into blessings. This moral grants both stories “pioneer” rights within *gospel culture*. Disturbingly, what intertwines these stories further is that they both conceal the disregard for human life often correlated with this moral in Christian missionization. Among the Ayoreo of Paraguay, this moral translated into the “terrible irony... that missionaries had to first intensify or create the savage realities they aimed to alleviate and transcend. They thanked God when he ‘opened doors’ through devastating epidemics... [which they used] to stage demonstrations of the power of God’s Grace [antibiotics] over satanic witchcraft” (Bessire 2014, 100). The negligence of sending Peruvian missionaries to the most dangerous areas of Peru while extracting Anglo Mormons from the entire country parallels the negligence concealed in the portion of the Anglo Mormon plains-crossing that—because of its heightened tribulation—has come to symbolize the entire origin myth—the Martin and Willie handcart disaster of 1856 wherein over 150 overland travelers died in a snowstorm (Hein 2014).

Had Brigham Young valued the lives of his new converts as much as his own, he would not have bid them come to Utah late in the year pushing their own handcarts, but would have

arranged for their well-timed travel as he had for those in his own horse-drawn party. Today, instead of focusing on its shocking preventability, when the historic-site missionaries at Martin's Cove, Wyoming recount the disaster to hundreds of Mormons each summer to prepare them spiritually for their own handcart-pushing reenactment—"Trek"—they focus on the faith-promoting, pioneer-forging blessings that came from it. Even the frostbitten amputees who survived to live in Utah's Zion reportedly privileged the moral that tribulations bring blessings over an equally fitting moral, "a stitch in time saves nine," which would have implicated Brigham Young's negligence (Hafen and Hafen 1992).

Narrative privileging of faith-promotion over life-protection mirrors the Exodus privileging of arduous, Promised Land pioneering over inconvenient, indigenous Palestinian removal. This mimesis is refracted into paradox when Zion-building Mormons lay claim to both the pioneering and the indigeneity. A Chilean Mormon named Ignacio Monte, who was the church's facilities manager in Lima the day all Anglo Mormons were evacuated, grappled with this paradox during an interview in October 2017 in Utah.

I think that a lot of people think and feel that Peruvians are very docile—and they are in certain ways—but they have a very strong spirit. Now, as to my experience being there, I was charged with sending home the bodies of two missionaries killed in the highlands. It got to the point when we had to understand that we were inside an independent power that was not controlled, which was the *guerrilla*, and we had to learn to coexist with that. So, there were rules that we had to follow in that place [Ayacucho, Shining Path headquarters], right? We didn't send any *gringos* over there [because the Shining Path was explicitly anti-US]. Well, what did not occur to anybody was that--- When we pass instructions on down to those below, one tends to think that everyone is going to understand what one is thinking, right? And the instruction was that no Americans should be sent there, but nobody ever said that a blonde-haired, blue-eyed Peruvian would also run a risk, right? So, there was a Peruvian missionary with blonde hair and blue eyes with his companion and they were killed. Now, the terrible thing was to think, or to feel, that it could have been avoided, right? But there it is. Many times in large organizations such as the church, instructions come down and the people on the ground, the ones who have to implement them, do not understand them or they see them in a different way. All they do is read the words, "no Americans over there" and so, well, "Peruvians! Let's look for all the Peruvians." And

Peruvians go. One should have included the reason behind the instruction, right? --- think it through a bit better.

Though Ignacio comes dangerously close to implicating the cross-cultural insensitivity of the church's "read between the lines" rule-bending expectation in the death of two Peruvian missionaries, he quickly recovers the blessings-through-tribulation moral, thus maintaining the pioneer spirit that converts the Shining Path narrative into a Mormon pioneer origin story.

IGNACIO: Then the instruction came that nobody who wasn't Peruvian should be in Peru. Many thought, "now the church will not grow, it will stop." Because there always exists the feeling that things advance only when North Americans are there because they have more of a--- what is it called? A determination to work that Latinos don't have, and that they have discipline and all that, and well, we saw what happened. All the Peruvians knew that now everything was in their charge. The church started to grow even more ... The people stayed strong and the people felt their responsibility. And they grew. Now they are building their third temple in Peru.

JASON: After that experience, do Peruvians no longer feel that the church will fall if North Americans aren't around?

IGNACIO: I believe that the feeling there now is knowing of what Peruvians are truly capable. Not so much that we don't need North Americans or that North Americans are not good. They are good. The point is that, at what point do Latinos or, in this case, Peruvians, take responsibility for who they are? And they did it in a brilliant manner.

The question of who Peruvians are bespeaks their historic status as docile, colonized, Indigenous people in relation to their contemporary "responsibilities" as brilliant, self-governing Mormon pioneers. The fusion of antonymic repulsion and bipolar fascination that the potential amalgamation of these identities—*pioneer indigeneity*—produced in Ignacio was too unwieldy for him to fully narrativize. Though *gospel culture* from the last chapter is a term my study participants use, *pioneer indigeneity* is my invention. I coin it in order to capture that unwieldiness. *Pioneer indigeneity* encapsulates the oxymoronic strangeness of encounters that are almost, but not quite colonial regarding people, both Anglo and Peruvian, who are not quite "Indigenous," not quite "pioneers" or not quite "Indigenous pioneers." The simultaneous

compulsion and revulsion of *pioneer indigeneity* explains Ignacio's narrative omission that the blue-eyed missionary's companion also had a phenotype. He was a brown-skinned *cusqueño* with "pioneer ancestry" in that he was the son of the "pioneer of Cuzco" that Simón mentioned in Chapter One. In Mormonism, those with "pioneer ancestry" are supposed to be white, not brown. Therefore, though both companions are equally dead, Ignacio privileges the more faith-promoting of the deaths, the death of the whiter, and thus more pioneer-like body. The "other" body, an "Indigenous pioneer" body, disturbs the monopoly that Anglo Mormonism has over *pioneer indigeneity* implicit in the Anglo Mormon pioneer story structure wherein Anglos anachronistically become the Salt Lake Valley's first inhabitants, a structure that Ignacio knows well. Paradoxically, the *cusqueño* missionary was guilty—from the Shining Path's perspective—because of his association with US Mormon pioneering, yet he was fit for the fatal risks of Ayacucho in the first place—from the official church's perspective—because of his association with indigeneity. After all, it was not he who was sent to Ayacucho in error. The mistake was sending a blonde.

Like this Chilean church employee and the Martin's Cove missionaries, contemporary Mormons and "Indigenous pioneers," both Anglo and Peruvian, are creative with which morals they privilege in their formulation of origin stories and in their adoption of the legacies these stories enable. However, this creativity goes beyond merely choosing the most faith-promoting narrative. Peruvian Mormons navigate some very paradoxical morals in order finesse and manipulate space, time, and the sacred itself; reformatting the aspect of their "indigeneity" that indexes being first into something that counts as fully "Mormon"—not only first on the land, but first in Zion. In the last chapter I discussed how such creations of pioneer identity play out as Shining Path stories contest gospel-versus-culture dichotomies that privilege Utah-centrism and

settler coloniality. In this chapter I focus on how other kinds of stories help grant “Indigenous” Peruvians a “pioneer” life and legacy in a Zionist framework that requires sacrifice and death. In Anglo Mormonism, *pioneer indigeneity* is concocted as a form of “setter nativism” (Tuck and Yang 2012, 2) wherein pioneer, settler-colonist identity and an ill-appropriated “indigeneity” combine in ways that sharpen the colonist/indigenous dichotomy. However, when Peruvian Mormons seize control over their own pioneer legacies, they create alternate *pioneer indigeneities* that meld this dichotomy into something new.

Just Like the Original

Though some wield their Shining Path experiences to forge a unique Mormon pioneer identity that elevates the Peruvian Zion closer to the storied Utah Zion, most Peruvian Mormons today have never heard the Shining Path Mormon origin story. Some were not yet born or not yet Mormon during the war in the 80’s and 90’s. Others were too busy worrying about martial law to notice the evacuation of Anglo Mormon leadership. Pioneers like Delia try to keep this story alive orally, but Mormonism’s daily, central focus on Utah-distributed texts considered globally relevant tends to eclipse local pioneer storytelling. Yet, as we will see below, it is precisely through these written texts that Peruvian Mormons formulate *pioneer indigeneity*. My in-laws, over 150 Peruvian Mormons all living near Salsands, Utah, exemplify this formulation.

Shortly after Arcadio Costa and Jacoba Arriátegui emigrated from Lima to New Jersey in the early 70’s, they joined the church and moved to Northern Utah where they were instrumental in pioneering Spanish-speaking Mormon *barrios* (wards) in English-speaking “stakes of Zion.” Part of this included instituting celebrations of indigeneity. Though the Costa family claims to be “nonindigenous by culture” (De la Cadena 2000, 273), they are proud Lamanites, an identity that implies indigeneity by descent from textual, Book of Mormon peoples. Lamanite identity allows

Latin Americans who once considered “*indio*” an insult akin to “uneducated” to consider it instead an opportunity to educate the insulter on the *indios*’ textually-verifiable, illustrious Israelite origins.

Jacoba’s way of showing pride in her identification with these origins was to institute in Utah what *neoindianistas* instituted in Cuzco in the 1940’s—folkloric dance. These Peruvian dances were specifically designed to replace the stereotype of the “melancholic, introverted peasant” with that of the “festive Indian” (277) “decked out in rich, multicolored wool clothing,” (285). Jacoba’s children, and now her great-grandchildren, grew up dressing like *indios* and *ñustas* (Inca princesses) and dancing *Valicha* on Mormon stages in Utah as part of Lamanite heritage celebrations alongside their Latin American and occasionally Diné (Navajo) counterparts, all bedecked in their most Indigenous garb (figure 9).



FIGURE 9: The anniversary celebration of Jacoba’s Spanish-speaking ward in Salsands, Utah. After performing *Valicha*, Peruvian *ñustas* (colorful hats, middle left) watch their Colombian coreligionists dance *La Pollera Colorá*. October 2017.

Such dedicated pioneering of recently refashioned *cusqueña* “Indigenous” dance, especially coming from a proud *limeña* like Jacoba who claims to “descend from” but not inhabit indigeneity, speaks to indigeneity’s multivalence and multitemporality in Andean constructions. For example, in rural Bolivia, some of the very people thought of as the nation’s most “Indigenous” often do not consider their own children to be “Indigenous.” In their view, since people are “Indigenous” by lifestyle, not blood-descent, if their children move to the city—leaving the cycle of communal reciprocity that creates “indigeneity” (full humanity)—they are no longer “Indigenous” even though, from a genetic standpoint, they may have 100 percent Amerindian ancestry (Canessa 2012). Furthermore, the parents themselves are only “Indigenous” in my translation of the Aymara word for their identity, *jaqi*. In their translation, they are simply “human,” meaning that indigeneity for them is a doubly vacuous concept (Canessa 2012).

The upwardly mobile descendants of *jaqi* go to great lengths to decrease the traits that they perceive to be the outward manifestations of indigeneity and its implied provinciality. However, Berg (2015) finds, in the case of Peru, that when this upward mobility leads to US migration, Peruvians suddenly feel free to exotify aspects of their indigeneity, discovering that, in the US multicultural context, a certain Indianism can bolster rather than diminish their cosmopolitanism. Jacoba, in line with this phenomenon, makes sure that everyone whom she constructs as Costa-kin in Utah learns to dance in *cusqueño* costumes, costumes that her siblings who remained in Lima would not be caught dead wearing.

Though Indigenous performance is an important ingredient of Costa kinship and legacy in Utah, this kinship is also constructed through an iterative blend of genealogy, temple “sealing”¹ and missionization. The later endeavor is what motivated Jacoba and Arcadio, as an

¹ Sealing is a ritual binding of kin ties that can only be carried out in a dedicated Mormon temple. This binding is the only way to make the kin ties viable in the next life.

elderly couple in 2009, to serve a two-year mission in the Peruvian Amazon where, as our conversation will demonstrate, they pioneered Mormon pioneer-origin storytelling itself. During a family campout in Utah in July 2015, I convened a focus group with the Costa family around a campfire. The circle included the following adults: Arcadio, Jacoba, Arcadio H. (their son), Carolina (Arcadio's cousin), and Nilda, (Jacoba's half-sister and my mother-in-law). Arcadio quickly shot down the premise of my focus question—"What is it like to be a Peruvian Mormon in Utah?"—declaring that it is no different than being any other "kind of Mormon." He then posed his own question:

ARCADIO: We have done the pioneer trek in Wyoming, but I am going to tell you something. I travel to South America. If here in Utah we do the pioneer marches and we go to the plains where the pioneers crossed, and we feel that spirit of so many people who died there, then why in South America do they not teach that? Why don't they even bother to do what my wife and I did on the mission [in Puerto Maldonado, Peru]? We talked to the members and they, themselves, made their own handcarts, they, themselves went out with their kids up here on their shoulders to walk and walk under a sun that was about 120 degrees and the people were crying. We would stop, and the bishop would cry reading *Our Legacy*, reading from stop to stop the whole history. He said, "we had never heard, we had never had a pioneer march. This is new for us." ... It seems like a lie, but I'm telling you those people cried something fierce. Seriously! The bishop? Oh man! Cried himself an ever-loving river! He felt the spirit of so much sacrifice! ... And we got all the four wards together and every single one of us marched together.

NILDA: You mean they don't teach it over there?

ARCADIO: No, because---

NILDA: --- Why don't they teach it?

...

CAROLINA: Because maybe they tell themselves that it's something that only the Americans---

ARCADIO: --- It is the history of the church! And so why don't they put it into practice in other places? Why only in the United States?

CAROLINA: Yeah, that's wrong [to not do reenactments in other places] because it is from the church. It was from the pioneer journey that the church was formed.

...

ARCADIO H: Part of the problem, part of the reason is that, where are they going to walk? That land [in Wyoming] is owned by the church, and I understand that Martin's Cove and all that is the church's [property].

ARCADIO: Well, yes, but that doesn't--- I mean, there are places to walk over there [in Peru]. My point is that--- as a teaching, as a teaching that they might feel---

JACOBA: ---Look. All we did was a little thing ... I brought clothing for the sisters [figure 10] and also shirts and white people pants for the brothers. And for everyone—hats and bonnets. I bought 40 hats. And that is how we planned it ... I supposed that only the mothers and the fathers would come. No! The whole family came, with little kids and newborns. With everything. Just like the original. Walking on the earth.

...

ARCADIO: The thing I want, *Hermano* [Jason], is sincerely just one thing. How can we expect to get a testimony? How can we expect that testimony to grow only through stories? Only stories, even if they are true. Only storytelling. If the people participate, if the people feel a little bit of thirst, a little bit of hunger, a little bit of fatigue, they will simply say, "how did [those pioneers] do it?" Do you understand me?



FIGURE 10: A Peruvian Mormon version of *pioneer indigeneity* (compare to the Anglo Mormon version in figure 11). Trek participants in Puerto Maldonado, Peru prepare for their handcart reenactment. March 2010. Photo Credit: Jacoba Arriátegui (pseudonym).

Arcadio wants me to know that the people will answer their own question with, “the pioneers could have only done it with the help of God.” Unfortunately, this means to me—one who knows the Ute side of the story (Farmer 2008)—that God was on the side of my ancestors, the settler-colonists, as they decimated Indigenous nations. It can be mimetically nauseating to see people who identify with these nations reenacting what, to me, seems like their own oppression. For me, and for many settler-colonists (Bacigalupo 2016), the dialectical boundary between indigeneity and coloniality should remain stark. Making it porous is embarrassing and revolting. However, revulsion is far from the Costa family’s reaction to Jacoba and Arcadio’s pioneering of the Anglo Mormon origin story among Peru’s Indigenous Amazonians. Arcadio, someone who dances his Indigenous ancestry on Mormon stages, wants me to understand that what may seem like a story that belongs only to those of Anglo Mormon “pioneer ancestry,” is actually a legacy that belongs just as deeply to him.

The manual Arcadio mentions, *Our Heritage: A Brief History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*—translated into Spanish as *Nuestro Legado* or “Our Legacy”—claims to be a “history” but functions as an origin story. This is because its purpose is not to state historically verifiable facts, but to provide the ingredients of *pioneer indigeneity*, an aspect of sainthood and full Zion citizenship vital to all Mormons, both the colonists and the Indigenous, the “Americans” and the Peruvians. Pioneer “legacy,” one of *pioneer indigeneity’s* key ingredients, is an ephemeral concept that is perhaps best concretized through two of its component parts—faith and whiteness.

Whiteness is created by the erasure, or very selective inclusion, of the role Native Americans and African Americans played in Utah’s mythical founding (Mueller 2017). The aforementioned Indigenous pioneer, Nigeajasha, whom Anglos called Joseph F. Herring, was

erased from more than just the myth. He joined the greater Mormon body because the Quorum of Twelve Apostles promised to transport his sister, but they never fulfilled that promise. With his incessant petitions on her behalf, he became a thorn in Brigham Young's side. In his final, bitterly resigned letter to Young on the subject of his sister, his signature line is a telling expression of his non-white, and perhaps now, non-Mormon identity— "J.F.H. Nigeajasha of Mohawk Indian" (Taylor 2000, 273). Bill Hickman, who would later become one of Young's most infamous hitmen, killed Nigeajasha and presented his scalp to Young who "took it and thanked me very much" (304).

Faith, another aspect of pioneer legacy, is more difficult to achieve than the death of non-whiteness. Faith is created by a focus on sacrifice and tribulation since Joseph Smith (1844) believed that "a religion that does not require the sacrifice of all things, never has the power sufficient to produce the faith necessary unto life" (69). He also felt and enshrined into the temple rite used to this day, that "we should covenant to sacrifice all that we possess, even our own lives if necessary, in sustaining and defending the Kingdom of God." (Mormons in Transition 2011, 9). The archetypal Mormon origin myth's need for sacrifice makes it necessary for the Martin's Cove handcart disaster to stand in for all overland crossings even though only five percent of Mormons who came overland to Utah between 1847 and 1868 (the year the transcontinental railroad was completed) did so by handcart (Reeve 2018). Only the most death-defying aspect of the "history" made it into the myth. The myth's focus on death also makes it necessary to eliminate the statistic that, based on US death rates at the time, making the journey to Utah only increased one's chances of death by one percent (Reeve 2018). Therefore, death becomes complexly cemented to both faith and whiteness in its concoction of pioneer "legacy."

Narratives of Sacrifice

Defying death to achieve faith and erasing life to achieve whiteness are not the only ingredients of legacy and *pioneer indigeneity* found in the Mormon origin story. Judging from its structure, another important ingredient is Utah-centeredness. Since Utah is the destination of the origin narrative, and since, according to anthropologists Yanagisako and Delaney (2013), “the explanatory schemes upon which identity was based have been shown to rest not on the bedrock of fact but suspended in narratives of origin” (1), Utah landscapes must be embedded into the identities of all who seek to be Mormon pioneers. However, what happens when people are not physically in, or do not biologically descend from those born in “the sites where these stories and identities make sense?” (2). The Mormon origin story makes sense to Anglo Mormons in Utah because it grants them the autochthonous, Utahan identity that they need in order to see themselves as the colonized, not the colonizers. A myth culminating with the arrival of only Anglos to a space devoid of lives they considered human should only make sense among the descendants of those Anglos who have to justify their continuing colonization of that space. Yet, Arcadio’s theory that pioneer sacrifice must be enacted, not just retold, broadens the myth’s applicability. Full Zion citizenship and pioneer legacy require sacrifices, but sacrifices can be made in any space—not just Utah—and at any time—not just 1847.

If space is sacralized into Zion through the secretions of sacrifice and legacy left on the land and if people who make those secretions are pioneers, then *arequipeño* Mormons can be pioneers too. At least, this is Ofelia Dominguez’ opinion. I met her in my first week of preliminary research in Arequipa in 2016. She was baptized Mormon in 2001 but was born and raised Catholic in Arequipa. Her dream is to visit Utah. The following interview took place in July 2016.

JASON: And what feeling are you going to have toward the Arequipa temple once it is built, being the temple of your home city?

OFELIA: Being the temple of my home city? A special feeling, but I will also always remember the Lima temple. We were just commenting about that with a lot of the sisters. They were saying, “now that we are going to have our own temple in Arequipa, we don’t have to travel sixteen hours to Lima with our spines hurting, thankfully.” But I stopped and thought about that and said, “yes, we are blessed with a temple in our city. It may be true that we won’t have to go through those tough times traveling uncomfortably on the bus, but then what will our sacrifice be? Just have the taxi drop us off and that’s it?” It will no longer be the same desire that those of us who have to travel continue to feel. It may be true that we don’t have to travel with our handcarts [laughs] like the pioneers, but from the moment that we save for the bus fare we start sacrificing a lot of things to get that money together. We risk our jobs because ... we run the risk of our bosses saying, “sorry, if you take time off, don’t come back.” Even so, we sacrifice it ... because we want to go to the house of the Lord. I think that it’s not going to require much of a sacrifice anymore. The feeling of: “It doesn’t matter how we get there, but let’s get there. It doesn’t matter if we don’t eat those days, but we are there. We are there.” ... I think that there will still be a sacrifice with the new temple, but it won’t be SUCH a huge sacrifice like the one that our ancient pioneers made. Right? Maybe the sacrifice that we have to do now, or rather--- the duty that is ours now, is to accelerate the construction of the temple by doing our genealogy, the vicarious work for our dead. That is what they are asking us to do now so that the construction can accelerate.

Ofelia was careful to not put herself on par with the Anglo Mormon pioneers of 1847, whom she identified as her own “ancient pioneers,” yet she included her personal sacrifices among those that pioneered *arequipeña* Mormon temple worship. She is part of the temple’s story in that she believes her sacrifice of time spent in researching her ancestors directly accelerated the construction of the temple wherein those ancestors can now be “sealed”² to her in a ritual that is necessary for both her salvation and theirs. In the official church, temples do require that ancestor names be submitted regularly in order to function at full capacity. However, church real estate lawyers do not require ancestor names in order to litigate faster so that “construction can accelerate.” In claiming otherwise, Ofelia was interpreting a recent, and very localized belief bred from speculation about an unusually long preconstruction delay in

² To be sealed in a Mormon temple means that one party is bound to the other in an eternal relationship.

procuring government approval to build on the chosen site.

After talking to Reilly, and to the Ministry of Culture's local archaeologists, I discovered that the delay stemmed from the problematic legality of developing a protected, pre-Inca archaeological zone consisting of agricultural aqueducts and terracing that have been in continuous use for over 3,000 years. However, rumor had it in Ofelia's congregation, *Barrio Periféricos*, that the delay was in fact a divine chastisement of local members for their lack of enough ancestor data to make the temple worth building. Thinking it superstitious, Reilly sought to quell this rumor, but Ofelia, seeing it as a call to sacrifice, channeled it into the production of pioneer identity. Through the rumor, which local Peruvian bishops permutated through local pulpits, genealogy became a way to materially participate in temple construction, a way to accumulate sacrifice under Arequipa's ground and, in the process, recruit ancestral spirits in the fight against Peru's Ministry of Culture that regulated the possibility of construction atop pre-Inca, Indigenous civilizations (specifically the Yarabaya).

It worked. Members increased their digital production of ancestor names like never before, and, suddenly, despite the outcry from archaeologists and the local non-Mormon community intent on preserving the material evidence of indigeneity in their surroundings, permission was granted, and construction commenced.

Reilly's attempted debunking of Ofelia's belief ignored her need to sacrifice for her temple on her land. It also ignored the importance of ancestors in many *arequipeños'* relationships to place. Reilly saw the temple's eventual triumph over the Ministry of Culture's legal hurdles as miraculous, but he refused to attribute this miracle to Ofelia's sacrifice of time in researching and digitizing the names of her ancestors, some of whom may have even built the Yarabaya terracing upon which the temple now stands.

Story Ownership

Ofelia's ancestors, who hail from autochthonous Andean villages, bring to mind the pre-Utah part of Mormonism's origin story—The Book of Mormon. This text is an alternate Pan-American Indigenous mythology that presses the limits of Yanagisako and Delaney's (2013) maxim that "origin myths, precisely because they hook individual identities to ontological realities, are not substitutable" (3). In the myth, an Israelite family led by Lehi came to America where his son Laman was cursed for, among other things, not being willing to risk his life to save written records. Laman's skin was darkened, his brown descendants killed off his brother Nephi's white descendants, and according to many Peruvian Mormons, he is the principal ancestor of all modern-day "Laman-ites" (people who identify or are identified as having Amerindian or Pacific Islander ancestry) including Ofelia.

Peruvians achieving Mormon *pioneer indigeneity* through Lamanite identity do not substitute old stories for new ones and they do not discriminate between modern Anglo and ancient Israelite versions of pioneering. Theirs is a multitemporal, generative amalgamation of legacy. The Book of Mormon makes this especially complex. It seems to have been written in order to sacralize the periodic colonial encounters between white Nephite people and brown Lamanite people as encounters between adults and children, between people who knew how to use the land and people who did not. As Edward Said (1993) wrote, "The main battle in imperialism is over land, of course; but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future—these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative" (xii-xiii).

Though Native Americans were the subjects of the Book of Mormon's narrative and of its prophesied evangelizing, they were also its objects of colonial erasure. White people, after all,

according to the book, were not only the foreordained, new owners of the American continent in their current instantiation as Euro-Americans, but they were also its aboriginal inhabitants in their Nephite instantiation. White people were the architects of all the great archaeological structures indigenous to the Americas. The Moundbuilders were white. White settler violence against Native Americans, therefore, was a justified reconquest, not simply a justified first conquest. This appropriation of indigeneity while oppressing the actual Indigenous (Nelson 1999) is not surprising given that Mormonism was an independence movement from the rest of US colonial society. Like all other European independence movements in the Americas, it was rooted in

the American myth of decolonization. From the Boston Tea Party, in which American-born Europeans dressed as Indians, to the balls held in Valparaiso, [Chile], in which creoles dressed as Mapuche, white people identified with the natives of the soil in their struggle against the colonial oppressor. But neither on these or any other similar occasions across the continent did this indicate any solidarity with living indigenous people. These theatrical moments are nevertheless significant because they point to the moment when Europeans become “native,” when they become “American” and take on the mantle of an attenuated autochthonous identity, that is, of being “of the land,” which distinguished them from those they considered the true colonizers. (Canessa 2012, 88)

In her previously mentioned article on the “*governance of the prior*,” Povinelli (2011) called this phenomenon “creole nationalism.” Through it, “Americans could claim and experience themselves as the prior occupant of the Americas: projecting itself against the metropole, the settler state constituted itself as prior to it” (18).

Another way Anglo Mormon converts distinguished themselves from the true colonizers while simultaneously establishing their prior-ness was by claiming that they were actually of the lost sub-tribe of Israel, Ephraim, scattered among the “gentiles.” The reason they were able to believe in Mormonism in the first place was because they had Israel’s “believing blood” (Mauss 2003), which was thought to literally react to the sound of the gospel message. Technically, all

Amerindians on the continent were also of the house of Israel through Ephraim's younger brother Manasseh (Laman's ancestor) meaning they also had "believing blood," albeit not as privileged as Ephraim's first-born birthright blood. However, as Anglo Mormons moved west among all kinds of Indigenous nations, their concept of where the believing blood-toting Lamanites dwelled kept getting pushed on further and further before them. As early as 1831, a year after the church's founding, apostle Oliver Cowdery already had his sights set far to the west on those he considered "more civilized tribes," such as "the navahoes" (Mueller 2017, 100). The sentiment was that the "degraded Indians" surrounding Anglo Mormons in places like Ohio Territory (Taylor 2000, 180) could not possibly be the Lamanites that the Book of Mormon prophesied would "build a city, which shall be called the New Jerusalem" (Smith 1830, 501).

Arriving in Utah Territory and still failing to see the mass conversions that "believing blood" was supposed to produce in the descendants of Lehi, the apostle Parley Pratt (1888) sought them in South America. During a reconnaissance mission in 1852, he concluded, "perhaps nine-tenths of the vast population of Peru, as well as of most other countries of Spanish America, are of the *blood of Lehi*" (447). The church did not officially start missionary work in Peru until 1956, but its eventual success there and across Latin America certainly confirmed Pratt's notion that the right kind of indigeneity had finally been found. Recently, this led to a new demographic reality in Utah: most Anglo Mormons are, at long last, living alongside Lamanites as Latin American Mormon immigrants continue to arrive through the networks laid by their overlapping ecclesiastical and familial memberships.

Along with folkloric dances like Jacoba's, these immigrants bring with them their own traditions of Book of Mormon theatrics, such as the annual Christmas song and dance production, *Luz de las Naciones* (Light of the Nations), which is performed in Salt Lake City's

Temple Square by select members of Spanish-speaking congregations and often portrays Aztec and Maya cultures in relation to Jesus Christ's Book of Mormon visit to the Americas. Such "Indigenous" productions compete with the Anglo Mormon settler-colonists' long-standing tradition of appropriating Book of Mormon conceptions of indigeneity into pageantry (C. Smith 2015). In their outdoor pageants, Anglo Mormons often use brownface and headdresses (figure 11) to reenact scenes from the Book of Mormon such as that of "Samuel The Lamanite," one of the few righteous Lamanites named in the story. Interestingly, the church slated these pageants for discontinuance in 2019, possibly because they make the racism of the church embarrassingly apparent.



FIGURE 11: An Anglo Mormon version of *pioneer indigeneity* (compare to the Peruvian Mormon version in figure 10). Performers prepare for what would be the final production of the "Mormon Miracle Pageant," produced annually since 1967. Manti, Utah. June 12, 2019. Photo Credit: Scott D. Winterton, Deseret News.

The reasons for the discontinuance of these pageants are not as important as the church's assumed authority to proclaim their discontinuance. Only one who claims exclusive ownership of these pageants—and the stories and legacies behind them—can discontinue them. The problem for the church is that it is not the sole stakeholder of pioneer-indigenous origin stories.

Pascuala Cusicanchi holds stakes as well. I met Pasi in Utah in 2015 through a Mormon NGO she supervises from her home in Cuzco, Peru. She joined the Mormon church in her early 20's and served a mission for them in the same place I did—La Paz, Bolivia. Pasi identifies proudly as a Lamanite and her words demonstrate how stories create identities and legacies that will not be discontinued no matter how embarrassing they now are to the church that helped create them. Pasi represents many Peruvian Mormons who have changed not only their identity, but their biological lineage through these stories. She also exemplifies many single Mormons (discussed in Chapter Five) whose partial motive for traveling to Utah is to find a Mormon spouse. The following excerpt³ comes from an interview that took place the day we met in August 2015 in the spacious living room of her former mission companion's home near Salt Lake City where she lived during her year-long stay (a frustrated immigration attempt) in Utah.

JASON: Since you've been in Utah, have you learned a lot about the pioneers who crossed the plains and arrived here?

PASI: [In Peru] I knew about the sacrifice, the essence of it all, right? ... But it was here [in Utah] where I finally could feel the true sacrifice [crying]. It wasn't easy at all. I mean, how could they have done those things? To go through hunger? To go through illnesses, the loss of family members and children, and keep going forward? And it is here [in Utah] where I finally appreciate where I am from. I realize that I am part of the history of the Book of Mormon. Or, MY ancestors are. They are the chosen ones, and over time maybe they rejected the Lord and they didn't pay attention to the commandments. Well, they still maintain that position. And it is you guys who are the pioneers that have made it so that the Book of Mormon--- and you have defended it with cape and sword as we say, and given your lives for that book, and for that history that belongs not to your ancestors but to mine.

³ All transcript excerpts with Pasi in this chapter come from that same interview.

In going to Utah, Pasi recovered her ancestors' story, and with it, a piece of *pioneer indigeneity* or native Zion citizenship. Through the text that Utah missionaries shared with her, and in full alignment with a well-documented "Andean" multitemporality (MacCormack 1991), Pasi has brought the past into the present and made her own ancestors into the first Mormons, the true pioneers. In a sense, Pasi conjures the magic of mimesis (Taussig 1992), releasing a special kind of power that removes the boundary between indigeneity and coloniality, allowing her to become an Indigenous, Mormon pioneer descendant. In so doing, she, like Bacigalupo (2016), disrupts scholarship that solidifies the indigeneity/coloniality dichotomy. Her claims to Zion now predate Anglo Mormon pioneering by centuries, and since her ancestors are characters from Utah's holy text, Anglo Mormons validate them more than her own people do. Therefore, her ties to the land of Cuzco fortify her nascent ties to the land of Utah.

JASON: Upon coming to Utah, you said you valued yourself as a Lamanite even more than you did during your own mission where, I imagine, you must have been talking about the Book of Mormon every day.

PASI: It was different. Well, over there [in Bolivia], being in the mission, I always had identified as--- maybe I didn't know the word "Lamanite," or I didn't understand it well, but yes, I have always identified as a descendant of the Incas ... I have a surname that is unique in my country, and they say it is Inca and, I mean, how can I put this? I identified already, but it was being here [in Utah] that I came to appreciate more the Book of Mormon and my part in this chosen people. I understood well how the Lord had so much patience with my ancestors [laughing].

Utah, a place more distant from her Inca past than Bolivia, was the very place where her indigeneity became complete through her co-ownership of Mormon stories. If Anglo Mormons own these stories because their ancestors sacrificed their lives for them, Pasi owns them doubly. Not only are their ancestors her ancestors too because they are the pioneer heroes of her religion's modern origin story, but blood from its more ancient origin story—The Book of Mormon—runs in her veins. Her indigeneity becomes multivalent under these spatiotemporal

shifts because she does not replace the legacy of the Incas with the legacy of the Lamanites, she fuses them into a nuanced, *pioneer indigeneity* that secures a part for herself among a storied, chosen people.

Sangre Indígena

A year after the above interview, during my visit to Pasi's home in Cuzco, I wrote the following fieldnote:

Pasi said, "In Utah they talk so much about a language that they do not know, and I have blood from the people who speak it." She often referred to herself as The Inca Princess while in Utah. Her white friend knew how interested she was in this and actually gifted her a DNA test kit through the church's family history website. It came back showing she was "93 percent Indigenous," which she said is really rare for South Americans and seemed very proud of it. She used the phrase, "*sangre indígena*" [indigenous blood].

The notion that indigeneity can be expressed as a percentage seems normal in places where "genetic relations have ... come to stand for the naturalness of biological kinship" (Strathern 1992, 53) and Cuzco may well be one of those places. However, I get the sense among newly baptized Mormons in the Andes that the transmission of relatedness through DNA is not something they take for granted. People in the Andes seem to use food (Weismantel 1995), drink (Allen 2014) and land (Canessa 2012) as idioms of kinship transmission just as much as "blood," and when they do use "blood," it is not always synonymous with DNA (Arguedas 2011, Roberts 2012). Therefore, as someone for whom biological relatedness may not be naturalized, when Pasi says "*sangre indígena*," she may be indexing something beyond the essential, genotypic fact of her body's Andeanness, a fact constructed to alternately symbolize both patriotic *peruanidad* and backwards antimodernity through the complexly non-phenotypic racialization of Peruvian indigeneities (De la Cadena 2000).

Sangre indígena allows Pasi access to the “legacy” aspects of pioneer identity—her parents speak a Book of Mormon language (Quechua)—that plug her into a status in the destination place of her religion’s origin story—Utah—that seems, at first, to surpass even the status of Anglo Mormon *pioneer indigeneity*. At 93 percent, Pasi is even more “genetically Indigenous” than the few Anglo Mormons with a verifiable “Indian princess grandmother” (Deloria 1969, 3), let alone the many who merely have an “Indian-grandmother complex” (4). However, for Ofelia, who has never been to Utah, there is a holiness to the sacrificial secretions of “legacy” left there that give Anglo Mormons a *pioneer indigeneity* difficult to surpass. Below, Ofelia and I continue the same, above-excerpted conversation we had in Arequipa in July 2016.

JASON: Do you feel something different towards the Salt Lake temple than towards the Lima Temple?

OFELIA: I feel something more special. It may be true that all the temples are the house of the Lord where He, in reality, is felt--- Just a little while ago I was in the Lima temple when my daughter received her endowment⁴. I had the experience of helping her. And you can feel it, it is like they say, a little piece of heaven in the temple. But when one sees the temple of Salt Lake one remembers all of the things the pioneers went through to build it. I know that there is a more special feeling toward that temple because there was a lot of suffering. Not like now where we’ll just say, “okay, the temple is going to be built in Arequipa.” “Yes, cool! Call the construction company!” The machinery comes, the workers come, and they start to build. There are aerosols and special machines that can paint in the blink of an eye. On the other hand, back in those days, according to what I’ve seen in videos and what I’ve read in *Our Legacy*, they suffered a lot on the Salt Lake City temple. It has a history, so there is a more special feeling toward it, toward the hands that carved in it the words “Holiness To The Lord.”

The Pioneers Are Dead

Through the Mormon origin story, Ofelia feels that the sacrifices in the literal building of Utah Zion were greater than in her local Zion and that the blessings from these sacrifices, rather than being transferable to Arequipa, were deposited in the autochthonous granite that remains

⁴ The endowment is the penultimate temple rite; marriage is the ultimate.

pristine in the Salt Lake City temple walls today. Pasi, on the other hand, thinks of these pioneer sacrifices as somehow transmittable through generations and, as such, corruptible over time.

Well, I am extremely observant ... What I have observed here [in Utah] ... is the fact that there are many people here that have been blessed, maybe not so much because of their own faithfulness, but because of the faithfulness of the pioneers. The Bible says—and I have felt it with the people—that the Lord blesses unto the fourth generation. I have seen many of my [Anglo, female] friends receive a lot of blessings even though they weren't being faithful to many commandments. Instead, their parents were being faithful. And that is what happens here [in Utah]. There are people that aren't keeping the totality of the commandments, but they had ancestors who were very faithful.

At first, Pasi is hesitant to speak too openly about these unfaithful descendants of the unmarked “pioneers” (by which she can only mean the Anglo Mormon pioneers) because she knows I am one of them. Therefore, she changes the subject to the unfaithfulness of “her people” (whom contemporary academics might call the “Latinx community”) who attend her Spanish-speaking congregation in Utah.

PASI: They are not very faithful in keeping the commandments. For example, there are many brothers and sisters who work on Sundays. I think that the Sabbath day is sacred and that should be the same here, in China, or in Conchinchina. The day of rest is the day of rest and you should not work. I don't know if I'm being Pharisaical or not, but I make the effort to actually keep that commandment, and many of my brothers and sisters [coreligionists] around here do not. And I try to understand them because I am single and I don't have a kid that might be asking me for something, but they do. It has not been easy for them, but, even so, I still say that this group that is here is a small branch that has descended from the Lamanites. Well, as such, their righteousness should be up to the level of the pioneers. But that is still not happening.

JASON: I have seen among the people of Bolivia, for example, that they sacrifice a ton by not working on Sundays. And maybe, to make the comparison---

PASI: ---Yeah, even when they didn't have enough. The realities are very different, but even though Bolivia is very poor, the families over there really do give all they have when they want to obey something. They don't care if they have to go hungry for a day if it means obeying. But it's not like that here! It is difficult, right? I don't know, maybe it's because they [the Latinx people in Utah] know that they're alone. Being in Bolivia, they still have family around because they are in the place where they were born. Anyway, these things have made me--- they've made me--- How shall I put this? They make me wonder, make me question, and maybe, um--- criticize. And I shouldn't say this of my people who

are here [in Utah] without including the fact that the descendants of the pioneers are also not worthy representatives of their ancestors, sorry to say.

On the one hand, according to Pasi's dichotomous usage of the words "Lamanite" and "pioneer," her people are not pioneers. Her people are Lamanites. Only my people are pioneers. On the other hand, Pasi is a stakeholder in the Book of Mormon because, once accepted, it immediately became the story of her people, the story that was appropriated from her people to provide the faith necessary to start a new civilization in Utah, a civilization that periodically purchases its white privilege by oppressing her people (Reeve 2015). She lauds this appropriation as a fulfilment of prophecy, but when she went to Utah hoping to find her people living by her story, she saw its moral discarded. Her people of promise, those who, as the Book of Mormon prophesies, will build the New Jerusalem, were living unworthily in the very destination place of their origin story.

JASON: And what do we lack, we who are descendants of the pioneers?

PASI: You know what? The pioneers are dead. The pioneers have lived and ended their lives in poverty. Many have risen above and have gotten businesses and from them come the legacies of many rich Mormons [laughs]. But one must recognize that this comes through the blessings of the Lord from the promises he made to the pioneers because of THEIR sacrifices. He blessed their generations. And it is calculated up until the fourth generation approximately that descendants remain faithful. But not after that.

JASON: That's according to the Book of Mormon, right? The pride cycle?

PASI: Exactly, the cycle. Many people who have a lot of money have drifted from the Lord. They live off of customs [*costumbres*]. It's like me, I was a Catholic girl and I had my Catholic customs. So, for me it was very normal to do certain things like, I don't know, like maybe customs that were just a part of my life. So, you guys have the good customs, but you don't do them with heart. Instead, you simply follow what you are taught. And when you don't do it with heart, you tend to, how should I put this? Stray. And you even start seeing things as so natural that you start thinking, "hey, if my neighbor has a stake-level calling⁵, but he does something that's not right, I'll do it too because it must be right if he does it." That is how they see it, as completely natural. They live off the traditions according to the way of life in which they've been raised, and

⁵ Responsibility over many wards (congregations).

they are not questioning their own development, their own customs, and that is why they are forgetting the Sabbath Day.

As a result of the fungibility that causes the bio-spiritual transmission of righteousness through blood to lose viability after four generations, Pasi is able to construct herself as inhabiting an even more legitimate *pioneer indigeneity* than those with “pioneer ancestry.” Not only is she more Indigenous than Anglo Mormon “settler nativists” (Tuck and Yang 2012), she is more of a pioneer than they are because she does things out of choice—heart—rather than “*costumbres*.” She is alive and pioneering the church in the present, and where are the pioneers? “The pioneers are dead.” Since Pasi sees sacrifice as a necessary aspect of the pioneer story, she views generational Mormonism’s natural tendency to lessen the need for sacrifice as a dilution of pioneer potency rather than as a benefit. This makes her, as a first-generation Mormon, more of a pioneer than me, a fifth-generation Mormon, even though I am supposedly the one with the “pioneer ancestry” and, as such, the one who wields power over Mormon stories, legacies and indigeneities.

Dancing in Darkness

Below, Pasi provides a poignant instantiation of her theory that the early Anglo Mormon pioneer sacrifices are losing their legacy-building power among the current generation. The example she chooses of pioneer legacy-betrayal requires a motif she acquired from the Book of Mormon that equates indigeneity with darkness and darkness with evil: she depicts a Mormon dance as dangerous because it involved the very aspects of her indigeneity that she was told to purge in order to forge the alloyed *pioneer indigeneity* necessary for full Zion citizenship.

PASI: There is a danger in this. Many people in Latin America or that aren’t from Utah, even Europeans, they think that everything that is said and done in Utah is okay. Right?

And the customs that others from here [Utah] take over there, they think that stuff is good. But it isn't. It isn't. Here's a little detail: Maybe I'm just being really nitpicky about this, but when I got baptized at age 24, I had already lived my youth and everything, so I knew what the world was like and fully understood that joining the church meant giving that up. But upon arriving here [to Utah] they invited me to this [church] youth party and I went, and it seemed to me--- I said, "this dance is just like one from the world. And, how is it possible that the leaders are permitting this? And how is it possible that there isn't even a single leader here?" And the youth were all happy with disco lights in the dark and everything, and I was like--- the only thing it lacked was cigarettes and alcohol. It was the same. And so, I didn't--- I--- I honestly did not go in. I didn't feel at all comfortable there. I didn't feel right about that, that if one decides to take on other kinds of customs—and I had made the decision to go for different kinds of customs—well, I wasn't about to return to the same old ones, right?

JASON: And were they almost all Hispanic?

PASI: Yes, they were Hispanic, but---

JASON: ---Was it the *Región Hispana*? [a grassroots group of Latinx Mormon, young single adults (YSA) that the church has since coopted into an official Spanish-speaking YSA congregation]

PASI: They were from the *Región Hispana*, but my friend that is from Peru as well, he called me up [after], "Pasi, what happened to you? Why did you leave?" And, I don't know, I told him, well, "I'm sorry, but it doesn't seem right to me. I felt so uncomfortable that I just turned and left." "I'm sorry," he apologized. "Pasi," he tells me, "Look, it shocked me too the first time, and well, later I started going back with friends, and I'm over there a lot, and we don't do anything bad." And I say, "I know, but" --- And he told me, "the parties that the Americans put on are worse, Pasi." And I'm like, "MEMBERS?!" "Yes," he tells me. And I say, "wow," I told him, "well, I hope to go to none of those." [laughs] Sincerely.

Pasi was in a double bind. If she went along with her coreligionists, her pioneering sacrifice of leaving her *costumbres* behind would be in vain. Yet, by not participating in these dances she discarded an opportunity to fulfill her principal reason for coming to Utah in the first place—finding a Mormon spouse. The very scene that might have resulted in her future family (figure 12) patterned itself instead after the world she sacrificed so much to leave in her past.



FIGURE 12: Friendship Day dance in *Barrio Periféricos*' chapel, Arequipa. The type of well-lit, wholesome dance Pasi expected to find in Utah. February 2018.

The fact that Pasi chose to point to a church-sponsored dance as an example of pioneer corruption lacking only alcohol to make it completely sinful⁶, is significant given her mention of “*costumbres*.” For one thing, in the colonial Andes, the phrase “*usos y costumbres*” was a catchall term for anything that the Catholic “pioneers” assigned to the realm of pre-Hispanic, Indigenous religion, a realm they actively linked to the underworld, the dark, and—as such—the devil (Harris 2006). Catholics in Cuzco today designate the people who practice this pre-Catholic religion as “*costumbristas*” even though, in the minds of many *cusqueño* Mormons, Andean

⁶ Alcohol in any quantity is forbidden in the Mormon health code known as the Word of Wisdom.

Catholicism itself is fused with an occult *costumbrismo* imagined as rife with alcohol and dark dancing. For another thing, the Book of Mormon repeatedly describes Amerindians and the “traditions of their fathers” as “loathsome” (Smith 1830, 528). When I ask Peruvians which of these indigenous traditions they abandoned to become Mormons, they almost always refer to drunken dancing in the dark. Even if they were not really into that, it is the first thing that comes to mind because of its tight association with their idea of ancestral loathsomeness. Pasi surely felt a mimetic version of this loathing as she stared into the face of Zion’s paradox—Anglo Mormon dances rumored to be even worse than the diabolical dance she witnessed wherein Hispanic Lamanites, in the cradle of the Book of Mormon, appeared to go back to the old, dark *costumbres*.

Sacred Stones

Pasi has chosen to repudiate yet another *costumbre* imagined as part of this pre-Hispanic, Andean world, one that is paradoxically both central and inimical to Zion—the idea that earth can be sacred. As I demonstrate below, Pasi parts ways slightly with Ofelia in this regard. A year after my above conversation with Ofelia, she found another way to sacrifice for her temple that was more direct than genealogy. Through a series of miracles, she succeeded in finagling her way into becoming one of four adults to have the sacrificial privilege of blistering their hands with pickaxes and shovels as they, and the small group of youth they chaperoned, prepared the temple construction site for the groundbreaking ceremony’s seating arrangements and awnings. In March 2017, I interrupted her recounting of this experience through WhatsApp to ask a question about her relationship to the plot of land chosen for her temple.

JASON: I wanted to ask you a question. You said you went many times to the temple plot before, right? So, did you ever end up collecting a little bottle of earth from there like you told me you wanted to?

OFELIA: Yes, but I only ended up bringing back a stone.

JASON: Oh, even better.

OFELIA: I have here the little stone. It is among my collection of little stones that I have. So I have a stone that stays there and that, well, when I went with my seminary students [figure 13] I told them that we could each take one, one stone from the temple to have it as a memento of something that was part of the land. So, I have a stone that I took right from that spot. A little piece of earth. That is what I have. And well--- where were we?



FIGURE 13: Ofelia’s seminary students taking a selfie with the Arequipa temple construction one year after their stone-collecting. The terracing in the foreground is pre-Inca. April 2018.

She does not want to dwell on this topic because she knows I am assigning meaning to her rock collecting that she does not believe exists. She does not consider her temple rock to be a “subjective object” (Santos-Granero 2009, 9) a sacred Andean *huaca*, or a symbol of her

Andean-Mormon syncretism. Yet, she does keep it, and, to this day, she does have it on her display of mementos which looks strikingly like an altar.

Denying that her rock has sacred power is in line with the Christian belief that the sacred must transcend materiality (Cannell 2006). If the sacred does not transcend the dark earth, then it is similar to turning the lights out at a dance in that it risks becoming diabolical. Many of my Peruvian Mormon friends feel a sense of danger associated with the emplaced sacred, which is why they almost always react defensively when I ask them if they think Utah is a sacred place. They want to make sure that I know that they know that the sacred cannot be placed and that their journey to Utah, despite Utah's centrality in their origin myth and identity, cannot be compared to a pilgrimage.

JASON: And what did you think about Utah before you came?

PASI: You want the truth? The truth--- I was thinking about it lately, and maybe I read about it in the books and saw the images, but, to tell the truth, I never really had the all-out desire to come here [to Utah]. That is the truth. I don't know. I never had the desire back then. And now I remember back to many sisters in the church and I compare myself with them, and I see that they had so much desire [to go to Utah] and--- but I didn't have it. In reality it just wasn't my objective.

JASON: But it was for other people?

PASI: Yes, they manifested as much. And they wanted to, and they made the effort to come. Sometimes it just doesn't happen, right?

JASON: And what reasons did they give for wanting to come [to Utah]?

PASI: Well, it's just that they always say, "wow, the temple is over there, and it is the symbol of the Lord." And so of course they have the desire to know that place because of the sacrifice it implied.

JASON: But you never had----

PASI: I looked at it and I respected it and I always said, well, "the house of the Lord can be wherever."

JASON: Like in Lima?

PASI: Yes, close to where I live. I never thought that, at some point in my life, I would come and travel here [to Utah]. I just said, “well, I guess I’ll only get to see it in the Millennium.” [laughing]

JASON: Now you are here [in Utah], and they aren’t.

PASI: And it’s not because they don’t want to be, it’s just because I think that sometimes life gives you some kind of opportunity and you shouldn’t think twice about it. I think things occur for a reason as well.

Here Pasi implicitly criticizes those with vestiges of a sited concept of sacredness and even goes so far as to trouble the sacredness of the one earthly localization that Mormons are doctrinally allowed to associate with the sacred—the temple. When she claims that “the house of the Lord can be wherever,” she liberates the Mormon origin story from its Utah-centrism by liberating it from place entirely. Pasi’s Mormon *pioneer indigeneity* is now appropriately Zion-like in that it is paradoxically both bound to and free from both Salt Lake City and Cuzco, past and present.

Ofelia, on the other hand, plants the pioneer story into her home. With her little stone from the temple grounds, she makes herself part of pioneer legacy. Referring to her stone as one of the “little details” that cumulate into “legacy,” she stated in May 2017 (again over WhatsApp),

We should work to leave a legacy for our kids, to leave these legacies [pointing to her stone collection], and may these little details do that work for them and--- We also cultivate in our generations the desire to leave those little details as a legacy because they are going to have them as treasures for themselves. That is what I have also learned in the church. So that maybe if I happened to go over there to the temple lot and I found something, well, I grab it, even if it be only a little stone. And I’d say, “Here.” “Look.” “This is it.” “This is what I brought from that place.”

She went on to say that she took that rock from the temple site so that she could tell her “future generation,” “I went to the land of the temple when it was not yet built and this is the evidence, and this is what it was like before being, before the temple was constructed.”

The sacredness of the stone lay not in its housing of ancestral spirits, such as the spirit of her Quechua-speaking grandmother whose llama bell sits near the temple rock in Ofelia's display of mementos, but in its encapsulation of herself in connection to her future kin, a kin for whom she will be the pioneer hero. She will not admit the stone itself is sacred, but for her descendants it will be. It will prove that she was on that local spot of earth before an Anglo Mormon prophet proclaimed it holy. That spot, extracted from the site and injected into the stone, is latent sacred place. It makes Ofelia into "the prior" (Povinelli 2011). The stone is a piece of pioneer legacy that belongs to her and makes her into the link that connects a disorderly, pre-Inca plot of land to a future chapter in the ongoing story of Mormonism in Peru that her grandchildren will read. In this way, links to land and sacred stones lend yet another valence to *pioneer indigeneity*, designating Ofelia as one of the first on the land of an *arequipeño* Zion.

Pioneers at Last

In the same WhatsApp conversation I had with Ofelia in March 2017, which was months before I would meet Simón Balboa⁷, she told me how church officials at the Arequipa temple groundbreaking ceremony, including Simón, employed the word "pioneer" in a way entirely new to me at the time.

JASON: I have never heard anyone use that word outside of the context of the famous pioneers who arrived in Utah.

OFELIA: Me either, *Hermano*, I have also never heard that, EVER. Right? And it gets me very emotional that the authorities would have made that gesture toward the elderly brothers and sisters here in Arequipa by calling them "pioneers," right? And truthfully, I feel an enormous gratitude for everything that was done that day, for the words that they spoke to the pioneers, calling them up one by one to make their shovelful of earth with the golden shovels. And to wait for them. Another thing that filled me with emotion was that on Friday, while I was working there clearing the grounds to set up the chairs for the event,

⁷ Simón is the *arequipeño* Mormon introduced in Chapter One who was a stake president (leader over many congregations) during the Shining Path war.

I started thinking, “wow, to think that now I have something to leave behind for my generations,” right? To be able to tell them that I was here working, that I was here present for the first shovelful of earth. So, it will be something that they will always remember and that they will pass from generation to generation. And the immense emotion that I felt upon knowing that I was clearing the ground so that the temple where my daughter will be sealed [married] can be built [crying]--- And not only the sealing of my daughter, but it also came to my mind that my generations were going to make sacred covenants there in that temple. And the legacy that I was going to be able to leave my future and past generations so that they might say of me, “my great-great-grandmother” or “my great-great-granddaughter, she helped.”

Witnessing for the first-time high-level church authorities recognizing her own people as characters in a pioneer story sparked a vision wherein Ofelia became the cosmic bridge between her ancestors and her descendants. Despite the modular business structure centered in Salt Lake City that only allowed Anglo Mormons like Reilly and those he hired to work on the temple’s tangible materiality, Ofelia was one of a handful of *arequipeño* Mormons who managed to physically labor on its earthy pre-construction. Dashing many women’s hopes, the church did not even allow local Relief Societies to knit the white doilies for the temple’s altars, something it had traditionally allowed in other Latin American temple construction projects. Yet, while others were denied the opportunity to deposit pioneer sacrifices materially into the temple, Ofelia got to shovel rocks so that the universal Mormon folding chairs—cherished symbols of the church’s global modularity—(Inouye 2015) could be set up for the groundbreaking dignitaries, including the Catholic Archbishop of Arequipa. Through her sacrifice in “clearing the grounds” and the resulting stone in her collection, she will become the link to unite her dead with her un-born, two previously estranged halves of her legacy’s saga. Turning linear time upside-down in the place of Zion’s culmination—the holy temple—she heals Zion’s splintering of space and time and becomes the pioneer for both her “*india*” great-great-grandmother and her “Lamanite” great-great-grandchild. Her *pioneer indigeneity* appears complete.

I had the privilege of visiting an elderly married couple recognized as pioneers in the Arequipa temple groundbreaking ceremony. Baptized in the late 1950's, Ronal Escobar and Leticia Lopez were probably among the first fifty Peruvians in the world to become Mormons. Though they did not have much to say about the Shining Path tribulations, they did admit having suffered “almost pioneer” tribulations of their own. On the day of our interview in March 2018, their home was decorated with depictions of a white Jesus preaching among ancient Mesoamerican white people exactly as it had been decorated forty years before when YSA (Young Single Adult) Mormons would gather in their living room for “Family Night.”⁸ One of these youth was a newly-baptized Simón Balboa. Now a high-level church employee, he is likely the one behind the controversial relinquishing of the title “pioneer” at the groundbreaking ceremony and of its conferral upon those not of Anglo “pioneer ancestry.” As they were among the first Mormons in Arequipa—heroes in its own origin narrative—I will give them the last word on what it means for pioneer status to transfer from Utahans to *arequipeños*. Notice from the very beginning of the interview excerpt how Ronal immediately twists my question about Utah into one about Arequipa.

JASON: What image do you have of Utah?

RONAL: I think of the history that we have of the church growth with Joseph Smith the prophet, and so much persecution that they didn't know how to escape it, and here in Arequipa we've also had persecution. The newspapers warred against us. They were always picking at our prohibition against alcohol. I remember in the very first days, when I was baptized, the membership started to grow, and we would travel to thermal pools for baptism. The press would follow us. One time at a kiosk, a man with a bottle of beer and a cup stood next to a member who happened to be drinking soda out of a bottle. They snapped a photo. In the newspaper the next day the headline read, “There They Are, These Are The Mormons!” “Supposedly these Mormons don't drink but look what we saw.”

What didn't they say about us? *Uy!* They would even say that in our chapels we had many rooms where men would hook up with women. All lies. The Catholic priests would wait

⁸ Family night is a Mormon institutional practice thought to be a vital aspect of *gospel culture*. Family Night is explained in further detail in Chapter Five.

for us on the corner, throng around us and say, “where is that book?” And they would snatch our Books of Mormon away, “these must be burned, these are worthless.” But the Catholics are more accepting now.

LETICIA: Even my niece has accepted. She hasn’t accepted baptism yet, but one can still hope. When my mother died, my niece had never before seen how temple-endowed⁹ members were buried. She was with me, since she is the oldest of my mother’s granddaughters, and *Hermana* Maribel from the church was there. I told them, “help me dress my mother.” My mother had her little temple envelope of clothing ready for her death, all new. And my niece was impacted upon seeing how we dressed and cleaned, and she helped us put on the little shoes. Even though she wasn’t a member, she was her granddaughter, so I couldn’t prohibit her¹⁰ from helping with the sacred temple clothing. It impacted her to see that a man and a woman who are sealed in the temple go to the tomb in their ceremonial robes. And ever since then, my niece--- hopefully, hopefully, we are--

RONAL: ---We are waiting for the Arequipa temple open house¹¹ so that she can go. And for us as well, it has been a surprise, what with the groundbreaking and all that. Elder Balboa came here with another brother---

LETICIA: I knew Elder Balboa from when he was a young man.

RONAL: Yes, just a little guy. They asked us this and that, just like you are asking us. Then, two or three days go by and we get an invitation to go to the groundbreaking because they knew that I was almost the pioneer of the church, right?

LETICIA: And they told us not to take anything, not even a camera, so we didn’t. And this *hermanita* went and she gifted us this photograph, *Hermano* [Jason], I didn’t even know she had taken it.

RONAL: It is nice to remember. When we entered the awning they were going to start the session for the ceremonial shoveling and we sat up front and they told us, “please, this is where the authorities are going to sit, so sit a little further back.” So, we sat in the back. Suddenly—we didn’t know this was going to happen—but suddenly they called us over the MICROPHONE! We were THE FIRST ONES to shovel the earth! We did it, and there is the photo [figure 14].

⁹ As mentioned in the introduction, the endowment is a temple ritual wherein subjects are endowed with power from on high and are granted the keywords, signs, and tokens necessary for passing the angels who stand as sentinels guarding the highest of the three heavens, the Celestial Kingdom. The endowment involves changing into special robes including white slippers. In a previous footnote, I mentioned that the endowment was the penultimate temple rite and that marriage is the ultimate. This is not completely accurate. Being resurrected from the dead can be considered the ultimate temple rite, which is why Mormons are buried in their temple robes.

¹⁰ Leticia takes the time to justify these actions because Mormons are extremely careful with what they allow the uninitiated to know about temple practices.

¹¹ A temple’s pre-dedication open house is the only time non-Mormons and “unworthy” Mormons can enter. In the case of the Arequipa temple, this happened in November 2019. Ronal did not live to see it.



FIGURE 14: Leticia and Ronal are participating in the groundbreaking ceremony that took place on March 4, 2017. Notice Leticia’s hand-knit white doily of the sort she would have liked to have been allowed to donate to the temple. Also notice President and “*Hermana*” Miller (from Chapter One) in the top-left dignitary seating. March 2018.

LETICIA: Yep, right there. Those shovels were heavy ... My husband was looking at me wondering, “how did she even lift such a tremendous shovel?” And in front of everyone they announced, “They were the first members of the church.”

JASON: How did it feel to be recognized as pioneers?

RONAL: *Uy*, that was a privilege.

LETICIA: Yes, because we had never even so much as imagined it. We are faithful only because we have faith. We weren't trying to be pioneers. We fulfill all things only because that is what we learned. It has cost a lot, but here we are, year after year, and everyone knows us.

RONAL: ---*Uy, Hermano*, you wouldn't believe how many people know us!

LETICIA: Of course, the newcomers don't know us, but people from those times do. They were kids at the time and the majority of them are leaders now.

JASON: Do you compare yourselves to the pioneers who arrived in Utah? Because that word “pioneer,” I had always only heard it associated with them.

RONAL: Well, they suffered a lot more.

JASON: You think so?

LETICIA: You know what, Elder [Jason]? When I heard the history of the pioneers and how they were persecuted and had to go to *Lago Salado* [Salt Lake¹²] to look for a site where nobody would harm them, and how they found an inhospitable site and had to fight to be able to live there, and how they couldn't even--- it wasn't exactly a Garden of Eden, in fact EVERYTHING was inhospitable, and how they suffered, I started crying. Such strength?! Because there is not a single human who could have the strength they showed. And some leader told me that they were chosen, already preordained¹³ to be able to do that. So, thinking about my own experience that I told you before, I wonder, when I listened to that voice at the foot of my bed before I was a member, and it told me in a very harsh voice—not a small, soft voice—it said, “So, that's what you are? Just like an animal, all you do is eat and sleep?!” I woke up, Elder [Jason], like you have no idea. I went to the Catholic church first, but then they [the Mormon missionaries] came to get us out and bring us to the right path [laughing].

JASON: Do you mean that you were also preordained to be pioneers?

RONAL: Exactly. That is how it is.

¹² Most *arequipeño* Mormons say, “Salt Lake” in English, but Leticia prefers the literal translation of “*Lago Salado*.”

¹³ Preordination refers to a commitment made during a ritual in a pre-Earth life when humans existed as individual selves but without physical bodies.

JASON: Pioneers from Arequipa. And like you said, you've had to suffer too.

RONAL: No, no, no. Not that much.

LETICIA: From what?

JASON: Well, it's been difficult to build the church here.

LETICIA: Yes, it has cost us a lot, but now we have been born spiritually and we must fight for our spiritual life. Like they say, "we have spiritual ears and spiritual eyes." And I'd ask, "but what do you mean?" In the THOUSANDS of classes that I have had during all my time in Sunday school and other special places, like the General Conferences, I now know what that means.

Though not quite sure if they have suffered enough to be "true" pioneers, Ronal and Leticia like the idea of being preordained to become such. I can confidently say that, during my visits to their home, I felt I was in the presence of "pioneers" in every Mormon sense of the word, including the complicated *pioneer indigenous* sense made even more complicated by Ronald and Leticia's light skin tone and upstanding status as *arequipeños netos*. Whether through the intertwining of origin stories and blood lineages to create multivalent indigeneities that eschew the innerworld's darkness, through the encapsulation of legacy in stone, or through simply living in daily faith among a growing fellowship of Saints (Mormons), Peruvians like Pasi, Ofelia, Ronal and Leticia seem to fulfill the requirements for unmarked "Mormon" status and the *pioneer indigeneity* it encapsulates. Under the light of Zion's exclusive inclusivity, however, things are rarely as they seem. After all, despite her otherwise counterhegemonic remarks in our interview, even Pasi always used "pioneer" synonymously with "Anglo Mormon." Furthermore, according to Ronal—who passed away not long after our interview—even after six decades of arduous Mormon pioneering, he was still only "almost the pioneer."

In the next chapter I follow this "almost" as it relates to why Peruvian sacred stories do not become globally relevant, holy histories in the Mormon supranation. The answer derives

from the status of Peruvian sacred places, from the “fallen” status of the Indigenous bodies associated with such places, from the status of sacredness itself, and from the paradox behind how one of Leticia’s most “special places” could be a conference she has never physically attended. These intersections of holy sites and sacred bodies cross the more opaque facets of *pioneer indigeneity* that lie closer to the core of Zion’s paradox.

CHAPTER THREE

Holy Tabernacles versus Sacred Parapets:

Decentering Mormonism with Peruvian Sites and Histories

The following quotation is an adaptation of Frantz Fanon's (1994) portrayal of what France represented psychologically to the people it colonized in Martinique. In brackets, I replace French descriptors with words that depict Utah as a core to those it peripheralizes.

The [Peruvian Mormon] who knows [Utah] is a demigod. In this connection I offer a fact that must have struck my [Peruvian friends]. Many of them, after stays of varying length in metropolitan [Utah], go home to be deified ... The [Peruvian] who has lived in [Utah] for a length of time returns [to Peru] radically changed. To express it in genetic terms, his phenotype undergoes a definitive, an absolute mutation ... The [Peruvian Mormon] who arrives in [Utah] changes because to him the country represents the Tabernacle; he changes ... because [Utah] gave him his [presidents], his [mission companions], his innumerable little [authorities]—from the [temple architect] “fifteen years in [church employment]” to the [temple president] who was born in [Draper]. There is a kind of magic vault of distance, and the man who is leaving next week for [Utah] creates round himself a magic circle in which the words [Sandy, Provo, Bountiful, Kearns] become the keys to the vault. He leaves for the [airport], and the amputation of his being diminishes as the silhouette of his [jet] grows clearer. In the eyes of those who have come to see him off, he can read the evidence of his own mutation, his power. “Good-by [recycled tire-sandals], good-by [alpaca beanie].” (19,23)

Mormon Coloniality

Central power helps states “to secure their legitimacy, to naturalize their authority, and to represent themselves as superior to, and encompassing of, other institutions and centers of power” (Ferguson and Gupta 2002, 982). The Mormon church's proliferation around its Utah center has similar effects. One of these allows the *arequipeña* pioneer, Leticia to speak of the church's General Conference as her “special place” even though she has never been to Salt Lake City where it always convenes. Instead of her traveling there, Salt Lake City comes to her. The bright images on her darkened chapel's projection screen semiannually transform her local

arequipeño periphery into a virtual center, meaning that her locality only gets to count as a “special place” when it is bathed in the light of *Lago Salado* and enveloped in the holy strains of its Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

Though the word “Tabernacle” in Fanon’s original writing is what inspired my connecting of his words to the phenomena of Peruvian Mormon migration to Utah, I originally meant my above adaptation as a parody. Then I questioned the humor of the analogy. While comparing Bountiful (the 90 percent Anglo Mormon suburb where I grew up) to Paris may be one reason the analogy is comical, the main reason is that, for many in the “global Mormonism” scholarship community, it rings hyperbolic but true: Martinique is to France as Peru is to Utah.

This becomes less amusing when analyzing the relationship between Martinique and France—colonized to colonizer—and even less amusing when discovering that Martinique considers the center of its colonization to be the center of its culture. Martinicans feel a drive to migrate to France to become whole. Fanon traces how this happens psychologically, and it happens all over the world. Seventy years after he wrote *Black Skin, White Masks*, the world’s peripheralized continue migrating to their former—or, in the case of Martinique, ongoing—colonial centers. If Peruvian Mormons are going to Utah—and not a year goes by without the Utah arrival of another member of my spouse’s family—does that mean they are a colonized people magically drawn to their colonial metropole?

Since Mormon missionization is no longer a literal colonization, to answer the above question affirmatively makes colonialism a mere metaphor, cheapening the devastation of material “colonial presence” (Stoler 2016). Answering affirmatively also cheapens human resiliency because it requires contriving an image of a “colonized people;” one Fanon (1994) defined as “every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and

burial of its local cultural originality” (18). Still, answering affirmatively is tempting. After all, the Mormon missionization of Peru did create a cultural uprooting. Furthermore, Mormon scholars have documented how the Mormon church’s activity has always been integral to the greater US imperial project (Brooks 2018) and a powerful religious arm in some very non-metaphorical colonizations (van Beek 2005). Nevertheless, the forces at play in Peruvian Mormon historiography and sacred place-making are much too complex for tidy explanatory mechanisms that make immigration to Utah some sort of pilgrimage to a colonial metropole-*cum*-Holy Land.

Though I examine interactions with what I am tempted to call “coloniality,” I do not take them for granted as such. Even Ann Stoler (2010) who studied the writings of officials who unabashedly labeled themselves “colonial,” recognized that “there is no colonial mindset lurking in the pen’s shadow, no overarching mentalite’ floating in the ether of colonial space” (216). In other words, the inequality inherent to peripheralization can only be understood in quotidian, lived realities. In this chapter, I explore these realities by analyzing how “Indigenous pioneers” disrupt the core-periphery structure their Utah-centric church imposes upon them. I argue that they decenter their Utah-based religion by staking their own Peruvian claims to Mormon sacred geographies and holy historiographies.

I will first lay the groundwork for how peripheralization happens through history-making in US Mormonism. I will then extend this to Andean Mormonism, demonstrating how multiple valences of time and space in situated Peruvian Mormonisms contest ownership of Mormon places and the histories and identities these places generate.

American Generosity

In 1852, the first known Anglo Mormon in Peru wrote of Peruvians, “Tis true they are degraded. Civilization is at a low ebb; and modesty and virtue... may hardly exist among them, even in idea. Yet Jesus came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. The whole need no physicians, but those who are sick” (Pratt 1888, 447). That this Anglo Mormon’s pathologizing of Peruvians bears a striking resemblance to the US pathologizing of Native American civilization is no coincidence. Pathologizing is part of the peripheralization that centers tend to generate. Quests to make the US the center of the world and to maintain Utah as the center of the church use the same tactic: They elevate certain origin myths to the level of “history.” For example, the US origin myth has been elevated to a height so lofty that it has naturalized the justification of US territorial conquests even in the minds of its most anti-imperial citizens. To showcase the naturalization of US centrality and the “American” identity it creates by weaponizing history, I will use the words an Anglo paleontologist spoke at an anti-Trump rally I attended in 2017 on the steps of the Salt Lake City capitol building:

I’m here mostly to talk about Grand Staircase Escalante national monument. ... the monument is extraordinary in so many ways: It preserves a record of three ancient cultures that stretches back 14,000 years. It preserves records of modern tribes and of Mormon pioneers ... [It] is one of the last landscapes in our country that remains undeveloped and relatively untouched by the hands of humans, and we need to preserve places like this ... because in them we find hope for ... humans, for us who need these lands as a reminder of our heritage and a way to reconnect with our humanity. Unlike most other countries in the world, America had the vision and the generosity to preserve large areas of land purely for their own sake, for future generations ... This, this, our public land system is what makes this country great ... Trump ... and a few politicians are trying to destroy this, and it is time we call this what it is, an enormous land grab to take these lands, OUR lands, all of our lands away from the American public and to turn them over to private interests ... All you have to do is go east of the Rocky Mountains to see what a landscape tied up in private and state ownership looks like. That is why millions of people from there come here to renew their connection with our country.

Elevating the US origin myth of decolonization to the level of “history” allows for this kind of discourse wherein each individual “American” gets to fulfill her own personal Manifest Destiny to procure her own “connection to our country.” This settler-scientist’s use of the word “our” is especially disturbing given the active presence at the rally of people from the Ute, Shoshone, Hopi, Zuni, and Navajo nations. Yet, she must say “our” in reference to the land now known as Utah because that “our” is what allows the US to deny that it is a settler-state. “Our” is what allows US land-use to be “generous” and not genocidal. “Public land,” therefore, becomes a racial codeword (Woodson 2019) in Utah that does not allow Native Americans to be fully human. She betrays this code by saying that the monument represents 14,000 years of continuous habitation in the same breath in which she says that it is “relatively untouched by the hands of humans.” Humans do a lot of touching in 14,000 years, but her acceptance of the US origin myth affects whom she is allowed to count as human because it affects what she is allowed to count as “touching” the land.

Accepting US origin myths as “history” does not allow Native American habitation to count. Native Americans get imagined as creating ephemeral stories, not land-impacting histories. Mormonism has a similar effect on those it seeks to peripheralize. The prophet Brigham Young commanded settler-missionaries to different parts of the West in order to subdue it and its native inhabitants (Farmer 2008). Colonization was part of making the desert “blossom as the rose” in fulfillment of prophecy (Smith et al. 1835, 192). Yet, it was also part of making the desert’s native inhabitants “blossom as the rose” (Peterson 1981, 5). Using the exact same botanical analogy for the people of the desert as he did for the desert itself in these two separate prophecies, God acknowledged that what remains to this day as the US legal notion of

Indigenous peoples (Saito 2015) is also the divine notion: They are part of nature, not civilization, and therefore their presence does not count as human habitation.

Both Peruvians and Anglos emphasize this when they tell me the Mormon origin story. They highlight the hand of God in the story by saying that not only was the Salt Lake Valley uninhabited when the Mormons arrived, but that it was uninhabitable. God was required to make it habitable, something He apparently could not be bothered to do for the previous 14,000 years of human existence near the Salt Lake valley, but something He just so happened to do for Mormons. In this way, God concurred with Supreme Court Justice Johnson's definition of Native Americans as "wandering hordes, held together only by ties of blood and habit" (Johnson 1831, 27).

In this pathologizing verdict, Native Americans were imagined as floating over a land that they were not tied to in any significant way; "only by ties of blood." This is where the US and Mormon peripheralizations of indigeneity part ways. In Mormonism, "ties of blood" would never be prefaced with "only." Ties of blood, especially ones that go back to Israel, are paramount in Mormonism, though they are both legitimating and pathologizing. The Book of Mormon ties contemporary people of Amerindian ancestry to the Israelite subtribe of Manasseh through his descendant Laman, a migrant from Jerusalem to the Americas whose progeny was cursed because of his non-agricultural subsistence patterns and his "degraded" dependence on oral history. The Book of Mormon foretells its own modern publishing and distribution to Laman's Amerindian descendants, the Laman-ites, depicting a future day when its type-written message would replace their curse of savagery with the blessing of "blossoming." The book prophesied that this restoration would happen through the unprecedented religious liberty the US

would generously provide Joseph Smith and his fledgling flock of Anglo missionaries who considered themselves descendants of Manasseh's older brother, Ephraim.

Same Single Family

Andean Lamanites' eventual acceptance of the Book of Mormon as a factual pre-Hispanic history of their Judeo-Christian ancestors is part of a cyclical multitemporality that simultaneously antecedes, parallels, and postdates the rise of the Incas. The first Peruvian to achieve the designation of "author," (also one of Peru's first "*mestizos*") Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, wrote of the Inca accession to power as having a badly needed civilizing effect on the "pre-Incas." Per Garcilaso (2009, 27-36), the Inca veneration of the sun brought Andeans closer to a teleological apex of religious evolution that only required Spanish Catholicism to complete. About 340 years after Garcilaso published his 1609 account, *cusqueños* in the Catholic republic of Peru drew on his books to reconstruct sun god veneration in the form of an identity-building and tourism-promoting festival called the Inti Raymi. Today, it is held every June 24th in Cuzco (figure 15), and second-generation Peruvian Mormons born in Utah often attend in order to feel their "*peruanidad*." I accompanied some of them in 2016. The field notes I took on my post-festival conversation with the *cusqueña* Mormon, Pascuala Cusicanchi (Pasi) in her home in Cuzco provide a window into how the "civilizing" forces of Incas, Spaniards, and US Mormons bleed together to form a unique space-time that grants Peruvians rights to both historic and geographic Mormon centrality.



FIGURE 15: The Inti Raymi. June 2016.

Part of the elaborate Inti Raymi theatrics include a scene in Cuzco’s main public square wherein an actor dressed to represent an Inca emperor grants the contemporary president of Peru authority to rule. Purportedly, the occasion I witnessed was the first time since President Fujimori in 1991 (De la Cadena 2000, 175) that a sitting president, in this case, Pedro Pablo Kuczynski (PPK), deigned to participate in the ceremony:

I asked Pasi about the significance of PPK being there. She said she thought it was very significant, not for the reason I thought—namely, his feigned recognition that the true right to rule comes from the “periphery” of Cuzco and not the “core” of Lima—but because, she said, “PPK is of the tribe of Ephraim and we are from Manasseh, and as little as a few years ago, Peruvians wouldn’t have been able to accept a white, former US citizen as our president, but the previous president, Ollanta Humala, who is a native, has run our country into the ground, and just like the scripture says that My children, the Lamanites, will be carried on the shoulders of Ephraim, we need someone from the tribe of Ephraim to lift us

up, to continue lifting Peru out of darkness and that it be fulfilled that the Lamanites blossom in the desert.”

It would be easy to read Pasi’s words and assume that she has internalized both the Mormon pathologizing of Lamanites as savages and the US pathologizing of Peru as unfit for self-government. Words like Pasi’s are why critical anthropologists (Baca 2008) and Native American rights activists (Newcomb 2019) rightly decry Mormonism’s attempt to replace people’s rich ancestral histories with a demeaning, anachronistic perversion of them invented by Joseph Smith. However, what these scholars criticize as anachronism has become part of the cyclicity of time that contemporary Andean philosophers consider integral to *tawantinsuyana* (Indigenous Andean) historiography (Marín Benítez 2015). Though the construction of a binary essential difference between “Western time” and “Andean time” is not part of Pasi’s lived reality, the practice of incorporating new additions into myths that Western academics often consider to be set in the immutable past is a practice long held in South America from whence Pasi proudly hails (Bacigalupo 2016). For many Andeans, the past is ever present as if it were visible and ahead. In fact, in Aymara, “the word for past, *nayra*, is the same for eyes” (Canessa 2012, 33). Per Sabine MacCormack (1991), the Andean notion that the past lies ahead led to a tradition of quickly incorporating *pachacuti* (great changes) from the present into existing myths of the primordium. When Christians came, they were seen “as fundamentally different from [Andeans], as belonging to a separate epoch” (145), so the Andean myth of the First Age changed to one about an enmity between Andeans and Christians in which the Christians were all expelled. “The Augustinian missionaries, however, interpreted the myth ... differently. They believed that the Christians of that earlier Andean epoch were proof that, long ago, the gospel had been preached in the Andes by one of Christ’s apostles” (145). This notion eventually spread

to Europe through Spanish chroniclers and was in the religious revivalist ether (Bushman 2007) that saw Joseph Smith publish his account of Christ in pre-Hispanic America.

People like Pasi have changed their biological lineage—their “ties of blood”—through this account. The time-bending conflation of pre-Inca, Inca, Spanish, and Mormon temporalities allowed Pasi to adopt the Book of Mormon seamlessly into her connection with the past as if it were always part of her. Pasi, therefore, joins other Indigenous Mormons (Aikau 2012) in disrupting the academic argument that because institutions like Mormonism were never Indigenous in the first place, they cannot be decolonized (Tuck and Yang 2012). In a way, Pasi, as a proud Lamanite, has gone back in time and made Mormonism Indigenous in the first place.

The new conceptualizations of time Peruvian Mormons create not only disrupt the temporal aspects of their indigeneity, but also the spatial aspects. Many Andeans have a “sited identity” (Thomas 2002, 372) or a group sense of self as tied up with a physical location. The way for Pasi and Mormons like her to acquire a sited identity tied to both a Utah-centered church and to Peru is opened once they transcend linear time. Now connected to pre-Hispanic, Mormon ancestors through a Utah-distributed book, Peruvian Mormons expand the sites of their identities to include Utah. As Pasi exemplified in Chapter Two, many Peruvian Mormons feel a greater connection to those newly acquired ancestors while they are in Utah than they did in Peru. For others, such as a *cusqueño* Mormon named Moisés whom I interviewed in Utah in August 2016, being a Mormon in Utah sparks an automatic solidarity (Kim 2010) felt not only with Mormons, but with non-Mormon “Lamanites.”

JASON: Do you feel any connection between the Book of Mormon and your own ancestors?

MOISES: A lot of Navajos come to where I work, and the sounds that Navajo has don't exist in English but do exist in Quechua. And I love to see Native American people because they remind me of my own family members. Their faces [*rostros*] are so similar to those

of my grandparents, to those of my cousins. Once I met a young man on Trax [Salt Lake's metro train] who looked so much like my cousin that I spoke to him. I asked him in English, "do you speak Spanish?" And he told me, "no, I'm Native American." And when he said that I shut up, but I felt very strongly the connection between him and me, that despite us not knowing each other before, I still felt that—generations ago—we were part of the same single family. We have the same traces, the same blood, and even the same sounds used for speech.

JASON: I mean, but the question was whether you---

MOISES: ---Well, those things are what make me feel a connection to the Book of Mormon because it tells us that we all came from the same single family that got subdivided. Today we can see that the remnants of those tribes and cities are the Navajo, the Utes, the Aztecs, the Mayas, and the Incas. But all of them are exactly the same.

Moisés felt a tie to the Indigenous people of Utah because blood from the Book of Mormon runs in his veins just as it does through theirs. This is significant because in claiming Book of Mormon blood, Moisés is claiming Book of Mormon ownership. Yet, it is also paradoxical because blood, as an idiom of kinship transmission, does not carry as much cultural weight in the contemporary Andes as it does in The Book of Mormon. In many parts of the Andes, as evidenced among the Zumbagua of Ecuador who do not traditionally distinguish between "adopted" children and "biological" children, family can be any group who eat together long enough because "those who eat together in the same household share the same flesh in a quite literal sense: they are made of the same stuff" (Weismantel 1995, 695). In this way, food can be more central than blood to the mechanisms that cycle substance between Andean people and Andean place making them metaphysical relatives to the land and to each other (Allen 2014).

A disconnection of this cycle between humans and their native geographies was the major cause of suffering for the first Peruvian immigrants to Utah in the 1970's. Imagining them as innately suited to high altitude shepherding and long-term isolation from family, a Salt Lake City-based association recruited these Peruvian *borregueros* from their homes around the

Mormon-founded Cerro de Pasco mine in Peru to come to Utah and herd sheep (Krögel 2010). While in Utah, the *borregueros* considered themselves *wakcha*, meaning something like “orphan,” but more gut-wrenchingly lonely, someone with an utter lack of connection to humans and gods (Arguedas 1975) and a lack of one of the substances that create kinship in the Andes—shared food. However, in a counterintuitive reversal of *borreguero* disconnection in Utah, Moisés finds connection, and he finds it through the concept of blood lineage. Paradoxically, a kin concept with relatively little significance in the Andes connects him to his Andean ancestors—the Book of Mormon heroes—making him feel kinship in Utah where the blood descendants of those heroes—the Navajo—dwell.

They Can’t Fathom It

Yet, this recentralization of Utah in Moisés’ cosmovision is precisely what Peruvian claims to Book of Mormon ownership contest. The Book of Mormon is the keystone—the center—of Mormonism, yet the Anglo Mormons who currently control its distribution peripheralize the very places where its story is set along with the people who inhabit those places. Peruvian ownership of Book of Mormon stories and Peruvian contributions to Book of Mormon scholarship go unrecognized because

whites, be they Nephites, Puritans, or Mormon pioneers, control the means of the production of history ... whites control what gets recorded in the archive and thus remembered as history. Oral histories, if they survive, are deemed folktales, family lore, and given a second-class status as reliable archival sources. (Mueller 2017, 54-55)

Nevertheless, now that Pasi and Moisés are Lamanites in a biological and multitemporal sense, they, and other Lamanites, contest this white control over the narrative history of pre-Hispanic Christianity in the Americas.

Pasi's theory is that people who come from traditional villages around South America recognize truth in the Book of Mormon because "they still have their oral legends, and they correspond to the Book of Mormon story." In her work with a Utah-based NGO, she went to Paraguay to help pregnant mothers who had gone directly from their "pre-Christian" lifeways into Mormonism. As I wrote in my field notes in June 2016,

she told me their entire group converted to the church at once because they were listening to the Book of Mormon and said, "this is our history written down. How did you guys know about this? Where did you get this book?" They were almost accusing the missionaries of stealing it from them. So, they knew it to be a true history because it matched their oral history almost exactly ... She said the reason Paraguay's legends matched the Book of Mormon is because Paraguay's Indigenous people originally come from Bolivia and it seems that the visit of Jesus happened around Lake Titicaca—he walked on its water—so they too are from Book of Mormon lands.

My friend Basilio Corimayta, a Peruvian from a small town near Arequipa who has lived in Utah since 1983, had a similar experience to these Paraguayans when he first saw the Book of Mormon. He knew it was true right away because "there was a TON of coincidence, too much coincidence to not be true." I asked him what some of those coincidences were and he said that in Machu Picchu there is a place called *Intihuatana*. It looks like a sundial and it is the place where the Inca king tied the sun in the sky for 36 hours so that the people could finish building Cuzco. This night without darkness matches the cosmic sign of Christ's birth that the Americas received according to the Book of Mormon.

These ethnoarchaeological proofs of the Book of Mormon's historicity, however, are part of a narrative that is increasingly at odds with the official church which, ironically, desires to distance itself from the idea that the Book of Mormon is a history of the Amerindians with a verifiable geography and sacred places that still exist. The church seeks this distance because the racist paternalism implicit in Lamanite identity is currently clashing with the colorblind, post-racial modernity the church is striving to embrace. Lamanite identity—the very identity the

church helped create—has become a public relations problem. It has become something to be mitigated and, if possible, ignored until it goes away.

True Lamanites, however, as owners of the Book of Mormon, are not going away. They are adding details to the story and connecting the end of the written narrative to what they see in the ruins of civilizations around them today. As Jacoba Arriátegui, my spouse’s aunt, told me in an interview in December 2017 in the basement of her daughter’s large home in Salsands, Utah:

I brought my kids over here [to the US from Peru] when they were very little. They didn’t know Peru. But little by little I am taking them back and teaching them what Peru is and what the ruins are and all the things that are over there. Three years ago I took Arcadio H., my son. We went to Trujillo and he just stood there agape, looking. “*Mamá*,” he said. “This is [the Book of Mormon city of] Zarahemla.” “Zarahemla?” [I asked]. “What did Zarahemla look like, *Mamá*? It was a walled city, and what was the width of the walls, *Mamá*? Because it describes them right there in the Book [of Mormon],” he said. They were almost one meter thick, and the city was right next to the sea. “This is it.” He tells me. “Here you have the ruins of Zarahemla. Look at the walls. Look at the height of the parapets that are so high, and look at how they were described as terminating vertically one by one. It is all here.” ... So, I go about teaching my kids little by little and every time I go to Peru, I take one with me, or some grandkids, and I go about teaching them the story of the Book of Mormon, “here it is,” I tell them, “Look.”

Her husband, Arcadio Costa, was sitting close to us watching TV during this interview, but he could not contain himself and chimed in,

ARCADIO: Frankly, I had a book. I don’t remember where I left it, but it tells of Incas named Viracocha and Pachacutec. Their God tells them, “here my God was sitting.” The God, what did they call him? He had a name, and with his finger he drew many worlds—and that is a book that is not Mormon—and it says that those many worlds were his. So, what is it that the Book of Mormon teaches us?

JASON: That God made many worlds before this one?

ARCADIO: Of course. So, how did this Inca know that God had many worlds? It must be that when the Lord came here to the Americas, he arrived over there [in Peru] and not here [in North America]. And he spoke with the Incas and with the Indigenous people that were over there ... So, after that, it says that four brothers arrived ... so these were the four Brothers Ayar that it talks about, and one of them stayed in Peru and one went to Mexico in order to establish what they brought, which was much more advanced than what the Incas had. Do you see? The history of Peru is a vast history, and it is similar to the Book of Mormon.

JASON: Meaning the four brothers would be Nephi, Sam, Laman, and Lemuel?

ARCADIO: Yep, but they call them the four Brothers Ayar in their Quechua language, see?

JASON: And why do you think that artists of Book of Mormon scenes always depict only Mexico? I mean, you can see Aztec temples in that famous painting with Jesus descending from heaven, as if it all only happened in Mesoamerica, but not in Peru.

JACOBA: Because they only know what it's like close around here: Mexico. The artists only know Mexico, but they haven't exactly studied Peru. They can't even imagine the grandeur that exists in Peru. They can't fathom it. Because if they went, they would remember the descriptions of Zarahemla, what it was like ... And they would enter, and if they relived the scenes of Zarahemla they would find that it is a walled city close to the sea as described.

ARCADIO: And in Machu Picchu, we saw with our own eyes the---

JACOBA: ---the baptismal fonts.

White is Write

Jacoba and Arcadio's discussion does not sound like speculation. They are sure that some of the Book of Mormon's events happened in Peru. However, Arcadio and Jacoba are not white. Their surety does not count as official church knowledge. As such, the following 2018 statement from the church—one of the few times an official church publication has used the word “Lamanite” since 1999 to imply contemporary people—must come as a slap in the face:

Just as the history of the northern ten tribes of Israel after their exile in Assyria is a matter of speculation rather than knowledge, the history of the Lamanites after the close of the Book of Mormon record is a matter of speculation. The Church asserts that all members are part of the covenant house of Israel either by descent or adoption but does not take a position on the specific geography of the Book of Mormon or claim a complete knowledge about the origins of any specific modern group in the Americas or the Pacific. (The Church, n.d, para.9)

The problem with this declaration's parsing of the terms “speculation” and “knowledge” is that, for the church, white people's speculation *is* knowledge. The all white, all male artists of

the Book of Mormon illustrations get to speculate all they want, and those speculations are elevated to knowledge by the fact that their illustrations are included in the Book of Mormon to this day. These illustrations, since they are only of Mesoamerican settings, are easily adopted into what is known among Anglo Mormon archeologists as the limited geography hypothesis. This hypothesis is that the Book of Mormon tells of a very small group among an already-populated continent. It goes against the hemispheric hypothesis, which is that the book explains how the entire continent was populated. Limited geography not only contradicts what most of my Peruvian Mormon friends know to be true about their own personhood, it directly opposes what they know their white leaders told them was true. Today, these selfsame white leaders side with a minority of white intellectuals against the hemispheric theory (Duffy 2008). In so doing they betray hundreds of thousands of Lamanites with deep existential stakes in that theory.

My Peruvian Mormon friends in Peru and Utah are almost completely unaware and uninterested in these theoretical contests and disavowals. They are too busy filling out the Book of Mormon's lost details and searching out its sacred places, but none of these efforts achieve official recognition from the holy church. Peruvians get sacred story, but this does not count as holy history. As such, there is a gap between Indigenous story and "official"—meaning white—history. Recently, however, the church itself¹ seems to be trying to close this gap. Part of this stems from Mormonism's foundational penchant for record keeping and bringing history up to the present time. Perhaps regretting that this has almost always only meant the history of Anglo Mormons, the church corporation, in 2015, created a new paid position—General Manager of South American Church History.

¹ "The church itself" refers to the Utah church because the Utah church exerts absolute authority over the Peruvian church.

The aforementioned *arequipeño* Mormon, Simón Balboa, who identifies strongly as a literal biological descendant of the Book of Mormon prophet Lehi, through Laman, was the first to occupy this position. His job puts him right in the middle of the tension between what his white supervisors will accept as “Mormon history” and the oral histories he hears from “local” Mormons in Peru. In an interview in December 2017, he told me about the two lines of authority through which his writing must pass before it is accepted as history.

First, I give it to the Area Presidency who look at the doctrinal aspect, just so that we aren't talking about the Three Nephites ... none of that stuff, and then the other line is through the *Church History Department* [said in English], they have to see if the dates are correct, the places, the people, all that information.

The Three Nephites are fodder for much Mormon folklore because Jesus promised them that they would stay on the Earth until his second coming. In Latin America, this is sometimes used to explain why certain congregations claim to have already been Mormon before the first Mormon missionaries arrived, implying that the Three Nephites got to them first. Simón, however, is not allowed to share these types of stories or tie the Nephite visitations to specific places. In fact, the church does not allow him to publish stories that would imbue any specific place in South America with the significance reserved for privileged North American church historic sites, such as Martin's Cove, Wyoming (discussed in Chapter Two) or The Sacred Grove in New York where Joseph Smith saw his first vision. Both of these sacred places are now the private property of the church corporation, and if the US legal maxim holds true that whiteness is a prerequisite for property (Harris 1993), it is no wonder the church cannot allow for stories with the slightest bit of non-white sacredness. Even though the Three Nephites are imagined as white, as are the living prophets to whom Simón will refer below, the sheer Latin American placement of the stories is enough to associate them with non-whiteness and thus disqualify them from inclusion into holy history.

JASON: In the interviews that you do with people around the Andes, have you heard of speeches that [Anglo] General Authorities have given where they proclaim, “this place was a Nephite temple,” or “this place was a baptismal font?”

SIMON: I have at least three very good interviews where people certify as much. I interviewed the pioneer of Cuzco who now lives in Arequipa. Men like him tell me that President Kimball came to Cuzco determined to close it [as a mission], and then he had a vision wherein Nephi asked him not to close Cuzco, and so he didn’t. Today Cuzco has two stakes². It is its own mission. To me that is amazing, but when I presented that to the department of history in Salt Lake City, they accepted it, but they don’t want me to publish it. That gives me sadness.

As a church employee and a loyal church member, he was not willing to elaborate on this sadness, but I think it has something to do with a disconnect between the reason the church tells him they cannot accept those stories and what he feels, deep down, to be the real reason.

JASON: Do you think it’s because you need to collect more verifications from other witnesses?

SIMON: Yes, I have another from Ecuador. In Ecuador, Jason, there is the tribe, in my opinion, the most faithful Lamanite tribe. The Lamanites are all over South America in different tribes, for example, the Quechua are in Arequipa, Puno, and Cuzco. The Aymaras are in La Paz and Puno. They maintain their culture, but the ones who maintain their culture the most are the Otavalo in Ecuador.

JASON: I know some of them.

SIMON: Have you seen how they do their long hair, their clothing? They are the most faithful to their culture. Impactful. I have been to Otavalo. I have interviewed many people there. Among them there is a tradition: When the first *otavaleño* got to know the church, he declared that when the American missionaries like you came and they taught him of the Book of Mormon, he said, “I knew about that already.” “Yes, but how did you know if we are the first ones?” He said, “I had a dream, and a man came who looked exactly like him,” pointing to the cover of the book. The Book of Mormon, Jason, used to have the depiction of Moroni³ on it.

JASON: Oh, yes, the sky-blue cover?

² A stake is an administrative unit overseeing seven or eight wards (congregations).

³ Moroni, the son of Mormon, was the last prophet to add to his father’s compendium of ancient American writings compiled on gold plates. He was also the one who buried the plates and, over 1,400 years later, as a resurrected being, revealed their location to Joseph Smith. Joseph Smith translated a portion of these plates and published it as The Book of Mormon. Today, Moroni is depicted in the form of a golden angel atop the spire of most Mormon temples.

SIMON: Exactly, in the sky blue. He said, “this man told me in a dream that you guys would come.” These experiences, I have them, I have gathered them up and I have sent them to Salt Lake City, of course, but when I wanted to put them into the Ecuador book, they told me, “no.” Another time, in Cuzco, one night during an evening sacrament meeting, the sacrament bread was out and a little *indio* boy came up with no shoes and old clothing. He made his way to the front to eat the bread and a woman told him, “get out of here,” but he came back later and Elder Boyd K. Packer, who was visiting, gestured for him to come, and the kid came and sat on his lap. He had a little *indio* boy in his arms, on his lap, and in his talk, he said, “I just had an entire generation of Lamanites on my lap.” This is such a marvelous story, and there is a second part to that story, which is when Elder Packer then says, “Lehi himself taught from here and Moroni was right here.” So, in the Peru book, I have published the first part of the story, but not the second part [laughing].

JASON: And why do you think they don’t want those things in the book?

SIMON: I think that we lack more--- you should know, Jason, that if I have here a single point in space, many lines will pass through it. Well, if I had a second point, a third point, then only one line passes through them. I need to provide Salt Lake City with more points so that only one line passes through all of them. That is my job, so that when Salt Lake City has more evidence, they will authorize it. The points I have right now are too few.

If it truly were the case that church headquarters simply needed more points of triangulation before validating stories, it would not have published in its new series, *Saints*, the following extravagant story from 1829 in Fayette, New York witnessed by a single person, Mary Whitmer.

One day, while she was out by the barn where the cows were milked, she saw a gray-haired man with a knapsack slung across his shoulder. His sudden appearance frightened her, but as he approached, he spoke to her in a kind voice that set her at ease. “My name is Moroni,” he said ... “You have been very faithful and diligent in your labors,” he continued. “It is proper, therefore, that you should receive a witness that your faith may be strengthened.” Moroni opened his knapsack and removed the gold plates. He held them in front of her and turned their pages so she could see the writings on them ... The old man vanished a moment later, leaving Mary alone. (The Church 2018, 70-71)

How does the story of old man Moroni make it into the church’s officially published history for distribution to its members all over the world, while a story with the slightest Mormon validation of Andean locality does not even make it into the official history of the church in Peru? The answer partially lies in the unmarked subtitle of *Saints*. It is not, “The Story

of The Church *in the US*,” it is simply, “The Story of The Church.” If the church did not have a core-to-periphery structure, it would not be able to get away with marking one story as that of Peru while leaving another as simply “a story.” This characteristic of states and state-like entities—to set up a periphery in order to have a center from whence to consolidate power—makes the center not only a point that the periphery orbits around, but a pinnacle that towers vertically over it. Within this pinnacle, or as Fanon might say—Tabernacle—“The ‘higher up’ officials are, the broader the geographical range of their peregrinations, and the more encompassing their optics on the domain of state activity and its relation to what is merely ‘local’” (Ferguson & Gupta 2002, 987). This allows those in the center to feel they are not local, but global, making their history everybody’s history. Under this delusion, the story of Mary Whitmer is to be faith promoting for Mormons the world over because she has no cultural trappings to indicate her locality. In reality, however, she has plenty of cultural trappings, the foremost of which is masked because of its own supposedly universal superiority—her literary milieu. Her story was written down. Since “in early Mormon history literacy signifies whiteness and worthiness, when a Mormon historical subject becomes a writerly self, he or she also becomes—figuratively, and the Latter-day Saints believed, perhaps even literally—a white self” (Mueller 2017, 59).

This means that the problem is not the stories, it is Simón and his non-whiteness. The mere fact that he wants to include such stories indicates that he does not embrace white logics enough to be trusted. In giving importance to miracles and declarations that tie the Book of Mormon to Peru, he is giving too much importance to locality. Whiteness thinks global. Peru is local. Stories validating the sacredness of the Andes will be too dangerously local and unstable to promote the kind of spirituality necessary for holy whiteness, for sainthood.

Being A Bit Prudent

I continue my line of questioning with Simón because he keeps giving me hints that, since he cannot publish these stories, I should.

JASON: And do you have anything about Tiahuanaco, Bolivia?

SIMON: Ooh man, don't get me started!

JASON: Because when I served there as a missionary, MANY people told me about how President Kimball said that it was the exact temple that is mentioned in the Book of Mormon, the one that Nephi constructed after the manner of Solomon. They said Kimball even translated the runes on the Gate of the Sun.

SIMON: The people have it. I have been to Tiahuanaco. I have been in the Gate of the Sun. We are going to mention it in the Bolivia book. In fact, it was already to go in the Bolivia book, but when we presented it to them, they told me, "it all looks good, but this bit about the declaration from President Kimball, take that out" [laughs]. Well, the truth is that there exists many, MANY declarations from prophets, from apostles, and I'm not even talking about General Authorities, I don't even need to include them, I am talking Apostles and Prophets. Nevertheless, we need to provide more, to continue the work of investigation.

JASON: Do you think that someday, by doing that, the church itself will declare a Latin American site holy? Will they do like they do with the many historic sites in the US and buy up a little part of Tiahuanaco saying that this is---

SIMON: I hope so. I hope so. Have you been to Cuzco?

JASON: Yes.

SIMON: Ooh, in Cuzco there is an amazing temple, you must have visited it--Coricancha.

JASON: Yes.

SIMON: When I was a Seventy⁴... part of my assignment was to travel with the authorities that would come to Cuzco because every time they go to Peru, they always want to visit Cuzco, right? I have been with Elder Holland, Elder Scott, Elder Nelson, and every time

⁴ Simón was an "Area Authority Seventy" meaning he was in the administrative rung that liaises between stake presidents in Peru (currently mostly Peruvians) and the three "General Authority Seventies" (currently one Mexican-American, one Anglo-American, and one Italian-Guatemalan) who preside over the South America Northeast Area (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela). These General Authority Seventies report directly to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in Salt Lake City who, in turn, report to The First Presidency made up of the prophet (church president) and his two councilors (also considered apostles). All these roles are ecclesiastical "callings," not paid church corporation posts, however, those at or above the General Authority Seventy level receive extremely hefty "living stipends" while those at or below the Area Authority Seventy level do not.

they were there, they would always express--- because in the temple of Coricancha they have the sun room, the moon room, and the stars room. Well, each apostle whom I have accompanied there, I can testify for myself that they said, “these are--- these three rooms are--- and it could be the temple of Nephi that the Book of Mormon speaks of.” I have heard those opinions, those feelings from them. Elder Nelson said, “we are in a sacred place.” And Elder Scott was very explicit. This is all to say that the brethren have always expressed themselves very clearly in those moments because they felt something very special.

This Elder Nelson who walked through the three rooms in Coricancha—rooms that cosmologically align directly with the three rooms in contemporary Mormon temples representing the three degrees of heaven—is now the president (prophet) of the church. Imagine Simón’s cognitive dissonance. He knows that though President Nelson knows that Coricancha is a Book of Mormon sacred site, he deliberately hides this knowledge from the membership. Worse still, not only does the church refuse to validate sacred places in Peru with its holy stamp of approval, Simón has witnessed it evolve away from even mentioning the Lamanite identity that made these places possible.

This evolution away from historic Book of Mormon places and contemporary Book of Mormon people is evident in the recorded dedicatory prayers of modern Latin American temples. The dedication of a temple is the moment when it becomes officially holy. What is said in the dedicatory prayer, therefore, is a metric of what counts as site-specific holy discourse. To foreground the rather sudden divorce of Lamanite identity from holiness to which I refer in my final question to Simón, I contrast the two dedicatory prayers that have been offered to date⁵ in Peru. In the 1986 dedication of Peru’s first temple (Lima), South America’s third, soon-to-be church president, Gordon Hinkley declared, in English,

We are particularly mindful this day of the sons and daughters of Lehi. They have known so much of suffering and sorrow in their many generations. They have walked in darkness and in servitude. Now, Thou hast touched them by the light of the everlasting gospel. The

⁵ I refer here to the date of the first draft of this chapter, written before the Arequipa temple was dedicated in December 2019. For my account of the Arequipa temple dedication, see Palmer and Knowlton (2020).

shackles of darkness are falling from their eyes as they embrace the truths of Thy great work. Surely father Lehi has wept with sorrow over his posterity. Surely he weeps today with gladness, for in this holy house there will be exercised the fullness of the priesthood to the blessing, not only of those of this and future generations, but also to the blessing of those of previous generations. (para. 4)

Compare the explicit conflation of Peruvians with Laman's father Lehi's posterity above to the encrypted conflation in the 2015 dedication of Peru's second temple, in Trujillo:

We pray for all in this land who have an opportunity to hear and ponder the message of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ ... Hasten the miracle of conversion among these great and good people. We thank Thee for the sacred record of Lehi, Nephi and Jacob, Alma and Mosiah, Benjamin and Mormon, and of Moroni. We thank Thee for this voice that has come from the dust to bear witness of the divinity of Thy Beloved Son. (Uchtdorf 2015, para.3)

This last prayer mentions all the ingredients for Lamanite identity—a distinct people, a distinct place, and the prophet Lehi—but it does not make the slightest connection between them other than the proximity of the words in the sentence. This ingenious tactic allows the listeners to make their own connections. However, the speaker seems to make a last-minute change to obscure the kin connection to Lehi even more. Perhaps fearing that mentioning only Lehi will be too obviously connected to his son Laman and, as such, the Lamanites, he follows up that namedrop with a stumbling litany of seven other ancient American prophets and four repetitions of the word “and.” This is one of the signs of embarrassment I am thinking about when I ask Simón the final question:

JASON: Do you think that there is less emphasis being placed on the historicity of the Book of Mormon and on the Lamanites? I don't know if it is embarrassment, but it seems to me that they [church officials] don't want to talk about Lamanites anymore.

SIMON: Yes, what is happening is that the term, “Lamanite,” lately, yes--- lately, I think maybe in the last 10 years, um, it could be seen as a term that--- it COULD be seen as a pejorative term, a very indigenous term. Some members feel very identified, like me, that we have Lamanite blood, but the nonmembers interpret it—sorry, the nonmembers that know the word “Lamanite”—interpret it as “Indigenous” as a form of discrimination ... So maybe that is why the brethren are being a bit prudent in not mentioning “Lamanite” anymore.

Unruly Sacredness and Wild Tongues

Whether motivated by embarrassment or prudence, the church is repudiating the importance it traditionally assigned to the stories Simón co-owns and co-authors as a proud Lamanite. The church's changed stance toward Lamanite identity from one of paternalistic pride to one of shame coincides with an evolution in its official conceptualization of kinship. Its stance toward Lamanites shows it moving ever closer to alignment with greater US kin logics wherein what is felt as real kinship is whatever biologists decide it to be (Schneider 1968). After DNA evidence came out in 2002 that there was no Israelite "blood" among isolated Amerindian groups (Murphy 2003), the church, having legal ownership of the Book of Mormon, changed its actual text. In 1981, the introduction to the book had read, "After thousands of years, all were destroyed except the Lamanites, and they are the principal ancestors of the American Indians." (Fletcher Stack 2007). This was already a slightly watered-down version of Simón's idea, which is that not only are the Lamanites the principal ancestors, they are the sole ancestors. However, in 2007, in direct reaction to mounting DNA evidence, that line was qualified even more to read, "they are *among* the ancestors of the American Indians" (Smith 2013a, vii, emphasis mine). The single word "among" seems insignificant. In fact, most of my Peruvian Mormon friends do not know about its addition to their holy text. Nevertheless, the word "among" dilutes their descendance from Israel and demonstrates the church's capitulation to a US-centric notion of relatedness that has outsourced its kinship system to geneticists.

The addition of the word "among" demonstrates that authority over story can be weaponized to disrupt identity. Since Simón does not have this authority, he becomes partially alienated from the power over his own identity. But why would the church do this to him? Why is the bureaucratic committee in the church office building in Salt Lake City that added "among"

so worried about controlling the Lamanite story? The sociological reason is that Lamanite identity exposes the church's latent racism and antimodernism (Duffy 2008). The historical reason is that last time the church lost control of Lamanite identity, it resulted in a nine-year schism with the Mexican church in the 1930s wherein Lamanites demanded that Anglo leaders stop perpetually delaying the promise God made to them that they would eventually be the ones to lead the church (Gómez Páez 2004). The anthropological reasons, however, intertwined as they are with peripheralization, pathologizing, and the sacred, are vastly more complex.

As I have shown, the Lamanite story tends to imbue places in Peru with sacred power. Sacred place is risky for the church, not only because some modernist Christianities teach that the sacred has transcended the fallen earth (Cannell 2006) and all of its rock sundials and fonts, but because when the sacred gets embedded into place, it can easily grow beyond the holy church's control. For this reason, Lamanites like Simón are dangerous. To draw attention to this danger, I have not been using the terms sacred and holy synonymously. Instead, I employ a construct I learned in Cuzco called *holy versus sacred*. While at the aforementioned Inti Raymi events, one of which took place in front of the aforementioned Catholic church built atop an Inca temple at Coricancha, I asked cast members if they thought Cuzco was holy (*santo*). One pointed to the Catholic church and said, "that's holy." He then pointed to the Inca construction underneath it and said, "but that's sacred [*sagrado*]. Holy and sacred, they are not the same word." One aspect of the tension between these two apparent synonyms that is especially applicable to the church's core-periphery structure is that the holy imposes from above while the sacred seeps up from below. In this way, the tension between the holy and the sacred maps onto the tension between two other apparent synonyms—space and place.

Elaine Padilla (2013), a professor of constructive theology, posits that the division between space and place only exists in the dominant European view wherein “space, by taking on divine qualities such as immutability and incorporeality, relegates place to the realm of bodies ... so while space might be identified with the infinity of divine dwelling, (finite) place would with the lesser and derivative world of matter” (58). To explain how Padilla’s distinction between space and place is similar to the distinction I see between holy and sacred respectively, I turn back to the holy-atop-sacred palimpsest that is the contemporary Andes. Hiking in the 14,000-feet-above-sea-level hills around Arequipa, I would often come across rock piles called *apachetas*. Anciently, these were thought to house the ancestors of the pre-Christian age. Today, many *apachetas* have morphed into Catholic saint shrines like the ones my Catholic friends prayed at during our pilgrimage to the Virgin of Chapi, Arequipa’s principal protector. At the beginning of our hike through the desert, one of them placed a stone into her purse. This was to represent her sins, which, miles later, she deposited at a giant, 30-foot-high *apacheta* (figure 16). That *apacheta* was sacred and unofficial. The Catholic church nearby, which commemorated the site where the Virgin Mary had made an apparition, was holy.



FIGURE 16: The *apacheta* mentioned near the site of the Virgin of Chapi's apparition. May 2018.

Some specific saint shrines in the Andes are both sacred, (belonging to the pre-Christian ancestors of the inner world) and holy (belonging to the upper world of the Christian God).

These saint shrines are called “miracles,” and each has a specific function such as potato fertility or llama protection.

Saints as miracles are intensely localized, identified not just with the place, but with the very soil and landscape ... part of the efficacy of the miracle derives from stuff picked up off the ground—earth, stones, sheep droppings—which are talismans of whatever it is people desire. They take these objects home with them and make offerings to them. (Harris 2006, 57).

Stone can be sacred in this cosmology because stone is from whence an “intensely localized” risky power—*saxras*—that can be for both good and evil emanates. The sacred's

bipolarity is why Ofelia did not want me to read sacredness into her stone-collecting at the temple site in Chapter Two. There is danger in it, which is how, as many of my Mormon friends say, something can be “too sacred.” Tellingly, I never hear Mormons say that something is “too holy.” Directly under many Andean saint statues, such as *La Virgen Del Socavón* (the Virgin of the Undermining) in Oruro, Bolivia, there is a deep tunnel dug into the mountain where people can make coca leaf offerings to a strikingly different statue, one that is faithful to pre-Christian archetypes of sacred iconography, but that looks to contemporary Christians—aesthetically influenced as they are by centuries of deliberate demonological manipulations of *tawantinsuyana* religious imagery (De Mello E Souza & Robinson 1997)—like a devil. This relegation of the sacred to Satan’s realm is an extreme example of what the holy strives to do when the “intensely localized” nature of these particular sacred places threatens its authority. Jesus was resurrected, exited His dark tomb, transcended the fallen earth and ascended into the exalted heavens. As Jesus’ role in this nexus of Christian space-time emblemizes, the sacred is supposed to transcend place in Christianity. If it does not, it might be diabolical. Of course, “local” humans for whom a locality can be sacred also slip into the domain of the diabolical through this same logic. This slippage happens a little too easily and a little too often to ignore the possibility that the holy church conflates sacred materiality with spiritual danger for precisely that purpose—to demonize indigeneity.

Joseph Smith was a man with his own connection to sacred stone. He used seer stones, some of which were pilfered Seneca grave goods (Murphy 2018), to translate a pre-Hispanic, Amerindian text into English. Doing so might have given him a unique understanding of the connection that local, Indigenous kinways—and tongues—had to sited sacredness in upstate New York as well as a unique understanding of the danger that connection represented to his

growing authority. However, the contemporary church's portrayal of Joseph Smith's efforts to tamp down the effervescent sacred in his fledgling new settler-colonist church strategically eliminates the connection to indigeneity altogether. The committee that wrote *Saints* claims that "Some of the Saints in Kirtland took their beliefs to wild extremes, reveling in what they took to be gifts of the Spirit [such as speaking in tongues]. Several people claimed to have visions they could not explain. Others believed the Holy Ghost made them slide or scoot across the ground" (The Church 2018, 112). What the committee fails to mention is that the scooting was to pantomime sailing across the river into Indian Territory to preach to the Lamanites and that the glossolalia was supposed to be speaking in Indigenous languages. As Mueller (2017) clarifies, "Smith used this outburst of religious fervor to differentiate between true religious experience and dangerous enthusiasm. In May 1831, Smith revealed that white converts were not expected to act more like Indians. Instead, in the restored church, the Indians were expected to act more like white Saints" (75).

Still smarting from Smith's chastisement of their mistaking the sudden ability to speak Potawatomi as a gift from the Holy Ghost, some Anglo Saints were shocked when, one day at Smith's dinner table, Brigham Young prayed in tongues. Instead of chastising him, Smith praised him because, as the *Saints* writing committee claims, "what Brigham did was different" (The Church 2018, 163). He did not speak in the tongue of a fallen race of humanity whose original sin was improper historiography and land-use. His language was edifying, not degrading, and if something edifies it is of God. "Edifying to whom?" is not a valid question because if something is edifying to a powerful white person, it should be edifying to everyone. Brigham Young spoke the language that Adam spoke in the garden of Eden, the original, generic human language that connects us all precisely because it is not specific to an uncontrollably sacred site or to a specific

people who have an ungodly attachment to place and “*un lenguaje que corresponde a un modo de vivir*” (Anzaldúa 2012, 77, a language that corresponds to a way of life). This is all to say that the church has carefully built a version of indigeneity to define holiness against, and that this holiness, the source of its power, would diminish if Indigenous, sacred places were allowed to become central axes in Zion.

Lamanite Threat

Deslenguadas. Somos los del español deficiente. We are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic mestizaje, the subject of your burla. Because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified. Racially, culturally and linguistically somos huérfanos—we speak an orphan tongue. (80)

Far from speaking the tongue of Adam, Lamanites speak some of the most stigmatized tongues in the history of the US. The presence in Utah today of people who identify as Lamanites and who openly speak an untamed, “wild tongue” (75)—such as variants of Spanish mixed with English, Quechua, Nahuatl, Kichua, and K’iche—is, for many Anglo Mormons, an uncomfortable reminder of indigeneity, which is an uncomfortable reminder of sacred connection to specific places. Critical race scholars would say that this discomfort stems from whiteness’ need to maintain the illusion of placelessness. “One aspect of whiteness... is its ability to seem perspectiveless or transparent. Whites do not see themselves as having a race but as being, simply, people. They do not believe that they think and reason from a white viewpoint but from a universally valid one— ‘the truth’—what everybody knows” (Delgado & Stefancic 2017, 91-92).

Latin Americans are too embarrassingly placeable to be part of the body of the Saints because the imaginary for that body is white and, as such, placeless. It is the body of Christ, which is a light skinned, blue-eyed, hypermasculine body. However, Jesus’ skin tone is

concealed. It is eliminated from consciousness by the magic of whiteness in a process that Frantz Fanon (1994) called epidermalization. Per Kwame Ture (1990), white supremacy takes epidermalization “to such ludicrous heights that it paints Jesus Christ white even though he never put his foot in Europe” (min. 41:40). White Jesus can have as anachronistic a phenotype as possible for the son of a Middle Easterner with ties to Africa and it will remain unremarkable because white Jesus is imagined as placeless, and, as such, raceless. He, like the sacred along with him, has transcended both place and race. He is just the generic Jesus, not the white Jesus. Everyone can relate to him. A Black Jesus, on the other hand, is seen as divisive, some sort of “reverse-racist” political statement.

What about a Lamanite Jesus? A Lamanite Saint? The sheer presence in Utah of Lamanites who dare call themselves Saints disrupts the illusion created by whiteness that everyone is the same, that all lives matter (Shange 2019a), or, as the Anglo Mormon apostle Jeffrey Holland told a group of Native Americans in 1997, that, “We do not emphasize racial, or cultural distinctions, including Lamanite or tribal distinctions, in the Church. We are moving to that millennial day where we are all Latter-day Saints and there are no more *-ites* among us” (Church News 1997, para. 4).

Here is part of a conversation I had in August 2017, in English, with a young Peruvian American BYU student about the former name of his dance troop, Lamanite Generation.

JASON: Why do you think they’ve changed their name?

JORGE: So, the reason I was told was ‘cause when President Hinkley came out and said there’s no *-ites* among us, that talk, it was kind of one of those things. We’re just like, “Okay. Well, there’s no *-ites* among us so we can’t say we’re Lamanite Generation,” you know, like, this is a group---- It’s a group for everyone to enjoy, not just the Lamanites or the Lamanite People. For everyone. So, yeah. They ended up calling it “Living Legends.”

A dance troop comprised of Pacific Islander, Native American, and Latinx youth who trace their ancestry back to Laman and depict this ancestry through drums and bodily movement to audiences all over the world, changed its name from Lamanite Generation to Living Legends in 1991 (Spotted Elk 2019). This change is a microcosm of the battle over Mormon history ownership and sacred site designation because in the church's eyes, Jorge is no longer a proud purveyor of his own Lamanite history but a disembodied crystallization of generic legend. And, as white Jesus teaches, "generic" is a racial codeword that means "white." Peruvian Mormons' place-based stories were extracted, homogenized, and danced into a legend that mostly benefits whiteness by seeming to represent "everyone." Under this façade of universal representation, Living Legends relegates ever-shifting, contemporary indigeneities to the static, legendary past where they must remain if Anglo Utah is to maintain its centrality.

Though the church can euphemize the disposal of Lamanites and other *-ites* by calling it a unifying effort, it is simply a classic tactic of peripheralization. No sooner do Peruvian Mormons recover the true story of their forefathers than their church tries to take it away. Pasi, Moisés, Basilio, Jacoba, Arcadio, Simón, and Jorge are stake holders in the Book of Mormon, the story that helped create Utah, but when they go there hoping to heal the spatiotemporal distance from their history and its sacred places, they find their identity either mocked as an antimodern false consciousness or feared as an unruly manifestation of brown-skinned sacredness.

Though it is difficult for my interlocutors to articulate, perhaps because it functions at a "preobjective" level (Csordas 1990), the white supremacy that makes US sites holier than Peruvian sites creates in Peruvian Mormons a sadness, a sort of alienation from their own souls. Martinicans subconsciously feel that they must travel to France to heal a similar sort of alienation. They feel the urge to reunite with the wealth that flowed to France as a way of healing

the place-based relatedness from whence that wealth was extracted. This quest for wholeness is something that anthropologists of pilgrimage understand as a quest for holiness (Dubisch 2005). This is why Fanon used the word Tabernacle to describe what Paris is for the Martinican. It is also why the historic Mormon Tabernacle in Temple Square is often the first stop for Peruvian Mormons immigrating to Utah. Many even synchronize their migrations to coincide with the church's General Conference convened at Temple Square where they can hear in person what they grew up hearing only through satellite broadcast—The Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

Aaron is a case in point. He is a Mormon from Arequipa who had sporadic, informal employment in Utah. He acquired a ten-year tourist visa to the US, which—unlike most Peruvians I know—he was careful not to overstay. Technically this meant he had to make sure he left the US every six months. In practice, however—especially during the Trump administration—it meant that he had to leave every few months so as to make his travel behavior seem “touristy.” Any US customs airport official had the authority to invalidate his visa if his sequence of passport stamps did not seem “touristy” enough or if his persona simply did not jive with the official's fickle archetype of “tourist.” As Aaron explained to me in an interview in Utah in August 2017, his visa was almost not enough for his second entry into the US:

When president Donald Trump got in, everyone was talking about how they weren't going to let people into [the US]. Well, I wanted to go to the General Conference again, so I went to talk to the Arequipa mission president [President Miller from Chapter One]. I told him that I wanted to go to the General Conference, but I was afraid of going through Miami because they had made problems for me the last time I was there. This time I was going to take no chances: I was going to go through Los Angeles, plus I was going to bring General Conference tickets. And the mission president called his stake president in Salt Lake and he sent him two tickets through WhatsApp. I printed them in Arequipa, and I came with that, and, it's so interesting, right? Because I had this feeling that something was going to happen and that those tickets were going to help me, along with my temple recommend⁶. I got off the plane and I arrived in Los Angeles on the 24th of March, and the official tells me, “And you? What is your purpose for coming?” And I tell him, “I come for the General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.” “Ah, you are Mormon?”

⁶ A temple recommend is a card that proves temple worthiness. It is required for temple entry.

“Yes.” “Eh, your temple recommend?” He asked me for it and I had it in my wallet, right? “Here it is.” BAM. He looked at it and everything and said, “What day is the conference?” And I said, “it is the 4th and 5th of April,” “And your invitation?” “Here it is.” BAM. He looked at it and he told me, “ok, looks good, welcome to the United States.” BAM [gesture of stamping a passport] “Your stamp.” And I entered. And they didn’t give me many problems or anything ... So that is what I value because I felt as if the Lord were telling me through His spirit that I should renew my temple recommend and that I should take conference tickets with me.

Instead of giving him problems this time, the official gatekeeper of US border sovereignty let Aaron enter. But why was he given problems in Miami if he had a legal visa? Ulla Berg (2015) studied this phenomena among Peruvians and noted that it is because embassy and customs officials do not see Andean bodies as being cosmopolitan enough to make sense as travelers. She demonstrated that when “Andean” cannot compute in a white person’s mind as “tourist,” it is because colonial regimes of power are at play. Their bodies are too indigenous-looking and, therefore, suspect in an area such as an airport, which is the epitome of placelessness. Berg explored the great lengths Peruvians take to change their bodies and textual backgrounds to look placeless. The only way to look truly placeless in the US, however, is to look white, and since Aaron did not look white, he had to find another way to tie himself to whiteness. The visa was scarcely enough, but his tickets to the Mormon Tabernacle Choir—a choir that helped solidify the US as the global center of white religiosity in the world’s imagination (Mueller 2017, 228)—had an explosively magical effect: BAM! That both Aaron and his customs official would tacitly understand the symbolic power of the Tabernacle as a key to the US border only makes sense in a context wherein whiteness is almost completely merged with holiness.

A symbolic relationship exists between traveling to the metropole in order to become whole and traveling in order to become white. Fanon states, “To us, the man who adores the Negro is as ‘sick’ as the man who abominates him. Conversely, the black man who wants to turn

his race white is as miserable as he who preaches hatred for the whites ... [And yet], for the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white” (Fanon 1994, 8-10). For the Martinique Black person, the center of both salvation and oppression is Paris—the Tabernacle. For Peruvian Mormons with a past of national whitening projects (Roberts 2013) and a future of literal skin color lightening as prophesied by the Book of Mormon, becoming white has a rather different valance. This difference notwithstanding, there is a sense for both the Martinique Black person and the Peruvian Mormon that one increases in “wholeness,” which has something to do with both whiteness and holiness, as one approaches the center.

As this chapter demonstrates however, Peruvian Mormons are making Peru the center. The antagonistic reaction of Anglo religious leaders to the decentering of Utah and to the uncomfortable truth reflected in the oxymoronic placement of “peripheral” bodies in its historic “core,” may simply be another instantiation of “The Latino Threat” narrative (Chavez 2013, title) that affects the racialization of Latin American bodies in the greater US regardless of Mormonism. However, as the Peruvians in this chapter have demonstrated, narrative itself holds immense generative power over sited identity. This power deepens the *Lamanite* threat narrative, making it even more paradoxical than the Latino one. Story reaches in and rewires ancestries through multitemporalities that undermine (*socavar*) holy space and embed in sacred place. Peruvian Mormons are creating sacred places regardless of holy order and this is stirring a defensiveness within the order that—because it is holy—is more complex than mere xenophobia. Despite ecclesiastical edicts debunking Lamanite solidarity in the name of global unity, Peruvian Mormon history is developing a powerfully unique, sited sainthood for which the Utah-centric church had best prepare. After all, the Lamanites (a remnant of Jacob) are the chosen people of the Lord. The Lord himself promised that if white people (Gentiles) do not repent, “my people

who are a remnant of Jacob shall be among the Gentiles, yea, in the midst of them as a ... young lion among the flocks of sheep, who, if he go through, both treadeth down and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver” (Smith 1830, 500).

As He did in Book of Mormon times, the Lord threatens in this scripture to use Lamanites in modern times as His chosen people. “Chosen” in this sense, however, does not imply that He chose them to rule the promised land, rather, it implies that He chose them as a foil to create the necessity for rule. He chose Lamanites as a tool to violently awaken complacent white people to their destiny as the “governing prior,” the rightful leaders and caretakers of the promised land, and the only ones meant to be full citizens of Zion. As Peruvian Mormons simultaneously contest and perpetuate this white destiny, they reveal the barriers designed to keep them out of full Zion citizenship. So far, I have discussed the barriers erected by hierarchies labeling Peruvians unfit for self-government (Chapter One), by biogenetic lineages and linear times that attempt to exclude Peruvian Mormons from “pioneer ancestry” (Chapter Two), and by colonial historiographies that sanctify only the whitest of spaces (Chapter Three). In the next chapter, I focus on Peruvians who wrestle with another barrier attempting to keep them from enjoying full Zion citizenship in the present—the perpetual futurization of their families.

CHAPTER FOUR

A Quinceañera Today versus A Glimpse of Tomorrow:

Peruvian Mormon Migratory Futures

This combined sense of religiosity and aspiration shares a key sense of temporality with capitalist production and consumption: both are based on a constant sense of short coming, of a perpetually underfulfilled aspiration. It is a sensibility of living in the future tense, which ... posits fulfillment always in the future, almost but not yet within reach. (Schielke 2015, 125)

Defined Out of Forever

Like the future, the Mormon city of Zion always lies just beyond the present horizon. This is especially true of Peruvian Mormon Zion, an entity that does not yet unambiguously count as “Zion” because Peruvians do not automatically count as leaders (discussed in Chapter One), as pioneers (discussed in Chapter Two), or as Book of Mormon historians (discussed in Chapter Three). Since Peruvian Mormons have to fight to be counted as any of these, many save their energy for a battle more central to their daily lives, a battle that is becoming increasingly heated as the church eliminates peripheral concerns, such as pageants, archaeology and “-ites” (Lamanite identity), in order to double down on a single concept that it calls, “*forever families*.” This concept sounds positive, but in my experience it is often expressed in the negative: Without the rites that can only be performed within holy temples on this world, individual humans cannot form parts of whole families in the next. Refracted through *forever families* discourse, the conflation of whiteness, holiness and wholeness discussed in Chapter Three reaches its zenith in the temple. Without Mormon temples—all of which are saturated with white-pigmented symbology and emblazoned with the words “Holiness To The Lord”—there can be no familial

wholeness (holiness/whiteness). As Robert D. Hales of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles stated in a General Conference in 1996,

I wish to speak to all those who would like to know about eternal families and about families being forever ... While our individual salvation is based on our individual obedience, it is equally important that we understand that we are each an important and integral part of a family and the highest blessings can be received only within an eternal family. When families are functioning as designed by God, the relationships found therein are the most valued of mortality. ... It is equally important that parents, brothers, and sisters are saved in our families. If we return home alone to our Heavenly Father, we will be asked, “Where is the rest of the family?” This is why we teach that families are forever. The eternal nature of an individual becomes the eternal nature of the family. (para 1,19)

Having to face Heavenly Father’s deficit-focused question makes the future world a scary reality for the members of *Barrio Periféricos*, the congregation I joined in Arequipa, Peru in 2018, many of whom do not currently find themselves “within an eternal family” “as designed by God.” To meet the definition of “*forever family*,” one current requirement is that Mormons of marriageable age be ritually linked to a vertical lineage of heteronormative, “temple sealed,” conjugal relationships including their own and their parents’. This requirement alone disqualifies upwards of 70 percent of *Barrio Periféricos* families—many of which were forged through generations of single motherhood—from *forever family* status. Though they hope the new temple in their home city will get them closer to that status, for these families to even begin to count as *forever families*, they must fight an uphill battle unlike any of the others captured in the chapter titles of this dissertation. Not only does their sense of mutual relatedness have to count as a “family,” their sense of forever has to count as a “future.” In the remaining chapters, I follow Peruvians as they fight to be counted as Mormons with families, but in this chapter I specifically focus on how they fight to be counted as Mormons with futures.

Fighting to count in the future is difficult in a racialized present. As Reilly demonstrated in Chapter One, the “common sense” ability to categorize which parts of Mormonism count as

culture and which count as divine is only accessible to people who have been baptized, not into Mormonism, but into settler-colonial whiteness. Also, as Nigeajasha's fatal chastisement demonstrated in Chapter Two, having this "common sense" is fundamentally about family and proper love. Knowing what is proper regarding family is requisite for being included as a true, unmarked Mormon. For Nigeajasha, baptism and missionary service were not enough. Converting to Mormonism required converting to a whole new sense of relatedness based on a non-cyclical progression of time and a scarcity model of affection wherein love can have incorrect amounts. As The Twelve told Nigeajasha, "if you love your Sisters better than 'Mormon' does, we fear you love them too much" (Taylor 2000, 269).

The Peruvian Mormons I talk to, many of whom would feel a "Lamanite" kinship with Nigeajasha and his indigeneity, are not reflexive about what their personhood is losing as it converts into sainthood. They focus instead on the gains. They are not thinking about the following paradox: The church promises future family togetherness even as it periodically redefines "family" so as to disqualify whatever family types marked-Mormons happen to achieve in that future. Such redefining keeps Peruvians out of the very future that attracted them to Mormonism—and to Utah—in the first place. Conceptual disqualification through redefinition is a racist practice with a long history. As Toni Morrison (1975) remarked in a panel discussion on the American Dream, "the very serious function of racism is distraction. It keeps you from doing your work. It keeps you explaining, over and over again, your reason for being. Somebody says you have no language and you spend twenty years proving that you do ... Somebody says you have no kingdoms, so you dredge that up ... There will always be one more thing" (min. 36).

There will always be one more requirement because whiteness will continue to redefine concepts—such as, "language," "kingdoms," and "future"—to make sure that whatever people of

Color achieve no longer fits the definition. For example, the non-Mormon Anglo archaeologist Michael Coe has long been interested in disproving the claims of Anglo Mormon archeologists who dare call what the Maya built, “cities.” In a 1973 article for *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Coe put quotation marks around Mormons’ use of the term “cities” (40) to show disdain for their naivete in thinking that the Maya actually had something worthy of the designation. Over forty years later, National Geographic published Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR) data showing that not only did the Maya have cities, but that they could support populations up to three times larger than previously thought and had a complex system of highways, causeways, and reservoirs (Clynes 2018). Anglo Mormon archeologists were quick to distribute this data as it lent credibility to Book of Mormon historicity, and Coe was quick to rebut. During an interview for the podcast *Mormon Stories* wherein he was confronted with the data, Coe slowly changed his definition of “city” so that, by the end of the interview, it matched something that the Maya did not have (Dehlin 2018).

While Peruvians are not always aware of how they are actively redefined out of “citizenship” in the city of Zion, and while Anglos are not always aware of how they are actively contributing to this redefining, the battle over definition does rise to the level of awareness in moments of collision, such as when “Peruvian future” clashes with “Mormon future.” In these moments, Peruvian Mormons realize that only by fitting themselves into the elusive definitions of “family” and “future” can they arm themselves for the paradoxical battle over Zion’s exclusive inclusivity that *forever family* exemplifies.

Living in the Next Generation

This battle cost Nigeajasha his life, and Brigham Young went on to oversee the killing of hundreds more Native American men after arriving in Utah, especially of the Timpanogos Ute.

His goal was to force “Lamanite” families into his definition of *forever family* by removing what he perceived to be their least Mormonizable element—fathers. A prophet of God killing members of God’s “covenant seed” destined to “blossom” at some future day was a contradiction not lost on a US lieutenant who happened to be in Utah in 1850. He wrote, “it is a curious matter of reflection, that those whose mission it is to convert these aborigines by the sword of the spirit, should thus be obliged to destroy them” (Farmer 2008, 80-81). Yet, as I will explain below, within Young’s future-centric view of time, killing Lamanite men to bring about Lamanite “blossoming” was not contradictory at all. One thing I noticed within Zion-building in Peru is the strong sentiment among those who have adopted Young’s view of time—yet another hidden concept to which one converts when one converts to Mormonism—that, where Lamanites are concerned, Zion can only come to fruition in the next generation.

In one of my many 2018 discussions with the bishop of *Barrio Periféricos*, Bishop Paucar, I told him of my visit to a congregation in Cuzco a few years prior wherein its bishop announced an informational meeting for those who wanted to serve missions as “retired” married couples. He encouraged members to attend this meeting by saying, “if all our kids are 18 or above, we should go on missions with our spouses. Most couple missionaries are from North America, but we Latinos can go as well, especially from Cuzco.” I asked Bishop Paucar what he thought of that. He sounded resigned to what he considered the sad reality that such a thing is only wishful thinking in Peru. He had no illusions that he and his spouse would one day be able to be like Anglo Mormons and just up and leave their kids, cousins, nephews, and elderly parents, all of whom would probably still live in interdependence with them when their youngest son turned 18. In fact, soon after their youngest reaches 18, the Paucar family’s interdependency may become even stronger since grandkids will likely be added to their list of kin. Meanwhile, in

Anglo Mormon congregations in Utah, bishops will be busy announcing activities specially designed for “empty nesters”—older couples whose children have moved on to form their own nuclear families.

No such activities were necessary in *Barrio Periféricos* in 2018 because most nests were overflowing. Bishop Paucar knew that this situation had to change in order for Peruvian families to fully fit the definition of *forever family* established by Utah. He also knew that the kinship revolution that this change would require—a shift from “extended family” interdependence to nuclear family independence—would not be achievable in his generation. Yet, he had high hopes for his kids. Born into an *almost* “fully Mormon” family, they would surely become the generation that would do fully Mormon things like serve one mission as youth and another as older couples. His generation and their backwards kinways that foster too much dependency will have to be eliminated before concepts like “retirement,” “empty nesters,” “couples missions” and other indicators of a mature Zion can coalesce in Peru under the current definition of *forever family*.

Similar to Bishop Paucar’s ideation, “Young believed that the current generation of Utes had to die out before a righteous generation could rise up” (Farmer 2008, 87). Rather than waiting for nature to take its course, however, Young attempted to kill off the first generation of Utes exposed to Mormonism in order to hasten the arrival of what prophet Spencer Kimball would call 100 years later in 1947, “the day of the Lamanite,” a day that was still only “about to dawn” (Maxwell 1985, 6). Another 70 years have passed and the vast majority of Mormons I talk to today, Peruvian or otherwise, believe this day has still almost, but not quite dawned. For many, a sign of its impending arrival—and a sign that Lamanite families will have finally come to fit the definition of *forever family*—would be the “calling” of a Latino to the Quorum Of The

Twelve Apostles. Such was the topic of hallway conversation after a conference presentation I gave at a university in Utah in April 2016 about Peruvian Mormon migration. I invited Gerardo Fernandez, the owner of a nearby museum on Mexican Mormon history, to come hear me speak. Katari, a young Bolivian Mormon whom I had never met before, was also in the audience. The Twelve had three vacancies for much of that year, which generated a lot of speculation among Latinx Mormons as to whether a Latino would finally join their ranks. Instead, the day before my talk, the church filled all three slots with Anglo Utahans. As I wrote in my fieldnotes that night:

Katari and I were talking outside the door of the conference room about how crazy it is that, of all the Latinos in the church, not one was called to be an apostle. His theory is that the church is afraid Latinos will take control—that they are looming—and that the church is terrified that Latin America could become its center rather than its periphery. He said, “why not move the headquarters to a more central place between North and South America, closer to the concentration of members, like Ecuador or something? It is obvious the church is afraid to give up power. They have a history of never wanting to cede authority to new groups.” I wanted to enlighten Katari on The Third Convention [a little known rebellion wherein the Mexican church ceded from the Anglo church over that very issue.] I was just about to encourage him to go find Gerardo who curates many of The Third Convention’s materials [including their magazine, *Sendero Lamanita*] but I suddenly noticed that Gerardo himself was standing behind us overhearing our entire conversation. We turned to him, but instead of extolling the Mexican Mormon rebellion—of which his own parents formed part—Gerardo stated his hypothesis that “we Latinos aren’t ready for authority.” Katari was beside himself with indignation: “How can you say that out of four million people ‘WE’ aren’t ready!?” Gerardo proceeded to outline his *bona fides* as an Area Authority Seventy [a few ranks under The Twelve] and as a former mission president in Latin America, essentially proving that he knows firsthand that Latin America is not ready to “talk before presidents and kings,” and not ready to take the reins of the church. Katari was horrified: “And what do you think we’re all doing down there in Latin America, shearing llamas? There are hundreds of Latino Mormons who could talk before presidents far better than the apostles we have now.” Gerardo countered, “Who then? Tell me one Latino you think could be an apostle.” Katari: “You could, Gerardo, with all that experience.” Gerardo ended up losing his cool and walking out ... Katari and I had dinner in the food court and talked for another two hours. He mentioned that Gerardo’s thought process stems from his being a white Latino who can pass as completely Anglo if he desires.

Katari wanted to believe that opinions like Gerardo's are only possible among whites, but in my experience, Katari is the outlier, not Gerardo. Gerardo's sentiment reflects that of most Latinx Mormons I have interviewed: "Whites will raise us up like children and one day we will 'blossom as the rose,' but we're not ready yet." This sentiment imagines the "day of the Lamanite" as a day when Latinx, Native American and Pacific Islander peoples finally fit the definition of *forever families* to the extent that they are ready to govern Zion. However, in Young's day, 1850, as well as in Kimball's, 1950, it was no secret that being capable of governing Zion meant being sufficiently white. As the US lieutenant further wrote of the widows and orphans left behind after Young's attempted genocide, the Mormons "brought in squaws & children which are placed in families as servants to make white people of them" (Farmer 2008, 76). In other words, Young attempted to hasten Lamanite fruition by destroying the bilateral Ute family and grafting its remnants into the extremely patriarchal Mormon family. Had he finished the job of eliminating the first generation by killing the Ute women along with the men, he might have succeeded in "mak[ing] something of the children" (76) that fit his definition of *forever family*. Yet, in his phallogocentric mindset wherein only men carried the seeds of life, women were not strong transmitters of culture and could therefore be acculturated to Mormon whiteness as easily as their children. Fortunately, this forced shifting of kinways through Mormonism's sordid settler adoption fantasy did not pan out, and, thanks to Young's underestimation of women, the descendants of many of those orphans remain strong, non-Mormon Utes to this day.

Unfortunately for Book of Mormon prophecy however, this meant that the Lamanites had still not "blossomed." Yet, if we interpret the Book of Mormon as just one of many justifications of settler colonialism found in the Indianist literature common during US westward conquest, "will blossom" and not "have blossomed" is precisely the point. Adopting natives in order to

have them actually “blossom” (fully fit the definition of “human”) is never part of settler adoption fantasies.

These fantasies can mean the adoption of Indigenous practices and knowledge, but more, refer to those narratives in the settler colonial imagination in which the Native (understanding that he is becoming extinct) hands over his land, his claim to the land, his very Indian-ness to the settler for safe-keeping. This is a fantasy that is invested in a settler futurity and dependent on the foreclosure of an Indigenous futurity. (Tuck and Yang 2012, 14)

Lamanites will eventually fit the definition of *forever family*, they will eventually fit the unmarked construction of “Mormon,” they will eventually become an “us” in Zion, but that “eventually” is designed to never actually arrive. As a result of Young’s selective genocide and Kimball’s perpetual futurizing, both the past space and future time of Utah have been symbolically cleared of non-whiteness. Paradoxically, this means that, for those non-white Peruvian Mormons who strive in the present for the whiteness required to fully embody the definition of *forever family*, Utah is the place, and the future is the time.

A Little More Than We Were

“There is no future in Peru.” I often hear this spatiotemporal refrain from both Mormon and non-Mormon Peruvians in Utah and Peru, and have learned that it is indexical of at least three sentiments. In the rest of this chapter, I will focus on the first two. The first sentiment is the notion, similar to Young’s, that the current generation must be sacrificed for the future of the next. Through this lens, the refrain can be interpreted, “there is no future for my kids in Peru, so I am going to sacrifice my current successful career there in order to immigrate with my kids to the US.”

My mother in law’s half-brother, Mido and his spouse, Carol harbored this vision more resolutely than most of my study participants. They are the only non-Mormons in their large kin

network in Salsands, Utah. They are also among the only ones who have an “illegal entry” into the US rather than a “visa overstay.” I interviewed Mido and his two, twenty-something daughters, Luzi and Sofia, in their solidly middle-class Utah home on a Friday evening in August 2016. Luzi has a master’s degree in finance and works for Goldman Sachs. Sofia is a certified nurse. Both have come a long way since their harrowing walk across the Sonora Desert that brought them to the US in 2000 at the ages of 9 and 5 respectively. Carol was not present during the interview because she was working the night shift at the Lofthouse food factory that employed twelve of my spouse’s family members, including myself, during my 2017 fieldwork in Utah. Mido and Carol live with their daughters as a nuclear family, but they are only a few blocks away from Mido’s sister Lorna and his brother Rito, each in their own nuclear family homes. In fact, they are only a few minutes’ drive from dozens of other nuclear nodes on the geographically compact network of my spouse’s “extended family” (a term with no translation in Spanish and no meaning in Peru). Mido began the interview explaining to me what their lives were like in Peru before Lorna, then a recent convert to Mormonism, helped them see that what they had in Peru did not count as “future.”

I was already married back in Peru, and I would converse with Lorna over the phone. She told me about the possibility of us coming here [to Utah]. Carol is a nurse. She worked in Peru as a nurse and I worked in the administration of a clinic, almost the best clinic in all of Peru. I made pretty good money, and Carol as well. But what ended up happening? Well, we had good jobs, everything was going well for us, but then--- it was all rooted in the fact that--- we saw the OPTION of coming over here, and Lorna would say, “why don’t you all come over here? You could work here.” And so we began to see that, and to start looking into coming here. And everyone [in my family] was in Utah because all of them came directly to Utah.

I asked more specifically how Lorna convinced them that their future was in Utah. He told me that they all grew up in the northern fishing town of Chimbote, Peru, but that Lorna, from an early age, saw her future elsewhere:

She finished high school and one day she just up and says to my mom, “*Mamá*, I’m going to Lima to study.” “But, *Hija!*” I mean, they didn’t know where she was going to stay in Lima, but she went anyway and studied at the Peruvian Institute of Business Administration. Lorna was really smart and since she liked to take risks, she didn’t like to just stay in one place, she ended up becoming the chief financial officer in a large public clinic. At one point they actually gave her a raise. [Importantly, Lorna was also baptized Mormon during this time¹]. And not one month after they gave her that raise, Lorna quit the clinic. So they asked her, “but why? Why quit? We’ve given you a raise, or is it that you want even more money?” “No. I’m quitting because if I don’t, I’m not going to be able to follow my plan.” Well, her plan was to come here to the United States, so she quit and came here to Utah [in 1993 with a borrowed passport and a falsified visa]. She was working. She got married [to an Anglo Mormon]. And it was like she saw that one could accomplish something here [in Utah], that one could progress, that one could--- how do you say it?--- leave behind what one may have been before, that we could become a little more than what we were in Peru. And well, she cared about us a lot, the way siblings love each other, so if she was doing well, then of course she’d want her siblings, her family to do well too. So she started to send help to my mom, to help her siblings, to help us. When she came to visit once, she brought a computer, something that in Peru almost nobody had. I mean NOBODY had one. Suddenly we had a computer, and the whole world threw a party for us. Seriously. When they’d come to the house, friends would say, “wow, what a computer!” And it was a good brand and everything ...

You know what though? Before Lorna came here [to the US] I never once thought about coming over here. And even then I never told Lorna that we would come because, in reality, we were doing fine. But one day Carol tells me---it was all Carol’s fault, in reality, because she tells me, “Mido, if your sister is telling us to go over there [to Utah], why don’t we go? Maybe things will go even better for us.” And for Carol it would be even more painful to go because at least I had my sister’s house to go to [in Utah]. Plus Rito was already here [in Utah], your mother-in-law, Nilda was already here. But Carol didn’t have a single family member here. She still doesn’t, even now, right? She doesn’t have anyone, and they miss each other, for example, on important dates, Christmas, birthdays, all those things, right? And even now she is still crying, always, right? Because it is painful to separate from family. It is painful. I, for example, had my mother here, I had my siblings here, and I could call them up whenever, “hey, what’s up, how are things?” She can’t do that. But anyway, I didn’t have Lorna’s mindset that I wanted to come here [to Utah], it was as if Lorna slowly inserted the idea into my head, and not just MY head: Carol’s. Because if Lorna had only put it into my head, then Carol never would have---Carol would have planted herself [in Peru] and never come here. Lorna stuck the idea into Carol. Of course, when we would chat through the computer that she brought us, Lorna would praise the US and then Carol would

¹ As an example of one of the “small-world” coincidences that quickly become commonplace in an organization as globally networked as Mormonism, Bishop Paucar’s first councilor in the bishopric of *Barrio Periféricos* happened to be the man who, as a youthful missionary in Lima, baptized Lorna.

encourage me, and encourage me, and encourage me. Finally Carol says, “Mido, why don’t you find out how much you’d get for severance pay in your job if you were to quit?” “What for?” I’d tell her. Finally: “Alright, fine.” “Did you ask yet?” “No.” And the next day, “did you ask yet?” “No, I’ll ask tomorrow.” And it was always tomorrow.

Lorna had found her future in Utah. In fact, she found an Anglo Mormon man and was sealed for eternity in the temple. She had what gets to count as a futurized, *forever family*, so it was only natural that she wanted this future for her brother Mido. However, Mido was not so easily convinced that there was no future for him in Peru. What eventually tipped the scales, enabling him to sacrifice his career and enabling Carol to sacrifice both her career and her family, was the realization that there was no future for their daughters in Peru. Finding a future for them would require the sacrifice of his own dreams.

We wanted them to study. I mean, maybe a lot of people come here [to the US] because of the American Dream, which is to make money, to have things. But Carol and I have another mentality. We came for them to study, and if on the way we could get money, commodities and things that we wouldn’t have in Peru, that’s fine, a bonus, but our priority was that they study. That was why, when we arrived here, we started to work, work, work, work. We worked so much that I had three jobs [fry cook, night janitor, and factory line-worker] and Carol had two [night janitor and factory line-worker]. Only recently, this year, did I finally quit one of those jobs, because in reality, we are tired after sixteen years of this. But thanks to that sacrifice, now the WHOLE WORLD in Peru is so proud of Luzi and of Sofia. Everyone is all, “I have my sister, my niece, my daughter, my little daughter [*hijita*], my granddaughter, in the United States.”

You know what, it may have been painful, and it was very, very hard, but I don’t regret having come here. Originally we were interested in studying English. We would go and register for night classes. We’d go one week, two weeks, three weeks, but after that, since we were so tired, we’d start going every other day, every three days, and then we just stopped going. Why? Because the priority was these two [our daughters]. We had already lived. Our time was already up. It was them, them, and nobody but them. That is why Carol would say, “we already studied, we’ve had time, we’ve already lived. They haven’t. Their lives are ahead.” And so that is why we discontinued English classes. In reality, I am very grateful to this country, I am super grateful. If I would have known, or if I would have had the possibility of coming as a younger man, I would have done it. Why? Because here the door is opened to everything.

So That They Might Know

After sixteen years of packaging pumpkin pies (a food Peruvians almost universally despise) for twelve hours a day at Lofthouse followed by another four hours of vacuuming at JC Penny's, Carol still identifies strongly as a nurse. She even has a tattoo of a heartrate monitor on her shoulder. For his part, Mido went from being a top clinic's top accountant to being the low man on the McDonald's totem pole. Still, they are grateful for having left Peru. In fact, Mido wishes he could have been shown earlier that the future was not in Peru. If his Mormon sister had only let him know this when he was younger, he could have had a future himself rather than only providing one for his daughters. This is why, for many Peruvians, it is important to transmit the message of futurity to the next generation early on. Once kids see the future, they will catch the ambition necessary to achieve it.

While in Utah in 2017, I had the opportunity to follow alongside an *arequipeña* woman named Luz Berta whose mission during her one-week stay in the US was exactly that: Show her 15-year-old daughter the future. How I ended up being the one selecting which aspects of that future to show her as I drove her and her daughter, Alicia, all over my home state is a long story.

On my first reconnaissance trip to Arequipa in the summer of 2016, I walked out of my hostel on the morning of the first day to see two strikingly dissimilar young men walking away from me on the sidewalk. One was 6'4," blonde and light-skinned, the other was 5'2," black-haired and brown-skinned. Both were dressed for soccer. This mismatch reminded me of something Ray, my Peruvian brother-in-law once told me. When he was a missionary in Lima, his mission president, an Anglo Utahan, would deliberately assign mission companionships based on attention-grabbing contrasts. He would pair the tallest with the shortest, the lightest

with the darkest, the fattest with the skinniest, and he would even play on surnames—Elder Snow with Elder White.

As I suspected, the young men were Mormon missionaries. I introduced myself as a former missionary and was immediately on the team, both for soccer and, later, for proselyting. I told them I was interested in *arequipeño* Mormons with connections to Utah and the first person they took me to visit was a Mormon single mother, the aforementioned Ofelia from Chapter Two. Her daughter, Shannon, had visited Utah the year prior as part of a Peruvian dance troop organized by a non-Mormon Peruvian dance professor who actively recruited Mormons because, since the Festival of Global Dance in Utah was organized by Mormons, he thought Mormons would have a better chance of getting a visa. He was right on that occasion, in 2015, and the Peruvian Mormon dancers had a wonderful month-long adventure dancing in folkloric festivals and visiting Mormon temples across Utah and Idaho.

Shannon was on a mission in El Salvador while I was in Arequipa on that occasion, so I could not speak to her about her Utah experience, but I kept in touch with Ofelia almost weekly over WhatsApp for the next year. She became my “key informant.” She told me that the dance professor was organizing another trip to Utah and that this time she was going to personally be in on it rather than simply sending her daughter. She kept me up to date on the preparations and let me know the ulterior motives of the dancers. Almost none of them cared much about folkloric dance. All they wanted were visas, and many of them, Ofelia included, wanted to fulfil their dreams of visiting Utah. Not all were Mormon this time around. Ofelia had heard that her Catholic friend, Luz Berta, wanted to gift Alicia a trip for her fifteenth birthday instead of a *quinceañera*, so she told her about the dance troop as a surefire way to get a US visa. Luz Berta, her eleven-year-old son, Timoteo, and Alicia signed up. I too signed up on the Utah end as a

“host family.” It was going to be the perfect opportunity for me to experience Utah through the eyes of someone like Ofelia who idolized it.

Like in 2015, they all went to the US embassy in Lima in their dance troop uniforms. This was 2017, however, and the post-Trump visa rules had changed. In 2015, the whole troop of thirty dancers and musicians were all “interviewed” as a group through a single conversation between the embassy official and the dance professor. The official gave them a seemingly random assortment of visas; some got ten-year tourist visas (including Aaron from Chapter Three), others got three-month “performing entertainer” visas (including Shannon). This time, (2017) each individual participant was interviewed separately. In a disastrous turn of events, only eleven of the thirty walked away with a visa. Ofelia was not one of them, but Luz Berta, Alicia, and Timoteo were. As a result, Peru was not represented in The Festival of Global Dance that year. However, I was still willing to be a host, and thanks to our mutual connection to Ofelia, I was Luz Berta’s only contact in the US.

She and her kids stayed in our rented apartment in Salsands, Utah for five days and I drove them everywhere they wanted to go, including the small Peruvian Independence Day celebrations in Salt Lake City where we happened to run into my brother-in-law Ray’s spouse’s sister Alba. While I was interviewing random Peruvians next to the Inka Kola and *salchipapa* vendors, Alba and Luz Berta chatted. I found out later that Alba had promised to give Luz Berta the inside scoop on navigating visa overstays and other immigration possibilities. They made an appointment to meet at Alba’s house near Salsands, I drove them to it and was allowed to stay and record. The conversation I include below is between Luz Berta and Alba, who comes from a staunchly Mormon family in Huaraz, Peru. Alicia and Timoteo were also present in the room, listening.

LUZ BERTA: As you know, Peru doesn't give much of a future. My husband is a police officer and he only makes 1000 *soles* a month. Most professionals that graduate from the university will make 1,500 *soles* in the best of jobs, and maybe if it is the absolute best, 1,800 [about 600 USD]. And that isn't enough. And we are talking here about good professional jobs like nurses. That's why I'm looking into this because I'd like my daughter to have a future, and that is why I asked in the university what it would be like to get a student visa to the US for her so she can get a job and be like---

ALBA: --- Let me be frank, when I came, I didn't even know if I was going to stay; I didn't have it planned out like that. But from the moment I touched the ground in this city [near Salsands, Utah], I fell in love. I loved it, and I was actually thinking the same exact thing as you. I said, "I want something better, even if it only be for my children." Over there in Peru, they weren't going to achieve something like this even though one of them had already earned a slot in the very highest position in a university and the other was in the tenth highest position. But I was coming out of a divorce. I had all the responsibility for my kids. And that is something that causes one to start considering many things. I ended up earning in a single hour in Utah what I would earn in Peru in a whole day. And that is minimum wage, which here is seven dollars an hour.

LUZ BERTA: To tell the truth, I would love to stay and work and all of that, but how? If I---they took a break from school to come here, I've brought them---that is just what I wanted to ask about, right? I came because there was a festival and I wanted to somehow gift my daughter a trip, and the festival gave us the opportunity. And it was going to include food and lodging and all we had to do was get money for the airfare, like 2,500 dollars per person. So I even borrowed money. We still haven't paid all of it back because I don't make much either, but I did it so that they might know. And I brought them. Why did I bring them? Because I wanted to give of myself. Their father was going to throw her a party, supposedly, but before that he wasn't even going to do anything at all. So I said, "I never had a *quinceañera* and I've never had anyone tell me, 'choose your destination and I'll pay your trip.'" Right? Because my parents didn't have enough for that. So I gave them this trip that they might see things from another point of view. I want them to see, to ambition, and that they study and see another reality. It isn't for me.

ALBA: Look at me, kids, I'm telling you. Your mama is a good mother in the sense that she is giving you opportunities that you have to realize most youth do not have.

LUZ BERTA: Exactly, not many people of my same status would give something like this.

ALBA: The only thing I know is that God prepares the path for all people. I did the same thing for my kids, I paid their trip to Cancun, even as a divorced woman living in Peru. It was something completely beyond my possibilities because when I promised them the trip, I didn't have a single *sol* in my pocket. I spent a ton of

money. One went one year, and the other went the next as their graduation trip. I wasn't able to throw a party for my daughter's fifteenth birthday, and she desired it with all her heart. I myself didn't have one. And it's not as if I were saying, "since I didn't have one, you don't need one either." It's that if one looks coldly at things, parties are irrelevant. You know why? Because not all the people you invite are going to be happy. Not all of the money that you spend is going to make every single person happy. The people who are happy are the people who would accompany you regardless of whether you have only a glass of water to share or a huge party to share. And that is what I did with my daughter. With a couple of her best friends we went out, we ate, we had fun, and that's it. If it were possible, fantastic, who wouldn't want a super *quinceañera* and all that? But look, if they had me choose between the two, I would have preferred my future.

Alba offers a choice between a party and a trip. The party represents a past associated with expensive Latin American festivals that, despite their emotional warmth, provide only fleeting happiness. The trip represents a glimpse into a future associated with individual, nuclear family advancement, something that, under "cold" consideration, Alba finds more lasting. For both Luz Berta and Alba, "future" has become associated with material quantities that can accumulate and be preserved. Many Latin Americans are making similar associations, and researchers have connected this to the rise there of Protestantism (Dow & Sandstrom 2001). In syncretic Latin American Catholicism's cargo system, it may eventually become each parishioner's turn to provide the town with a lavish patron saint festival just as it may become each mother's turn, if she has a daughter, to provide her an expensive coming-out party. Within Protestantism's ideology of unilinear upward mobility, these sponsorships and parties, including the kin relationships forged therein through mutual indebtedness and godparenthood, are seen as financially ruinous since they function to cycle a single mother's or a conjugal couple's entire life savings back into the continuation of community traditions and relatedness. Capitalism, after all, dictates that "any eventual surplus... be invested for future maximalization" (Schielke 2015, 126). People who desire such maximalization see Protestantism as a way to eschew this circular past and step onto the inclined plane of futurity. They begin to consider that "the surplus that any

functioning economy produces can no longer be expended in an annual feast. It must be invested for future growth, and the worry about that future growth is a powerful emotional foundation for the ethos of scarcity” (22). The way both Alba and Luz Berta speak of the future is similar to the way The Quorum of the Twelve spoke of love to Nigeajasha, as a scarce substance, something that flows in large or small quantities depending on one’s moral and geographical worthiness. If kinship is based on shared substance (Carsten 2000), “future” is the substance that binds Mormonism’s *forever families*, and apparently, in Peru, a sufficient amount of that substance can only be obtained abroad. The irony is that, for many Peruvians, situated festivals also produce the substance—often symbolized as corn beer—of their very sense of relatedness and personhood, a substance that ties them not only to each other, but to Peru’s earth.

Coors Light and Bread-Babies

For Luz Berta and Alicia, both devout practitioners of a very syncretic Andean Catholicism, the mix of these two substances—future and festival—is vertiginous. They are torn between reciprocal cyclicity and upward directionality. They were the ones I mentioned accompanying in Chapter Three on the Virgin of Chapi pilgrimage wherein Alicia deposited her sins in the form of a stone atop a two-story *apacheta*. A year prior to that pilgrimage, on the drive from the Salt Lake City airport to Salsands, the first thing Alicia asked me was whether we had problems with bewitched homes in Utah, as that was something she looked forward to leaving behind in Arequipa. Upon arriving at our apartment, Luz Berta—who earned a BA in the anthropology of Andean religion from the same *arequipeña* university that produced Shining Path founder, Abimael Guzman—insisted that the calendar date’s solstitial significance mandated she cleans our home. This required the buying of quality alcohol to make a *pago a la tierra* (payment to Mother Earth) on our back patio and the purchase of special herbs to smoke

every room in our apartment. We obtained a bundle of dried sage at one of Utah's only *botánicas*, a store of herbal remedies and religious iconography where Luz Berta and Alicia spent over an hour in fascinated delight at the sheer diversity of minutely labeled potions and viscerally felt vibes. High quality alcohol, on the other hand, was harder to come by. Liquor is notoriously scarce in Utah in the best of times, but having never procured such a thing anywhere, let alone in Utah, my Mormon-bred guidance only made it harder to find. A large can of Coors Light from Walmart ended up having to suffice.

As she emptied the can onto the small square of cement separating our Salsands dwelling from the next, I was reminded of the significance of alcohol in the Andes and of the odd coincidence that Mormonism just so happens to prohibit one of the principal Andean kin idioms. Before *arequipeños* take a drink in a social setting, they will often “*challar*,” or spill some of it onto the ground as an offering to the earth goddess, *Pachamama*. I have even seen Mormons do this, but with Inca Kola instead of alcohol. In ancient Cuzco, the conduit into the inner world through which substance was shared in the form of *chicha* (corn beer), water, and other libations was called the *unshu* (Meddens et al. 2014). Llama-herding families entrusted with the esoteric knowledge as to the location of *unshus* still open these holes in the ground once a year during special rituals. Cuzco's political and religious power is thought to stem from the astrological links between its latitude—causing the sun at Cuzco, unlike at points further north or south, to go through zenith precisely biannually—and its two public *unshus* “located on the line of observation between the two hills of zenith sunrise and antizenith sunset” (11). These *unshus* allowed *cusqueños* to determine first-planting with absolute precision and, therefore, dominate the ritual dancing and drinking that fed the earth deities, providing agricultural stability for the whole region. In the ultimate connection of Andean people to Andean place, Allen (2014) fixes

the importance of these heavy-drinking festivals to the idea of human gullet as *unshu*. In this way, “the human body takes on this role as a transformative conduit between entities of different kinds—the dead, the earth and hills, the herds and waters” (74).

Also, according to Luz Berta’s husband, Leandro, who himself holds a BA in anthropology, since human babies were thought to be conceived almost exclusively as a result of these ritual drinking festivals and the liaisons they sparked, conception was thought to be more a product of sharing alcohol than of sharing gametes. Though the related analogy—blood is to US kinship as alcohol is to Andean kinship—is hyperbolic on two fronts and easily incorporated into the stereotype of drunken indigeneity, the symbolic and ritual links between alcohol and relatedness remain important in the Andes, even among city-dwelling *arequipeños*. *Arequipeños*, especially those who have migrated from Puno, syncretize pre-Hispanic heavy-drinking festivals into Catholic ones, such as *Carnavales*. In February, during *Carnavales*, they consume legendary amounts of alcohol, constructing great pyramids with the plastic crates of empty beer bottles left behind. This drinking is directly associated with kinship because nine months after *Carnaval*—think, human gestation period—its fruits are celebrated in the farcical ritual of vicariously baptizing bread baked in the form of babies.

In Arequipa, bakeries sell these *tanta wawas* (bread-babies) year-round as they make nice contributions to patron saint festivals, which also incorporate ritual drunkenness (figure 17). However, in Oruro, Bolivia, bakeries deliberately shut down on All Saints Day, November 1 (nine months after *Carnaval*), forcing homes to bake their own *tanta wawas*. Children then collect these by going door to door, much like US children on October 31, except that instead of saying “Trick or Treat,” they recite *Ave Marias* and *Padre Nuestrós* for the home’s commemorated dead. Leandro told me that sometimes bread-babies are christened as if at a real

baptism except with jocular names, such as “*Zoila Vaca*” (I’m A. Cow). As the bread-babies are shared among kin and mockingly doting “*padrinos*” (godfathers), they are baptized in corn beer within each body’s belly and eventually eliminated through urine into the same earth that provided the corn.



FIGURE 17: Next year’s sponsor of the *Virgen de Belen* patron saint festival for migrants from the small town of Lari living in Arequipa is carried through a shower of shook Arequipeña (Arequipa’s own beer). A bread-baby—carried in a tied blanket much like a real baby would be—has accidentally fallen to the ground in the process. As the night is still young, a small tower of empty, maroon beer crates is only just beginning to form in the far left. January 2018.

Participants in all these festivals become kin to each other and to the earth as the immense annual cost of the festivals is reabsorbed into the cycle of substance-sharing and mutual indebtedness. For Alba, however, this cosmovision of continuity with the past lacks the

substance of future that must be tied to the next generation. Alba seeks a new cosmovision wherein her work and wages, instead of cycling right back into the earth and being “closed off,” as she says below, will transcend the earth. From that elevated vantage, her babies will be able to see “beyond their noses” and inhabit a future that has become one of their existential needs, right along with food and shelter.

ALBA: And what your mama says is true, being able to go abroad gives you another vision, and that is what I told my kids, “I am paying for this trip.” I worked from 5:00, sometimes 4:00 in the morning until 12:00 at night in different jobs. I gave private classes, I was a teacher, I decorated cakes, made candy, worked nights in a restaurant, I did tons of things to get that money together because I don’t come from a rich family. I had a good job, that is true, it paid well, but that still wasn’t enough for our needs. Thank God my kids studied at a good school. Their classmates traveled abroad all the time, but my kids were on scholarship. Before my kids left on their trip, I told them, “kids, you will travel and I will pay your way because I want to, for three reasons: One, because you deserve it, you aren’t perfect, but you have acted responsibly and gotten good grades. Two, because I want you to see that there is a world beyond your noses.” And that is something that very few of us ever see. We close ourselves off, and that is what your mama wants to avoid for you. She is teaching you that there is a world beyond your noses. “And finally,” I tell them, “I am going to show you as a mother that when I put my mind to something, I can achieve it. In what way?” I asked them. “I didn’t have a cent when I promised you this trip. But I have exerted myself, I have sacrificed and I have sent you on this trip. I want you to learn that in life, whatever you want to achieve, if you do it honorably through work, you will get it.” And those were the three things, and I told them, “you know what? Have fun because it does cost a lot and maybe I won’t be able to pay for another trip like this. So enjoy this week.” It was their first trip abroad, and it was to Cancun, Mexico. They had a great time. Woohoo! For them it was so nice. But it is the same thing that your mama is doing for you now. And you should know the same three things. You should be grateful. I am not saying that you should know the purpose of this trip in this precise moment—you will discover that on the path—all I’m saying is that you get a goal, a vision of what you want. You are getting to know another world. This world here is beautiful, nice, but even as it has good things, it also has very bad things, just like Peru. But here there is much future going forward. You have to take from all the apples on the tree if you want them. But there are ways, right? I’m telling you something they told me, “if you come, come as a family.” And that is what I’d recommend to you. If, for whatever reason, you all decide to stay here, stay as a family, come with your husband, come as a family. Don’t just send your daughter here to study.

There Is A Destiny In All of This

Alba might have gone on to say more about Utah—a space of substantial temporal flow with “much future going forward”—but at this point in the conversation she suddenly said she felt “dark” and claustrophobic in her living room and that it would be better to take the conversation outside into her garden. As we walked out, Luz Berta quickly whispered to me to turn off my stupid recorder. She thought it was keeping Alba from spilling the deep immigration secrets she promised to tell her. Luz Berta did not know that I had recorded an interview with Alba before and that she had absolutely no qualms about revealing to me her “illegal” status and her opinions about the multiple ways of getting around it. The secret Alba wanted to share had nothing to do with an efficient way to procure a student visa for Alicia, which is all that seemed to interest Luz Berta. The secret was that coming to the US by any means necessary, even swimming across the border, was part of “the path.” Legality and illegality have no bearing on “the right way” to come. The right way to come, according to Alba, is to come either already as a US/Mormon-defined “nuclear family,” or to come in order to complete such a family—a *forever family*.

This is precisely what she had done. When I interviewed her only two years prior, she had been in Utah for less than a year and was single. Now she was married to a Mormon Mexican American named Abel who, unlike her first husband in Peru, was worthy to take her to the temple. This meant she could finally be sealed—as she was in 2018—to her two adult children for eternity (figure 18). It also means that when Alba says “a future for my children” she alludes to something infinitely more significant than what Luz Berta and Mido, both Catholics, can fathom. Alba’s invocation of “future” evokes a forever future. Since, in hindsight, coming to Utah was necessary to complete her own *forever family*, she assumes the same will be true for

Luz Berta. Why else would the Lord bring Luz Berta to Utah through such a convoluted set of circumstances if not for the purpose of making her Mormon and, as such, futurizing her family?



FIGURE 18: Alba (left of center), her husband (left) and two children (right), after their sealing ceremony in the Salt Lake City Temple (background). Photo Credit: My brother-in-law, Ray (pseudonym). June 2018.

As Elder Craig C. Christensen, a General Authority Seventy of the church (one rank under The Twelve), remarked on a postcard distributed by missionaries to homes throughout Utah County (one of which ended up on my brother's refrigerator):

Make no mistake, the Lord is gathering his elect to Utah. They think they are coming for employment. They think they are coming to be near family and friends. They think they are coming for an education. Some don't really know why they are coming here. But the reality is that the Lord is gathering His elect to Utah and He

expects the Saints to welcome them, embrace them and share the Gospel with them. (Utah Orem Mission 2019, para. 3)

Alba's immigration secret is that Luz Berta should think bigger than simply giving Alicia a taste of US futurity. Instead, what Luz Berta should do is convert their week-long trip into a permanent immigration to Utah. In the excerpt below, Alba makes clear that seeking *forever family* futurity makes all sacrifices seem frivolous, whether it be the stigma of illegality or even the loss of what "family" used to mean back in Peru. Letting her anthropological sensibilities get the better of her, Luz Berta insisted I turn my recorder back on in Alba's garden.

ALBA: First of all, I would never marry for papers, but I have been to single's events and dances in the church where the women are like vipers ready to bite into anyone who is an American citizen, even an old man with a cane who can barely walk. They'll marry for papers in a heartbeat. There is this thing where a woman with a husband in her country will get married to a US citizen here with the idea of divorcing him once she is a citizen and then petitioning her real husband with a fiancé visa. But now Immigration caught onto it, and that just makes it harder for people like me and Abel who get married for love. Abel's father crossed the border at age fourteen and was deported thirteen times. Eventually he married, but they never became citizens. But, thanks to them, Abel was born here and so he understands both cultures. He helps me to not be so sentimental about being here looking for the future instead of being home in Peru. He gets me to forget about visiting my mom in Peru and to stop mommying my kids. I didn't talk to him for a whole month at first when he told me that they needed to get out of our house and find their own place to stay, but then I understood. It dawned on me. He's right. The Americans are right. That is why we Latinos don't progress because we are too sentimental about family things when what we have to do is look only to the future and go forward. That is the good thing about this country, that we learn to make the hard decisions to leave family so that we can cut ties that stop us from progressing into the future. Peru has no future. You will be getting a different future for your kids in the US, whereas if they stay in Peru, they will not have any kind of future.

LUZ BERTA: But if you are illegal you can't go back to Peru ever.

ALBA: People who are here for years are just fine being illegal, no problems. The police aren't out to get you like people told me they were, that is from *envidia* ["jealousy," but with a metaphysical valence, implying that wishing evil on someone can have material effects] because sometimes fellow Latinos don't want you to succeed here. They want you to live in fear so they tell you, "the police will take away all your stuff and send you back." So I lived in fear until I looked out the window and saw the police waving at me and saying, "have a nice day," and it was

totally normal. The people who get deported, it is their fault for hanging out with the wrong kinds of friends. That said, the government knows all about us. They know where we eat—those of us who came with passports—and they track us everywhere, so they know full well we overstay visas and they could kick us out, but why don't they? Because we do jobs nobody wants to do. Like me. I worked cleaning Macys at first with my son. Then he got the restaurant job and I worked in a hotel. Then, when I got married, my husband said, "no more hotel for you, and don't work so much," because I was working 3 jobs and sleeping 4 hours to pay my debts off to people in Peru who loaned us money for our flight out. But I paid them off, and now I work at Deseret Industries [a Mormon church-owned thrift store] for much less hours. And I could go back and visit my mom now. I mean, I have the papers, but I can't because my husband got sick and how am I going to leave him? I know that is a *gringo* way of thinking that is kind of severe. I mean, not visiting your mother when you CAN!? When you have PAPERS!? But I am learning that is the right way to be, because we get too sentimental as Latinas, it's what keeps our country behind, backward. Anyway, it is great to live in the US and you live a new life where you can actually have a future.

LUZ BERTA: But I'm already married and we have no family here at all. We'd be illegal forever and never be able to travel back to Peru even to visit.

ALBA: Look, that is true, but that is part of coming here. There is a reason that here in Utah people get married really young², they focus so much on their future family because that is what life is all about in our church. You leave your mother and father and cleave to your husband and future kids. And so they come back from their missions at 21 and look for young women to marry—and sometimes it is too young, and I don't agree with that either, like 16, 17-year-old girls—but that is the mindset you have to get into when you come here, that you are forming a future family, not holding on to your past family. So come illegally if you have to, but come as a family, you, your husband and kids, and you will have to work hard and you will have to live in bad places at first and with people you don't like, but you will be willing to do all that, to live illegally, because it will give a future for your kids. Plus, here they give scholarships.

LUZ BERTA: We'd have to work like *negros* [a common idiomatic expression in Peru].

ALBA: Yes, but there is a destiny in all of this. The Lord does things for a reason. Why do you think he brought you to Utah now if it is not for you to get a taste of it and motivate you to make the right decision for your future? Because really that is the only option, and it is amazing how the Lord will provide the path for you.

² This is something that horrified Luz Berta when I took her to our Spanish-speaking congregation in Salsands, Utah one Sunday and she met many 22-year-old married couples that already had multiple kids.

In this conversation, Alba and Luz Berta are talking past each other. Instead of addressing Luz Berta's concern about not being able to go back to Peru, Alba focuses on why she should not need to. Peru as a place is conflated with family for both of them, but Luz Berta has developed no tripartite spatiotemporal division in her concept of "family" that can conceive of kin divisions as mapping perfectly onto past, present, and future places. Luz Berta's parents are autochthonous to a secluded village in the Peruvian Andes, as are Alba's grandparents. In many such villages, family is a situated collectivity that makes no obvious temporal or subjective distinctions, not even between stones, mountains, animals, humans, and spirits. "The Ancestors" are not individuals, but a collectivity where one will go and from whence one came. The ancestors that Alba calls "past family" are just as much ahead as behind in this cosmovision. For people who exist in circular reciprocity with the earth, with the ancestral collectivity, and with each other, everything included in the reach of this reciprocity is "family" and the continuity of this family is important for ensuring the "future" of the cycle. In this sense, there is a traditional Andean concept of "future," but it does not usually imply a sense of unilinear progression *toward* anything, much less toward a discrete subdivision of family that Alba calls "future family."

Early To Rise Makes a Man

For Peruvians to count as Mormons with a future, they must confront a sentiment that has been concretized into a refrain: "There is no future in Peru." As the words of Mido, Luz Berta, and Alba demonstrate, the first facet of this refrain calls for the sacrifice of one generation so that the future of the next may arrive unhindered by backwards-thinking parents and arrive untied to places that recall an anti-future past. That one of these places is Peru hints at the second facet of the refrain, which is that, anciently, there was no concept of "future" in Peru remotely commensurable to what that word denotes in English (Marín Benítez 2015). The entire history of

“time” itself has followed a different trajectory in Peru than it has followed in the country that incubated Mormonism.

As a result, in contemporary Peru, time and its discrete domain labeled “future” continue to flow differently than they do in the US. Uncoincidentally, Peruvian time corresponds to the stage labeled “third-world” in Reilly’s globalization teleology from Chapter One. This ranked, temporal worlding of countries, based on a misunderstanding of the original Cold War worlding wherein “first-world” meant capitalist and “second-world” meant communist, is widely accepted among Mormons. For example, a young Mormon couple from Idaho that I interviewed in Arequipa told me that their goal had long been to live in Peru for three months, and that—like training for a marathon—they had deliberately worked up the ability to live in Peru, in their estimation “a third-world country,” by first living in Mexico, “a second-world country.” E. P. Thompson (1967) explored the way notions of time have become inextricably associated with the technological stages up this evolutionary hierarchy of worlds from hunting to horticulture, to agriculture, to mercantilism, to industrialism, to Fordism, and finally to the apex of human evolution—“mature” capitalism. Human bodies habituated to the uppermost of these stages have internalized arbitrary units of time as the natural units of work. They work to “spend” a monetized amount of time, rather than to complete a set task. “Puritanism, in its marriage of convenience with industrial capitalism, was the agent which converted men to new valuations of time; which taught children even in their infancy to improve each shining hour; and which saturated men’s minds with the equation, time is money” (95). Mormons, as time-disciplined modern Puritans who have mastered the highest levels of US neoliberal capitalism (Ong 2003), tend to see people whose lives are more integrated with tides, solstices, and alpaca sheering cycles—that is, people with lives disciplined to tasks rather than clocks—as wasteful, lacking

urgency, and as sloppily participating in “alternate bouts of intense labor” (Thompson 1967, 73) and unplanned, inordinately prolonged—and often drunken—idleness.

I admit, as one of these Mormons, Peruvian time was crazy-making for me. While living in Arequipa, we enrolled our daughters in an all-girl, public—and, therefore, Catholic—school. In the US, we were accustomed to receiving a detailed academic calendar of the entire year in advance, complete with days off and “early-outs.” This allowed us to plan short family trips. In Arequipa, we had no such luxury. On many occasions we did not even find out about a school holiday until the day before it happened. For example, Good Friday is a national holiday in Peru, yet for the life of us we could not get the school principal to let us know whether or not this implied a holiday from Catholic school. The other parents, who were up in arms about almost everything else the principal decided, did not seem to care at all that nobody knew if the day after tomorrow was a school day or not. In fact, in the WhatsApp parent group, a parent posted the following on the morning of Good Friday: “quick question, is there school today?” (figure 19).



FIGURE 19: As it turned out, school was held. Students had to perform the stations of the cross. March 2018.

Not planning for the future, even the immediate future, is the norm in Peru. It is no wonder that for those Peruvians who seek the future and the modernity to which it purportedly provides access, the very word “future” has a weak association with Peru and a strong association with the US. It is significant that the Peruvian school becomes the setting wherein this lack of concern for the future is taught by example because, along with the US church, the US school is one of the principle institutions used to inculcate time thrift. Thompson (1967) noted that the writer of an anonymous list of grievances against British idleness in 1772 “saw education as a training in the ‘habit of industry’; by the time the child reached six or seven it should become ‘habituated, not to say naturalized to Labour and Fatigue’” (84).

Indeed, the aspect of the Church Education System (CES) that Peruvian Mormons seem to cherish most is its inculcation of Puritanical time thrift, something they do not get during the non-Mormon aspect of their regular school day.³ In *Barrio Periféricos*, the most talked-about of the CES's many programs is simply called "Seminary." It is designed to be concurrent with the four years of US-style high school, and each year's curriculum focuses on one of Mormonism's four canonical books. In Utah, most public high schools and junior highs have a church-owned, dedicated Seminary building on their campuses. Seminary for these students is incorporated as just another period of their regular school schedule and is designated as "released time" on their transcripts. Seminary teachers in Utah are CES employees and are usually paid a much higher salary than their secular high school teaching counterparts next door. In Peru (and most places outside of Utah) on the other hand, Seminary teaching is an unpaid "calling" like any other, and lessons are held early in the morning before regular school starts, usually in the home of the teacher.

Seminary seniors are often asked to stand before their congregations and "bear testimony" of their Seminary experiences to motivate incoming freshmen. I have witnessed many of these testimonies in *Barrio Periféricos*, and they almost always gloss over what was learned in Seminary in order to elaborate on the character-building aspects of getting up early enough to attend it. The typical testimony begins with a comical description of the lethargy that made attendance impossible in the beginning. This is made even more comical to my Anglophone ears by the fact that Spanish has a special verb meaning "to unfortunately have to wake up early" (*madrugar*) which almost carries enough of a negative connotation in Peru to be a swear word. The testimony will then shift to the hateful tactics to which parents resorted,

³ Up until very recently, CES ran full-day, Mormon private schools in a few countries (most notably Mexico and New Zealand) but there has never been a CES-run school in Peru.

usually involving ice water, in order that students might develop the austere *habitus* of early rising. Finally, testimonies unanimously end with expressions of gratitude, not for what was taught in Seminary, but for its unlocking of a brand-new time of day, a time that promises to forever provide an edge over sleeping competitors in the battle for entry into a time-disciplined future of scarcity.

Ofelia, my “key informant,” is a seminary teacher in *Barrio Periféricos*. When one of her potential students convinced Nailah, his mother, that he really could not get up early, the subordination of gospel curriculum to early rising was made explicit.

It is not correct that Seminary be taught in the afternoon. Nevertheless, Nailah and her son didn’t want to get up early. Ever since last year Nailah has been pestering me, saying, “*Hermana*, I want you to teach it in the afternoon.” So I consulted with the supervisor [another “called” position], and the supervisor consulted with the brother who is in charge of seminary in all of Arequipa [a CES paid position] and he said that the Area Presidency had prohibited afternoon Seminary because the youth, One—must learn to sacrifice, to get up early, and to get themselves to the places where Seminary is taught; and Two—when youth take Seminary in the morning they start the day with the Spirit because they pray and read the scriptures. So, last year, I told Nailah that, but she didn’t give up. She kept insisting and insisting, and since she has some kind of calling in the Young Women, she felt she could just start teaching her son seminary in the afternoons without consulting with the supervisor or anyone. One day, another mother approached the supervisor to ask for the registration forms for her daughter and she says, “my daughter is going to take night Seminary,” “but, *Hermana*, there is no night teacher.” “Isn’t *Hermana* Nailah teaching it?” And so the supervisor got angry and accused Nailah of attributing to herself the calling of Seminary teacher. Nailah essentially called herself, and that is why the supervisor is constantly checking on that class because as soon as other youth who lived near Nailah found out about it, they were like, “oh yeah, it’s in the afternoon?! We don’t have to *madrugar* anymore! We’re there!” Now she has a decent-sized group, like six students. So we’re going to see what happens with that group. How will they end up? Nobody knows.

Even though Nailah’s students are receiving the same Utah-designed, manual-driven education as Ofelia’s own Seminary students, Ofelia worries about how the time difference will affect their future. Mormon Seminary taught in the afternoon may not be enough to counteract the relatively time-undisciplined education students receive during the rest of their day in

arequipeño schools. It certainly will not be enough to prepare students to compete with the intense future centism of the Utah-style education embodied in the 18 to 20-year-old Anglo missionaries for whom Ofelia cooks every day and with whom her Seminary students will someday be paired when they go on their own missions.

Break From Chronological Failure

As an embodiment of Utah education myself, I could not understand why, on the eve of *Carnaval* season, nobody, not even the Arequipa tourist office, could tell me on exactly which calendar dates it fell. “Just walk around the city pretty much every weekend in February, maybe March, and you’ll probably run into *carnavales*.” I soon realized spontaneity was precisely the point of *Carnaval*. Annual *carnavales*, pre-Lent Andean Catholic festivals based on the lunar, rather than on the Christian calendar, are a rest from the otherwise constant tension, not only with the West’s discipline of religious penance and asceticism (amplified during Lent), but with the West’s discipline of incessant future planning (figure 20). To schedule *Carnaval* on one’s Franklin Day Planner (patented by a Utah Mormon) would be to profane that rest. Taking such a reprieve from the clock-conscious competition of Western modernity is badly needed in Peru because Peruvians, especially Peruvian Mormons, are constantly berating themselves over what they perceive to be their chronological failures.



FIGURE 20: *Carnaval*, in many *arequipeño* neighborhoods, becomes an all-out water and foam fight. February 2018.

Unfortunately for Peruvians who seek to be “full Mormons” (Mormons with a future) chronological failures become moral failures as they realize that Zion time and Peruvian time do not coincide. Zion is a place of *forever families*, but Peru is a place with no forever, not only because a linear, discretely bounded “future” has a weak discursive and ancestral association with Peru, but because the future is always only for the next generation. Paradoxically, those who have no future in Peru—the “Lamanites”—are also those who are perpetually stuck in the future. Mormon prophecy confines Lamanites to the future just as the US media does to the non-Mormon counterpart of the Lamanite—the Latinx. As Jonathan Rosa (2019) explores,

these media portrayals emerge as part of a deceptive social tense in which today’s Latinx marginalization is legitimated by a figured egalitarian future. *Latinidad* ... is more than

500 years in the making, yet always just on the demographic horizon. How is it that a population whose origins in many ways predate the very European histories in relation to which ‘America’ is conventionally imagined, could be framed as a demographic whose value lies only in some figured future? (15)

Likewise in Mormonism, Lamanites always “shall blossom” but never “are blossoming,” and certainly never “have blossomed.”

Peruvian Mormons’ perceived chronological failures in their battle to achieve at least the “future” aspect of a *forever family*—a battle that often involves migration to Utah—sometimes only serve to solidify their unblossomed state, third-world stage, and marked Mormon status. In the next chapter I will explore another of these chronological failures—punctuality—before delving into the third facet of why “there is no future in Peru,” which cuts closer to the more sensitive half of the *forever family* focus, namely—family.

CHAPTER FIVE

Extremely Single Adults versus Sad Heaven:

When God's Daughters Are Late to Love

While I am in my early years,
I'll prepare most carefully,
So I can marry in God's temple for eternity.
Families can be together forever
Through Heav'nly Father's plan.
I always want to be with my own family,
And the Lord has shown me how I can.
(Gardner 1985, 300)

Your Kids Will Be Earlier Than Anyone


Peruvian bodies are relegated to an always-future time, often distant from Peruvian places, making Peruvian Mormons perpetually late to their own Zion. Those not born in Mormon homes did not have the opportunity of singing the above hymn in their “early years.” For many, finding out about Mormonism and being baptized after prime marriageable age meant that they did not find out until it was too late that marriage is the key to a cosmologically physical place known as the Celestial Kingdom, the highest of Mormon heavens. This chapter follows these unmarried Mormons as they make up for lost time on the unidirectional, narrow track leading toward a *forever family* future-time in a *forever family* future-place.

Unmarried Peruvian Mormons feel guilty, not only because they are always already late to *forever family*, but because they come to see themselves as the embodiment of an existential unpunctuality. This unpunctual existence—the condition of being slightly off schedule according to proper, Utah-defined time—informs discourses of lateness in Peruvian Mormonism involving both the most macrolevel scales of eternal life stages and the most mundane aspects of daily reality. Such discourses are overtly perpetuated in the Mormon church's Self-Reliance Initiative

courses (hereafter *The Initiative*), which are designed to motivate members to seek the privatized market, rather than the church or the state, as the key to familial success and happiness. That the church would embed punctuality lessons into a self-help program created to optimally futurize *forever families* demonstrates how getting married on time, getting to church activities on time, and getting units of money in direct proportion to discrete units of time are all fundamentally part of the same overarching achievement: Escape from a cyclical reciprocity that privileges place and entry onto an “eternal progression” that privileges time. Therefore, though this chapter is about the importance of matrimony in Zion’s *forever family*-building and social engineering platform, it is also about the larger temporal regimes of “progress” and “development” under which punctuality discourses become inextricable from marriage discourses. In other words, understanding Mormon punctuality discourse is a prerequisite for understanding Mormon marriage discourse, which is a further prerequisite for understanding what *forever family* means in the everyday lives of individual Peruvian Mormons.

There was no more direct way for me to fulfill the first of these prerequisites than to matriculate into one of *Barrio Periféricos*’ Self-Reliance Initiative courses entitled “Starting and Growing My Business.” The course facilitator, Delia, is a temple-married woman with family in Utah who also happened to be the president of our ward’s Primary, meaning that her time-discipline formed part of the early chronological habituation of children ages three to eleven that passed through her tutelage. For the May 12, 2018 class meeting, our group (excluding me) included eight people, all Peruvian Mormon women with varying amounts of time in the church ranging from two weeks to two generations. Three of these women were single, and two of those were single mothers. The underlying irony in our meetings’ focus on punctuality, other than me being the only student to arrive on time, was that Delia herself was not faithful to the topics’

“maximum times,” some of which were stipulated as “four minutes.” For the discussion excerpted below, we turned to page 84 in the manual (figure 21).



MY FOUNDATION: USE TIME WISELY

Maximum Time: 20 Minutes (pages 84–85)

Ponder: Why is time one of God’s greatest gifts?

Watch: “The Gift of Time,” available at srs.lds.org/videos. (No video? Read page 85.)

Discuss: What did you learn from Sister Benkosi?

Read: Alma 34:32 (on the right) and the quote by President Brigham Young (below on the right).

ALMA 34:32

“For behold, this life is the time for men to prepare to meet God; yea, behold the day of this life is the day for men to perform their labors.”

ACTIVITY (5 minutes)

Step 1: With a partner, read the following five steps you can take each day to use your time well.

<p>1</p> <p>LIST TASKS</p> <p>Each morning, make a list of tasks to do. Add names of people to serve.</p>	<p>2</p> <p>PRAY</p> <p>Pray for guidance. Review your list of tasks. Listen. Commit to do your best.</p>	<p>3</p> <p>SET PRIORITIES</p> <p>On your list of tasks, put a 1 by the most important, a 2 by the next most important, and so on.</p>	<p>4</p> <p>SET GOALS, ACT</p> <p>Listen to the Spirit. Set goals. Work hard. Start with the most important task and work down the list.</p>	<p>5</p> <p>REPORT</p> <p>Each night, report to Heavenly Father in prayer. Ask questions. Listen. Repent. Feel His love.</p>
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Step 2: Individually list your daily or weekly tasks on a piece of paper. These should be important tasks for your work, for school, for church, or for family service—not just daily chores. Prioritize your list and pray about it.

Step 3: Beginning tomorrow, set goals, act, and report to Heavenly Father on how you’ve used your time.

Commit: Commit to do the following actions during the week. Check the box when you complete each action:

- Practice the five steps described above every day to use your time more wisely. Report each night to Heavenly Father in your prayers.
- Share what you’ve learned today about using time wisely with your family or friends.

BRIGHAM YOUNG

“Time is all the capital stock there is on the earth. . . . If properly used, it brings that which will add to your comfort, convenience, and satisfaction. Let us consider this, and no longer sit with hands folded, wasting time.”

In Discourses of Brigham Young, sel. John A. Widtsoe (1954), 214

FIGURE 21: An excerpt from The English version of the *Starting and Growing My Business* manual of the church’s Self Reliance Initiative (The Church 2017, 84).

DELIA: Time, brothers and sisters, time. Have you ever heard the expression, “time is gold?”

ANASTASIA: Of course.

DELIA: Look at how the mind works in this neurolinguistic exercise, when we say and we are convinced that time is gold then--- but wait, are we all convinced that time is gold?

ANASTASIA: Yes.

DELIA: Great, so what happens when we don’t have time?

GEMA: We don’t achieve what we want.

DELIA: Yes, but again, listen to what I’m actually asking you. Make the connection. Gold is equivalent to abundance, so if I say that time is gold that means time IS abundance. So if I am always saying, “I don’t have time.” “I can’t control my time.” “I can’t get there early,” what does it mean? What message am I really giving myself?

ANASTASIA: That I don’t value myself.

GEMA: The thing we learned in the last class right? Scarcity. We have scarcity, right? We are letting opportunities pass us by when we say that we don’t have time.

DELIA: Very good, we let opportunities pass us by. What else, what else happens when we are not punctual? Don’t take it personally what I’m saying right now, eh? [the people who just walked in an hour late laugh nervously]. When a punctual person arrives late we say, “How strange.” But do you see the difference between that and the person who is ALWAYS late? We say, “oh well, that’s fine,” because we know that the person is always late. We, being the dual beings that we are, we are always going to give ourselves a reason as to why we do things. An example, I might say, “what is the point of arriving early if everyone else is going to be late?” So that is one thing that I could tell myself, but what am I truly telling myself, to my very self, inside? Sometimes we don’t realize the message we are giving ourselves and we live deceived. The message I am giving myself is, “Delia, you are not in the wrong, relax, all is well in Zion. Eat, drink and be merry. There is no problem. You are not doing this out of ill will. You don’t do it because you are a bad person, but simply because it is true, nobody arrives on time.” So I give myself a message of mediocrity. Because mediocrity, just like the word says, “medium,” I don’t do it all the way. I don’t do it abundantly. I am doing it with limitations, and what are my limitations? That since nobody else comes early, I am also not going to. Since it never starts on time, I am not going to come on time. My message in my internal voice is, “relax, all is well.” And I am becoming a mediocre person because I am not giving of my fullness. I am only giving half way.

For example, when I went to a Relief Society activity that was for humanitarian aid, they had indicated a specific hour, 7:30. I was there at 7:25, and I waited. 7:30 came and nobody

was there. 7:40, not a soul. Finally the main organizer arrived and I said, “*ay, Hermana*, I was scared I was in the wrong place. What time is it going to start?” “It is going to start at 8:00 because you know full well that the sisters are unpunctual.” And I got a bit angry, “but, *Hermana*, in our church the time stated should be the time started.” “But here it is always like this, one has to adjust. Truthfully the time was at 8:00, but we told everyone 7:30 because you have to tell them that it’s a half hour before it really is,” and I said, “but, *Hermana*, we are His church, if this were just a social club I might agree, but, *Hermana*, with all due respect I tell you, we are the true church, we can never give a time that is not what it claims to be, especially you as our leader. *Hermana*, for me it is a very grave offense when someone says, ‘tell them to be there at 5:00 so that we can start at 5:30,’ I consider that abysmally insulting.”

Right here in this church manual it is teaching us that time is valuable, we have to respect it and we have to respect the time of other people. We can’t go around convinced that such behavior is not wrong. Because if we convince ourselves that what we are doing is not wrong, we are just feeding the mediocrity, we are doing things half way, we are not giving in abundance, we are not giving of our fullness. We saw in the last class that the fullness of abundance was the abundance of the gospel, right? So it is the same thing. It is very important that we teach our kids about this punctuality stuff, our loved ones. Why? Because unpunctuality is a _____ [pauses deliberately for someone to fill in the blank. Nobody does]--- DEFICIENCY. It limits us terribly. But we are going to work on it, and we are going to work with our families first, okay? Also, we are a very unpunctual congregation, terribly unpunctual. So, we need to help our leaders, help our members to know that when they set a time, that time is the time. So if something in the Relief Society is at 6:00, I don’t care if the church is completely locked and barred, I am going to be there at exactly 6:00 standing outside the gates like an idiot. And why will I do that? Like my son says, “why are you standing out there *Mamá*, if the chapel is closed?” And obviously, if we get there on time for an event, the church is always closed, right? I just tell him, “Alberto, through my way of living, I must change whatever the other members think.” And it works. It is not easy when you have a family because you might have all the desire in the world to be punctual, but if your family doesn’t do it, it becomes more difficult for you, but we have to just be there insisting and insisting and insisting and someday, at some future moment, your kids will be earlier than anyone.

This ethnographic vignette may seem a strange way to begin a chapter on singleness and marriage since Delia does not mention singleness or marriage. Being late to an important life stage event, such as marriage, and being late to a Relief Society meeting might seem like two incommensurable scales of unpunctuality. However, for Delia and the larger anti-mediocrity discourses she espouses, being perpetually single and being perpetually late both require the same sort of self-deception regarding what is and is “not wrong.” For many Mormons, being a

single adult is wrong. It is a state of “deficiency” just like unpunctuality. Delia posits that if we want to be excellent, full, complete people we have to subscribe to a punishing future tense that does not forgive even a half hour’s lateness let alone lateness to the vital rite of passage that is Mormon temple marriage. We should feel bad about everything we do that is not in lockstep with that tense. Even though she knows time in Peru does not work the way it does in her Utah-produced manual, she tries to be the change that she wants to see in her local stake of Zion, being at church on time “like an idiot” when nobody but her son—and, presumably, God—is there to see her. In doing so, Delia demonstrates a heightened awareness of something that many in the putatively secular US have forgotten. Time-discipline—and the version of modernity it enables—is a “religious” thing. The problem for Peruvian strivings toward family futurity is that the religious domaining of time makes lateness a sin, not merely a “deficiency,” and people with certain sins—such as the sin of thinking that single-adulthood is “not wrong”—are not likely to “marry in God’s temple for eternity” as the epigraphic hymn demands. Such a conjunction of lateness with the eternal welfare of the soul places many Peruvian Mormon single adults outside of *forever family*, outside of full “Mormon” status, and outside of Zion’s city gates.

Pacha and The Proclamation

Peru is not the only country associated with the sin of lateness. Many Peruvians proudly informed me that the manual we used for this class was piloted throughout Latin America, making it one of the only official church manuals to be piloted in a language other than English. If this is true, it’s focus on self-government and use of African examples is no coincidence. Africans and Latin Americans are the two audiences the church sees as most lacking in punctuality and in the “self-reliance” for which punctuality is thought to be a key indicator. For the church, “self-reliance” is more than simply independence from state and church welfare

systems, it is a complex set of metrics combining statistical ratings of everything from one's tithe-paying status to one's civil status. In Foucauldian terms, Mormon self-reliance is the sum of one's biopolitical value to Zion. That these manuals would be published first in the Global South is a telling commentary on which demographic of its global population the church considers to be currently lacking value. Furthermore, if the covers of the different editions are any indication (figure 22), the Global South's biopolitical value is symbolically linked to its evolutionary fitness. *The Initiative's* image-selection committee seems to associate Africans with social evolution theory's "early" mercantile stage of hand-powered sewing machines, and Anglos with a "higher," more industrialized stage. Also, Anglos only begin to grace the covers when distribution of the manuals goes global. This is consistent with the peripheralizing notion that whiteness is globally relevant, while blackness is provincial.



FIGURE 22: The Starting and Growing My Business manual cover on the left is what I was told was the pilot edition approved in 2013 for Latin American and African distribution (The Church 2013). The cover in the center is the 2014 edition meant for global distribution (The Church 2014). The cover to the right is the globally distributed 2017 edition from which I extracted the above-cited page 84 (The Church 2017).

As Pauline Lipman (2009) wrote, “the cultural politics of race are the ideological soil for the racially coded neoliberal ideology of individual responsibility and reduction of ‘dependency’

on the state. This provides a rationale to restructure or eliminate government funded social programs and to develop a culture that normalizes individual responsibility” (220). Since these manuals seem to present a Do-It-Yourself guide to neoliberal life, and since the neoliberal mantra is that the market will be the cure for all social ills, it is difficult to fathom why these manuals would come from a church that believes only Jesus’ disciples—through the famously well-stocked social welfare systems they establish—have that cure. Yet, understanding welfare programs to be a two-edged sword in that they alleviate abhorrent poverty even as they normalize equally abhorrent dependency, the all-Anglo, Utah-based committee that designed *The Initiative*’s courses did so in order to warn the membership that church welfare, if accessed with the slightest imprudence, will inadvertently spawn a collectivist culture that will normalize spirit-damaging levels of dependency¹ not only on the church (D. Smith 2010), but on the “extended family”—the very form of family that the church needs to phase out of existence in order for the nuclear *forever family* to flourish. Again, it is no coincidence that “extended family” interdependency is common in the Global South where *The Initiative* was piloted.

¹ This is sugar-coating it a bit. *The Initiative* is little more than a thinly veiled protection of the church’s robust welfare system from what the church perceives to be an onslaught of unworthy requests from its members of Color. In fact, graduation from *The Initiative*’s twelve-week program has been added as one more layer of red tape stopping members from accessing that system’s funds. Since the thrust of the lessons regards the spiritual danger of financial dependence, it is as if the church were saying, “before you ask us for money, we want to let you know that by asking, you endanger your very salvation.” During my time as the “Super” Quorum president, I was privy to all church welfare requests coming from members of *Barrio Perifericos*. Five specific requests were made during my four-month tenure, including one for use of the church’s Perpetual Education Fund. All were denied. This is partially due to the excessive amount of red tape involved in accessing church coffers, but also due to the stigma that the ward itself would acquire at the “stake level” were the bishop to become known as one who is loose with the church’s purse strings. The ward’s “self-reliance” score would take a hit. Bishops are under immense pressure to only grant church welfare under the most extreme circumstances. This translates into a discourse that mirrors that of the “welfare moocher,” a stereotype that anti-immigrant lawmakers deliberately attach to immigrants to the US. Those who know full well how difficult it is to access welfare (because they are the ones who make it difficult) are those who tend to be the most strategic and racist in their application of the “welfare moocher” label. Just as Republicans in the US claim that people immigrate to the US in order to get welfare handouts, high level church officials (and, actually, pretty much everyone else I talk to, including Mormon and non-Mormon social scientists) claim that people in the Global South become Mormon in order to access the church’s welfare system. In my rather vast experience with both immigrants and Mormons (and Mormon immigrants), I have yet to come across any evidence corroborating either of these claims.

The Initiative makes explicit that the “self” of “self-reliance” is the nuclear family. Another of the church’s publications, a single-page document called, *The Family: A Proclamation to the World* (The First Presidency 1995), explicitly defines “the family” as consisting only of a legally married heterosexual couple and their children. *The Proclamation* only mentions the following kin terms: father, mother, son, and daughter. All other kin terms, meanings, and responsibilities, including those relating to siblingship, are conflated and dismissed in a single sentence, “Extended families should lend support when needed” (para. 7). Combining *The Proclamation* with *The Initiative*, it is evident that for Peruvian Mormons to properly move away from a kin model founded in place-based, collective reciprocity, their movement toward the individuation of family must coincide with the adoption of individuated time, a time that is separate from place and relatedness, a time that is futurized and “self-reliant.” As Delia describes, such a thing is difficult to do in the place formerly known as “*Abya Yala*,” which, as mentioned in Chapter One, has a meaning that is progressive but not conjugated into the future tense (Marín Benítez 2015, 232).

Per *tawantisuyano* philosopher, Conibo Mallku Bwillcawaman (Ciro Marín Benítez’ *nom de plume*), the *runa* (humans) who used *Abya Yala* as a place name for the Americas had a sense of time as tied to locality, or, more accurately, as indistinguishable from place. They called this sense *pacha*, a concept that Western ethnographers mistakenly translate as merely “Earth.”

Pacha however,

does not suppose the separation of time and space, *pacha* is the conjunction of both at the same time. It is more than that, it is also order. Consequently, if *pacha* has the connotation of cosmos, it speaks of an interrelated cosmos, intimately interdependent on different elements. Therefore, *pacha* should be understood as home, within which everything and everyone belongs to one family under one roof. (81)

The Initiative's project of separating time from Earth, of further cutting time up into categories of past, present, and future, and finally, of disciplining individuals to be “on time” as dictated by numbered units of seconds and generations is all inextricable from *The Proclamation's* project of cutting up families into nuclear units that live under separate roofs. Conversely, *pacha* encapsulates interdependence. However, interdependence does not imply a negation of futurity. The *tawantinsuyana* notion that *pacha* is extended family coresidence lies askance, but not completely opposed, to the Mormon notion that future is family.

Marriage Wasn't Happening For Me

Crossing *tawantinsuyana* and Mormon notions of “time” and “family” approaches the paradox of Zion embedded in Peruvian Mormon immigration to Utah and connects to the third level of meaning for the refrain, “there is no future in Peru” (the first two levels were discussed in Chapter Four). This meaning stems from the idea that Peruvian Mormons can never be “on time.” Not only do they suffer, along with all Peruvians, from what Delia considers a profoundly pathological unpunctuality (level two), and not only are they, like Bishop Paucar, always two to three generations behind Utah Mormons (level one), but they have always just missed, or fear they may soon miss, a vital Mormon life stage deadline.

Single Mormons in Peru for whom the unwritten Mormon marriageability deadlines are fast approaching essentially have no family—and thus no future—in Peru. They have no family because no matter how many *tías*, *ahijados*, *comadres*, *padrinos*, and *primos* they have and with whom they live “under one roof,” they lack the principal ingredient of the primordial and “traditional” Mormon family—a spouse. They have no future because their future is in Utah.

Utah is where they have the highest statistical probability of finding their only path to a fully Celestial and “blossomed” futurity—a Mormon spouse².

Pascuala Cusicanchi (Pasi) was one of many single Peruvian Mormons I encountered during this project who, in their late twenties and early thirties, were pushing the chronological boundaries of Mormon marriageability. After our recorded interview in Utah in 2015, Pasi returned to her hometown of Cuzco where she was the regional supervisor (an unpaid position) over the entire continent of South America for a humanitarian-aid foundation started by Anglo Mormons in Utah. At the time of our interview she had been in Utah for almost a year. This meant she was about to overstay the extra six month extension of her tourist visa that the foundation helped her acquire. I did not prompt the following utterance from our 2015 conversation in Utah with any questions about marriage or migration, yet that was the often-unspoken focus behind each of Pasi’s sentences.

Two years ago I came to Utah for one week with the foundation to raise funds for the children, and from that I obtained my ten-year tourist visa. So I said, well, “I have the ten-year visa,” and as they always say, “take advantage of it! Take advantage of it!” And I’m like, “how am I supposed to take advantage of it?” But I said to myself, “there must be a reason I have it,” So--- right? “I’ll have to see,” and I don’t know if you’ve noticed that *retornadas* [females who have completed their missions] in my country are always--- and I think that in Bolivia, Ecuador as well--- it is difficult for them to get married. All the people I know here in Utah who are *retornadas* have their families already, they get married after their missions. So I said, “wow, here [in Utah] they actually appreciate *retornadas*,” but they don’t over in Peru. Not much. The Peruvian guys always say, “oh, you *retornadas* are so ‘*ruler*’ [said in English, meaning overly obedient to the mission rule book] and I don’t want to spend the rest of my life with a senior companion [missionary pairs include a “senior companion” and a “junior companion” corresponding to mission seniority]. I don’t want to be forced into daily morning scripture study like during the mission.” What idiocy! I mean, I think that is just an excuse to not make the decision---. Right? But that is what normally happens to us *retornadas*. And I have so many [female] friends in Peru who haven’t gotten married and they are *retornadas*, and not just in my city. In Ecuador,

² Like many religious adherents, Mormons practice religious endogamy, meaning their ideal is to marry someone who is also Mormon. However, religious endogamy for Mormons is more than a simple ideal. The only form of marriage for Mormons that has any validity in the eternities, and the only one that can result in coexistence with one’s spouse, children, and descendants after death, is one that is performed inside a temple. Since only “worthy” Mormons can enter temples, both partners have to be Mormon before a temple marriage ceremony is possible.

Colombia, that is the norm--- But as I was saying--- I think that--- that drives a lot of it--- and so--- having the visa and thinking about my whole life--- well, “I am going to use this visa to see how things go for me over there.”

Pasi is choosing her language and silences carefully. Her declared reason for being in Utah was to change her tourist visa to a student visa so she could study at Brigham Young University’s English as a second language program. Yet, she had an ulterior motive for migrating to Utah that she suspected I would surmise because of a key she had already given me, one she knew any Mormon would understand—her age at baptism, which was beyond the age of prime marriageability. When I did not seem to use this key to decode her migration story as being largely a husband-search, she gave me another one—her *retornada* status. When I still refused to connect the dots and ask directly about her marital motivations for being in Utah, she got confused and felt it would be less awkward to simply preempt what she thought would be my inevitable question:

I arrived here [in Utah] with the hope--- well--- that--- This is the truth--- I’ll say it again-- Upon figuring that I didn’t have any progress in my city, I mean, I felt that I wasn’t progressing spiritually, both personally and in my profession, and like, let’s say--- basically--- since marriage wasn’t happening for me in Cuzco, I came here [to Utah].

Pasi was baptized Mormon at the age of 24. This meant she was not on time for certain age-specific life stages that are vital for full Zion citizenship. Foremost among these is marriage. 24 is a highly normative age to be single in Cuzco, but upon crossing over into the timeline of Mormonism, Pasi found herself already dangerously late to a matrimonial future, a future that she directly equated in our interview to “progressing spiritually.” Many Mormon men, who return from their two-year missions as early as age 20, are looking for a mate younger than themselves for the same reason that they are looking for a mate without mission experience. They are the ones—according to *The Proclamation*—who, “by divine design, preside over their families in love and righteousness” (The First Presidency 1995, para. 7). Wives do not preside.

Ironically, Pasi's entry into the one Mormon life-stage for which she was not late—the mission—reduced her marriageability even more than her age. The cut-off age for serving a non-couple's mission is 26. Pasi had only been a Mormon for one year when she enlisted. Perhaps she chose a mission because she perceived the unspoken social fact that returned missionaries are more fully “Mormon.” However, another social fact to which she was less privy involved the gendered distinction between *retornada* and *retornado*. If men do not complete the missionary rite of passage, they remain in a state of perpetual liminality in Zion, making them the least eligible bachelors. This is not the case for Mormon women. Their missionary service literally does not count. For example, at one of the many statistics-reporting meetings I attended as the “Super” Quorum president in *Barrio Periféricos*, the stake president had each of his seven bishops shout out the number of missionaries currently “in the field” from each of the seven wards under his jurisdiction in order to calculate each ward's algorithmic “self-reliance.” Missionary numbers are indicators of “congregational self-reliance” because the Lord promises “blessings” (a complex interplay between spiritual and economic benefits) to “ward families” that sacrifice their children to the mission field. A “ward family” is another name for the congregation or *barrio*. When a ward has a higher number of total missionaries currently in the field, it can expect to receive higher blessings, which in some counterintuitive way that I have yet to understand, correlate to higher levels of “self-reliance.” The numbers that the bishops were yelling out during this meeting seemed exaggerated to the stake president until he realized what was wrong. He playfully chided, “nice try guys, but stop inflating your numbers with sister missionaries. You know sisters don't count toward the missionary metric.”

***Tawantisuyano* Complementarity and Syncretic Gender**

For females, neither statistical nor social inclusion is increased through missionary work. Returned from her mission at age 26, not only was Pasi even later for marriage than before, she was now a stigmatized *retornada*. As Pasi explained above, *retornadas* are stigmatized because their most eligible potential mates, *retornados*, see them as too capable of leadership to fit the subservient role of a nurturing wife that *The Proclamation* prescribes. Also, since the mission is considered an obligation for males but only an option for females, females who chose the mission are sometimes assumed to have done so only because they had no options for marriage. The church socially engineers these considerations through gendered timelines. Males can serve missions at age 18, but females have to wait until 19 (until recently, males served at 19 and females at 21). The extra year gives females more time to find marriage options so that they will not choose the mission option. In practice, this means that a *retornada* is often plagued by the unasked question she assumes is on every Mormon's tongue, "what was so wrong with you that no guy wanted to marry you when you were 19?"

This is all to say that at age 26, Pasi was well beyond Anglo Mormonism's normative time to marriage. Furthermore, as a *retornada* who promoted the *forever family* daily on her mission to Bolivia, she was more aware than ever of the relationship that this normative time has to full Mormon personhood. Part of the *forever family* message is that in order to become true Saints in this life and gods in the next, humans must be married. That her message would not have sounded entirely foreign to Bolivians brings up an important and obvious point: Mormons do not have a monopoly on marriage. In this discussion of what Pasi must overcome in order to achieve inclusion in a *cusqueño* Zion, it is important to consider *cusqueña* expectations of marriage along with Mormon ones.

Marriage is an important part of personhood in the Andes in general, but it means something different than it does to Anglo Mormons because gender itself has had a different evolution. I do not pretend to have access to the distant past to know what this evolution was like, however, to provide an imaginary for it, I combine Andrew Canessa's (2012) research among contemporary Aymara-speaking people in Bolivia who call themselves *jaqi* (humans) with Bwillcawaman's philosophy (Marín Benítez 2015) of complementarity in Tawantinsuyo, the name that the Incas gave to the four (*tawa*) unified (*ntin*) districts (*suyo*) of their empire, which spanned western South America from southern Colombia to northern Chile.

Bwillcawaman describes elements of Andean indigeneity as "*tawantinsuyano*" because he feels centuries of Western essentializing and anthropologizing have stripped "Andean" of meaning. Throughout this dissertation, my periodic utilization of the specific group of *jaqi* that Canessa pseudonymously called the Wila Kharkeños risks worsening such essentializing. To mitigate this, I pause here to clarify that "the *jaqi*," as I describe them, are not real. Canessa wrote them into existence in one way, and I am writing them into existence in another. "The *jaqi*" is a composite character I fabricate from a mix of Canessa's, Bwillcawaman's, and my own observations in order to provide something against which to compare another of my categorical creations: Anglo Mormonism. It is important to note that there is no such thing as an "Andean culture" and there is no reason to think that the *jaqi* are more comparable to *cusqueños* like Pasi than they are to Anglo Mormons just because both the *jaqi* and *cusqueños* are "Andeans." There is also no reason to think that the *jaqi* represent a crystallization of past Andean lifeways just because they live in rurality. However, a glimpse at the world through the eyes of these hypothetical people, loosely based on real people, can elucidate some important differences and similarities between greater Anglo and greater Andean "gender" expectations. This contrast can,

in turn, provide a sense of the intense syncretizing in which single Andean Mormon women like Pasi have to engage in order to exist as both Peruvians and Mormons.

For the *jaqi*, rather than being part of one's primordial essential nature, the aspect of personhood that Anglo Mormons would call "gender" is constructed. What Mormons see as a human infant, the *jaqi* see as a genderless pile of raw materials with certain happenstance characteristics, such as the beginnings of a penis, that can be molded into what, one day, may become one of two binaries, the combination of which makes a full human (Canessa 2012). These binaries are not equivalent to maleness and femaleness. Instead, they form part of a larger system of complementarity which "sustains that no being or happening exists monodically, rather it always has its compliment" (Marín Benítez 2015, 70). Nevertheless, to avoid confusion, I will refer to the halves of this complementarity as male and female. Among Canessa's Wila Kharkeños, if a male is desired, the umbilical cord of the proto-male will be cut longer to help with penis growth. This idea that even phenotypic sex needs "assistance" in Bolivia is in line with Elizabeth Robert's (2012) study of in-vitro fertilization (IVF) clinics in Ecuador wherein "nature is not seen as a fixed object, waiting to be discovered by people ... instead it is experienced as malleable, shaped through interactions with people who exist in relation to the material biological world as well as with ... divinities" (xxiv). As Canessa (2012) notes, "where people do not see genitals as the root explanation of gender, it is interesting to note that genital development is dependent, at least partly, on human intervention" (127).

In this interdependent construction of gender, maleness is not seen as superior to femaleness. At least theoretically, there is complete parity between these two poles, which form part of the greater tent of complementarity kept taut through the tension between *ayni* and *tinku* (reciprocity and alienation). What makes a human is the combination of these two poles in

marriage. In fact, the word for marriage in Aymara, *jaqichasiña* means “the making of a person.” *Jaqi* do not enter the other world complete without their opposing pole, so if a male dies single he is buried with a hen, and a female with a rooster (Canessa 2012). There is absolutely no reason to assume that this category similar to “gender” among some groups of contemporary *jaqi* is at all comparable to that of any ancient groups who may have also called themselves *jaqi*. To assume such would be to assume that “Andean culture” not only exists, but that it is somehow immune to change. Nevertheless, this “unity and fight of contraries,” (Marín Benítez 2015, 222) represented in contemporary rooster and hen burials, is found painted on ancient ceramic art all over Tawantinsuyo. Today, in many *tawantinsuyano* schools of thought, rather than as a binary, what the West calls gender “is considered more a ‘counter-position’ of two positions included and integrated into one whole” (223).

Among the particular group of contemporary *jaqi* with whom Canessa lived as a resident anthropologist, there was no sense that people had gendered characteristics such as “nurturer” or “provider” with which they were born. In his field site, albeit filtered through his male, British eyes full of “imperialist nostalgia” (Rosaldo, 1989, 68), gender roles seemed to be constructed through the choices *jaqi* made in the balance of *ayni* and *tinku* throughout their interaction with the *ayllu* (the community). The *jaqi* do not even consider the capacity to have children to be part of “femaleness.” For the *jaqi*, since a birth is simply an expulsion of raw material, similar to ejaculate, “birth is most certainly not a singular experience that defines a woman as an adult or fully contributing member of society” (Canessa 2012, 126). Birth from a woman also does not make a person more “related” to that woman than that person would be to the *ayllu* itself through *pacha*. *Jaqi* do not “descend” from individuals with “lineages” and so the *ayllu* is neither patrilineal nor matrilineal.

In urban Peru today, the category of gender certainly exists, as does profound gender disparity favoring males over females. However, Peruvian body types seem to testify to an evolutionary gendered parity. Bodies in the Andes are not nearly as sexually dimorphic as they are in the West (Canessa 2012, 140). Not only that, but a genderless Andean ether, despite its being a complete invention of anthropology, seems to have wafted down to mix with the vapors of the coast creating there a sexual dimorphism opposite to the European variety. Flora Tristán (2010), an early feminist ethnographer of Peru, noted the following among the *criollos* (light-skinned upper class) of Lima in the early 1830's,

There is no place on the whole earth where women are more free and where they exercise more power than in Lima. They reign there exclusively. From them comes every impulse. The women from Lima absorb all for themselves the weak portion of energy that hot and intoxicating climate leaves upon the happy inhabitants. In Lima, women are generally taller and of a more vigorous constitution than the men. (341, translation mine)

Since most Peruvian Mormons were once Catholic, this metaphysical speculation about gender and “Andeanness” only becomes important for understanding Pasi’s *cusqueño* Mormonism when it is linked to the ways *tawantinsuyana* notions regarding gender react with Catholicism to form Andean Catholic syncretism. Cecilia Busby (2006) found a similar situation in Kerala Catholicism. Prior to Catholic arrival in India, the Kerala had a bilateral kinship notion of mothers as both water and gardener, and fathers as seed. Then Catholics came deeming the father the seed and the mother merely the vessel, which is tied to the secondary status of Mary to Christ in Catholic cosmology. Syncretizing the two notions of kinship/religion resulted in a Kerala Catholicism that elevated the status of Mary to a higher position than Christ himself. Such is also the case in *arequipeño* Catholicism wherein *La Virgen De Chapi* reigns more supreme than Christ and even more supreme than the volcano, Misti whom she often iconographically mirrors and whose eruption she beneficently prevents.

Peruvian Mormons who were once Andean Catholics with ancestors who were autochthonous *tawantinsuyanos* both reflect and reject these religion, kinship, and gender syncretisms. On the one hand, they fear a repeat of syncretism itself and flee all things even remotely associated with Catholicism to the extent that, relative to Utah Mormons, they do very little to liturgically celebrate Christmas and Easter. Incidentally, this is one of Reilly's (the Arequipa temple construction site manager's) biggest critiques of Peruvian Mormonism. In his opinion, Peruvian inability to decipher between Mormon culture and Mormon doctrine carries over to their inability to keep the good parts of the Catholicism they left behind. He believes that Peruvians cannot discern the difference in Catholicism between what was "cultural" (bad), and what was "gospel" (good), such that when they convert to Mormonism, they throw the baby of Catholicism (Christmas and Easter) out with the bathwater (alcohol and patron saints).

However, despite itself, Peruvian Mormonism is highly syncretic, especially when it comes to gender. For example, though *The Proclamation* they hang on their walls clearly states that the father is to work outside the home and the mother is to nurture the children (The First Presidency 1995), and though their church has held a decades-long campaign against the US Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) (Young 2007), Peruvian Mormon women enter the Peruvian workforce completely unabashed. I did not distribute a survey, but according to my rough estimation, of the 120 "active" members of all ages in *Barrio Periféricos* in 2018, about 60 were adult women. Of those 60, 58 worked outside the home. Of those 58, 50 were mothers. Of those 50, only 12 were wed mothers, and of those wed mothers, ten probably made more money than their husbands.

The contrast I saw between Peruvian Mormonism and Anglo Mormonism regarding gender roles was accentuated at every "fast and testimony meeting," a monthly occurrence

wherein the usual sacramental liturgy became an open-mic sharing of beliefs and experiences, augmented in the telling through fasting. *Barrio Periféricos* women's "testimony" stories almost always revolved around the workplace. They spoke of miraculous experiences on the long bus rides home from work, temptations of dishonesty at the office, and tests of faithfulness to the Mormon health code at corporate barbeques, all without any congregational repercussions or parochial reprimands. It would never cross a *Barrio Periféricos* woman's mind that if she were to share those same workplace stories in certain more conservative parts of Utah, she would be branded a feminist and told that the sacrament hall is no place to make liberal political statements.

Sister Abedul is an example. Much like the all-male members of The Twelve who often intertwine anecdotes from their former professions as pilots, heart surgeons, or judges into their speeches at General Conference, and completely unlike the all-female General Relief Society Presidency members who occasionally get to speak at "Conference," Sister Abedul often "bore testimony" of how the gospel related to her profession as a civil servant. Not only did her status as a working mother do nothing to delegitimize her sainthood in Peru, it served to solidify it through discursive association with the living twelve apostles of Christ.

Extremely Single (never quite) Adults

Pasi's status as a *retornada* on the other hand, rather than legitimizing her sainthood in *cusqueño* Mormon society as *retornado* status does for males, actually heightened the time-sensitive danger of her being stuck in perpetual non-sainthood. Her civil status, a status that she had not considered an important part of her identity before she was baptized, was now causing her to reevaluate her entire life. In the above excerpt, when she says, "*teniendo la visa, y pensando en toda la vida,*" (having the visa and thinking about my whole life), she is indirectly

saying, “maybe God gave me this visa because He has a husband waiting for me in Utah.” Back from her mission, she went from not identifying in terms of civil status, to suddenly being halfway on a spectrum between *soltera* (single) and what Peruvian Mormon singles jokingly call *solteraza*, (extremely single).

Incidentally, this joke was the motif of a talent night I attended in the stage-equipped “cultural hall” of *Barrio Periféricos*’ chapel. Mormon talent nights in Arequipa tend to consist of either lip-syncing popular music (figure 23) or lampooning aspects of “gospel culture” (Mormon culture). Since the *Jóvenes Adultos Solteros* (Young Single Adults) or “JAS” organization was in charge of MC’ing the event, satirizing the pressure to get married became this night’s focus.



FIGURE 23: *Barrio Periféricos*’ talent night. June 2018.

The JAS representatives adopted hilariously realistic radio-announcer voices to introduce each skit from an offstage mic. If a fellow JAS member happened to be in the next act, the MC would say something akin to the following statement I caught on film: “and finally—for all you ladies in the room—singing the part of Daddy Yankee, we have none other than the *soltero*, the

solterísimo the *SOLTERAZO*--- Kenny! [applause]. Oh, and Kenny, your girlfriend called into the station with an urgent message for you: *Ella no te ama* [she does not love you].” “Kenny, *ella no te ama*,” became the running joke of the night. Its humor stemmed from Kenny’s renown in the congregation as the guy who, at every single “fast and testimony meeting,” testified of his love for each and every one of us.

Unfortunately, the tongue-in-cheek designation of *solterazo* becomes less funny and more serious as Mormon singles approach their 31’st birthday because this is the age at which they graduate from the official organization for “youth” ages 18 to 30, (JAS), to another organization for singles simply called “AS” (*Adultos Solteros*/Single Adults, pronounced like “sauce” but without the initial *s*-sound). In Peru, AS is the singles’ organization for (never quite) adults ages 31 to death. Just as the *jaqi* are not fully human until they are married, there is a sense in Mormonism that singles are not adults in the full, unmarked sense of the term. Rather, they are “single” adults. If one is female and belongs to AS, one is—no longer jokingly—a *solterona* (spinster).

Peru does not have the Mormon population to warrant organizing entire congregations around these age and civil status demarcations, but Utah does. The ageist structures of these “singles wards” represent Katari’s³ second biggest criticism of Mormonism, the first being the lack of Latin American representation in central church leadership. As I commented in a fieldnote from our aforementioned two-hour conversation at the food court of Utah Valley University where he studies,

Katari wants the church to fess up to the social engineering it is doing. He wants to write a paper about how putting singles into wards based on ages with cut-offs is especially damaging to women. He told me about a 27-year-old woman in his own 18-30 ward. Only six males in her ward are older than her and, as such, they are the only guys who could possibly ask her out. But, instead of asking her out, they ask the “fresh meat:” the younger

³ Katari is a Bolivian Mormon mentioned in Chapter Four whom I met at an academic conference on Mormonism.

women who come in all the time. I asked Katari, “but once she hits 31, she will be transferred to the 31-45 ward, so won’t she suddenly become the hot item herself?” “Yes, but that’s not a good thing. 31-45 wards are full of men who have one thing in common: No woman wanted them for some reason—and, more often than not, it was a good reason.”

Apparently the bishops of these wards are not selected from the men within the ward as bishops usually are. Instead, they are old married men from nearby “family wards.” Katari told me stories about bishops of 18-30 wards who were so obsessed with the kick-out-at-31 rule that they would actually break up couples—the whole point of the ward—by announcing to the man, sometimes at his ward-sponsored, 31st birthday/farewell party, that he must leave his girlfriend behind in the 18-30 ward and join the 31-45 ward. One 31-year-old guy actually had to be escorted out of sacrament meeting because he refused to leave. I’m not sure if his banishment from her ward resulted in their breakup, but it says a lot about how obsessed the leaders are with micromanaging the marriages of young people. What affects Katari the most is how church structures force so many to marry young that it decreases the pool, making it virtually impossible to get married once older.

To illustrate how the pressure to marry is built within these AS organizations in Peru and how that relates to notions of full sainthood and the proper family type, I include another fieldnote I wrote one year after my recorded, Utah interview with Pasi. By this time, she was back in Cuzco and still single. She invited me to what she told me was a “family home evening” for the “youth” of her *cusqueño* congregation in which she was assigned to give the lesson.

Family home evening, also called “Family Night” was an initiative started by the church in the 1960’s—complete with a manual—wherein nuclear families were supposed to drop social, professional, and even ecclesiastical affairs one night a week, preferably Monday, and spend time together singing, studying scriptures, and, most of all, having “wholesome recreational activities” (The First Presidency 1995, para. 7). In Utah this has become a consumerist extravaganza. Not only do most movie theaters, bowling alleys, and “fun zones” advertise Monday “Family Night” specials, but LDS bookstores, such as the church-owned Deseret Book, sell all kinds of Book of Mormon-themed Family Night games and supplies. One popular Deseret Book item I have seen on the walls of many Peruvian Mormon homes in Utah is a peg board whereupon the hand-painted names of family members are cycled weekly through Family

Night's different roles. Any visitor to the home during the week will see that it is Tatiana's turn to say the opening prayer, *Mamá's* turn to decide on the activity, Junior's turn to give the lesson, and *Papá's* turn to provide the refreshments. Family Night, therefore, not only gives Utah businesses a chance to demonstrate their Mormon-friendliness, it gives Mormon families a material way (home décor) to show off their dedication to achieving the only social grouping that is legible in Mormonism as "family." Peruvians in Peru—who are constantly being joined by new converts to Mormonism—feel that they come up short in catching the spirit of this nuclear family culture, so they often combine many families together for Family Night in order to teach the new and potential members among them how it is to be done.

On this occasion (June 2016), since Pasi said "youth," I assumed she was talking about some sort of combined Family Night for the Young Men/Young Women organization for children and teens ages 11-17. However, this seemed strange to me because, if it really were a "family" night, should not the youth be with their parents? Since we got to the chapel in Cuzco a little bit early, we had time to talk before the activity:

Pasi kept saying things like, "a lot of the youth my age want to go to Utah." She is 31, so not exactly a "youth" in my mind. Suddenly it was 7:30 and the activity was going to start. That was when I saw the group of "youth" she was talking about and finally put two and two together.

This was a combined JAS and AS activity (mostly AS) and not a Young Men/Young Women activity, which is why calling it "family home evening" made sense. [The idea is that single adults don't have families with which to do a family home evening. Even though most of them live with large "extended families," these somehow do not count as "family" for "home evening" purposes and so they have to combine into a little "AS family"]. During the rest of the night, they kept referring to our group as "*nosotros como jóvenes*," [we as youth] even though I'm 38, and I'm sure some of them were older than me.

I don't consider myself a "youth" and I wondered why they did. Racism calls Black men "boys." Sexism calls women "girls." Have these adults internalized Mormonism's stigmatization of singleness to the extent that they will call themselves "youth" until they are married?

In the front of the classroom stood two men, the ward AS president, Riqui (single), and the member of the ward's bishopric, *Hermano* Lobón (married), assigned to oversee (more like chaperone) AS. They called the single man by his first name and the married one by the formal *Hermano*-plus-surname. They were both approximately the same age. There were four men and six women in the room. They immediately asked me how old I was and if I were married to see if I belonged in their group. I didn't, but they said that I could join anyway, just this once. One woman walked in and stayed for a while, but then walked out. They told me later that she likes *gringos*. She walked in because she saw me go in and walked out when she learned I was married.

We were supposed to break the ice, so Riqui had everyone relate their "funniest *comi*." I wasn't the only person who didn't know what he meant by "*comi*," so he translated it as, "what is your hobby that is funny?" I was surprised at how childish the ensuing anecdotes sounded to me. Was I just buying into the suggestibility of the idea that this was a meeting of "youth," or is it that considering themselves to be youth really made them see the world in a more childlike way? One man said he gets mad at the nieces and nephews he lives with because they take his stuff, but then he often realizes that he is wearing the thing he is accusing them of taking. Riqui said that he saw a fat lad on the bus sit on a piece of gum. As he got off the bus, a huge strand of gum strung between his butt and the seat all the way out the door. In Pasi's "*comi*" she was trying to joke about Utah's mythical status as a Mormon mate-finding Mecca, but what she ended up saying was simply: "the number of AS we have here in Cuzco is nothing, in Utah there are 400 in one group, lots of spouses to choose from." Awkward silence—mostly because everyone was thinking, "with those odds, why is she still single?"

...

After *Hermano* Lobón's lesson (I thought Pasi was supposed to give the lesson?), we started to play games that I, again, found to be immensely childish. This may be my personal bias. My British-derived sensibilities tend to consider Peruvian fun not quite my cup of tea. However, in my defense, I have been to dozens of similar Family Nights among Peruvians and have always found them enjoyable. This was my first time going to an AS activity, however, and even though we played many of the same classic Latin American Mormon games I have come to tolerate, if not love—getting straight-faced opponents to laugh by acting like a poor cat or donning thick gloves and unwrapping a chocolate bar with a spoon until someone else rolls a six—this time it all seemed degradingly silly. We played a non-edible version of the chocolate game until almost 10:00, and when we finally had to stop, the woman who procured the dice from her purse—which she always has at the ready in case a game is afoot—seemed inordinately dejected.

I couldn't help feeling that this AS meeting was an AA meeting, as if singleness were a disease: "Hi, my name is Pasi, and I am single."

A month later, I was back in Cuzco attending Pasi's ward's Sunday school. They have a segregated class just for AS. *Hermano* Lobón let me attend despite my married status.

We sat around the table with seven other single adults, a few in their 60's. AS president, Riqui started the lesson by saying that everyone is always pressuring him to get married and he tells them, "why do you care if I get married?" He told us how the "sister missionaries" currently assigned to the ward (one Anglo, one Peruvian, both fifteen years younger than him) were trying to convince him to consider the many eligible ladies in the ward by using the Genesis argument that it is not good for man to be alone. He countered with his own argument: He wants to find a wife who understands the true meaning of the Word of Wisdom [the Mormon health code]. He said that fat bodies indicate unfaithfulness to the Word of Wisdom and that it's not his fault that all the women in the ward are fat. "So I want to follow the Word of Wisdom because I want to please God first, and only then will I please the ladies. I start with that little anecdote to segue into the topic of today's lesson, The Word of Wisdom."

After the lesson, the stake-level AS representative came in to promote the Cuzco-wide AS convention, complete with a dance, a "fireside" address, and a sightseeing trip to Miray. She asked everyone how much of the 50 *sol* fee they would pay her right then, but almost nobody was planning on going. Riqui himself wasn't going because he had to visit his mom. The representative was aghast, "but you are the leader! You have to go!" Meanwhile, another woman was WhatsApping AS members throughout Cuzco. None could attend.

Regarding Pasi's full sainthood vis-a-vis the proper amount of love she should be feeling toward her future nuclear family, these notes draw attention to the contradiction AS represents: AS members invariably resent the Mormon social pressure to get married, yet they reproduce this pressure among themselves and perhaps even internalize its infantilization. One reason this happens is that single adults, like Riqui, are themselves "called" to lead AS. Riqui's biggest stressor is convincing people to attend activities over which his own son-mother relationship takes precedence. In Peru, where it is more socially acceptable than in Utah to use fear tactics and guilt trips to get people to comply, threatening to label someone "inactive" if they do not attend an activity is common. Pasi herself is often labeled inactive, not because she does not sacrifice countless hours each week to church-related activities, but because she does not usually attend the AS ones.

It turned out that assigning her to teach the lesson was merely a ploy to procure her attendance. These activities, by their very AS nature, always have a single objective—

matchmaking. All AS members know this and most AS members resent it. Yet, if Pasi does not attend these activities, she is not only in danger of being labeled “inactive”—a designation that a bishop could use to rescind her temple-entry card (temple recommend)—she is in danger of not properly prioritizing her love toward a future unknown spouse whom she will marry in that temple, a spouse whom she has already covenanted to obey⁴ as part of a temple ritual called the endowment. Since being single means being never quite adult and never quite a Saint, AS is both a potential key to Pasi’s ultimate salvation, and a mark of her incomplete sainthood.

To What Should a Daughter of God Aspire?

AS is an especially sore subject for the person who has contributed most to this project, Ofelia Dominguez. As a single mother, Ofelia should have an extra motivation above and beyond that of Pasi to find a Mormon husband. Not only is getting sealed in the temple to a husband an unwritten requirement for full, unstigmatized Zion citizenship in *Barrio Periféricos* where Ofelia serves in many “callings,” and not only is a husband a written requirement for Godhood, having a Mormon husband is the only way Ofelia can be sealed for eternity to the person she loves the most—her daughter. Daughters can be sealed to mothers in the temple, but only as appendages to the nuclear couple bond. In Anglo Mormonism—the Mormonism that wields the most power over temple sealing rules and Zion’s global boundaries—mother to daughter love is dangerous and can even become pathological if it distracts single mothers from the love that should be driving them: love of a future spouse. Ofelia’s navigation of the love-pathologizing that happens in AS opens a window into the paradoxical battle over Zion’s

⁴ This is another one of the changes that the church has made during the drafting of this dissertation. The temple rite has changed. A woman no longer has to covenant to obey her current or future husband. However, since the endowment is a one-time rite (though Mormons often repeat it by proxy on behalf of dead relatives), Pasi has already covenanted to obey her future husband.

supposedly nonexistent borders. In order to highlight AS, however, Ofelia first describes the pathologizing that happens in the Relief Society, the church's organization for all women over the age of 18, single or married. By the time of our thirty-third interview (February 2018), I had asked Ofelia every question under the sun except one.

OFELIA: Well, the question that you have yet to ask me is, "when are you getting married?" Because everyone else in the world has asked me that question, absolutely everyone, and you are the only one who hasn't, and that is why I trust you [laughs].

JASON: Well, you have told me about the stress of being single in the church. My mom is single as well, and I know it is difficult for her because a lot of the church's messaging has to do with---

OFELIA: ---with the family, yes. And there are a lot of sisters who utilize that in order to scorn the single sisters. But I loved the speech that President Thomas S. Monson gave [the same church prophet who designated Arequipa as a future temple site], I don't remember in what year, but it is etched into my memory. Speaking directly to the single mothers, he told us that we had done a good job with our children. He admired us for being alone and for bringing up our children alone. He said, "the promises of the Lord are fulfilled for all who stay firm and faithful, and if you haven't been married in this life, the Lord will give you a husband in the next. So, don't worry, don't get desperate. Live tranquilly." And to the single sisters who don't have kids, he said the same thing, "if you haven't had the opportunity, the Lord will give you the opportunity over there."

And one time during Relief Society class, a sister was trying to offend me on this topic because she had some kind of problem with me, so she started saying, "only the sealed are going to enter into the kingdom of God. Only people with husbands are going to have eternal families. Some single sisters think that just because they sent their kid on a mission they're fine." I was the only one in the room who had a child currently on a mission, so I got angry and said to myself, "this sister is going to pay for what she just said" [laughing] Vengeance! So I let her finish. And she looked straight at me, "any opinions?" "Yes, I have one. *Hermana*, you are mistaken," I told her. She said, "How am I mistaken? The manual specifically states"--- "The manual can say whatever it wants to say," I told her. I wasn't the only one she was offending, there were plenty of other single sisters there as well and they didn't dare speak up, but since it was a personal attack on me, I said, "this is what president Thomas S. Monson, our prophet, has said: 'All promises will be fulfilled.' If the Lord has promised eternal life unto all those who are faithful, then we [*nosotras*] are also included. You aren't guaranteed an eternal family just because you got sealed in some temple. I don't care if you are sealed to them, if you don't work with them, they aren't going to be with you in the eternities. The promises are only for those who remain faithful." And she just stood there. And, of course, the other sisters started to jump in, "Ofelia is right!"

But that is what keeps me at peace, and my patriarchal blessing also says it, I mean, my blessing is really short, but in one of its few lines it says that I shouldn't worry about obtaining my eternal partner in this time because if I were to worry about it, I would have a lot of problems and even get sick. And so whenever someone would ask me, "hey, why don't you get married already?" I would say, "well, yeah, I guess you're right," but then I would remember my patriarchal blessing and I'd remember that speech and I'd say, "I shouldn't worry anymore. If the Lord doesn't want to give me a partner during this time, why get desperate?"

One of the things I've always said is, "I know who I am." And I have always repeated that to my daughter, "you know who you are, right? So who are you?" "I am a daughter of God." "Remember that always, and how should a daughter of God behave? To what should a daughter of God aspire?" So I repeated that over and over and over to her. And I say it to myself as well. I am a daughter of God. Just because He hasn't seen fit to give me a partner in this time doesn't mean that I'm going to get desperate and settle for, in quotation marks, "*cualquier cosa*" [whatever comes along]. I'm not going to get desperate and say, "alright, the next man I find: BAM," right? Because first I have to see if he is going to help me grow.

Ofelia is able to navigate the impersonal pressure to marry in her manual-driven, bureaucratic church only because of her personal relationship to God. Each Mormon receives a written "patriarchal blessing" thought to be personal scripture from the Lord himself, a scripture so sacred it should not be read by anyone but the person whose future it foretells. With this material blessing in her arsenal along with a memorized speech by the living mouthpiece (Thomas S. Monson) of her Heavenly Father directed specifically to her as a single mother, she is able to withstand the onslaught of demeaning depersonalization that would have her marry *cualquier cosa*. She is able to broaden her perspective in an almost *tawantinsuyana* union of time and space, such that "this time" comes to mean "my time on this Earth," and "over there"—a seemingly spatial reference—becomes "my time in the next life." In this sense, Ofelia exemplifies Savannah Shange's (2019a) observation that "the temporal is a zone of opportunity for subaltern subversion" (89). Ofelia subverts the church manual's fixed timelines that label her singleness, "late."

In Ofelia's eternal perspective, lateness makes no sense. In the perspective of the Relief Society's manuals, however, terrestrial tardiness to familial "sealing" ceremonies in stone temples can carry over into a lateness that is everlasting. These manuals, like the aforementioned Self-Reliance Initiative manuals, almost seem to be patterned after US reconstruction era freedman's handbooks wherein the physical whip of slavery was replaced with the textual "emphasis on self-discipline and policing. The whip was not to be abandoned; rather it was to be internalized" (Hartman 1997, 140). Perhaps recognizing this grotesque tendency in her church's manuals, Ofelia quite sacrilegiously interjects that "the manual can say wherever it wants to say," implying that whatever it wants to say is not going to affect her self-worth. Manuals written by church bureaucrats in Utah can say what they will to the general mass of membership, but God knows who Ofelia is as an individual—as a daughter, no less—and He can help her circumvent His nuclear family dogma, a dogma He knows can have psychosomatic effects. This is no easy task, even for Him, because the bureaucratic structures of His church overlap complexly, placing His children at ironic counterpoints in order to harness their Foucauldian biopower. Ofelia is sorted into diverse taxa based on the impersonal demographics of age, gender, and civil status. Though she chooses to be a member of the church, this comes with overlapping memberships in other organizations that her biology and her life-stage lateness choose for her. One of these organizations is AS.

The stake AS representative from our ward, Florencia, messaged me: "hey, there is going to be a party and you must participate." "No," I tell her. "I'm sorry, but my daughter is arriving from her mission and I have to prepare her homecoming," I very politely reply. "It's that you never have time, you never want to participate." "No, it's that my daughter is coming back. I hope you have fun at your party. Have a great time on my behalf, and thanks for the invitation. I'll go in another opportunity." And she comes back with, "what's happening is that you don't want to get married EVER." "Look," I tell her, "it's not that, it's just that right now my priority is my daughter, so I don't have time." But she kept on bugging me, and started to really get under my skin. So she says, "you will come to realize that you must go to this party because you must find a husband." That is when I lose it, I

was beyond bothered and I said, “in the first place, I know who I am. I’m not going to go out and grab *cualquier cosa*. If you are so desperate to marry yourself off, go get married for all I care. But not me!” And she’s all, “but why are you so cruel with me? Why do you respond like that?” “Because I am telling you that I can’t go, nevertheless, you keep insisting.” “But it’s that, can’t you see? You are going to miss the train. Your years are flying by.” [laughs] I tell her, “but I’m not desperate. Flo, if the Lord doesn’t want to give me a husband here, that is okay.” “But it’s that you don’t even try!” “The Lord knows my heart and He knows what I’m thinking. He knows that I’m doing my part and so who are you to tell me I’m not?” When I use the word “desperation” with her, I’m talking about how she’s had three boyfriends in three months. The most recent one, I’ve known him for many years, and I told her, “I’m just telling you as a friend: Be careful because he is not a good *hermano*.” But on Facebook they had started to paint themselves as a couple, “I love you! We are going to get married! You are my ideal partner! Together forever!” They filled up their Facebook walls during the whole 15 days they were together. The only thing they lacked was the ring. So when they broke up after 15 days, I said, “hey, what happened to all that: ‘together forever, for all the eternities, you are mine always,’ business?” “Don’t talk to me.”

Ofelia’s situation mirrors Nigeajasha’s problem of loving too much combined with Pasi’s problem of never being on time for the Mormon future tense. Not only is Ofelia single, she is a single mother. According to Florencia, her future husband is out there, yet she does not love him enough to look for him. Instead, she loves her daughter. Florencia, herself under immense pressure to marry, accuses Ofelia of using her daughter’s homecoming preparations as an excuse for not going to the AS activity, an activity that represents the last train to the future. Her train analogy is apt. There is no better symbol for linear, schedule-driven time across empty space with an infinite potential of possible destination points that all lie ahead. Each station along the unilinear track holds the possibility of somewhere better in the future.

The cold, iron rail represents Mormon time. In fact, the Book of Mormon prophet Lehi had a dream wherein he had to hold fast to an “iron rod,” which lead him in a straight line through the mists of darkness toward the tree of life. Eating of the tree’s fruit brought to his mind the possibility of *forever family*. In like manner, for many of the Andeans living near Peru’s Cerro De Pasco mine—founded by an Anglo Mormon—the company town’s iron rails became

the central arteries of life, “encoding the dreams of individuals and societies by representing the possibility of being modern and having a future” (Berg 2015, 57). Ulla Berg’s study participants in her ethnographic work near the mine could not fathom why she would want to rent a flat far from the busy highway connecting the community to the capitol. Berg found that the community residents felt a recharging sense of possibility emanating from the road, a sense that it would lead to something. “This ‘something,’ the never-ending sense that there had to be something ahead, something better and more exciting, is the condition of modernity itself” (57). If this is the case, Mormonism, unlike Catholicism, is a modern cosmology. In Catholicism, humans fell and their goal is essentially cyclical—to get back to the paradisiacal state from whence they started. In Mormonism, humans are embryonic gods who will surpass the state from whence they started and continue to “*salir adelante*” (Peruvian vernacular expressing the desire for upward mobility) in an eternal upward progression toward “something better.”

Florencia is genuinely worried about Ofelia because if her love for her daughter causes her to miss the train, she will lose her chance for the conjugal love that is required for that eternal progression. Yet, ironically, Ofelia is the one who cares about finding conjugal love. Florencia thinks of marriage as simply a hoop she needs to jump through to make it into the highest of Mormon heavens, the “Celestial Kingdom”—the only station on the track with train connections leading infinitely upward. For that, any Mormon man will do. Ofelia is the one with the audacity to desire an actual affinity for the man she might marry. She also has the audacity to go against Delia’s Self-Reliance punctuality lesson and say, “all is well” in the present. Ofelia is convinced that her singleness is “not wrong” despite *The Initiative’s* defamation of such thinking as “feeding the mediocrity.”

Settling for a Most Meager Roof

For many in her ward, Ofelia is on track to the medium heaven, the Terrestrial Kingdom. Making it into the highest heaven—what Mormons call “exaltation” as opposed to mere, mediocre “salvation”—requires being sealed to one’s spouse in an earthly temple either during this life or, by proxy, after death. In this cosmivision, the importance of love pales in comparison to the importance of ticking a box on a checklist of one-time rites (ordinances). As the current president of the church declared in 2019 in what many US Mormon feminists have dubbed the “Sad Heaven” speech,

Love songs perpetuate a false hope that love is all you need if you want to be together forever. And some erroneously believe that the Resurrection of Jesus Christ provides a promise that all people will be with their loved ones after death. In truth, the Savior Himself has made it abundantly clear that while His Resurrection assures that every person who ever lived will indeed be resurrected and live forever, much more is required if we want to have the high privilege of exaltation. Salvation is an individual matter, but exaltation is a family matter. (Nelson 2019, 89)

This contrasts sharply with the speech Ofelia referenced from the previous church prophet, President Monson. Per President Nelson, we will all live forever, but only the exalted will live *together* forever. When President Nelson says “family,” he is referring to the US, white, nuclear family centered around two married individuals of the opposite sex. When Ofelia hears such doctrines, however, her first thought is not of some future marital togetherness. She is thinking only of her daughter.

Depending on what we do, we will go to a place. We don’t know where that will be yet. I might say, “as soon as I close my eyes, I’m going to the Celestial Kingdom,” but, how do I know if Heavenly Father will consider me qualified? Maybe there are some things I’ve forgotten? My biggest worry was, how am I going to get sealed, I mean, with my daughter? Because I’m not sealed in the temple, I’m not married, and so my worry was always that. “Wow, so that means I have to get married if I want to get sealed to my daughter?”

Ofelia and her daughter Shannon are more than just “temple worthy.” They live their religion more fully than anyone I know, they have become “one” more than any married couple I

know, and they make the 16-hour bus ride to the Lima temple and perform more proxy ordinances there for deceased others than anyone else with their scant financial means could even imagine. Yet, they cannot perform the most vital of these ordinances for themselves. Simply because Ofelia is not sealed to a man, she cannot be sealed to her own daughter, the person she loves the most. She is not allowed to make the “covenants” involved in eternal mother-daughter sealing that not only make togetherness possible in the next life, but also bring blessings during this one. Her current prophet⁵ continued to pour salt onto that wound in his speech. I know she watched this General Conference speech on the projection screen at *Barrio Periféricos*. I can only hope she did not take it as personally as she took Thomas S. Monson’s. Speaking to all those who know that they must make covenants in the temple in order to seal the Anglo-defined family, but who, for whatever reason, have not yet made those covenants, the new prophet, Russell M. Nelson stated:

they have chosen not to make covenants with God. They have not received the ordinances [one-time rites] that will exalt them with their families and bind them together forever ... They need to understand that while there is a place for them hereafter—with wonderful men and women who also chose not to make covenants with God—that is *not* the place where families will be reunited and be given the privilege to live and progress forever. That is *not* the kingdom where they will experience the fulness of joy—of never-ending progression and happiness. Those consummate blessings can come only by living in an exalted celestial realm with God, our Eternal Father; His Son, Jesus Christ; and our wonderful, worthy, and qualified family members ... as you choose not to make covenants with God, you are settling for a most meager roof over your head throughout all eternity ... If you truly love your family and if you desire to be exalted with them throughout eternity, pay the price now. (Nelson 2019, 90)

Ofelia does truly love her family, but if the price is marrying the next Mormon guy who breathes, she is not willing to pay it. The crux of the matter is that for the prophet and Ofelia, the

⁵ In contemporary Mormon parlance, “prophet” usually means the current president of the corporation of the church and has little to do with prophesying. “Prophet” and “president” are used interchangeably in this context. Ancient prophets, on the other hand, are understood to have done more actual prophesying and less business administration.

word “family” does not mean the same thing. Ofelia’s strongest familial bond is to her daughter. Her strongest love lies therein. In the prophet’s definition of family, such love is dangerous to the correct, holy order of things. It pollutes the purity of eternal, patriarchal categories.

Ofelia’s love would not be pathologized were Ofelia a non-Mormon in Peru where mother-child love can never be “too much.” Her love is only a problem in a US patriarchal religion with a fundamental phobia of mother-child love. In any modern, marriage-centric patriarchy, the husband needs a monopoly on love, and in a capitalistic corporate church obsessed with self-reliance, love is imagined as a scarce commodity. What little there is to go around must go to the husband. Reflecting on this, I thought of the ways Peruvian Mormon expressions of love contrast with my own Anglo Mormon upbringing. I experienced a flashback, a memory of something my mother told us kids on multiple occasions, a mantra with power beyond its syntax. She told us something so uncharacteristic of her that I doubted my recollection. I decided to corroborate it with others who may have had similar memories, so I asked one of the US Mormon feminist Facebook groups of which I am a member:

Growing up Mormon in Utah, my mom (who is now single) would often make a point of telling us the order of her love. She loved God first, her husband second, and us kids third. The way she said it didn't belittle us in any way, it made us feel secure within three layers of love, but discursively she wanted us to know that she had "more" love for her husband than she did for her kids. Was anyone else told this or something similar? Is this a Mormon thing? A US thing? A white people thing? Do you tell your kids this?

I post often across various Facebook groups, but rarely get more than two likes and, if I am lucky, a single comment. Usually, I get nothing. This post, by the very next day, had 177 comments. In my world, it went viral. The mode comment was almost identical to this: “I’m a white, American, former Mormon and I was told I was loved less than my parents' spouse constantly.” Some thought of this hierarchization of love as a good thing: “I was taught this, but in a way that made me feel happy to have parents who loved each other ... White, raised in

Utah.” A significant majority tended toward this assessment: “There was at least one talk I remember hearing in the 80s where a General Authority or prophet had told women to love their husbands more than their children. Even as a teen I recognized that as self-serving BS.” Yet, given Ofelia and Shannon’s situation, I was most struck by the following reply to my query:

I was raised by an active single mother. I am white. I don’t remember being told this (because it did not apply) but I do remember the quest for her to find a spouse and feeling like that love was tantamount to mother-child love. As a white, married mother myself I am ashamed to say this hierarchy of love resonates true to my processing, BUT your question makes me look at it, and I do not like that hierarchy of love. I will work to consciously unprocess this. I hope I have not portrayed this hierarchy to my children. My love for them is never in last place.

A combination of forces related to whiteness and patriarchy may have created a love hierarchy in the US, one to which Ofelia was not about to conform. As a non-white, single mother, her distance from full sainthood demonstrates the limits of Mormon relatedness and the precise location of the borders that Zion is not supposed to have. She embodies the paradox of Zion because she is both the most saintly person I know and the furthest from sainthood. This is why she is my “key informant.” Anthropologists often look for the “non-person” in a society because that person’s situation reveals what the rules are for full personhood, exposing the society’s secrets of relatedness.

For example, during Sandra Bamford’s (2007) work among the Kamea of Papua New Guinea, she noticed a young man, Netsap, who seemed disconnected from society. She discovered that he was cut off from the male line that would have granted him land. This was not because he was an illegitimate son who did not know who his father was, but because his father died before transmitting to him the specific cultivation knowledge of the landscape he was to “inherit.” For the Kamea, then, it is the sharing of ecological teachings rather than genetic substance that creates father-son relations. Instead of transferring to Netsap at the moment of

conception the stuff that would create a relationship between them, he was supposed to transfer it later in life. He died before this was possible, and so Netsap never had a father.

In Place, Not On Time

If Netsap's non-personhood revealed that the shared substance of relatedness for the Kamea is ecological knowledge rather than gametes, what does Ofelia's incomplete sainthood in *Barrio Periféricos* reveal about Mormon kinship? For one, it reveals just how inextricably linked Mormon notions of divine kinship are to US notions of nuclear family and that the battle in which Peruvian Mormons are engaged consists of impossibly extricating the one from the other so that they can follow what they know in their hearts to be right—an abundance model of love—without disobeying the church they know to be true. Elaine Bell Kaplan (1997) investigated an analogous catch-22 among Black teenage mothers caught between similarly opposing cultural forces tied to notions of scarcity and social welfare. In Peru, such forces create a paradoxical Peruvian Mormon model of family that is both abundant and scarce. What Peruvians know to be right regarding family overlaps in some areas with the church, for example, the eventual importance of marriage. Yet, in the *tawantinsuyano* cosmovision, marriage is not to be rushed. “In tawantinsuyana reflections, pacha ... is considered qualitatively as both a ‘before’ and an ‘after.’ Another characteristic of time in the Andean conception is that it is not thought of unidirectionally; rather it is conceived of in a cyclical form: the future is really found behind and the present ahead, and vice versa” (Marín Benítez 2015, 72). In this conceptualization, time is multidirectional. There is no such thing as “being on time” and so marriage is not a train with a scheduled departure time for which Pasi and Ofelia are always already late.

Nor is marriage a vehicle for leaving family and cleaving unto a spouse as it is in Biblical time. For many Andeans, such as the *jaqi*, marriage is an intensely communal event even though there is often no ceremony that Mormons would recognize as a wedding. In fact, what classifies a sexual relationship as a “marriage” is the place where it is carried out—inside the spatial locality of the *ayllu* (community). When sex is had outside the *ayllu*’s precinct, it is simply a rehearsal, meaningful only to the copulating couple. The *ayllu* does not care about sexual relationships until they are carried out inside it and with its assistance, traditionally through a festival of ritual drunkenness. “It is thus through fiestas and the sharing of food, alcohol, and coca with each other and spirits that the community and its identity is created and affirmed,” (Canessa 2012, 123) and through which conception is achieved. This means that conception, within many Andean communities, is already “assisted reproduction,” which is partially why in vitro fertilization (IVF) among religious people in Ecuador is not an aberration as it often is among religious people in the US (Roberts 2012), and why *jaqi* copulation within the town is itself the “wedding.” No ceremony is required to further “seal” the couple because they already exist in interdependence with each other and the *ayllu* that created them. What is important for *tawantinsuyano* kinship is being *in place*, not being *on time*.

This is precisely where *tawantinsuyano* kinship comes into conflict with the separate-unit dwelling arrangements of the self-reliant Mormon nuclear family ideal. For a *jaqi* (human), living in Russel M. Nelson’s heaven would be very sad indeed, not because failing to marry within the specific allotted window of JAS-time (ages 18-30) would make it difficult to qualify for a heavenly mansion instead of a heavenly hut, but because both a hut and a mansion imply independence from the *ayllu*, from *pacha*, and from “family”—the very things that make humans human. As Indigenous humans and Peruvian Mormons, Pasi and Ofelia are not only caught on a

harshly individuating timeline, concerned only with their capacity as potential reproductive units for future Zion families, they are caught between independence and interdependence.

In Peru and Utah, Peruvian Mormon members of what *The Proclamation* considers a mere contingency called the “extended family,” often form extensive, site-bound domestic units where they live, eat, and—most importantly—love together. Again, as the *tawantinsuyano* philosopher reminds us, “pacha should be understood as home, within which everything and everyone belongs to one family under one roof” (Marín Benítez 2015, 81). However, as I discuss in the next chapter, contesting the appropriateness of these living arrangements, and the anti-self-reliant interdependence they imply, points to another heated battle in the racial and gendered war over who gets to dwell under the “one roof” called Zion.

CHAPTER SIX

Pathological Backscratchers versus *La Gringada*:

Individualistic Sainthoods Living as One

let every man esteem his brother as himself: for what man among you having twelve sons ... saith unto the one, be thou clothed in robes and sit thou here; and to the other, be thou clothed in rags and sit thou there [?] ... I say unto you, be one; and if ye are not one, ye are not mine. (Smith et al. 1835, 119)

Interdependent Independence

Mormons like Ofelia and Pasi, whether single or married, often continue living with their brothers and sisters well into adulthood and sometimes for the rest of their lives. Pasi resides in Cuzco in a six-story structure inherited from her parents who are still alive but living in a distant Quechua-speaking village. She has six siblings. Some are Mormons, some have kids, some have spouses, but all are adults living on different floors of the same, perpetually growing, concrete-enforced, brick complex. This is a highly common living arrangement, not only in Peru (figure 24), but among Peruvians in Utah. While stringent zoning restrictions do not allow Peruvians in Salsands, Utah to literally extend their roofs to accommodate growing family, they still live close enough to eat under the same roof on a regular basis.



FIGURE 24: An *arequipeño* doorbell representing the coresident siblingship common in Peru. May 2018.

In other words, Peruvian Mormon families live *intersubjectivity*—*pacha*—in a religion that simultaneously values both independent subjectivity and, as the epigraph commands, oneness. This creates a dialectic between dependence and independence that accentuates one of the few differences between Peruvian Mormon kinship and Anglo Mormon kinship of which Peruvians are highly aware, vocal, and critical. As an arm of the greater US neocolonial project with a long history of pathologizing Indigenous kinways in order to “cure” them (Baca 2018), it is not surprising that Anglo Mormonism pathologizes Peruvian Mormonism’s familial *interdependence*. After all, the thrust of the Self-Reliance Initiative manuals is to shift dependence from “extended families” to nuclear ones. This shift was so important to the local leadership of *Barrio Periféricos* that they portrayed their request for us to register for one of *The Initiative*’s four courses as a commandment tantamount to Moses’ big ten.

What may be surprising, however, is just how pathological some Peruvian Mormons consider Anglo Mormon independence. Their criticisms parallel those the Mapuche harbor toward Chile’s *wingka* (non-Indigenous), with whom they associate “lying, practicing trickery, being stingy, and focusing on individual gain rather than the collective good” (Bacigalupo 2016, 118). The complexity surrounding the question of whether a Saint in Zion is to be independent or dependent exhibits in the ways Peruvian Mormons alternately extoll and decry what some in Utah call *la gringada*—the culture of the Anglos who baptized them. In this chapter, I take a closer look at the nature of this *intrareligious* and *intercultural* conflict in order to elucidate another facet of the underlying paradox of Zion. How can a religious society defined (in the epigraphic scripture) by utter *interdependence* “be one” through division into individualized families, selves and souls?

Homes, Units and White Family Space

Jacoba Arriátegui and Arcadio Costa emigrated from Peru to New Jersey in the 1970's, met Anglo Mormon missionaries, and through negotiations with one of them, started an upholstery business in the suburbs forty miles north of Salt Lake City, Utah. In the decades since, their kids, grandkids, and great-grandkids have never moved more than five miles from the site of that original business. Dozens of other cousins, aunts, siblings, *concuñados*, *entenadas*, and people holding myriad other kinterms without English equivalents whom the Costa family has helped immigrate or whom its network has helped immigrate—including my mother-in-law—also all live in the same five-mile radius.

At the epicenter of this radius is a city I pseudonymously call Salsands. Salsands has a very low Latin American immigrant population compared to the conglomeration of arbitrarily bounded small cities that form the uninterrupted swath of suburbia connecting the metropolises of Salt Lake City in the south to Ogden in the north. Salsands is a flat, lakeside city that, during the lifetime of its mayor, has gone from largely agricultural lands to rapidly-built subdivisions advertising neighborhoods with “homes in the \$450,000's,” twice as expensive as new houses in nearby cities. Salsands is proud of its exclusivity. I interviewed Mayor Woods (in English) in the Salsands City Hall during one of his final days in office in November 2017. He is an old friend of the Costa family, and we first met at the one-year anniversary (figure 9 from Chapter Two) of the graduation from “branch” to “ward” of the Spanish-speaking congregation that the Costa family attends—the Pioneer Trail Ward. It is the only Spanish-speaking congregation of any religion in Salsands and one of the latest of Utah's 150-plus Spanish-speaking, Mormon congregations to achieve a high enough concentration of active membership in a specific residential area to advance to the “ward” status that their English-speaking counterparts

automatically already have. The new English-speaking congregations that sprout from new residential subdivisions in Salsands start out with enough membership to be considered “wards” from the outset. They never have to pass through the “branch” phase of congregational adolescence. People like Mayor Woods help naturalize this superior “ward” status of English-speaking congregations by carefully zoning new neighborhoods so as to systematically saturate them with Mormons of a certain desired family type: nuclear, wealthy, and white.

Mayor Woods, a generational Anglo Mormon from Arizona, told me that when he moved to Salsands in the 70’s, the population was 2,000 and 92 percent Mormon. Now it is 29,000 and 70 percent Mormon. He said that 95 percent of “our homes” have been built since 1990. Since my nuclear family and I had to move into the Pioneer Trail Ward boundaries so that we could officially join the ward for the Utah phase of my fieldwork, I found out firsthand the difficulty of finding a place to rent in Salsands. There are only two apartment complexes—or “multi-family units,” as the mayor called them—so I knew that by “our homes” he must have meant independent, “single-family” houses with yards. Though I was only asking about how his spirituality affected his political decisions, he revealed instead the “spiritual and temporal” reasons why the “multi-family unit” does not count as “home.”

Well, I think it all has a spiritual and a temporal basis to what I’ve done, okay? You know, developers coming in and stuff like that, right? I still look at the development of this city, that I want it in a way that is more amenable to, uh--- people living good lives. I’ll put it that way.

When he said, “good lives,” I thought of the times he had used the word “good” previously in the interview and how he seemed conscious that he was using it to carefully obscure what he really meant. This is why he says, “I’ll put it that way.” He does not want to put it the other way because to do so would be politically incorrect. Previously in the interview he gave a clue as to what that other way might be:

So, if we talk about what kind of people are moving here, uh, I would tell you this: high quality. Really, really good. Good people are moving in here. And I'm not going to define, you know, what "good people" are. Uh, but typically people are moving here because there's good neighborhoods, there's good families. I do think the quality is still here that was here in 1976 when we moved here.

It was clear to me at this point in the interview that by "good families" he meant, consciously or subconsciously, "white families." He knew that I had grown up like him in a US system where race maps almost perfectly onto class and in a religion of prosperity theology wherein class further maps almost perfectly onto perceived righteousness. From one white Mormon man to another, it went without saying that "good" meant "white." We did not need the statistical evidence from geographers like George Lipsitz (2011) in his book *How Racism Takes Place*, to know that cities like Salsands are not built as places of Color. However, I am not sure how conscious Mayor Woods was of how his zoning decisions solidified Salsands as a white space. Similar to the situation that Seth Holmes (2013) described in his ethnography of how racial and labor hierarchies overlap on a berry picking farm in Washington such that all administrators happen to be Japanese Americans, all foremen happen to be US Latinos, and all field hands (except, significantly, Holmes himself) happen to be Triqui-speaking Mexicans, perhaps Mayor Wood was simply inhabiting the strata on the hierarchy that symbolic violence built for him.

Per Holmes, symbolic violence happens when people internalize their assigned rung on a historically constructed hierarchy to the extent that they adopt all roles associated with defending it from lower rungs. Hierarchies are designed to keep people who are in a lower rung from infiltrating the purity of a higher rung, and so the inhabitants of that higher rung—irrespective of their own oppression from those in still higher rungs—adopt the gatekeeping role assigned them. Perhaps whiteness is so naturally a part of his own upper middle-class rung that the mayor is not

cognizant of it's being the *de facto* deciding factor as to whether or not a family is "good" enough to enter his city. Therefore, unable or unwilling to focus on whiteness directly as the prerequisite for Salsands residence, he focuses instead on two other factors tied directly to whiteness in the US psyche: ownership (Harris 1993) and low crime (Lipsitz 2011).

WOODS: So, did I fight some type of development coming in? Yes, I did. Because I felt like it was best for the city. Uhm, and did I not want to have big apartment buildings come into the city? Yes, I did that too. Because I would prefer ownership. I want people coming in to want to own the properties. Does that make sense?

JASON: Sure.

WOODS: So, and to me, I think there is some spiritual nature to that, you know. There was probably a lot of people that would disagree with that.

JASON: What are the objections?

WOODS: Well because, um, [long pause] millennials today, and you're probably---

JASON: Yeah, kinda---

WOODS: ---kinda in that demographic--- So the argument is you guys need a place, and Salsands should provide, you know, for that place. And I don't have a great argument against it, except for that it goes back to ownership. I believe--- it makes a lot of difference-- if people--- so I own a few rental houses, and I own two in Salsands, and I own my business place here. There is a difference between people who buy a house and take care of it compared to people who rent a house and don't take care of it. Uh, so, I would, I would leave it at that. Uh--- I, I do believe that that is what makes Salsands, uh, to have the rural feel and the same feel that it had 41 years ago.

JASON: Yeah. Cause when you think of large apartment complexes, that's kind of an inner city, urban kind of a feel.

WOODS: Well, well the argument would be that it would bring in crime, more crime into the city. We would need more police officers. They say, you know, for every apartment building you bring in, you need three new police officers.

The mayor gets to "leave it at that," only because

racialized space enables the advocates of expressly racist policies to disavow any racial intent. They speak on behalf of whiteness and its accumulated privileges and immunities, but rather than having to speak as whites, they present themselves as racially unmarked homeowners, citizens, and taxpayers whose preferred policies just happen to sustain white

privilege and power. One of the privileges of whiteness, as Richard Dyer reminds us, is never having to speak its name. (Lipsitz 2011, 35)

As prison abolitionist Jerome Miller stated, “There are certain code words that allow you never to have to say *race*, but everybody knows that's what you mean—and *crime* is one of those” (Szykowny 1994, 11). Focusing on factors associated with people of Color, rather than focusing on the people of Color themselves, the mayor is able to shrug off as coincidental the fact that he has designed Salsands in a way that disproportionately excludes people like his good friends in the Costa family. Though affecting largely non-Black people of Color (NBPOC) in the case of Salsands, this colorblind focus is amplified by a Pan-American ethos of antiblackness “that has identified Blacks with disorder and danger in the city” (Haymes 1995, 4). Within the subtext of the mayor’s words “housing project geography is revealed as yet another alibi for antiblackness” (Shange 2019b, 14), an alibi that he skillfully extended to anti-NBPOC policy during his tenure as mayor.

Tests of implicit association show that people across the US racial matrix associate people of Color with crime (Sawyer and Gampa 2018), whiteness was a *de jure* requirement for land ownership during much of US “expansionism” (Saito 2015), and post-depression federally subsidized home ownership was disproportionately available to whites (Breen 2019). Since I knew these data points before our interview, the two characteristics—low crime and ownership—that the mayor used to define “good families” seemed to me so obviously racist that they nearly distracted me from a more insidious racial code word enshrining the principal defining factor of goodness around which our whole conversation revolved— “home.” His nostalgia for the “rural feel” of 1976 Utah meant the mayor was nostalgic for the nuclear family and its post-war architectural instantiation in the independent, single-family home. In the US, such a home historically implied a white family, and in a long-held US paradigm that “makes it

possible to declare pathological almost any family feature that distinguishes minority families from White families,” (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2012, 15) the “multi-family unit,” or apartment complex, calls to the Mayor’s mind a hotbed of non-white pathology defined against the “single-family home.” Multi-family units, therefore, do not get to count as “home.” Multi-family units are undesirable, not because of crime or careless renters, but because they symbolize people of Color and their pathological dependence on coresident “extended family.” This racialization of familial dependence is precisely why the church started the Self-Reliance Initiative and why the US created The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. Like US lawmakers and US church doctrine-makers, US sociologists “pathologize Latino/a cultural preference for ‘clannishness’ ... that they assert characterizes high levels of attachment to extended families. According to this view, Latino/a ‘clannish’ families impede assimilation and upward mobility in US society” (14-15).

Ironically, proto sociologists said the same of Mormons 100 years before Mormons achieved the “goodness” for which Mayor Woods is so nostalgic. His own ancestors were barred from inclusion into the whiteness to which their skin color might have entitled them because their solidarity (and later polygyny) marked them in the national and international media as having devolved to the stage of “clannishness” on a teleology of family-type evolution wherein increasing individualism was meant to correlate perfectly with decreasing melanin. This meant that, in scientific racism’s nascent imagination, early Anglo Mormons were literally dark-skinned (Reeve 2015). As Utah territory became less clannish in order to be included in whiteness and be admitted as the 46th state of a white-imagined nation, it disassociated the church from non-whiteness by structurally excluding (while discursively including) dark-skinned

Mormons, such as the Costas, Mormons who clannishly misuse Utah's "single-family homes" today.

Far from impeding assimilation, it is precisely the stigmatized "clannishness" of the Costa family, and a few other Latinx Mormon families who make up the Pioneer Trail Ward, that has allowed them to pool their resources and purchase huge "single-family homes" in Salsands. Never mind that their white neighbors define the Costa "clan" as an "extended family" rather than as a "good family," or that their ownership represents an improper mismatch of home-shape to family-shape, the Costa family transcends stereotypes and lives in the most upwardly mobile city around.

When my properly nuclear family moved into one of Salsands' two overpriced multi-family "units" rather than into a single-family "home," we represented the opposite sort of mismatch. Shortly after we moved in, Jacoba's 50-year-old newlywed son, Santiago moved out of the spacious—but still crowded—single-family home Jacoba shares with her daughter's family and into our apartment complex. His wedding to a newly immigrated Peruvian woman who had daughters from a previous relationship took place in the Pioneer Trail Ward chapel. Living right next to him, I would watch his minivan depart every morning up the road before mysteriously circling back and going the opposite direction toward his work at an autobody shop. Through our friendship with him and his family—his new stepdaughters were the same ages as our daughters—I resolved the mystery. Jacoba would prepare a lunch for him to take to work every day, so he had to go fetch it every morning. Despite finally living somewhat independently from his parents, sister, brother-in-law, nieces, and adult sons from a previous marriage, and despite having a Peruvian wife who spent a large portion of her day cooking, he

remained dependent on his mother’s food. This dependence, combined with his lack of “ownership,” placed Santiago on the wrong side of Mayor Woods’ definition of “good family.”

The mayor attended Santiago’s wedding (figure 25)—after all, he loves Peruvians and their food—but the white space he helped design came close to excluding Santiago’s new nuclear family entirely. They secured the very last rental vacancy in all of Salsands.



FIGURE 25: Santiago (center) at his wedding in Salsands, Utah introducing Salsands’ Anglo neighbors, including the mayor’s spouse (far right), to the traditional “dollar dance.” July 2017.

Nepotism and Despotism

Before Santiago and I became neighbors, he was already my “*hermano*” (brother) in our “ward family” of the Pioneer Trail Ward not to mention my *primo*. *Primo* is a highly inclusive kinterm in Spanish. In English, I would say that Santiago is “my spouse’s cousin.” However, in a

Peruvian kin system refracted through Spanish that, in some instances, does not distinguish between cognates and affines but assigns everyone in the same generational group to a single kinterm, Santiago is no more my spouse's *primo* than he is mine. In fact, though we speak English amongst ourselves, we always call each other "*primo*" in Spanish because "cousin" does not make sense. The language that Spanish/English bilingual Peruvians choose to use to express kinterms evinces the incommensurability between what they perceive to be a harmfully individualistic Anglo "family" and a healthy Peruvian "*familia*." Most of my English-preferring, Peruvian-American *sobrinas* and *sobrinos* (nieces and nephews) invariably switch to Spanish for the word "*familia*." "Family" does not do it justice.

Before moving in next to us, Santiago kept me up to date on his search for an apartment. When I suggested he broaden his search to include the city of North Salt Lake where he worked, he immediately cursed *la gringada* that would put such a preposterous notion into my head. Santiago said "*la gringada*" in the same accent he reserved for the Mexican epithet, *la chingada* (the fuck-up), undoubtedly "*la gringada*'s" etymological inspiration. He, unlike some anthropologists he knew who uprooted their families every six months to live in "the multisite" between Peru and Utah, was not about to leave "*tú sabes, La Familia*" (you know, The Family) in order to live 25 miles away. The "*tú sabes*" that often precedes "*La Familia*" when the Costa family talks to me in English about why they choose to remain in Salsands—often despite very lucrative opportunities elsewhere—is one of their more subtle ways of reprimanding my spouse and I for not adhering geographically to what we should know emotionally: Membership in *La Familia* (the Costa clan) requires a certain amount of *interdependence*, which requires a large amount of coresidence. Peruvian Mormons in Utah diagnose the lack of *interdependence* among *la gringada* as one of its most serious diseases. Yet, as I will now explore, in an economy

controlled by *la gringada*, living for *La Familia* tends to reinstall the same glass ceiling that many Peruvian immigrants had to uproot themselves from Peru in order to shatter in the first place.

On my first trip to Arequipa in June 2016, I told Mormons that I was interested in Peruvians with connections to Utah. They told me to visit *Barrio Umacollo*. They also told me a joke: Umacollo is Zion because there is a scripture that describes Zion's communal citizenry as having "no poor among them," and Umacollo is wealthy. Of course, everybody knew that Umacollo did not achieve its elimination of poverty as Zion had done—through a unity so intense that all wealth was distributed evenly—hence the humor. I found out that in *Barrio Umacollo* there were not only Peruvians with connections to Utah, but actual Anglo Utahans who cycle through supervisory positions at the local mine, Cerro Verde—Arequipa's greatest source of wealth.

Mormon links to Peruvian mining run deep. In 1904, Mormons at Bingham Canyon, Utah "revolutionized mining worldwide" by inventing the open-pit process, which made Bingham "the deepest man-made hole on Earth" for much of the twentieth century. Copper from Bingham "put America on the electric grid" (Famer 2008, 159). In the 1890's, the Anglo Mormon, Alfred McCune had already been involved in founding a mine in Peru (Knowlton 2016), what would become the infamously disruptive Cerro de Pasco mine (Scorza 2002). This spread the open-pit process—and the Utahans who knew it best—to South America. Today, many of Thacker, Arizona's residents are Mormon because Thacker was originally one of Brigham Young's colonial projects. It later became a mining town under the same company that started the Bingham mine and that now owns a large portion of Arequipa's mine, euphemistically christened, "Cerro Verde" (green hill).

Ted Parker is from Thacker and I met him in *Barrio Umacollo*. He served a mission in Peru as a young man and, in 2016, now a father of four toe-headed children, wanted his family to imbibe the Peruvian hospitality he remembered, so he bid to transfer his engineering supervisory position to Cerro Verde. Their “Peruvian experience” was disappointing on multiple fronts. On the one hand, foreign Cerro Verde employees are thought to be prime targets for kidnapping, so they cannot even go for a morning jog without bodyguards. This, and the general opulence that surrounded them in their 5,000 square-foot manor house on an immaculately landscaped, half-acre garden, was not exactly exposing Ted’s spouse to the type of Peruvians he wanted her to meet.

I was really hoping she would be able to come and kind of have some of the experiences that I had in Piura [Northern Peru] and was expecting to have here. Some people, even though they don’t have a lot, they’d give you the shirt off their back, right? And I really love that about the culture.

Though there was a disappointing lack of poverty, the experience was still a bit too “cultural” for his uprooted kids who were the only non-Spanish-speakers in their high-tuition, *arequipeño* private schools. All of this explains why, on the day I interviewed him (in English) only one year into his two-year contract with Cerro Verde, his family had already gone back to Thacker and he was packing up to follow them. As I interviewed him in his temporary dwelling—the most luxurious “single-family home” I have ever entered—I asked why the mine would put up with so much transience among its top supervisors, not to mention the cost of housing, transporting and protecting them, when they could hire local *arequipeños*, especially since *arequipeño* universities support the nation’s top mining-engineering programs. After a lot of hemming and hawing, trying to not make his company sound too racist, he finally formulated an answer.

It is a bit of a struggle job-wise for some of the Peruvian people to see that a lot of the leadership is--- implants [laughs] from the United States or from other areas and, “hey, how come they’re not considering us for some of those positions,” and there are some positions that are filled by Peruvians, but--- it’s been--- there’s been a little bit of reluctance to fill all of leadership with Peruvians and I don’t--- I don’t know some of the answers on that. They’ve had some--- they’ve gotten burned in the past with--- with some individuals that ah--- it’s a little bit more accepted in Peruvian culture that, “hey, I scratch your back you scratch mine.”

In other words, in Cerro Verde company politics, the primacy of interrelated reciprocity in Peru is pathologized as nepotism and corruption. Peruvians cannot be allowed to ascend ranks in the mine because they will likely help friends and family do the same. In Cerro Verde’s eyes, Peruvians are pathological backscratchers because they care too much about the collectivities of which they are a part and not enough about the success of the individualized corporation. This pathologizing creates a glass ceiling in Peru that ironically motivates immigration toward the source of such pathologizing. Of course, extractive powers accusing those from whom they extract of clannishness and nefarious backscratching is as old as extraction itself (Arguedas 1973). Cerro Verde’s Mormon-influenced, anti-Peruvian policies are so expected as to be academically unimportant. What is important in Peruvian Mormonism is that when Peruvians go to Utah and confront *la gringada* face-to-face, the pathologizing is reversed.

Peruvian Mormons like Washington Tapia find that Anglo Mormons exhibit an appalling lack of mutual backscratching. Washington also attends *Barrio Umacollo*, and I interviewed him in his comparatively modest *arequipeño* home a few days after I interviewed Ted in 2016. Washington has teenage children who, as he was proud to mention, are fourth generation Mormons since Washington’s great-aunt was the very first person to be baptized in Arequipa. When Washington was himself a teenager his father immigrated to Utah and eventually became a US citizen, able to petition his own children. Washington spent his formative years knowing that one day his immigrant visa petition would go through and that he too would move to Utah.

This did not happen as fast as he would have liked, so he moved to Utah on a tourist visa, which he overstayed for eight years, until, as he put it, he could no longer stand the illegality of his situation and the hypocrisy he felt it generated within himself. He returned to Peru. Two years after our interview, his original visa petition finally went through, amended to include his wife and children, and they now live in Utah. In this interview, Washington draws on the experience of his years of illegality in Utah from 2000 to 2008.

JASON: What was it like to deal with church leaders in Utah?

WASHINGTON: In reality it was the same as it is in Peru, no difference. Leaders are leaders. You feel The Spirit in those who have authority even if they speak English. That is, assuming you yourself have The Spirit with you. You know he is an authority. You know that he has the keys, so it's the same. Where there is a difference, is that the Americans—not all of them, mind you, not the leaders, usually—when Americans are outside of church, they are different. Even those who have callings. They work in companies and sometimes they are despots. And that is something that really struck my family. In our church, especially in the American church, those in Utah, not the Latinos as much, but the Americans in our church are very good at church, but in the workplace, they are despots. They don't care at all about you. It didn't happen in my job, per say, but it definitely happened to my parents and my sisters. They'd say, "this brother talks like this at church, but on the street he's a totally different person." I definitely noticed that. It's probably only a few people, but unfortunately those few people make you stop and think, "dang, why are they like that?" The Latinos here in Peru, when we are faithful members inside the church, we are about the same inside the workplace or wherever in society. But not Americans. The American says, "church is church, but business is business," and it doesn't seem right to me that there be a break [*quiebre*] there because supposedly the principles are to be practiced in all arenas. Though I'm in my company, the treatment I give people is going to be the same. The American is not that way. The American, according to the experience that I've had---

JASON: ---and can you remember a specific experience?

WASHINGTON: Ahh [long pause]. No. No. I am not going to tell you specifically what happened to me because it is very sensitive.

"I scratch your back you scratch mine," inasmuch as it indexes the privileging of reciprocity and indebtedness over profit, contrasts sharply with the axiom Washington noted among Anglo Mormons: "church is church, but business is business." This motto captures the

sentiment that while collectivism is all well and good in a religious setting of spiritual siblingship reinforced through constant use of the kin titles “brother” and “sister,” things are different in the corporate world. You may be my brother on Sunday, connected to me through primordial substance, but on Monday you are my underling, connected to me only as long as you bring money into my company. Profit trumps brotherly love and any reciprocity that love might imply. Though Washington never told me his sensitive experience, he did insinuate that it involved his immigration status, his abrupt return to Peru, and someone who was both his ecclesiastical leader and business partner.

Not My Problem

Part of the staunch individualism that Washington recognizes as despotism is what many Latinx Mormons in Utah characterize as *tacañería gringa* (white stinginess). I witnessed this firsthand during the 80 hours I spent as Victor Manchado’s assistant in the small yard care company he started in Salsands. Victor is one of the few Peruvian Mormons in Salsands who is not a member of *La Familia* (the Costa clan). Climbing back into his expensive truck after a hard day of raking leaves, I would often watch his client-friendly smile change into a scowl as he proceeded to ask me how it was possible that my people could be so rich, yet so cheap. Could they not see that his work was worth far more than the original estimate?

In Utah’s yard care business, Anglo Mormons are notorious for being spendthrifts at best and cheats at worst. Another Peruvian Mormon in Utah, Aaron (from Chapter Three) wants to write a thesis on why this is the case. His theory is that it stems from a pathological individualism that he notices, not only among his clients, but among his coworkers, all of whom are Anglo Mormons. Our interview took place in the unfinished basement of his former mission companion’s house where he was staying in Provo, Utah in August 2017.

JASON: So why would it be the topic of a whole thesis?

AARON: Why a thesis? Because a lot of times a question pops up here in the United States which asks, “do we need Latinos?” And I didn’t have the answer to that, but now I do. What the Latino does, he does because--- for example, I like yardwork, I like to prune, to clean, I like to detail a house. I see a house and I say, “how could that house’s landscaping improve?” I am very detail oriented. The American on the other hand is not detail oriented. They go, BROOOSH, right through in order to finish the whole house in 15 minutes. I want to do something extra, and they don’t let me. So that disturbs me.

Another thing is that, in Peru, when you become part of a company, you make friends and among those friends you have each other’s backs. There is a comradery. If I break something or cause something to go wrong, it’s, “hey, let’s all try to fix it before the boss finds out.” It’s all for one. But here it is not like that. Here, everyone throws water on his own mill. You go to the restroom for a second, and everyone is thinking you are “lazy” [English] *flojo*, right? Or they might even think you fled the jobsite, and they are already starting to call the manager, “hey, this guy isn’t doing anything, he’s so lazy.” And the manager calls and says, “what happened, why aren’t you working? We must finish this job quickly.” And lately at my work they started sectorizing. They say, “we are going to do a huge residence, so one of you grab the *push mower* [English], one get the *weedwhacker* [English], another grab the *ride-on* [English], and I’ll get the” --- Right? So, I say, “I got the *weedwhacker*.” So, I get the *weedwhacker*, I’m cutting along, and I finish cutting early. One would assume that I’m not supposed to just go sit in the truck and sleep for the rest of the time while the others finish. Of course not, right? So, I grab the extra *push mower* and I assess, “okay, what still needs to be done? Oh, he needs help over there, I’ll go support him,” and I go and help. But what do they do? They jump on the *ride-on*, cut, cut, cut, finish that, and they think they’ve done their part for the day. So that disturbs me as well.

One time—and this is an example of a lack of something I call “initiative” —I accidentally left a *weedwhacker* somewhere because I forgot to put it back in the truck. Every single one of my coworkers walked by it. We went from Orem to Lindon. When we got to Lindon, we needed that *weedwhacker* and it wasn’t there. I was like, “where is it?” And everyone told me it was left behind in Orem. And I said, “but, why didn’t any of you pick it up if you all saw that I had left it behind?” One said, “Not my problem, I’m not the one who used it.” That is when I got angry and I argued with the supervisor and even with my former mission companion who owns the business. It’s just that I don’t understand why there is no comradery. I mean, why is there no initiative to help? But now, like I was saying, it is going to be a thesis. I’m even thinking about going back to Peru and publishing it because I also want to break that myth that a lot of Peruvians tell about what it’s like over here, “oh, if you are in the United States, you’ll be raking in the MONEEEEEEY, and the money comes to you easily.” Yes, you make your money, but you have to work HARD. You have to break yourself here. But if you do in Peru what you do here, it is worth nothing.

Aaron’s mill metaphor is perfect. A water-run mill is a public utility that depends on the collective force of billions of individual molecules flowing as one. If every individual person

diverted the stream in order to “throw water on their own mill,” each would get a tiny trickle, not enough to grind a single grain of corn. Only by shooting the full volume of the stream through the mill will it have the power to grind enough meal to make its maintenance profitable. Aaron’s critique of Utah individualism does not stem from an ancient Andean ideal wherein humans, rocks, and animals are all one indistinguishable commune called the *ayllu*, distinguishable from other *ayllus* only through the practice of *ayni* (reciprocity). Aaron shares the same basic ontology with his Anglo Mormon comrades that humans are individuals, he simply sees Utah-style individualism as a short-sighted, counterproductive instantiation of this ontology that actually ensures lower profits for everyone involved.

For Aaron, this is why the US needs “Latinos.” Latinos are socialized in such a way as to understand that collective reciprocity and individual profit are not mutually exclusive. This also may be why Aaron, and most other Peruvian Mormons with the slightest US experience, seem excited to identify as “Latinos” instead of *peruanos*, *mestizos*, *indígenas* or any of the other available categories that have become tired and quasi-racist in South America (De La Cadena 2000). Perhaps adopting the fresh, US label of “Latino” allows for “the possibility of subordinating one’s phenotype and emphasizing instead one’s intelligence” (9) which is important in marshaling a “de-Indianized” (6) united front against the diametric opposite of collectivist *latinidad*: the individualistic, white “*americano*.” If Aaron’s “American” comrades would simply practice a bit of “Latino” reciprocity, the value of every individual’s labor would increase. Instead, their whiteness fractures reciprocity. Aaron speaks of this fracturing as a breaking of self and Washington speaks of it as a rupture in the continuity of practice between church and profession. The poet Vivek Shraya (2016) defines whiteness itself by this fracturing: “whiteness [:] the meteor that fractured our planet” (68). In Utah, one of the Zions where, as the

temple endowment ritualizes, “all truth may be circumscribed into one great whole” (Packham 2009, cell 4B)—symbolized by the mark of the compass on Mormon sacred, white undergarments—there is instead a great *quiebre* (breaking) into independent shards.

At 18 You are Going to Leave Home

Anthropologists consider tension between dependence and independence—or *intersubjectivity* and *subjectivity*—to be a common condition in the category they call “kinship.” Imagining the Peruvian Mormon person to embody a blend of “Mormon kinship” and “Andean Catholic kinship” would be complex enough if Mormonism were squarely on the side of individualism and Andean Catholicism squarely on the side of collectivism. These pairings, however, do not map onto each other. Not only that, but they create a false binary relationship between “religion” and “kinship,” that muddies the waters further. There is no name for the space between “religion” and “kinship” wherein one encounters “Mormon kinship” let alone “Peruvian Mormon kinship.” Yet these categorical binaries create mental pathways that trick the mind into seeing religion and kinship as not only identifiable entities but as completely separate ones.

John Jackson’s (2013) ethnography of the African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem (AHIJ) offers a way around this trick. It demonstrates how such pathways can be rewired, even among those coming from “the West,” through an AHIJ reality expressed by one of its princes: “We DESPISE religion! ... Isn’t the detachment and compartmentalization of spirituality—as something unrelated to every aspect of our daily life—about as Eurocentric a concept as they come?” (171). The AHIJ’s immigration from Chicago to Israel is not about a pilgrimage to a land they “believe” to be holy, it is about being in a place that is ancestrally home because of

whom they know themselves to *be*, not racially, but through a conflation of both biogenetic Israelite lineage and a conscious decision to follow Yah. This focus on who they are—rather than on what they believe and to whom they feel they are related—explains why the AHIJ parallel the LDS in so many respects: their exodus beyond national borders, their polygyny, their health code, their theorization of their own “culture” as divine and—most importantly—their designation of who they *are*—Saints.

Anthropologists like John Jackson settle on personhood, or in this case, sainthood, as a way of investigating phenomena that were once domained as either religion or kinship. Personhood hinges on “social relations predicated upon cultural conceptions that specify the processes by which an individual comes into being and develops into a complete (i.e. mature) social person” (Kelly 1993, 521-22). In this sense, the completely developed Saint, partially a “religious person,” would involve not only “social relations” but spiritual relations. However, spiritual relations in a religion wherein “spirit is matter” (Smith 2013b, 266) imply not only that sainthood requires relatedness to non-humans—such as to Gods— just as much as it requires relatedness to humans, but that the God/human division itself is not one of kind but of maturity. For Mormons, humans are gods in embryo.

This human/non-human dialectical ambiguity captured in the Mormon designation of themselves as Saints—neither humans nor gods—is unusual for such an otherwise “Western” ontology. Per Viveiros de Castro (1998), such ambiguities belong only to “Amerindian perspectivism.” This is why anthropologists influenced by his theory of separate ontological worlds now take for granted that the constant effort to clarify this ambiguity—through the gaze (Knowlton 2015), for example—defines personhood, but only among people like Canessa’s (2012) pseudonymously dubbed Wila Kharkeños of Bolivia, not among people like the

Mormons. Whether or not this is the case, comparing the Wila Kharkeño and Mormon ontologies of what a person *is* can probe some of the tensions between dependence and independence that disturb Andean sainthood.

For the Wila Kharkeños, the aforementioned villagers who call themselves *jaqi* (humans), the raw materials of personhood come from paying *achachilas* (the collectivity of earth spirits) through exuberant community gatherings involving the sacrifice of animal body fat. *Achachilas* reciprocate these sacrifices by providing the community with a fetus from their inner world and will continue to reciprocate by providing the fetus with fat as it follows the path to becoming *jaqi*. Three years after death, parts of the *jaqi* return to join the collectivity of the inner world. That collectivity then animates a new fetus, but, in stark contrast to Mormon genealogical practices, there is no sense of parentage from an individual ancestor with names, dates and photographs. Mothers, therefore, are not valued for their *essential* reproductive capacity as they are in Anglo Mormonism, but for their *constructed* productive capacity. They co-construct a human by feeding it. They are related to it, not because it emerged from their wombs or because it carries their genes, but because it too eats the food that created them (Canessa 2012).

One is not a Saint because of genetics just as one is not a *jaqi* because one has descended from a *jaqi* or has essential *jaqi* characteristics. One becomes a Saint through making covenants with God just as one becomes a *jaqi* through living *en situ* with human and earth relatives. Just as it is important for the *jaqi* to not become a *q'ara* (non-human)—which is what *jaqi* consider “Indigenous” Bolivians (even their own kids), *mestizos*, and white people who do not live in the cycle of reciprocity—it is important for a Saint to not become an apostate.

Of course, this is a false comparison because Mormons consider themselves to be both *essential* humans (*jaqi*) and *constructed* Saints. Nevertheless, throughout this ontological

interweaving, one important difference surfaces. The Andean notion that relatedness is cultivated in place and over time rather than established only at the moment of conception is the ontological ground upon which Peruvian Mormon criticism of *la gringada* is founded. In the following fieldnote, Pasi gives voice to this ground.

She said, “you guys break the family bonds when you leave home at such an early age. That is why you consider your family only to be your wife and kids. For us it is our grandparents, *primos*, and even more and more. We all live together.” What struck her in Utah is that even though people have huge homes with more than enough space to house their family members, they relegate their old people to senior living centers and forget about them. It actually made her cry tears of anger to see that. She considered it a great failing. I asked her, “don’t you think the Mormon church fosters that behavior through their promotion of only the nuclear family type?” She resisted saying anything bad about the church but did admit that its lowering of the missionary age worldwide was a very US-centric thing to do. Her former mission companion in Utah told her that the reason the church lowered the mission age for males from 19 to 18 was so that they don’t go astray from the church by doing a year of college before they go on their missions. Now they can serve missions right out of high school. “But that is only a US reality. It has nothing to do with us in Latin America where we don’t have the expectation that at 18 you are going to leave home. We don’t have that *desprendimiento* [tearing away]. Americans have that expectation regardless, so moving off to college or moving off to a mission is going to be the same thing as far as homesickness.” I told her this was true to my experience with the Latinx community in general in the US. Many go to college, but many don’t move away from home to do it. I told her that ever since the mission-age change, a lot of 18-year-old Latinx youth I know in Utah and California are getting sent home from their missions because of medical diagnoses of anxiety. She thinks it is because they weren’t raised with the expectation of absolute independence, of emotionally gearing up for that eventual *desprendimiento*.

Where relatedness is cultivated through food and coresidence over time, the longer one is with someone, the more one is related to them. For this reason, separating oneself—or as Peruvians say, *desprendiéndose* (wrenching, ripping, or tearing oneself away)—from eighteen-year-old children whom *la gringada* arbitrarily considers “adults,” can often seem more emotionally difficult than leaving very young children. Many middle-class Peruvians leave young children behind for years in the care of grandparents, nuns, military schools, aunts, *comadres* or godmothers for any number of reasons, many of which Anglos would not consider

commensurate to the toll of nuclear family separation. For example, my *primo* Santiago, who can now not fathom living more than a few blocks from his mother Jacoba, was left in the care of a Catholic school in Peru while Jacoba established a life for him in New Jersey. He did not see her from the ages of three to six. My spouse, a *chiclayana*, was almost sent to be raised with her paternal grandparents in their ancestral village near Chachapoyas, Peru simply because its milk and vegetables were fresher than in Chiclayo. In contrast, we could not bear to leave our eight-, ten- and twelve-year-old kids behind even during my fieldwork year for this project. We took them with us, though it meant violently *desprendiéndolas* from their “extended family” three times, once from California, once from Utah, and once from Peru.

It is tempting to theorize that the “Andean” notion of depositing relatedness over time compared with the “Anglo” notion of establishing relatedness at conception would translate into similar feelings of *desprendimiento* among the two groups, only with the timeframes reversed. If *desprendimiento* was more painful for Jacoba when Santiago was an adult than when he was a child, for me and my daughters it will likely be the opposite. For us it is early childhood, for them it is early adulthood. However, when this us/them distinction is stretched across the core/periphery power dynamic that Mormonism brings, it translates into the double pathologizing of Peruvian Mormon love: Peruvians love their kids both too much and not enough.

Dividual Needs and Substantial Salvation

Just because Peruvians leave toddlers behind even as they criticize *gringos* for callously kicking their kids off to college at age 18, does not mean that they find separating from toddlers easier than separating from adults. Anglos criticize the aforementioned separations through migration as unnecessary, especially given that these Peruvians are not living in dire poverty.

However, what is or is not “necessary” is itself a situated construct of personhood, not a universal archetype. Within a framework of *interdependence*, Andeans do not “leave their toddlers behind” at all. Instead, they deposit them inside the specific nodes of transnationally interrelated networks of care that happen to be the most necessary for the continuity of that cycle of relatedness upon which their very personhood depends (Roberts 2012). This observation unfortunately goes overlooked in the “deservingness” discourse of objectifiable need that determines US immigration law designations of “refugee” and “asylee” (Menjívar and Abrego 2012).

For instance, in Senya Beraku, Ghana, a cellphone is a need that motivates many to risk their lives crossing the Mediterranean Sea to work in Italy. Said one migrant,

“instead of saving money, we’re going for new phones.” Sporting an older, larger phone with no camera or radio, a “cassava stick,” is to call into question not only one’s financial capacity but also one’s very existence. Samuel was coming home one day on the bus, having borrowed an old phone from a friend because his new phone had been stolen, when his friend remarked, “So, Samuel, have you come to the end of your life?” (Lucht 2012, 90-91)

So integral a part of personhood is a new cellphone—and the maintenance of relatedness it facilitates—that to have an old one is to sever personhood, to end life. Likewise, in Egypt, there “are things one must buy, even if they may seem a dispensable luxury to an outsider. Dining tables, glasses, and coffee sets ... must be part of the apartment of a newlywed couple ... Consumption is not a choice. It is a necessity” (Schielke 2015, 115).

In the same vein, the reasons middle-class, college educated Peruvians separate from young children are never trivial. In fact, the very thing that creates the child’s personhood and that makes the mother related to the child is often at stake—food. Vestiges of the notion that recycling food between a locality and its people relates them all into one collective, remain in Latin America today in the value assigned to “good” food. Love in Latin America is transmitted

through food, food quality, and food preparation. Of course, this is also a common stereotype captured in popular literature, such as that of Gabriel García Márquez (2007).

At the mere hint of a doubt, he would push aside his plate and say: “This meal has been prepared without love.” ... Once he tasted some chamomile tea and sent it back, saying only: “This stuff tastes of window.” Both she and the servants were surprised because they had never heard of anyone who had drunk boiled window, but when they tried the tea in an effort to understand, they understood: it did taste of window. (289)

Apparently, food can capture both love and the desire of the preparer to escape domesticity through the window. As with most humor, the words of García Márquez only work because they arrive at a cultural truth. In this case, the truth is a common tension in Latin American personhood which is laid bare when coresidence and the right kind of food become mutually exclusive keys to relatedness. In her book *Sacrificing Families*, Leisy Abrego (2014) documents the globalized construction of this conundrum among Salvadoran mothers who immigrate to the US to find work and send back money to their children to buy food. In some cases, the need is “biological” in that the children will physically starve without these remittances, but when the children themselves recognize the need as constructed, they question it. Like the Ghanaian with an old cell phone, just plain old food is insufficient, full personhood requires “proper” food. A Salvadoran mother complained of her child’s reaction to her absence by stating, “he still says that it would have been better for me to be there and to eat rice and beans, but to have someone there” (128). This mother needs for her child to have expensive beef with his rice and beans more than she needs him to have her present. The stuff of interrelatedness—food, and the care it symbolizes—is more important for the mutual connection of their personhoods than proximity in place. Through remittances and the quality food they can buy, mother and child maintain the *substance* of their intersubjectivity across distance.

This ontology has been dubbed “substantialism,” which Cecilia Busby (2006) defined as “the tendency to imbue qualities that Western ethnoscience would consider abstract or nonmaterial with certain material essence and a concern with the effects of flow or exchange of such qualities between people and things” (85). Within this perspective, “the person is *substantially* connected to others and is not therefore a stable, bounded individual but rather a ‘dividual,’ constantly giving out and receiving parts of the self from others” (86). Mormonism’s belief in spirit matter, would appear to make it a substantialist religion. For Mormons, all humans are made of a material spirit inside spiritualized flesh. This duality is called a soul. In some ways, a soul is clearly a subject. However, discerning which of its traits “descend” from which parts (objects) of its bio-spiritual duality to make up the Mormon “self” is never clear.

Since a principal purpose of the Enlightenment was to separate the spiritual from the material, the ambiguity of soul is represented as a clear dichotomy for the rest of “modern” Christianity. Christians, as autonomous individuals with interior spirits of equal potential, are in imagined community with all other human spirits with whom they need to share—and constantly reinforce—the specific, verbal knowledge of how to transcend the material world so that all can fulfill that potential. This “abstract, faceless fellowship” (Whitehouse 2006, 302) is contrasted with communities, such as those in Melanesia, of “actual groups of flesh-and blood people” (302) with an exclusive group potential divvied up differently among “dividual” roles that, to Christian eyes, confuse agents with things (brides that can be bought) and objects with people (stones that are ancestors). Webb Keane (2007) explored this semiotic question of object and subject among the Sumba Island dwellers of Indonesia who were being missionized by Calvinists. He concluded that the true convert was not so much the one who “believed” in a

Calvinist God, but the one who was able to distinguish between subject and object in a way that satisfied the missionaries.

Ironically, Calvinists would probably accuse Anglo Mormons of being unable to make this distinction. Mormons are not clear about whether they are objects or subjects of salvation. Jesus saves Mormons, yet at the same time, Mormons are “saviors” (Smith 2013b, 204) to their family members, including their dead, autonomous, individualized ancestors. Since Mormons are responsible for the salvation of their family—making them not only Gods in embryo, but Saviors in maturity—Mormon futures are collective. Tensions within sainthood, therefore, stem from pitting this collectivism against an equally vital Protestant injunction to “work out your own salvation” (Philippians 2:12) and be self-reliant.

Elect Souls

Therefore, the Mormon person—a Saint—is made up of dividual parts and individual parts; material parts and spiritual parts; but these parts all combine into one whole soul. Peruvians in Arequipa are made up of many parts as well, but souls are just some of these parts, not the whole person. A living Mormon body *is* a soul. A living *arequipeño* body contains many souls. Some of these souls stick around after the body has decomposed, some go to Christian heavens, but others merge back into collective ancestral inner worlds that produce the material of new humans.

Though she is Mormon and has lived in upper-class Salsands, Utah for decades, Jacoba retains parts of this cyclical ancestral idiom that complicates the individuated family. When she talks of her ancestors, she tears the Western arboreal analogy of genealogy apart at the middle. She once said to me, “I always tell human beings: ‘Look. Plant: Your kids are your branches and your grandkids are your roots, and they remain there, planted.’” As a Mormon, she has seen

countless “family tree” depictions where grandchildren fall below children. These trees sprout individual ancestors as branches and individual descendants as roots. Yet, Jacoba places descendants (kids and grandkids) as both the branches and the roots, the future and the past. Hers is a family rhizome, not a tree, because children can give parts of themselves to parents, making parents descendants as much as antecedents. Furthermore, since the cycle has little to do with genetics or vertical blood descent, anybody who gives and takes of the substance of relatedness and coresidence will become a dividual within Jacoba’s genealogy.

Individuals incorporate parts to delimit wholes while dividuals give up parts to expand wholes. Dealing with parts of dividual people is a matter-of-fact aspect of living in the Andes, even for Mormons whose doctrine of primordial individuality does not seem capacious enough to allow for these agentive parts of self. Ofelia herself has had experiences with dividual souls.

In our enclosed courtyard we saw a man who was over by the fig trees. He was tall with his white shirt and straw hat. When we saw him, I said, “Shannon, look.” And we both saw the man hide among the trees ... “Who is there?” Nobody answered, and nobody ever came out.

The next afternoon, Ofelia’s grandmother, who lived next door, came to tell her that her uncle, who also lived next door, had died that morning.

JASON: You mean that the spirit in the orchard was your uncle, but your uncle was still alive at that moment?

OFELIA: In that moment he was still alive, but we saw his spirit walking. That is why there are some Catholic beliefs [laughs] that say that the spirit makes its last rounds to say goodbye to people.

Ofelia dismisses as pejoratively “Catholic” the belief that part of a live person can wander unbeknownst to the person’s other parts. Though Ofelia may have found the belief connected to it laughable, the fact of clothed spirits walking was such a standard part of her social milieu that it was undeniable. For a non-Mormon example, the PTA at my daughter’s

school in Arequipa celebrated a *pachamanca* (earth meal) requiring the improvisation of a brick earth-oven in which to cook our chicken and potatoes. The PTA president, a Quechua-speaking grandmother who always dressed in her town's traditional clothing, sent her unassuming husband to go look for bricks in the back of the schoolyard. He came back saying that he found some bricks, but that a human baby was crying beneath them, and he did not want to disturb it. His wife scolded him, "it's just a baby's *alma penando* (pining soul). Go get the bricks!" Before eventually complying, he mumbled that perhaps the bricks themselves had taken on soul and that he would not be held responsible if our chicken got baked back into animation. Though only a passing comment, likely a joke, the danger that bricks or stones can become subjects, thus making humans their objects, is real in his altiplano village.

In such an environment where subject and object designation is vital but transitory, the *ayllu* (community) guarantees trust and evinces personhood through *ayni* (reciprocity). As Viveiros de Castro wrote, "He who responds to a 'you' spoken by a non-human, accepts the condition of being its 'second person.' And when assuming in turn his position of 'I' does so already as a non-human" (1998, 483). *Ayni* means that my relatedness to a human you is what makes my personhood emerge in the first place. In contrast, British relatedness—the system that gave Mormonism a large portion of its kin concepts—posits that the individual is "somehow prior to the relationship" (Strathern 1992, 53). Indeed, in Mormonism, individuals existed prior even to their relationship to God (Smith 1851).

Though itself primordially individualistic, Mormonism has a conflicted relationship to US-style individualism. The Mormon god emerged as an alternative to a Protestant god who was no longer interested in interceding in everyday human materiality. In a time when the Enlightenment had taken spirits out of stones—turning the stones into mere objects—Joseph

Smith put them back in, making them agentive, fickle subjects. This is why individuality is so contradictory in Mormonism. While Anglo Mormons are reading about the Book of Mormon prophet, Lehi being directed by an animate brass ball in a way that Calvinists would scorn as making Lehi into an object and brass into a subject, the Calvinists are spending time trying to convert “dividuals” that Anglo Mormons would consider so collectivist as to be beyond saving. Mormons today do not even make the effort to missionize places like the PTA president’s village in Peru that experience subject impermanence.

Peruvians in a position to hear about Mormonism’s complex thoughts on individuality are already among those who have assimilated modernity’s basic tenants of individualism enough to migrate to cities. This is why Pasi’s parents were not already Mormon when she was born and why she was late for vital Mormon rites of passage. Their autochthonous village was never Mormonized because Mormons do not waste time trying to convert people to their religion until they are already converted to the Cartesian idea of “self” requisite for “self-reliance.” This is why Mormons, unlike many US-based Christianities, focus their missionization on highly Westernized urban areas, such as Arequipa, that promote dominant national languages. Despite the church’s immense success in Peru, it has yet to start a Quechua-speaking mission even though that is the most widely spoken non-Hispanic language in Latin America, and Peru is the only Latin American country where a non-Iberian surname is the most common surname—Quispe (Radio Programas Peru 2016). Yet, from the church’s standpoint, it does not need to start a Quechua-speaking mission because the places where Quechua is most exclusively spoken contain too few of the “elect” to justify the expenditure.

Mormons seek “the elect” to populate their Zion because the elect were chosen by God just like the children of Israel. They are people with souls that are “already to harvest” (Smith

2013b, 7) who will immediately “hear my voice” (John 10:27). Mormons do not seek souls who will have to spend time mastering object concreteness before becoming the objects of God’s voice. This conflation of “elect” with “modernized” means that Mormons inadvertently interpret signs of sufficient Westernization as indicators of pre-birth, divine election. Potential converts’ pre-birth elections—meaning the ordination of their individual spirits before their reception of biological bodies—become apparent through “believing blood.” Believing blood is an inert aspect of Israelite DNA that reacts positively to gospel truth in the environment, sparking automatic, synaptic belief. Delayed belief indicates unbelieving blood and non-elect status.

A pre-biological “believing blood” concept first entered Mormonism through early missionaries to Britain who adopted it in order to explain their rapid success there (Mauss 2003). “Elect” has become conflated with “Western” because the British are both Westerners *par excellence* and because they are the people who have accepted Mormonism faster than any group ever has. Given the Mormon penchant for saving time/money expressed in their Self-Reliance Initiative, evangelizing speed and efficiency trump universal outreach. This produces an ironic situation wherein the rural-dwelling Indigenous people of the Americas, the very people that Mormons consider most authentically Israelite according to Lamanite identity, are the least likely to be considered “elect.” It is rarely worth the church’s investment to share with them the Book of Mormon—the history of their individualized, named ancestors—and help them toward nuclear family exaltation and sainthood.

Mamá, I’m home

Cross-cultural family-type pathologizing between Peruvian Mormons and Anglo Mormons in the battle of independence versus dependence is not as heated as it might be, simply because Indigenous “dividuals,” like the *jaqi*, are excluded from the Mormon preview entirely.

However, even though all Mormons meet a certain threshold of individualism, wildly contradictory opinions continue to complicate the implications of interdependence—such as those regarding family living arrangements—contained within individual and collective sainthoods. These opinions are not confined to the battle between Peruvians and *la gringada*. The extreme to which Mormonism takes independence within its theology of a paradoxically *interdependent* Zion refracts into Peruvian Mormon arguments both for and against individualism. Pasi thinks *la gringada*'s obsession with independence and *desprendimiento* borders on the pathological. Ofelia, however, is of the opposite opinion—at least in theory.

Ofelia, who has never been to Utah, does not know Jacoba who has never been to Arequipa. Yet, as our dialogue below makes clear, Ofelia would certainly consider 50-year-old Santiago's dependence on Jacoba's cooking in Salsands a sad commentary on Peruvians' retrograde dependency. However, she might point to the mission that Jacoba and Arcadio served together as evidence that living in Utah can begin to cure Peruvian dependence. A "couples mission" is a common life goal among Utah Mormons whose family and dwelling structures are such that, after a certain age, they remain a lone couple with a large, empty "nest." Though Jacoba and Arcadio never achieved an empty nest or the financial independence to leave everything behind and preach the gospel together for two years in the Peruvian rain forest, they sold their upholstery business and went anyway. Jacoba is one of the most vocal critics of *la gringada*'s pathological independence, yet she served a couple's mission, which is something that usually requires a *gringo*'s independence. In other words, like Aaron, Jacoba sees individuality as beneficial, but only when paired with a collectivity that makes it *mutually* beneficial. So, if individuality and collectivity are not mutually exclusive, why do Saints in *Barrio Periféricos* not serve couples missions? Wondering why this most "Mormon" of goals did

not seem to be a part of *arequipeño* sainthood, I asked Ofelia why there were no elderly couples in *Barrio Periféricos* with even the slightest ambition to serve a couples mission.

OFELIA: There have been many brothers and sisters that very well could have gone on missions with their spouses, but the vision of these brothers and sisters is NOT that once your kids turn 18 its, “*chau*, have a nice life.”

JASON: You mean, they still have responsibility for their adult children?

OFELIA: That is the effect of these “hen parents” [*padres gallina*] as they are known, who want to flutter around their 60, 70, 80-year-old “little children.” It’s a very harmful thing because they don’t let their children develop. Even if the son is married, they’re always going to be there, “Oh, goodness! His wife doesn’t know how to prepare his meals, I must go make my little boy his lunch.” So that is what happens when you don’t release your children.

My mom—I mean, “*Mamá Hen*”—never let her children become independent. To this day, none of my siblings know how to do something even as simple as getting their DNI [Peruvian national identification card], “let’s go together, I’ll get it for you.” She even signs for it instead of them! So, I tell her, “*Mamá*, stop doing things for them. That is why they are not independent.” They don’t even know how to choose something at the store. Even my daughter sometimes asks me, “what flavor ice-cream would you like me to eat?” And I ask her, “how old are you again?” [laughing] “21.” “There’s your answer. Am I the one who’s going to eat your ice-cream?” “Oh, *Mamá*, you’re right, I’m sorry. I want that flavor.” “Alright, perfect, you want that one? Buy it. Don’t go asking me permission, you have to be independent,” I tell her.

It bugs me when she asks those questions because it reminds me that we have that type of overprotective culture. I don’t understand it because I personally have always been unattached to my mother. My younger brother and I have the same father and we were left alone with our ancient grandmother to fend for ourselves. But my sisters were raised together with my mom. Nothing more than, “I’m hungry,” and my mom was there to cut up their food into small bites. I, on the other hand, had to learn to turn on the stove, boil water in a pot, and everything. The rest of them have become spoiled.

I have an uncle who still lives with his parents and he’s always, “*Mamá, Mamá, Mamá,*” living under the skirts of his mother even now. He makes long trips to Cuzco, but when he’s at home, my grandmother waits on him hand and foot. She even made these special little tablecloths to keep food warm because she still doesn’t want microwave technology. She bundles up the food and keeps it nice and warm in its little winter coat just like in the old days, and so when my uncle comes, “*Mamá*, I’m home,” all he has to do is sit down and my little grandmother, with all her pains and everything, gets the plate out of the warmer, puts it in front of him just so, and then he eats. After, “thanks,” is all he says, upon which my grandmother goes back in, washes the plate, puts everything away, and cleans

the table. I mean, my uncle is almost 60 years old. You'd think he'd be able to wash a plate, right? I just sit there and observe and think to myself, "how horrible."

But that is the kind of rearing we continue dragging along with us. That is how closeminded we are despite living in this 21st century age of globalization. We still live closed off. A lack of modernization, right? And when I hear my mother say, "Ay, no, my poor little boy!" I say, "what kind of a person are you raising? A useless person, that's what." "But it's that he's in the university." "And what does that have to do with anything?" My daughter is in the university as well, and she comes home, "*Mamá*, I'm hungry." "Oh, look in the *fridge* [said in English] and see what you can make for yourself." "But can't you make me something?" "No, *Hijita*, it's all there, just heat something up. There's milk, heat it up." "But *Mamá*, can't you heat it up?" "no, *Hijita*, you can heat it up." Sometimes she gets mad, "*Mamá*, why is it that you warm up food for the elders [full-time missionaries], but you won't do it for me?" "Because the elders go out to work." "But don't I work, *Mamá*?" "It's very different, you are one day going to get married and become self-reliant, so I am teaching you. You should thank me." [laughs].

I am grateful to my mother. I used to criticize her and say, "but why did you abandon me at such a young age with so many responsibilities?" But now I thank her for not worrying so much about me. I mean, she gave me meals--- well she didn't "serve" me the meals, she'd leave them for me and say, "prepare them however you want, they are your meals." But thanks to that, I became very independent. I never depended on people even though I was alone with Shannon. And having Shannon also helped me mature even more. Just because she's my only daughter doesn't mean I spoiled her. She has always been responsible for her own things, and maybe that is why she was able to go on a mission without thinking twice. She never suffered the separation [*despego*] from, "who is going to clean for me, who is going to cook for me, who is going to wake me up early?" None of that. She already knew how to run her schedule. She was even economically independent because she began working at age 16. She learned how to save her money and everything. So, these things have helped her, and I know that she is going to do a better job than I did when it comes time to form her family. She is going to know how to teach her children the principles [*pautas*] of independence.

Ofelia seemed to lose sight of the original question, which had to do with why elderly couples in Arequipa do not serve missions. Yet, she cycled naturally back to the topic by relating her daughter's ability to serve a gospel-preaching mission to the mastery of the principles—not of the gospel—but of independence. Usually when Spanish-speaking Mormons use the words *normas*, *pautas* or *principios*, they follow them with "of the gospel," as part of a pat phrase. Instead, Ofelia says, "of independence." It would appear that in Ofelia's ontology, the principles of the gospel *are* the principles of independence. Mormons certainly value independence—the

nuclear family being the appropriate unit of individuation—and Ofelia is a very faithful Mormon, so it should not seem contradictory that she too would value independence or that she would conflate Shannon’s eventual marriage and formation of a separate, nuclear couple with Shannon’s eventual self-reliance. However, Ofelia values independence from her family to the extent that she relates it in every single one of her examples to the very actions that constructed her relatedness to that family in the first place—choosing, storing, warming, eating and even anthropomorphically bundling up food.

That Ofelia would praise individualism to the extreme that she would advocate becoming independent from the foodways integral to *arequipeño* kinship was made even more contradictory by the context of our interview—her extremely *interdependent* living situation. Ofelia’s dwelling is not exactly what Mayor Woods would consider indicative of “people living good lives.” Ofelia’s “unit” would not merit his designation of “home.” Ofelia lives under the same roof with her nine adult siblings, their families, and parts of their families’ families. The Mayor, like many US sociologists, would pathologize Ofelia’s domestic situation as stereotypically “non-white” meaning “disorganized, as indicated by high rates of out-of-wedlock births, sexual promiscuity, marital instability, and matriarchal families characterized by ‘strong and domineering’... women who prefer to head families on their own” (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2012, 14). As a strong matriarch who leads her family, Ofelia proudly owns some aspects of this stereotype.

Therefore, while Ofelia’s discursive preference for independence in a highly *interdependent* home is somewhat contradictory, her Mormon matriarchy is a fully-fledged paradox. Ofelia values independence so much that she takes it beyond the bounds of proper sainthood. She is independent from the one thing upon which all Mormons—Anglos or

Peruvians—are supposed to depend: patriarchy. Her rhetorical individualism makes her very “Mormon,” but her lived extension of this to include independence from males and from the nuclearization of family that males bring into being, makes her almost anti-Mormon. Ofelia may require her university-attending daughter to prepare her own food, but they still live under the same roof. In fact, they both live under Ofelia’s mother’s roof, the very mother who gave Ofelia her appreciation for independence. As such, Ofelia’s female-dominated living situation is a microcosm of the tension between subjectivity and intersubjectivity that is Zion’s paradox.

And Ofelia is not alone. In the next chapter, I will discuss how she, her daughter, her mother, and the majority of Peruvian Mormon women who participated in this study somehow mesh their matriarchal homes with an independence-focused religion that is dependent on patriarchal power.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Matchmaking Bishops versus Matriarchal Healers: Gender, Power, and Lineage in Zion's Borderlands

When marriage is undermined by gender confusion and by distortions of its God-given meaning, the rising generation of children and youth will find it increasingly difficult to develop their natural identities as men or women, ... to engage in wholesome courtships, form stable marriages, and raise another generation imbued with moral strength and purpose. (The Church 2016b, para. 36)

Patriarchal Matriarchy

Mormonism seeks to unite the genders and the world through “Zion.” Yet, the temple, the place where this ritual unification is thought to happen, is a highly exclusive, holy space for which males are literally the gatekeepers. Furthermore, this unification can only happen through heterosexual temple marriage “sealings” and the resulting patriarchal, nuclear families. As matriarchal families battle with and against the patriarchy’s various means of achieving these sealings, they disclose the lived realities of Zion’s inclusive exclusivity and the broader problems these realities unveil regarding gender and tribe.

Ofelia’s faithful sainthood combined with her independence from patriarchy—in a religion that depends on it—fuels this chapter’s research question: Who gets to be included as a “full” citizen of Zion? Ofelia, an *arequipeña*, Mormon, single mother, not only comes up geographically short of full citizenship according to a Peruvian racism (to which her church fully subscribes) that privileges those from the coast over those from the mountains (De la Cadena 2000), and she not only comes up biologically short according to a scientific hegemony that considers matrilineality an earlier stage of human evolution than patrilineality (Peters-Golden 2012), but she comes up psychologically short according to the anonymous Anglo males who

wrote this chapter's epigraph and who would consider her lifestyle symptomatic of a neurotic "confusion," not of gender identity, but of gender role. As Ofelia navigates the stigma of her singleness and her matriarchy, her experiences reflect the primordial tribalism that makes Zion's religious endogamy far more complex than simply a mandate to marry a fellow gender-unconfused Mormon.

Though I visited Ofelia's home dozens of times, she never invited me beyond the curtained-off front room, and she never explained to me how it was possible that her mother (a "less-active" Mormon), her mother's absentee husband (a non-Mormon), and a constantly variable assortment of her nine siblings and half-siblings with their spouses, kids and in-laws, managed to fit into what looked from the street to be a one-story building. Inside, it must have been like so many other ostensibly small homes I had entered before, homes that open into a multiplanar labyrinth of finished and unfinished dwellings, courtyards and annexes (figure 26). In many such cases of coresident siblingship among Peruvians in Peru and Utah, living arrangements function matrilineally. In societies that anthropologists consider truly matrilineal, such as the Minangkabau of Sumatra (Sanday 2003) or the Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea (Weiner 1988) daughters are not "related" to fathers, and society is structured so that sons will live in their mother-in-law's matriarchal households while maintaining responsibility for their sisters' children. Peru's major cities have no such structures. Nevertheless, because multigenerational single motherhood in Latin America is not uncommon, many Peruvians end up living their whole lives in complex sets of buildings upon buildings controlled by a single matriarchal figure whom, in the case of Ofelia's household, all kin call "*Mamá* Marisol."



FIGURE 26: View from a restaurant window near Ofelia’s home. Other than the far background behind the water tank, all construction belongs to the same familial complex. May 2018.

Mi Mami Ofelia or Mi Mamá Marisol?

Since those who eat enough meals in the home are often considered kin in the Andes (Weismantel 1995), the four full-time missionaries who eat three meals daily in Ofelia’s home call her “*Mami*.” Yet, to distinguish between the two matriarchs, they call Ofelia’s mother, “*Mamá Marisol*,” as do the ten teenage seminary students who meet in her home at 5:45 every morning. In order to use kinterm analysis as evidence that Peruvian Mormon homes like Ofelia’s are indeed controlled by matriarchs, even when Mormon “priesthood”-holding males are present, it is important to elucidate the vital work kinterms perform in relatedness.

In Australia, “obligations to family expressed in idioms of kinship carry a great deal of weight in affirming one’s cultural identity as properly, authentically Aboriginal” (Fisher 2009, 15). Likewise, being able to use the unique title “*Mamá Marisol*” to refer to the person that other members of *Barrio Periféricos* must call “*Hermana De la Torre*” sets members of Ofelia’s home apart as authentic sharers of a special union. Mormons in general are highly cognizant of the unifying power of kinterms. They delight in alerting potential converts to the fact that, unlike other religions, Mormons use the titles “Brother” and “Sister” to recall a primordial nuclear spirit-family that included all humans in one universal siblingship.

However, Peruvians are even more cognizant of kinterms. It is a sign of respect to invariably refer to one’s aunt Nilda as, “*Tía Nilda*,” when speaking to her or, “*Mi Tía Nilda*,” when speaking about her. My *primo* Santiago harbored anger against his aunt Nilda for years and showed it by calling her “Nilda” to her face, omitting the “*Tía*.” Few epithets could have been more harmful. One day, to signify his readiness for diplomacy, he simply said, “*Tía Nilda*,” and she knew the fight was over. It would not occur to most Peruvians to discard a kin title in order to insult even the most despised relative. That it did occur to Santiago is likely due to his biculturalism. In contrasting Anglo and Peruvian cultures, he knew how to hit a Peruvian where it would hurt the most—linguistically revoking her relatedness in *La Familia*. In another familial rift involving my in-laws, sides were taken over a deeper dispute between Lorna and her newly immigrated niece, Sofi. During this feud, Sofi would badmouth Lorna behind her back, yet even in her most vehement tirades, many of which occurred during our recorded interviews, she would always say, “*Mi Tía Lorna*,” never just, “Lorna.” Thus, in contexts not as influenced by *la gringada*, the continuance of kin titles demonstrates just how solid relatedness can remain despite profound disagreements. If further rhetorical solidification is desired, however, third-

person pronouns can be commandeered. I recorded a Peruvian Mormon saying, “please tell *Mi Comadre* Hilda that I want *Mi Comadre* Hilda to let me borrow *Mi Comadre* Hilda’s dress for the baptism next week.” Repeatedly naming the relationship increases the chances that the dress-lending obligations connected to it will not be forgotten.

“*Comadre*” labels a Catholic relationship between a mother and her daughter’s godmother. It is not a “blood” kinterm nor a “Mormon” kinterm. Yet, as it’s common usage among Peruvian Mormons makes clear, kinterms in Peruvian Mormonism symbolize something beyond blood and religion. In 2017, I saw Lorna and Nilda sitting together at a party in Utah when Jacoba’s grandson handed them each a wedding invitation. His name is Jericó. He was born and raised in Utah. Nilda’s envelope simply stated “Nilda Lloyd,” (her surname stems from her short-lived marriage to an Anglo Mormon named Les Lloyd) while Lorna’s was addressed to “*Tía* Lorna.” Nilda is Jericó’s biological great-aunt, yet he has had almost no contact with her due to another feud that kept her away from *La Familia* for most of his life. On the other hand, Lorna, Nilda’s half-sister, is not a “blood relative” of Jericó but lived with him when he was young. Lorna noted the difference between the envelopes and gloated to Nilda, “I’m sure it’s no big deal, it’s just that I have a closer relationship to Jericó. You are only Nilda Lloyd, but I am *Tía*.”

Peruvians and Mormons notice kinterms and do not wield them carelessly. They weigh their meaning and valence. One day, Ofelia stepped away momentarily during an interview at her home in Arequipa. While she was gone, some *Barrio Periféricos* members knocked on the door. Ofelia’s daughter, Shannon, answered and, as my recorder was still on, I captured the following exchange:

VISITOR: Just coming to see your *mami*.

SHANNON: *Mi Mami* Ofelia or *Mi Mamá* Marisol?

VISITOR: Mari---Ofel---eh, well, your *mami*--- Ofelia.

SHANNON: *Mi Mami* Ofelia?

Shannon has two mothers because, in Peru, the distinguished title “*Mamá*” can refer to people who are not biological mothers to those who invoke it. “*Mamá*” followed by the first name is a combination only necessary in situations where two mother figures, one of whom is a grandmother, raised many of the household’s third generation. When the grandmother dies, this generation continues using the *Mamá*/first name combination for their own biological mother out of habit. The fourth generation grows up hearing that, so the title sticks, especially when that generation is also being raised by two mother figures. “*Mamá* Marisol,” coming from Shannon indicates that she is in at least the fourth cycle of grandmothers raising granddaughters. Conversely, in Jacoba’s case, though she clearly presides as a matriarch over the Costa family, I have never heard kin refer to her as “*Mamá* Jacoba” because her kids grew up in New Jersey completely isolated from other generations of their family. She was the only mother they knew. Shannon refers to her grandmother as “*Mamá* Marisol” rather than “*abuela*” (grandmother) because “*Mamá*” has become an honorific used by all kin regardless of their precise relationship to Marisol. Essentially, it means “Matriarch Marisol.” In many cases, this becomes a hereditary title for which there is no male equivalent since it was solidified through generations of single motherhood with only sporadic instances of fatherhood. Marisol is now married, but nobody calls her husband “*Papá* Eliseo,” though some kin call him “*papá*” and others “*abuelo*.” Through the linguistics of kin terms, Marisol is semiotically solidified as a matriarch as opposed to merely a mother or a grandmother. Eliseo, on the other hand, is merely a father and a grandfather, not a patriarch.

Out-Of-Wedlock Pride

A matriarch related to Jacoba (though not by “blood”) whom all kin, including myself, called “*Mamá Marina*” before her death in 2016, was at least the second in what has become, in some cases, five generations of single motherhood in *La Familia* (the Costa clan, my in-laws). The last two of these generations have existed happily within Mormonism. Since this single motherhood has meant out-of-wedlock childbirth, its happy existence inside a faithful Mormon family surprised me. Perhaps the Peruvian immigrant context should have lessened the surprise since statistically on US sociological surveys, “Latinos/as are more accepting of non-marital childbearing than Whites” (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2012, 30). Still, given my judgmental Mormon upbringing, I was baffled as to how the Costa family, being Mormon, could be so accepting of Jacoba’s granddaughter Corina and her out-of-wedlock baby, Elena. I sat down with Jacoba’s half-sister Nilda to reflect on the deep kinship differences this acceptance appeared to expose between Peruvian Mormonism and Anglo Mormonism. I took notes after our conversation:

Corina was even the branch president’s daughter at the time [a branch president is to a branch what a bishop is to a ward: its highest leader]. They put photos of Elena’s birth on the Pioneer Trail Branch’s Facebook page and there was her father, *Presidente Zeballos*, smiling in the maternity ward holding his new granddaughter even though everybody in the branch knew that the baby’s father was not married to Corina. The way Corina was treated throughout her pregnancy and the way everybody treats Elena now is the opposite of stigma.

It is pride.

The Costas are proud of Corina for bringing in another member to fortify that still vulnerable generational group of great grandchildren born as third-generation, Utah Mormons. They are proud of an increase in *La Familia*.

The words “*La Familia*” have a different magnitude when the Costas say them. Each of the Costa family members is also a member of at least one other family, be it their father’s, their mother’s, or their spouse’s. But, regardless of whether that other family is Peruvian, Colombian, Mexican or Anglo, the Costa side is the side that rules their lives, the side that predetermines all decisions. Deciding to live extremely close to Salsands is more important to “*La Familia*” than deciding to wait until after marriage for sex. Yet, sex

after marriage is supposed to be the single most important thing for young Mormons, and Jacoba, the leader of *La Familia*, is one of the single most “Mormon” people I know.

I asked Nilda how she assimilates this contradiction, but she didn’t seem to grasp how different Anglo Mormons are in this respect, she just said, “yes, of course we accept Elena, why wouldn’t we?” “Well, because if this happened to any of the Anglo families I grew up with in Utah, the first thing they would try—and that the bishop would all but enforce—would be putting the kid up for adoption. Second, there would be a long period of *de facto* shunning. In fact, I was just a little kid, but I remember vividly—because of the tension that immediately and palpably charged the atmosphere whenever she’d walk into the chapel—how my childhood friend’s sister was shunned when her pregnancy started to show. So, I’m a bit surprised Mormons could accept Corina’s pregnancy so readily.” Nilda asked, “why is that surprising to you after all these years? Don’t you know that Latinos are different? No Latino is going to shun his daughter just because of a pregnancy and certainly no Latina *abuela* is going to consent to putting her own greatgrandchild up for adoption.” At least not officially, and not to someone outside *La Familia*.

Unofficially, Elena was adopted by the entire Costa village. An outsider at a Costa party would never know to whom this little girl “belongs” [figure 27]. At Santiago’s wedding, Elena ran amok and no one person knew where she was half the time [for a few rare sightings, see figure 25 from chapter 6 and figure 31 from the conclusion], but people weren’t too concerned because everybody knew she was everybody’s baby. Everybody in *La Familia* has an equal stake in her personhood. Nilda was incredulous that any bishop would encourage someone to relinquish their own *familia* to adoption just because of unwed youth. “We would NEVER do that to *La Familia*,” she asserted.

Familia trumps Mormonism for the Costas. Costa family identity outweighs Mormon commandments and even temple chastity covenants. However, the Costas do not choose between their Mormonism and their family. They simply change Mormonism to match *La Familia*.



FIGURE 27: Peruvian Independence Day celebrations at Jacoba’s son’s home near Salsands, Utah. Doting males in the generational group of the Costa family that calls Corina “*prima*” await impatiently their turn to hold her daughter Elena. July 2017.

Taking His Name

Costa-style, matriarchal Mormonism resists Anglo Mormonism’s patriarchal tendency to obsesses over surveilling female “chastity.” However, though this resistance of patriarchy could be termed “feminism,” it does not match US feminism. For example, US feminists rebel against US societal norms by keeping their father’s surname upon marriage. Peruvian Mormon matriarchs like Jacoba Costa do the exact opposite. They rebel against Peruvian societal norms by replacing their father’s surname with their husband’s. This represents how Mormonism further complicates Peruvian matriarchies, which are already ill-aligned to both patrilineal,

Spanish-influenced Peruvian society and phallogentric, marriage-obsessed US society.

Surnaming practices also demonstrate how Mormon-style patriarchy shifts the focus of Peruvian love from a present father to a future husband, thus linguistically reinforcing the nuclearization of *forever family* as a key to “full” Zion citizenship even among decidedly non-nuclear families like the Costas.

The following interaction took place in the Pioneer Trail Ward on the Sunday after Santiago and Teresa’s wedding.

TEACHER: *Hermana* Costa, can you say the closing prayer?

JACOBA: Who? Me? You have to specify now because Teresa is now “*Hermana* Costa” as well.

If this were any Latin American context other than Mormonism, “Costa” would not be used. Costa is Jacoba’s husband’s surname. In former Spanish colonies like Peru, women do not traditionally replace their paternal surname with their husband’s upon marriage. However, because that Sunday school conversation happened in the US, it did not strike anyone as unusual that Jacoba would be known as *Hermana* Costa at church. She is known as Mrs. Costa outside of church in all public aspects of her US life. She even legally changed her paternal-maternal surname dyad, Arriátegui-Mora, to the singular, Costa, when she became a US citizen.

What does strike people as unusual is that, when Peruvians in Peru become Zion citizens, they make this same change—albeit discursively, not legally. More accurately, it is not that Maria Condori-Loaiza, the wife of Justo Quispe-Quispe “takes on” her husband’s surname, but that her “*Hermanos* and *Hermanas*” at church—in step with the “proper” Mormonism that Utah-born missionaries tacitly teach—begin to refer to her as “*Hermana* Quispe,” her husband’s surname. Meanwhile, in the workplace she is known as *Profesora* Condori. Since using a husband’s surname is not normal in other aspects of their lives, Peruvian Mormon women in

Peru remark on its uniqueness even after decades in the church. Here is an example that *arequipeña neta* and Mormon pioneer, Leticia told me in May 2018.

For example, I am Leticia López-Valcárcel and nobody knows me as López or Valcárcel but instead as *Hermana Escobar* [laughs] because my husband is Ronal Escobar, so it all changes when you become a member. I am going to tell you an anecdote. So my father passed away, his viewing was in *Barrio Umacollo*, and this member of my ward who knows me well asks me, “*Hermana*, did you know *Hermano López?*” And my father, *Hermano López*, was right there in his coffin. “Yes,” I tell her, “he’s my father.” “[sharp inhale] your FATHER!?” “Yes.” “But you are Escobar!” “Yes, but I am Leticia López” [laughs]. And for me, it is an example of the names by which members know us, “*Hermana Escobar* or *Hermana So-And-So*,” but no longer by the true paternal surname. That doesn’t work in our church [laughs]. But, when I pay my tithing, I write on the envelope, “Leticia López-Valcárcel de Escobar.”

Uniting a Peruvian Mormon woman in Peru so tightly to her husband’s surname usually only happens after he has achieved a high position in the church, as Leticia’s husband had done on multiple occasions. Though the adoption of a husband’s surname may be a mark of “full” Zion citizenship for some, other Peruvian Mormon women recognize the practice as a harmful vestige of nuclear family patriarchy, an unfortunate cultural trapping of Utah that came encrusted upon the essential divine core of Mormonism. They openly resist it and promptly correct it: “I am not *Hermana Quispe*, I am *Hermana Condori*.” Often, members in Spanish-speaking congregations in both Utah and Peru avoid the surname issue altogether by using the Brother and Sister titles followed by first names, something that rarely happens in English-speaking congregations. In Pioneer Trail, I heard “*Hermana Jacoba*” just as often as I heard “*Hermana Costa*,” but I never heard “*Hermana Arriátegui*.”

Permission to Use My Hands

There are Mormon instantiations of the patriarchal nuclearization of the Peruvian family and concomitant pathologizing of single motherhood that are more difficult to navigate than kinterm and surname linguistics. These involve temple priesthood power. Up until a 2019 change

in the temple rite, a single woman had to vow to obey her future husband as a middleman between her and God, and to this day a single mother cannot be sealed to her own children for eternity. Sealing is not simply an administrative technicality that one must fulfill in order to reunite with a loved one in the afterlife. Male temple officiators who have the authority to seal speak of it as a “sealing power” that helps solidify family ties *during* life, causing the wayward to eventually return to the family and to the church. Unsealed Mormon matriarchs of large, unwieldy families torn asunder by emigration and church inactivity could use the extra help this sealing power would provide. Yet, they are denied it.

Undaunted, *Mamá* Marisol (Ofelia’s mother), and many other “unsealed” Mormon matriarchs like her, preside over their homes in a way that the temple marriage sealing ceremony explicitly reserves for men. In many Peruvian Mormon families, a few males help to partially fund the household, but the matriarch runs it, slowly handing off power to one of her daughters, in this case Ofelia, as she ages. Breadwinning and administrating, however, are not the only aspects of the traditional male domain whereupon these women encroach. Mormon males are to be the spiritual providers for their families, not simply the material providers. Males are supposed to be the spiritual leaders of their homes, congregations, and temples because they are the only ones allowed to “hold” the priesthood: The power and authority to act in the name of God in establishing his city of Zion on earth. Technically, males and females benefit equally from this power, but only males wield it¹. They use it to heal “by the laying on of hands,” to

¹ In its October 2019 general conference, the church announced that its next conference, in April 2020, would be like no other in the history of the church. It was to be a historic conference. Though it ended up being historic because it was the first conference without a live audience due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it was not historic for many of the reasons US Mormon feminists hoped (as expressed in their Facebook group comments). Some harbored the secret hope that the church would announce a lift of the female priesthood ban. However, not only did the church dash this hope, it explicitly listed the things females can and cannot do. In one of the conference’s opening speeches, an apostle doubled down on the doctrine that only men preside over their homes. However, he added a caveat that many single mothers considered even more insulting: Women can preside over their homes, but only when their lawfully wedded husbands are temporarily away from home or dead.

bless the sacrament, to conduct the baby-naming rite, to baptize, to “seal” for eternity, and even (as we read below) to exorcise demons. However, there is also a real sense that once a male is ordained to the priesthood at age 11 (a rite of passage for every “worthy²” male), every action he performs from then on—from mowing the lawn to running for office—is done through “the power of the priesthood.” Needless to say, Mormon families without this power are not full citizens of Zion. Ofelia respects this divine gender inequality. However, contingency demands creativity. Not only is there no sealing power in Ofelia’s home, there is also—usually—no priesthood power, so Ofelia takes matters into her own hands—literally.

OFELIA: I have never had the priesthood, but I remember one time Shannon was very sick and it was late at night. I didn’t have a telephone to call the bishop and the mission had closed our area, so there were no missionaries. So I didn’t have the priesthood, and she had a high fever and was crying. So I asked His permission, I said, “Father, please, I will use the---I know that I don’t have the priesthood, but I want you to please use my hands as the medium through which you help her,” and my daughter got better. I promise you, *Hermano* [Jason], her fever broke immediately. I gave her the blessing even while asking forgiveness from the Lord for maybe doing wrong by giving it. I told Him, “don’t look at me while I do this, just use my hands. Heavenly Father, I know that I don’t have the priesthood, in my house, I don’t have it.” And I put my hands on her head like you guys do and I said, “please, Father, help her, if it is Your will, help her.”

JASON: And did you use consecrated oil?

OFELIA: No, I just used my hands, nothing more.

Ofelia says, “I do not have the priesthood” in so many different ways that it is impossible to decipher when she is referring to the lack of priesthood power inside herself and when she is referring to the lack of a priesthood-holding male inside her home. I have heard Ofelia use the word “priesthood” as a synonym for “men” on other occasions, as in: “the priesthood rode in a separate taxi.” In a religious tradition where a penis, rather than spirituality, maturity, or theological training, is lately³ one of the only requirements for priesthood, it is easy to see how

² Prior to 1978, “worthy” required non-blackness.

³ Prior to 1978, “non-African descent” was also a requirement.

priesthood and maleness could become synonymous. US Mormon feminists have worked since Mormonism's inception to change such misogynistic, linguistic connotations. "Priesthood" is supposed to be a universally beneficial power, not a gender.

As her radically feminist story of female priesthood continues below, Ofelia ironically distances herself even further from Anglo Mormon feminism by continuing to use language that downplays anything I might misconstrue as a counterhegemonic sensibility on her part. Though it does not come through in the English translation, she does this by avoiding the use of the exclusively female "we" (*nosotras*) in order to make her statements sound more inclusive of men and less anti-patriarchy. She often uses "*nosotras*" in other contexts, but by using "*nosotros*" below to refer to a group of all females, she provokes the ire of Chicana feminists who consider themselves "robbed of our female being by the masculine plural" (Anzaldúa 2012, 76). She also provokes the ire of US Mormon feminists even as her power provokes their envy. Ofelia has managed to singlehandedly tap what they have been working for a century to recover—the healing power used by Mormonism's first female converts (Stapley & Wright 2011), the history of which Ofelia is completely unaware at this point in the interview.

That someone living in modernity could be both a Mormon and a feminist sounds strange enough. But to have a Mormon who disapproves of feminism even as she contests patriarchy in ways so extreme as to be sacrilegious, is strange enough to call into question the usefulness of modernity as an entity. As Saba Mahmood (2005) discovered among veiled Muslim women in Egypt "whose practices [she] had found objectionable, to put it mildly, at the outset of [her] fieldwork," the bundle of ideals supposedly belonging to the domain of modernity such as "freedom, equality, and autonomy, that [she herself had] held so dear," came unhinged from that domain as she realized that the "sentiments, commitments, and sensibilities that ground these

women's existence could not be contained within the stringent molds of these ideals" (198). The illusion of modernity is that entities will fall into clearly segregated, universally understood molds. In US, feminist modernity, patriarchy is a mold that encapsulates all oppressive things. Matriarchy can then be constructed to hold all liberating things. Ofelia, in her Peruvian Mormon matriarchy, breaks both molds, takes the pieces she likes from each, and mixes them into a new one that receives no label. She is not contesting patriarchy by giving her daughter a priesthood blessing. She is, however, blurring boundaries between domains that she senses are to be kept separate, which is why she does not want Heavenly Father—the master of all domains—to see her doing it.

Another domain that modernity likes to keep discrete is "religion." Ofelia sees Mormonism as linked to true religion and Catholicism as its antithesis. However, Ofelia must grapple with the fact that an idea she associates with Catholicism has infiltrated her Mormon life: When death is at the door, Ofelia is always notified. Either a dividual portion of the soon-to-be dying person notifies her (an option she associates with Catholicism as we saw in Chapter Six), or some other more malignant force does (an option from Mormon scripture), she is not always sure which. In March 2018, *Mamá* Marisol got appendicitis and was near death. The events presaging this helped Ofelia and her daughter discover the precise limits of their rung's power on Zion's hierarchy as members of a non-nuclear, unsealed, non-priesthood-holding home.

OFELIA: Two weeks before my mom went to the hospital, during my sleep I felt someone sit up, so I opened one of my little eyes, and there was nobody. Just as I was going to shut my eyes again, *Hermano*, they grabbed me. I felt that they got really close to me, so I tried to scream, but I couldn't. I couldn't see anybody grabbing me, I could only feel the force of it. So in that moment I said, "My God, please help me," but when I said that, the grip got tighter. Then I remembered that the veil between worlds can be torn, and people can come through. When that happens we are supposed to say, "in the name of Jesus Christ, I order you to leave me alone." I said to myself, "but I don't have the priesthood," but I did it anyway, *Hermano*, I mean, it was a fight against those things that were grabbing me. When I said the words, suddenly I could move again.

Then I got the news of my mom's sickness. These things always occur when something bad is going to happen in my house, so I told the missionaries, "Elders, I want you to give my home a blessing." All four elders came and they said that everyone in the home should be present for the blessing, so all my brothers and sisters came down. Elder Horsthauser said the prayer, and it was such a potent prayer that my sister, Isabel, who is inactive [no longer participates in her congregation's activities], even she said, "I feel peace." So everything is once again peaceful because the elder was very emphatic in saying, "you get out of here, I command you in the name of Jesus Christ." Truthfully, there have been few times, *Hermano*, in which I have felt that kind of power. In very few elders have I felt it.

But there is something that I didn't tell you. Before Elder Horsthauser's blessing, Shannon and I were alone. It was really late and Shannon says, "*Mamá*, let's say the prayer so we can sleep," and we knelt down. Shannon always says the prayer. She said, "please bless so-and-so, my family, bla, bla, bla," the normal stuff, right? But then she said, "bless my home and expel those bad persons and the bad things that are here. By the authority of the priesthood which the prophet holds, and through him, expel all the evil that is harassing this home and get it out." But when she started saying those things, a horrible feeling came over the room, really, I felt something ugly. Shannon asked me, "what's wrong?"

JASON: So Shannon didn't feel it?

OFELIA: She didn't, she only pronounced the words, she said them very clearly and emphatically. She said it firmly, not doubting. And that is when I felt the evil.

JASON: So Shannon's prayer didn't work? It was necessary to bring in someone who held the priesthood?

OFELIA: Yes, it was necessary. Yes, and it's because the four priesthoods were here. Not just one was here, all FOUR of them were here. Four elders.

...

JASON: One of my great-great grandmothers had a similar experience to the one you had. Her son fell down the cellar and broke his neck. Her husband had the priesthood, but he was far away. She used consecrated oil to give him a blessing by the laying on of hands, and he was healed.

OFELIA: But that doesn't mean that we have it, it just means---on occasion, we are the medium. In one Relief Society lesson I shared a similar idea and they said, "no, we can't do anything because we don't have the priesthood." I said, "hey, wait a minute! *Hermanas*, just because we don't have the priesthood doesn't mean that the Lord can't use us [*nosotros*] as his instruments or that we can't become the medium through which he causes blessings to arrive. What happens if, for example, I don't have priesthood in my home, but I need an urgent blessing? Well, I can put my hands on the person's head and ask the Lord permission to use my hands as the means by which He will act to pour out the blessing." Right? But a lot of people don't understand it simply because they lack a little something

with five letters: F-A-I-T-H [laughs]. The Lord can work through us [*nosotros*] in exceptional cases, just like your great-great-grandmother, just like me. But, at the same time, we can't say, "the Lord worked through me, so now I too have the priesthood, now I too have the power."

Ofelia makes sure that I understand that female priesthood is a contingency. It is not the way things are supposed to be. Men are batteries who can generate their own power, and some men—in this case, an Anglo young man of German descent—have more power than the household's human and anti-human inhabitants combined. Women are merely wires through which an external source of power can flow, and while these wires are sufficient to heal, they cannot abide the amperage necessary to exorcise. In her clarification of female priesthood limits, Ofelia is also clarifying how fully powered a citizen she is in Zion. Furthermore, she is clarifying the limits of the matriarchal Mormon family. It too is a contingency, not the way things are supposed to be.

When I ask other Peruvian Mormon women about the phenomenon of matriarch-led families, they agree that it is the norm, but they portray it as "unfortunately the norm." They deny that it stems from an ancestral *tawantinsuyana* cultural preference, and instead find it pathological, blaming it on corrupt governmental economics and male infidelity. If they had the financial luxury of starting a nuclear family home wherein a faithful marriage is the center and all other relations are mere appendages, they would. My prediction, however, is that, even if they were given said luxury, the mother-child relationship would remain paramount. It is where the strongest kind of love is felt. Conjugal love, where it exists at all, pales in comparison even in the case of a "fully active" Peruvian Mormon family with fathers married to mothers, such as the Costas. In the Costa family, single motherhood is not common and priesthood power is in full force, but so is matriarchy. Jacoba's husband is the pioneering patriarchal figure in the Spanish-

speaking Mormon church in Northern Utah. While he was presiding over his flock, however, Jacoba was presiding over him and *La Familia* through matriarchy and mother-child relatedness.

Wrong Kind of Love

The fact remains, however, that husband-wife relatedness (in that order) is Zion's core in Mormonism's global, collective imagination no matter how peripheral it is in local Mormon practice. Singleness, and especially single motherhood, is an embarrassment to Zion and a barrier to full Zion citizenship. Singleness creates matriarchal situations that breed gender role confusion and priesthood power circumlocution, crossing lines of divine authority and disturbing the holy order. Singleness is a harbinger of eventual emergency that, if left unchecked, will get so far beyond the control of the disorganized ganglion of "out-of-wedlock births, sexual promiscuity" (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2012, 14), and helpless women that four youthful male "elders" will be required to battle the demons flying through the resulting chasm in the veil, a chasm that one priesthood-generating Mormon husband would have detected and patched back when it was still a small tear. It is imperative to offer an ounce of prevention and get these Mormon women married to Mormon men posthaste lest Zion fall.

OFELIA: One day the bishop calls me in for an interview and tells me, "Ofelia, look, the bishopric and I are worried that you are still not married. What's wrong? ... We have a brother lined up for you ... he is the ideal person for you." ... I saw who this brother was and there wasn't any affinity on my part [laughs], so I kept rejecting his invitations ... He complained to the bishop, and the bishop called me back in: "Look, Ofelia, you are being too harsh, the Lord is giving you the last chance you are going to have." And I was like [sarcastically], "Oh really, the last chance of the Lord, you say? How interesting, continue." He says, "this brother has asked you out four times and you are rejecting him, and he is sad." "Bishop, do you love me?" "What? Why that question?" "Again, do you love me?" "Of course. I love all of my, my--- little sheep and I have to guide them." "I don't think you love me, Bishop, because you are setting me up with a man who is not faithful to the church. Why do you draw distinctions between people?" "I don't draw distinctions." "Yes you do, because when the youth are courting someone you see if that person is worthy, if they go to the temple, if they are full tithe-payers or if they are constant in their church

obligations. Nevertheless, you are directing me toward a brother who is not going to support me spiritually ... Is that the type of man you want for me, Bishop?"

Bishop Paucar was getting a bit desperate on Ofelia's behalf because he knows that nuclear marriage is the only correct pattern that can lead to full Zion citizenship. Even though this form of marriage is not the universal ideal throughout the Andes (Canessa 2012) or the US (Sarkisian and Gerstel, 2012), much less the rest of the world, Zion claims that it is precisely through nuclear marriage "sealings" that universal kinship will be achieved. "We don't just seal nuclear families together in our temples. The utterly breathtaking goal of our faith is to seal the family of humanity together" (McKay-Lamb and Jensen, 2015, 191).

The only place on earth where this inclusive sealing of all humanity can happen is inside one of the most exclusive places on the planet—the Mormon temple. Temples validate only two types of relationships in their sealing rituals—husband-wife and couple-child. All other relationships, including sibling-sibling, mother-child, and grandmother-grandchild are excluded unless they can be linked to the nuclear couple. This means that most of the families in *Barrio Periféricos* are excluded. They do not have "sealed" relationships to the ones they love the most.

Ofelia seeks a Mormon temple marriage, not so that she can stop the cycle of matriarchy, but so that she can seal that marriage to her relationship with Shannon. However, such a marriage is difficult to achieve. She must marry a Mormon to fulfill the demands of religious endogamy, yet if she meets one at a ward dance, she will be faced with the even stricter demands of familial exogamy: Many otherwise eligible partners will be her cousins or uncles. This happens because the Utah-designed model of ward districting catered to nuclear family neighborhoods was transplanted onto the Peruvian reality of "extended family" coresidence. Mormons do not simply attend whatever church services they happen upon each Sunday. They belong—everyday—to the ward assigned to the boundaries within which their residence falls. In

Peru, this model often translates to “ward boundaries” drawn around three or four large familial complexes that end up constituting over half the ward’s membership.

Take for example the Abedul family. The Abedul family alone provides *Barrio Periféricos* with 15 percent of its active membership and a significant portion of its top leadership. The widowed matriarch of this family, living in the original home at the heart of a complex that is now growing up because it can no longer grow out, is not Mormon, but most of her coresident six children and multitudes of grandchildren are. As a testament to the awareness of matrilineality’s mismatch with Mormonism, it is a running joke in the ward to emasculate the coresident affine males of the Abedul family by calling them “*Hermano* Abedul,” their wives’ surname. The Abedul complex is more centrally located within the ward boundaries than the chapel to which the ward is assigned and so has become the unofficial recreation center for ward activities. In fact, one of the matriarch’s sons-in-law, a successful civil engineer, constructed a spacious party room—complete with bathroom, kitchenette, and entertainment center—on the fourth floor of one of the structures. Satirically christened *El Bunker*, it is the venue of near daily use for fundraiser cook-offs (*polladas*), family home evenings and Self-Reliance Initiative courses (figure 28). If the civil engineer’s son, Marco, wanted to find a date, he would not have to look further than his own fourth floor on a JAS (*Jóvenes Adultos Solteros/Young Single Adults*) activity night. However, of the ten young ladies he might find there, chances are five would be his cousins and one would be his sister.

What about the other four? Therein lies a familial exogamy expectation that is more individually felt than socially defined. Through all the shared activities, lifestyle changes, and rites of passage that create the Mormon solidarity necessary to replace the loss of connection with surrounding Andean Catholic society, sometimes Peruvian Mormons do too good a job at

forming what they call “ward families.” When Zion is united, marrying outside the religion feels sinful, but marrying within the ward can feel downright incestuous. Like Romeo and Juliet, but in reverse, stories like the following abound.



FIGURE 28: Popcorn and lemonade in *El Bunker* at Elder Horsthauser’s farewell party.

OFELIA: Well, since Shannon was about three years old, she grew up with the Abedul kids in The Primary, so when they started getting older, their parents told me, “hey, Ofelia, we want Shannon to be the wife of our son Marco,” so I was like, “but she has to be the one to decide.” “Yes, but we have to help her out.” And so they started to invite us to all their family parties ... So the friendship grew and they would play and joke all up until he went on his mission. His parents were so excited that their oldest was going on a mission and that Shannon was going to wait for him that they started to talk weddings, and his little brothers actually started calling her “*cuñis*” [sis’-in-law]. Just before Marco came back, his parents said, “Shannon, look, you know that Marco is about to come home and that you are going to have to get close to him, right?” ... “But, it’s that I don’t know, and what if he doesn’t like me? Plus, I see him as a brother.” “No, but it will be different now because he has to return and he has to have a fiancé.” And I would ask her, “*Hijita*, do you feel any

affinity for him?” “But, it’s just that, *Mamá*, you know that we’ve grown up together. I love him as a brother but nothing more.” And when he came back they said, “Shannon, you have to go to the airport to welcome him back,” and she didn’t go, she was embarrassed. Marco got back. His parents said, “hey, Marco, take a look at Shannon.” “*Mamá, Papá*, she is like my sister. I would never fix my eyes on her like that, so please stop, just stop incentivizing this. No.”

JASON: So they had done their job too well?

OFELIA: Yes, and in fact the same thing happened with Flavio [Marco’s little brother] because he went on his mission six months before she went on hers ... So when she commented off hand to me one day in one of her mission emails, “*Mamá*, I am writing Flavio,” I immediately thought, “oh, this could be Plan B.” Right? And his parents were the same way, they got all excited and said, “yes, Plan B, Plan B! Yes, there is still hope!” And when we found out that they were going to return from their missions on the exact same day we were like, “coincidences don’t exist, there is a reason for this.” And this time we were really sure that, “yep, this is it, you really are going to be an Abedul now, it’s unavoidable.” But, the same thing happened. I mean, Shannon and Flavio are siblings after all. So the parents say, “*ay*, it would have been great.” “Yeah, it’s too bad,” I tell them. But that’s what happens when there is too much friendship.

As this story of backfired matchmaking exemplifies, Mormons can only marry within their own global “tribe” of coreligionists, which is why Marco’s parents had to act early to reserve one of the few eligible mates for their son. From the Abedul perspective, Shannon’s biological non-membership in their family combined with her official membership in the church to automatically make her an eligible daughter-in-law. It turns out, however that many *Barrio Periféricos* members draw the borderline of endogamy’s precise threshold much more closely around themselves than the relatively inclusive maxim—thou shalt marry a Mormon—would imply.

Covenant Boundaries

Mormons, especially when finding a mate for someone they care about, want someone who is not only a Mormon, but a “full” Mormon. In the eyes of many, Ofelia herself does not meet this ambiguous criterion. By virtue of her being baptized at age 24, already a single mother,

she was late for the rite of passage most directly connected to the paradox at Zion's heart—her own birth.

She was not “born in the covenant.” In other words, her parents had not been sealed in the temple before she was born. Mormons born to temple-sealed parents come into the world already sealed to those parents. No future sealing rite is necessary. Ofelia missed this rite because she is a first-generation Mormon, or a *conversa* (convert). In much the same way that Indians under British colonialism were seen as “the effect of a flawed colonial mimesis, in which to be Anglicized, is *emphatically* not to be English” (Bhabha, 1984, 128) *conversos* are sometimes seen as more Mormonized than Mormon. Ofelia rejects this view.

OFELIA: A lot of times, before I understood such things, members of the church would always ask us that question, “hey, um, are you of the covenant?” And I would say, “what do you mean ‘of the covenant?’” “I’m just asking if your parents were sealed in the temple and then you were born from them.” “Oh, no then. No, I’m not of the covenant.” “Oh, so you are of the baptized.” “Ah, yes, I guess you’re right because I just got baptized.” And so time went on and during a lot of years they’d always ask that question, “are you of the covenant?” or, “is your daughter of the covenant, was she born in the covenant?” And with sadness or sometimes even shame I would say, “no, my daughter is not of the covenant.” But then I started wondering, “why do they ask that?” And when I studied about it, I said, “what!?” I mean, how dare they make me think that I’m not of the covenant when I’m just as much of the covenant as they are. Those who have been chosen as people of the covenant who have been born in the covenant, and those who accept the gospel after repenting and entering into the baptismal waters, are all equal. Don’t give me any talk about difference and, “we are the real people of the covenant, but since you were baptized it means you were only adopted by us,” it’s not like that. We are all part of the covenant, right? So I don’t see why they have to make differences like that. It’s a stupid question that they start asking ... Sometimes the parents of my seminary students tell me, “my kids were born in the covenant so they already know everything.” Mistake. Right? Gargantuan mistake! Why? Because there are many brothers and sisters, Shannon’s contemporaries, who, while it is true that their parents were sealed in the temple, born in the covenant themselves even, and I guess from inside the womb they were grasping gospel concepts [laughs], BUT their kids have been dishonorably discharged from missions, sometimes not even gone on missions, and their daughters have gone astray and all that, right? So that is why I say emphatically, “no.” I mean, it is not an indispensable requirement that one be of the covenant people, right? What matters is how one goes about guiding one’s kids, whether they were born in the covenant or not.

JASON: Is it possible that they think they were born in the covenant because their spirits were more valiant in the preexistence?

OFELIA: Of course. It's not just possible, that is precisely what they think. They think they are more choice spirits, "the elect," right? They think they've been chosen, but—MISTAKE!

Ofelia jokes about the womb in her statement against those who look down on her *conversa* status. She makes fun of the idea that one could exercise agency before birth because she knows that this notion is partially from whence the doctrine of "the elect" emerges. Ironically, however, stories of humanity's pre-birth existence also provide her with pride in being a *conversa*, in using agency to choose Mormonism. After all, Mormonism's original sibling rivalry, Lucifer versus Jesus, was about agency. Heavenly Father and Heavenly Mother's second-born spirit son, Lucifer, planned to force human beings to be good inhabitants of the new planet Earth. Their first born, Jesus, wanted goodness to be a choice. The two brothers could not find a compromise and fought a primordial war over this question of agency. Those on Earth today with physical bodies fought on the winning side. The losers never got bodies; they are Satan's demons.

There is a divide in *Barrio Periféricos* between those who think that the more valiant soldiers in the war were rewarded with birth into an already-Mormon family and those who think that choosing Mormonism during Earth-life represents true valiance. In this debate, generational Mormonism becomes a contested requirement for "full" Mormonism. The implications of this requirement deepen as the divide between generational Mormons and *conversos* subdivides further into tribes. Tribes relate covenant birth to proselytizing economics. The more pre-Earth souls born into patriarchal Mormon homes, the less time and effort spent on missionizing these souls later in life. More covenant births mean more natural-born Zion citizens and less naturalization, so it is economically important for Mormons that they count themselves among

biological lineages that are divinely designated to multiply. The lineage most anciently linked with such a promise is that of the Jewish and Islamic patriarch Abraham: “I will multiply thy seed ... as the sand which is upon the seashore ... and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed” (Genesis 22:17-18). For the purpose of grafting themselves into this fruitful lineage, Mormons receive a “patriarchal blessing” in which the name of their tribe of Israel is revealed to them and in which they are proclaimed heirs to the Abrahamic blessing of infinite fertility. In this way, as Ofelia advocates, all Mormons become a covenant people, not just those of “covenant birth.” However, the ambiguity between biological descent and spiritual adoption in Israelite tribe ascription, as further refracted through The Book of Mormon’s creation of Lamanite identity, causes even Ofelia to stop short of claiming that everyone is born with an equal potential to become full Saints.

Like it says, “the Lamanites will blossom as the rose in the desert,” right? And it says the gospel will be preached to the Lamanites in the last days. I mean, I am a *conversa*, so this gospel has only recently come to me. In the scriptures it says that the Lamanites will not just listen to the gospel, but that they will be the strongest ones in keeping it. The ones to take charge. And I stop and think about that. Sometimes I have even made some comparisons because there are people who are born in the covenant here in Arequipa, they have grown in it, but they are not strong in some things. My daughter has grown up with a lot of them, and as time goes on many of these youth go inactive. Like she says, “they are lost in the world.” And she always asked me, “how did they end up like that if they are the ones who were born in the covenant? If their father was a stake president or their parents were returned missionaries, how could this happen?” And sometimes I didn’t know what to tell her, right?

For Ofelia, birth or pre-birth circumstances should not influence destiny, and yet she finds it more inexplicable for a covenant-born Mormon to leave the church than for a *conversa* to do the same. Furthermore, she believes a biological tribe called Lamanite was destined to receive the gospel. This tension between what is innate and what is chosen stems from the way Israelite covenant lineages are simultaneously blessed and cursed in The Book of Mormon and the way indigeneity is both celebrated and reviled in Peru. Ofelia believes herself to carry both the

“believing blood” of her Israelite lineage and the racialized curse of the authentically indigenous Lamanites. While her blood predisposed her to become a *conversa*, her tribe made her “stop and think” about the lack of righteousness she sees among her fellow Lamanite parishioners. Her lineage-related judgments about their righteousness are strikingly similar to the judgements of “decency” that influence non-phenotypic “Peruvian racism” (De La Cadena 2000) and that vilify female-centered homes.

Per anthropologist Fenella Cannell (2013b), Mormonism’s “lineage thinking reinforces the experience of kinship as sacred ... [holding open] kinship as an arena of mystery, in which agency, relatedness, creation, and destiny endlessly collide” (90). This mystery is “the mystery of transmission” (91), which is neither genetic nor spiritual making it the key to why there are so many conflicting unities and divisions in Zion regarding lineage and proper family type.

I have sometimes asked Latter-day Saints whether it is possible to transmit goodness in a family line; people usually pause, then answer that it is not. ... The Mormon emphasis on the centrality of individual agency ... makes ideas of pure ancestral determination impossible. At the same time, the pause before the answer acknowledges the idea of elite lines, of chosen lineages, and of noble intelligences whose destiny was fixed before the mortal world began. (90)

The space between believing and blood, between matriarchy and patriarchy and between conversion and covenant birth in lineage discourse entails what Ofelia, in Chapter Two, called “legacy,” a space that offers the ambiguity necessary to make tribalism not seem like racism and to make patriarchy not seem like sexism. Ofelia’s thoughts on her own Lamanite identity are illustrative of this ambiguity. She wonders to what extent one’s propensity to be a faithful Mormon comes from one’s covenant birth, one’s Lamanite ancestry, or from one’s own actions. Under these rarified valences of kin transmission and individual agency, being a *conversa* involves becoming heir to a new legacy that can be internalized or wasted. If internalized it becomes part of the blood, linking one to the patriarchal promises to which that blood is bound

through ancestral covenant. Heirs to this legacy become united, but the transmission of legacy through the mysterious idiom of blood risks profaning the Mormon project of universal tribalism—Zion. Impurities and matriarchal tendencies can travel through blood disguised as righteousness, and who will discern the difference? This perceived risk parallels one that the Spanish brought to Peru: *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity). As historian Kathryn Burns (2011) noted,

Spain's monarchs created the Spanish Inquisition in the late 1470s primarily to discipline ... people who were thought to practice Judaism clandestinely. And concerns began to fix on the supposed cleanliness of people's bloodlines ... the Castilian politics of race circa 1492 hinged on the purity of one's Christianity, increasingly defined as a matter not simply of belief and practice but of inheritance, or *limpieza de sangre*—something that could not be changed at the baptismal font. (58)

For Mormonism's founder, Joseph Smith, on the other hand, the idea that "religion" is carried in the blood was precisely the point of the baptismal font. Baptism and Holy Ghost conferral literally changed blood if change was necessary. Blood change was not necessary for those who literally descended from Abraham, such as Amerindians, who would instead experience a skin color change. He who was not Israelite, however, needed a violent "new creation by the Holy Ghost ... to purge out the old blood and make him actually the seed of Abraham" (Roberts 2016, 380). This caused physical convulsing in white Gentiles, whereas when the "Holy Ghost falls upon one of the literal seed of Abraham, it is calm and serene" (380). Such a literal rewiring of past genealogies by Holy Ghost-induced blood transfusion seems to have the potential to change all tribes into one universally inclusive Zion citizenry with clear gender roles.

Conversos in Saint's Clothing

However, as Ofelia makes clear, universal inclusion is not happening in *Barrio Periféricos*. On the surface level, this lack of inclusion seems to have very little to do with blood or lineage. The vast majority of members either see blood purity as a relic of a racist past or do not know about it at all. Nevertheless, the correlate of blood purity and “lineage thinking,” namely, the notion that birth circumstances relate to worthiness, becomes a significant feature of *Barrio Periféricos* discourse when a future grandchild’s Zion citizenship status is at stake—in this case, the status of Shannon’s potential offspring. Ofelia alludes to this when she complains about the questioning of her daughter’s covenant status. The only reason ward members would care to ask is to assess Shannon’s worthiness as a potential daughter-in-law and reproducer of third-generation Mormon grandchildren. They wondered if Shannon’s outward appearance of righteousness matched the preexistent valor that is supposed to result in covenant birth. When they found that she was not born in the covenant, they wondered if merging with her family line, which they knew to be inappropriately female dominated, might risk a future break in the great chain of sealings that tie all humanity together. In a religious tradition shot through with such ambiguities, navigating the riddle of “what the link might be between tribal identity and family history” (Cannell 2013b, 88) not only effects how Mormons imagine the ideal Zion citizen, it also effects how they rework Zion’s boundaries to screen for that ideal.

Along Zion’s boundaries where “tribe” can transmute from race to siblingship and back, there are many instances when geopolitical and historical borders unfortunately align. Since there are more generational Mormons in Utah and more *conversos* in Peru, the born-in-the-covenant versus *converso* divide maps closely onto the racial divide between Ephraim (the quasi-metaphorical Israelite ancestor of Anglo Mormons) and Manasseh (the quasi-literal Israelite

ancestor of Lamanites). This further maps onto the aforementioned ancestral divide regarding Peru's first *conversos*—the Spanish Crypto-Jews. What the Spanish Jewish *conversos* share with the Peruvian Mormon ones is

a discursive process by which the excess or slippage produced by the *ambivalence* of mimicry (almost the same, *but not quite*) does not merely “rupture” the discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a “partial” presence ... a proliferation of inappropriate objects that ensure its strategic failure, so that mimicry is at once resemblance and menace. (Bhabha 1984, 127)

Assessing the authenticity of a *converso*'s conversion is ambiguous enough in a US context where “seeing is believing.” In an Andean context, however, mimicry, resemblance, and menace are a tripartite roulette behind the most mundane interactions. In Andean mythology, appearances are by definition deceiving and the gaze is a conduit for as much antireality as reality. Powerful, benevolent gods dress as poor people and provoke disgust among all but those who can intuit beyond the mimicry (Arguedas, 1975). Ontological ambiguity is, therefore, a fundamental part of Andean place-making, and it exposes the authentic Zion citizenship of the growing number of Mormon *conversos* in Arequipa to significant scrutiny.

Ambivalence surrounding *conversos* finds expression in a phenomenon I witnessed in *Barrio Periféricos* whereby even those who were proud of being *conversos* themselves drew the line at allowing their loved ones to marry *conversos*. This phenomenon cuts through “lineage thinking” at many levels. On a familial level, the balance between *converso* status and covenant-born status tips strongly in favor of the covenant-born because, regardless of pre-Earth war beliefs, covenant-birth guarantees that the potential son or daughter-in-law will have, at the very least, been born into a heterosexual, nuclear family and not into a relationship with a single mother. This places the potential in-law closer to patriarchy than to matriarchy and thus closer to the global Mormon imaginary of the proper Zion citizen, a citizen who does not have to “break

the cycle” of female-led households because that cycle has already been broken. On a generational level, Mormons in Peru have sacrificed a lot for a Zion they believe that only their grandkids will live to fully experience. It is as if Arequipa itself is a *conversa* that will only “blossom as the rose” after a few more generations. If *conversos* cannot get their kids to marry someone born in the covenant, then their grandkids will, in essence, be starting at the same level their kids were, propelling a second generation of Mormonism into perpetuity and never fully arriving at a third. On an archetypal level, if someone is a *converso* they are—as if filtered through Andean mythology and European colonialism—always suspect of being almost, *but not quite* Mormon.

Shannon and Ofelia embody the heart of this ambivalence. Ofelia represents the ambivalence of “blood” because, despite her descent from autochthonous Andeans with little European admixture, she was ascribed the tribe of Ephraim in her patriarchal blessing. Shannon represents the ambivalence of *converso* status and its tension between destiny and agency because, despite her non-covenant birth status—and even her out-of-wedlock birth status—she was set up to marry covenant-born Marco. Marco’s parents do not subscribe to the importance of covenant birth, but other *Barrio Periféricos* members who do subscribe very deeply, such as Bishop Paucar, still consider Shannon as complete a Mormon as it is possible to be. In their eyes, Shannon’s saintliness outweighs her birth and whatever pre-birth cowardice or post-birth matriarchal socializing her birth represents. During Shannon’s formative years in *Barrio Periféricos*, everyone saw her as someone who was “the best of us.” Yet, her triumph over birth status paradoxically perpetuated the tightening of Zion’s borders because, as the best in the ward, she deserved nothing less than to marry the fullest Mormon imaginable. Shannon and her future husband were destined to produce children who would be the first full citizens of a local

arequipeño Zion, complete with a new temple. When “Plan A, Marco” backfired and “Plan B, Flavio: The Younger Brother” did not pan out, the bishopric decided to take matters into its own hands to design a plan C. But what young man could possibly be “Mormon” enough for Shannon?

Zion’s Border Police

There was one young man, but he was not a worthy plan C, and may have even threatened plan B. His name is Ayzo and he moved into the ward while Shannon was on her mission to El Salvador. He had only joined the church three years earlier and had just come back from his mission. He grew up in Lima, but moved on his own to Arequipa and into the boundaries of *Barrio Periféricos*. Ofelia, old enough to be his mother, felt an immediate maternal connection to him. Over a year into their mother-son relationship, the substance of their cosmic intersubjectivity was revealed. Having never talked before about their tribes of Israel with each other, one day Ayzo mentioned that his patriarchal blessing ascribed him the tribe of Juda through biological descent but that, because his tribe was dispersed, he would be adopted by a woman from the tribe of Ephraim. To Ofelia, this could only mean one thing:

“Look, you say that I am your *Mamá*, am I right?” I ask him. “Yes, because you are my *Mamá*, because you take care of me.” “Ah, exactly. And have you ever asked yourself what tribe I’m from?” “Oh, that’s true, I’ve never asked. So what tribe are you?” And I make him guess. He goes through all the tribes, but he doesn’t get it. So I tell him, “I am from the tribe of Ephraim!” And we both sat there, stunned.

Ayzo had never met a Lamanite of the tribe of Ephraim before, so he never guessed that Ofelia would be his prophesied adoptive mother. Not that he needed any more solidification of their kinship. This had been constructed the way it often is in the Andes, through food.

“You have to come eat lunch.” “But, but---” “Don’t give me any of your lip, Mister!” I tell him, “your lunch is all ready, you have to come and eat it.” “But the doctor said, my diet--” “No excuses! I’m the one who will worry about your diet.” And on Sundays he didn’t

want to come, he didn't want to impose, so I said, "hey, you come on Sunday, but I'm tired of cooking Monday through Friday, so you cook Sundays." So that was my way of getting him to come and eat, because otherwise he just doesn't eat. But the bishop didn't like that one bit.

Not everyone was excited by this new kinship formation. Bishop Paucar, one of the few ward members who lives in a "sealed" nuclear family, did not want Ayzo hanging around Ofelia's house because he feared what would happen when Shannon came back from her mission. Ayzo, already like a son-in-law to Ofelia, would surely fall for Shannon and endanger Plan B. The bishop's first line of defense would be to marry Ayzo off with someone else before Shannon even got back. He was "Mormon" enough for other young women in the ward, but not "Mormon" enough for Shannon:

Hermano, they premeditatedly judge him in the sense that he is a recent *converso*. Unfortunately, that's the way it is. The bishop interviewed him and splayed the young women out in front of Ayzo on a tray as it were, "look, for example, we have Lizbeth Abedul, this is a young woman who was born in the covenant," and he actually told him that. Ayzo told me the story. The bishop said, "and her parents are sealed in the temple, her uncle has been a stake president and her other uncles are *Fulano*, *Zutano*, and *Mengano*⁴, and her other uncle works in the temple, and she is from a stellar family and so this young woman suits you." All he said was, "thanks, Bishop for your recommendation." "But you have to get yourself a fiancé soon!" And Ayzo asked me, "but, why do they insist so much on me getting married? I mean, I don't even like that young woman and the bishop is the one who keeps insisting." "Just don't do it," I tell him. "I'm not going to."

And during that time Shannon comes back and he says, "I want to go out with her," because he is very formal, I mean, he didn't say, "hey, want to go out with me?" No. I mean, he came, he sat down, he asked my permission to get to know her, to go out, and so he did things the way they should be done. And now the bishop is saying, "no, no, no, we will not permit you two to go out." And, I don't know in the end what it is the bishopric wants. I don't understand it. But sometimes they grab onto that idea, right? They say, "we don't know anything about his parents, he is a new *converso*, he was only a member for a year before his mission, he lives alone, we don't know what he does."

Thwarting this union was going to be more difficult than the bishop had expected.

Thinking Ayzo to be unworthy of Shannon because he lacked covenant birth, the bishop hoped

⁴ Listing these three nonsense names is the Spanish-language way of saying "so-and-so" or "John Doe."

Ayzo would feel that lack within himself and be tempted to heal it by marrying someone who was born in the covenant. Instead, Ayzo confirmed the bishop's worst fears and went immediately after Shannon. The bishop could not let this happen. It was time for phase two.

OFELIA: They called Shannon in to an interview. The bishop was bothered because she is going out with Ayzo. Not just the bishop either, his councilors, everyone is against her going out with him, and so she came back from her interview badly affected. And she expressed to me her sadness and said, "*Mamá*, I don't understand why so much resentment against Ayzo on the part of my leaders. They told me roundly, 'we want you to stop seeing him completely.' But what I feel--- *Mamá*, I have prayed and I feel like he is a good young man and I want to go out with him."

And I took this opportunity and said, "what do you think now after hearing from the bishop and listening to his councilors?" And she is a little close-minded at times, "no, if my leader tells me something, it is for a reason, *Mamá*, so I am going to pay heed." "Oh, really? Okay, so you are going to tell him that you aren't going to see him anymore?" "Yes, *Mamá*, I have to because my leader told me so." "Oh, really? And how do you feel about that, I mean, what do you feel inside yourself?" "But it's that, *Mami*, I really like him, I feel something very special." "Okay then, even though you feel something very special for him, you are going to throw that all away just because your bishop and his councilors told you to? You are going to stop going out with him?" "Yes, I know it is for the best because they are my leaders and they are counseling me for my benefit." "Alright, sounds perfect then," I told her, "but, you know what? The leaders are human beings, and they make mistakes and sometimes we as humans judge based on certain things, and we judge people as well. And do you know that they don't know Ayzo perfectly? Do you think for one second that if I knew that he was a disobedient young man and that he was really bad for you, that I would permit you to go out with him? I am your mother," I told her. "I know that young man, and you know it." "But my bishop said!" And she started to cry. I told her, "look. Pray. The bishop can tell you many things, but tell the Lord. What will the Lord tell you? You are forgetting that you are a missionary, that you have been a missionary, so make your decision, pray to the Lord. The leaders make mistakes, *Hijita*."

And so she started to study, and she prayed and the next day when she woke up, I asked her, "And? What did you think?" She said, "*Mami*. I am going to keep going out with him." "Alright, are you sure?" "Yes, *Mamá*." And so she told Ayzo, and it was very sad, *Hermano*. She told Ayzo.

JASON: So Ayzo knows that the bishop is against him?

OFELIA: "And you know what?" she told him, "it's not only the bishop, it is the counselors, the stake presidency."

Believing they had Shannon's best interests at heart in steering her away from someone who was almost, *but not quite* Mormon, the bishopric did not give up. Employing the rumor mill to turn the other JAS members against Ayzo, calling him in constantly for intimidating interviews, accusing him of being inactive and of not attending LDS institute classes, and even threatening to employ those accusations toward cutting him off from the church's Perpetual Education Fund⁵ which paid for his mining engineering degree, the bishopric eventually succeeded in driving a wedge between Ayzo and Shannon. The couple resolved that it would be best for the social harmony of the ward if they began to see other people. Nevertheless, Ayzo remained a part of Ofelia's family. This confused the ward. Why would he still hang around Shannon so much if they had broken up? Was she available for a plan C or not?

Shannon's love life is a microcosm of the greater Zion-building project and the productive and destructive tension that Zion's paradoxically exclusive inclusivity generates. Mormons are taught that their bodies are temples, and that the temple is the symbol for Zion. It is the place where God is able to seal humanity together under one united, coresident siblingship. It is universal *pacha*. Yet, it is also extremely exclusive, complete with textual stipulations on who may and may not enter. In order to get a "temple recommend" card, one must be baptized a Mormon, pay a full ten percent of one's monthly income to the church corporation, and the list goes on. The last requirement on the list is that one must believe oneself to be worthy to enter. In *Barrio Periféricos*, this would require managing to not internalize the barrage of insinuations from global and local pulpits that true Mormon worthiness requires living in a US-defined, male-

⁵ Though many *Barrio Periféricos* members lived in fairly severe poverty, Ayzo was the only person in the ward who was able to achieve access to church funding of any kind. I mention this again to dispel the myth that people remain in the church in order to access its welfare system. As that welfare system is almost impossible to access, nothing could be further from the truth. As far as I know, Ayzo is the only person I have ever met who has actually tapped into the Perpetual Education Fund.

dominated nuclear family, being born in the covenant, and most of all, being married—or striving to be married—to someone who also fulfills those requirements.

In *Barrio Periféricos*, if everyone’s body is a temple, Shannon’s is the Salt Lake City temple: the ultimate, central symbol of Zion in the ward. When they sing the hymns of Zion, they are singing to her: “youth of the promise, hope of Zion, listen to Jesus Christ and follow him in unity, youth of Israel” (Townsend, 1992, 168, translation mine). Shannon’s body securely reserved as sacrosanct, the types of people that the ward actively excluded from access to it reveal the unwritten rules that make up the true boundaries of their Zion, a city that, despite everything, still claims to be open to all.

Youth of Zion Rise

The saga of Shannon and Ayo is not over. After I left Arequipa in August 2018, I kept recording WhatsApp conversations with Ofelia. She had recently taken the 16-hour bus ride to the Lima temple with Shannon to help Ayo do proxy baptismal rites on behalf of his sister who died while he was on his mission. To enter the temple, they showed their temple recommend cards to the male gatekeeper. Once inside, Ofelia and Shannon emerged from the changing room dressed in white long before Ayo, so they sat in the lobby. As they waited, the recommend card-checker’s wife, an old Peruvian woman, came up to them and asked Shannon a question.

“That young man who came in with you, is that your brother?” “No, no. That’s not my brother, he’s only a friend,” she tells him. And the sister gave her a long look and said, “ah, your friend, you don’t say. You mean your boyfriend?” And Shannon told her, “he’s just a friend, nothing more. He’s a friend who asked that I be baptized on behalf of his sister.” “Oh, but you are going to marry him.” “No,” Shannon tells her, “I am not going to marry him. There’s nothing between us.” “Yes, but you are going to marry him.” And she looks at Shannon and laughs, and I also look at Shannon and smile. “You will go back to wherever you are from and you will marry him.”

The temple diviner did not err. About six months later, Ayo and Shannon scheduled their temple marriage for December 19, 2019, four days after the Arequipa temple was to be dedicated. Against the directives of their “Judge In Israel”—an alternate title for bishop—they were among the first couples sealed in that temple, the center of their own appropriately paradoxical piece of Peruvian Zion.

Barrio Periféricos’ gendered tensions between exclusive, quasi-biological lineages and inclusive familial love scale broader than local matchmaking and generational single motherhood cycle-breaking. These tensions link to the greater problem of family-making in today’s world especially as they connect to race and, specifically, to whiteness. As I conclude in the next chapter with a personal instantiation of Zion’s multivalent endogamy, I ask a question that opens a larger realm of inquiry within tribalism’s symbiosis with siblingship, a question that encapsulates this entire research project—Who gets to be one of “us?”

CONCLUSION

Moroni con Lamborghini versus Cholo con Plata:

Whiteness, *La Familia* and other Complex Admixtures

Why does she have to go and try to make “sense” of it all? Every time she makes “sense” of something, she has to “cross over,” kicking a hole out of the old boundaries of the self and slipping under or over, dragging the old skin along, stumbling over it. It hampers her movement in the new territory, dragging the ghost of the past with her. It is a dry birth, a breech birth, a screaming birth, one that fights her every inch of the way. It is only when she is on the other side and the shell cracks open and the lid from her eyes lifts that she sees things in a different perspective. It is only then that she makes the connections, formulates the insights. It is only then that her consciousness expands a tiny notch, another rattle appears on the rattlesnake tail and the added growth slightly alters the sounds she makes. (Anzaldúa 2012, 71)

Longing and Hate

In this conclusion, I will not make sense of the previous chapters. Instead, I will slightly alter their sound. My first alteration will be to switch to the second person. I am going to include you in this conversation so that I can end as I began, talking about the possibility of an “us.” You may have noticed throughout these chapters that underlying all this business about Zion is a notable privileging of something that, in the racialized space-time in which I am currently writing, can only be termed “whiteness.” You may have also noticed that the relationship Peruvian Mormons have to this herein undefined and perhaps undefinable “whiteness” is—like Zion itself—paradoxical. Peruvian Mormons are engaged in a series of battles for full inclusion into the culture of the gospel (Chapter One), into the origin of the church (Chapter Two) into the topography of the Book of Mormon (Chapter Three), into the future (Chapter Four), into the *forever family* (Chapter Five), into the self of self-reliance (Chapter Six) and into the covenant (Chapter Seven). Both factions of each of these battles, as captured in the chapter titles, are laden

with whiteness even though one side of each rivalry, such as *La Gringada* (Chapter Six), is usually more blatantly laden than the other.

This dissertation was not about whiteness. Yet, it was all about whiteness. The word, “whiteness” is not in the title, but perhaps it should be. Part of the insidiousness of whiteness is that it resists being in book titles for the same reason it resists definition. If we cannot define it, we cannot see it, and if we cannot see it, we cannot combat it. And, if this “we” includes Christians (and it does if my study participants in *La Familia* are reading this) and if Jesus really is “white” (and he is according to the *arequipeño* Mormon artist who replaced me as “Super Quorum” president when I left *Barrio Periféricos*, figure 29) why would we want to combat whiteness?



FIGURE 29: The model that this artist used for Jesus was a young, male Anglo missionary from Utah serving in Arequipa at the time (2015). July 2018.

Researchers have certainly tried to define whiteness. In an African American context, Theresa Perry (1998) defined whiteness as “that complex admixture of longing and hate that white people have for African Americans, their cultural formations, and their cultural products” (1998, 15). This definition is a perfectly paradoxical fit for the sort of whiteness foundational to Zion, a city founded by Peruvian Mormons, African American Mormons and unmarked Mormons alike on a “complex admixture of longing and hate,” religion and kinship, evil and good, holy and sacred, modernity and antimodernity, story and history, revulsion and attraction,

future and past, indigeneity and coloniality, dependence and independence, scarcity and abundance, singleness and matrimony, covenants and *conversas*, Ephraim and Manasseh, and ultimately, exclusion and inclusion.

In this dissertation, I have explored many research questions in terms of how Peruvian Mormons navigate the paradox that the “complex admixtures” reflected in that long list of binary constructs cause in their daily lives. In this conclusion, I will begin by providing an extremely personal example pertaining to whiteness that inches toward a larger, globally applicable question at the root of all those constructs: Who gets to be one of “us?” I will then apply some of the theoretical power from the dialectical tension of those constructs toward a more scandalous question that can serve as a satisfactorily paradoxical concluding microcosm of this whole dissertation: Do Peruvian Mormons want to marry white people?

What’s Your Tribe?

I received my patriarchal blessing at age 15 from an elderly, Anglo, generational-Mormon man in Utah. In it, I was ascribed to the tribe of Ephraim and promised that I would find a “mate of my own lineage.” In the context of the blessing, I assumed that this meant I was destined to marry a woman¹ who had also been ascribed to the tribe of Ephraim. I had no idea at the time that patriarchs tended to assign Ephraim to light-skinned people and other tribes to brown-skinned people, much less that I would one day want to marry a brown-skinned person. The blessing, which the patriarch’s wife transcribed and which now exists as a type-written document folded into my missionary copy of the Book of Mormon sitting on my bookshelf to

¹ Even if I had been homosexual, transgender, or intersex, it would have gone without saying that my future “mate” was to be of the gender considered opposite to the one within which I had been socialized. This fact, along with the hypothetical genealogical aspirations noted below, could serve as useful evidence in another project on the conundrum homosexuality presents to the Mormon cosmos.

this day, also told me that if I did not follow the Lord's council, I would not receive the rest of the promises mentioned in the document. I never questioned His council until I became romantically involved with a Peruvian Mormon woman. Concerned by the "own lineage" statement for the first time, I asked her, "what's your tribe?" Unfortunately, she was from Manasseh, not Ephraim. Our future now depended upon deciphering what God could have meant by the term "lineage." Surely, we convinced ourselves, He could not be talking about tribe of Israel ascription. What sort of endogamy was He talking about? Was it not enough that I was marrying a Mormon? Did not that give us a common "lineage" according to spiritual transcendentalism? By this time, I knew full well what Ephraim symbolized for the patriarch who came of age during the height of apostolic rhetoric such as this:

The Lord segregated the people both as to blood and place of residence. At least in the bases of the Lamanites and the Negroes, we have the definite word of the Lord himself that He placed a dark skin upon them: as a curse—as a sign to all others. He forbade intermarriage with them under threat of extension of the curse. (Peterson, 1954, 14)

The question regarding the ambivalent nature of kin-making at the heart of Zion-building is this: Was our eventual temple marriage in 2001 endogamous or exogamous? What kind of people embody Mormonness to such an extent that they qualify unambiguously for Mormon endogamy? This is an offshoot of the root question that all of the examples in this dissertation so contradictorily exemplify: Who gets to be one of "us?" As promised, to add one more "sound" to that macrolevel question, I will explore one final microlevel question—Do Peruvian Mormons want to marry white people?

White Genealogies

Given Mormonism's predilection for whiteness and, as I demonstrated in the introduction, confounding relationship in the construction of US whiteness, one might expect that

when matchmaking and match-thwarting Peruvian bishops and marriage-hungry Peruvian Mormon immigrants to Utah seek “the right person” they are also seeking a white person. This would make perfect sense given the importance of marrying someone born in the covenant as discussed in Chapter Seven. White Mormons in Utah are likely to not only have been born in the covenant themselves, but to have great-grandparents who were born in the covenant as well.

Imagine you are a first-generation Peruvian Mormon man marrying off your second-generation Mormon daughter to a sixth-generation Anglo Mormon son-in-law. Imagine the offspring of that union. You will suddenly have seventh-generation Mormon grandkids! You will have caught up to the Anglo Utah-Mormon future. Since your son-in-law’s great-grandparents did their own “family history,” you stand all amazed at the sheer size of the paternal side of your grandkids’ fully brachiated and foliated family tree complete with names, dates, and photographs for every individual in each succeeding, numbered generation. Some of these lines might even go back to Adam and Eve! You salivate before the immensity of all the different ancestral lines that could be mined for names, which could then be shipped to the temple—an ancestor-processing plant—to be given proxy rites, exalted, and sealed to the *forever family*.

Recalling the frenzy of family history that descended upon *arequipeño* Mormons when the rumor spread that temple construction had been delayed because of the local members’ failure to collect enough ancestor data to keep a temple running, marrying your daughter off to a white, generational Mormon would seem like a genealogical windfall. I have known Peruvian Mormons to feel guiltier about not having the “four generations back” filled out on their Familysearch.org family tree—a feat that is not yet on the official list of requirements for temple worthiness—than they do about failings that are on that list. Seeing a half-Anglo, half-seventh-generation Mormon grandchild’s family tree is enough to make you, a Peruvian Mormon

grandfather—ashamed as you may be over your own comparatively puny branch of that tree (figure 30)—beam with pride.



FIGURE 30: During a series of “family nights” in my own nuclear family, we made this wall-sized poster of our three daughters’ family tree (our daughters are depicted at the bottom of the trunk). At the time, we subscribed to the Eurocentric kin notion that in order to assign an individual ancestor to an individual leaf on the tree, we had to at least know the full name of that ancestor. Thanks to my data-driven Mormon ancestors who also subscribed to that notion, my side of the tree reaches significantly further “back” and “up” than that of my spouse (circled in red). December 2012.

Furthermore, your grandkids will now be on the cusp of actually reaching the “day of the Lamanite.” Their skin will be a shade lighter, meaning they will have simultaneously fulfilled Mormon prophecies of curse cancelation and Latin American projects of *blanqueamiento*

(national whitening). If you are like Fanon's (1994) stereotypical "Negro of the Antilles," you will want "only one destiny. And it is white. . . . all [your] efforts are aimed at achieving a white existence" (228), if not for yourself, for your posterity. Plus, most pragmatically, your half-white grandchildren—assuming your son-in-law was acquired through your daughter's immigration to Utah—will likely be birthright US citizens. They will be full members of the most "developed" and "self-governing" "first world" nation on the planet, the nation with, in the words of Alba from Chapter Four, "much future going forward," and the nation that the Book of Mormon prophesied would be "lifted up by the power of God above all other nations" (Smith 1830, 30). In short, your grandchildren will be in a state of blossoming as the rose, instead of being perpetually counted among those Lamanites, like yourself, trapped in the static future tense, who always and only "will blossom."

You can stop imagining now because, as a testament to the underlying paradox of it all, despite these tantalizing pulls of Mormon whiteness, I cannot think of a single Peruvian Mormon whose sentiments come even close to matching those of this hypothetical grandfather. The question then becomes, why? Why does the penchant for whiteness among Mormons not translate into a sentiment among Peruvian Mormons that to marry the right Mormon one must marry a white Mormon?

Moroni Con Lamborghini

Aihwa Ong (2003), one of only a handful of anthropologists to mention Mormonism in a full-length ethnography, might critique the premise of that question. According to her, Cambodian Mormon women in California do think that to marry the right Mormon one must marry a white Mormon. Dr. Ong is not the only one with this assumption. Katari, a brown-

skinned Mormon man living in Utah, lives with that assumption every day and blames it for his ongoing singleness. Katari grew up thinking that he was an average, middle-class boy in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, but on his 16th birthday his parents gave him a special gift that revealed his true identity. The gift was a US birth certificate. All his Bolivian life, he had been a birthright citizen of the US without knowing it. Upon receipt of this gift, he emigrated, joined the church in New Jersey, and was studying at Utah Valley University when I arrived for the Mormon Social Science Association's 2016 conference. Between sessions, he told me what it was like to be a single Latino Mormon in Utah. His principal complaint was that, as he put it, "Utah girls will only marry a *Moroni con Lamborghini*." He explained that the Moroni half of this bipartite requirement indexes more about the ancient American prophet Moroni than just his impeccable righteousness. Moroni after all—as the last Nephite and the one who witnessed the dark-skinned Lamanites eliminate his entire nation—was light-skinned. Furthermore, assuming he took after his father (Mormon), he was "large in stature" (Smith 1830, 520). Katari, in contrast, and by his own estimation, is "*moreno y chaparrito*" (brown and short). In Katari's eyes, Mormons, be they fellow Andeans or Anglo Utahans, are looking to marry Mormons who are righteous, rich, tall and—*therefore*—"white."

However, in my experience with specifically Peruvian Mormons and, even more specifically, with the Costa family (*La Familia*), the "whiteness" they seek in a marriage partner must be so tempered with *peruanidad* that it ends up being—oh, so paradoxically—easier to find a proper mate in Peru than in Utah. Jacoba Arriátegui—my spouse's aunt and the matriarch of the Costa family in Salsands, Utah—has made many a matchmaking trip back to Peru for that very purpose on behalf of her children and grandchildren. In order to appreciate the irony behind how it is possible that both Mormonism and *peruanidad* can love whiteness even as their

admixture concocts a “Peruvian Mormonism” that rejects Anglo Mormon marriage partners requires a short lesson from the perspective of a Bolivian Mormon in Utah on how whiteness works.

Racism, as Katari implies with the phrase *Moroni con Lamborghini*, is created when previously unrelated categories such as “righteous, rich, and tall” become naturalized as a synonymous bundle and implicit in a single character trait that is further naturalized as being phenotypic, such as “whiteness.” If this trait is associated with the top of the racial hierarchy that society is creating, then all things that have a positive valence in that society will eventually become implicitly synonymous with it. Hence the phrase from the US racial system— “white is right.” The opposite is also true. As Fanon (1994) noted,

the Antillean ... feels ... that one is a Negro to the degree to which one is wicked, sloppy, malicious, instinctual. Everything that is the opposite of these Negro modes of behavior is white. This must be recognized as the source of Negrophobia in the Antillean. In the collective unconscious, black = ugliness, sin, darkness, immorality. In other words, he is Negro who is immoral. If I order my life like that of a moral man, I simply am not a Negro. (192)

In this framework, anything that is “moral” will be associated with the bundle of characteristics called “whiteness.” Confirmation bias allows these associations to be further solidified even among people, like “modern” Mormons, who are avowed antiracists. Let us use *Moroni con Lamborghini* as an example. According to Katari, Mormon women of any race are subconsciously biased toward light-skinned guys. They are not aware of this underlying bias, and, therefore, cannot change it. Let us imagine that one of these women has two criteria for an ideal husband of which she is conscious—1). Righteousness (*Moroni*) and 2). Wealth (*Lamborghini*). Let us further imagine that Katari drives up in a Lamborghini, asks this woman out on a date and hears her reply, “you know what? I love your car, but I haven’t seen you at church lately and I’m really looking for someone who is more righteous. So the answer is no.”

As she saw Katari's short, brown body approach in a Lamborghini, this woman immediately prioritized righteousness over wealth in her mind, convinced herself that she had done this reprioritization prior to seeing Katari and determined that he simply did not fit her preestablished criteria. His brownness had nothing to do with it. After a few minutes, another guy, even more "inactive" in the church than Katari, pulls up in an identical Lamborghini. This guy has very light skin. As she watches him approach, she thinks, "you know, on second thought, wealth really is more important to me than righteousness and it always has been. I will say yes to this guy." In this way, the two ostensibly nonracial traits of which she is conscious work together to obfuscate the true deciding factor—pale skin. Though the traits of righteousness and wealth are in a bundle that Utah society has labeled "whiteness," the racist mind is adept at temporarily removing them from that bundle and reconfiguring them in any way necessary, even if it means adding new traits, as long as "white" skin is selected without appearing to have anything to do with the decision-making process. This is why the phrase *Moroni con Lamborghini* rings so true to Katari. It exposes the sleight of hand with which whiteness is hidden because, of course, what are the chances of seeing a Latino in Utah driving a luxury car? The righteousness criterion will eliminate a few Latino Mormons in Utah, but the combination of that with the wealth criterion will conveniently eliminate the rest. All that is left will be, "coincidentally," white Mormons.

Cholo Con Plata

The well-known idiomatic expression "*cholo con plata*" (Indigenous person with money) works as a kind of oxymoronic joke in Peru for the same reason that *Moroni Con Lamborghini* works as an explanation for why Mormon women do not date Katari: It exposes confirmation bias. *Cholo con plata* takes us from a discussion of Utah whiteness to a discussion of Peruvian

whiteness that can help elucidate why the Peruvian Mormon boundary of endogamy is often drawn to exclude those who embody the very whiteness that Peruvian Mormonism otherwise seems to hold supreme. *Cholos* in Peru are characterized as people who grew up in autochthonous mountain villages but who then “invaded” the cities. In the city, *cholos* try to live a modern *peruanidad* that is imagined as raceless but that is deliberately patterned after a US-style nation-building initiative that favors whiteness (Gandolfo 2009). *Cholo con plata* refers to the futility of the effort to join this simultaneously raceless and white national body. It is as if a “white” employer were saying, “I need someone with *plata* (money),” but then along comes a *cholo con plata* who is obviously not what the employer meant because *cholos* are, by societal definition, *sin plata*. *Cholo con plata* humorously reveals that the employer might have saved herself the effort of using a code wherein “*plata*” equals “white,” by simply admitting, “I need a white person like me.”

What is interesting here from a US standpoint is that, were the employer herself in the US, she would be considered a Latina and even an unambiguous “person of Color,” whereas in Peru she has no “racial” designation, but she inhabits the rung reserved for whiteness on the social hierarchy. As in Fanon’s (1994) Martinique so it is in Peru. If one is above a certain economic level, one is understood to be “white” (43). Also, it is quite possible that the employer herself is a *chola* who has been able to “pass” as a raceless *limeña*. If someone from her ancestral village were to see her in her office in Lima, they might remark on her hobnobbing with upper-class executives just as an Arguedas (2011) fictional character did in similar circumstances:

These cholos only just arrived [from the village to the city] and, even so, they move around the Sub-Director as if they were VIP’s; he looks at them and at their distinguished neighbors as if he were looking at equals. Isn’t it true that their own parents are still alive wandering around their villages in their raggedy traditional garb? From whence this air of pride, this resolution that grants them enough valor to confront Don Julian? (129, translation mine).

In Peru, only Afroperuvians are “people of Color.” Peruvians, 90 percent of whom fit the US imaginary of “little brown people,” reserve that infantilizing moniker, “*morenitos*,” for Black people. At the same time, the extremely small percentage of Peruvians who actually fit the US imaginary of “white people,” many of whom are *criollos* (descendants of the first mainland Spaniards born in New Spain) are referred to with an epithet: *pitucos*. *Pitucos* are not moral people. They are stingy, greedy, individualistic opportunists. According to the Antillean definition wherein whiteness equals morality, *pitucos* do not embody whiteness despite their phenotype. “White” the skin color, therefore, occupies a very ambivalent association with one’s position relative to white-ness in Peru.

At first glance, light skin color is the most salient of the characteristics associated with societal superiority in Peru. For example, to be screen worthy in Peru—meaning to have one’s face on billboards, advertisements, films, and talk shows—one must either have extremely light skin or be a professional soccer player. In fact, since the vast majority of Peruvians exhibit little to no phenotypic European admixture, it helps if one is not Peruvian at all. I cannot tell you how many window posters I saw promoting products through Peru’s historic rise to the 2018 World Cup with text stating “The Coast, The Mountains, The Jungle: We are all ONE Peru” only to have it foregrounded with a “diverse” array of Nordic models dressed in Peruvian national team merchandise and drinking Inka Kola. In Peru, beauty is almost completely synonymous with light skin color, but, ironically, light skin color is not completely synonymous with “whiteness.” Or, rather, whiteness is ambivalent in Peru and completely multivalent in Peruvian Mormonism. It is not always positive.

One reason for this is that light skin color is associated with the US. Though Peruvian Mormons bundle wealth, beauty, height and many other attributes with whiteness’ more positive

valence, the US itself, despite its being the cradle of their religion and the author of the white nation-building they seek to emulate, is not fully part of that bundle. There are things about *gringolandia* (the US) that Peruvian Mormons are not willing to accept no matter how closely associated those things are to their beloved, new US religion.

Since Mormons in general accept the mandates of religious endogamy and since Peruvians accept many things that are tied to US notions of whiteness—namely, Mormonism itself—it may come as a surprise that Peruvian Mormon acceptance of *la gringada* reaches its limit at the precise latitude where all these notions might otherwise advantageously intersect—marrying a white, US citizen Mormon. However, surprising as it may be, many Peruvian Mormons do not want their daughters marrying *gringos*. Their “white” skin, beautiful as it may be, is not worth the pathological aspects of their white-ness. As many chapters of this dissertation have demonstrated, the aspects of whiteness that some Peruvian Mormons see as most pathological have to do with family. These include the *desprendimiento* of 18-year-old “adults,” the dismemberment of coresident siblingship, and the violent sacrifice of the “extended family”—the core group of “dividuals”—for the benefit of creating the married couple as a separate, individualized and often distantly dwelling unit. Since all of these are important aspects of Mormonism, not just whiteness, it is a wonder that Peruvians become Mormons at all.

That they are able to square these white pathologies with their spiritual lives is a testament to how syncretism can metamorphose repulsive, tangible practices into intangible, and as such, tolerable, ideas. In my experience, however, rather than experiencing a metamorphosis, Peruvian Mormons simply postpone their acceptance of the divinity of *gringo* kin notions into the distant future, claiming, “it will all be worked out in the Millennium,” the 1000 years of peace brought in by Christ’s second coming. However, when you are confronted with the idea

that your own daughter might get torn away into one of these cold, distant, *sui generis* nuclear families, right here and now on this Earth, things get real tangible real fast.

When Peruvian Mormon families live in the largely Anglo Mormon society of Utah, such a tearing away is an ever-present possibility and it requires another highly conflicted redrawing of the boundaries of endogamy. Mormons are already supposed to marry outside the kin group (exogamy) but inside the religion (endogamy). Inasmuch as Mormonism *is* a kin group, the blurry boundary of exogamy/endogamy between kinship/religion provides complexity enough. However, once in Utah, in order to preserve any semblance of *familia*, Peruvian Mormons must add another layer of complexity to their endogamy that, if needs be, trumps any desire for marrying a US citizen, a *Moroni con Lamborghini*, or someone born in the covenant. This level of complexity is a criterion that nullifies many of the mate-finding probability reasons for which single Mormons immigrated to Utah in the first place: Peruvian Mormons in Utah must marry Peruvian Mormons.

Proving Peruanidad

In the Mormon context, Anglo/Latinx “interethnic” marriage implies the crossing of two estranged Israelite lineages in Mormon discourse: Ephraim, represented in white people from the US, and Manasseh, represented in anyone with phenotypically discernable ancestry indigenous to the Americas or the Pacific Islands. These two sons of Joseph of Egypt are prophesied to come together in the Earth’s final days, uniting their separate but somehow equal roles that, in poetic scripture and song, sound strikingly similar to the unequal gender roles one might find in a “traditional” US marriage. Ephraim is the supervisor, and Manasseh is the builder. Ephraim is the vanguard, and Manasseh is the rearguard. And, in the most shockingly patronizing—or, I

should say, matronizing—of these metaphors, Ephraim is the nursing mother and Manasseh is the baby. As I have described on the battlefields of 1850's Utah, this coming together has rarely ended well for Manasseh. Today, Manasseh's descendants are in among Ephraim like never before, but intratribal Mormon kin battles are no longer fought to the death, and the Ephraim versus Manasseh sides of the ancestral sibling rivalry are far blurrier.

Yet, the rivalry remains. Manasseh, even when represented by “Americanized” Peruvian-American youth who grew up in predominantly white, Mormon, Utah public schools, does not often capitulate to Ephraim's kin ways to the extent of physically marrying into them. At least, not if Jacoba the matriarch has anything to say about it. Jacoba runs a semiofficial wedding reception decoration business in Salsands, Utah. It just so happens that three of her grandsons and one of her sons got married during the six-month Utah phase of my fieldwork, so I had occasion to participate in many a Costa-style, Peruvian Mormon wedding reception designed by Jacoba. Jacoba has all the materials and know-how necessary to turn a Mormon chapel's multipurpose room into a dance hall aglow with enough white Christmas lights and draped with enough tulle that one soon forgets about the basketball hoops above and free-throw lines below. She even covers the invariably stained, scratched and dented metallic folding chairs—the setting up, sitting in, and taking down of which have become part of a global Mormon *habitus* (Inouye 2015)—with custom-fit, pearly white sheaths.

Jacoba is my spouse's aunt, so when my future spouse and mother-in-law were planning our wedding reception back in 2001, they naturally asked Jacoba for decoration help. Instead of help, Jacoba gave my fiancé urgently needed advice—“do not, under any circumstances, marry a *gringo*.” My fiancé—saints be praised—refused to follow that advice. Jacoba, probably for reasons that had more to do with misunderstandings around a “family discount” than they did

with not wanting to be complicit in her niece's disastrous choice, refused to decorate our reception and also made sure none of the Costa side of the family attended our wedding. This symbolic protest became part of the reason I was not included as a member of the Costa faction of my wife's family until my preliminary research for this project began 16 years later. Of course, Jacoba had not expected our marriage to last that long. As a pioneer of the Latinx Mormon church in Northern Utah and as an entrepreneur of the very idea of Latinx-centered Mormon activities, Jacoba has seen plenty of failed interethnic Mormon marriages and she attributes most of these failures to the whiteness of one of the partners.

One problem Jacoba has seen multiple times is that the Anglo groom, despite knowing that marrying a Latina means marrying into her family rather than starting his own family, is never prepared for what this actually entails. This is something that Peruvian Mormons whom I only just met often feel the need to tell me even when they know that my spouse is Peruvian. In other words, they perceive that I still, after almost two decades of marriage with a Peruvian, have not fully learned what marriage is for a Peruvian. On my very first Sunday at *Barrio Perifericos* in Arequipa, Flavio Abedul (Shannon's plan B), fresh off his mission, asked for my advice about whether or not he should follow his mission president's counsel and get married right away at age 21. I started explaining that it was totally his own personal choice and that the best advice is to ignore other people's counsel. Older men standing around us during this conversation jumped in to cut me off and get me up to speed on some information that they assumed I would need in order to mitigate the damage my advice was apparently causing. They correctly assumed that I, though a fellow Mormon, probably had a rather different definition of "marriage" than Flavio by virtue of my whiteness. They explained to me that when Anglos get married, they think of themselves as starting their own little family of two, but that when Peruvians get married they

think of it as the merging of two large families. The compatibility of the two families is just as important as the compatibility of the two individuals because the two separate families will have to become one at parties—through Peruvian food and Peruvian dancing—that mark the major life events of the couple and their children from then on: baby showers, birthdays, baptisms, mission call letter-openings, mission farewells, mission homecomings, and wedding receptions. Therefore, since the couple’s individual decision is only one of many factors to take into consideration, my advice to ignore counsel extraneous to individual choice was inappropriate.

Peruvian food and dancing (but not alcohol) become key factors in marriage alliances for Peruvian Mormons because they are part of proximity. Potential new members of the family have to live close enough to the family to get together with them often and party. You cannot become a member of the Costa family until you have been to enough of their almost weekly parties to prove your *peruanidad* through adequate dance skills and proper food preferences. This was the other reason for our nuclear family’s estrangement from them. Not only did we leave Davis County, Utah, something that is almost unheard of in *La Familia*, we left the US entirely for eight years. I played right into Jacoba’s stereotype of the *gringo* who cannot hack it in a Peruvian family and so either gets divorced or takes his Peruvian wife as far away from her family as possible (we moved to Turkey).

However, other than their boycott of our wedding, our marriage began happily enough. We started out living a few miles from the Costa’s in the same house with my Peruvian mother-in-law, her son, his Salvadoran wife, and their baby daughter. I learned a lot about my whiteness during the year we were there, and so did my mother-in-law. She, incidentally, was still reeling over her own violent divorce from a *gringo* Mormon (not the father of any of her children). Things were never great between them, but when more and more of her adult children (including

my future spouse) immigrated to the US and came to live with them in Utah, the *gringo*—or “the old cowboy” as Jacoba now likes to call him—realized that the warning, “you marry her family, not just her,” was not metaphorical. However, thanks to the old cowboy’s personification of whiteness at its worst, I did not look half bad in comparison. I was not nearly as “white” as he was. My advantage? I could speak Spanish and had lived in Latin America for two years as a missionary. I was so “down” with *la cultura latina* that I had even acquired a taste for *chuño*, a freeze-dried, fermented potato that Ofelia often serves to her *gringo* missionaries in Arequipa as a litmus test of their nascent *peruanidad*.

As an example of how food appreciation proves one’s *peruanidad*, and as such, confirms one’s mastery of proper (non-white) kinways, I relate an anecdote from my field work in 2017 when Sofi (from Chapter Seven) invited us over to her place to eat. Newly immigrated members of the Costa family continue arriving from Peru every year, and Sofi was one of them. These new arrivals, fresh from the motherland, are considered culinary experts because they have not yet been desensitized to the frozen, imported Peruvian ingredients and US-grown approximations of Peruvian ingredients with which the Peruvians in Utah are forced to make do. Since it was nearly Christmas, Sofi offered us Donofrio-brand *panetón* and Sol Del Cuzco-brand hot chocolate. *Panetón*, a highly processed Italian fruitcake, is the definitive taste of Peruvian Christmas. *Panetón* is Christmas but during the dinner with Sofi it became something else entirely. *Panetón*, and my daughters’ dislike of it, became proof that they are almost Peruvian, *but not quite*.

I myself am ashamed to admit that it took me until Christmas of 2016 to finally acquire a taste for *panetón*. Combine this with the ancestrally-felt sentiment that food is the substance of Peruvian relatedness, and it becomes no surprise that in my first year of living with a Peruvian

mother-in-law, it was over food that we had the inevitable falling out that would spiral into a breach of coresidence between her and her daughter that will likely only be healed over my dead body. Though every adult in the home worked, including my aging mother-in-law (12-hour shifts at the Lofthouse food factory), only she cooked and we would occasionally eat together with the whole household. I felt like she had a sixth sense when it came to scrutinizing what I ate. I could not extract a single chicken vertebra from the plate of *arroz con pollo* she served me without her noticing and commenting on the thinly veiled insult of her cooking such an extraction implied. Low grade battles over food culminated in the closest I have ever come to a fist fight with a Peruvian brother-in-law. Since we all used the same kitchen, there was always a conflict over who did the dishes. I had the brilliantly individualistic idea that everyone could use their own distinctive set of dishes and wash their own. I assumed that the virtues of this All-American plan would speak for themselves, so I taught it by example one night by serving up my mother-in-law's famous *tallarín verde* on my own personal aluminum camping plate—complete with matching spork—rather than using the family dishware. As Ofelia would say, “gargantuan MISTAKE!” My brother-in-law took it as a personal affront to his mother and a subversion of her ultimate authority over the kitchen. He also took it as a rupture of the collectivity that is supposed to be inherent in communal eating. Most of all, he took it as a sign that I still concealed—below my Spanish-speaking, Peruvian food-eating surface—a pathological amount of whiteness. I was still way too white for his sister.

Immanent Obligation and Wedding Photography

When we came back to the US for the purpose of my preliminary investigations for this project 16 years later, time had healed most wounds and the Costa family invited us to their

annual campout that I mentioned attending in Chapter Two. I had heard a lot about Jacoba, but had not actually met her before this. During the campout, which included a dance-off, the faithfully Mormon Costa family finally approved of our marriage and with it my insertion into their family. My inclusion did not happen because I proved myself to be sufficiently Mormon, but because I proved myself to be sufficiently Peruvian. Despite the high value that “whiteness,” variously defined, has in both Mormonism and *peruanidad*, my whiteness was not an asset in the eyes of these Peruvian Mormons. It was a handicap that I had to overcome in order to join *La Familia*. Legally marrying a biological member of *La Familia* was not enough to grant me entry into *La Familia* even though our marriage was performed inside the Salt Lake City temple, the global symbol of Mormon *forever family* worthiness. Instead, in order to be granted entry, I had to show that I understood what *familia* truly means, and this required that I become Peruvian. In sum, for Peruvian Mormons like the Costas, *La Familia* is ultimately more important than the church.

As I began doing in Chapter Six, I italicize and capitalize “*The Family*” in Spanish to distinguish *constructed* membership in the Costa family from an *essential* membership one might experience when one simply happens to be born into a societal arrangement called “my family.” Jacoba’s English-preferring grandkids demonstrate a linguistic awareness that there is something different between the way they speak of family and the way their Anglo peers speak of family. Even when speaking English to monolingual English speakers, the Costa third generation will almost always use the Spanish kin terms of *tía* (aunt) and *primo* (cousin) when referring to members of what they call, always in Spanish, *La Familia*, by which they mean the Costa clan. When they say “my family” they index the nuclear sense of family, the sense that they have in common with Anglo peers. But when they say, “*La Familia*,” they index a special association, a

higher and deeper level of kinship to which they have had to earn access, and a relatedness that gives them a sacred belonging above and beyond that which their Anglo Mormon peers experience. The Costas cannot fathom why someone would want to *desprenderse* (wrench themselves away) from such belonging like *gringos* notoriously do when they move away from their families. They cannot conceive of how it would even be possible to raise children away from *La Familia* as my spouse and I have done.

Most of the questions that Jacoba and her eldest daughter, Lori had for me when I finally became one of *La Familia* revolved around how I could justify raising my daughters so far away from *La Familia*. Jacoba was particularly intent on convincing me to get a job at a local university in Utah because perhaps there was still time for my daughters to be raised up properly, meaning within the space of *La Familia*. This may seem hypocritical coming from the woman who left three of her kids, including Lori, in Peru for three years while she attempted to start a new life in the US, but, as I discussed in Chapter Six, Jacoba's actions were perfectly in line with her kinship ideals. She left her children precisely so that they could reside longer with *La Familia* in Peru until a remote offshoot of *La Familia* could be formed for them in the US. Her actions in leaving her young children near the place from whence their greatest relationality emanated only proves the point that "*familia*" does not include simply her, her antecedents and her descendants in the way that "family" might for Anglo Mormons. *Familia*, in Peruvian Mormonism, is a much larger, deeper and broader network than "family" is in the Anglo Mormonism in which I was raised. For Jacoba, *familia* is her connection to the multitemporal places of Zion, be they in Peru or Utah. As such, *familia* is a connection to her *pioneer indigeneity* that is intimately interwoven with her claims of being first in the land of Zion and her claims of being "prior" even though these claims are difficult to historically "prove" in ways

modernity would find satisfactory. For Jacoba, *familia* and its conflation of time and place seems to be what Povinelli (2011) called “*immanent obligation*.”

By “immanent obligation” I am referring to a form of relationality that one finds oneself drawn to and finds oneself nurturing or caring for. This being ‘drawn to’ is often initially a very fragile connection, a sense of an immanent connectivity. Choices are then made to enrich and intensify these connections. But even these choices need to be understood as retrospective and the subject choosing as herself continually deferred by the choice. I might be able to describe why I am drawn to a particular space and I may try to nurture this obligation or to break away from it, but still I have very little that can be described as “choice” or determination in the original orientation. (28)

Immanence evokes innateness flowing out to include unchosen human and non-human others (people and places) within a connection. Obligation imposes from without to exclude threats to that connection. In this sense and inasmuch as *immanent obligation* is *familia*, *familia* is a microcosm of Mormonism itself and of the exclusive inclusivity of Zion that I have spent seven chapters building up as a grand paradox. However, seen from the level of quotidian Costa family interactions rife with *immanent obligations* toward each other, toward their holy church, and toward their sacred places, the supposed paradox of “exclusive inclusivity” loses its uniqueness to Zion and becomes part of the generic condition of humans as *immanently obligated* social primates. Exclusive inclusivity is simply part of what it means to be one of “us.”

The Costa family, like Mormonism itself, functions on some levels almost as a “premodern” tribe of people in a place of intimate interaction, rather than as a “modern” nation in a space of “stranger sociality” (Povinelli 2011, 28) that imagines complete strangers to be group members. Like a premodern tribe, *La Familia* is so extremely exclusive that it provides extra satisfaction and protection to those who are able to pass through its borders. Yet, at the same time, two of the requirements for passage include a sort of “immanent connection” to the modern nation-state of Peru and to the modern/antimodern religion of Mormonism. Entry into *La Familia* is, therefore, neither completely based on biological essentialism nor completely based

on constructing relationships and proving *peruanidad* through food and dance. As such, *La Familia* does not conform to either side of the kinship binaries that pit indigeneity against coloniality, constructivism against essentialism, premodern against modern, history against myth, and stranger sociality against proximal relationality. *La Familia*, as my spouse would say, is a *mezcolanza* (complex admixture) of all these things and yet, at the same time, it is still *immanent obligation*. For this reason, the precise nature of individual kin relationships within the Costa family can be confounding to an outsider. Let us consider Tadem's placement at Jericó's wedding as an example.

Jericó is Jacoba's grandson. After Jericó's temple marriage in Ogden, Utah in August 2017, he and his new spouse walked out onto the temple garden to be professionally photographed. Lori, Jericó's mother, called different groups of people together for these photos: the siblings of the bride and groom, the parents, and the grandparents. Each of these basic groupings had its own photo opportunity and the biologically essential nature of the relationships displayed was quite obvious to onlookers outside of *La Familia*, of which there were many in attendance. But then came time for the photo of "*Los Primos*." *Los Primos* is a very clearly distinguished generational division of *La Familia* that is defined against its counterpart one generation older called "*Los Tíos*." I was included in the photo of *Los Tíos* along with about 30 other members of *La Familia*. Tadem, whom I will introduce below, was included in the photo of *Los Primos* along with about 50 members of *La Familia*. One of Jericó's friends from work, an Anglo Mormon who was included in neither of these photos, asked me with a hint of jealousy what the criteria were for inclusion into those two photo groups. He understood the sibling photo, but he could not see any rhyme or reason to the hodge-podge of different races represented in *Los Primos* and *Los Tíos*. Specifically, he pointed to Tadem and asked

incredulously, “how did that guy get in the picture?” To him, *La Familia* seemed as arbitrarily exclusive as Zion sometimes seems to me.

Tadem looks like the absolute antithesis of *peruanidad*. He is a tall, blonde, pale-skinned, All-American white boy. He does not even speak Spanish. As Tadem’s membership in the generational group of Costa kin known as *Los Primos* demonstrates, however, you do not have to be “biologically” Peruvian, or even married to a Peruvian, to be a part of *La Familia*. Tadem is a childhood friend of one of Jacoba’s biological grandchildren and has proven himself on the dance floor (figure 31) and in the dining room to be as Peruvian as the best of them. Plus, and perhaps most importantly, he lives close enough to the clan to prove these things frequently. He drinks Inca Kola. He celebrates Peruvian Independence Day (July 28th). He is in *La Familia*. However, he is only in tenuously. His membership, since it is not included on the Costa’s actual FamilySearch.org family tree that only allows for a modern US kin system of vertical blood-descent, will always be contingent upon his continued construction of membership through food, dance, and proximity. My daughters, on the other hand, though they only enjoyed that proximity during the six months of my fieldwork in Salsands, are still “natural” members of *La Familia* to this day. Tadem is merely “naturalized” in the same way that many marked Mormons are merely “Mormonized.”



FIGURE 31: Tadem dances *el baile del dólar* with his “tío” Santiago’s new spouse, Teresa, during their wedding in the Pioneer Trail Ward’s chapel in Salsands, Utah. This photograph also includes another rare sighting of Elena. July 2017.

Cholo Sin Plata

Where does that leave affines like me? I have already established how my whiteness has been an obstacle in my path to full fellowship in *La Familia*, but that does not mean that a potential Mormon affine without any whiteness at all would be received with open arms. One must have the right amount of whiteness. I had too much, but my friend Basilio Corimayta had too little. I feel bad about including Basilio into this dissertation here at the tail end. He has been integral to the entire project. It was his compellingly contradictory border-crossing story that got me into graduate school in the first place. He grew up in the small village of Yanque in Southern Peru’s Colca Canyon. As a young adult he moved to Lima to live with his uncle, converted to

Mormonism, served a two-year mission in Ayacucho, Peru, and immigrated over land to the US/Mexico border. He was “called” to be in a Mormon branch presidency in Nogales, Mexico while he worked in a *maquila* to save up money to cross into Nogales, Arizona. Once across and sixty miles further in, he found himself in Tucson, Arizona on a Sunday morning with absolutely no social capital but his church membership. He looked up the nearest chapel in the phone book. The local Anglo Mormon bishop picked up the phone and promised to drive Basilio to church. When Basilio got into the bishop’s car, the bishop locked the doors and sped toward the border. He kicked Basilio out on the Mexico side and was probably back in Tucson in time to preside over sacrament meeting. Undaunted, Basilio went right back to work in Mexico, and right back to his calling in the branch presidency. Through a miracle involving a Mexican widow giving him her life savings, he crossed again and eventually made it to Utah to the home of one of his former mission companions. He then joined a Spanish-Speaking branch in Ogden. His branch president was none other than Arcadio Costa. At a JAS family night in the Costa family home, Basilio saw before him many young Peruvian Mormon women from whom to choose. In his version of the story, he chose the most “beautiful” of them all. That this happened to also mean the “whitest” of them all was a phenotypic fact not lost on the artist who painted a portrait of the couple after their Salt Lake City temple wedding (figure 32) and who, it seems, had a flare for accentuating both ancestral and complexion contrasts and for sensationalizing these into a racialized, stylistic affect.



FIGURE 32: This is the artist's depiction of Basilio Corimayta and Vilma Arriátegui with their parents in the background (none of whom were able to leave Peru in order to attend the wedding). December 2017.

Basilio married Vilma, Jacoba's niece who had recently emigrated from Lima to reunite with the Utah branch of *La Familia*. As a result of her distinctive skin tone, Vilma had grown up being called "*la gringa*" in Lima even before she knew about the existence of *gringolandia*. Basilio and Vilma's coupling, inasmuch as it embodies a "complex admixture" of the Two Perus dichotomy (mentioned in the introduction) between the "white" coast and the "brown" highlands, has presented a constant challenge to *La Familia*'s inclusiveness. Basilio and I are both *retornados* and we were both married in the Salt Lake City temple to "blood" members of *La Familia*. However, Basilio's indigeneity has presented a much larger obstacle to his inclusion into *La Familia* than my whiteness has to mine. Though largely through jest, *La Familia* does not let Basilio forget for one moment that he grew up in an adobe hut, that he was undocumented up until 2018 (I accompanied him on his first trip back to Yanque in 35 years) that he is a *cholo* perpetually *sin plata*, and that, as such, he is not worthy of Vilma. This is all to say that *La Familia*—and Zion before it—is shot through with as much race-based exclusivity as it is with universal siblingship.

However, let us return to Jericó's temple marriage photo shoot. Tadem, is no less a member of *La Familia* than the Peruvian daughters of Mido—a half-sibling to Jacoba's half-sibling—who were also in the photograph with *Los Primos* though they do not share "blood" with any of them. Furthermore, many of *Los Primos*, including the four products of Basilio Corimayta and Vilma Arriátegui's "complex admixture," have the privilege of calling Jacoba "*abuela*" (grandmother) even though, in the case of the four Corimayta siblings, she is technically their great aunt. This has been a great comfort to the US-born Corimaytas since both sets of their biological grandparents (figure 32, background) stayed in Peru and died without ever

meeting them in person. In this sense, *La Familia*—again, like Zion—can seem mercifully inclusive.

Tortillas y Arroz

I bet you are wondering whether or not the woman Jericó married in the temple is white. Through the preparations for their wedding, I had the privilege of observing Sylvia, Jericó's fiancé, navigate her own probationary stage of constructed inclusion into *La Familia*. First you must understand that Lori will become the *de facto* matriarch when Jacoba dies and that Jericó is Lori's only son. Jericó is also Jacoba's only full-blooded grandson who speaks Spanish and is a *retornado*. Though Jacoba has a few other grandsons who have been married, Jericó would be the first to get married in the temple. There is also something you must understand about Jacoba. She has absolutely zero tact. She has no qualms about telling everybody that Jericó is her favorite grandson. She will even say this in the presence of the Corimayta siblings whom she allows to call her "*abuela*" even as she makes clear that she is not "really" their *abuela*. There is also a very thinly veiled sentiment from everyone else in *La Familia* that Jericó is the most righteous among them. Even though all four of the Corimayta siblings have also served and honorably returned from missions (figure 33)—a sure sign of righteousness—Jericó remains the sole "Moroni" of *La Familia*. Like his grandfather, Arcadio, Jericó will become a future leader in the church and in *La Familia*. This means that the woman he chose to marry might very well become Lori's successor, the future matriarch of *La Familia*.



FIGURE 33: Basilio Corimayta (center) flanked by his children in front of the Return With Honor sign at the Missionary Training Center in Provo, Utah. Each former missionary proudly holds up her or his missionary name badge. “Return With Honor” is a mandate to complete one’s full tour of mission duty and return home without committing any of the sins or mistakes that would result in a dishonorable or “early” return. Photo credit: Vilma Arriátegui (pseudonym). December 2016.

A lot was riding, therefore, on Jericó’s chosen mate. It went without saying that for Jacoba to approve of her, she had to be Mormon. It also went without saying that she had to be “actually” Peruvian, and not just “*peruano de corazón*” (Peruvian at heart) like Tadem and me.

So, though Jericó at least had the good sense not to get involved romantically with a *gringa*, Jacoba did not take kindly to his choice of a Mexican American. Sylvia, though Latina enough on her exterior to be perceived as someone who understood the true “*familia*” meaning of family, seemed to be way too white on her interior. Jacoba was not the only one with this view. I talked to Carol (Mido’s spouse from Chapter Four) about her perception of Sylvia’s *despedida de solteras* (bachelorette party, figure 34). Carol (who is, by the way, neither a Mormon nor a blood relative to Jacoba, yet was adopted into the Costa family during the 2016 funeral of Mido’s mother where she and Mido met Jacoba for the first time) was effusive in her pity for Lori at having to deal with such a *gringuificada* (Americanized) daughter-in-law. Apparently Sylvia did not like to dance, she did not like to eat in large groups, she did not like to speak Spanish (though she could), and she did not like to party. In fact, Sylvia left early from her own bachelorette party. Not only was she not Peruvian, but she did not appreciate any of the things that, for *La Familia*, made a Peruvian a Peruvian. In other words, her perceived “whiteness” (which had nothing to do with phenotype since she has a darker skin tone than Jericó) served to cancel out her Mormonness in Jacoba’s matchmaking rulebook rather than bolster it.



FIGURE 34: Sylvia (center), Jericó’s US-born fiancé, is sitting in front of a Mexican flag displayed in her honor at her Mormon-style “bachelorette party” held in Lori’s home in Salsands, Utah. She laughs at the gifted negligee (a reference to her marriage’s impending consummation) held aloft above her head. Notice again the “Return With Honor” slogan next to Jericó’s missionary photograph (top right). Photo credit: My spouse. July 2017.

When I asked Jericó about how he ended up procuring Jacoba’s blessing to marry Sylvia, I was not surprised that she used a food metaphor in her ensuing advice on kin-formation. Before reminding him that it was ultimately his decision and that, of course, she would respect it, she warned, “*tú sabes, Hijito, tortillas y arroz no se mezclan*” (you know, *Hijito*, tortillas and rice

don't mix). The tortilla is considered the staple of the Mexican diet, and Sylvia is a Mexican American. The staple of Peruvian cuisine, according to *La Familia*, is rice. Similar to Mandarin Chinese, in the language of *La Familia*, "meal" is synonymous with "rice." *La Familia* members, my spouse included, can fill up on sandwiches, potato chips, and god-awful "American" cupcakes but until they have had something with rice, they feel that they have not eaten anything at all. In fact, fearing that Hawaiians would not know how to cook rice properly, a vacationing Jacoba took a giant rice cooker in her suitcase as part of her limited weight allotment. The comment that tortillas and rice don't mix, coming from a Peruvian Mormon *neoindigenista* like Jacoba, was meant to strike Jericó at the ontological level of his being. Jericó, in a *tawantinsuyana* framework, *is* rice. His relatedness to others—the relatedness that makes his personhood emerge in the first place—depends on shared rice. The "complex admixture" of tortillas and rice—Mexicanness and Peruvianness—seemed so potentially volatile to Jacoba that she could not remain silent. Jericó had her permission to marry Sylvia, but he had to be told in the culinary terms of constructed kinship that doing so would put his relatedness in *La Familia* at risk. Furthermore, since the Costa family is the driving force behind much of Spanish-speaking Mormonism in Salsands, Utah, Jericó's citizenship in Zion would ironically be at risk as well despite the fact that he, a born-in-the-covenant returned missionary, was planning on marrying a born-in-the-covenant, Latina Mormon in the holy temple.

God's Mercy Toward Us

Finding someone who is sufficiently Mormon in their conception of "family" without being too white or too Mexican in their conception of "*familia*" is only really possible if that person is a Peruvian Mormon. In other words, if you are a Peruvian Mormon, finding someone

who is “innately” Peruvian, not just someone who eats or dances like one, is the only guaranteed way to ensure that the person will have the same definition of *familia* as you do. Therefore, since that which is innate is biologically essential, the importance of finding a Peruvian to marry demonstrates that constructing kinship through time and rootedness in place is only one part of Peruvian Mormon relatedness. However, though there is obviously some kind of essentialism going on in Jacoba’s mind, it is not what modernity has defined as precisely “biological.” For example, as a result of Mormon beliefs in humanity’s preexistent state of coresident spirit-body siblingship before the physical Earth was formed, certain traits that non-Mormons might assume are random accidents of material birth often get retroactively assigned to the pre-birth spirit-bodies themselves. You might think of “Peruvian” as simply a nationality, but for Mormons like the late Anglo apostle, Mark E. Peterson—arguably the most prolific and influential shaper of Mormon thought in the last half of the twentieth century—nationality is far from an accident of birth. In a 1954 address in support of racial segregation at The Convention of Teachers of Religion On The College Level he hypothesized that the Chinese were Chinese before China. He posited that God created China as a place in which to segregate His Chinese spirit children. What else could explain why China tended to experience such a high level of Chinese births? Vilma, the daughter of one of Jacoba’s estimated 36 siblings and half siblings from as many as seven different women and three different men, seemed to have caught on to this bio-national spiritualism in a conversation she had with her husband Basilio at a Costa family barbecue in Salsands one Sunday in October 2017, which I happened to catch on tape.

BASILIO: Did we decide to be born in Peru?

VILMA: Yes, we decided where we were going to be born because we decided who among all the spirits our parents were going to be. We knew that the parents we chose were Peruvians, but first, we made our choice of parents in the pre-earth life without knowing.

Then later, when we found out that they were Peruvians, we said, “oh well, [*ni modo*] I guess I’ll be born in Peru.”

Her half-joking expression of “oh well,” implies that there was some disappointment involved in finding out that she was going to be born in Peru, as if it were a punishment. Indeed, according Peterson, being born in China was precisely that. He asked church educators to imagine

a Chinese, born in China with a dark skin, and with all of the handicaps of that race[, which] seems to have little opportunity ... [Now] think of the mercy of God to Chinese people who are willing to accept the Gospel. In spite of whatever [bad things] they might have done in the pre-existence to justify being born over there as Chinamen, if they now, in this life, accept the gospel and live it the rest of their lives, they can have the Priesthood, go to the temple and receive endowments and sealings, and that means they can have exaltation. Isn’t the mercy of God marvelous? (Peterson 1954, 15)

It is indeed. In fact, the very day I began typing this conclusion, April 5, 2020, God announced His plans to build eight new temples to add to the 168 functioning temples on the earth. One of those temples will be mainland China’s very first. This announcement took me back to the reason I chose Arequipa, Peru as a field site. I chose it, not because it is near Basilio’s hometown, though that certainly was a bonus, but because God had selected it as a site for a temple, the crown jewel of Zion. It was to be the perfect place to explore Zion’s exclusive inclusivity in both the material and the spiritual making. I chose Salsands, on the other hand, only because it happened to be the geographic center of *La Familia*, an assemblage with its own paradoxically inclusive exclusivity that lay at the source of my macro-level research question: Who gets to be one of “us?”

At least, I thought that was my only reason for choosing Salsands. As it turns out, however, God vindicated my choice in a way that honors Peruvian Mormon multitemporality: He retroactively added another reason. And he did it just “in time” for me to include it here. As you read my transcription of 94-year-old President Russel M. Nelson’s announcement below

from the church's April 2020 General Conference, I invite you to reflect, not only upon the whiteness inherent in the "mercy of God" and upon the breathtakingly patronizing and continent-spanning reach of that "mercy," but also upon how God spared a thought for me and my field site. As Ofelia always says, "coincidences don't exist."

When plans are announced to erect a new temple, it becomes part of our sacred history. Today we are pleased to announce plans to construct eight new temples in the following locations: Bahía Blanca, Argentina; Tallahassee, Florida; Lubumbashi, Democratic Republic of the Congo; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Benin City, Nigeria; Salsands, Utah; Dubai, United Arab Emirates; [pauses, overcome with emotion] and Shanghai, People's Republic of China. In all eight locations church architects will work with local officials so that the temple will harmonize with and be a beautiful addition to each community. (Church Newsroom 2020, min. 0:19)

Of all the small cities in Utah that God could have chosen for Utah's 24th temple, he chose Salsands, Utah. Nobody expected this, especially since the Layton, Utah temple is currently being built only seven miles away from Salsands. The immediate reaction on Facebook from *Los Primos* of *La Familia* was effervescent, yet touchingly retrospective. Vilma's US-born, Peruvian American Mormon daughter's reaction (originally in Spanish) provides us with a nice ribbon with which to tie this dissertation shut because she ends with the endlessly paradoxical word, "us." She is a member of the Spanish-speaking Pioneer Trail Ward in Salsands, but she often attends church services at a nearby English-speaking single's ward. She is 30 years old, right at the critical cusp between JAS and AS:

Two months after arriving from my mission (August 2014) my family made the decision to move to Salsands, UT. It was a big change for us, but we knew that it was in God's plan for us. Being in Salsands, we have had the blessing of being closer to our earthly family (*familia terrenal*) and now we will be even closer to our family in heaven. Today the prophet of God announced that Salsands will have a temple. All my life I have had the blessing of having various temples of the Lord so close. It is beautiful to be able to go to a place so close to heaven together with my family. I feel so emotional to think that soon we will have a temple literally blocks from our house. I know that our Heavenly Father lives and that he loves us and knows us. I know that we have a plan of happiness that allows us to be with our family for time and for all of eternity. How beautiful it is to know that the

truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ has been restored and that our families can be eternal through the power of God. It is truly a blessing from our Father in Heaven for all of us.

#iglesiadejesucristodelos santos delos ultimos dias

#meencantaverel templo

#laverdad restaurada

#lasfamilias pueden ser eternas @ Salsands, Utah

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