

Interviewer: Anthony Mims

11/25/2014

Location: Marquette MI

AM: What is your birthdate?

HE: August 14, 1960.

AM: Okay, and... where do we start? Your background... what would you like to start with on this?

HE: You mean what I'm doing now or?

AM: This is about immigration so your background.

HE: Well, I'm originally from Peru, in South America. I'm from the capital, Lima. I have come to the US a few times for graduate studies, basically I did my bachelors in Lima and then I did my masters here, then I did my PhD and stayed a little longer, then I got an offer and came back to my country, and finally I came back when I applied for this position and I got selected.

AM: Okay, so you came for the job at NMU basically?

HE: Yeah, the one when I actually intended to move to the US was when I got the... the previous one were from grad studies, although I got some offers to stay in the US for work, but at that time the greater offer was the one in Peru so that's what I wanted to do.

AM: Okay, tell me about Peru.

HE: Well, it's of course a country in South America, it's a pretty culturally rich country I would say, because it has a lot of history different from other countries. It was the center of a big civilization before the Spaniards arrived and then it became the center of the Spaniard colonies in South America so it's really rich in history and ruins and buildings, and cultural...

AM: And for you personally?

HE: I lived in Lima, which is on the coast of Peru, so it's a little bit different than the mountains where most of these things took place, except for the capital became important when the Spaniards arrived. I'm an Economist by, that's my education, and I work over there for some time in the government and then I worked in the private center and academia in a university for a number of years before coming to NMU. I don't know what details... personal details...

AM: Was there anything of particular interest to you in the transition moving to the United States?

HE: Well, in my case [Inaudible] because I first came as a tourist, then I came to stay with some friends for like three months, then I came for two years to do a master program, then I came for my PhD and I stayed like seven years, then now I move... there are certainly some differences in how things work, although I will say that we have certain advantages because the American culture is so present in other

countries, especially in a city like Lima which is a more cosmopolitan city. Most of the movies, most of the TV shows, many of the things... music comes from the US, so you sort of have some idea even if you haven't been here, you have some idea if you're exposed to those. Not necessarily everybody is, but I was. There are so many subjects, I don't know if I could...

AM: On a practical level?

HE: Well, for example as an instructor it's a different experience at several levels. First of all, the college experience in the US is very unique in the world I think. Few resemble... most countries have commuting students. All the universities are like that, there's no campus with dorms and everything. People go and leave, so it's just a place to... it's not like a focal point in your life, so that's a different experience. For that reason there is typically very few fulltime professors and a huge number of adjuncts. It's a completely different system. Of course also the students are different. It's funny, I've been here for many years and even when I was doing my PhD I got the chance to teach a couple of courses, when I started teaching here I started noticing certain differences in what I could expect of the students and what the students would expect from me as an instructor. Maybe in part things were particular to this university and so my guesses are general. I think, at least in my experience, the students are more distracted here, they tend to talk to themselves more or be on the phone, things like that. I think the culture is a little more disciplinarian, I don't know how to put it, if the professor tells you something to do then they will do it. You just need to say things and lay the ground rules and... not like anybody pushes the boundaries, that's normal, but I realized there was some difference, some noticeable difference. My style of teaching has always tried to be more active, trying to get students involved, but the students are very used to lecturing, so I sort of like... although it's not the way I wanted to do it, but that's the way they were respecting more so it was easier just to lecture and they would take notes. Old style I would say maybe. Here, that's not the case, but it was hard for me to find the way of doing more active learning that fit with the students. What they like, what they didn't like, and things like that. So, that's one experience. Of course, I have lived in Philadelphia, Miami, Washington, St. Louis at different periods because of my studies or... and of course Marquette is a completely different experience, so it's difficult to... I guess the closest would be St. Louis because it's smallest in comparison to the other ones, but still it's just a town basically. So, there are some differences actually that I like, because Lima is more than nine-million people without much urban planning so it's a mess, like one of those stories that you hear from Asia or... it's just... traffic is horrendous, everything is disorganized, there's no real plan so that part I don't miss at all (laughs). I don't know if there's a focus or...

AM: Basically we're just focusing on the immigration experience and acclimating to the host society so you're pretty much right on topic.

HE: Well, as I said I benefited from my previous experiences in the US in which I lived, it was almost like migrating because for example when I did my masters I was a couple of years, my PhD I ended up staying seven years, so some of those acclimating happened then. They were quite different experiences. For example, in Philadelphia, in St. Louis, and when I moved to DC for a year, it's different for example in terms of safety. In Lima of course there are areas which are very dangerous like in any big city, but most of the risk of somebody picking you up in the streets or doing something like that, or stealing your car may happen anywhere. I found here that crime for the most part is well located... I don't know... in certain places you are very safe, relatively speaking. They can steal your car still in Marquette even, but the probability of something like that happening... even in St. Louis there were

areas where you were practically safe, nothing was going to happen to you. The chance of robbery, or burglary, or whatever it was, was very low. But, they always tell you “Don’t go this way, don’t go to these places, don’t go at night to downtown,” in Lima there’s some of that. It’s a huge city, but it’s not like you have a whole area in which you can move yourself and feel completely safe. That’s a difference. Similar to large cities with a lot of homeless people, what else you’ll see here are the kids begging for money, that’s not uncommon over there, street vendors, all the signs of a formal economy. You will see a lot of street vendors or people just doing things informally without any permits or things like that. It’s very much how you find these things, how you find the best deal, how you... already we already have the malls and the stores, but still we preserve some of that part. I think over the years some of it will go away, but... weather of course was an issues because I usually didn’t have to live where... St. Louis and Philadelphia they had snowstorms and cold and... it was a process, but you do get acclimated. Now I go back to Lima in winter and it feels like nothing. I don’t wear a jacket anymore. What I miss the most is food. There’s other things, of course I miss friends, but food. Peru is very rich in terms of culinary, we’re really famous for our food in the whole region, and over the years it has become even better, not just the traditional chefs, but now great chefs that have been trained all over the world and... so good food is something that I... I’m guessing that you can get it in New York and Chicago at very high prices, it’s just much more accessible, really good food. That’s something that I miss, it’s not the same.

AM: What can you tell me about the process of immigrating?

HE: Well, the process of immigrating since I was hired by the university wasn’t much complicated. I didn’t have to worry much about... I mean yes, I had to do all the papers and make everything complete... and we were well established in Lima, so there were more practical things about living almost 14 years in Lima before coming back to the United States, so it was more the issue of taking care of our stuff over there, our properties and stuff like that and then moving... in fact my wife had to stay one extra year trying to finish everything and I moved first by myself. Also, I would say my experience is a little bit particular, since I spent seven years when I came for my grad studies my kids were born here. They are American citizens, and when we moved back they went to an American school, and my wife happened to find a job in the American school. So, we’ve sort of been connected to the US even the times we were in Lima. So, for the most part I don’t think that it was a shock or a... and since I have this process of moving to the US... I’ve been here over four years, in St. Louis I lived six years, so it’s still less than the time I spent there.

AM: Did you have any relatives or anything in the United States before the education process?

HE: Not really, there were some friends of my friends. Family was not ever a factor. I have known of people after coming here and finding out people that are related, or knew Lima, or were very, very distant family, but then actually, when I came this time, my wife has a brother living in Salt Lake City, I have a brother living in Montreal, Canada. My wife’s niece and nephew from a sister of hers live in Toronto, but that happened actually in the last 10 years or so. So, not the first time I came here. The first time I came the families were...

AM: In the opposite direction, how many connections do you have going back to Lima locally, or in the United States? What kind of social infrastructure do you have going back to Lima in the United States?

HE: Well, we have a group of Latin Americans in Marquette, we meet from time to time. Actually, we had a big meeting, party, whatever you want to call it last Saturday. In other parts of bigger cities you’d

have the Peruvian club, but here we have the Latin American group. We're not formally in an association, but we tend to get together at least from time to time. We usually bring... everybody cooks and brings their food and we share drinks and stuff. Sometimes we do it in a house, sometimes we rent a place. We do it and sometimes people come from Iron Mountain, Escanaba, you know? They are from different countries, Colombia, mostly Mexico, but Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, people move away and new people come. You always have a substantial group I would say, of families where both of them are from a Latin American country, or one of them are from a Latin American country. In some cases they are the second generation that the parents came from abroad. So, that's something that we use from time to time, so you eat your food, you talk in Spanish all the time. Sometimes we have organized... well as you know as Latin Americans we are Catholic mostly, so even from time to time we ask the priest who better speaks Spanish to do a mass in Spanish at least once a year. So, that's the way to sort of connect with your culture. It's not perfect of course, because there are differences between our different countries, but still there is some in common. A couple of our work friends, she is Peruvian and works here at NMU as part of the staff. With them it's even easier, because they have been American, but we can relate to things in Lima, remember things. Then, of course we... now with the technology it is so easy to get in contact with friends, Skype, Emails, Facebook. Facebook is one of the best things, because of the fact that I'm from Peru and I'm here I think I use it more, because I can tell if there was a tremor in Lima, you have a lot of those, and somebody will post "Oh, did you feel that?", so you know that's happening, so you are sort of more in touch of what's going on. People post interesting things that they found in the news and stuff like that, so the connections I think is easier. I remember the first time I came, when I did my masters in Philadelphia, it was hard because long distance calls were really expensive. We still wrote letters; that was in the 80's. There was the beginnings of the PC's and the Internet, but it wasn't something that people used, or it wasn't useful. So, I remember writing letters, sending them, you'd have like a week distance in... like now the things that you do now, I cannot even understand how we did it. A lot of letters and things like that, the occasional phone call was very short because it was expensive. Nowadays you can be in contact with people without spending any money basically, or there are ways to make it cheap in any case. It has become more globalized, because I have some friends that their children have migrated to other countries, I have some friends that have migrated to other countries, so I think people move more around. I myself, my parents are deceased and my brother is in Montreal, so immediate family I don't have in Lima anymore. I have very good friends, and some part of my wife's family also I care for... but there are ways of connecting and we try to go at least once a year, at least for two weeks, or 10 days.

AM: Does that process hold anything interesting or odd?

HE: Well, it's funny because in a way you're going to be different here, not extremely, not like you're going to be completely different, but you may notice some things that you may do differently because you come from a different place, but when I go back I'm also different because I have been getting used to some of the things here. So, it's also felt by others that I'm a little bit different in the things that I do, like what I eat for example. It's a little bit different. I find it funny because what we eat at home here is not exactly what most Americans would eat at home, but at the same time it's not what I would eat in Peru. So, when we go back you can tell the difference that you don't want so much of that, or that's too heavy for me, things like that. We always talk about the language that it's funny that you lose faster your language that you know than the language that you learned, the new language. So, I'm still struggling sometimes with how to say things with words that escape me. Things start happening to me in Spanish

now because I speak so often in English that some words that I happen to use will be, “How do you say that?” Especially in the family you get used to mixing the both and switching back and forth because it’s very easy to, if you want to say something even it’s shorter, or it doesn’t very fit to what you want to say, that triggers and you don’t realize that suddenly you’re speaking in the other language, and then again something triggers and you move back. You go back and forth, and of course when you’re in a place where you are talking to people that only speak Spanish, that’s what you notice then.

AM: I’ve got a list of questions and you’ve already gotten to this subject. You’ve been carrying this interview very well. I’m just going to leave these questions out of this. Still on the immigration process, because you’ve covered 99 percent of the specific fields; what do you find most important to elaborate out of the things that you’ve already discussed? What do you feel needs to be expressed most?

HE: There are maybe a couple things that I haven’t mentioned that I think are important that you notice. For example, one thing coming from a developing country, it’s funny because when people talk about poverty in the US, that’s not what we call poverty in Peru. So, somebody that is poor, they have a car, cable, and they are living in a small house doing maybe a low pay job, and nobody would tell that person poor in Peru. So, that’s something that shocks me sometimes. Sometimes people complain about certain situations and I think, well, you know... I’m not talking about... of course here there is also much worse, there are homeless. What I’m talking about is what most of the society considers to be poor or that sense of entitlement that they state has to give you these things to reach certain threshold or a certain standard of living, and in Peru of course there are programs to help the poor and whatever, but in the end it’s more up to everybody to do whatever they have to do to survive and... It’s funny because I know very poor people in Peru, I wouldn’t say even the poorest people in Peru that do decently, but no cars, they build their own houses in the middle of nowhere, and little by little they didn’t have a roof for a while, they didn’t have sewage or whatever. They gradually having to move... and this little tiny house... you know? Of course they don’t have cars or even the chance of getting one, but it’s up to them, and there are a couple of people who are very resourceful for that. They can count on going to a public hospital in case of emergency, but for the most part they have to find a way to live. Something that is even very distant to me, of course I never had that experience, but people that live on the day. A lot of Peruvians still live day by day. It’s still typical the husband goes to try to find something to work on and he gets back home and maybe he have five dollars and both that’s what they’re going to buy for food the next day. So they have to buy food day, by day, by day depending on what you make. Maybe if you have some to save from time to time that person may be hired as working at a construction site and make some money for a while. They have to take advantage of those things to maybe complete that room that they haven’t finished, things like that, that’s the way they do it. To me it sometimes shocks me that when people talk about poverty and examples that I see are not really what we consider poor. Although I haven’t been in that situation so I’m talking about myself. If anything I’d be middle class, upper middle class in Peru, and when I was a professional in relative terms I was doing well. Now that I chose to living here probably just middle class, but over there was... there is that difference. That was one thing that I found. The other thing is about all this discrimination and political right thing, and that is very hard to follow, because in principle I wouldn’t say that Peruvian society does not discriminate. I think there is some discrimination, although it is in certain spaces in which rich families concentrate or very traditional families concentrate, or in any case it’s a discrimination that goes all the way. It’s probably more income related, I will say that, but on the other hand the subject is not so touchy. For example, if you have dark skin and you’re my friend, in a group of friends we’re going to call you Negro,

we're going to call you black, and if you are Oriental we're going to call you Chino, Chinese. If you're fat we're going to call you fat, fatso, whatever. If you're short like I'm short they're going to call you short, shorty, or whatever was the translation, and there was no issue about it. Many of the things here that's like "Oh, don't say that" there's some sensibility about it that in part I understand and I see that if you really look at what you say or how you're saying it, but you can clearly tell when somebody's trying to degrade somebody or when somebody is trying to insult somebody else, than when it's just... it's just. Probably, if you have red hair probably somebody will have a nickname for you like red. That's not a touchy subject, but in some of those are.

AM: In some places the red hair thing is touchy with some people.

HE: I'm not surprised, but at least for the most part people... So that's my thing that it's sort of like spreading. Now it's like, "I have freckles, nobody call me..." I remember in Lost, one of the characters was nicknamed freckles, because she had a lot of freckles. I think at some point that's going to be insulting, like "Why are you calling me freckles?" Anything around my appearance, you know? And these things that you can say and you cannot say are very... like sometimes you feel like you're walking on eggs. It's not difficult to avoid these things and say things that are offensive, but... For example, also something that in Peru is common is to say kind of racist stuff, like double meaning of things. Here, people can be more offended, because of a sexual connotation or something, and it's a joke. I sort of understand the issue and I of course my intention is not to offend anybody, so I try not to do something that offends people, but that is something that is very hard to get used to because things that are not offensive... you sort of have to live in those two worlds. I have a very close friend that had an issue with his size and his nickname was Crossa, it's not an actual name, it's slang for cross-eyed. In Peru when you have cross-eyes it's called Bizco, but also Bizcocho means cake, so his nickname was Bizcocho. At no point in his life he has been hurt or... like I've been called everything that has been related to my height. I never saw it as harm, or never saw it as like "Oh my god, they're putting me down." Although I will say that I've experienced discrimination in Peru. For example, if you meet some extremely wealthy White people, they're either foreigners... decedents from foreigners that are very successful, have a lot of money, or they come from richer families, they may put down people. I notice all these things, but it's really not here because of the mix of the population here, but in St. Louis or in other places I had friends that were African Americans, and I definitely had never experienced the same kind of discrimination that they had experienced, they experienced it more frequently. Actually, we felt more threatened by African Americans than by White Americans. We felt that they were more aggressive towards us as Hispanics. It's funny, since I'm a professional, I have a PhD, I sort of feel like in White America I am a novelty, but it's not an offensive thing that they treat you badly, or you know. But, I think in the US the issue of discrimination is more intense and I guess that's what leads into the politically correct things, it was much more intense, and at some point it was harder. I mean here, it's lasted much longer, even after the slaves was abolished, there was discrimination, but here it was more... maybe there was discrimination, but it was more informal, like the people you would actually discriminate. Here it was actually like official, with segregation and all of that. So, I guess there was something that was much bigger. Also, with the natives there was a lot of mixing. The people had melded a little bit within the different races, so it was not a significant. There were some small groups of tribes that tried to preserve their heritage and their origins and everything, but most people are just such a mix of things that they cannot say that "I'm native and the Spaniards came and conquered me," because maybe I'm 50 percent Spaniard (laughs). There's a movement of course defending Native Peruvians and such, but it's not a

huge issue, and here it's more... and it's funny because there were atrocities committed towards the Native Peruvians, but I guess the process of mixing... even the religion was mixed. I don't know, that whole issue is hard to explain in just a conversation. That's a completely different issue that I think is present in both places, but it's very different and has a different feel. So, you will tend to think that the issues... I wouldn't say necessarily it's more important here or there, but here it's more insensitive and intense and more charged than over there, so I don't know. Of course, we have shades from White to Native American, that's the most. The African population are not insignificant, but not as significant as here. We have a lot of migration from Asian... from China and some Japanese. That again is mixed, but it's small in numbers, so the most important thing is going from completely White to completely native, so you'll find a whole range. It's hard to make those... like make a line and say "These..." I don't know, it's an issue that is hard to decipher. It always puzzles me that I know that there are problems on both sides, but there are differences, and I don't understand what the differences completely are, and why they are there, so you have to handle it differently. That's something that on a more serious note was, something that was...

AM: Going back to economics, because you were talking about poverty earlier, you mentioned people going off and building their own house; how does the property infrastructure and the debt system there compare to here? Because I can't imagine ever doing that in the United States.

HE: Well, the thing is that... because people don't have for example, a lot of people just do odd jobs. So you work as a gardener, if there's opportunity you work construction, you can lease a car and you can do transportation, you can do different things. You can go out in the city and work on a farm for a while, and all of this is under the table. Most people that are really poor, their properties have been the consequences of evictions. Nobody uses them, there is no park, it's basically desert. They usually use the dozer just because nobody cares about those areas. And they try to establish themselves, create an organization, try to fight it, stay and fight it for years, until they are legally accepted and then they go to the city and they claim the ride to have a road, lighting, and certain services, but they don't have any certain income. They cannot go to the bank. They can never go to the bank. If they want to borrow money they have to borrow from informal lenders and they charge very high interest rates. Usually, they do that if they have an idea for a business or something like that, but they pay really high interest rates, but because they need the money for some kind of business, still they cannot get it from the formal system.

AM: So you would say that the informal economy provides more opportunities even if they're smaller opportunities?

HE: Yeah, but of course in joining the informal system you have limitations, like you cannot go to a bank and ask for a... because you do not have any proof of credit history. That hasn't been proven I must stay, but still... and if you see people that have... the ones that have invaded an area and moved liked 30 years ago, now they have houses. The one that moved 10 years ago are still struggling. What they do is they save in materials. When they have extra money they buy bricks, wood, whatever they need, and they do it themselves or with friends. They come together and they say "Let's make another room," "Let's finish the bathroom" and that's the way you do it, step by step. That's in the cities basically. That's a city experience. Not many people have the chance of... since they do not have money they cannot buy a house. As they move slowly towards... maybe the son of this person that does odd jobs, maybe their son becomes a security guard of some company, and now he has a regular income, then he can do other

things because he has some credit history and all of that. So, it's a slow process. The mobility is very slow. It happens that some people that have been poor become very successful, but it's... certainly the mobility here is much more... I remember for me coming from Peru, it was very... I don't remember when, but we were taking a tour or something like that in the bus, and the guy that drove the bus, that would be a person that received a very small salary, probably his goal is that his children finish high school and try to get some technical job or whatever, and the guy was telling about his daughter that had scholarships and she was completed her PhD in Chemistry. That's not possible in Peru. That's impossible in Peru. I shouldn't say impossible, but unless you have some kind of somebody really helping you personally, it's very hard, because there is not a formal system to do these things. Usually the public education is not good, so you need money to get a good education in the private sector, and also in the private sector the cheap ones are bad quality. Those degrees don't mean a thing, but sometimes that's what they want to get, because they want to have their children going to college, but the degree means almost nothing. To go to a good school they rely on scholarships and stuff like that, it's very limited. Borrowing for the studies are not as developed as here. It's more difficult also, we complain about it, but the amount of money that is donated in the states, the number of foundations and the amount of money they give you, that's something that you never get in Peru. You cannot rely on those things. For example, when I was doing some research I never looked for a grant in Peru. I looked for grants in the States and Europe to do some research. That's almost impossible in Peru. So, I don't know, there are different things. We're going all over the place. Also, at the same time, something that is different for example is that... For example, a friend of mine, he did an exchange program when he was in high school. He went to a family in Iowa or Nebraska, somewhere in the Midwest, and the family that took him, the father was a plumber. He wanted to talk to my friend about plumbers in Peru and my friend was embarrassed. He didn't say anything because a plumber is somebody that basically doesn't have a job, doesn't have anything to do and becomes a plumber just to get by. So it's extreme, you pay almost nothing. In most neighborhoods you can look for some area where people are standing with their tools, plumber, you know. And maybe somebody take them and they can get a job on fix-it and maybe they develop certain customers. But it's not... like here there are plumbers that has their own company, maybe some other workers, like a business. Over there a plumber is somebody that somehow learned the trade from somebody else, maybe the father, or a friend of a father, and he learned how to do it, is sort of curious about it, and he becomes a plumber. He fixes things, you know? My friend avoided the whole time talking about it because he didn't want to... if he would tell people that he was going to the States to live in the house of a plumber in Peru they'd say "What?! They're not going to be able to feed you", "You're not going to have anywhere to stay", "You're going to be sleeping with them because there's no space." According to my friend they had a nice home in a decent enough neighborhood with cars and all of the conveniences, phones and everything. So, that's something that's different. Some of the manual labor identify with the really poor. So, if you are in that trade it's because you are really poor, and because they are poor they charge very low, so nobody that wants to do that because they like it will go there because the competition from these other guys is... they basically do that because they need some money. They will not be willing to charge those prices, they will move on and do something else. Even if they have the inclination for doing something like that.

AM: Do you think that the licensing and legal formalization of those positions creates a division of those who can get those educations, and takes away those informal opportunities in the United States?



HE: Well, I think at least in our case it's better that there is no licensing because that gives an opportunity to these people to make a living. It's not a lot of money, but it's a shot at making a living. Maybe the children will be in the position to get a better life, whatever. What happens is whenever they try to impose it, the formal economy, people just go around the law, because it's just too... There's too many people needing to work and they are willing to work for whatever to make a living. So, if you want to increase the cost to be a plumber with a certification and some studies, you would ruin it for them. That's not the way they learn. When they were kids, maybe in their teens, they went and helped somebody that was already a plumber, and then they learned the trade. I guess that was the way it used to be at some point in the rest of the world. But, in developing countries that's the way. Who's good and who's bad, sometimes you take chances. You typically, "Do you know a good plumber?" here you do that even, but you're talking about a guy. Here you're talking about a more formal thing. Here you could still be talking about a guy, but it's a formal income. In Peru it's... it's funny because when I was living in St. Louis there was this Chinese guy that worked for Honda, he was a very good mechanic, but for all the immigrants he did work at his house for a much lower price. I thought it was funny that the thing I would have done in Lima I also found in St. Louis.

AM: Mechanics seem to be like that across the country usually.

HE: Yeah, that's a profession that lends themselves to that.

AM: Yeah, because the skill is something that's a little beyond the licensing and teaching...

HE: I think in many of these things it's about if the people know how to do it or not. Mechanics are... they may have the training, but they've lived all their lives under the hood, and they can hear... you know. Now, the thing with the computer that tells you what's wrong, I don't know if that's going to... well, way over the years but... I don't know. Is there anything else that you want me to do?

AM: I'm not thinking of anything else, I'm not thinking of anything else warranting elaborating on. One last time, is there anything else in your immigration experience that you feel like elaborating on?

HE: Something not that significant, in a more developed country that has a lot of planning and stuff, people get used to that thing. It's much more organized. Traffic is much more organized, traffic is chaos and nobody respects the rules in Peru. Things are more... Even if you complain about doing some paperwork in a public office it's much worse in Peru. You depend on knowing people and getting some help because things can take forever. Things work better here because there's more structure, better organized, better plans. People do what they need to do here, almost in any situation they... If you are in a situation in which a lot of people are trying to get something, immediately you form a line. In Peru it would be like a mass of people, you know? It's part of the formality, being formal, and people just making it on their own. You notice it more in large cities where there is less social structure. That's something that is a big difference and that makes it easier. The other thing is that labor is extremely cheap in Peru. I always tell my sons that you will not find a self-serve gas station in Peru, because that's expensive. They prefer to buy a simpler machine that's less expensive and hire a few guys to be working there.

AM: Do you still think it would be that way if they got snow over there like we do here?

HE: I don't know, but the cost of investing in those machines versus those guys standing there and doing it, it's just much cheaper. Maids is something that is very common. Even low income people can afford a

maid. Of course it's very informal, because typically they live there so part of their payment is that they live there and all of their meals are covered, so what they actually get paid in terms of money is not that much. The big chunk... they don't have to pay electricity... they get a day off and they visit with family and then they come back. So, it's not expensive at all. A lot of things is like, you will never find in the Econo Foods, we bag/you bag. They will have somebody bagging for you. It doesn't cost them much to have somebody... they not only bag, they carry the things to your car, and in some cases they will go with you to your house if you don't live far away from the place. So anything that's those kind of services, it's very... Delivery, every place delivers, usually it's motorcycles, because it's very cheap. So, anything that is related to labor, there are not many things that are automated as here. For example, I will not be snow blowing, or mowing my lawn, because it would be too cheap to go through the effort of mowing, and taking care of it, and go get gasoline or whatever. Just hire somebody. And even if it come with those... without gasoline... they will go do a whole huge thing and it will cost you very little money. So that's something that tends to be different. Somebody will do your laundry, somebody will cook for you, whatever you want somebody to do for you, it will not be expensive, in relative terms of course, very poor people cannot afford that, but for most people whatever service you can get for that type of jobs is not going to be.

AM: So does that put more emphasis on positions that require training, or more emphasis on the means of production itself?

HE: I don't get your point.

AM: Economically, if labor is so inexpensive, in order to go up economically does that emphasize land ownership, or the ownership of certain tools of production? What is expensive basically?

HE: What is expensive, of course... in general things are cheaper so it will have to be thought of in relative terms. Certainly equipment, machinery, more advanced things. Like you could be a carpenter but you will have very basic tools, and of course you will be very successful if you are able to move on, but for that you have to be extremely entrepreneurial. You get to that point and maybe you have your job, but it's not going to be very... it's going to rely a lot on human labor to move up the next stage. You have to move up to equipment, systems, and more complex things. Not everybody is prepared or able to do that. The ones that have a better vision, they do that. Some just sort of find a way to make a living and they reach a point which they cannot cross, and they try to hope that their children are the ones to cross the barrier. Few of them have the skills to... naturally... some people are born with those skills. Or some people make some connections or get some help so they are able to make the jump and they move to a different realm. It's like a barrier, but if you are able to cross that barrier you can just grow, even become a millionaire, but it's much more difficult for most people. It's hard to get... if you are a low skilled worker, to become a high skilled worker in particular in areas where you can earn more is very difficult. That helps the ones who are high skilled, but you have a lot of unskilled workers, that why labor is so cheap for all of those divisions because you have too many people able to do those things, they compete against each other, so they don't charge that much. But if you are able to move to the next level then it is a different kind of service. It's a different level of service and of course they're going to charge more, they're going to have more qualified personnel, and all of those things, but making that jump I think is skills and the ability to get equipment. Usually those things are tied with the ability to receive credit. That has improved, and banks and some credit institutions have become experts within working in that environment, but it's so big that they're able to help and make money doing it. There's

space there to grow and over time it has grown and grown, but still its hard. The population is so large that you're not going to reach everybody. There are pockets here and there that benefit from those efforts. That's a key issue, that upward mobility. What it takes to be able to make that upward mobility. It takes a real creative person, or somehow you're able to get the support.

AM: So would you say that the licensing of plumbers and stuff has put more jobs on the opposite side of that barrier?

HE: I don't think we have licensing for plumbers, but...

AM: I mean in the United States.

HE: I think for some people yes, but at the same time I don't know how common it is in some certain areas that people just do this informally. I don't know if that's happened in some areas.

AM: I think with some of those jobs, yeah.

HE: Some of those types of jobs, probably there is some of that, although it is not... but, in any case in a welfare society in general its more likely that these licensing cause less impact than... but I think that's a very difficult issue because for some things it's understandable that you have certain minimum requirements because of some danger. I helped a doctor for a while. I heard that the license is very hard to get in Louisiana for hairdressers or to make flower arrangements. Who cares, you know? I know people that could make very nice flower arrangements. Typically the ones that want more of those are the ones that are already in the business. For example, that's one of the reasons why all of those services are cheap because there are so many people that you don't need particularly high skills with the knowledge that you have learned and if you are good at it that's fine. You get the job and you compete, but with a strictly enforced license process it will be difficult for a lot of these people to get a job. But, on the other hand if you are one of these few people that can meet the requirements then you will support that, because then you can charge more for your work and get rid of the competition. I think that in some cases that's what happened here in different industries. Some of the regulations are do the need for some raise, and some of the times they are there to keep certain businesses from completion. It's funny that you can find that in many of those things who is supporting those projects, those proposals.

AM: Would you say for comparison that the only industry that we have left that's like it in Peru would be the service industry?

HE: Yeah, I think it's closer.

AM: That's the only one I can think of that doesn't have licensing or something.

HE: Yeah, the thing is that, first of all the enforcement is not that strong in Peru, or it's very easy to get around it. It's just too many people that need this kind of way of making a living, so it's hard to close the door on those people. I think that makes it more possible to have those restrictions here than over there. And I'm sure the IRS for example is more effective than the Peruvian Tax Authority in catching... first of all there are so many things going on in Peru that they cannot go after small potatoes, they're not going to go try to find somebody that works as a plumber, that'd be more expensive than to get any money back. Part is the same here, but there is more rational. In Peru for example, they have found lawyers, physicians, dentists were doing something similar. They were doing informally without giving a

receipt, without reporting taxes, paying taxes, they'd say with or without taxes. That's another thing, sales tax in Peru is 19 percent. It's kind of like a business circuit because, they agree to collect... income taxes makes the need to get income from somewhere else, and you know that there is a segment of the economy where it is very difficult to avoid paying taxes, so you're going to swallow the 19 percent, but you know that you are pushing other activities to be informal, to avoid paying the 19 percent. If I hire somebody to do some changes in my house, expand my house, maybe I want to add another or something, I'm going to hire a contractor and everything. If I pay 19 percent of that it will be very huge. So in many cases they charge you part of it with taxes and part of it without taxes. So, it's kind of like... but I think here it would be more difficult. I'm sure it is possible but it's not as prevalent as in Peru.

AM: That the last thing we were going to talk about? We covered all my bases, I'm just...

HE: I'm trying to think if I missed anything, I'm sure I'm going to remember something later. In terms of migration it's still the US that's seen as a place to move to. If I would have got the same job offer in some other country I don't know if I would have taken it. This is what I wanted to do, I wanted this kind of job. The university experience is very different in Peru than here, so I wanted that experience. But it came just by chance that I found out about this job and the match was very, very good for what they needed and what I could offer. So, in that sense it was kind of an odd case, but I don't know... would I want to do this in Germany? I would feel more... I'm biased because I did my studies here, but even before that. I considered doing my graduate studies in Europe at some point, but it seemed far removed from... you could go to Spain and the language would not be an issue, but the US seems to stand out in comparison to the other ones. The US is completely visible. At some point you asked me if I had family in... but you know if you move to the US there's going to be people that have moved to the US. There's going to be a lot of people that have moved to the United States and you're going to find out that your cousin is living in San Francisco. I get connected with Facebook, I'm not going to go there but it feels a little better to know that other people are around. I think there's still a lot of an attraction to the US and I guess especially from Latin America. I think maybe Africans go more to Europe perhaps, but the influence of the American culture, the brands, the stores, the music, the movies, the TV shows, all of those things are available. Immigration to the US is always considered a valued option. And at the same time since there's so much immigration, for example I was talking about food. I know that in Marquette I cannot get anything, but even in going to Chicago I know I can go to some store there and get all of the things that I need. If you live close to a big city like Chicago, New York, or Washington you're going to find a place where you can get some of the things that you would like to buy. So, that also helps that so many foreigners live in the US. Even when you look at Northern and you look at the faculty that are from other countries it's a good number. They could be from any place, Germany, the UK, wherever, but there's a good number. In Peru it would be rare to find some foreigner teaching there. In Europe I'm sure there are, but I'm sure there are not as many as here. In spite of all we have to talk about, I think it's still for immigrants the place to come.

AM: So no matter the economic situation, the history of immigration has like an inertia effect?

HE: Yeah, and even though people discuss immigration and I think most of the... the big discussion is that a lot of people that... actually has diminished because of the economic situation... but a lot of people that cross illegally and get jobs with not much education and a lot of needs. But, a lot of the... in fact, the US takes advantage of being an attractive place to get the better human capital around the world. I'm not talking about in my case, but you get people to go to the Silicon Valley from other

countries that are really good at what they do, or those research universities they hire somebody from India, somebody from China, or whatever. They get the high levels of human capital, but at the same time I think in spite of all what we talk about it's easier for somebody to migrate to the US, it has certain advantages in comparison to some countries. I have not migrated to other countries, so I cannot be certain, but it is not extreme that I'm going to work and my next-door-neighbor is from Taiwan. If you go in this building there are a couple more that are from other countries, just in this floor in this building, so that makes you feel more comfortable, even though the culture may be different, the fact that there are other people coming from other countries around you... I don't know...

AM: The shared experience of not being from here?

HE: Yeah, so you feel more comfortable I would say for that reason. I think that's one thing that I should not leave out.

AM: Okay, I think we can wrap this up then, it's been a great conversation.

HE: Okay, I hope it helps.

AM: I think it will, thank you.