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Affective life, "vulnerable" youths, and international volunteering in a residential care programme in Cusco, Peru

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This paper critically engages with the implications of the "affect turn" in the geographies of development and volunteering. By way of considering "affective life" at a residential youth care centre in Peru through an ethnographic study, we aim to contribute to current discussions of "(self-)transformation" taking place through affectivity in the experience of volunteering. Conceptually, our approach to investigating "affective life" and volunteering involves two steps. First, we critically review this body of work's recent focus on the individualistic mode of volunteer self-transformation in encountering "vulnerable others." We identify the need to think about affect and embodiment also from the perspectives of the "vulnerable" groups whose lives are entangled with the presence of international volunteering. Second, we argue for an affect-informed approach to socio-politically shaped vulnerability, with a particular emphasis on lived experiences and affective capacities related to enduring social and material conditions. Against the backdrop of marginalisation of adolescent mothers from rural and indigenous backgrounds, many of whom are survivors of sexual abuse, we analyse the experiences of these youths living at a specific residential care centre and interacting with volunteers on a daily basis. In doing so, we employ a series of perspectives from the residents, while taking into account the organisational environment. We also show the complex ways in which resident–volunteer encounters are at play in life-enhancing affective states, capacities, and relations emerging among the residents. Our findings on the residents' self- and shared capacity of transformation highlights the importance of attending to the spatialities of affective life in academic work focused on the contemporary geographies of international volunteering.

KEYWORDS
affective life, development volunteering, Peru, residential care, vulnerability, youths

1 | INTRODUCTION

The literature focusing on international volunteer tourism has often presented programmes and initiatives designed to support populations based in the global South as "backdrops." These programmes and initiatives refer to orphanages, shelters, residential care, education and training, or other forms of community organisation involving populations framed in policy

and public discourses as "vulnerable," "at risk," "poor," and in need of protection, care, aid, or development (Baillie Smith & Jenkins, 2017; Burrai et al., 2017; Henry & Mostafanezhad, 2019; Sin et al., 2015). Some recent work on the geographies of international volunteering has sought in particular to attend to affect, emotion, and forms of embodiment on the part of the volunteers (Everingham, 2016; Frazer & Waitt, 2016; Griffiths, 2015, 2018; Griffiths & Brown, 2017; cf. Crossley, 2012; Doerr & Taïeb, 2017). It has explored the "transformative potential" of volunteering in programmes and initiatives in the global South to contribute to personal (and social) change. However, this emerging body of literature remains largely focused on the experiences and perspectives of volunteers based in the global North. Little has been written on how the "vulnerable" people targeted by these programmes experience volunteering and their encounters with volunteers (cf. Sin, 2010; Sin & Minca, 2014). In this paper, by contrast, we intend to provide an account of "affective life" focused on the perspectives and experiences of "vulnerable" youths at a residential care centre in Peru who are in frequent contact with volunteers from the global North. By "affective life" here we mean the emergence of feelings, affective states, capacities, and relations as experienced or manifested by individuals and groups in their ongoing responses to each other as well as to their social and material environments (see Berlant, 2011; Lin, Minca, & Ormond, 2018; also Anderson, 2014). By attending to the affective life of these "vulnerable" youths, we intend to make a two-fold contribution to the geographies of development volunteering. First, we show the importance of affect theory for articulating situated struggles for well-being and "development" of vulnerable groups involved with international volunteering. Second, we provide an account of self- and shared "transformation" experienced by marginalised young people, which illustrates the limits of existing "North–South imaginaries" and individual volunteer-centric readings related to self- and social transformation (Laurie & Baillie Smith, 2018, p. 95; see also Baillie Smith et al., 2019).

The *Centro de Atención Residencial de Adolescentes* (Residential Care Centre for Adolescents, hereafter CARA)[1] is located in the touristic city of Cusco, Peru, and registered at the Peruvian *Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables* (Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations). In Peru a specific institutional biopolitical regime dominates women's reproductive health and choices of motherhood even in cases of child sexual abuse, and gendered sexual violence is historically entwined with the marginalisation of rural indigenous populations (Ames et al., 2018; Boesten, 2014; Irons, 2019; Mujica, 2011; see also Section 3). CARA's programme is among the very few in the country advocating for the social inclusion and empowerment of girls who have become mothers at as young as 13, often as the result of sexual abuse. Most of these girls/mothers come from Quechua-speaking peasant communities in the rural highlands of the Department of Cusco, or from families which migrated to *la selva* (the jungle areas) for agricultural work. The vast majority of the girls/mothers are referred to CARA by the authorities for assistance during ongoing investigations regarding rape/sexual abuse and their family situation, except for the rare cases of young women taking shelter from domestic violence. Established in the year 2000, when international volunteering was not yet popularised and commercialised as a form of "tourism," CARA in the past few years has begun to involve volunteering and tourism in its organisation and in the residents' lives, becoming a reputable "destination" in Peru's volunteer and social tourism scene (see also Section 3).

In the next section, we thus start by discussing what we find are the limitations of recent affect-inflected explorations of volunteering and (self-)transformation "in the face of" vulnerable or suffering "others." We then review existing debates on vulnerability in development and social policy and in feminist and queer work. In doing so, we approach vulnerability as something that is socio-politically shaped. We also argue for taking into consideration minor and major forms of (self-)transformation that may emerge in vulnerable people's lives through "affectivity" – the force that "activates an embodied subject, empowering him/her to interact with others" (Braidotti, 2006, p. 139; see also Wylie, 2010). Building on this section, after providing more contextual information on CARA's workings, we engage with the residents' perspectives to discuss their encounters with volunteers in their everyday practices and shared affective life. Our focus is on how residents' daily well-being and capacities are affected by and enhanced through various aspects of CARA's residential care programme and volunteering carried out in that specific environment. We then focus on some individual accounts to explore the connection between the residents' affective relations with volunteers and their long-term experience of life changes and self-transformation at CARA. The paper concludes by critically reflecting on the implication of our findings for studying the "transformative potential" emerging in the transnational landscapes of development volunteering.

2 | AFFECT, VULNERABILITY, AND VOLUNTEERING

2.1 | Affect and "transformation" in volunteering

As popular as it is contested, in the past two decades international volunteering has inspired multiple strands of research and lively scholarly discussion. Initiated within the field of tourism studies (Wearing, 2001), academic work referring to

"volunteer tourism" largely mirrored the interest of tour operators for an emerging market. Interdisciplinary studies on international volunteering became influential somewhat later, including contributions from geographers drawing on critical theory and linking international volunteering to neocolonialism and neoliberalism (Guiney & Mostafanezhad, 2015; Mostafanezhad, 2014; Simpson, 2005; Vrasti, 2013). These analyses have also shed light on a global North-led volunteer tourism industry and on the proliferation of "volunteer-tourists" in the global South, whose practices have often been critiqued for depoliticising inequality, "development," and social struggles (Vodopivec & Jaffe, 2011; Zavitz & Butz, 2011). In a context characterised by a growing number of research projects on international volunteering, this timely body of critical work has drawn attention to systematic, unjust power relations related to the overall phenomenon.

Sin et al., however, in a special issue on volunteer tourism, have recently asked: "How do we critique development or neoliberalism while not being dismissive of meaningful or affective experience? How do we link the personal and the social?" (2015, p. 124). Everingham (2015), for example, suggests that some of the critical literature may end up reifying the very power relations it aims to unpack and inadvertently foreclose understandings, e.g., of the genuinely meaningful intercultural exchange in projects between international volunteers and "locals" based in the global South. Griffiths makes another similar appeal and suggests going beyond analyses of international volunteering dominated by concerns for all-encompassing neoliberalism: "we must also sense difference over dominance, hope over oppression and resistance over compliance" (2015, p. 218). Increasingly, scholarly contributions on international volunteering – most prominently from geographers – argue for the existing or potential capacity of volunteering projects and volunteers to bring about powerful processes of (self-)transformation.

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to address the diverse inroads of what is by now a well-established body of literature on international volunteering and volunteer tourism, we nonetheless intend to engage with some of the recent geographical work emphasising certain "transformative potential" of development and aid volunteering. More specifically, diving deep into the "sensual–emotional–affectual dimensions," geographers have lately contended that self- and social transformation may indeed emerge out of volunteering – in the sense that volunteers may come to question their own privileges and assumptions of Western superiority, and even take concrete actions to enhance the well-being of socio-economically disadvantaged others (Frazer & Waitt, 2016, p. 177; see also Griffiths, 2014; Zavitz & Butz, 2011). This work focuses in particular on the encounters between volunteers and communities based in the global South, and on how such transformation takes place through the embodied experiences of volunteers and the "affective capacities" (Griffiths, 2018, p. 117) emerging in those encounters. For instance, Griffiths and Brown (2017) have studied unskilled British undergraduate volunteers working side-by-side with villagers in a water installation project in Northern Thailand. Working hard, while fearful of getting in the way of the residents' work, a volunteer was quoted as saying: "Why not just pay the guys to do it properly? They could have it done in half the time and it cost a few thousand pounds for the flight each you could just give to them as well" (2017, p. 676). This volunteer was so affected by concrete bodily and emotional experience acquired in situ that he began to question discourses surrounding the figure of the "helping" volunteer and his own privileged position vis-à-vis the villagers. This, along with other experiences and expressions from volunteers, has convinced Griffiths and Brown that embodied volunteering experiences may indeed serve as "a site of potential transformation and transcendence of the inequalities" (2017, p. 680). Similarly, Frazer and Waitt (2016, p. 186) quote Chouliaraki (2013, p. 23) in offering an account of an older Australian volunteer, whose "imaginative capacity to feel for vulnerable strangers" and experience of empathic pain for residents living in suburban poverty in the Philippines transformed and moved him into years of fundraising action and trips to build homes for them.

Notably, the evocations of affect in such work are influenced by non-representational geographies as well as feminist, queer, and antiracist theorisations of feelings and embodiment related in particular to the "affective and reparative turn" in cultural criticism (Cvetkovich, 2012, p. 133; Koivunen et al., 2018, p. 5). The latter literature in particular has highlighted the need to consider people's affective investments in "off the radar" modes of politics in seemingly ordinary, mundane, or even domestic practices and ways of being:

> As we have learned to think both more modestly and more widely about what counts as politics so that it includes, for example, cultural activism, academic institutions, and everyday and domestic life, it has become important to take seriously the institutions where we live (as opposed to always feeling like politics is somewhere else out there). (Cvetkovich, 2012, p. 133)

Such emerging explorations of affectivity and of the transformative potential in volunteering should be commended for their attempt to recognise important affective experiences of the volunteers and for seeking to re-politicise discussions on the phenomenon accordingly. Both Frazer and Waitt (2016) and Griffiths and Brown (2017), while explicitly highlighting

how volunteers may perpetuate unequal North–South power relations, take into consideration how those very same volunteers may also experience deeply felt self-transformation. In this way, such works arguably resonate with commitments found in the overall "affective turn" to study feelings, emotions, and affects "less for how they dominate, regulate or constrain individual subjects and more for the possibilities they offer for thinking (and feeling) beyond what is already known and assumed" (Pedwell & Whitehead, 2012, p. 117).

However, it is important to note that this emerging literature considering affect in the development volunteering context mainly "sensitises" (Anderson, 2014) readers towards a particularly circumscribed mode of (self-)transformation (cf. Cheung Judge, 2016; Doerr & Taïeb, 2017). Featured in this literature are a variety of feelings: not only empathy and hope, but also pain and even vulnerability, which are intimately linked to the volunteer sensorium during their rather momentary/periodic "touristic" experiences of life in the global South. The mode of (self-)transformation that volunteers describe in these accounts also reveals some affinity with what Fassin (2012) has famously critiqued as the "politics of compassion" (see also Mostafanezhad, 2013). As Berlant writes with reference to social and political movements, certain forms of "compassionate recognition" and self-transformation resulting from such subjective experiences may indeed help these movements to "thrive contentiously against all sorts of privilege" (2011, p. 182). And yet, such emerging discussions of affect and volunteering among geographers often risk reproducing limited representations of "vulnerable others" in the global South. Ultimately, these discussions mostly emphasise the agential role and the empowerment of individual volunteers, who feel "moved enough" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 22) by the encounters with "others" to experience deep (self-)transformation.

It is not our intention to discredit this mode of (self-)transformation and the scholarly attention it deserves. Nevertheless, we would like to problematise such an approach centred around individual volunteers' feelings, dispositions, capacities, and relations with "vulnerable others." The tendency to prioritise or amplify this particular version of affective life in international volunteering, in fact, leaves little space to consider other complex ways in which affect emerges *between* individuals and groups and life-enhancing "transformation" can manifest *through* seemingly mundane lived experiences embedded in particular material and historical conditions. When Fraser and Waitt (2016, p. 185) claim that international volunteers "evoke possibilities of imagining 'something better' for [the] residents" themselves, they rely again on a volunteer's story:

> Once when we were building a house in the village, and just resting, and a woman came up and was giving us a cool drink, and she sat down and said, 'Alan, even if you didn't build, your being here, just being in the village, recognising us, has given us hope.' Okay? So that's what I think is happening, you're giving other people hope that other people outside of their own village are watching and looking and seeing things.

Yet, precisely because of Alan's claim, this story raises many unanswered questions about affect and transformation in contexts involving volunteering and development work in the global South. What forms of affective life are this unnamed woman and "other people" in the village part of? What form of "affective labour" and desires were involved in her act of quenching Western volunteers' thirst, in her expressions of (what seems to us) encouragement and reassurance, and in her "affective investment" in the presence of volunteers in the village? What kind of hopes, embodied capacities, affective relations, and life-enhancing transformative potential become enhanced (or undone) by this encounter in relation to her individual history and socio-cultural circumstances?

2.2 | Affective shifts: Living and enduring vulnerability

What we are thus calling for is further understandings of "affective life" and a more nuanced approach to the "transformative potential" of international volunteering. In particular, we argue, after Berlant (2011), to attend to affects and transformation by investigating ordinary and lived engagements with precarity and vulnerability. Similarly, we agree with Tolia-Kelly's forceful argument that, in evoking affects, geographers need to "think plurally about the capacities for affecting and being affected, and … to engage with the notion that various individual capacities are differently forged, restrained, trained and embodied" (2006, p. 216). In this vein, beyond critiquing Northern-actor-centred rather individualistic approaches to affective encounters and transformation, it is crucial to analyse the living conditions and affective embodiment of "vulnerable" groups in the global South involved with volunteers. We therefore believe that more in-depth and affect-informed explorations of "vulnerability" can contribute not only to debates on the role of affect in the geographies of international volunteering but also to understandings of meaningful modes of transformation taking place in the lives of "vulnerable" groups.

Inspired by the volume *Vulnerability in Resistance* edited by Butler et al. (2016), we are specifically referring to socio-politically shaped vulnerability in cases of structural conditions that tend to scar, weaken, or dispossess lives. Such understanding of vulnerability thus implies more than the feelings and mental states related to lack of protection or exposure to harm. Critical work from fields such as social policy, education, and development studies, for instance, shows how the concept of vulnerability is frequently deployed in policies and governance interventions regarding poor or "at-risk" populations, and how it regulates affective economies and power relations in which "vulnerable" people are implicated (Best, 2013). Brown (2015), for example, claims that vulnerability is the "conceptual zeitgeist" of the current time, "a vital ingredient for understanding care and social control mechanisms across local, national, regional and global contexts" (pp. 173–174). Brown (2015) looks at how welfare services professionals working with youth in difficult circumstances in the UK distinguish between "transgressive" and "acceptable" youth behaviours, a distinction based on subtle moral, personal, and gendered perceptions of those behaviours. She suggests that young individuals perceived by the professionals as "culpable" for their transgressive behaviours are considered less "vulnerable" and less "deserving" of service provision. Reflecting on policy discourses related to vulnerable youth in Australia, McLeod instead notes that vulnerability is often assumed as implying individualised behavioural, cognitive and emotional problems, or "inadequacies within the local community or family" (2012, p. 19). In the context of international aid and development, Sinervo (2013) has highlighted how aid workers may perpetuate similar categorisations, identifying and selecting "deserving" and "unworthy" individuals among Peruvian children who experience poverty and economic vulnerability (see also Kendall, 2010). Cheney's exemplary analysis of charity and aid programmes for "Orphan and Vulnerable Children" in Uganda points to the dire consequences for children and their families of competing to become qualified as "vulnerable," namely the related reinforcement of a specific affective economy between "the vulnerable (child, developing nation, receiver) and the powerful (adult, industrialized nation, giver)" (2010, p. 13).

Though in no way exhaustive, the diverse work mentioned here suggests the existence of some problematic tendencies in classifying and governing vulnerable populations by the relevant authorities. First, the prevalent operationalisations of vulnerability tend to naturalise it, obscuring the interrelated social, political, and economic conditions that shape the affective experience of "being vulnerable." Second, policymakers and social and aid workers tend to address vulnerability through paternalism and mechanisms of control and alienation, as opposed to alternative approaches that would facilitate emotional involvement, participation, and (self-)transformation for the "vulnerable." Some critical "counter-readings" have thus challenged such operationalisations by contrasting them with the ways in which individuals themselves experience their own complex circumstances and forms of (bodily, psycho-emotional, political, socio-economic) vulnerability (Brown, 2015; Sinervo, 2013; also Fassin & Rechtman, 2009). These readings reveal how the same individuals dispute or even appropriate official designations which identify them as "being vulnerable." McLeod thus suggests an alternative, affirmative investment in vulnerability, recognising its implication as a "negative attribute" often attached to certain populations, while promoting the notion's potential to evoke common experiences in all citizens, in this way encouraging "tenderness, compassion, openness to others, softness and fragility" (2012, p. 22).

Queer and feminist scholarship, such as in Butler et al. (2016) and Koivunen et al. (2018), specifically call for more research on endurance amidst structurally conditioned vulnerability and on socio-political mobilisation based on lived vulnerability. As noted by Koivunen et al., the power of the notion of vulnerability lies in its difference from terms such as "marginalisation" or "subordination," as it is "keenly connected to embodiment and corporeal fragility" (2018, p. 7). We accordingly believe that research on affect related to international development volunteering may indeed dedicate more explicit attention to the lived vulnerability of the populations who constitute part of this transnational "landscape." A good source of inspiration in this perspective is Hammami's (2016) analysis of how Palestinian communities in the West Bank have been mobilising the protective presence of Euro-American and Israeli activists. Trust, sense of connection, and visibility, writes Hammami (2016), have emerged through affective encounters and relations between activists and Palestinian communities, and have critically helped the latter to survive in times of extreme vulnerability. We believe that this kind of work opens up the possibility of exploring diverse affective experiences and bodily capacities in living and enduring vulnerability and of analysing a whole range of agency not limited to protest, manifest acts of political resistance, and antagonism. Incorporating such affect-informed sensibility towards socio-politically shaped vulnerability, we suggest, may induce a sort of "affective shift" in addressing embodiment and transformation in the geographies of international volunteering (see also Hemmings, 2012). An alternative sensibility regarding vulnerability can in fact help in moving beyond the limited representations of "vulnerable" populations discussed above. It can also contribute to further explorations of transformation through affectivity, which is immanent to people's (shared) daily and long-term needs, desires, hopes, and practices when situated in the socio-political conditions that may have shaped "their" vulnerability. This is a point to which we will return in the conclusion.

3 | CARA RESIDENTIAL CARE CENTRE

It has been reported that Peru has one of the highest rates of violence against women and the highest rate of registered cases of sexual violence in South America (Boesten, 2014; Mujica, 2011; United Nations Human Rights Council [UNHRC], 2015). Mujica (2011, 2015) points out that almost 80% of the victim-survivors in all reported rape and sexual abuse cases were minors, and that the vast majority of cases of sexual violence against minors were perpetrated by household members or acquaintances. Sexual violence and sexual and reproductive health, however, are sensitive topics and areas of intense political struggle in the country (Boesten, 2014; Cáceres et al., 2007; Palomino et al., 2011). Despite Peru's rapid economic development in the past two decades and the increasing public attempts to address the persistence of sexual and gender-based violence, policy interventions and institutional reforms remain insufficient in addressing the problem (Ames et al., 2018; Luttrell-Rowland, 2012; United Nations High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR], 2017). Victim-survivors of sexual violence in poor and rural areas are especially impacted by the lack of access to institutions and services such as the police, General Attorney/Prosecutor's office (*Fiscalía*), forensic medical services, healthcare, and social services as well as women's emergency centres and shelters (Mujica, 2011, 2015).

CARA was founded in 2000 by Ines,[2] a nurse from Spain, together with several Peruvian and international volunteers. Initially, CARA was an addition to a separate children's home dedicated to the care of infants left by young mothers. CARA's founders soon sought to address these young mothers' common experiences of violence and sexual abuse, poverty, social marginalisation, and difficult health and living conditions. They established a centre of their own to provide shelter and long-term care for adolescent mothers together with their infants, while participating regularly in campaigns in the region of Cusco against gender-based and sexual violence. Normally capable of accommodating 12–15 girls/mothers and their children at once, CARA comprises 13 employees including – in addition to the director – social educators, teachers, nursery personnel, a social worker, and a psychotherapist. Its nursery also provides day care for children of former residents who choose to settle in the neighbourhood after leaving the Centre. Between 2000 and 2015, CARA has hosted over 150 resident girls/mothers aged 12–18 and their young children. CARA's multi-faceted programme focused on these young females' long-term survival, livelihoods, motherhood, and personal development is uncommon in Peru. Contrasting international calls for the de-institutionalisation of children and youth's care – and Peru's General Law of Residential Care Centre for Children and Adolescents (Law No. 29174 of 2007) that stipulates the use of residential care centres as a temporary measure only – more than 80% of the girls/mothers opt for and remain in CARA's residential care long term.[3] The fact that residents are dependent on CARA for their well-being and livelihoods may be considered one of the reasons why they tend to be overtly positive towards CARA's institutional-collective arrangements, as will become clear in the following sections.

Besides the fact that it was founded by volunteers and that some of its operations continue to require volunteers' labour (see Section 4), CARA relies on fundraising through a network of past volunteers, donors, and NGO partners in Peru as well as Spain and other European countries. Since approximately 30% of its funds arrives late each year, CARA's financial situation is permanently precarious. The support enabled by volunteer and touristic visits therefore remains essential. Over the past 15 years, the number of international volunteers visiting the Centre has increased from the initial four to five per year, to an estimated average of four to five per month. CARA's own archive shows that most of these are short-term (three- to eight-week) visits[4] channelled through Spanish-language schools, intermediary tourism companies, and non-profit organisations. In recent years, volunteer fees and donations have covered 10%–15% of CARA's yearly budget, as a result of CARA's negotiations with the intermediary, for-profit agencies. There are also yearly USA-based student groups and occasional "responsible tourism" visits, internships, and long-term (three- to 12-month) volunteer placements from European NGOs and (mostly Spanish) universities. CARA's income- and work-generating[5] Fairtrade-certified leather workshop produces revenues notably through overseas orders and on-site purchases made by volunteers and visitors.

All the empirical material discussed in this paper is the result of seven months of ethnographic research developed by the first author in two periods between 2014 and 2015, as part of a research project on youths in social and residential care in Cusco. The first author conducted participant observation in all resident and staff daily activities within CARA mentioned in Section 4, except for a few specific activities (e.g., psychotherapy sessions). She also attended CARA's festivities and excursions, as well as specific events linked to the Centre's participation in community education and public gatherings. Over the months, two group discussions with residents were held, and individual interviews were conducted with five staff and 12 girls/mothers who were either current or recent residents or past beneficiaries now employed by CARA. All research activities with the residents focused on their daily life, needs, and desires as well as their relationships and encounters with staff, interns, volunteers, and other visitors. The research methods employed were approved by our university's ethics review board. Interviews and group discussions were conducted in Spanish, digitally recorded, and transcribed, with quotations appearing in the following sections translated into English. In most of the next section, where we consider the

(shared, daily) affective life in the Centre and its connection with volunteering, we rely especially on data drawn from group discussions involving multiple residents. In Section 5, we draw on individual in-depth interviews with residents in order to consider their affective lives from a long-term perspective based on their perceptions and personal histories.

4 | EVERYDAY, SHARED AFFECTIVE LIFE AND VOLUNTEERING

In addition to legal aid and support for the girls/mothers' and their children's daily needs in terms of health and well-being, CARA's residential care programme prioritises and regularises the provision of basic education, livelihood skills, and vocational training, together with opportunities for personal development and social participation. These components are deemed crucial by CARA's staff, since on reaching the age of 18, residents must leave the Centre and face immediate challenges in juggling survival and motherhood. Almost all residents previously experienced poverty combined with family difficulties, if not an abusive household environment or abandonment. For example, in 2014 six out of the 13 residents were reported to have become mothers as a result of sexual abuse/assault by household members or acquaintances, in situations where the parents/primary caretakers did not provide adequate care and protection to prevent the abuse/assault. Four others who similarly became mothers as a result of non-consensual sex experienced extreme poverty and/or instability in their home conditions, which precluded them and their infants/young children from returning to family care despite being in contact with their families intermittently. One resident was living on the street while another was involved in commercial sex work prior to their admission to residential care – their family situation was unclear.[6] Since there is hardly any socio-economic safety net available to the girls/mothers and their young children outside CARA's residential care, staff consider the residents' participation in educational activities and in the collective household to be essential in aiding their individual long-term capacities for survival, life-making, and personal development.

Education therefore provides us here with a critical entry into CARA's daily programme, a programme conceived to address the intersectional vulnerability facing the residents' lives. Whereas 20% of the girls/mothers had little-to-no basic education on their arrival, CARA identifies schools as the key environment in which institutional conditions contribute to the girls/mothers' experiences of social rejection, stigmatisation, discrimination, and other forms of maltreatment related to the disclosure of their unexpected pregnancy.[7] The resulting trauma from these experiences, next to multiple other practical obstacles, prevents these girls/mothers from continuing their studies during pregnancy or even returning to school afterwards. Between 2000 and 2005, for instance, only one-third of the girls/mothers residing at the Centre had access to regular basic education. Accordingly, not only did the unfavourable and unsupportive educational system further contribute to the girls/mothers' experiences of psycho-social vulnerability, but discrimination in and obstruction to education also exacerbate their previously existing socio-economic vulnerability. CARA staff consider such lived and multi-dimensional vulnerability – adding to experiences of abuse/mistreatment and precarity in life – as posing major challenges to many of these young mothers in their current life, impacting on their well-being, personal and social relationships, as well as their future work/employment and adult livelihood.

Accordingly, CARA's organisation of educational and skill-training activities for the residents is a response to the failure of governmental apparatuses and social/community organisation to "make live" in equitable ways (Foucault, 1976/2003, p. 248). In concrete terms, all residents attend an Alternative Basic Education Centre (*Centro de Educación Básica Alternativa*) in the neighbourhood on Saturdays, with the aim of eventually obtaining their diplomas. During the rest of the week, they follow elaborate group schedules under staff supervision and take responsibility for the nursery, cooking and meal/nutrition planning, grocery-shopping, and other household chores. They also participate in educational workshops, homework tutoring, psychotherapy sessions, meetings with their social workers, and collective house meetings. In addition, those aged over 16 receive one-year vocational education at an external school. Staff dedicate a large amount of planning, fund-raising, and day-to-day work to facilitate and coordinate these activities.

The following example clearly showcases CARA's intended outcome of education and training-related routinisation of the residents' everyday schedule and the particular lifestyle it advocates. Having lived at CARA for four years and after obtaining a job at a neighbourhood eatery, Yasmin recently moved out at the age of 18 with her four-year-old son. Director Ines commented on Yasmin's capacities in starting an adult life as a single mother:

> She moved out crying, […] very emotional. Moving out can be scary, but [she said], 'No, I'm not that scared of moving out, because I think I have everything organised. I have a job, and I already learned how to use my money.' And this is what we give them, right? That when they move out, they feel more or less secure. Now she has been away for two weeks, and … she seems fine, because the rhythm of life outside is not so different from what she used to have here. […] She continues with the same rhythm of waking up at 5:30 in the morning because she was already used to that. And so, it becomes easier for you outside.

However, Yasmin's mild complaint in a separate interview indicated some of the more "difficult" affects or emotional "costs" emerging with this collective household *rhythm* and the sense of security solicited. While generally content with the programme, Yasmin recalled feeling sometimes "bored" or "tired" during the last year of residence. Being the most senior in the collective household, she often helped orientate younger residents within this rhythm of group life, assisting them in their problems while managing her own daily activities. In contrast, living an adult life outside seemed to her relatively easy and manageable:

> Well, they [CARA staff] say that when you go live outside there are many more things [to attend to] than when you are living here in the programme. But not really! *It depends on how you organise things*. [Now living outside,] I wake up and I immediately clean up my room, make my bed and get changed, […] I make my son's breakfast and then I go to work. […]

Yasmin here described her current household management, detailed morning routine, and implied diligent lifestyle as almost natural and commonsensical. Arguably, however, her words precisely illustrate the affective orientation towards and embodiment of motherhood and adulthood that CARA intends to instil in the young mothers during the programme. Yasmin did not necessarily consciously link her morning routine and lifestyle to CARA-regularised shared living. Rather, she came to internalise these and appreciate them as "her own" way of organising life (see also Section 5).

Such a routinised, stable rhythm of living is indeed often challenging, especially for the younger girls/mothers or those recently arrived, as they are in the process of orientating themselves in the residential care environment amidst ongoing psycho-emotional vulnerability. However, with the help of the psychotherapist and the core staff, and at times relying on various therapies and educational (e.g., communication and conflict-solving) workshops, the residents are offered the opportunity to live their own slow, arduous, and complicated process of attending to their emotional wounds, trauma, fatigue, depression, inertia, as well as associated cognitive, interpersonal, and social relationship difficulties.

In the process of "inhabiting" these emotional and psychological intensities, which has significant consequences for the residents' perceptions of their own well-being and self-transformation (see also Section 5), our participants expressed appreciation for how the volunteers enhanced CARA's everyday atmosphere. They also expected the volunteers to contribute to the labour required in running the collective household. To further elaborate on this, we now focus on two sets of examples related to encounters with volunteers perceived by the residents as, respectively, "positive" and "negative." Through these examples, we show how the residents make sense of and become affected by/through their encounters with the volunteers in relation to CARA's social environment and shared daily life.

4.1 | Desired affective state and relations

With limited resources and heavy work schedules, CARA staff tend to prioritise urgent issues and the girls/mothers' education, as well as personal and parental development. The residents hence are generally positive about the diverse on-and-off leisure activities that short-staying volunteers are often keen to organise and fund. Despite their contingent nature, activities such as sports, handicrafts, yoga, music, and the rare excursion should be considered as a necessary unfolding "component" supplementing CARA's organisation and enriching the affective dimensions of life there. While we have observed joy, smiles, laughter, playfulness, hugs, friendship, and intimacy emerging in these encounters, resident girls/mothers were not simply "poor but happy" (see Crossley, 2012). Neither were they merely open to "becoming affected" by volunteers (cf. Darling, 2010, p. 246). Residents clearly varied in their choices and preferences when it came to developing friendships and emotional intimacy with volunteers.

For example, some girls/mothers said they tended not to share their personal issues and feelings with volunteers, while others sometimes did. Liz, aged 17 and a three-year resident, mentioned: "They [volunteers] help us sometimes when we are not doing well. We confide in them … telling them what's happening to us." Liz's following account and her personal situation offered further evidence of how the residents' encounters with volunteers depended on their broader complex affective and psychological lives as well as on their interpersonal interactions in CARA. Liz held herself to high standards and strived to demonstrate her diligence in school-work and household tasks. Looking up to the core staff, she presented herself as a model adolescent capable of guiding other residents. It is within this particular context that Liz stressed her occasional decision to turn to volunteers as she felt "blocked by *vergüenza*" (in this case, embarrassment or shyness) in talking to the educators and psychotherapist about certain personal matters: "I see them every day and I don't know, I feel a bit embarrassed. It's better to tell a volunteer who I don't see every day, and who would leave."

Furthermore, certain CARA-cultivated sensibilities appeared to be at play in how residents apprehended, related to, and responded to volunteers in shared daily "sensory modes of being" (Tolia-Kelly, 2006, p. 215). For instance, residents revealed particular sensitivity to the volunteers' affective state related to being "*alegre*" (cheerful, joyful, lively), especially when combined with specific volunteer–resident relationships that resonated well with CARA's overall (pedagogical) environment. On the one hand, residents commonly evoked being "*alegre*" during informal conversations, individual interviews, and group discussions, whether it was to refer to their own ideal affective states or to their positively perceived encounters with staff and international visitors. On the other hand, several residents emphasised the importance of their pedagogical relationships with their educators, or with long-term volunteers who became enlisted in the staff team. Sixteen-year-old Dalia, for example, spoke of a long-term volunteer during a group discussion: "There was a person who was a role model for me, for my future. She wasn't a volunteer. She was my educator. […] She helped me so much, she was like my mum. When she left, I couldn't stop crying. Sadness (*tristeza*) …." The residents thus appeared to be fond of, and even idolise, the volunteers who were memorably "*alegre*" and "educator-like." In another group discussion, it was suggested that all volunteers should participate in the Centre's daily life "*con ganas*" (with enthusiasm, with a nice attitude) and not be "*pesadas*" (annoying or tiresome). Emphatically, some recall Anita as an example of a "good volunteer":

Reveca: [Volunteers should be] like Anita.

Xavier[8]: Anita? And why, how was she?

Amanda: *Alegre* … helping.

Reveca: She was like an educator. … She didn't act like a volunteer. For me, she was already an educator, because … [in the nursery] when we were sitting around doing nothing, […] she told us, 'The diaper is wet! […] Change it!' So, we went to change diapers, while she fed the children at the table, and we helped her. Sometimes she said, 'Now, go wash the kids' plates […]' and then some went to wash them. […] Then sometimes when we were all in the nursery, she went to the kitchen to help out there. She was everywhere.

Amanda: A very *alegre* person.

While volunteer Anita, in this case, may appear to be "bossy" in giving constant directions to the residents, her embodiment impressed Reveca and Amanda as "*alegre*." Underpinned by their orientation towards coping with shared household labour and towards learning and capacity-building, Reveca and Amanda did not simply perceive being "*alegre*" as related to the volunteer's personality, or as an emotion elicited in the residents. Notably, they both specified being "*alegre*" in close association with the volunteer's affective capacity to help activate the girls/mothers' own capacities for handling different tasks. In addition, they emphasised the quasi-pedagogical relationship volunteer Anita established with them, since she enabled a particularly desirable atmosphere and a sense of companionship ("she was everywhere"). Overall, our discussion on positively perceived encounters with volunteers thus illustrates that CARA's environment palpably affects the "flows of affectual capacities and sensitivities" in the residents' daily lives and their relations with the volunteers (Tolia-Kelly, 2006, p. 215).

4.2 | Affective capacities and labour

When faced with problematic volunteer behaviour, the girls/mothers seemed to be keen to perform some "affective labour" (Clough & Halley, 2007) – they did this while attempting to harness volunteers' labour for household tasks.[9] During the first month of their visit, all volunteers are required to rotate between daily morning and afternoon shifts to assist the personnel and the resident girls/mothers, especially in the kitchen and nursery. Thus, those at the initial stage of volunteering, as well as those staying for short periods, tend to perform "unskilled" care work. Such arrangements effectively release time for the residents, and maximise the energy they may dedicate to education, training, and personal and motherhood development. The pragmatic relevance of the volunteers' support in the ongoing operation of the collective household was clearly felt during the fieldwork, especially when there were fewer volunteers around, or on days when those who were given shifts failed to show up. Due to the absence of volunteers, workshops and activities planned for the girls/mothers were often called off or interrupted, as their help was needed in the kitchen or nursery.

Although most arrived enthusiastic and eager to help, short-term volunteers were often inexperienced and unprepared for the heavy care work involved and the seemingly chaotic collective household environment. In addition, also due to the language barrier, some were shy, slow, or passive in their interactions with the resident girls/mothers. Others did not handle well the moments of confusion in transcultural communication. Some seemed discouraged by hours of nursery work changing diapers, cleaning, and attending to the toddlers. In group discussions, while appreciative of most volunteers'

contributions, the residents also complained about several frustrating incidents in which volunteers were said to "just stand there looking" instead of actively performing their tasks. Lizeth, 15 years old and a two-year resident, suggested how to better involve volunteers:

> Sure, when they [volunteers] arrive, of course they don't know what to do on their first day in the nursery. The first day they just stand there, and it depends on you: you need to explain what to do and how the nursery functions, so that they can help you. I do not think that [in this case] a volunteer would [still] not understand and would not want to help, right?

Lizeth here notably appealed to the girls/mothers as a group to empathise with the newcomer-volunteers, and suggested how they could activate and literally move these volunteers' bodies along into sharing the collective care work and the nursery's daily rhythm. The other girls/mothers subsequently acknowledged that they should indeed better assist and guide the newcomer-volunteers. Marisol, 16 years old, followed this line of discussion to reveal that once she had dealt with a volunteer who had become upset for a moment of miscommunication:

> There are some volunteers […] you try to explain [to them what to do], they take it the wrong way. […] For example, I had this with Ellen. On the first day, […] I said to her: 'Let's go do this.' Since she didn't understand me, I had to explain it to her, and I had to do it myself, and she was upset. […] And so, I told her: 'If you didn't understand what I was saying and you get angry, you should let me know why you are angry.'

In her account of the incident, Marisol demonstrated a certain capacity in recognising and managing the volunteer's unexpressed emotional reaction, resorting to open communication and cooperation. As these girls/mothers reflected on the encounters with volunteers, they implicitly showed multiple underlying capacities to process frustration, to observe and engage with tense or awkward situations, to respond to others with empathy, to behave proactively, and to enhance (social and household) participation. Encouraged by CARA's residential care environment, these are capacities they nevertheless often struggled with among themselves and in interactions with their children, especially during chaotic or challenging days. Encountering volunteers in said situations and "fine-tuning" further responses (Darling, 2010, p. 249) thus required certain affective labour closely related to the sensibilities the residents apprehended as part of their shared affective life in the Centre. All these examples – and more could have been reported – may be read as the manifestation of the residents' agency and capacities in dealing with the volunteers and in negotiating the expectations and the obligations at CARA. We consider these negotiations and the "management" of the volunteers' presence on the part of the residents an important demonstration of the relevance of the affective labour that is required and elicited by their lives in the Centre, an affective labour that in many ways reflects their condition of vulnerability but also their overall capacity to actively engage with the support and the challenges provided by the programme.

5 | LONG-TERM SELF-TRANSFORMATION AND VOLUNTEERING

In this section, we focus on the accounts of two (former) residents – Yasmin and Flor – in order to explore affective life at CARA from the long-term perspective. While in the previous section we discussed diverse ongoing encounters between CARA residents and volunteers, here we consider two residents' particularly personal experiences. These experiences, we argue, manifest not only the specific hopes volunteering can sometimes offer to marginalised individuals but also the potential of resident–volunteer encounters to affect and enhance the residents' perceived life changes and self-transformation in the long run. The interviews with these two residents showcase a repeated, specific set of themes – such as sense of accomplishment, self-affirmation, affinity, and social connectivity. All of these themes are illustrated through Yasmin and Flor recalling incidents and encounters that occurred during their life at CARA, often with heightened emotion.

5.1 | Yasmin

Yasmin, who started her interview with the account of her morning routine presented in the previous section, spoke extensively of the transformation she experienced at CARA: "In the beginning, […] life was not like this. I've learned so many things here." She then revealed that she was left by "her son's father" to work in Cusco as a maid. Not even 14 at the time, she did not know she was pregnant:

> No-one ever told me about it … I did not know these kinds of things, like sexuality. You didn't know a thing, you see […] no one ever told me, and my mom never studied. My mom is like, illiterate, and she never talked to me [about this] […] I started vomiting and vomiting, I had nausea […] *La señora* (the woman/employer) told me: 'You are pregnant.' 'No! I am not!'

This brief quote reveals the unspoken yet palpable vulnerability implied through Yasmin's brief biography entwining her younger self abandoned in Cusco, not knowing her body's signs of pregnancy, and being raised by an illiterate single mother. Understanding this compounded experience – of an uneducated and poor family background, and being in a vulnerable situation regarding not only one's physical-reproductive health but also sexuality – is crucial in grasping Yasmin's subsequent related stories conveying her sense of accomplishment over the years at CARA. Yasmin stressed that she had learned to be "a better mother," responsible, and well-organised in the collective household. She became confident and vocal in asking to change the residents' shower schedule during "inhumanely cold" days, and she urged younger fellow girls/mothers during the house meetings: "Do the workshops *con ganas* (with enthusiasm). If you don't like it, say it." In addition, she went from being nervous and scared to having successfully completed the training in the kitchen of a well-known, high-end restaurant.

There was a repeated, pronounced sense of self-affirmation in Yasmin's interview. This was conveyed not only through reflections on her learning achievements, but also through memories of affection, strong bonding, and positive personal relationships developed at CARA, including with the volunteers. These memories crystallised in particular at moments such as farewells to volunteers or her own farewell party:

> There were three volunteers […] who taught us about emotions (in emotional literacy workshops). I didn't know that they were leaving […] All the girls were in tears … It was contagious. […] I was also like, 'Waah…!' […] (The volunteers were) super fun and playful. We used to go to their workshops in such a good mood (*alegre*). […] Elena, the volunteer was crying, she was super emotional […] She gave me a bracelet. She told me: 'Don't cry, Yasmin.' 'I feel the closest to you, and you are the one who has made me laugh the most.' I had my farewell with the girls and the personnel […] That's when everyone told me that 'you have helped a lot,' and people started to get teary-eyed. Liz (a resident) cried more than anyone, because I always told Liz that she gave me so much support, in everything. […] And she made me cry, too. […] Everyone expressed their gratitude to me, that I was a good person, always cooperative […] *Mami*[10] Ines also thanked me. She was in tears, and I had never seen her cry like that before […] She told me many things, that she also learned a lot from me [… saying] 'I will always support you.'

5.2 | Flor

Nineteen-year-old Flor, who spent two years in CARA, similarly completed her study in gastronomy and was working as a kitchen assistant at the time of the interview. Having alcoholic parents, Flor spent six years in an orphanage, and started working at age 11 in restaurants and later as a maid in Lima. During this period, she suffered psychological and physical abuse both at work and by a brother. She remembered being resentful about how she was treated. Eventually, Flor moved back to her hometown, where she then found herself pregnant. She returned to the same orphanage as years before, and stayed there until she delivered her son Luis.

Perhaps implicitly attempting to compensate for her childhood experiences of inadequate familial and social relations,[11] Flor's narration largely focused on the social bonding and psychological support CARA provided. For instance:

> The staff ask you how you're doing, if you're feeling well […] Also the mums. Everyone here has come from a different situation. It makes you want to get to know why each of us has come here. And be more than what you are, as you make friends with everyone here. I really like it. With the psychologist we learned […] how to live life outside CARA.

Similarly, she appreciated the Centre's emphasis on vocational training, social and job integration, and economic security. In contrast, with a hint of dread, she perceived the orphanage in which she grew up as lacking support for the children in these aspects:

Well, you don't have that there […] when you reach 18 years old there, you move out and you have nothing at all. No bed, nothing. No money either, nothing. You leave with only your clothes, just like that. […] With this training [supported by CARA] you have already started working or doing your internship, which is already paying some money. So, when you move out you already have a small sum of money […] you already have the training done, which is very useful outside.

Commenting on herself as previously being "extremely timid" in front of others, Flor conveyed her transformation and the positive interpersonal connections made with others at CARA, notably also with the volunteers. Her voice reflected warmth and kindness, and she often appeared to be seized by amazement:

Those workshops in CARA were so helpful. […] I've changed so much. When *Mami* Ines asked me to speak in front of the educators (at a social education meeting) […] she said, 'You can do it,' and she helped me prepare for it. […] I was a bit scared, but I breathed and breathed. Everyone was there! [She named all the educators and other staff.] But I didn't see them. I finished my speech. And they all came to congratulate me: 'You did it, Flor!'

It's lovely to have the opportunity to make friends with foreigners, to chat with them. […] That (Korean) volunteer used to help out in the nursery, and taught us to speak (Korean). […] Once she got sick. We knew her very well already at that time, so we wanted to see how she was doing. […] We made her some herbal tea, and asked her, 'How are you feeling?' […] She left us a photo of herself, and the photos she took of us and of our children, and also kept our photos for the memories. It was sad when she left. I don't know, my heart ached. […] I'd love them to stay in Peru forever!

Giving the above accounts just weeks after leaving CARA, both Yasmin and Flor were still relatively well-embedded in the Centre and may be considered as especially nostalgic about their life experiences and relationships formed with volunteers and others. However, we noted that, when interviewed, other older former residents who have pursued their own lives outside of residential care for much longer periods were less expressive about the volunteers. Besides the obvious individual differences, this discrepancy may have been influenced by two main factors: first, the older former residents had experienced less diversity of (and fewer) activities with volunteers during their stay; second, younger residents like Yasmin and Flor received more hospitality-orientated training, which arguably reinforced their socialisation with and affective investment in the volunteers.

In any case, we found that socio-politically shaped vulnerability, while affecting both Yasmin and Flor individually and personally, was not a given attribute ingrained in individuals who may be labelled in public discourses, for instance, as "orphans" or "sexual abuse victims." Even as their conditions of marginalisation in the broader socio-political environment persisted, the two young women conveyed experiences of, and capacities for, change in themselves and in how they related to others, while navigating towards viable motherhood and adult life. Their accounts also illustrated how CARA's overall environment evoked or enhanced these experiences and capacities. Notably, both Yasmin and Flor described their emotional encounters and relationships with volunteers among other events at CARA which engendered similarly positively perceived impacts on their psychological and emotional life. Both accounts therefore gave indications of how residents may register or make sense of their individual encounters with volunteers in ways that largely resonate with the affective states and sociality they experience over time at CARA. In other words, from the perspectives of individual residents, whose lives became entangled with volunteering on a long-term basis, volunteering did not derive its significance in isolation. Rather, its significance was closely attached to CARA's overall residential care provision affecting the residents' personal development and (self-)transformation.

6 | CONCLUSION

A recent tendency in the geographies of development and volunteering has been the focus on the volunteers' affective experiences in encountering "vulnerable" populations in the global South and their self-transformation. In this paper, we have engaged with that debate by adopting a critical, affect-informed notion of vulnerability, which has allowed us to question the limited representations of "vulnerable" people typical of such literature. We have thus argued for analysing different modalities of "affective life" by paying special attention to often-neglected individual and shared changes in affective capacities as well as to other embodied ways of responding to social and material conditions. This, we claim, has helped to produce nuanced accounts of how forms of agency and immanent change/transformation may manifest through

marginalised people's lived experiences as they encounter, engage with, make sense/use of, and become affected by the presence of volunteering in their lives.

In pursuing this argument, we have investigated the affective life involving volunteering that is unfolding in CARA, a residential care programme in Cusco, Peru. More specifically, we have considered a series of perspectives from residents who regularly interact with volunteers while relying on CARA's routinisation of care and education in enduring long-term social, economic, and psycho-emotional vulnerability. We have thus analysed the residents' emerging daily affective states and capacities influenced by CARA's collective household responsibilities and sensibilities, and have discussed the residents' feelings and responses towards diverse "desirable" or "problematic" volunteer practices that have enhanced (or not) their well-being. We have then focused on two individual biographies and accounts – Yasmin's and Flor's – in order to highlight the importance of their encounters with volunteers. Such encounters constituted part of the two young women's overall affective experiences at CARA, contributing in several ways to forming their sense of positive (self-)transformation and their relations with others over the years. In so doing, we have first taken into consideration the programme's organisation aimed at providing a shared space for living and at enhancing the residents' capacities for responding to conditions of vulnerability. We have then folded into our analysis the complex ways in which international volunteering is present in that specific context.

Overall, we have made a case for the literature on international volunteering to incorporate new perspectives capable of engaging with affectivity and vulnerability, as they may offer alternative understandings of (self- or shared) transformation, and of the relationships between volunteering and "vulnerable" subjects. In conclusion, our findings suggest two specific points: first, while international volunteering can be seen as having life-enhancing "transformative potential" for CARA's residents, this potential is contingent on both the volunteers' practices and capacities, as well as the local institutional-collective arrangements through which volunteering takes place. Second, the actualisation of this potential largely depends on the residents' personal and shared transformation in their life-enhancing affective capacities and relations with others, something closely related to how they endure persistently marginalising socio-political conditions.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Due to the ethically sensitive nature of the research and in line with the agreement made with the participants, the data provided by the participants will not be shared or made publicly available.

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ENDNOTES

[1] We have adopted a generic alias for the Centre.

[2] Pseudonyms are used for all research participants and individuals mentioned here.

[3] Alternative, family-based care arrangements in Peru are primarily focused on young children and do not address the conditions of these adolescent mothers.

[4] The majority being women, most of these volunteers come from Spain, Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands.

[5] The workshop employs six former residents.

[6] Only one adolescent mother was taking shelter at the Centre together with her infant as a temporary measure because of domestic violence.

[7] Other contexts include hospitals, public health posts, encounters with the police, and forensic examinations.

[8] An educator-cum-volunteer-coordinator, here facilitating group discussions.

[9] Our research suggests that in their varied capacity as hosts, coordinators, or supervisors, staff perform similar affective labour to orientate and train the volunteers.

[10] A term to show endearment and respect.

[11] See also Leinaweaver (2008) for the importance of kinship and related social networks for the survival and personal development of indigenous Andean children.

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