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1978

PRE-VERBAL LEARNING OF KINSHIP BEHAVIOR AMONG SHIPIBO INFANTS OF EASTERN PERU

by

JOAN M. ABELOVE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York

1978

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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PREFACE

This dissertation derives from fieldwork done in 1973-74 among the Shipibo Indians of the Peruvian montana, that part of the tropical forest closest to the Andes. I went to the field with another anthropologist, Roberta Campos, a graduate student in cultural anthropology at Columbia University. All told, we spent a total of 12 months actual residence in the study village. The year, however, was distributed over seven 8-10 week field trips into the village, separated from each other by 3 to 4 week breaks which we spent occasionally in Lima, but more frequently in Pucallpa, the nearest town.

The study village is located on the Pisqui River, a tributary of the larger Ucayali River. The Shipibo of the Pisqui are considered to be "backwoods" types by their more sophisticated big river kinsmen, the Shipibo of the Ucayali. We chose the Pisqui area because we thought it might afford us a view of Shipibo life less affected by Peruvian economy and culture than the Ucayali River villages. The Shipibo of the Ucayali assured us that this was true, their kinsmen of the Pisqui were truly less "civilized" than they, and maintained old fashioned customs such as head deformation, cliterodectomy ceremonies, early marriage for women. Not only were they laughable rubes, but also, we were warned, they were a bit scarey. "They eat lots of meat (as opposed to the fish subsistence on the big river). And they hunt at night."

In December of 1972, we made a two week excursion down the Ucayali from Pucallpa and up the Rio Pisqui, to choose a village in which to locate. We hired a Shipibo boatman from a village near Pucallpa who knew the Pisqui and had relatives there.

On our trip up the Pisqui, we stopped at every Shipibo village along the river. Our boatman who was bilingual in Shipibo and Spanish, served as our entre into every village, and explained to the villagers that we were looking for a village to live in for a year in order for me to study mothers and infants and for Roberta to study the role of women in the village economy. Many of the settlements consisted of only one or two households, and were clearly too small for our purposes. We stayed overnight in all seven of the larger villages, and, at the end of the first week, arrived at the last village on the river, where we spent two days deciding which village we wanted to ask to permit us to stay. After much deliberation, we finally decided to ask the study village for permission to do our work there.

When we arrived back at the study village, the bilingual school teacher, himself a native Shipibo, called a "session" of the entire community to discuss our request. Such meetings are held at night, in the open air, and everyone, even infants and children, attends. Roberta and I each announced in Spanish that we were asking to live in their village for about a year, and we explained why, what we were each interested in learning about the Shipibo. The school teacher translated our request into Shipibo, and everyone began to talk to each other. After perhaps fifteen minutes, the teacher turned to us and said, "They say it's O.K. And we will build you a house." We thanked them and asked what they wanted from us. The reply was unanimous: medicine. We returned to Pucallpa the next day where we spent a few weeks getting organized for our first field trip, and returned to the study village in January of 1973.

I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines one specific aspect of cultural learning that may occur during infancy[1]--kinship behavior. The problem posed is whether infants learn culturally appropriate patterns of interacting with others before they learn to talk. Do they learn to interact differentially with various classes of kinsmen before they know the appropriate kin terms for these people?

Socialization studies have, in general, tended to examine the behavioral manifestations of overt child training, and consciously held beliefs about child-rearing. What has not been studied are the more subtle, non-verbal aspects of communication between parents and children, and especially between parents and infants.

The importance of the period of infancy for socialization theory lies in the fact that whatever is learned during this period is learned pre-verbally.

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[1] Infancy will be defined, following Sullivan (1953) as the period of life which "extends from a few minutes after birth to the appearance of articulate speech" (p. 33). The infants observed in this study ranged from the age of 17 days to 20.766 months. Shipibo infants were observed to begin talking at approximately the age of 2 years.

Such learning, not readily formulated into words, either by children or adults, lends a seemingly "instinctive" or automatic quality to the behaviors learned. This aspect of culture has been referred to as "the moral imperative" in cultural behavior (Spiro 1951:34), "the unconscious patterning of behavior in society" (Sapir, 1927), and "covert culture," ". . . those concepts people take for granted, do not remember learning, and often do not realize they know at all" (Richards 1977:226). These learned patterns of thinking and behaving, inasmuch as they are not subject to evaluation or conscious change, may provide the foundation for cultural stasis within, and isolation between, groups of people.

This study derives from interpersonal psychoanalytic theory, and uses both the assumptions and constructs of this theory to investigate cultural learning in infancy. Some of the assumptions basic to the theory should be noted at this point. The first assumption is that learning occurs in an interpersonal context, i.e. with other people. For the infant, the interpersonal context consists most crucially of the mothering figure, that person who has primary responsibility for the infant, whether or not she is biologically related to the infant. It is she who is the primary agent in teaching her child how to interact within his social system. Given this assumption, this study focuses on various aspects of the mother-infant relationship, in an attempt to account for the infant's learning.

The second assumption is that the interpersonal context is most critically defined by the mood between the people involved. This assumption points to the necessity for investigating aspects of behavior not easily observed, and less easily quantified. Mood is not readily measurable in a rigidly empirical sense. It is not an aspect of behavior between people that can be readily captured on videotape. It is, nonetheless, perhaps the most important part of communication between people, and one that has been systematically neglected in the literature on socialization. Since infants cannot respond to the cognitive component of interaction, emotion and mood are their primary means of communication. Hence, it is of paramount importance in terms of studying mother-infant interaction, and the infant's learning of his culture within this relationship.

Finally, it is assumed that it is the mother's rather than the infant's mood that is determinant in the relationship. While the infant's well-being and very life depend on the mother, clearly the mother is not in the same position of dependency. "To assume that a mother behaves as she does because of the kind of infant she happens to have is to consider her psychological structure vulnerable indeed and that of the neonate remarkably forceful" (Brody, 1956:353-354).

Utilizing a variety of research tools (participant observation, structured interviews, a projective test, systematic behavioral observations), this study examines the relative effects of the mother's mood, attitudes and behavior in relation to specific other people. The study is organized to assess individual variation within the sample of mothers and infants in order to better understand the process of infant learning. As Sapir pointed out:

> . . . it is only through an analysis of variation that the reality and meaning of a norm can be established at all, and it is only through a minute and sympathetic study of individual behavior in the state in which normal human beings find themselves, namely in a state of society, that it will ultimately be possible to say things about society itself and culture that are more than fairly convenient abstractions (Sapir 1938:576)

The following chapter will provide general information on the Shipibo, and will describe the study village, its social organization and daily life. The third chapter develops out of the second, focusing on the ethnography of mothers and infants. This chapter also includes information concerning Shipibo beliefs about conception, pregnancy, infancy and child-rearing practices. Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical assumptions and concepts which underlie and structure the research. Chapter 5 describes the data collected and the measures developed to test the hypotheses. The final two chapters present the results of the study, and discuss the implications of the results for the further study of infancy.

II

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

1. Area of Study

The Shipibo are a Panoan-speaking group who have, for the past 1000 years, inhabited the banks of the Ucayali River and its major Western tributaries in Peru (see Lathrap, 1970). Although lacking political organization above the village level, the entire "tribal" population numbers approximately 20,000, making them one of the larger ethnically distinct populations of native Americans living in the Amazon basin today.

The Shipibo are slash and burn horticulturalists, who cultivate plantains and sweet manioc. Their primary source of animal protein in the Ucayali area is that river's rich aquatic fauna. In the hinterlands, those areas off the mainstream of the Ucayali, the animal protein consists primarily of terrestrial fauna such as collared and white-lipped peccary, deer, paca, and agouti. Hunting, fishing and horticulture support settlements varying in composition from isolated hamlets of two to three households to villages as large as 2000 persons on the Ucayali.[1]

The Shipibos have been in contact with the Western world since the 16th century arrival of the Spanish, who began establishing missions in the Ucayali area in the 17th century (Steward 1963:III.510-514). During the 17th and 18th centuries, Franciscans and Jesuits established missions among the Shipibo and related native groups. The course of conversion did not, however, run smoothly. Native mission populations were decimated periodically by disease, such as smallpox; survivors fled for their lives. Various missions were destroyed during a series of general Indian insurrections between 1686 and 1767, in response to severe exploitation of Indian labor by the missions.

During the 19th century, Western entrepreneurial interests were attracted to the Ucayali area by the lure of cheap labor and quick profits. Shipibo, Conibo and other native groups were recruited, frequently by missionaries, to comb the forest and rivers for sarsaparilla, manatee oil, turtle oil and eggs, salted fish and wax. The missions consumed the oil and eggs, while the sarsaparilla and wax (used for sealing wax) were exported to Europe where they found a ready market. Beginning in the 1890's, the Shipibo were also employed in the

---

[1] For a discussion of the differences in subsistence patterns and ecology between these two areas, see Lathrap 1968 and Campos 1977.

collection of rubber, as were many of the other tribes in the Amazon area. All of these extractive operations exploited and virtually enslaved large segments of the male Indian population.

At least since historical times, the Shipibo have lived on the alluvial flood plains of the Ucayali River, the major artery of travel and commerce in the area. Due to their location on this major thoroughfare, and also to their great penchant for travelling and trading, they have been a very visible and superficially well-known Indian population. Good ethnographic reports on the Shipibo have, however, been very sparse. In 1925, Tessman (1928) spent two months in the village of San Francisco de Yarinacocha. Although his monograph provides substantial information on Shipibo material culture, his account of Shipibo society is virtually useless. Not being monotheistic, the Shipibo are described as idiots, "people without heads" whose ideas are non-existent or useless.

Less biased ethnographic work was done in the same village by Karsten, during a 2-month field trip in 1952 (1955), and by Hoffman (1964), during a 3-month period in 1957-1958. While Karsten's major interest was in Shipibo religious beliefs, both he and Hoffman made note of the persistence and strength of Shipibo cultural autonomy, a cultural vitality unusual in this area, where

Indian populations have traditionally been decimated by Western genocide or disease, or quickly assimilated into the urban poverty of jungle towns. More recent ethnographic data is reported by Bergman (1974), whose primary concern is Shipibo subsistence patterns.

Today, Shipibo men are involved with the Peruvian economy as day laborers for various oil and lumbering companies, and as producers of cash crops such as jute and rice. Shipibo women have also entered the Peruvian cash economy, although on a smaller scale. The women who live in communities close to Pucallpa, for example, produce pottery, beadwork, and textiles to sell in town. The pottery, made exclusively by women, is, by all informed judgments, the finest ceramic ware in the Amazon basin (Farabee, 1922:86). It has been, and remains, an important trade item both for barter with other indigenous groups (see Bodley 1973 and DeBoer 1975) and as a source of cash income from Peruvians and tourists. Shipibo women carrying necklaces, bracelets, pottery, painted and embroidered skirts and cloth, and children's toy bow and arrows are a familiar sight in the streets of Pucallpa.

For all of their experience and sophistication with the Western market system, the Shipibo continue to maintain their aboriginal subsistence patterns, as well as much of their aboriginal culture. Shipibo women still wear their traditional clothing. Post-marital residence continues to be strongly matrilocal, and sororal polygyny is still practiced, even by some bilingual Shipibo teachers (fluent in both their native Shipibo and in Spanish) and lay doctors trained by the missionaries.[2]

2. The Study Village

The study village is situated on the banks of the Pisqui River, a western tributary of the larger Ucayali (see map). The Shipibo of this area are generally less acculturated than their "big river" kinsmen. The location of their settlements away from the mainstream of the

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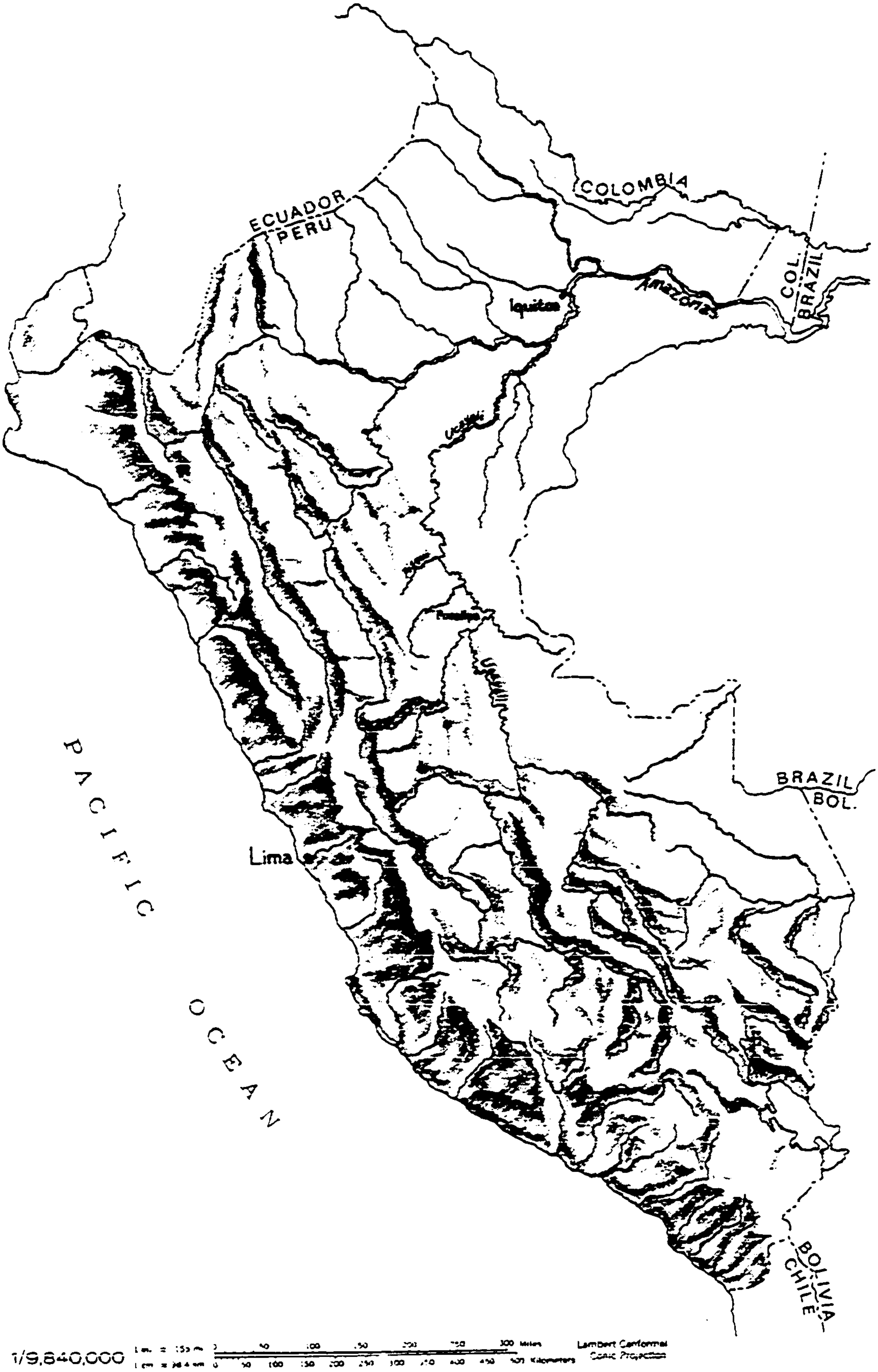
[2] The missionaries referred to are members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), previously known as the Wycliffe Bible Translators. The *linguisticos*, as SIL members are known in the jungle, are North American Protestant missionaries, with some linguistic training. SIL has a contract with the Peruvian government, which authorizes their linguistic work among Peruvian native populations, and requires the *linguisticos* to establish bilingual schools in the local communities, staffed by SIL trained natives. Such schools have been established throughout Shipiboland, and are the primary reason for the formation of large villages.

SIL, in addition, offers native communities the opportunity to send a local representative to its base in Pucallpa to be trained as a lay doctor, or *sanitario*. The *sanitario* is trained by the missionaries in basic medicine, and then returns to his community. Both the educational and medical facilities offered by SIL require native involvement in the cash economy. Books, notebooks, pencils and school clothing must be purchased for school children; medicine must be bought, although at a nominal price. Eager for these Western goods, Shipibo men are then committed to earning some cash income in order to afford them.

Figure 1 Map of the Ucayali River Area


COLOMBIA
ECUADOR
PERU
Iquitos
Amazonas
COL.
BRAZIL
Ucayali
Pucallpa
Ucayali
BRAZIL
BOL.
Lima
PACIFIC
OCEAN
BOLIVIA
CHILE
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1 in. = 155 mi
1 cm = 98.4 km
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 Miles
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400 450 500 Kilometers
Lambert Conformal Conic Projection

Source: Odyssey World Atlas. Universal Edition. Golden Press. New York. p. 104

Ucayali affords them less contact with Peruvian culture and economy, for unlike the Ucayali, the Pisqui is not heavily travelled. In terms of transportation, the river is a dead end that connects no settlements of economic importance and is not navigable towards its headwaters in the Eastern slopes of the Andes. Travelers not native to the river are few and far between. They include the Peruvian traders, regatones, for whom the Pisqui Shipibos are regular customers; entrepreneurs from various companies looking for cheap labor; agents of the Peruvian government delegated to take a survey census, round up eligible males for the army or distribute various kinds of medicine; Shipibos visiting relatives, and an occasional missionary. Even among the villagers, social isolation reinforces that imposed by geography, for only two of the married men are from outside the Pisqui area.

Although the Shipibo economy is basically oriented to subsistence through horticulture and hunting and fishing, the men in the study community are also involved with the Peruvian cash economy in a variety of ways. Most men have a relationship with a patron, a Peruvian, from whom they receive western goods such as metal cooking pots, cloth, kerosene, sugar, machetes, shotguns and cartridges. These items are paid for in animal skins or in labor in the patron's fields, generally no more than a few days distance from the village. Payment in cash is restricted to labor done for a larger enterprise --lumbering for wood extracting firms or working for companies involved in oil exploration, work which might take the men further distances from home.

Unlike their female counterparts of the Ucayali, the Pisqui women have no immediate market for their crafts. Production of pottery, beadwork and woven garments is geared towards domestic use, not exchange. The women are, however, not averse to producing various items for sale. Occasionally a river trader or anthropologist will barter for or commission a particular item. A number of women were eager to sell their goods, and complained that their markets were so limited.

3. The Plan and Appearance of the Village

Seen from the air, the village looks like an integrated whole, a long, uninterrupted line of 19 houses. The view from the ground, however, is quite different, for socially the village is an agglomeration of a series of five matrilocal clusters or compounds, each one of which consists of one to five matrilaterally related households.[3] The well-weeded compound areas are separated from each other by spaces which are 30 to 40 meters long and overgrown with grass. Serving as a kind of no man's land, these spaces are cleared only for village-wide parties.

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[3] See Rowe 1977 for a similar description of a Ucayali River village. Also see the kinship diagrams, Appendix A.

Each one of these compounds is probably typical of individual aboriginal settlements. Historically, the five compounds presently forming the study village, were the basis for distinct settlements along the Pisqui and nearby oxbow lakes prior to the construction of the bilingual school in 1959. The establishment of the school and the presence of the bilingual teacher at the village site brought the smaller settlements together. Even now, social relations and economic distributive networks occur most frequently and most intensely within, rather than across, compounds.

The village has 163 inhabitants, 75 children and 88 adults. This young population lives in the 19 houses (divided into five compounds) which form a long line approximately a third of a mile along the river bank. Of these 19 houses, 7 are extended matrilocal households; 7 are nuclear family households; and 5 are polygynous family households. (See sketch map.) Within compounds houses are about one meter apart from one another. Behind the houses are the gardens and behind the gardens, the forest. A row of kitchens on the river side runs parallel to the line of houses, about 10 meters apart. There is a path that runs the entire length of the village, broadening to form the plaza within compounds and narrowing to a foot path in the overgrown areas between

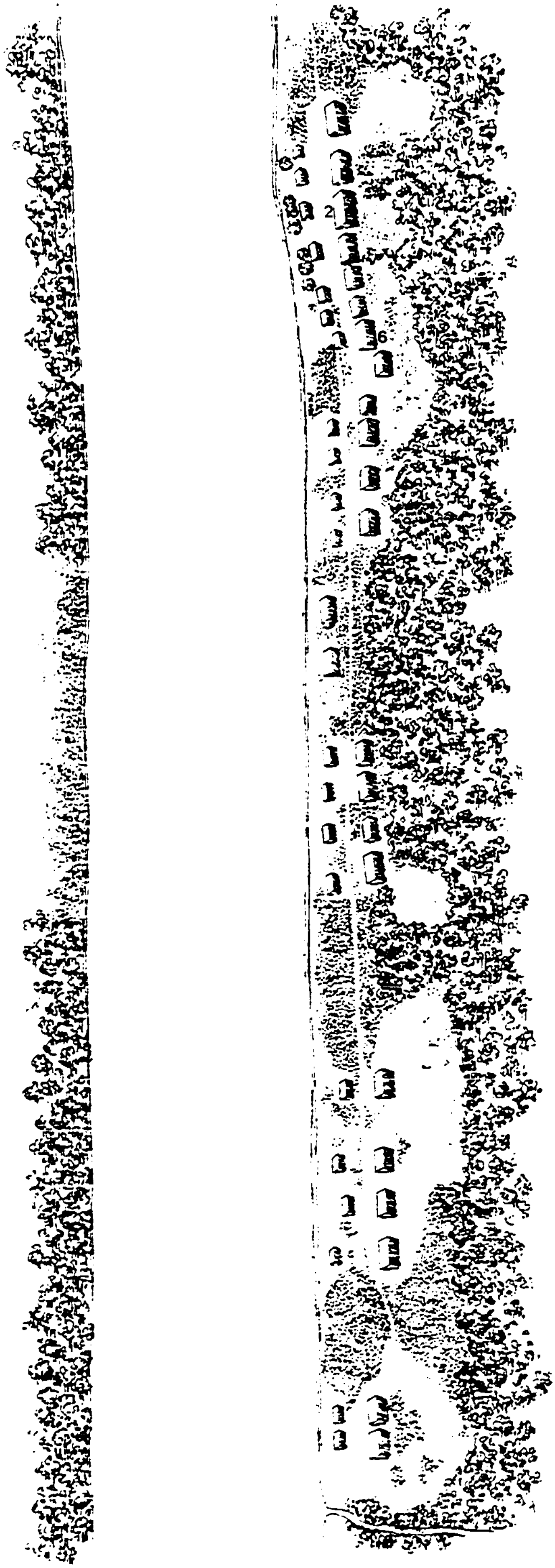

Figure 2

Map of the Study Village

Scale: 1 in. = 250 ft.

0 50 100 150 200 250 Feet

N

clusters. It is the "main street" of the village. Anyone wishing to get from one household or one compound to another along this main street is immediately exposed to the public view of the entire village. Anyone who does not wish to be so exposed, however, can take one of the many paths through the jungle, behind the line of houses. Although he will not be witnessed publically, everyone will know of the excursion before he has even reached his destination. Knowledge of people's movements and whereabouts is transmitted with amazing rapidity and accuracy.

Each house has its own kitchen, a simple structure, built of 4 house poles, a thatched roof with a shelf in the rafters which is used to store plantains, and no floor or walls. The plantain shelf is situated above eye level, and the plantain supply pushed back to the rear, so that unless you climbed up into the rafters, you would not know how large the supply of plantains was. The villagers can thereby lie with ease about the state of their larders. Kitchens are also equipped with at least one high table, upon which pots of masato (manioc beer), chapo (plantain drink), water jugs, salted fish and meat are stored, well above the reach of children, chickens and dogs.

The houses are larger versions of the kitchens, but, unlike the kitchens, they have raised wood floors.

The height of the floor ranges from 3 feet or so to a mere step up. The majority of the houses have no walls, although enclosing the sleeping area of a house was becoming popular towards the end of the fieldwork.

Personal possessions are kept inside the house. Most individuals, male and female, own either a cardboard or heavy wooden suitcase. Inside these are stored old medicine bottles, bracelets, nose rings and labrets, mirrors or what is left of them, red face paint (achiote), whatever legal papers anyone may possess, and whatever cash. Women's small, loosely woven baskets hold their cotton, spindles and spun spools. Women frequently keep their multi-stringed necklaces in these baskets, or in their suitcases. These suitcases and baskets are part of the general clutter of the floor area. There is no furniture in a Shipibo house. Babies nap in hammocks, but both adults and children sleep on the floor, as well as socialize there during the day, either sitting up or more frequently reclining. Clothing is sometimes thrown over the cross-beams of the house, but more frequently it litters the floor of the house and is used as pillows by anyone sitting or lying there.

As previously stated, post-marital residence is strongly matrilocal. Only two of the 29 married men in the village reside patrilocally. Sororal polygyny is common: 31% of the married men and over 45% of the married women are polygynously married.

Living space in both houses and kitchens reflects marital and residential patterns. The cultural ideal specifies that each married woman have her own hearth and her own work space in the kitchen. While some of the kitchens in the village conformed to this ideal, most did not, or did so only occasionally. Only in 5 kitchens were separate hearths consistently maintained by each woman living there, and in each of these cases, the women concerned were co-wives whose mothers were deceased. In cases where co-wives lived with their mothers, distinctions between fires tended to be minimal--sometimes there would be one hearth for each woman, sometimes only one hearth for the entire kitchen. Although this pattern may be accidental or due at times to a lack of firewood, it is more likely that a senior woman imposes an authority upon her daughters that is reflected in their shared use of her space and hearth.[4]

As the kitchens are divided, so the partitionless floor space in the houses is also divided between the adult women who live there. Each woman has her own mosquito net in which she sleeps with her own children and husband. If she is married polygynously, the husband rotates between wives, sleeping with one one night, the other the next.[5] Mosquito nets are only down and used from sunset to sunrise, and hence are not clear markers of family "apartments." During the day, the waking and working hours of the village, the nets are slung over the rafters, so that the individual space "belonging" to each woman is not demarcated by the "walls" of the mosquito nets. Only the sleeping mats on the floor, over which the mosquito nets are hung, define the unwalled "rooms." An unstated understanding between the members of the house, determines that each woman sits only on her mats, sewing, potting, spinning cotton, weaving, etc.

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[4] See Chapter 3 for a further discussion of this general issue of relationships between women.

4. Daily Life

The day begins just before sunrise when the villagers go down to bathe and defecate in the river. Women bathe with their young children; men bathe alone; older children bathe together. Mothers return to their kitchens and stir up the fire to keep themselves warm until the sun comes up. While they begin to prepare breakfast--some left-over stew or merely roasted plantains--the men finish bathing.

---

[5] Men have their own mosquito nets that they use on hunting trips. They are small, one person mosquito nets, as opposed to the large family size of the women. These nets are never used in the household, except when a man's wife has just had a baby. There is a 3-4 month post-partum sex taboo, and for this period, men sleep with their other wives or in their own mosquito nets, if they are not married polygynously.

After breakfast, the older children, ages 5 to 16, go to the bilingual school. School is not compulsory, but all children in the village attend. The only exceptions are the older girls. When a girl becomes betrothed, at about 11 or 12 years of age, she stops going to school.

By about 8 a.m., the men have decided what they will do for the day--work in their gardens, fish or hunt--and have usually left the village. Men's work (clearing and planting gardens for their wives, weeding, fishing, hunting) takes them outside the village more frequently than not. Involvement in wage labor also takes men out of the village, sometimes for months at a time.

For the women, the time after breakfast is used to clean up, visit within the compound and/or settle down to a particular task. A woman may pick up her weaving, pottery making, re-string her beads, wash clothes, spin cotton, sew a new blouse, embroider a new skirt, or mend her children's clothing. At times, a few mothers within a cluster will get together and medicate their infants with an herb whose purpose is to make the babies fat, i.e. healthy and beautiful. The immediate effect of the medicine, however, is to make the babies vomit.

If their food supplies are running low, women go off to their gardens to harvest plantains or manioc. These are excursions made with other women in the household or cluster. Women never go harvesting alone.

No specific midday meal is prepared, unless the men bring back meat or fish from their morning expedition. Since the women and older children roast plantains during the day, and mothers of young children prepare plantains for their children around noon, there is always something to eat. "Real meals" occur when fresh meat or fish arrives in the village, for plantains by themselves are regarded as a poor substitute for a proper meal.

Midday is a quiet time in the village. Babies are asleep in their hammocks, small children and their mothers lounge around their homes. Men who have been out clearing or weeding their wives' gardens lounge around too. No one works in a garden during the heat of the day.

A bit later, the men who have gone out hunting start to come back to the village. As soon as meat comes in, the women are busy. They stir up the fires, set a pot of plantains to boil, butcher the animal, distribute it within the compound and cook it themselves. On days when there is a lot of meat, or during the dry season (summer) when large amounts of fish are brought back, the mood of the village is exuberant. Small children dance around, point to the incoming food, inspect the animals their fathers have brought home and debate with each other over the sex of the animal. When the food is ready, it is eaten immediately.

A large animal, such as a peccary or deer, is butchered and distributed raw by the hunter's wife to her kinswomen in the compound. Each recipient returns to her own hearth, and prepares her share of meat for her own children, her husband and herself. The hunter's wife and the recipient of the intestines each make large stews from their shares. When the stew is ready, the hunter stands out in the middle of the path and calls to his wife's compound, "Come eat stew!" Everyone in the compound goes to the hunter's kitchen with their own spoons. The men eat together out of one bowl, women and children out of another.

Soon the intestine stew is ready and the husband of the woman who prepared that stew calls to his wife's kinsmen, "Stew's ready. Come eat!" Everyone then traipses to that kitchen, spoon in hand, and has another meal. On a good day, when fresh meat has been brought into a number of kitchens, this moveable feast may continue until everyone is stuffed.

After the heat of midday has passed, women and children frequently go off gathering. (The gathering expedition is also a subterfuge for extra-marital assignations. Afternoons are the time for such trysts.) Men who have spent the morning hunting, lounge around the village in the afternoon. They may also use the time to clear out the ever encroaching grass around their houses, make or mend their spears, arrows, harpoons, weave a basket or mat, or meet their lovers.

For the hour or so before dusk, everything turns golden and then orange, as the sun quickly sets. The villagers frequently spend this time sitting out in front of their kitchens on the river bank, gazing off at the river. Young couples take their children to visit the father's parents in another compound. Older children splash in the river.

Once the sun has set, the mosquitoes come out. Young children return to their houses. Only adults bathe after sunset. On clear, moonlit nights, when the insects are not overwhelming, members of a compound may get together to chat, watch the sky and stars, and gossip, the men dressed only in their underpants, women in their skirts with just a shawl, used primarily to shoo away the bugs.

A shaman might take ayahuasca, the hallucinogenic used for medical and ritual purposes, and chant a cure. The singing may go on throughout the night, but by 8:00 or 9:00, all but the shaman and his patient are asleep.

5. Kinship and Marriage

Although post-marital residence among the Shipibo is strongly matrilocal, descent is traced bilaterally. There is no current evidence for unilineal descent in terms of patterns of group membership, inheritance, or other social conduct.[6]

Of the 29 married men in the village, 9 (31%) are married polygynously.[7] Only sororal polygyny is practiced. Of the 9 polygynously married men, one has 3 wives, the rest have 2. It was rumored just before we were about to leave, that 2 other men would soon have second wives, their current wives' younger sisters.

The rules of kinship allow a man to marry as a second wife anyone his wife calls sister: her real sisters, half sisters, parallel and cross cousins are all in the marriageable category. In actual practice, however, men only marry their first wives' full sisters. By way of a cautionary tale about the hazards of marrying women who were not full sisters, I was told of a man in a neighboring village who had married two half-sisters. They lived in separate houses, next door to one another. The unfortunate man, it was said, had a very difficult life: he had two mothers-in-law.

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[6] See, however, Section 7, this chapter, for a discussion of the probability that the current system is of relatively recent origin.

[7] Included in this figure are 2 elderly men who currently have one wife apiece, but who were, until the death of a wife, married polygynously.

When I asked the 14 women in my sample whether they had wanted to be married to their sisters' husbands, the majority of women said no, they had wanted a husband of their own. Some women who had been promised to their older sisters' husbands, had refused to marry them. The reason given was consistent--the more wives, the more people with whom to share meat and trade goods. A co-wife and her children are viewed as depriving oneself and one's own children of essentials of living, especially the essentials provided by males. The term for co-wife (rahuiti) also means enemy.

There is no preferential marriage rule. One is, however, not supposed to marry anyone who is called pui (sibling of the opposite sex). As an examination of the terminology reveals, this would appear to make marriage difficult, since nearly everyone in the village of Ego's generation is either pui or huetsa (sibling of the opposite or sibling of the same sex). Such problems are resolved by the possibility of tracing relationships in many different ways. I asked one woman, for example, to explain to me how she was related to her husband. She elaborated a long string of relationships, which resulted in her husband's being affinally related to her. I then asked her if he wasn't also her pui. She giggled and said, yes.[8]

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[8] There is a term used sardonically that means

The Shipibo are, like other South American groups, deft at manipulating kinship relationships.[9] Relationships are traced not only consanguineally and affinally, but also in at least two other ways. The first is through the relationships taken on through adoption. The second is through the relationships established by the possibility of having more than one father, a possibility inherent in the Shipibo theory of conception, to be discussed in Chapter3. Briefly, the notion is that all men who have had sexual intercourse with a woman during her pregnancy, have helped to create the fetus. Short-lived affairs are not usually utilized for this purpose, but long-standing affairs always are.

6. Kinship: Terminology and Roles

The Shipibos clearly distinguish themselves from non-Shipibos (nahua). A Shipibo will also distinguish his own group of kinsmen, his personal kindred, from other Shipibos who are not his kin, who are his "nothing"--mi nada, in Spanish. The category of "my kinsmen" (nokon kaibo) is sub-divided into various classes of kinsmen. For any particular Ego, there exist both

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brother-husband (pui-bende), and refers to the situation where one can trace a relationship of pui to one's husband, a frequent occurrence.

[9] See especially Gregor 1977:Chapter 17, and Siskind 1973: 63-66.

stated and implicit norms which apply to his behavior and expectations in reference to these kin classes. The kin classes are described by the terminological system as shown in the accompanying diagrams. As these diagrams show, the first ascending generation follows the Sudanese pattern in that each kin type is discriminated by a separate term. The first descending generation retains this pattern, to the extent that Ego's own children, Ego's brother's children, and his sister's children are labelled by distinct terms. Ego's own generation follows the Hawaiian pattern, in that Ego's brothers, sisters, cross and parallel cousins are all designated by the same terms, distinguished only by sex of speaker.[10] The term for father's sister differs for male and female speakers, as do the terms for sister's children and brother's children. Both sexes distinguish between the children of one's sister and the children of one's brother, although they each use separate terms. In

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[10] Sudanese or bifurcate-collateral systems are frequently associated with patrilineal descent (Pasternak 1976:136). The fact that Hawaiian nomenclature is found in Ego's generation suggests that there may have been a recent shift from a previously unilineal model, most likely patrilineal. (Pasternak, personal communication). Information concerning other Panoan-speaking groups supports this hypothesis for the Shipibo system. It seems likely that, as Kensinger suggests, the Proto-Panoan system was a patrimoiety system with bifurcate merging terminology and sister exchange, much like the current day Cashinahua (Kensinger 1975). It seems probable that the current Shipibo system derives directly from such a Dravidian system.

FIG. 3: SHIPIBO KINSHIP TERMS OF REFERENCE: FEMALE EGO

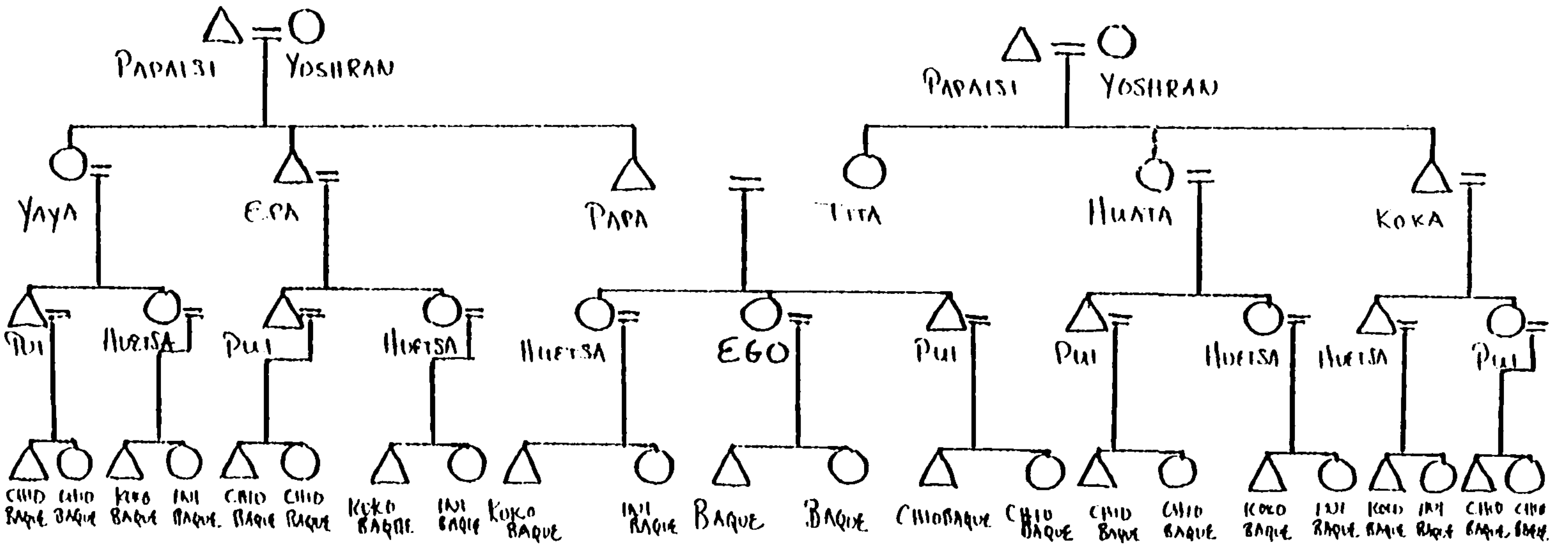
PAPAISI
YOSHRAN
PAPAISI
YOSHRAN
YAYA
EPA
PAPA
TITA
HUATA
KOKA
PUI
HUEISA
PUI
HUEISA
HUEISA
EGO
PUI
PUI
HUEISA
HUEISA
PUI
CHIO BAQUE
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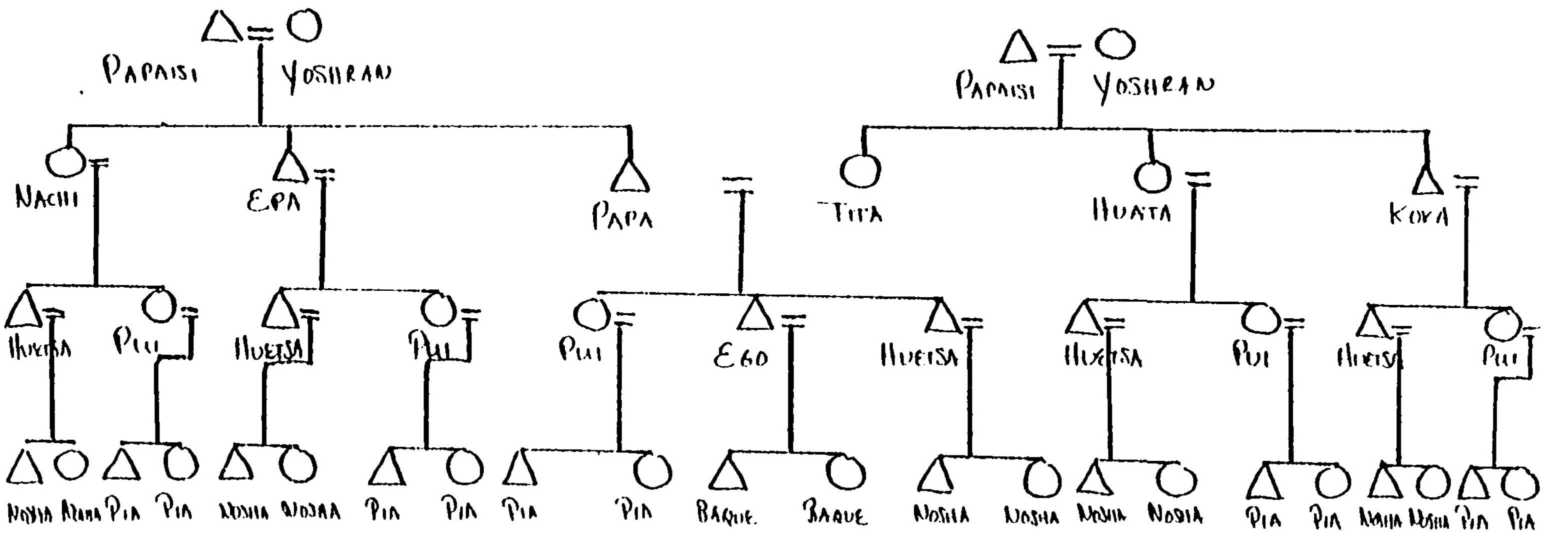
Fig. 4: Shipibo Kinship Terms of Reference: Male Ego


Papaisi
Yoshran
Nachi
Epa
Papa
Huetsa
Pui
Huetsa
Pui
Pui
Ego
Huetsa
Nosha
Nosha
Pia
Pia
Nosha
Nosha
Pia
Pia
Pia
Pia
Baque
Baque
Nosha
Nosha
Papaisi
Yoshran
Tita
Huata
Koka
Huetsa
Pui
Huetsa
Pui
Nosha
Nosha
Pia
Pia
Nosha
Nosha
Pia
Pia

addition, female speakers have separate terms for the male and female children of one's sister.

In this study, kinship is viewed as that aspect of social structure that delimits, defines and restricts interpersonal relationships within the given limits of the culture. It is the system that prescribes how various people should be treated by Ego, not in terms of the personal preferences and aversions of Ego, but rather in terms of the role in which the kinsman is cast. The strength of such culturally patterned behavior was brought home to me one day in the village. A teenage boy who lived at the opposite end of the village was visiting at our house. I was going to take a walk towards his compound, so we began walking downstream through the village together. We stopped at various kitchens on the way. I stopped, in fact, at almost every kitchen to chat and visit, while Marco hung back, did not enter the kitchens, but waited for me near the path. This did not strike me as odd. I had been in the field long enough to realize that one does not feel at home in everyone's kitchen. There are only a very few kitchens that anyone does feel comfortable in, and they are generally located in one's own compound--and Marco was a good distance from home. At one kitchen, however, he was suddenly in the very midst of the conversation, teasing the old man of the kitchen, taking old war clubs out of the rafters, examining them, and asking the old man how many times he had used them, against whom, and why. I was surprised: I had never seen Marco visit that kitchen before, nor had I ever seen him talk to that old man. It took awhile to figure out what had happened. Marco had walked into his mother's brother's kitchen. No matter that the two rarely saw each other, that in terms of interaction they were virtually strangers, that Marco's mother had died long ago--the old man was her brother nonetheless. Marco and the old man were acting appropriately, acting like sister's son and mother's brother.

As in the case of Marco, relationships with mother's brother are invariably warm. A mother's brother is someone who does not generally live in the same house or compound, unless he is still a bachelor. He would never be responsible for any caretaking of an infant or child, but would tease and play with his sister's child.

The relationship between a woman and her brother is also a close one. They may be raised and grow up together, but will not live together once they have married. A woman may take care of a younger brother in her childhood. As an adult, she continues to be responsible for her brother, especially when he is drunk and about to get himself into trouble. He is, at such times, the responsibility of his sisters (and mother), not his wife. If, as happens frequently, a woman's husband and her brother are drunk at the same time, the woman's first obligations are clearly to her brother. Her husband's sister will look out for him.

Older brothers are never responsible for caring for an infant for any length of time. Only older sisters perform caretaking functions. A good deal of whiney, reproachful behavior on both sides goes on between mothers and daughters regarding babysitting. Mothers will call their daughters to come and take the baby. Little girls pretend not to hear or whiningly refuse. Mothers whine back. This sequence may be repeated a number of times. Daughters eventually capitulate, but by then, everyone is in a terrible mood.

While such abrasive quarrels may go on between a mother and her son over some domestic chore she wants him to perform, they are rarer than between mother and daughter. One possible reason for this is that mothers ask less help of their sons. Another possibility is that it is related to the fact that daughters and mothers are inextricably bound to live together for the rest of their lives. "The meaning of matrilocality, from a woman's point of view, is that she remains in the same household for her entire life" (Shapiro 1972:192). A mother remains the dominant figure in the house until her death, even after her daughter has married and has had children of her own. Hostility between these two women is not generally acted out in adulthood, as it is in childhood. The adult relationship is one of overt deference on the part of the daughter.

A woman is also bound to live forever with any of her sisters who becomes her co-wife. She will, of course, always live near her sisters, but only if they become her co-wives will they forever be in the same house. The prospect of this enduring relationship was one of the reasons cited frequently as to why women did not want to be married to their sisters' husbands. They did not want to live with their sisters.

The co-wife relationship is a particularly interesting one, and will be discussed in greater depth in the following chapter. It should be noted at this point, however, that while the relationship is a tense one, it is not overtly so. Until I began asking women how they felt about being married to their sisters' husbands, I remained fairly oblivious to the friction between co-wives; the tensions are not immediately apparent on a daily basis. This is due in large measure to the fact that the relationship is generally handled by the maintenance of physical separateness and social avoidance, and also to the general Shipibo aversion for displaying anger overtly.

My informants report that hostility between co-wives stems from competition over trade goods provided by husbands, not over sexual jealousy. It should be noted, however, that co-wives never carried on extramarital affairs with the same men, and would deny having sexual relations with someone because he was "my co-wife's lover." This statement would be made with the same kind of flat denial used to dismiss the accusation of having an affair with one's pui.

Whether overt or covert, the inherent hostility between co-wives influences the relationships between the children of the two women. Like their mothers, the children tend to maintain themselves separate from their mother's co-wife's children. Relationships with sisters who are not co-wives and, in turn, relationships between their children, are less conflicted and riddled with underlying or overt hostilities.

Husbands have fairly little to do with their wives. Most adult women spend more time with each other than they do with adult men, even their husbands. There does not appear to be much open hostility between husbands and wives, although there are exceptions, especially during drunken parties when a husband may strike his wife if he suspects her of being unfaithful. More usually, however, the relationship is better described as distant.

A father, like a mother's brother, does not spend much time with his young children. Fathers do not make demands on children, send them on errands or ask them to do things around the house. Mothers do that. Fathers never serve as their children's caretakers for any length of time.

This chapter has provided a basic outline of Shipibo village life, describing both the physical structure of the village as well as the kinship system which organizes the social relationships of the villagers. The next chapter will present further ethnographic data dealing specifically with the lives of mothers and infants.

III

WOMEN AND CHILDREN

This chapter will describe the social setting which structures the lives of Shipibo infants and their mothers. I will begin with an examination of women and their place in the compound, focusing primarily on the organization of interpersonal relationships between the matrilaterally related women who form the social nuclei of each compound. Relationships within households will also be discussed, as will the general ideas held by the Shipibo concerning children and child-rearing.

1. Women and Their Homes

The importance and strength of matrilocality cannot be overemphasized, for the cluster of kinswomen living in each of the village compounds is the nexus and focal point of village social life. Timed, random observations of the mothers in my study underscore the significance of the women-centered compound. Excluding the mothers' own children, 78% of the observed social encounters were with other females, while only 22% were with males. In addition, a full 35% of the women's interactions with other adults occurred within the confines of their own households. As these figures suggest, men are somewhat peripheral, and often absent from the frequently interacting kinswomen who make up the core of the Shipibo household.

Each compound is structured around one older woman, her daughters, their husbands and children.[1] While this "founding" woman lives, she is the matriarch of the cluster, the "lady of the compound." This role is not a clearly defined one, at least not by the Shipibo themselves. To my knowledge, there is no particular word for that position, yet its existence can be inferred from a knowledge of Shipibo behavior, residence rules and cultural conceptions about authority.

Compounds begin, at least theoretically, with a married couple. The daughters of this couple marry and bring husbands into the compound; the basic social and residential unit is two to three generations of related women. This form of settlement pattern has antecedents in the pre-contact maloca or communal house, reported for the Shipibo as well as for other Panoan groups (Steward 1963:III,570). As Rowe observes for the Ucayali Shipibo:

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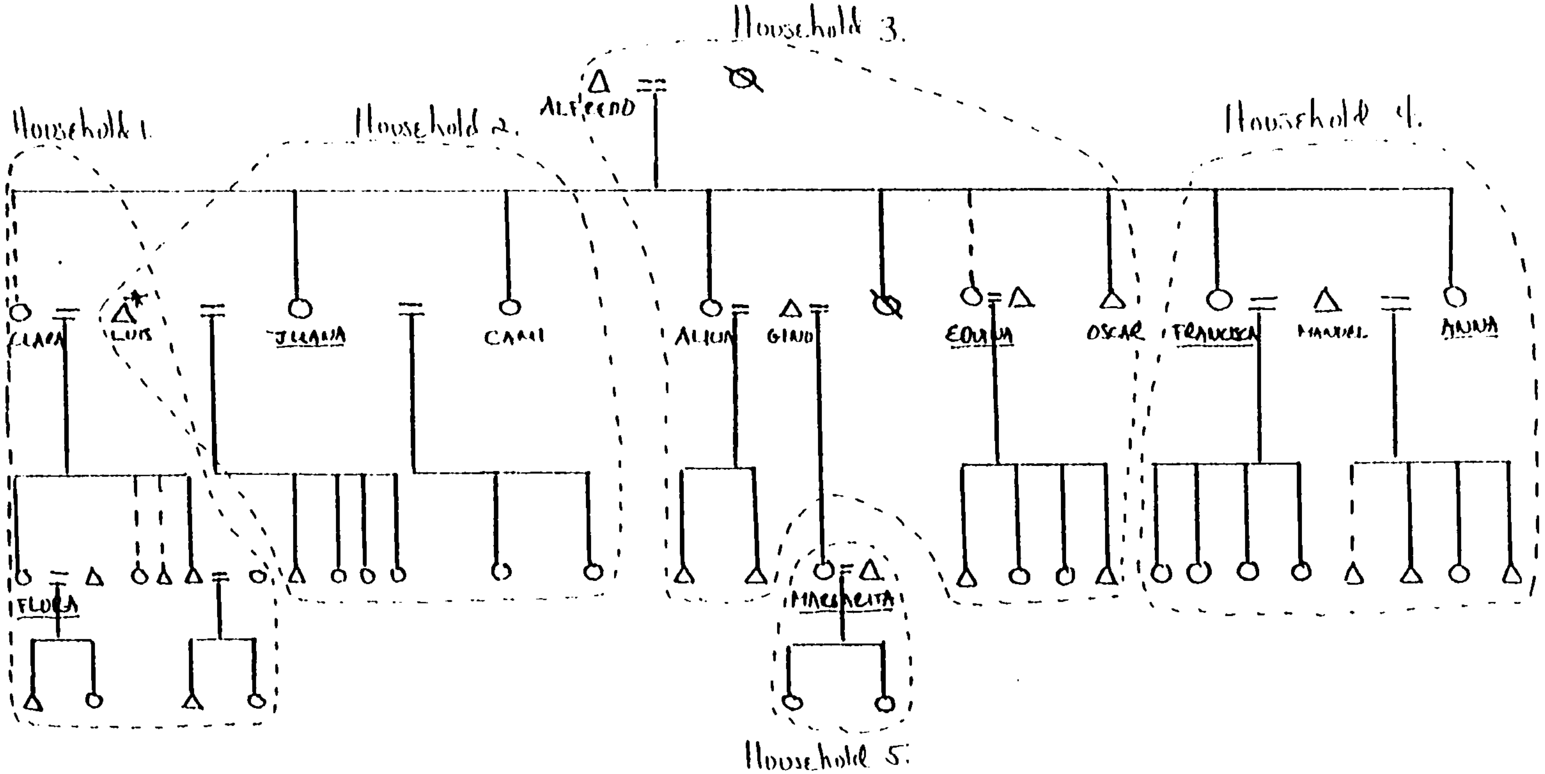
[1] See kinship diagram for Compound 1. Rowe (1977) provides a similar description of the organization of compounds in a Shipibo village on the Ucayali. Also see Murphy and Murphy (1974), especially Chapter 5, for a description of the matrilocal Mundurucu.

Fig. 5: Diagram Showing Household Composition Of Compound 1.


Household 1.
Household 2.
Household 3.
Household 4.
Household 5.
ALFREDO
CLARA
LUIS
JUANA
CAMI
ALICIA
GINO
EDWINA
OSCAR
FRANCISCA
MANUEL
ANNA
FLORA
MARGARITA

Key

¦ = ADOPTION

NAME = MOTHER IN THE STUDY

* LUIS HAS 3 WIVES, CLARA IN HOUSEHOLD #1 and JUANA AND CAMI IN HOUSEHOLD #2.

> . . . not much changed with the demise of the communal house, for the ubiquitous settlement pattern of the Shipibo today is a matrilocal compound consisting of closely spaced nuclear family houses with parents and offspring located next to each other around a cleared plaza. It is as if the communal house has split up into its constituent parts, but those parts have not moved far. Social interaction is very heavy and informal within a compound, consisting as it does of the household of the matriarch and her daughters (space permitting). The children especially, seldom venture far from their natal compound. . . . Village cohesion is minimal, the focus of loyalties and cooperation being the compound itself (1977:9).

The overriding structure of authority that permeates and organizes life is that of generation. Mothers have authority over their daughters, and daughters over *their* daughters.[2] Within generations, authority goes to the elder. While no one knows their age in absolute terms, relative ages are very clear and important to everyone.[3] Older children order their younger siblings about, relegating tasks to the younger ones that the older child received from his elder. It is important to know one's relative age in order to know how to behave towards others. One six-year-old boy, the youngest of five children was born while his older sisters were having their own children. Their children, his nephews, were his age and older. This situation was untenable. His generational position placed this boy in a position of authority in relation to his nephews. But his relative age contradicted this position. The situation was resolved when the little boy announced one day that from then on he was to be called papaisi, the kinship term for grandfather. The term he chose exaggerated the generational distinction, and made it unmistakeably clear where he stood on the issue of relative authority. In general, the authority of age and generation mesh without such machinations, much as they do in our own society.

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[2] It should be noted here that the authority of generation persists over generations, i.e. a mother has authority over her own daughter as well as over her daughter's children. Any woman whose mother is still alive has diminished or potentially diminished authority over generations younger than herself.

[3] Although not frequently used, there are terms in Shipibo for older and younger brother and sister. There are also terms for a woman's youngest and eldest child.

Divisions created by age and generation define the kind of interaction that takes place between individual women. A woman's life has, however, initially been restricted to those she lives with, to her compound coresidents, and even more specifically to the female members of her compound. Let us now look at relationships within one particular compound, in order to clarify some of the generalizations made above and to examine the interpersonal lives of women and their infants.

I have chosen to describe Compound 1 because it is the compound that I know best. When we first arrived in the village we lived in Juana's house[4] for several weeks until our own house was completed. Our own house was built at the downstream end of this compound,[5] so our primary affiliation throughout the entire period of field work was with this compound. Further, six of the fourteen mothers in this study live in Compound 1.

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[4] Household #2 on sketch map of village.

As the accompanying genealogy suggests, this compound is tightly structured around the one adopted and six "real" daughters of Alfredo, and, in turn, their married daughters. Nearly every morning, most of the women would congregate in Alfredo's kitchen, to warm themselves around the fire, nurse their babies, gossip about their neighbors and prepare for the day ahead. In the midst of this "women's club," the men would drift in and out, looking uncomfortable and out of place. These nine women formed an apparently tight knit group, and yet, as we shall see further on, the apparent unity of the women masks numerous cleavages, much as the long line of the village conceals the essential isolation of each compound.

Each compound has a "matriarch" who is the central figure in the life of that compound. Although generally the oldest woman resident, her position is not easy to describe. Much of her influence is informal, depending on subtleties of demeanor and conduct rather than her occupancy of a recognized social status. And yet it is very clear that each compound has its head lady. Consider for example, Clara, the matriarch of Compound 1. (See kinship diagram.) The oldest woman in the compound, she is related to the other women of her own generation as a classificatory sister. In her own household, Clara's roles are those of mother, wife, mother-in-law, adoptive mother and grandmother, all positions of considerable authority.[6] To the two women next door, Juana and Cami, Clara is a co-wife, but she is the eldest co-wife. In terms of the world of women in this compound, no one is Clara's equal or superior.

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[5] Household #6 on sketch map of village.

Clara also has varieties of expertise and knowledge. An excellent midwife, she is called to assist at all births in the compound, and may be called by other compounds as well.[7] Knowledgeable about medical matters, she instructed our newly arrived Shipibo research assistant in preventive measures designed to ward off illnesses caused by contact with "new water." She explained that the water of the Pisqui could cause a newcomer from the

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[6] Clara's son, his wife and their two children live patrilocally. Clara also has two adopted children, a teenage son, the child of her brother, and a 7-year-old daughter, an "illegitimate" child from a village downstream whose mother was going to "throw her away" at birth. Clara adopted her instead.

[7] There is one other expert in these matters in the village, a woman considerably older than Clara who is the "matriarch" of Compound 2.

Ucayali to become sick, unless he entered slowly. Clara also prepared our assistant a soup to drink, again to ward off possible evils inherent in the new and unknown.

She also acted as keeper of traditional ways on a number of occasions. When an old woman died in the village downstream and her kinsmen returned to our village the next day with some of the old woman's belongings, Clara went to her own fire as their canoe docked, pulled her shawl over her head and began to cry in the traditional manner. Although others in the village knew of the death, no one else wailed. Again, when Elena's adopted Peruvian baby died, it was Clara who brought over an urn for him to be buried in and went upriver to the cemetery to help with the burial.

Clara is not only the "first lady" of the compound, she is also the lady of her own household. A discussion of her position in the household as revealed by the use of space,shows the relationship of authority and generation, for, as among other peoples, the use of space in the Shipibo domestic unit marks differences of status and authority. We have already seen that each of the women has a special area in her unwalled house that is bounded in the evening by her mosquito net. More indicative of her position, however, is her possession of a hearth.

A hearth to a village woman is both a recognition of maturity and independence. In all kitchens where a mother is present, daughters seldom have their own hearths, so that the older generation retains control of the processing of food, and supervises its distribution to residence mates and kin in other compounds.[8]

Patterns of social relationships in Shipibo households are revealed by the use of hearths and kitchen space. Particularly instructive in this regard is the contrast between Clara's kitchen and that of Juana and Cami. In Clara's kitchen, there was usually only one hearth. Although it clearly belonged to Clara, it was shared by her daughter and daughter-in-law. Meals were prepared by the women, and eaten by all members of the household, men and boys eating out of one bowl, women, girls and infants from another. As is typical of the Shipibo, eating was divided by gender, not nuclear family, or mother and children.

The kitchen next door, however, that of Juana and

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[8] Hearths and their communal or private use may be a symbol of cooperativeness or social distance among many of the technologically simple societies in lowland South America. Among the Mundurucu, for example, "There is only one fireplace in each house, a highly significant fact for, though a number of nuclear families may occupy a single dwelling, the kitchen is communal" (Murphy and Murphy 1974:115). And among the Mehinaku, Gregor reports that a private hearth is one of the significant ways in which nuclear families express their separateness in the village's unwalled, multifamily long house (1977:269). It may well be that the hearth is, in other areas, a powerful but overlooked symbol of a woman's relationship both to her kinswomen and to the production and distribution of food.

Cami, exhibited a different arrangement. Sisters and co-wives, Juana and Cami are the younger wives of Clara's husband. In both their house and kitchen, these two women maintain very separate space. In the house, for example, there is an invisible line which clearly separates Juana and her children's space from that of Cami and her children. In the kitchen, each woman has her own hearth, as well as her own high table used for storage. Firewood for each hearth is collected and stored separately. Even though breakfast may consist of only roasted bananas, each woman stirs up her own fire and prepares the food separately for herself and her own children. I have never seen either of these women share her food with the other's children.

Juana and Cami's separate hearths and the women's lack of interaction are an extreme example of the inimicality characteristic of co-wives. Referred to as _rahuiti_, enemies, co-wives are competitors whose standard behavior is avoidance. Older and younger co-wives, both, do their best to maintain whatever separation is possible for two women sharing a house, a kitchen, and a husband.

As noted in the previous chapter, it must be emphasized that this animosity is not readily apparent. Co-wives do not _act_ like enemies or competitors; more usually they appear to be on more or less friendly terms. It was only after formal and informal conversations with the village women about the co-wife relationship in general, as well as their personal feelings about their own co-wives, that I began to notice the behavioral manifestations of conflict--particularly the extent to which avoidance and maintenance of separate physical space characterized the relationship.

The intensity with which co-wives maintain their separation from each other is based on competitiveness over the resources of their one husband. Each sees the other, and the other's children, as rivals for the finite production of one man. If one gets more, it means the other gets less. Emotional distance is maintained to avoid any overt expression of hostility. Husbands too are cautious. They sleep with one wife one night, the other the next. Likewise, a careful husband alternates which wife he takes on a trip, for this is another sign of his interest and attention.

The co-wife relationship is the only one between women that is not totally structured along lines of generational authority. The women are competitors, but they are fairly equally matched opponents; the age hierarchy so critical in other relationships does not seem to have much meaning between co-wives. Competition replaces age as the means of separating women; the inherent competition rather than the inherent equality in the relationship is stressed.

The age hierarchy is probably minimized in the co-wife relationship for a further reason. For, even more important than the authority invested in age, is the authority invested in motherhood. A mother has complete control over her own children. Their conduct and their care are entirely her domain. The only person who may intervene in this relationship is the woman's mother, who by virtue of the same authority, has rights over her daughter's children. By having children, then, a woman acquires exclusive control and authority over others--not even an elder sister may intrude in matters regarding her sister's children.

Social distance between co-wives is only one of the various levels of isolation that structure the lives of Shipibo women. At the first level, men and women live in separate social worlds. Men are seldom participants in social encounters, and uneasy visitors in their conjugal homes. At the second level, women seldom interact with others outside their own compounds. Those people allowed into a woman's life are her mother, sisters, mother's sisters, daughters, and mother's sister's daughters. Within this group of women, there are further separations, dividing women from one another. Between generations, women of the older generation hold and utilize authority over their daughters, and over their daughter's children. Within generations, the younger women defer to their elders, and co-wives avoid interacting with each other. While the houses and indeed the entire physical layout of the village are open and accessible, the interpersonal relations between women are distant and strikingly organized towards isolation.[9]

2. Conception, Pregnancy and Birth

Despite the decisive importance and influence of women in Shipibo life, the villagers' theory of conception is androcentric. Babies are formed of accumulated semen from the acts of sexual intercourse that follow menstruation, the best time for conception.[10] Repeated acts of intercourse are necessary for the fetus to grow. Since a woman contributes nothing to this process other than to provide a place for the fetus to develop, a man is irrevocably linked to his offspring by a bond of common substance. Or rather, men are thereby linked to their offspring, for following the logic of the system, as many men as have sexual relations with the same woman may share a kind of joint paternity. Both the sociological father and the mother's extramarital paramours are responsible for honoring all the taboos surrounding post-natal care.[11] Should any of the fathers disregard these taboos, he will be deemed responsible for any ill consequences that his child may suffer, even death. A woman who is a good mother, well-aware that some men do not honor the taboos, avoids taking too many lovers.

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[9] This situation is in marked contrast to relationships among women described for some other Amazonian groups. See Murphy and Murphy 1974; Johnson and Johnson 1975.

[10] Other research suggests that this theory of conception may be wide-spread. See Carneiro 1978, for a cross-cultural review of such theories. For other Amazonian groups see Gregor 1977:261; Basso 1973:75-76; Siskind 1973:631.

The Shipibo word for lover is merati, but the term more frequently used, by women, is baquebaonpapa which means "child's father." The term is never used, however, to refer to the child's sociological father, but rather to the mother's lovers. Men use the reciprocal term, baquebaontita ("child's mother") to refer to their girlfriends. While men may brag openly of their amorous affairs, a woman should keep her own concealed from her husband, for to flaunt her indiscretions is to force her husband to take action against her lover. Since no one really wants such confrontations, long standing affairs are carried on, with full knowledge of everyone in the village, but "the husband never knows about it."

Relationships initiated by extramarital affairs are very important, as the following incident illustrates. I was surprised one day, to see Oscar helping to construct Roberto's house. Ordinarily notorious for his indolence, Oscar was hoisting heavy rafters and busily thatching Roberto's roof. What had impelled him to such strenuous labor? Elena, our neighbor, explained to me that Roberto had had intercourse with Shana's mother and was thus the father of Shana, Oscar's wife--therefore, Oscar's father-in-law, to be honored with work and respect. It must be noted, however, that Oscar and Roberto keep their relationship discreetly concealed, acting like father and son-in-law only when the "legitimate" father is out of the village.

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[11] For a description of these taboos, see this chapter,

Oscar and Roberto's relationship is by no means unusual, since discrete affairs are a common and expected arrangement. The kinship relations developing from such unions are not only important currently, as the previous instance indicates, but also are critical genealogically. Manuel told me one day that a particular old lady in the village was his pui. According to my understanding of village kinship relations, this was impossible; I asked for an explanation. "Simple," replied Manuel. "My grandfather was her grandmother's lover."

While most younger women report that they do not know of any contraceptive herbs, some older women say that there used to be such an herb that grew far away in the hills. According to Nina, my mid-wife informant, a woman took this herb for a month, during which time she could not eat ripe bananas or have sexual intercourse; the last week of this month she could not eat salt. The result of this treatment was permanent sterility.

Abortifacients were also known in the past, but only properly used if the husband had been away for a long time and it was clear that the baby was not his. Or, if the woman suspected that the child was deformed, a "spirit child" (yoshin baque), she might properly abort.

A child born with any congenital defect is considered to be a "spirit child." A spirit may sire a child by having intercourse with the mother, who is unaware of what has happened. Such children should be killed at birth, lest the spirit return to visit his child and impregnate the mother with yet another of his progeny.

The actual birth of a child is handled by women. Men display little interest in the process, and little boys, in contrast to little girls, do not appear to be welcome at the delivery. At the first sign of labor pains, the mother's mother goes out behind the house and cuts down a banana tree, which will serve as a place for the mother to sit. An upright sapling provides her with a support and handhold to clutch during the delivery. The new mother is generally accompanied by a number of female relatives--her own mother, her sisters and sisters-in-law if they live nearby, and the village midwife.

Should the woman have a difficult time in labor, one of the midwives massages her stomach to assist in the delivery. Nina, the oldest village midwife, told me that massages are performed through the entire pregnancy, so that if in the early stages the midwife senses that the baby is in the wrong position (a breech birth), the midwife, by fairly frequent massaging, can turn the fetus around.

As soon as the baby is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord and wraps the baby in a cloth. Carrying the baby to the mother's section of the house, she places him on the mother's sleeping mat. After the mother returns from the forest where she has buried the afterbirth, the women disband, leaving the baby and mother alone. No one but the midwife, and later the mother, touch the baby.

The differences in the two births I witnessed bear attention; both occurred in the same household. The first birth was that of a polygynously married daughter of the household, who was assisted by her mother and her husband's sister. There was a very comradely spirit about this birth: with each contraction, the women yelled, "Push!" and the mother pushed determinedly. The baby died shortly after birth, and the women's ritual wailing echoed through the village.

The other delivery was that of the daughter-in-law of the household, who was living with her in-laws, patrilocally. Although there was a group of women in attendance, the mood was not as warm and supportive. This second baby also died,[12] but no one in the household wailed. Not until the woman's mother arrived from a village downstream did the ritual crying begin.

After a birth, a mother and her infant are secluded under their mosquito net for a week or two, until her bleeding has stopped. The baby is generally not bathed until the day after his birth, at which time he is bathed in water warmed by the sun and painted from head to toe with genipa, a natural black dye.

Although no taboos are observed by either parent during pregnancy, there are many that must be honored postnatally. A taboo against hard labor performed by the father is not always observed, especially if the forbidden work is lumbering, a relatively recent and good source of income. If the father must do hard work during his child's infancy, he will make a tobacco necklace for the infant. Strenuous labor is believed to cause harm to the baby, and the tobacco necklace will hopefully ward off any dire consequence of breaking this taboo.

Food taboos, on the other hand, are strictly followed by both parents after their infant's birth. The most dangerous foods that are invariably not eaten are armadillo, tapir, and "white monkey." Some disagreement exists about deer: five informants insist that it is not to be eaten, while three report no taboo on eating deer. All food taboos also apply to the baby's siblings and half-siblings, as well as to the parents.

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[12] Based on birth histories I collected from all the women of child-bearing age and above (N=38), the infant mortality rate for the study village is high: 41%. (Total number of births = 195; Total number of deaths = 80; Percent dead = 41%). The mortality rate represents the percentage of infants deceased in the first two years of life.

Breaking or honoring a taboo is a public statement regarding one's relationship to the infant concerned. One night, while a group of teenage boys were congregated at our house playing cards, we opened up a can of tuna fish for a late night snack. At that point, tuna was considered a great delicacy, although tabooed for parents of infants, and all the teenagers eagerly took a share, all but Carlos. His refusal was noted silently by all present. Shortly after, when Carlos had left, Alberto whispered to me, "You know why he didn't eat that tuna, don't you? Because of his 'daughter.'" Alberto was referring to the child of Carlos's lover, who was married to another man. In both this and other instances, Carlos acted in a manner befitting someone who had assumed the responsibilities of fatherhood.

Conversely, Amadeo, age 9 or 10, for reasons of his own, denied having a relationship with his widowed mother's newborn baby by publically eating canned sardines, offered to him by a visiting Peruvian. One of his friends came over to Amadeo and whispered urgently to him, "What are you doing? What about your brother?" Amadeo responded sullenly, suiting words to action, "He's not my brother!"

Food taboos are observed until the baby's first tooth erupts, at about six months. At this age he will "soon eat food," and parental taboos are no longer necessary. Although mashed bananas, manioc and various fruits have been introduced prior to this time, meat and fish ("real food")[13] are not given to the baby until he is approximately six or seven months old, and sometimes even later.

While food taboos are the most closely adhered to, other taboos are also carefully followed after the birth of a baby. The father and male children, for example, must sleep apart from the mother, baby, and any female children for one to five months, lest they become yopa, bad hunters. Parents also abstain from sexual intercourse with each other at this time to protect the husband from becoming yopa and so that the baby will not get diarrhea.

Details of taboo observances vary from villager to villager, both in terms of their understanding of the rules and their actual behavior. Everyone, however, was agreed that the health of the baby and the well-being of the parents depended on the observance of these restrictions on the parents' sexuality, diet and subsistence activities.

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[13] There is one Shipibo verb which means to eat fish or meat (piti). Another verb is used to refer to eating only fruits or vegetables (cocoti).

3. Infancy

Shipibos see the development of an infant in terms of its motor development. And yet, as will be described below, child training practices and infant care seem to deliberately discourage the smooth acquisition of locomotor skills. As in other areas of Shipibo life, such as the seeming unity of women, cultural appearances often mask a disquieting reality.

The different stages of infancy are named in Shipibo, and refer to specific motor tasks learned during each period. Age 3-4 months is referred to as "turning over age" (ravitai); 5-6 months as "sitting age" (yacati); 7-9 months as "crawling age" (meshoai); 10-12 months as "standing age" (chapatai); and 18-24 months as "walking age" (chancatai).

Infants are seldom put down on the ground. When not in mother's sling, they are to be found sitting or lying on her lap. Some mothers, in an effort to teach the child to sit, place their infants in small wooden boxes stuffed with old clothes to support the baby. Begun well before the infant can sit unaided, the babies subject to this training frequently fall over in the box because of lack of adequate support. Confined to the sling, lap, or box, many babies skip the crawling level of development, and proceed directly to walking. It is noteworthy in this context that the Shipibo "walking stage" (chancatai), 18-24 months, occurs significantly later than a similar period among American children, 11-15 months.[14] One informant told me that it was not good for a baby to walk too early--before age 2 or 2 1/2. "It gives them diarrhea if they walk too early."[15]

A 1928 source (Tessman) shows a drawing of a small play pen, which he reported as a Shipibo walking aid for infants. It consisted of two parallel bars, one at ground level, the other at a child's chest level, attached to four upright poles. These playpens did not exist in any of the villages we visited, either on the Pisqui or the Ucayali. One woman, however, in the study village, tied a thin pole between two legs of the kitchen table, at her infant's chest level, to give her baby a place to practice pulling herself up. No other mothers in the village provided their infants with such assistance.

An infant spends most of his waking time being

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[14] See Figure 6, developmental chart comparing Shipibo infants and American infants.

[15] It should be noted that diarrhea is a serious and dreaded illness, one of which infants frequently die.

Figure 6. Infant Locomotor Development: Shipibo and American Norms

Stages	Shipibo	American Norms*
Rolling over	3-4 months	4-6 months
Sitting	5-6 months	3-4 months (with support 7-8 months (without support)
Crawling	7-9 months	8-9 months (abdomen on floor) 10 months (hands and knees)
Standing	10-12 months	10-11 months (holding on) 14 months (alone)
Walking	18-24 months	11 months (holding on) 15 months (alone)

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*American norms taken from Mussen, Conger and Kagan, 4th edition, 1974, Child Development and Personality. New York: Harper and Row, 161-162.

carried by his mother in her sling.[16] Little more than a woman's shawl, the sling is tied at the back of the neck and slung over one shoulder. The baby sits in the sling, facing towards the mother, and is supported by both the sling and the mother's arm. Infants under two years of age are transported in their mothers' slings and are also kept in the sling while the mother is sitting, working, or visiting. Until they are about two years of age, and mothers begin to urge them to walk, infants are totally dependent upon their mothers for mobility and access to others.

Until the age of 8 months, infants are not left in the care of anyone other than their mothers, except for short periods of time. At about that time, an older sister of 7 or 8 years of age is recruited as a babysitter, who may take charge of the infant for as much as an afternoon.

From the perspective of the infant, he moves from his mother's sling to his older sister's. Even though his mobility does not increase, his access to other children does. Whether babysitting or not, the child caretaker plays with other children in her compound. When she was about 10 months old, for example, Juana began leaving Linda with Linda's older sister Tonia, who was then about 7. At the time, Linda was painfully shy and particularly terrified of me. Tonia had begun to hang around our kitchen, cook for us, eat with us and play with the other kids who congregated around our house. Linda's crying at the sight of us, and her clinging to Tonia was a constant annoyance to Tonia. Her solution to the problem was to help her small sister learn to be more sociable, to be less afraid of us, and to play with the other children. In this way, Tonia facilitated her own social situation by assisting her little sister.

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[16] Goldberg (1977) points to some of the implications of such infant practices. An infant confined to a sling remains dependent on the mother, unable to make use of his "developing locomotor and manipulative skills. . . . a large portion of the infant's experience in the sling is passive, rather than active." She views the sling as particularly restrictive for older infants, whose ability to explore is greater, and therefore more restricted by the use of the sling (220).

Infants are breast-fed on demand, which means almost continuously. Older infants, from their position on the mother's hip or lap, have easy access to the breast and nurse at will. Frequently used as a pacifier, nursing is always the first and often the only response to a child's tears--whether or not the baby is actually hungry.

Ideally, a child is weaned as soon as the mother knows that she is pregnant, for it is believed that otherwise the nursing child will suffer from diarrhea. In practice, however, the baby is not weaned until the mother is obviously pregnant, at which point nursing is tantamount to proclaiming a hostile intent to the child.

Weaning is abrupt. A few mothers simply refuse the breast, no matter how they are importuned by the child, while most use a variety of peppery herbs which are applied to the nipples. Estimates of how long it takes to wean a baby range from "just one time" to a week, depending on the technique used and the spiciness of the herb. In either case, babies are weaned quickly and permanently. Once a child has been weaned, he never returns to nurse, even in fun.[17]

Small infants are loosely swaddled in large strips of cloth, while older infants are dressed in teeshirts or dresses. No diapers are used. When the mother suspects that the baby is about to urinate or defecate, she picks him up and holds him in a standing position on the ground. If he defecates, the mother uses some discarded plantain skins to both wipe off the baby and clean up the ground. The soiled plantain skins are then tossed down the river bank, the village trash yard and garbage heap. If the baby urinates or defecates on someone or something, the mess is cleaned up with little fuss or anger. Accidents are treated with equanimity, for this particular aspect of child training is not a focus of intense concern.

Older infants and children, however, are told to move away from the house to defecate. I witnessed one three-year-old receiving a lesson in "toilet habits" from his mother. Entering some bushes a few yards from his house, he squatted and called: "Is this far enough, Mommy?" She looked, and told him to go a bit further. He did, and called to her again: "Am I far enough now?" She told him to go back still further. A few moments later he asked, "O.K.?" At last, that spot was fine.

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[17] Babies' age at time of weaning was observed to range from approximately 20-24 months.

For awhile after he has been weaned, an infant may still be carried about in his mother's sling. But more and more he is urged, even nagged, to walk by himself. Normally, he will be out of the sling by 2 1/2 to 3 years. For the first time a fully mobile and independent individual, he no longer needs an older sister to carry him around. He is, in fact, very much on his own, and begins to socialize with the other boys and girls who live in the compound.[18] His new-found mobility, however, does not take him beyond the confines of his compound.

Two and a half to three year old toddlers who are reluctant to start walking on their own, are called "lazy" (chiquish) by their parents, a stinging rebuke that is second as an insult only to being called "stingy" (yohuashi). For seven and eight year olds, too, name calling continues to be one of the methods used by parents to control their children's behavior. At this age, however, the children are not only called "stingy" and "lazy," but they may be severely punished for it. As in our own society, an apparently conforming child may also be disciplined for having the wrong attitude--failing, for example, to do what he is told quickly enough. The harshest form of punishment, and one not resorted to frequently, consists of inserting a peppery herb (yochi) into the rectums of those children who have been lazy, stingy, or otherwise insubordinate. Adults sometimes refer to this procedure as being purely medicinal, for the "child's own good." The child must be "cured" of laziness or stinginess, just as he might be cured of a fever with an aspirin. In this case, however, the "cure" turns out to be effective preventive medicine, as parents will threaten their children with herbal enemas when they misbehave.

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[18] The age range in such groups may be as much as 3 to 9 years.

Other than the "medicinal" treatment described above, corporeal punishment directed against children is not common in Shipiboland. In conformity with a general cultural aversion to displaying anger, a mother is not supposed to hit a child. When she does, however, it is in a fit of rage, and the beatings may go on for 20 minutes or more. A hushed silence descends on the others present, but no one interferes. A child may be hit and slapped, particularly around the face and head, and even kicked as he lies on the ground weeping. Children do not hit back. They cry in rage and terror. The crying eventually turns into a ritualized kind of crying, like a funeral wail, and continues long after the beating has ceased.

Even in the absence of a beating, this kind of crying is very frequent. A disagreement with another child results not in a fight, but in one or both children standing completely alone, wailing. A mother's scolding produces the same behavior in her child. Other children and adults in the vicinity may tease the wailing child, or, more likely, act as if he does not exist. But no one will console a crying child.

4. Motherhood

Marriage and pregnancy occur early, at about 14-15 years of age, a fact that many women bitterly resent. Barely freed from babysitting for their siblings, a job that has consumed much of their time between ages seven and fourteen, girls are, or at least feel, thrust into the responsibilities of adulthood without ever having really been children themselves.

Women also complain of being forced to marry an "old man." A few women refused to marry a particular man because he was too old, or because he beat his first wife. But eventually all marry. The birth of a child both solidifies the woman's role as an adult in the society and also consolidates her marriage. Children are therefore not altogether welcome; they are also considered to be expensive and a bother. Having a lot of children is said to make a woman skinny, that is, ugly. I was told of a woman who lived down river, whose first child had died. "She's fat now," the women said, enviously; only a childless woman could be beautiful.

While all children are considered a bother and a detriment to one's beauty, the Shipibos are not wholly negative about babies. Although girls are more highly esteemed than boys, the birth of any baby is cause for excitement in the village. If the baby is a girl, the announcement is met with genuine delight. "Girls will never leave you like boys," one mother explains. "With boys, you never know. They can just go off and make adventures for themselves. And who will care for you in your old age?" A woman with only sons is thus insecure about her future, while a woman with at least one daughter knows she will be taken care of. Girls are Shipibo insurance policies against the exigencies of old age.

While the basic attitude towards infants and children is that they are a lot of trouble, there is no notion that a woman would not choose to have children eventually. That is a woman's role in life. A woman of child-bearing age without an infant on her hip feels slightly awkward. Even older women feel a bit "undressed" without a baby on their hips, and frequently carry a grandchild around, especially when they are going to visit another compound.

Women find it easier to visit, both within and without their compounds, if they are carrying a baby. Ironically, the baby that a Shipibo mother views as curtailing her mobility and freedom, actually increases the ease with which she moves outside her own compound, among people other than her immediate kinsmen.

This chapter has outlined the physical, social and cultural setting of the lives of Shipibo women and infants. In the following chapter, we will begin to focus more specifically on the particular problem posed by this thesis: the pre-verbal acquisition of kinship behavior. Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical orientation of this study, and introduces the specific hypotheses which derive from this perspective.

IV

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

> Anthropologists study human behavior in most of its manifestations, but one question that has not been emphasized is, "how does a particular people take a newborn infant and make him a member of the group? what do they do to him and for him to assure that he will survive and that the group identity is firmly embedded in his consciousness?" (Newman 1972:51, as cited in Janet M. Schreiber, "On Becoming Human" in Reviews in Anthropology, July/August 1977:378)

1. Introduction: The Importance of Infancy

The questions posed above are basic to the study of socialization or enculturation. How are the infinite capacities of a human infant molded, shaped, and restricted in such various ways that he grows up to be clearly identified, both by himself and by others as an American, a Japanese, a Shipibo, or a Yanomamo? What do these various cultures do to each new member so that he grows up to not only act like, but also to think and feel like a member of that group and not any other. Spiro describes the problem:

> Any fieldworker knows that the members of a society, when asked why they do behave in a certain way, almost always reply it is because they ought to behave that way. The statement, "This is the way we do things," is not merely a descriptive statement, but contains a moral imperative as well; the implication being that

> "the way we do things" is the right way of doing things, because it is the only way of doing things--at least, the only human way (1951:34).

The problem of understanding and tracing the roots of the "moral imperative" of culture is one that is mentioned by most standard introductory text books in anthropology, usually under the heading of ethnocentrism. Explanations, however, tend to be vague:

> Since most socialization takes place early, certain behavior tends to become almost automatic and appears "instinctive." It is not, of course. Almost all human behavior varies so much from one group of people to another that it could not possibly be instinctive. But the automatic character of the behavior makes it difficult for someone socialized in one group to move easily into another, for such a person must unlearn accustomed behavior patterns and adopt new ones. Hardly anyone can learn the new responses as well as the people who have been trained in them from childhood. In addition, because these responses are so automatic, it is difficult for members of a class to teach them to others even if they want to (Richards 1977:225).

Such descriptions of the phenomena are common; systematic explanations for the seemingly automatic nature of cultural behaviors, however, have been few and far between. (See, however, Spiro, 1951). Any serious discussion of the problem must deal with the fact that the period of infancy is of critical importance to understanding these issues. It is during this time that much crucial learning goes on, crucial because it is preverbal, unconscious, and hence not readily accessible to adult thought processes, evaluation and change.[1]

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[1] For further discussion of these problems, from

2. The Study of Infancy

It is only recently that researchers in the field of culture and personality have begun to study the critical period of infancy, and its importance in the process of enculturation. Two major theoretical approaches have been used in these recent studies of infancy. One derives from ethological studies and particularly from Bowlby's synthesis of ethology and psychoanalytic theory (Bowlby 1969. See also Ainsworth 1967). The focus of these ethologically-oriented studies is on establishing a ". . . species specific ontogeny and early behavior catalogue for man, so that he can be assigned a place in a phylogeny of such catalogues" (Konner 1972:286). The thrust of these arguments is to ascertain the genetic basis of behavior in early infancy, and thus to be able to compare humans with other species. The search is for ". . . possible universal features of human infant care, infant behavior and development" (Konner 1976:219).

The major construct used in these studies is one developed by Bowlby called "attachment behavior." This refers to ". . . a class of behaviors that serve to promote proximity or contact with an attachment figure, and to maintain such proximity or contact after it has once been achieved" (Ainsworth 1977:52). Attachment behavior is behavior which the infant manifests, and is viewed as

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various points of view, see Caudill 1973; Ingleby 1974; Freeman 1973; Sullivan 1953; and Hall 1973, 1977.

being evolutionarily adaptive. Various infant behaviors --crying, smiling, vocalizing, sucking, rooting and grasping--are seen as biologically programmed mechanisms needed by infants to insure the nurturant behavior of the mother, thus to insure the survival of the infant and the species. It is ". . . an adaptation which helps to insure that an infant receives the loving care which its mother is disposed to give . . ." (Freeman 1973:112). Both the infant's behavior and that of the mother are seen as being genetically programmed.

The universal manifestation of such infant behaviors is seen as indicating a genetic basis for infant sociability. For example, Ainsworth states:

> It is our view that infants are genetically biased towards interaction with other people from the beginning. Their sensory equipment is responsive to stimuli most likely to stem from people, and many of their behavioral systems are most readily activated or terminated by such stimuli. A child is preadapted to a social world, and in this sense is social from the beginning (1974:99).

Such theorists base human sociability in biology, and therefore argue that the infant ". . . does not need to be taught to be social" (Ainsworth 1974:119).

The second major approach to the study of infancy emphasizes social learning rather than genetics. It also assumes that human beings are basically social animals, but suggests that an infant needs to be taught how to behave like a member of the group into which he is born.

Spiro clarifies the essence of this approach:

> It may well be true that human protoplasm has a "substantial nature" which, in the absence of social interaction, would gradually unfold by its own entelechy, and thus reveal what man's "organic culture" really is. But since the neonate cannot survive without the ministrations of adults, it seems that this information will never be obtained (1951:26). (See also M. Dimen-Schein, 1977:Chapter 1)

Focusing on the cross-cultural similarities and differences manifested by infants, the social learning approach asks: How early are cultural differences apparent in infants? How early in an infant's life can it be shown that he has learned some of his culture? When does socialization for a particular culture begin? Which cultural behaviors are learned earliest?

The Kilbrides' (1974) study of Kiganda infants provides us with an illustration of the social learning approach to infancy. Arguing that ". . . socialization for adult Kiganda values begins in the first six months of life" (p. 311), the authors chose to study the value of sociability, a trait highly regarded and rewarded by Kiganda society. After administering the Bayley Scales of Infant Mental and Motor Development to a sample of 31 infants, eleven items were selected from the Bayley scales as representative of infant sociability. The infants' scores on these items were compared with American norms and, as anticipated, the Kiganda infants manifested sociable behavior earlier than their American counterparts in a majority of the tested items.

According to the Kilbrides, their study ". . . has set forth in preliminary fashion what seems to us to be a relationship in Buganda between the social order, adult values, socialization, and infant behavior" (p. 311). It was not only demonstrated that Kiganda and American infants behave differently in the first six months of life, but the differences seem to be directly related to the specific adult values of each culture. The notion that culture is learned is not in itself surprising. What is critical about this study, however, is in its demonstration of how early this learning begins.

Earlier research conducted by Caudill and his associates (Caudill and Weinstein, 1969; Caudill and Frost, 1971; Caudill 1973) was concerned with similar problems: ". . . we wanted to explore how early in the lives of infants, and in what ways, cultural differences became manifest in behavior" (1969:12). Using a matched sample of 30 Japanese and 30 American first-born infants, they found cultural differences appearing in these infants as early as 3 to 4 months:

> American infants are more happily vocal, more active, and more exploratory of their bodies and their physical environment, than are Japanese infants. Directly related to these findings, the American mother is in greater vocal interaction with her infant, and stimulates him to greater physical activity and exploration. The Japanese mother, in contrast, is in greater bodily contact with her infant, and soothes him toward

> physical quiescence and passivity with regard to his environment. Moreover, these patterns of behavior, so early learned by the infant, are in line with the differing expectations for later development in the two cultures as the child grows up to be an adult (42).

But could these differences be genetically programmed, as the ethologists might argue? Since the differences found in infant behavior so clearly parallel adult values and expectations of the two cultures, a genetic explanation would seem unlikely. Nonetheless, Caudill and Frost (1971) tried to control for possible genetic factors, by using comparable observational data from a sample of 21 third generation Japanese-American infants. The sample was "genetically" Japanese, while culturally American. The behavior of the Japanese-American infants was found to be more like the American infants, and significantly different from the Japanese infants. These results indicate the importance of cultural learning over any presumed genetic differences.

Caudill and Weinstein summarize the importance of their findings: "It means that, out of the direct awareness of mother or child, the precursors of certain ways of behaving, thinking and feeling that are characteristic of a given culture have become part of the infant's approach to the environment well before the development of language and hence are not easily accessible to consciousness or to change" (1969:16). Infancy is thus seen as critical for study because it is during this time that the groundwork for all future cultural learning is established.

My current study derives from this second, social learning approach to the study of infancy and concerns itself with similar issues. I have chosen, however, to focus on one particular aspect of cultural learning--kinship behavior. If, as has been demonstrated, cultural behavior appears at 3 to 4 months, and if infants respond differentially to different people (see Ainsworth 1967; Bowlby 1969; Shaffer and Emerson 1964), there is every reason to suspect that kinship behavior will also be learned pre-verbally--particularly in a small-scale society where kinship is critical in structuring interpersonal relationships. The primary hypothesis of this study, then, is that infants will respond differentially to various classes of kinsmen, paralleling cultural expectations.

For the purposes of this study I am interested in the observable, interactional components of kinship. Although kinship may be defined as a list of biological relatives or a set of kinship terms, I am mainly concerned with kinship behavior--how kinsmen interact with each other. Unlike a cultural or symbolic description of kinship, my account of Shipibo kin relations is composed of behavior which I have observed.

How might such kinship behavior be learned preverbally? In the literature on infancy there has been little theory offered to explain pre-verbal cultural learning. My own approach derives from interpersonal psychoanalytic theory, which has as one of its basic tenets that all learning occurs in an interpersonal context. This study assumes that for infants, the primary interpersonal context is the mother-infant relationship.[2] Following this assumption, I attempt to assess and analyze various aspects of the Shipibo mother-infant relationship, to account for the learning that may occur within it.

Two further assumptions need to be clarified at the outset. First, unlike some of the ethologists who see the infant's biological predisposition as determining the course of mother-infant interaction, I assume that it is the mother, not the infant, who plays the major role in determining the nature of their relationship. As Spiro states, ". . . parents not only have the power of life and death over this helpless extra-uterine protoplasm, but they have the power of determining what kind of life, if any, it shall have" (1951:35).[3]

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[2] Caudill and Weinstein (1969) approach the study of infancy from a similar perspective: "Underlying our predictions is the assumption that much cultural learning takes place out of awareness of the participants, and although the Japanese mother does not consciously teach her infant specifically to become a Japanese baby, nor does the American mother specifically teach her infant to become an American baby, such a process does take place. . . . We conclude that, largely because of different patterns of interaction with their mothers in the two countries, infants have learned to behave in different and culturally appropriate ways by three to four months of age" (13).

The second assumption is that the infant responds to the mood of the mothering one, rather than to the overt appearance of skeletal behavior, gesture, or the manifest content of verbal messages. Several studies have demonstrated the importance of evaluating the mood of the mother-infant interaction (Brody 1956; Escalona 1968). Observational studies of hospitalized infants recognized the significance of the mother's attitude towards her infant, not only in shaping the infant's emotional and physical well-being, but also in determining his literal survival. (Ribble 1943; Provence and Lipton 1962; Spitz 1965). Infants whose physiological needs were efficiently ministered to, but who were not played with, cuddled, or talked to, became more and more depressed, withdrawn and frequently died. Various infantile diseases were also found to be highly correlated with specific maternal attitudes toward their infants (see Spitz 1965).

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[3] Brody (1956) elaborates on this point: "It may be safely said that an infant always influences his mother's behavior. He is biologically impelled to make demands and to make them imperiously and unreasoningly. He makes them upon an adult who has striven over a lifetime to modify or control her own impulsive demands and who cannot but become disconcerted by having to live two emotional lives, as it were. The infant may rearouse tensions in her, or may reawaken conflicts or may precipitate the appearance of new ones. But he has not created them. The infant touches off reactions in the mother, but the form and intensity of her reaction are determined by her own history of biological and psychological needs and by her knowledge of infant care. So does she touch off reactions in her infant, but those reactions are in the beginning determined by the intensity of his own biological needs and the strength of his structural reflexes. Only the mother begins the relationship with a developed psychic structure. . . . In early infancy, and in the normal case, the mother has so broad an advantage in being able to adapt that the infant's "cooperation" seems infinitesimal by comparison. Logically he cannot be assigned a major share of responsibility for varying his behavior, unless one assumes that the infant can have a consciousness of values and an ability to alter his demands in terms of those values" (347-348).

Brody (1956) has shown that the emotional tone of mother's interactions with her infant affect the infant's characteristic mode of relating to novel stimuli in the object world. Further evidence for the critical effect of the mother's own feelings on those of her child comes from the studies of Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham (1943). They found that infants under three years of age only became anxious, during the London Blitz, when their mothers became anxious. As Spitz interprets this finding, "The infants remained unaffected by external stimuli until the meaning of those stimuli was transmitted to them via their mothers' affective attitude" (1965: 237-238).

In a brief but fascinating article, W. Goldschmidt (1975) attempts to account for the transmission of what he calls "low affect" among the Sebei of Uganda. By "low affect" he refers to a particular interpersonal quality in which ". . . psychological disengagement is the characteristic mood, a lack of involvement of individuals with one another in all relationships" (p. 158). He is concerned with examining how children acquire such an outlook. He dismisses such specific practices as amount of body contact with the mother, infant sleeping arrangements, toilet training and weaning, as being unable to explain the phenomena in question:

> None of these aspects of child care, which were credited with such salience by Freudian-oriented anthropologists a generation ago, can account for the transmission of the low level of interpersonal affect that I have found characteristic of the Sebei. Yet as Margaret Mead has herself said, it is not either weaning or toilet training or any particular element in the handling of the child's needs that is crucial to the transmission of these qualities, but it is the emotional tone that she brings to the relationship (159).

Goldschmidt used photographs of Sebei mothers and infants in order to get at the mother's mood about her infant. An examination of photographs revealed an almost complete lack of eye contact between mother and infant, mothers typically staring vacantly out into the distance. Neither did the mothers hold their infants in any but the most perfunctory way. This maternal stance of "absent eyes and idle hands" is seen as indicative of her general mood about her infant, and it is this maternal attitude which Goldschmidt sees as transmitting the "low affect" to the Sebei infants.

The current study also assumes that the mood of the mothering one is transmitted empathically to her infant, and that it is her mood that most critically affects the mother-infant relationship. Mood is seen as the most basic mode of communication between mother and infant, and the only basis that the infant, without cultural knowledge of language or gesture, has for responding to others.[4]

Following these assumptions, two major constructs of interpersonal theory seem critical in attempting to understand and explain pre-verbal learning. The first is empathy, the direct experience of another person's feelings. It is the primary communication that exists between mother and infant. It is through the infant's empathic connection with the mother that ". . . even before speech is learned, every human being, even those in the lower imbecile class, has learned certain gross patterns of relationship with a parent, or with someone who mothers him. Those gross patterns become the utterly buried but quite firm foundation on which a great deal more is superimposed or built" (Sullivan 1953:6). It is these "gross patterns of relationship" that are the major concern of this study. It is assumed that the infant responds to the mood of the mother and that his attitudes toward other people are learned through this empathic connection. The infant learns to respond differentially to various people in tune with the mother's mood about these various others. Mother's mood, in turn, is significantly affected by cultural expectations about how she should feel towards these various others, while these cultural expectations are in turn shaped by the structure of kinship.

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[4] The importance of the mood or feeling tone of human interactions cannot be overemphasized. This is just as true between adults as it is between infant and adult: "The empathic responses are basic in all communicative processes. They are central in the development of the social self" (Cottrell and Dymond 1949:357). Or, as John Dollard pointed out in describing the research methodology he utilized in Caste and Class in a Southern Town:

> An important aspect of the method is to watch the feeling tone of the statements people make and the acts they do. This is often more definitive than the words uttered or the external character of the act. People can say no, for example, in such a way that it means yes, and vice versa. The feeling tone indicated in giving a permission may indicate that if it is acted on, the recipient can count on terminating his effective contact with the grantor (1937:20).

Also pertinent are discussions of the effect of empathic or non-verbal communication on the development of schizophrenia. See Bateson, Jackson, Haley and Weakland 1956; Laing and Esterson 1964; and Laing 1969.

The second major construct--that of tenderness--is defined by Sullivan as ". . . the tension called out in the mothering one by the manifest needs of the infant" (p. 40). This tension is further defined as ". . . a potentiality for or an impulsion to activities suited to . . . the relief of the infant's needs." With a tender, i.e., accurate, response, the infant's development can proceed. The mother's satisfaction in meeting the need, completes the interpersonal interaction for the infant.

The concept of tenderness is somewhat similar to the generally accepted axiom in anthropology that people are "inherently social." "The satisfaction of human needs and drives requires, as a necessary condition for their satisfaction, the existence of other individuals with whom one can interact; so that human behavior--its course and consummation--is the product of the interaction between individuals" (Spiro 1951:40). The concept of tenderness goes significantly further in its specification that all learning is an interpersonal process and is dependent not just upon the existence of other people, but upon their active response to specific needs.

The constructs of empathy and tenderness underlie the predictions made in the hypotheses of this study. In utilizing these constructs, this study hopes to clarify, in the context of one Amazonian tribe, how

> from birth onward, a very capable animal becomes a person--something very different from an animal; and as to how this transformation of a very gifted animal--who is always there but who cannot be defined because he is constantly being transformed--is brought about, step by step, from very, very early in life, through the influence of other people, and solely for the purpose of living with other people in some sort of social organization (Sullivan 1953:5).

As already stated, the major expectation is that infants will already have learned some aspects of relating to kinsmen. Thus the first hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 1. The infant will interact differentially with various classes of kinsmen, in conformity with the rules of kinship and cultural expectations.

The other hypotheses attempt to explore how these cultural expectations are communicated to the infant. Since it is assumed that the mothering one is the primary transmitter of these cultural expectations, the second hypothesis is:

> Hypothesis 2: The infant's patterns of interacting with kinsmen will be similar to the mother's pattern of interacting with these kin.

It is also assumed that mother's attitudes and mood about others, as well as her mood about her infant, are critical factors in the infant's learning, and are communicated to the infant. Therefore, the third and fourth hypotheses are:

> Hypothesis 3: The more positive the mother's interactions with her infant, the more positive will be the infant's interactions with others in general.[5]

> Hypothesis 4: The more positive the mother's attitude toward her infant, the more positive will be the infant's interactions with others in general.

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[5] "Others in general" category excludes interaction with the mother.

Each of these hypotheses derive from the fundamental tenets of interpersonal psychoanalytic theory described in this chapter. The next chapter, which describes the methodology I employed in this study, will also discuss the application of the theory just outlined to the specific variables to be tested.

V

METHODOLOGY

A year of participant observation in the study village afforded me a rich source of data, from casual interviews and informal conversations with both the women in the study and the other members of the community. This information provides the cultural backdrop against which the lives of mothers and infants may be described and analyzed. They do not, however, constitute the data analyzed to test the hypotheses.

These formal data are of three different kinds: timed observations, structured interviews, and a projective psychological test. The timed observations, each 20 minutes in length, form the core of the data for this thesis; they provide running accounts of the interactions of Shipibo mothers, infants and other kinsmen who happened to be present.

The naturalistic observational technique employed is well suited to testing the hypotheses.[1] The major concern of the study is whether infants manifest particular behavioral patterns that follow the structure of kinship. Since infants cannot discuss their behavior, observational measures are essential. Furthermore, as the Whitings (1970) have pointed out, informants have a great deal of difficulty reporting their own behavior, particularly in the area of socialization practices:

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[1] See Beatrice and John Whiting (1970) for a useful discussion of observational techniques and under what circumstances they are best employed.

> Parents teach values and beliefs and transmit habits without being aware of what they are doing. The unconscious components of human communication have been documented by clinicians, anthropologists, and linguists. . . . Those anthropologists who are interested in the transmission of culture or covert social practices need to observe these unconscious patterns of communication (1970:285).

In addition to the observations, I also formally interviewed each mother and administered a modified version of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT).[2] The interviews (see Appendix B for interview schedule) included questions about the mother's life history and that of her infant. The second section was designed to elicit the mother's conscious attitude towards her infant, as well as factual data about the infant's history. The TAT was used to get at a less consciously formulated statement of mother's general attitude towards other people and towards her own children. These data were analyzed by a clinical psychologist, Dr. Elsie Chandler, in order to arrive at a rank ordering of mother's attitudes towards their infants, data required for testing the final hypothesis.

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[2] The TAT is a series of pictures about which the subject is asked to tell stories. The particular series used in this study was a modified version used in Vicos, Peru (Klein 1963).

The sample population consisted of 14 mother-infant pairs. At the outset of fieldwork, there were 7 infants of less than a year of age in the study village. All of these infants were included in the study, and as new infants were born, they and their mothers were added to the sample. By October of 1973, the sample population had reached 14 mothers and 14 infants.

1. The Data: Observations

Not until the second field trip into the village did I begin to collect preliminary running accounts of mothers' and infants' interactions with one another, and with others.[3] These initial observations enabled me to establish a procedure for recording interactional sequences, and helped to sharpen my abilities as an observer, to accustom the mothers and infants to my daily presence, and to allow me to explain the purpose of the study to the villagers. By November of 1973, my research methods were familiar and routine matters to the mothers and infants in the study, as well as to the other villagers.

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[3] The observational data is of two separate kinds--one set of observations focused on mothers and their interactions with others, while the other set of observations focused on infants, and their interpersonal behavior.

It was also at that point that I had developed my observational technique sufficiently so that I was comfortable subjecting the data to statistical analysis.

The purpose of the observational data was to obtain an accurate account of who each mother and infant interacted with, and the quality of those interactions. I used running accounts of behavior because I assume that an assessment of the quality of the interactions must stem as much from the context of interaction as from the actual behavior witnessed.[4] For example, a mother might pick up her infant, kiss him, cuddle him, chuck him under the chin and coo to him. On the basis of this behavior, it would appear that the mother-infant interaction was warm and loving. However, conduct always occurs in a context. A mother can behave in exactly the same way, and yet her intentions may be more manipulative than affectionate. If, for example, the infant had just made an effort to initiate contact with another child, adult or toy, the mother's behavior could then be seen as an attempt at distraction and as essentially disjunctive to the infant's curiosity and interest. Judgments made about motivation, intention and attitude are, it would seem, most reliable when they are based on running transcripts of behavior.

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[4] See Tulkin (1977) for a similar discussion of the importance of various contexts in the observational study of infancy. (See especially p. 572.)

Once the format for observations was established, and I had devised a suitable means of recording the data, I set up a schedule of observations to be done for each 8-10 week field trip. The times for observing both mothers and infants were randomly chosen for each field trip, since random sampling is the best way to insure that the sample of behaviors is representative of the total behavioral profile. It also insured that I would have roughly equivalent numbers of observations for each infant and each mother weekly, in order to provide some coverage in terms of developmental sequence for the infants, and possible correlates in the mothers' behavior. I wanted a random sequence of observations for each mother and infant, and I therefore randomized the observational times in the following way.

At the beginning of each field trip, I divided the length of time in the field into weeks. I then used a random numbers table to choose times, from 6 a.m. to 5 p.m., for all of the infant observations for each week. Once the times for the observations were established, I consulted the table of random numbers to assign infants to each time slot. Since I was concerned about having a fairly continuous coverage of each infant, I read off the list of babies (1 to 14) from the random numbers table for each week, so that each infant would be observed once weekly. I did the same for the mothers, beginning with randomly choosing times for their observations. I scheduled four 20-minute observations each day, so that each of the 14 mothers and infants would be observed once weekly.

At the appointed time, I would go to the household where the mother or infant to be observed lived. I did not begin an observation until I had greeted those people present and told them why I had come. If I arrived to do an observation at a time when it felt socially uncomfortable to do so, when , for example, there were visitors, I came back later that day, but it was rare that an observation had to be rescheduled.

Once I had completed the cover sheet for each observation, which involved specifying all those present in the household at the time I arrived, what each person was doing, as well as information about the infant's and mother's locations and activities, I would begin the timed observation. I wrote down everything that either the mother or infant under observation did, both in reaponse to or initiating towards other people. The observations were focused then, on obtaining data about interpersonal relationships--with whom and how my subjects interacted.

At the beginning of the observations, my command of the language was not great. While it improved over the project period, it never became good enough to catch quickly muttered utterances, or even to follow fairly rapid everyday conversations. I did the best I could. If I understood what was said, I wrote it down. If I understood the gist of the conversation or at least the topic being discussed, I wrote that down. Mainly, however, what I was concerned with was who interacted with whom, and what the mood of the interaction was. These data were conveyed, as among ourselves, by tone of voice and other vocal and behavioral gestures--cues that every person who lives among the Shipibo rapidly learns, even if he does not have full command of the language.

2. The Data: Interviews and TATs

During the last eight week field trip, while continuing the observations of mothers and infants, I also administered a TAT to and conducted formal interviews with each mother under study. Both the interviews and the TATs were used to provide information about the mother's attitudes towards her children and other people. A Shipibo Indian assistant from another village, Arturo, served as interpreter for all TATs and interviews. Arturo was, at the time of the research, an 18-year-old high school student in Pucallpa, who was fluent both in Spanish and Shipibo. He is from a Shipibo village on the Ucayali, and is one of the few Shipibos who has gone beyond the educational level offered in his own village. Arturo accompanied us into the study village during his vacation from school, from February to March, 1973, and during the last field trip, from March to April, 1974, and served as our interpreter-assistant. Arturo had no kinsmen in the study village and, although he did make friends during the time that he lived with us, he was generally considered to be somewhat of an outsider. My impression was that this facilitated the women's speaking more openly than they might, had Arturo been a permanent resident of the study village or close kinsman.[5]

All of the TATs and interviews were tape recorded, in a mixture of Spanish and Shipibo. Using the tapes and my notes, I transcribed all of this data, and translated it into English.

The interviews lasted about four hours each, and were conducted in two parts, corresponding to the division of the interview schedule. All the interviews were held in our house, within the confines of our room-size mosquito net. On this neutral ground, the women were guaranteed a maximum of privacy, and were assured that I would play the tapes for no one in the village, nor even for anyone in Peru. Speaking in hushed tones so that we would not be overheard, we kept a sharp eye out for the children who often sneaked over to listen, hidden behind a house post or under the floor. We usually managed to maintain sufficient privacy so that our informants could speak freely.

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[5] See Berreman (1962) for a discussion of the issues and problems involved in choosing and working with research assistants in the field. While his monograph deals specifically with research in a stratified society, many of the concerns discussed are common to all fieldwork experience.

The interviews presented only minor problems in terms of eliciting responses from the women. The questions that were asked in the interview were all fairly reasonable questions to a Shipibo woman. Some were perhaps slightly more embarrassing than others; questions about the cliterodectomy ceremony, such as "How big were you when you had the operation . .. was it before you developed breasts? What do you remember about the operation?" never failed to elicit a long stream of giggles and guffaws. But even these questions were comprehensible and required no special explanation.

On the other hand, the idea of telling a story, which is the task required in the TAT, is totally foreign to the Shipibo. A request to "tell me a story about this picture" produced blank stares or "I don't know any." I then tried to elicit stories by telling a story about a picture in a book, then having my assistant tell another story, and Roberta yet a third. The purpose was to give the women a number of examples of what I meant by "tell me a story," and also to point out that there were not right or wrong stories, that there were as many stories in any picture as people who looked at it.

But this procedure was not very successful, and my assistant and I discussed the problem over and over. Wasn't there some way of saying "tell me a story" in Shipibo that he had forgotten about? Not until one of the women had finished taking the TAT did we hit upon the solution. As she left the house, having given a nice full record of stories, she turned to my assistant and said, "God, I'm tired. I've never told so many lies in my life!" My assistant came racing back into the house, announcing what she had said. That was the solution. From then on, I told all the women from the outset that I wanted them to "tell me lies." When they had trouble with any particular card, I would repeat the initial instructions, "Lie to me."

3. Measures: The Behavioral Units

The data base for this study consists primarily of the running accounts of behavior, i.e., the observations of interactions between infants and other people, and between mothers and others. In order to test the hypotheses, these accounts were broken down into quantifiable units of behavior. The unit of behavior chosen was the interaction, defined as an initiation and a response. The unit was judged to begin when a behavior initiated or intended to initiate engagement with another person, and to end when a response was made to that initiation. Ignoring an initiation was considered a response. For example, in the following sequence, the application of the coding system was as follows:

2:30 Baby turns head towards observer.
Baby says "heh" and smiles.
Observer imitates back to baby.

3:20 Baby says to mother "ina."
Mother makes no response.
Roberta says to baby "hi."
Baby to Roberta, smiles and imitates back "hi."

4:00 Baby smiles at observer.
Observer smiles at baby.

This sequence consists of four interactions:

1. 2:30 Baby initiates to observer; observer responds.
2. 3:20 Baby initiates to mother; mother does not respond.
3. 3:20 Roberta initiates to baby; baby responds.
4. 4:00 Baby initiates to observer; observer responds.

4. Measures: The Dependent Variable

The dependent variable of the study is the infant's differential interactions with various classes of kinsmen. The measure for the dependent variable is a proportion score, derived from the observational data, which assesses the infant's positive interactions with particular categories of people, i.e., mother's brothers, mother's sisters, brothers, etc. The denominator for each score is the total number of interactions with each of these categories of kinsmen, and the numerator is the total number of positive interactions with the same set of kinsmen:

$$\frac{\text{Total positive interactions with specific kin class}}{\text{Total interactions with specific kin class}}$$

For each infant, there is a series of such scores, each score representing the infant's percentage of positive interactions with each category of kinsmen.

The proportion score is used because the number of interactions each mother and each infant engage in may vary considerably, depending on the opportunity for interaction during any given observation.[6] The use of the proportion score allows for the comparison of cases, even if the actual number of interactions in each case differ.

An interaction was coded as positive when an infant either initiated or responded in a friendly manner, in order to establish or maintain a relationship, no matter how brief. Such behavior as smiling, cooing, giggling, gurgling, reaching for, looking at, talking to are all examples of infant's positive initiations or responses. An example of two consecutive positive interactions is the following:

Grandmother gives baby bowl of water to drink.
Grandmother wipes baby's face with water.
19:10 Baby smiles at Grandmother--says Tita (mother).
Grandmother bounces baby.
Baby smiles.

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[6] See Tables 1 and 2 for the number of interactions for each mother and each infant.

Table 1 . Infants' Total Number of Observations (Obs.), Total Number of Interactions (IAs), and Average Number of Interactions per Observation

Infant	No. of Obs.	No. of IAs Total	Average No. of IAs per Obs.
531	8	235	29.37
541	6	167	27.83
572	10	308	30.80
581	8	206	25.75
601	7	115	16.42
642	10	300	30.00
661	9	245	27.22
671	8	238	29.75
672	11	201	18.27
691	8	243	30.37
701	8	262	32.75
712	8	321	40.12
742	10	223	22.30
743	7	166	23.71

Table 2. Mothers' Total Number of Observations (Obs.), Total Number of Interactions (IAs), and Average Number of Interactions per Observation

Mother	No. of Obs.	No. of IAs Total	Average No. of IAs per Obs.
531	8	180	22.5
541	6	123	20.5
572	8	228	28.5
581	8	182	22.75
601	8	253	31.62
642	7	190	27.14
661	8	140	17.5
671	8	235	29.37
672	8	161	20.12
691	7	159	22.71
701	8	175	21.87
712	8	211	26.37
742	8	174	21.75
743	6	192	32.0

An interaction was coded as negative when the infant either did not respond to a friendly initiation or when the infant responded by crying, whimpering, turning or moving away. An example of a negative interaction is:

> 8:20 Grandmother dances, bounces baby.
> Baby whimpers.

5. Measures: Independent Variables

a. Cultural expectations regarding social attitudes and conduct, derived from ethnographic analysis.

The cultural expectations are based on my ethnographic analysis of Shipibo social structure, to be discussed below. The cultural expectations are predictions about behavior which reduce Shipibo kinship behavior to essentially positive or negative relationships, in an effort to make this behavior useable within a research design utilizing quantified data. For example, a discussion such as the one in Chapter 2 of the relationship between Shipibo mothers and their married daughters reveals a good deal of latent hostility. Yet I would predict that the observed interactions between these two kinswomen would be positive. These are not, as they might seem at first glance, contradictory statements; they are different levels of explanation. The emotional content of a relationship between two people may be, and frequently is, quite different than the overt behavior between the individuals. That is, the cultural expectations are predictions about how people will actually behave within a given relationship, which may not necessarily correspond with how they actually feel about that relationship.

1). Cultural and Social Structural Principles Underlying the Cultural Expectations

There is one overriding cultural value that cannot be overemphasized in terms of its effect upon Shipibo behavior; that is, a general and consistent aversion to expressing anger openly. Displaying any negative emotion, in fact, is strongly disapproved, the Shipibo orientation being towards the maintenance of manifestly harmonious relations. It is not that the Shipibo deny experiencing hostile feelings, but they do disapprove of these emotions being dramatized in daily life. The expression of hostility is reserved for specific occasions. A cuckolded husband, for example, is not supposed to retaliate against his wife or her lover immediately. Shipibo convention demands that he wait until the next village-wide party, when he is required to vent his anger in a highly ritualized manner, against the offending male.

Several social structural principles specify which relationships are most critically affected by this basic orientation of "maintaining good relations." The most fundamental of these principles is matrilocal residence, which dictates that a woman will always reside with her sisters and mother. The rule of matrilocal residence, coupled with the aboriginal residence pattern of dispersed settlements, creates the kind of domestic arrangements discussed in Chapter 3--two to five households bound together by the matrilaterally related women who form the social nexus of the compound. There is a good deal of pressure on these women to interact in ways that facilitate smooth social and economic relations within the compound.

Some of these pressures are those specified by the hierarchical structure of authority. As discussed in Chapter 3, older generations have authority over younger ones, while within each generation, authority is conferred by age. All relationships of authority, particularly those structured by generational distinctions, should be acted out cordially. The younger member of the relationship should act respectfully, and not manifest any hostile feelings. This is not to say that the emotional reality of the relationship is isomorphic with the overt behavior. Relationships of authority are inherently ambivalent, characterized by a wide range of emotions, including fear, respect, awe, resentment, contempt, envy and affection. In terms of Shipibo rules of conduct, however, interactions between individuals in such a relationship should be positive. For example, the resentment and animosity that are an integral part of the relationship between a mother and her adult daughter are not to be expressed overtly. They remain, however, as underlying structural realities of the relationship.

2). The Cultural Expectations

The cultural expectations for adult behavior with various kinsmen are shown in Table 3. The predictions for infant behavior are derived from these adult expectations, and are shown in Table 4. Each prediction is discussed below, in terms of its underlying cultural and social structural principles. It should be noted again that these principles, like the predictions, dictate how individuals ought to behave; they do not specify the emotional realities of the relationship.

The generational structure of authority accounts for the positive predictions regarding the following kin types: mother's sisters; mother's brothers; mother; father. It is expected that one will behave positively towards these kinsmen. By extension, these positive predictions are also applied to the children of mother's sisters and mother's brothers.

The positive prediction for mother's brothers is noteworthy because it is based on more than just the principle of authority. A mother's brother does not live in the same household, or even necessarily in the same village.

Table 3. Cultural Expectations for Adult Women

It is predicted that adult women will behave more positively with:

1. Mother's sisters (except where she is also co-wife)
2. Mother's sisters' children
3. Mother's brothers
4. Mother's brothers' children
5. Mother
6. Father
7. Sisters (except where she is also co-wife)
8. Sisters' children (except where they are also co-wife's children)
9. Brothers
10. Brothers' children

It is predicted that adult women will behave less positively (more negatively) with:

1. Mother's co-wife
2. Mother's co-wife's children
3. Co-wife
4. Co-wife's children
5. Mother's mother
6. Unmarried daughters
7. Unmarried sons
8. Husband

Table 4. Cultural Expectations for Infants

It is predicted that infants will behave more positively with:

1. Mother's sisters (except where she is also co-wife)
2. Mother's sisters' children (except where they are also co-wife's children)
3. Mother's brothers
4. Mother's brothers' children
5. Father
6. Brothers

It is predicted that infants will behave less positively (more negatively) with:

1. Mother's mother
2. Mother's co-wife
3. Mother's co-wife's children
4. Sisters

He has no real authority over his sister's children, but would be the first to rush to their defense in any emergency. A mother's brother is not only to be interacted with positively, but the emotional aspects of the relationship are expected to be particularly warm.

A woman's sisters, and by extension her children, are to be interacted with positively. This prediction is a result of the strength of matrilocality, which requires that a woman and her sisters reside in the same compound all their lives. Unless they also become co-wives, sisters will eventually live in separate households, although remaining in the same compound. Once sisters become adults, that is once they have children, they establish their own domestic domains, and at least overtly, should behave towards each other in a manner that facilitates compound unity.

A woman's relationship with her adult brother, and by extension his children, should also be a positive one. Unlike some other matrilocal societies, a Shipibo woman's brother does not maintain authority over her or her children. He is, however, the most permanent male in her life for, as will be discussed below, her husband is considerably less stable a member of her family. A woman's relationship with her brother is an extremely warm one emotionally. Unlike sisters, brothers and sisters are not destined to spend the rest of their lives together. Any resentment a woman might have felt about babysitting for her brother as a child is forgotten, and a woman's brother, whether younger or older, is a most welcome visitor to her home. The relationship between a Shipibo woman and her brother is probably the least ambiguous and most supportive relationship she has.

Remembering the general Shipibo aversion to displaying hostility openly, what most needs to be explained are those predictions of less positive (more negative) behavior. The animosity between co-wives and between the children of co-wives has been discussed in Chapter 3, and accounts for the predictions that mothers will interact less positively with: mother's co-wife; mother's co-wife's children; co-wife; co-wife's children.

The negative prediction for a woman's behavior towards her mother's mother would seem to contradict previous statements about authority relationships requiring overtly positive behavior. While the authority of age and generation structures interactions between individuals of the same generation and those of adjacent generations, once a Shipibo man or woman has become "very old," his authority diminishes as his age increases. For the most part, married women do not have grandparents, for there are not a great many very old people in the village. Those who do survive to a relatively old age are treated less respectfully, as their authority decreases with age. No woman wants her own "old grandmother" around to interfere with how she raises her children.

The next two negative predictions are that a woman will interact more negatively with her unmarried daughters and her unmarried sons. The relationship between a woman and her daughter is more fraught with difficulties than that between a woman and her son, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, the general expectation is that interactions between parents and children will be much more overtly angry than those between adults. According to Shipibo convention, it is alright (although not ideal), for a young daughter to whine at, run away from, talk back to her mother, while such behavior should never characterize the relationship between an adult woman and her mother; for an adult daughter to whine at or talk back to her mother would be considered childish behavior at best.

The final negative prediction is that women will interact negatively with their husbands. As mentioned earlier, men and women in fact have few interactions with each other. Men in general and husbands in particular are considered a necessary encumberance--they are needed to provide protein and trade items, and life without them would be unimaginable. Upon hearing that I was unmarried, one women in the village asked me with intense astonishment, "Well, if you're not married, who on earth gets your firewood?" A husband's contribution to household labor is important, but interpersonally, husbands are not crucial. A woman's responsibility and loyalty remain to her own family--her mother, father and siblings--and so does her husband's remain to his own family. One old man once asked me if it were true that my mother was dead. I told him it was true, that she had died long ago. Tears welled up in the old man's eyes and he said, "You're an orphan, then, just like me. My mother is dead, my father is dead. I am all alone." It should be noted that this old man had a wife, two married sons and five grandchildren. He was "alone" because his family of origin was gone.

Husbands are economically important but emotionally replaceable. They are outsiders to the household, and while individual husbands and wives may like or dislike each other, the cultural roles of husband and wife demand a certain amount of economic cooperation, but little if any overt display of warmth. The relationship is not inevitably an enduring one, as is the mother-daughter one; husbands are easily "thrown away" and replaced. Hostilities tend to be expressed more openly in this relationship, precisely because the relationship is more tenuous, and less crucial.

In order to verify that these ethnographic analyses reflect a reasonable assessment of Shipibo culture, I tested to see whether the mothers in my sample interacted differentially with various classes of kinsmen, in a way that paralleled these cultural expectations. The mothers' differential interactions with the various categories of kinsmen were determined by percent of the mother's interactions judged to be positive with each kin category. The percent for each category was then compared with the mother's average percent positive score, i.e., the number of positive interactions with all kinsmen, divided by the total number of interactions with all kinsmen. If the percent positive score for each kin category was higher than the mother's average score, interactions with that category were considered generally more positive; if lower than the average, interactions were considered generally more negative. When the general pattern of interaction for each kin type was categorized as more or less positive for a given mother, I looked to see how many categories fit the cultural expectations specified in Table 3, and how many did not fit these predictions. If, for a particular mother, the categories more often were in line with the cultural expectations, the mother was given a positive sign. If the mother more usually acted counter to expectations, she was given a negative sign.

In Table 5, the predicted and observed behavior of each mother is compared, and a sign test is used to test the significance of the results. In only two of the 14 mothers observed do the data fail to follow the expected

Table 5. Sign Test Calculated to Test Mother's Kinship Behavior Against Cultural Expectations

Mother	No. Kin Categories Conforming to Expectations	No. Kin Categories not Conforming to Expectations	No. Total Kin Categories	Sign
531	2	3	5	-
541	3	4	7	-
572	5	3	8	+
581	6	3	9	+
601	5	0	5	+
642	6	2	8	+
661	3	1	4	+
671	8	1	9	+
672	5	3	8	+
691	4	0	4	+
701	7	2	9	+
712	5	4	9	+
742	8	1	9	+
743	6	1	7	+

$N = 14$

$x = 2$

$P = .006$

pattern. The results are significant at the .006 level (N=14; x=2).[7] These results tend to confirm the validity of my analysis of Shipibo social structure, inasmuch as the behavior of mothers conforms to the cultural predictions.

The predictions for infants (see Table 4) are derived from analogous predictions made for adult women. For instance, the predictions for a woman and her brother was that their interactions would be positive. The derivative of this prediction for the infant is that the infant should interact positively with his brother. There is only one exception to this method: it is predicted that infants will interact more negatively with their sisters, while the prediction for adult women was that that relationship would be a more positive one. The negative prediction for infants is based on the data from formal and informal interviews, in which my female informants expressed a good deal of resentment about the babysitting they did as children. This resentment was expressed primarily in terms of their being denied a childhood of their own, of being deprived of their own playtime. This resentment insures that the relationship between a sister and those younger siblings for whom she babysits, is a fairly unhappy one. Interactions between a young babysitter and her young charges are expected to be unpleasant. Shipibo convention does not demand that an elder sibling behave kindly towards her younger siblings. On the contrary, it is fully expected that she will resent the chore of caretaking, and that the interactions will reflect this.

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[7] In order to evaluate the possibility that frequency of interaction, not cultural expectations, might have been responsible for the results, I calculated Spearman rank order correlations between each mother's frequency and percent positive interactions for each kin category. The Spearman rhos for all mothers were then subjected to a sign test, the results of which were not significant (N=13; x=6). Frequency and positiveness were thus found to be independent, unrelated variables. Thus, frequency of interaction cannot account for the obtained results.

The predictions for infants are derived from an analysis of social structural pressures on adult women, and they are applied to infants of both sexes. The principles which underlie these predictions are essentially the same for male and female infants. Not until much later in life are the distinctions of sex critical to interpersonal behavior.

b. Mother's differential interactions with various classes of kinsmen.

The measure for this variable is a proportion score, derived from the observational data, assessing mother's positive interactions with each category of kinsmen. The codings for this variable essentially follow those for the dependent variable, infant's differential interactions with various others. An interaction was coded as positive when the mother either initiated or responded in a friendly way, in order to establish or maintain a relationship, no matter how brief. The following two interactions, for example, were coded as positive:

6:10 Mother sits down in group, talks softly to
her mother's sister.
Mother's sister responds--uh huh.

7:30 Mother continues to her mother's sister.
Mother's sister--uh huh.

An interaction was coded as negative when the mother did not respond to a friendly initiation, or when she either initiated or responded in an angry or whiney manner. Two examples of interactions coded as negative are the following:

Daughter over to tell mother something.
Mother whines angrily at daughter.
7:25 Daughter yells at mother.
Mother mutters angrily at daughter.

c. Mother's interactions with her infant

The measure for this variable is a proportion score derived from the observational data, assessing mother's positive interactions with her infant. An interaction was coded as positive when the mother either initiated or responded in a friendly way, in order to establish or maintain a relationship, no matter how brief. An example of an interaction scored as positive is:

15:00 Mother picks up baby and puts baby on her lap.
Mother talks softly to baby.
Baby gurgles.

An interaction was scored as negative when the mother did not respond to an initiation, or when she either initiated or responded in an angry or whiney manner. An interaction was also coded as negative when the mother made no response to her infant's cry, following the concept of tenderness as discussed in Chapter 4. Tenderness refers to the phenomena that a need in the infant arouses in the mother a tension, which is relieved as she moves to satisfy the need in the infant. The premise is that the mother is impelled to do something in response to the infant's expressed need. "A feeling generated by another person's need was understood and acted upon" (Szalita 1976:149). A lack of response, then, indicates a lack of tenderness, and is therefore coded as negative.

In addition, an interaction was coded as negative if the infant responded to the mother's initiation by crying, whimpering, turning away or ignoring. The justification for this coding procedure is found in the construct of empathy, discussed in Chapter 4. The assumption is that the infant responds to the real intention of the other person, and is not fooled by appearances. The infant, then, is assumed to be the best judge of the real motivation of the adult, and his response is therefore used to code the interaction. Examples of negatively scored interactions are the following:

12:20 Mother picks baby up.
Mother dances baby, sings to baby for a short time in a loud voice, jouncy movements.
Baby stares blankly, makes no movements of his own, does not look at mother.

14:00 Baby screams, pulls at mother.
Mother laughs at baby.
Baby screams.

d. Mother's attitude toward her infant

The measure for this variable is a ranked score, based on the interview and TAT data, assessing the mother's positive or negative attitude towards her infant. These scores were the result of Dr. Elsie Chandler's blind analysis of both the TAT and interview data. Dr. Chandler was provided with transcripts in English of the TAT and interview for each mother. She then wrote up a clinical report for each mother, based solely on these data.[8] The reports are geared towards assessing mother's interpersonal relationships, her attitudes about other people, and her attitudes about her own infant. From these reports, Dr. Chandler than rank ordered the mothers in terms of their attitudes towards the infant under study, from positive to negative.

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[8] One of Dr. Chandler's reports is included in Appendix C.

VI

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The central question under investigation in this study is whether those patterns of relating to other people, which are structured by kinship, are learned preverbally. The first hypothesis that was tested is:

> Hypothesis 1. The infant will interact differentially with various classes of kinsmen, in conformity with the rules of kinship and cultural expectations.

This hypothesis was tested in the following way. The infant's differential interactions with the various categories of kinsmen were determined by the percent of the infant's interactions judged to be positive with each kin category. The percent for each category was then compared with the infant's average percent positive score, i.e., the infant's total number of positive interactions with all kinsmen, divided by his total number of interactions. If the percent positive score for each category was higher than the infant's average score, interactions with that category were considered generally more positive; if lower than the average, interactions were considered generally more negative. Each infant's average positive score was used as the standard to make this judgment in order to control for individual variation within the infant population. Baby #642, for example, might be a generally friendly baby, whose total number of positive interactions might be a good deal higher than Baby #691, who might be shy, scared and have very few positive interactions with various categories of kinsmen. The general level of each infant's patterns of interactions with others had to be ascertained so that individual differences would not obscure learned patterns of behavior. When the general pattern of interaction for each kin type was categorized as more or less positive for a given baby, I looked to see how many categories fit the cultural expectations specificed in Table 4, and how many did not fit these predictions. If, for a particular baby, the categories more often were in line with the cultural expectations, the baby was given a positive sign. If the infant more usually acted counter to expectations, he was given a negative sign. As may be seen from the data (Table 6), all of the babies' patterns of interaction conform to the predictions. A sign test, calculated over all the infants, found Hypothesis 1 to be statistically significant at the .008 level (N=7; x=0).[1]

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[1] Seven of the infant scores were dropped because the number of kin-type interactions that conformed to expectations equalled the number of kin-type interactions that did not conform to the cultural expectations. (See Table 6). These infants were not counted in the analysis because they neither fit nor did not fit the hypothesis.

Table 6. Sign Test Calculated to Test Hypothesis 1

Infant	No. Kin Categories Conforming to Expectations	No. Kin Categories not Conforming to Expectations	No. total Kin Categories	Sign
531	2	2	4	0
541	3	3	6	0
572	2	2	4	0
581	4	1	5	+
601	3	1	4	+
642	3	3	6	0
661	1	1	2	0
671	4	3	7	+
672	4	2	6	+
691	2	2	4	0
701	4	0	4	+
712	3	1	4	+
742	3	3	6	0
743	1	0	1	+

$N = 7$

$x = 0$

$P = .008$

The primary hypothesis of the study is thus supported: the infants in the study population interact with various kinsmen in ways that parallel basic Shipibo attitudes and conduct. The results of this hypothesis support the idea that infants learn and respond to the emotional correlates of kinship behavior preverbally.[2]

Much more work is, of course, needed to truly substantiate the implications of these results. Of particular interest would be a careful longitudinal study, with a specific focus on discovering the developmental sequence of learning these patterns of interacting with others. At what age do infants begin to interact differentially with others? Which categories of kinsmen are distinguished earliest and most clearly? Is there a developmental sequence that seems to apply to all infants, or do the particular categories of kinsmen that infants distinguish depend more on household and/or compound composition? Such problems were not investigated in the current study, because the sample size was too small, and the time depth too shallow.

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[2] This hypothesis was also tested for sex differences to determine whether there were any differences in response patterns between boy and girl infants. If such differences were found to be statistically significant, the variable of gender would have been tested for in all subsequent hypotheses. The results of a Mann-Whitney U test, however, revealed no statistical differences between male and female infants ($p=.141$).

An additional analysis was performed in order to determine whether frequency of interaction was independent of positiveness of interaction. This test was done in order to see if infants act more positively towards those with whom they interact more frequently. This would mean that frequency of interaction, and not classification of kin-type, could possibly be accounting for the results of this hypothesis. Spearman rank order correlations were done correlating each infant's frequency of interaction with a particular kin category, with his percent positive interactions for the same category. The Spearman rhos for each infant were then subjected to a sign test, the results of which were not statistically significant. ($N=14$; $x=5$). Frequency of interaction and positiveness of interaction for infants were thus found to be independent, unrelated variables.

It would also be interesting to correlate the results of these findings with an interview devised to elicit cultural expectations directly from the mothers. Do those mothers who are more aware of the cultural expectations have infants who interact appropriately earlier? How congruent are the cultural expectations derived in this report with the cultural expectations in the minds of the natives? How does behavior of the mothers correlate with their expressed expectations? And what are native expectations for the fact that infants seem to learn kinship behavior pre-verbally?

The results of the major hypothesis support the idea that infants learn their culturally appropriate kinship behavior pre-verbally. The second hypothesis was tested in order to clarify the relationship between mother's patterns of behavior and infant's patterns of behavior, that is to see whether individual infants paralleled the patterns of their mothers. The second hypothesis was:

Hypothesis 2. The infant's patterns of interacting with various classes of kinsmen will parallel mother's patterns of interacting with these same kinsmen.

The original intent of this hypothesis was to compare the same categories of kinsmen for both mothers and infants, i.e. to test the percent positive of mother's interactions with her brother, for example, with the percent positive of infant's interactions with his brother. There were, however, only 5 mother-infant dyads in which there were enough corresponding categories in both the mother and infant observations to test the hypothesis in this way.[3] A Spearman rank order correlation was performed for each of the five mother-infant dyads, correlating percent positive interactions with each kin category for each mother and her infant. A sign test was then applied to the Spearman rhos for each mother-infant dyad to test the hypothesis over all five mothers and infants. (See Table 7). The results were not statistically significant ($N=5$; $x=2$; $p=.500$). Infants' patterns of interacting with particular kin categories were not found to parallel mothers' patterns of interacting with these same categories.

I then decided to test the hypothesis by comparing

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[3] A good deal of the mothers' interactions took place with categories such as son, daughter, co-wife. Infants had no such comparable categories.

Table 7 . Sign Test Calculated to Test Hypothesis 2
(Version 1)

Mother-Infant	Spearman Rho*	Sign
541	-1	-
572	-.663	-
581	.714	+
672	1	+
712	.867	+

N = 5

x = 2

N.S.

*The Spearman rho for each mother-infant pair is a measure of the association between mother's and infant's percent positive interactions for all kin types they both interacted with.

mother's and infant's interactions with the same individuals. Infant's percent positive interactions with his brothers, for instance, were correlated with mother's percent positive interactions with her sons. A Spearman rank order correlation was performed for each mother-infant dyad, correlating percent positive interactions for all comparable categories. A sign test was then applied to the Spearman rhos for each mother-infant pair to test this new version of the hypothesis over all mothers and infants (see Table 8). The results were not statistically significant (N=14; x=5; p=.212). Infants' patterns of interacting with various individuals were not found to parallel mothers' patterns of interacting with these same people.

These two findings indicate that infants are not learning kinship behavior by directly copying or imitating their mother's overt behavior with specific classes of kinsmen, nor with particular individuals. It should be noted, however, that in testing both versions of the hypothesis, the number of comparable categories for each mother-infant dyad was small. It is possible that there were not enough categories that both mother and infant interacted with in order to make a valid comparison.

In addition, it is possible that the study did not span enough of the infants' lives to be able to discern a developmental sequence of learning. A longer, longitudinal study might reveal that infants' behavior does parallel

Table 8. Sign Test Calculated to Test Hypothesis 2 (Version 2)

Mother-Infant	Spearman Rho*	Sign
531	.8660	+
541	.4732	+
572	-.5000	-
581	.1591	+
601	-.1054	-
642	.4069	+
661	1.0000	+
671	.4750	+
672	-.3591	-
691	.2000	+
701	-.0555	-
712	.0882	+
742	-.1093	-
743	1.0000	+

N = 14

x = 5

N.S.

*The Spearman rho for each mother-infant pair is a measure of the association between mother's and infant's percent positive interactions for all kin types they both interacted with.

mothers' behavior, but not immediately and continuously. Since it is more than likely that mothers will fluctuate in their interactions with other people--she may be furious at her sister one day and friendly to her the following week--it is to be expected that if infants learn patterns of interacting from their mothers' overt behavior, that this learning would take a bit of time to acquire. The infant would need time to assess the mother's behavior towards various people, and as a result, his behavior might fluctuate greatly for a period of time. A careful longitudinal study, assessing both the development of infants' as well as mothers' patterns of interaction with other people, is necessary to evaluate this suggestion.

A further possibility is that other people must be taken into account in order to be able to accurately predict infant's behavior. This study was, however, not organized to obtain data on father's or child caretaker's behavior towards others, for example. It is conceivable that these people might also have an effect on the infant's learning of interpersonal relations. It should be noted, however, that infants spend an average of 39% of all of their interactions with their mothers. It would seem reasonable to assume, then, that most of their cultural learning would be transmitted or at least filtered through the mother, for she is both primary caretaker and ever-present supervisor.

The next hypothesis was tested in an attempt to assess those aspects of the mother-infant relationship that might account for variation in infant behavior. It was predicted that the mother's interactions with her infant would be correlated with her infant's behavior with others in the following way:

> Hypothesis 3. The more positive the mother's interactions with her infant, the more positive will be the infant's interactions with others in general.

This hypothesis was tested in the following way. The mother's percent of positive interactions with her infant was calculated from the interactions in the infant observations. Infant's percent positive score with others in general (which excludes interactions with mother) was also calculated from the infant observations. Mothers and babies scores were each ranked separately, and a Spearman rank order correlation was performed, in order to test the hypothesis. (See Table 9.) The correlation, while in the predicted direction, did not reach statistical significance ($r=.1342$).

These results indicate that mother's overt behavior towards her infant does not seem to correlate with infant's behavior towards others. (See discussion below of Hypothesis 4.) Intuitively, one would expect that the more positively a mother acted towards her infant, the friendlier the

Table 9. Spearman Rank Order Correlation to Test Hypothesis 3. Relationship Between Mother-Infant Interaction (IA) and Infant-Other Interaction

Mother	% Positive IA with Infant	Rank on Positive IA with Infant	Infant % Positive IA with Others	Rank on Positive IA with Others	Ed^2
531	82.87	8	80.89	10	4
541	86.90	10	84.80	12	4
572	82.07	7	80.01	8.5	2.25
581	73.43	6	76.89	7	1
601	90.59	12	65.38	2	100
642	91.98	14	95.87	14	0
661	66.01	3	76.23	6	9
671	90.87	13	80.01	8.5	20.25
672	61.32	2	71.31	4	4
691	86.19	9	54.34	1	100
701	71.44	5	69.23	3	4
712	52.08	1	92.73	13	144
742	90.09	11	81.13	11	0
743	71.41	4	73.84	5	1

$r_s = .1342$

$p > 0.05$ N.S.

infant would be to others. The results of this test, however, do not confirm this impression.

Another aspect of the mother's behavior does, however, predict how her infant will interact with other people. The mother's own interpersonal relationships, that is, her own interactions with others, predicts her infant's behavior with others. Specifically, the percentage of mother's interactions with others, excluding her own children, was found to predict her infant's behavior with others (see Table 10). The higher the percentage of her interactions are with those other than her own children, the more positive are her infant's interactions with others in general. This finding is statistically significant at the .01 level.

These results suggest that the mother's own interpersonal relationships may be the most critical factor in predicting her infant's interpersonal relationships. These findings can perhaps be understood through the use of the concept of alternate validation, a concept derived from interpersonal psychoanalytic theory (see Elman 1970). According to that theory, intimacy with peers is the goal of interpersonal relationships. This originates with the primary relationship with the mother. The mother is the first and most important interpersonal relationship for the first year of life. The infant's patterns of relating to people must originate there. Given this as a base from

Table 10. Spearman Rank Order Correlation for Finding 1: Relationship Between Mother's Percent Interaction (IA) with Others and Infant's Percent Positive Interactions with Others

Mother Infant	Mother % IA With Own Children	Rank on % IA with Own Children*	Infant % Positive IA With Others	Rank on Positive IA with Others	Ed^2
531	42	4.5	80.89	10	30.25
541	19	13	84.80	12	1
572	30	9	80.01	8.5	.25
581	37	7	76.89	7	0
601	58	1	65.38	2	1
642	17	14	95.87	14	0
661	42	4.5	76.23	6	2.25
671	21	12	80.01	8.5	12.25
672	31	8	71.31	4	16
691	54	2	54.34	1	1
701	39	6	69.23	3	9
712	23	11	92.73	13	4
742	50	3	81.13	11	64
743	26	10	73.84	5	25

*A high percent of interaction has a low ranking, in order to test the hypothesis correctly.

$r_s = .63436$

$p \angle 0.05$

which to move out, the infant expands his relationships to other adults and later to children of the same age. To the extent that a mother has created satisfying relationships first with her own childhood peers and later with adult peers, she feels satisfied in her life, and therefore can be more validating of her infant's moves toward satisfaction with people besides herself. Growth involves a progressive individuation from the mother, necessarily accompanied by the evolution of relatedness to others. This process begins in infancy, when the alternate validators are adults involved in the infant's life to some degree. The more positive the experience with alternate validators early in life, the more able an infant is to continue the process of seeking out people later in life. Parents who themselves are involved with their peers are better validators for their children's moves towards other people.

Perhaps the most crucial aspect of this finding is its implications for future research in the field of mother-infant interaction and learning in infancy. The implication is that a focus on the mother-infant dyad in and of itself is not sufficient. It becomes necessary to look at other aspects of mother's life, for, as was found in this study, they predict more accurately infant's behavior than do any of the hypotheses dealing with the mother's specific relationship to her infant.

The final hypothesis was tested in an effort to examine data other than the behavioral observations, in order to assess aspects of the mother-infant relationship on the behavior of the infants. The final hypothesis tested was:

> Hypothesis 4. The more positive the mother's attitude toward her infant, the more positive will be the infant's interactions with others in general.

As noted above, mother's attitude was assessed by Dr. Elsie Chandler, a clinical psychologist, who ranked mothers on attitudes towards their infants based on her analysis of the TAT and interview data. The rank for each mother was correlated with her infant's ranked score for positive interactions with others in general, through the use of a Spearman's rank order correlation. (See Table 11.) The hypothesis was found to be statistically significant at better than the .05 level. These results indicate that psychological analysis, based on projective and interview data, may offer more accurate predictions than do observational data by themselves. A comparison of two mothers may help to elucidate these findings.

Eva, Flora, and their infants showed completely contrasting scores in the testing of Hypothesis 3 (see Table 9). While Eva scored highest on mother's positive interactions with her infant, her infant scored lowest on positive interactions with others in general. Flora, however,

Table 11. Spearman Rank Order Correlation to Test Hypothesis 4: Relationship Between Mother's Attitude Towards Infant and Infant's Percentage Positive Interactions (IA) with Others

Mother Infant	Mother's Rank on Positive Attitude to Her Infant	Infant % Positive IA with Others	Rank on Positive IA with Others	Ed^2
531	9	80.89	10	1
541	7.5	84.80	12	20.25
572	5.5	80.01	8.5	9
581	12	76.89	7	25
601	1	65.38	2	1
642	14	95.87	14	0
661	2	76.23	6	16
671	5.5	80.01	8.5	9
672	3.5	71.31	4	.25
691	3.5	54.34	1	6.25
701	10.5	69.23	3	56.25
712	10.5	92.73	13	6.25
742	7.5	81.13	11	12.25
743	7.5	73.84	5	6.25

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*Mother's positive attitude to infant, as judged by Dr. Chandler.

$r_s = .6271$

$p \angle 0.05$

scored lowest on mother's positive interactions with her infant, while her infant scored highest on positive interactions. In opposite ways, both cases are completely at odds with the hypothesis. Yet when the psychological data is substituted for the mother's behavior, as it is in Hypothesis 4, these anomalies disappear.

My own experience of the two women in question leads me to trust the psychological findings, rather than those of the observations. The disparity in Eva's rankings (she was ranked #12 in terms of her positive interactions with her infant, and ranked #1, lowest, in terms of her positive attitude towards her infant), is probably due to the insincerity of her high scores on the observations.[4] Eva, who scored high on her overt interactions with her infant, displayed a good deal of manifest concern for her infant and other children during the times when I was doing my observations. Casual visiting at her house, however, revealed a vicious temper, which she then tried to cover up once she became aware of my presence. The infant, with only his empathic response to go on, can only respond to the real motivation, not to the manifest. The real motivation may be overlooked, using only behavioral observations as data. The psychological data broadens the understanding of the underlying motivational structures.

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[4] I do not consider this a problem unique to understanding Eva. She is merely a flagrant example of some very basic problems in depending solely on behavioral observations. Eva was particularly adept at and committed to appearing to be a good mother, both to me and to her fellow villagers. None of the mothers, however, wanted to look bad.

A discussion of the other anomalous case may also be useful. Flora scored high negative on her interactions with her infant. This is probably an accurate assessment of her actual interactions. What is left out, however, may be Flora's real motivation toward her infant and her commitment to her own interpersonal relationships.

Although it is not directly reflected in the observations, Flora was one of the few mothers in the village who sought out alternate mothering figures for her infant. She would ask people to take care of her child for awhile, and was never reticent about accepting help when it was offered. This in itself is an active demonstration of more concern for her infant than a mother who imposes her own bad humor on the infant without considering alternatives. In addition, she was one of the few women who actively sought out the company of other women in her own compound, as well as in other areas of the village. It is precisely this kind of active seeking out of others which encourages the infant's freedom in responding to others.

In contrast, Eva was one of the more isolated women in the village, who stayed very much in her own household, not even visiting within her own compound, let alone the rest of the village. Her self-imposed isolation, which can only be seen as antipathy to her peers, was clearly communicated to her infant, just as Flora's interest in her peers was communicated to her infant.

Additional problems in using behavioral observations will be discussed in the following chapter. Suffice it to say here, that the results of the hypotheses tested in this study point to the need to employ observational tools in conjunction with psychological techniques.

The results of this study support the notion that infants learn kinship behavior pre-verbally. The study further suggests that mother's own pattern of interpersonal relations as well as her attitude toward her infant are critical factors in determining her infant's own interpersonal patternings. What has not been established, however, is precisely how the learning of kinship behavior occurs.

VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined the pre-verbal learning of kinship behavior among the Shipibo, in an effort to gain a better understanding of what cultural learning takes place during infancy, and how this learning is acquired. An understanding of the period of infancy is viewed as essential to an understanding of the roots and strength of culture in general, and specifically to an understanding of the bases of cultural change or stasis.

In my examination of Shipibo infancy, I have employed a number of concepts from interpersonal psychoanalytic theory, the most critical of which is the basic tenet that learning and growth occur in an interpersonal context, and that the mood of the interpersonal situation is the most important aspect of that context. For an infant, this means the mood of his interpersonal interaction with his mothering one.

In order to test the specific hypotheses restated below, a variety of data were collected and analyzed. The data that primarily inform this thesis are the behavioral observations of mothers and the behavioral observations of infants. In addition, interviews and projective tests with each mother also served as data for analysis.

1. Results of the Study

The results of this study of 14 mothers and infants in a Shipibo Indian village are as follows:

1. Hypothesis 1 was supported. Infants were found to interact differentially with various classes of kinsmen, in conformity with the rules of kinship and cultural expectations.

2. Hypothesis 2 was not supported. Infants' patterns of interacting with various classes of kinsmen were not found to parallel mothers' patterns of interacting with these various classes at a level of statistical significance, nor were infants' patterns of interacting with particular individuals found to parallel mothers' patterns of interacting with these individuals.

3. Hypothesis 3 was not supported. Mothers' positive interactions with her infant were not found to correlate with the infants' positive interactions with others in general, at a level of statistical significance.

4. Hypothesis 4 was supported. Mother's positive attitude toward her infant was found to correlate with the infant's positive interactions with others in general.

5. It was also found that the higher the percentage of mother's interactions with people not her children, the higher the percent of her infant's positive interactions

with others in general.

A number of implications stem from these results. The finding that kinship behavior is learned pre-verbally is of great theoretical importance to the field of socialization studies. It confirms previous work which demonstrated that the learning of cultural rules begins extremely early (Caudill and Weinstein 1969; Kilbride and Kilbride 1974). Following these studies, the current study argues for the necessity of concentrating more on this early period of life, in order to answer questions basic to the study of socialization and to the entire field of cultural anthropology.

Infancy is the time when much important cultural learning is taking place. It is precisely this early cultural learning which forms the basis for later learning, and which gives what is learned its seemingly "natural" or "instinctive" foundations.

> I am referring to the moulding of a child's mentality which starts with the first interactions, and which is all the more potent for being unconscious as well as unspoken: that is, the formation of his ideas about his own needs and propensities, and the response to them that can be expected from the world around him--about what he may take, own, reject, give, do or say; all of which boil down to expectations derived from early experience. These ideas are not so much expounded in the process of socialization as embodied and enacted in it (Ingelby 1974:298).

It is, then, essential to analyze both the content and the process of learning during this early period of life, if we are to be able to understand the strength of culture, and our own abilities to change it.

2. Methodological Problems

This study has also pointed to some of the most basic problems inherent in such research. If one is interested in studying infants, one has no choice but to depend a great deal on behavioral observations of these infants. Since such observations are necessary to any examination of infancy, it may be useful to examine some of their limitations. Problems inherent in the tools of research may illuminate new strategies that might be employed in the future.

Perhaps the most basic problem in depending on observational data is that a great deal of what goes on in interpersonal and social life is not readily observable. As Gregor has pointed out for the Mehinaku, "A full description of interaction . . . requires attention to values and institutions that separate people and disengage them from social contact" (1977:211). An examination of the disengagement of individuals from social life is as critical to an understanding of their relationships as is an examination of their interactions. Observational data alone, however, cannot provide this information. My observations of mothers in Shipiboland do not allow me to examine who these women do not interact with. This is indeed a handicap, for at least two reasons: First, as mentioned previously, a Shipibo will avoid interacting with someone he is angry with, rather than expressing anger overtly. The observational data, therefore, are highly weighted towards positive interactions, since negative interactions do not exist as interactions. They are avoidances, not directly observable as such.

While this first difficulty pertains mainly to observations of adults, it is also, if indirectly, a major difficulty in relation to the infants. It is difficult to assess how early patterns of avoidance are learned, for, as stated above, such patterns are not readily observable. Infants may in fact be manifesting avoidance behavior at a very early age. Again, as with the mothers, this kind of data is impossible to obtain through observations alone.

Responses given by the women in my sample to two specific questions tend to substantiate the frequency of non-interaction in Shipibo culture. One of the questions I asked all the women was, "Who do you spend most of your time with, sitting?" The other question was "Who do you talk to when you feel sad? When you feel angry?" None of the 14 women named the same person in response to these two questions. The person or persons with whom each woman spent most of her time was never the person whom she sought out to talk with. Polygynously married women all reported that they spent most of their time with their co-wives, but none of them reported talking to them when angry or sad. Monogamously married women reported spending most of their time with other women in their households, but also reported seeking out someone else to talk to.

These findings confirm my own impressions that the women who live together do not interact with each other very much, especially if they are co-wives. They do spend a lot of time sitting together in the same house, doing separate chores, but the amount of communication that goes on is virtually nil. It is the amount of avoidance that goes on that is remarkable.

A useful addition to the use of behavioral observations would be to devise a methodology for assessing patterns of avoidance. Observational techniques might also be devised to include the collection of such data. For instance, if two or more observers are recording at the same time, one could be recording interactions while the other could be recording other people present but not interacted with. Videotape might also be useful for such a study.

Patterns of avoidance of other people are as crucial to the learning of cultural restrictions on interpersonal relations as are patterns of interaction. We know this to be true in our own culture, where children are counselled not to talk to strangers, and to avoid "bad company." A person is known after all by the company he keeps. That these patterns of behavior are used in small societies is frequently overlooked by those who study them. Like ourselves, people who live in small, primitive societies do not interact with everyone they live with. Who they do not interact with, it is argued, may be as crucial to an understanding of their patterns of interpersonal relationships as who they do interact with.

Another major problem, and one that plagues all fieldwork, is the individual biases we all bring to every interpersonal situation, and which color our views of situations and people. Observational techniques of recording running accounts of behavior are an attempt to reduce such difficulties, by recording only the manifest behavior of individuals.

No matter how valiant our efforts, however, one can never completely eliminate the biases, conscious and unconscious, that form and direct every human beings' perceptions. As Hortense Powdermaker affirmed:

> The anthropologist is a human instrument studying other human beings and their societies. Although he has developed techniques that give him considerable objectivity, it is an illusion for him to think he can remove his personality from his work and become a faceless robot or a machine-like recorder of human events. It is important to accept that this human instrument is as much a product of biological, psychological, and social conditioning as are the people he studies (1966: 19).

Particularly in the field of culture and personality studies, one would not necessarily desire an instrument other than the human one, despite all of its failings. The data that we deal with arises from the interaction between two or more human beings, one of whom is the anthropologist. The data is not just perceived by an outside observer. The anthropologist is a participant observer, involved for good or ill in the data he collects.[1] Every fieldworker has favorite informants and makes friends among the people he or she works with. And every fieldworker has also had difficulties with some of these people. The particular reasons for these preferences and aversions are less important than the fact of them. Their existence demands attention.

The collection of psychological data that can be read and interpreted by an outside observer is a tremendous help in clarifying one's own perceptions about the people one has worked with. The analysis done by Dr. Chandler of the mothers in this study clarified some of my perceptual difficulties with particular mothers, as well as corroborated some intuitive feelings about others. Without the psychological data for her to analyze, I would have been totally dependent on my own perceptions. It is both edifying and relieving to have an outside observer corroborate or disagree with thoughts about individuals based primarily on participant observation. This kind of corroboration seems particularly essential when attempting to analyze psychological data.

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[1] As Sullivan points out, "The processes and the changes in processes that make up the data which can be subjected to scientific study occur, not in the subject person nor in the observer, but in the situation which is created between the observer and his subject" (1970:3).

3. Implications of the Study

Perhaps the most important finding of this study is that the percentage of mother's interactions with others, excluding her own children, was the best indicator of her infant's behavior with others. This finding suggests that future research in the field of infancy need concern itself not only with the infant's behavior and with the mother-infant interaction, but also with the mother's own relationship with others.[2] In terms of further observational work and development of theory in the field of socialization, this is the most crucial finding of the study.

What this means, in terms of future research in infancy, is that our own view of what directly affects the social life of the infant must be expanded to include those elements that directly affect the interpersonal life of the infant's primary caretaker, the mother. Not only do we need to examine the mother's own history, but we also need to examine her current interpersonal life.

Utilizing data on mother's behavior with other people is one way to employ observational techniques to obtain information concerning mother's mood about herself and other people. As discussed above, it is frequently very difficult to judge an individual's mood from strictly observational data. Most people are very good at appearing to respond in the expected fashion, whether they feel it or not. The percentage of a mother's interactions that occur with those other than her own children, however, can be seen as an indicator of her own attitude about how important other people are to her, and her mood about interacting with them. The results of this study indicate that her mood about the importance of relationships with others is empathically transmitted to her infant. The infant responds to the opportunity for socializing in a similar manner, either actively seeking out or actively shunning other people.

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[2] In a similar vein, Nathan Fox (1978) uses the concept of "network" to discuss the importance of the availability of other people to mothers and infants.

The infant does not seem to be responding in a merely imitative fashion, learning to behave positively to those individuals with whom mother behaves positively and vice versa (recall the results of Hypothesis 2). What the infant learns is a more general attitude towards interacting with others--he does not learn how to act to mother's specific friends, but how to act to his own friends. It is the function of socializing that the mother has validated empathically and by example, rather than the acceptability of the particular people with whom she personally interacts. A mother may never express her feelings about this to her infant; she may not even be conscious of them. But they are there, nonetheless, and the infant responds.

The major findings of this study, then, are that the culturally determined patterns of kinship behavior are learned pre-verbally and that the patterning of the mother's own interpersonal life in general is critical in determining her infant's interpersonal behavior. What is not clear from this study is how infants learn differential responses to various kinsmen. The mechanisms for the transmission of cultural information are still unclear. The nature of this process would seem to be a particularly fruitful area for future research. Perhaps a more thorough longitudinal study with a greater age span would shed some light on this topic, through a careful examination of the developmental sequence of learning relationships with various kinsmen. Studies in cultures with different types of social structure might also be useful in analyzing the development of such learning. Do infants who are raised in a patrilocal or a neolocal society manifest appropriate kinship behavior pre-verbally? If so, does the sequence of the learning parallel that of infants raised in matrilocal societies? The question here is what are the universal similarities in the development of pre-verbal learning, and what are the differences created by variations in cultural and/or institutional forms.

The study of infancy has only recently become an anthropological concern. The importance of such cross-cultural research cannot be overemphasized. Since patterns of interpersonal and cultural growth or stasis begin in infancy, the study of this period of life is clearly essential to an understanding of the forces that promote or limit individual as well as cultural change.

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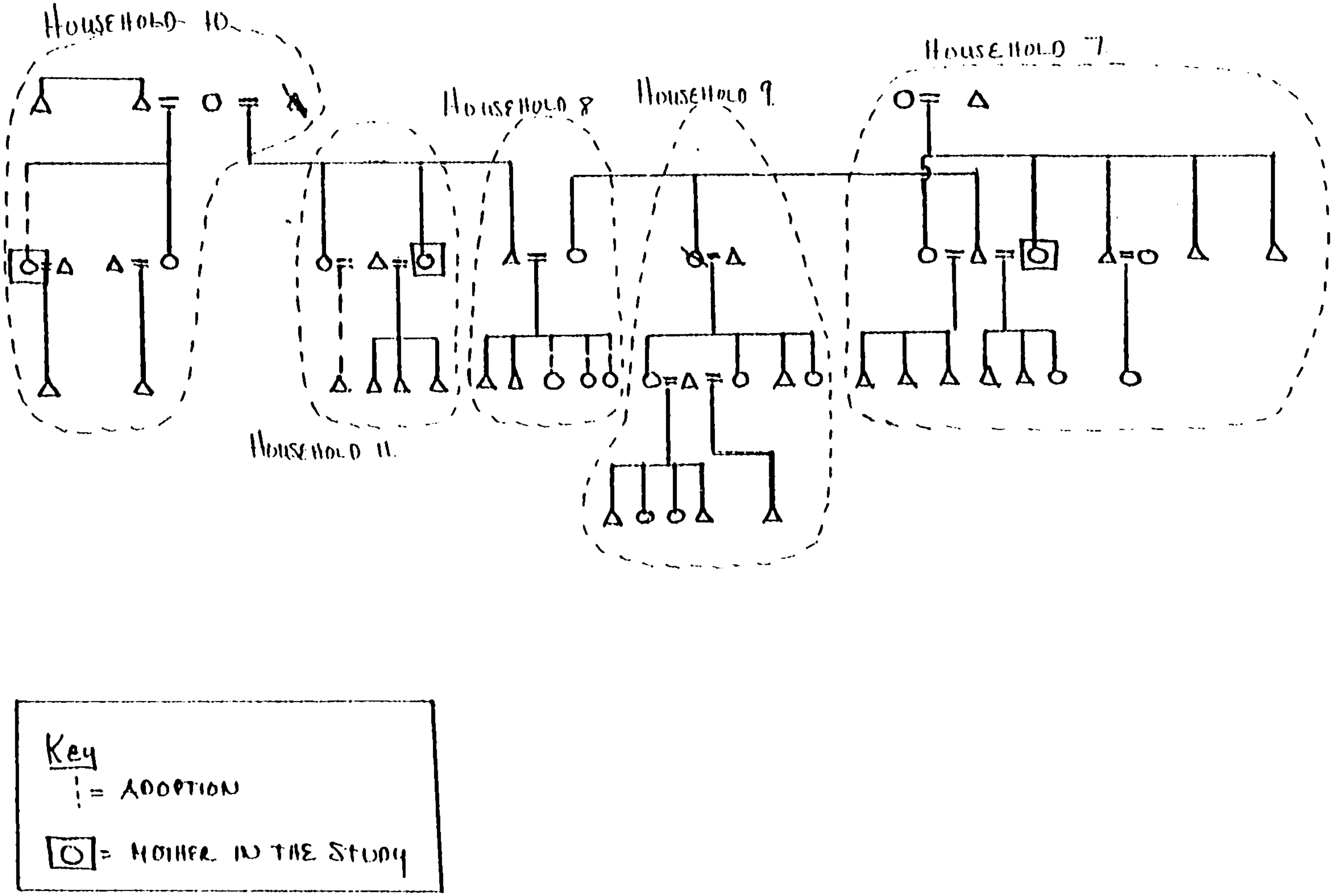
APPENDIX A

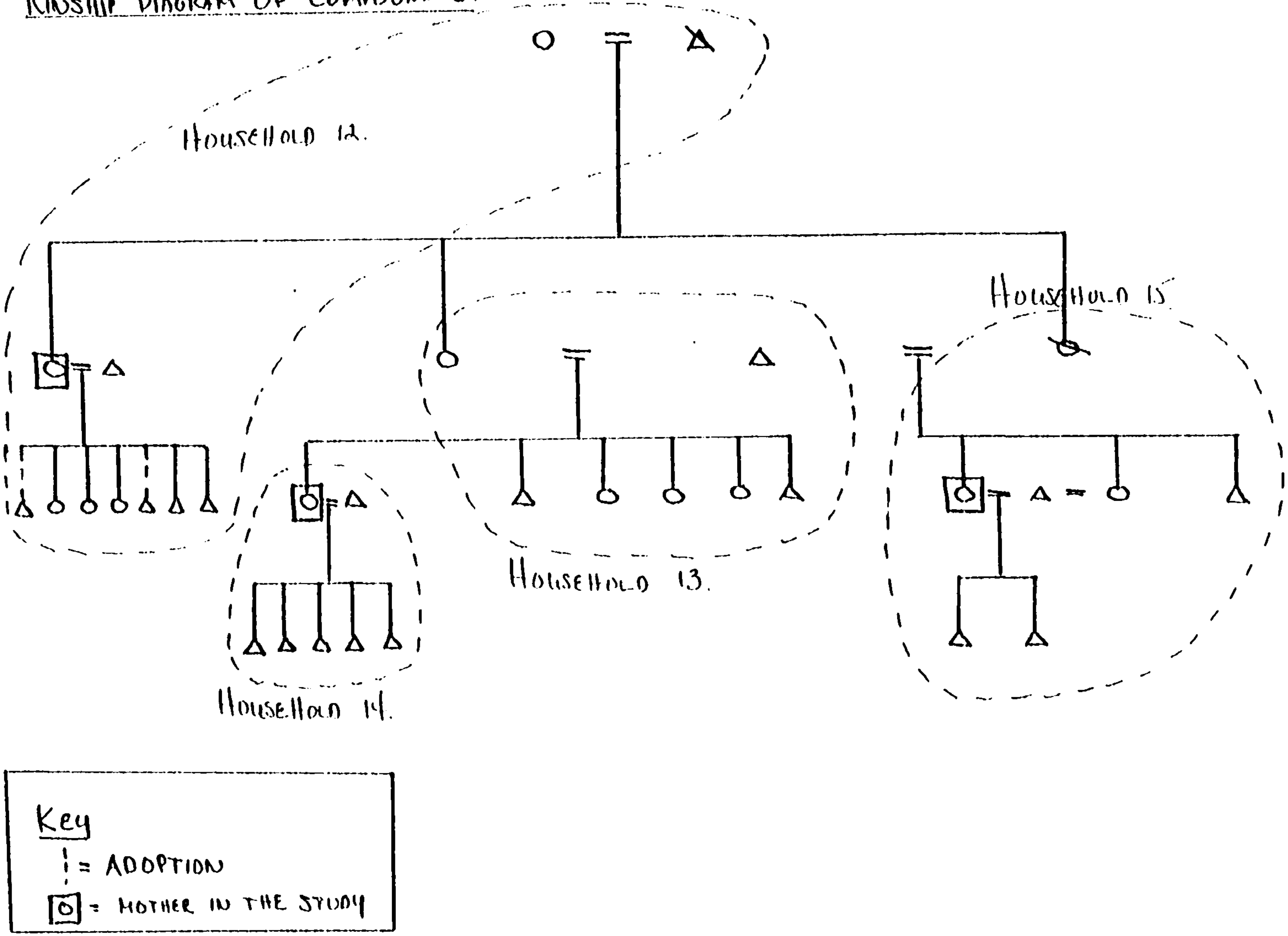
KINSHIP DIAGRAMS

COMPOUNDS 2-5

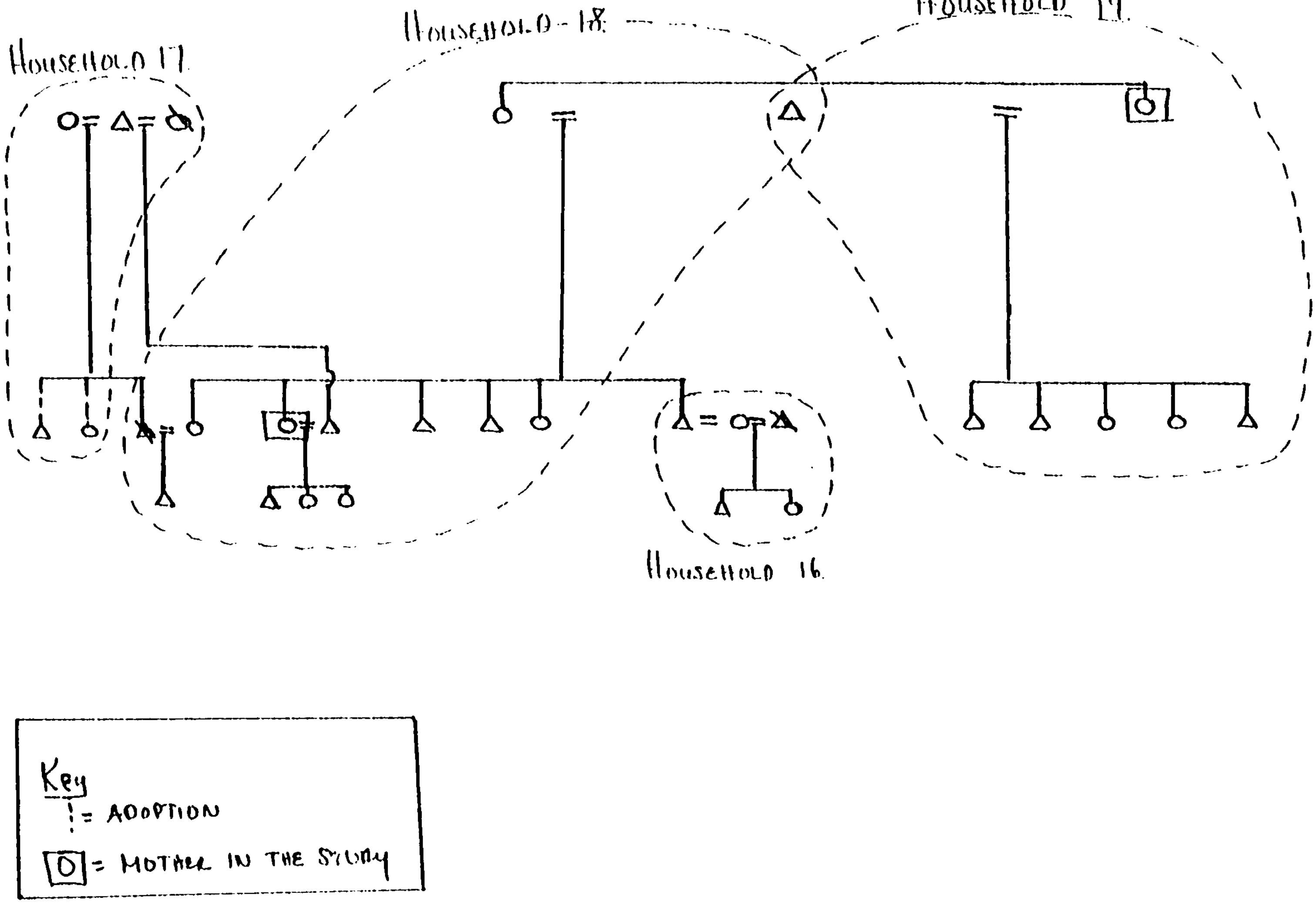
KINSHIP DIAGRAM OF COMPOUND 2.


HOUSEHOLD 10
HOUSEHOLD 8
HOUSEHOLD 9
HOUSEHOLD 7
HOUSEHOLD 11
Key
= ADOPTION
= MOTHER IN THE STUDY

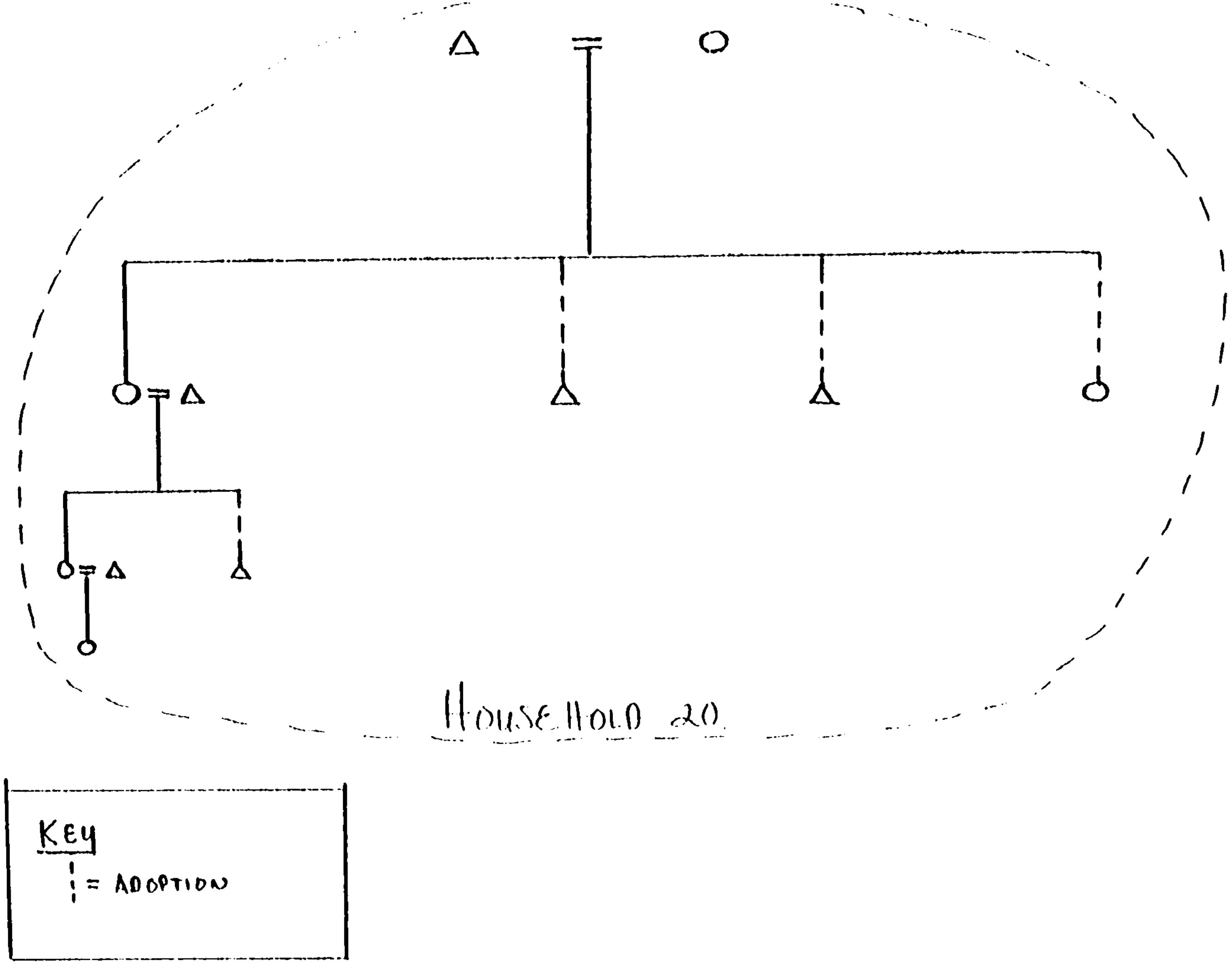
KINSHIP DIAGRAM OF COMPOUND 3.


HOUSEHOLD 12.
HOUSEHOLD 13.
HOUSEHOLD 14.
HOUSEHOLD 15.
Key
= ADOPTION
= MOTHER IN THE STUDY

KINSHIP DIAGRAM OF COMPOUND 4.


HOUSEHOLD 17.
HOUSEHOLD - 18.
HOUSEHOLD 19.
HOUSEHOLD 16.
Key
⁞ = ADOPTION
[O] = MOTHER IN THE STUDY

KINSHIP DIAGRAM OF COMPOUND S.


HOUSEHOLD 20
KEY
= ADOPTION

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I. GENERAL HISTORY OF MOTHER

A. Parents' History

1. Father's name.
   If deceased: How old were you when he died? Or
   How many years ago did he die?
   Cause of death.

2. Mother's name.
   If deceased: How old were you when she died? Or
   How many years ago did she die?
   Cause of death.

3. Did your mother have any husbands prior to your father? If so: what was his name(s)?
   Relationship to your father?

   IF FATHER DECEASED:
   Did your mother remarry after your father's death?
   If so: what was his name(s)?
   Relationship to your father?

4. Did your father have any wives prior to your mother?
   If so: What was her name(s)?
   Relationship to your mother?

   IF MOTHER DECEASED:
   Did your father remarry after your mother's death?
   If so: what was her name(s)?
   Relationship to your mother?

5. In cases of polygynous fathers:
   Is your mother younger or older than her co-wife?
   Is your mother a full sister to her co-wife?

6. Your mother's children in order of birth, including deaths, cause of death, abortions, miscarriages, and babies killed.

B. Mother's "Onan" (Adopted) Children

1. Did/does your mother have any adopted children?
   If so:
   - Their names
   - Their biological parents' names and residences
   - Their biological parents' relationship to your mother
   - At what age was the child given?
   - Until what age did the child live with your mother?
   - How old were you when the child lived with your mother?
   - Why was the child given?

2. As above #1 for father.

3. Do you have any adoptive mothers?
   If so:
   - Their names, residences
   - Relationship to you
   - At what age were you given?
   - Until what age did you live there?
   - Why were you given?
   - Why were you taken back, returned?
   - Did your adoptive mother have other children living? with her? her own, adopted?
   - Their names, ages.

4. Do any of your mother's other children have adoptive mothers?
   If so:
   - Adoptive mothers' names, residences.
   - Adoptive mothers' relationship to your mother, father.
   - At what age was child given?
   - Until what age did child live with his adoptive mother?
   - Why was the child given?
   - How old were you when the child was given?

C. Schooling

1. Did you attend school?
   If so, where?

2. At what age did you begin school?
   How many years did you attend?
   What grade did you complete?

3. For each grade, who were your teachers?

4. For each grade, who else was in your class?
   Who is approximately your age?

5. What do you remember about your experience in school?

D. Father's Presence

1. Did your father go off to work for long periods of time when you were a child?
   If so: what did he work--oil, wood, rubber?

2. For each working period, how old were you?

E. Cliterodectomy

1. At what age did you have the operation?
   Before you had breasts?
   Before you began to menstruate?
   Before you had any children?

2. With whom else did you have the operation performed?

3. Who performed the operation?

4. What do you remember about the experience? the operation, the preparation?

5. Were you given in marriage immediately following the operation?

F. Marriage

1. At what age were you first promised in marriage?
   To whom were you promised?
   Who arranged it?
   Did you want it?
   If not to current husband, did the marriage take place?
      Any pregnancies, births, children?
   Any subsequent marriages other than the current?
      Who arranged it?
      Did you want it?
      Any pregnancies, births, children?

2. At what age were you promised to your current husband?
      Who arranged it?
      Did you want it?
      At what age were you married to your current husband?

3. For polygynous marriages:
   For younger wives:
   a. Were you promised at the same time as your older sister?
   b. How long had your older sister been married when you became married?
   c. Did you want to marry a husband with another wife? An older wife?
   d. Did your older sister want you to marry her husband?
   e. Did you want to live with your sister?

   For older wives:
   a. Was your younger sister promised at the same time you were?
   b. How long after you were married was your younger sister married?
   c. Did you want your husband to have another wife?
   d. Did you want to live with your sister?

4. If appropriate:
   Are any of your younger sisters promised to your husband?
   When will they marry?
   Do you want your husband to have another wife?
   Do you want to live with your sister?

G. Children

1. How many periods did you have before you became pregnant with your first child?

2. Your children in chronological order including; deaths, cause of death, abortions, miscarriages and babies killed.

3. After each birth, how old was the child when you began menstruating again?
   Was the child still nursing?

4. How many periods did you have before you became pregnant again (after each birth)?

5. For each child:
   Does he have an adoptive mother?
   If so:
      Her name, residence
      Relationship to you
      At what age was the child given?

Why was the child given?
Until what age will the child stay with his adoptive mother? Or
Why was the child taken back?

H. "Onan" (Adopted) Children

1. Do you have any adopted children?
   Child's biological mother's name, residence.
   Relationship to you
   At what age was the child given to you?
   Until what age will (or did) child stay with you?
   Why was the child given?
   Why was (will be) the child given back?

II. MOTHER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH BABY

A. Pregnancy and Birth

1. Pregnancy
   a. Was ______ (previous child) weaned before you became pregnant with baby?
   b. How many periods did you have before becoming pregnant with baby?
   c. Did you have any physical problems during pregnancy?
      Pains, illnesses, morning sickness?
      If so: Is this usual for you during pregnancy?
      If illness treated by ayahuasca, what was the diagnosis and treatment?
   d. Did you want this child?
      Did your husband want this child?

2. Labor and Delivery
   a. How long did labor pains last?
   b. Was the actual delivery long, short, hard, easy?
      As compared to other births of yours?
   c. Who was there with you during delivery?
      Names, relationship to you
   d. Who acted as the midwife?
      Name, relationship to you
      Was much assistance needed?
   e. At first, how did the baby look to you? Healthy, frail, big, small?
   f. Had you wanted a _____ (boy/girl)?
      Had your husband wanted a ______?
      Had your mother wanted a ______?

3. Post Partum
   a. How did you feel after delivery, the first day?
      Pain, sad, tired, happy?

b. How many days before your milk came in?
   Did you feed baby anything until your milk came in?
   Did baby have any problems with nursing?

c. How long did you stay in your mosquito net with the baby?
   Same as with your other children?
   Who came to visit you during this time?
   Relationship to you.
   Who brought you food?
   Relationship to you.
   Did anyone help with caring for the baby?
   Relationship to you.
   Was your husband in town? If not, when did he return?

d. How long did you sleep alone with the baby?
   Where did your other children sleep?

e. How long did you abstain from sexual intercourse after baby's birth?

f. When did you start to get your period again? (Baby's age)

g. When you menstruate, do you have pains?
   Always, sometimes?
   What do you do for pain?
   How many days does your period last?

B. Baby's Development

1. The following questions to be asked about all babies.
   a. Does/did baby nurse from anyone other than you?
      If so: name, relationship to you.
      Does/did baby nurse from older women without milk?
      If so: name, relationship to you.
      Is/was there anyone baby would not nurse from?
      Name, relationship.
      Why?

   b. When did baby begin to smile?
      At whom? Who else? Relationship.
   c. FOR GIRL BABIES ONLY
      i. Did you press baby's head?
         Why? why not?
      ii. Did you pierce baby's nose?
         Why? Why not?
      iii. Did you pierce baby's chin?
         Why? Why not?

2. The following questions to be asked if baby is of sitting age and older.
   a. at what age could baby turn over onto his stomach? (references to other babies' ages, # of months, comparatively early or late).

   - b. At what age could baby sit alone unsupported? (references to other babies' ages, # of months, comparatively early or late).

3. The following questions to be asked if baby is of crawling age and older.
   - a. At what age did baby begin to crawl? (references to other babies' ages, # of months, comparatively early or late).
   - b. Who would baby crawl to? Relationship.

4. The following questions to be asked if baby is of walking age.
   - a. At what age did baby take his first steps? Who was with baby? Relationship?
   - b. Who does baby walk to? Relationship
   - c. Does baby have any favorite things that he consistently likes to play with? (pots, plates, beads, doll, ball, rattle).
   - d. When will you wean baby?
     Why?
     How will you wean? Application of bitter substances to breasts? Other herbal cures?
     How long will it take to wean baby?
   - e. Does baby move away to defecate?
     Does baby move away to urinate?
     If so: how did baby learn to do this?
     If not: When will baby learn to do this?
   - f. What do you do if baby defecates in the house?
     What do you do if baby defecates in bed (inside the mosquito net)?
   - g. Does baby talk?
     What words can baby say?
     Whose name can baby say? Relationship.

C. Baby's Health
Following questions to be begun in the present, and then be asked sequentially for the preceding developmental stages.

1. Major illnesses
   - a. What?
   - b. When?
   - c. How long did it last?
   - d. Cause of illness.
   - e. Who cured baby?
   - f. What method was used?
   - g. If ayahuasca, diagnosis and treatment.

2. Chronic illnesses
   Is baby basically healthy? Or prone to: grippe, cough, diarrhea, fevers, scabies and other skin diseases?

3a. Do you/did you administer "fat" medicine?
   When, at what age of baby?
   Which medicine?
   How frequently?
   Why? (for fatness or for general health)

b. Do you/did you administer medicine to make baby not cry?
   What, at what age of baby?
   Which medicine?
   How frequently?

4. Baths
   How frequently do you/did you bathe baby?
   Where do you bathe baby? (house or river)
   If in house: Do you/did you use warm water?
   Water heated by fire or warmed by the sun?
   Does baby like being bathed?

5. Foods
   At what age will/did baby start eating food, other than mother's milk?
   What foods, in sequence of introduction? chapo (banana drink), bananas, fruits, meat (which), fish (which)?
   What foods can't baby eat?
   Apply to mother and father too?
   Until what age to these taboos apply?
   Foods that were taboo to baby previously?

   Does baby have any favorite foods?
   Do you have any favorite foods?

   Does baby have any foods he won't eat?
   Do you have any foods you won't eat?

6. Does baby have a madrino, padrino?
   If so: who, relationship.
      Who initiated the relationship?
      At what age of baby's?

7. Does baby have an adoptive mother?
   If so: name, relationship.
      At what age of baby?
      Who initiated it? Why?
   If not: Has anyone asked?
      Name, relationship
      Will baby have adoptive mother later?
      When? Who? Relationship. Why?

8. Will/does baby like having an adoptive mother?
   Do you want baby to have an adoptive mother?
   Is it good to have an adoptive mother? Why?
   Why not?

D. Baby's Interpersonal Relations

1. Who does baby recognize, know?

2. Who do you leave baby with?
   Name, relationship.
   For how long--half day, few hours?
   Who does baby like to be left with?
   Name, relationship.
   Do you ever leave baby alone?
   For how long or to do what?

3. Who likes baby?
   Comes to play with baby, asks to take care of baby?
   Name, relationship.

4. Who does baby like?
   Reach for, smile at, go to?
   Names, relationship.
   Why?

5. Who is baby afraid of?
   Cries at approach of?
   Names, relationship.
   Why?

E. Baby's "Personality"

1. Does baby have any particular things he likes to play with? (rattles, beads, material, dolls?)
   Like to look at?
   Like to touch?

2. What does baby cry about?
   Angry, scared, hungry, cold, sick, thirsty, want to be held?

3. What makes baby happy?

4. What makes baby unhappy?

5. What makes baby afraid?
   Does baby know evil spirits? Is he afraid of them?

6. What makes baby angry?

7. What is baby like in general? good, bad, lazy, active, stingy, cry-baby?
   Compared to your other children?

8. Is baby ever: bad, lazy, stingy?
   If not yet, when will he start?
   What will you do?

F. Baby's Future

1. FOR GIRL BABIES ONLY
   a. Who will promise them in marriage?
   b. At what age will they be promised?
   c. Any thoughts as to whom they will marry?
   d. Do you plan to have a cliterodectomy done?
   e. Who will perform the operation?

2. Do you have any future plans for this baby? (schooling in Pucallpa?)
   Do you have any particular plans for any of your other children?
   Do you think they will stay in the village?
   Do you think they will stay on the river?

G. General Questions About Mother

1 a. Who do you talk to when you feel sad?
   Name, relationship.

  b. Who do you talk to when you feel angry?
   Name, relationship.

2. Who do you spend most offyour time with?
   Name, relationship.

3. What do you remember most about your childhood?

4. What thoughts, plans do you have for your future?
   What would you like to learn, do?

5 a. Do you want more children?
   Does your husband want more children?
   Why? Why not?
   If you want more, how many more? Girls, boys?
   Do you want any (more) adopted children?
   Girls, boys?
  b. Do you/did you ever take herbal birth control medicine?
   When?
   Name of plant?
   Who administered?
   How given--vaginally, orally?
   Was it effective?

6. Do you know Pucallpa?
   When was your last trip there?
   With whom did you go?
   Did you like Pucallpa?

APPENDIX C

CLINICAL REPORT ON FLORA

Flora's mother, Clara, is the eldest of Luis's three wives. Flora is her only daughter. She has one older brother. Flora explains, "Five miscarriages, after that me." That is, five girls died--one in infancy, four miscarriages--four before Flora's brother, Daniel, and one after him, and finally Flora, the baby and the last child her mother can conceive. After Flora was born, Clara went to a special shaman to be cured of stomach pains:

> He made a special song, chant for her and that stopped her from getting pregnant. He cured everything.

Flora doesn't think her mother is particularly angry about not being able to conceive.

From her birth story to the current, death is a pervasive and conscious theme. In one TAT story, Flora sees two women, commonly viewed as mother and daughter:

> They're thinking about talks that they had from their families about being afraid of death.

At the end of this interview, Flora turns to the investigator:

> I don't want to die, that's why I want to be a child again. When you get older, you get nearer to death. From each age to the next, many things happen. Passing all of these things, comes death. In telling my life to my friends, I remember my

> childhood. I used to get drunk when I was younger. I remember doing this. Now I think about when I'm dead I won't be drunk anymore and I don't want to die.

Each day brings Flora closer and closer to the inevitable horror of death. In the TAT stories, many small frightened people stand and watch--either the passing world of strangers or an overpowering natural vista. Flora is an inteligent and interested observer of the world, but each observation holds this conflicting awareness: remembering the pleasures of childhood reminds Flora that she is closer to death.

Flora was adopted twice. Once as an infant, she was given to a great uncle on her mother's side. There she was not fed and quickly retrieved by her mother. Then, when she was 4 or 5 years old, she was taken for about 5 years by her father's sister. She recalls that at first she did not want to stay, and tried to run after her departing mother:

> My adoptive mother had to hold me, because I wanted to go with my mother. Finally I jumped away from her and ran down to the port but when I got there my mother and father had already left.

Then Flora adds:

> I lived a long time with my adoptive mother. So I was very used to her. So when she brought me back to my mother, I didn't want to stay with her. I wanted to go back again with my adoptive mother.

It is unclear either why she was taken or brought back. Flora says simply it was because she was "big." Flora's own two children have Clara as their adoptive mother.

When Flora returned to her mother, she went to school for a number of years and then was promised to Ricardo:

> My father gave me to him when he [the father] was drunk.

Flora hated Ricardo, and didn't want to touch him, but her father's will prevailed. Her first child died in infancy, and Flora took birth control medicine. Her second child died at the age of 3, from anemia. Her two surviving children were given to Clara for adoption after they could walk. Nevertheless, when she talks about her baby, she seems to experience some satisfaction. She reports feeling good when she first saw the baby. The baby is described as relatively playful. For example, the baby "crawls to everyone," and she "crawls after kids her own age." This is unusual for the sample studied. Flora also reports that the baby is afraid of "those who don't live in this particular part of the village." She notices that the baby will cheer up when she is given something to play with. The baby gets angry when "the other kids mistreat her." Finally, Flora describes her baby as "stingy with food." This is a remark commonly made by Shipibo mothers.

One striking aspect of Flora's record is her report of having two friends, two women from another compound. They visit. On the TAT record, there is an interaction between a brother, sister and a friend, a man and a woman "in love," not a husband and wife. The interactions between husband and wife are marked by fights. In fact, a major theme in the record is power struggles over sex. In addition to sex, people also fight over food. A visitor to a family would try to steal food, family would have to guard their food. Finally, a pervasive mood of the record is of the endless drudgery of being a mother. One might guess that this was Flora's experience of her own mother's mood, as well as her own current mood.

The alternatives Flora sees are either fearfully watching the world go by, which at least holds some intrigue, or marking time in her own deadly dull existence. At the end of both, death waits.