

**EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS ON SOME KEY INFLUENCES ON CHILDREN IN  
SOUTHERN INDIAN COMMUNITIES OF PERU WITH IMPLICATIONS  
FOR EDUCATION IN RURAL SCHOOLS**

**by  
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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### General Statement of the Problem

Educators everywhere are interested in the study of cultural patterns which affect the personal development of children. Teachers are also interested in discussing the educational implications of these influences.

The purpose of this study is to make an exploratory analysis of cultural patterns of the Peruvian highland Indian communities which affect the self-development of the children and to discuss the educational implications of these influences. In addition it may indicate directions for further research.

#### Background of Information

In 1920 the Peruvian Congress, under Augusto B. Leguia's administration, enacted legislation legally recognizing the Peruvian Indian communities. Since this date some Peruvian writers have become particularly interested in what is called in Peru the "Indian problem."

This interest has been shown in the publication of some books concerned with the life of the Indian communities, and the policies required in order to promote their progress. One of these books, Nuestras Comunidades, by Hildebrando Castro Pezo, seems to be one of the best attempts among the Peruvian writers in trying to analyze the cultural values of

the Quechua Indian communities.

In the physical area, American and European scientists have made anthropometric measurements of the adult Quechuas of Cuzco, and Aymaras of Puno, in the southern region of Peru. Marroquin and Sainz, Peruvian physicians, were concerned with problems of nutrition and diseases of the Indians. However, in these general studies by Peruvians and foreigners there is no special emphasis on the study of the Indian child.

Castro Pozo has analyzed the economic structure, social organization, folkways, religious and political beliefs of the Indian communities without special emphasis on the study of the Indian child within the general context of its social environment. However, Mishkin, an American writer, points out in his study of contemporary Quechua culture, some general statements regarding the social expectations of the Peruvian Indian communities concerning the children, and the affectional relationships between parents and children.

Relatively more specific study of the Indian child within the context of his cultural environment has been made in the University of Maryland by a group of Andean teachers with the help of American professors.

In the Peruvian literature concerned with rural problems there are no materials available regarding the influence of the cultural values of the Indian communities on the self-development of the child. Neither are there materials available on the growth patterns of the child, nor specific studies related to nutrition, health, and diseases.

Regarding the programs of education in the rural

schools, the Peruvian educational authorities point out that these programs must be based on the cultural values of the Quechua communities. However, since these programs of education are planned in Lima, there is some question as to whether these rural programs are based really on the cultural experiences of the Indian communities.

The general factors mentioned above provide the framework out of which this study arises in attempting to investigate the questions pointed out in the first page of this Introduction.

#### Treatment of the Data

This study is mainly concerned with four tasks. The first deals with an analysis of some key cultural factors on common characteristics of the southern highland Peruvian Indian communities. The objective of this analysis is to study the standard of living of the Quechua, his politico-social organization, and his beliefs and customs. The analysis of these values will reveal some of the needs, interests, aspirations, mental attitudes and social habits of the Quechuas; and some of the causes that hinder his progress and welfare.

A knowledge of these cultural traits seems to be necessary for the formulation of the goals of rural education. Moreover, a knowledge of the Indian culture could be helpful in formulating projects of rural education tending to improve the conditions of the communities in overcoming the causes which impede the progress of the Indians. Finally, a knowledge

of the values of the Quechuas could promote better understanding between the schools and the communities.

The second task calls for an exploratory analysis as to how the key cultural factors of the Indian communities affect the child's self-development. The self is the product of two forces: heredity and environment. The newborn baby is not a tabula rasa as Aristotle thought. He is equipped with potentialities inherited from his parents. These potentialities vary according to individual cases. For instance, there are newborn babies who react faster than others to the physical stimulus of light, noise, warmth, cold, and so forth.

Heredity itself is not a decisive factor in the formation of the self, because self does not depend on innate traits, but on the influence of the cultural values upon the life of the individual, and the reaction of the individual to the pressures of the environment.

The self-development of the child takes place under the influences of the family, peer groups, and all the social institutions of the community. The child cannot escape the influence of the social forces surrounding him. He assimilates the defects or virtues of his cultural environment.

This exploratory analysis of the second task seems to be important for three reasons:

1. It will shed some light on the knowledge of the cultural gaps of the Quechuas which hinder the healthful self-development of the child. Based on this knowledge the teacher could formulate projects of education tending to eliminate these cultural gaps which are

negative influences in the self-development of the child.

2. It will help to create a better understanding of Indian cultural factors which promote a healthful self-development of the child. This understanding could enable the teachers to avoid the making of plans which tend to destroy the beliefs and customs which are most important in the healthful self-development of the child.
3. It will bring to light some knowledge of the feelings, social habits, and mental attitudes of the Indian child which could be helpful to rural teachers, because the teachers should know the child in order to educate him effectively.

The third task involves a brief analysis of the education, methods of teaching, and background of the teachers.

The system of education should be based to a certain extent on the cultural values of the community, because the school is an integrative segment of the society. One of the main objectives of education is to help the child as much as possible to develop his potentialities, and to promote peace and progress in the society. The successful achievement of the objectives of education depends mostly on the methods of teaching employed in the schools. The so-called "traditional methods" of teaching are unpleasant and painful for the children, while the modern methods of the "active school" centered in the intrinsic motivations of the children make the learning processes pleasant and attractive. Of course, the kind of



teaching methods depends upon the background of the teachers.

The objective of the third task is to see whether the Plans and Programs of Peruvian rural education take into account the cultural values of the Indians; whether the plans of education develop the potentialities of the Quechua child, and promote the economic and social progress of the communities. In addition, the third task tries to investigate what kind of teaching methods are used in the schools, and what is the background of the rural teachers. A knowledge of the actual educational realities of the rural schools will be one of the important bases for pointing out recommendations leading to the improvement of Peruvian rural education. It is unrealistic to attempt the reform of Peruvian rural education without knowing first which are its shortcomings and handicaps. The final task deals with drawing some conclusions and implications based on the study of the three tasks mentioned above. It also deals with principles which should underly an approach to the education of the Indians.

### Problems to Be Investigated

Problems to be investigated may be classified in the following groups:

#### Problems in the Physical Area.

1. What is the nutritional diet of the southern highland Peruvian Indian communities?
2. Does the nutritional diet of the Indian child affect his health and physical growth?
3. Is the nutritional diet of the Indian child adequate?

4. What are the conditions of health most prevalent and what diseases are most prevalent among the Indians in the Quechua communities?

Problems in the Cultural Area.

1. What are the social and economic structures of the Indian communities?
2. What are the child training practices of the Quechuas?
3. What are the influences of these cultural factors on the child's self-development?

Problems in the Affectional Area.

1. What is the nature of affectional relationships between the husband and wife in the Indian communities?
2. What is the nature of the affectional relationships between the parents and children?
3. What is the nature of relationships among the members of the extended families?
4. What is the affectional relationship between the teachers and pupils?
5. What are the influences of these affectional relationships in the child's self-development?

Problems of Programs of Rural Education, Methods of Teaching, and Background of the Teachers.

1. Are the programs of education in the Peruvian rural schools based on the cultural patterns of the Indian communities?
2. What are the learning processes used in the rural schools?
3. What are the main goals of the teachers in rural

education?

4. What are the ways in which the teachers handle the children?
5. What is the background of the rural teachers in their knowledge of child behavior and development?

#### Problems of Possible Educational Recommendations.

1. What are the principles which should underlie an approach to the education of the Indians?
2. What are the possible changes which can be made in the programs of education in the light of the analysis made of Indian culture?
3. What are the possible changes in methods of teaching in the Peruvian rural schools?
4. What are the possible ways of improving the preparation of the rural teachers?

#### Indian Communities Selected for Study

For the purpose of this study the southern highland Indian communities of Guzco have been selected. The reason for this selection is that there are more materials for information available on the culture of these communities than any other Peruvian Indian communities.

#### Availability of Information

The materials for the first task, that of analyzing some outstanding cultural patterns of the southern Indian communities, are obtainable from the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., from the Library of the Pan American Union, from the Library of the Smithsonian Institution, and from the

Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Department of Education,  
Washington, D.C.

Data for the third task have had to be obtained through study of the programs of education for the rural areas of Peru, plus the author's observations of the teaching practices in Chinchero (Cuzco) schools during the workshop of 1951. The second task, involving the exploratory analysis as to how the cultural patterns of the community influence the self-development of the children, and the fourth task concerned with educational implications will necessarily be based on the materials assembled in the pages of this study.

### Organization of This Study

The second chapter provides an historical background of the Inca Civilization against which the present cultural values of the southern Peruvian Indian communities can be more clearly seen and understood. Chapters III, IV, and V are concerned with the study of the cultural environment of the Indian communities. In the final part of each one of these chapters there are some considerations regarding the influence of the Indian cultural patterns on the personal development of the children. Chapter III is concerned with the study of the geographical environment of Peru, the Quechua race, the nutritional diet of the Indians, and the most prevalent diseases of the Quechuas. Chapter IV seeks to examine the social organization, customs, beliefs, and conflicts of the southern Indians of Peru. Chapter V deals with the study of affectional relationships among the members of the extended families, and

also between the parents and children. Chapter VI is concerned with a brief analysis of the rural programs of education, teaching practices, and the preparation of teachers. On the basis of this analysis Chapter VII contains some conclusions and educational implications regarding programs of education, methods of teaching, principles which should underlie an approach to the education of the Indians, preparation of the teachers, and so forth.

#### Possible Value of This Study

This study is an attempt to analyze the various cultural forces affecting the self-development of Indian children which promises to be helpful for rural teachers in better understanding their pupils. It presents certain recommendations for rural education which could be valuable for the teachers and persons interested in problems of education. This study may also be useful in giving to the teachers some suggestions in regard to principles which should underlie an approach to the education of the Quechuas.

## CHAPTER II

### EXPLORATION OF THE CULTURAL FACTORS OF THE INCA CIVILIZATION AND FALL OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

Culture is an interaction between man and nature. Therefore, it is not possible to study the cultural values of a country without knowing something about its inhabitants and the geographical environment in which the culture takes place.

Who were the Incas and where did they come from? There is one explanation for each of these questions. The first explanation is based upon legends which were written by the Spanish and Peruvian chroniclers during the sixteenth century. According to these legends the first Inca called "Manco Capac" came with his wife "Mama Ocllo" from Lake Titicaca, and founded the empire in the valley of Cuzco. The second explanation points out that the Incas were of the "Quechua tribe" which lived in the early period on the banks of the Pachachaca river and other tributaries of the Apurimac. Nevertheless, no one knows with certainty the origin of the Incas. Julio C. Tello, one of the most qualified archaeologists of Peru, thinks that the origin of the Peruvian rulers can be explained only in terms of hypothetical speculations. At any rate, it seems possible that the Quechua tribes early in the twelfth century defeated the tribes of Huallas and

Sahuasiras which lived in the valley of Guzco.<sup>1</sup> Julio Tello says, "The origin of the Inca culture is not well known. This culture probably started its development in the Urubamba valley in very remote epochs." (Author's translation.) The victorious Quechuas founded their empire probably between 1100 and 1200 A.D. From the foundation of the empire until 1350 the Incas remained in the local areas of Guzco and the plateau of Collao. Collao, or Altiplano, is a treeless region which is 12,000 feet above sea level. Around 1500, after a long period of terrible fighting against well organized confederations, the Incas dominated a large territory 1,500 miles long and 300 broad. According to Enock the center of this territory is crossed by the chain of the Andes while the coast is mostly desert. In this territory of highland and rainless coasts, the Incas were able to organize a great empire whose important achievements have aroused the admiration of archaeologists and historians.

The Peruvian and the Spanish chroniclers believed that the Peruvian culture was exclusively Incaic. Among the chroniclers perhaps Garcilaso Inca de la Vega was the one who emphasized more the belief that the Incas were the pioneers and the only executors of the Peruvian civilization.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Julio C. Tello, Introduccion a la Historia Antigua del Peru, Lima, Peru: Imprenta San Marti, 1922, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup>Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, Royal Commentaries of the Incas, translated and edited by Clement A. Markham, London, 1871, p. 47.

Garcilaso Inca de la Vega says:

It must be understood that in the first epoch some of the Indians were little better than tame beasts, and others much worse than wild beasts. These gentiles were as barbarous in the manner of building their houses and villages, as in their gods and sacrifices. The Incas civilized them.

Based on the chroniclers' sources of information the writers of the seventeenth, eighteenth and part of the nineteenth centuries didn't realize the achievements of the pre-Inca cultures.<sup>3</sup> H. Castonnet Des Fosses says, "We know almost nothing about the pre-Inca periods." (Author's translation.) The excavations carried out during the twentieth century and the more scientific approach to the study of the Peruvian civilization have shown the great local cultural achievements of Chimú, Mochica, Nasca, and Paracas located in the coastal region. A. Hyatt Verril is one of the writers who has pointed out the high development of the pre-Inca culture.<sup>4</sup> He says:

Ages before the first Inca saw the light of day, the countries which the Incas afterwards ruled had been inhabited by highly cultured and civilized races whose works far excelled those of the Inca civilization.

In fact, the archaeologists have found many evidences that the Inca culture is the result of a long evolution of thousands of years. Nevertheless, the Inca civilization has some peculiar characteristics which are original and different from the pre-Inca cultures.

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<sup>3</sup>H. Castonnet Des Fosses, La Civilization de l'Ancien Perou, Paris: Angers, 1858, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>A. Hyatt Verril, Old Civilizations of the New World, 1st edition, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1929, p. 279.



One chapter is not enough for a detailed study of a complex civilization. Therefore, I will limit my exploratory analysis of the Inca Empire to the outstanding social, economic, political, religious and aesthetic achievements of its civilization. In addition I will try to explore the possible causes of the fall of the Empire during the Spanish conquest.

### Social Organization

The social organization of the Inca Empire was based on the pyramidal caste system. The masses were at the bottom of the pyramid, and the Inca at the top. Between these extremes were placed the provincial and "royal" nobilities.

There was a great difference in status and standard of living among these social classes. The Inca was considered as son of the god and had all kinds of privileges. He lived in the palaces, ate and drank from gold dishes and vases, wore the finest wool clothes of vicuna, and had a supernatural power over the individuals of the empire. Even the high ranking members of the nobility were not supposed to talk with the emperor looking at his face. The officers of the army and the priests belonged to the imperial nobility. The curacas, or nobles of provinces, enjoyed certain privileges as secondary ranking officers in the empire bureaucracy. The plebe's fate was to work in farming and mining or to fight as a soldier in the army of the Inca. The social status of this people was a matter of birth. Even the more skilled artisans were not accepted in the social elite. This lack of social mobility is pointed out clearly by

Benedetto Gialcome:<sup>5</sup> "The man of the Inca Empire hadn't the possibility of improving his social position and couldn't change his occupation." (Author's translation.) However, Garcilaso Inca de la Vega writes that the common people of unusual abilities received rewards and could change their social status. Charles Wienar points out also that the outstanding common individuals were decorated by the Inca. The French author points out also that the quality and rank of decorations were according to the individual achievements.<sup>6</sup> Wienar says, ". . . a tress of black hair, a particular fashion of hair cutting, and having the ears pierced in a particular fashion." (Author's translation.) According to Wienar these decorations consisted in some ways of special hair cutting. If this statement is true, probably the social parvenus were very few because the caste system--according to the testimonies of many writers--was extremely close and rigid. On the other hand, apparently the Incas didn't care at all for the education of the common people. Toto Giurato in his book, Peru Milenario,<sup>7</sup> p. 162, quoted the statement of one of the chroniclers of the Conquest relating to the subject of education. According to this quotation Luca Roca, one of the fourteen Inca emperors, said often: "Education is not for the common people who must obey always. Education is

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<sup>5</sup> Benedetto Gialcome, Americana, Comunismo Incaico, Genova, Italia: Libreria Mario Bozzi, 1936, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Wienar, Essai sur les Institutions Politiques, Religieuses, Economiques et Sociales de l'Empire des Incas, Paris: Librairie Maisonneuve, 1874, p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> Toto Giurato, Peru Milenario, Lima, Peru: Editorial Ecos, 1947, p. 162.

the patrimony of the leaders." The classical education of the Incas was based on the knowledge of the history of the Empire--language, religion, rites, statistics, geography. But primarily the education was centered in the preparation of the young nobles for the ceremony of initiation, or Watachicuy. The initiation consisted of several athletic performances. At the end of these physical events the Inca put in the ears of the young people large gold earrings. This final act was in reality the "espaldarazo de caballero." After the initiation, the young noble recognized officially as a gentleman, started putting his ability to the Inca's service. In reality, the young "caballero" had all kinds of chances to succeed in the army or priesthood. The young noble had many privileges belonging to the position of his social class. He wore fine clothing and jewelry and had his hair cut in a special fashion. The young Peruvian noble, like the Indian Brahman, not only must wear a special kind of clothing, but must observe in his behavior and life a rigorous ritual of protocol.

The common people observed regulations in their clothing too. In fact, the plebeian was forbidden to wear wool clothing and jewelry. The clothing of the people was made exclusively of cotton materials except for the objects like hats (chucuc) and certain accessories which were made with wool materials. But these accessories were allowed the common people just for statistical purposes in order to facilitate the census and the control of the members of the empire in which there were many different tribes. In fact, each tribe

used a particular shape and color of "hat." Other tribes like the Chachapoyas, Couchucos, and Huamachucos knotted their hair with tiny red wool cords, while the Cajamarcas knotted their hair with a wool sling.

One of the typical characteristics in the social organization of the Inca Empire was the institution of the mitimaes and the yanacunas. The mitimaes were groups of families which left their homes in order to live in any place fixed by the Inca. There were two kinds of mitimaes in the empire. First, the mitimae Quechua families who were sent to places of the country in which the conquered tribes didn't show a great deal of submission to the Inca. The Quechua mitimaes lived with these tribes trying to teach them the ways of living of the Incas without employing any means of imposition. Second, the no Quechua mitimaes were groups of families of the tribes which showed an active resistance to the Inca. These mitimaes were placed very far from their home lands in places which had a similar climate to that of their own home. Apparently, these no Quechua mitimaes received good farming lands, seeds and cattle, and were exonerated from the tribute (tax) systems.

The yanacunas occupied the bottom of the lower class. This people, according to the chronicler Cieza de Leon, were subjugated and worked in the empire as sirvientes perpetuos. However, Garcilaso de la Vega points out that some yanacunas of exceptional talent occupied high positions in the public administration. But all testimonies tend to confirm that the yanacunas were occupied only in very subordinate and inferior

types of work. Nevertheless, these yanacunas formed a group of only a couple of thousand which was very limited for a large and populous empire. It is true that the yanacunas were not slaves, but they were not free citizens either.

Another typical characteristic of the Inca social organization was the ayllu. The ayllu was composed of a group of families living in the same geographical area and believing themselves to be descendants of the same common totem (jaguar, snake, frog, and so forth). A collective symbol, the totem appears in the ceremonial utensils, wall decorations, in the clothing adornments, in the masks and dance disguises. The ayllu social organization existed probably many thousands of years before the Incas. These pre-Inca ayllus were of matriarchal type. During the Inca period the matriarchal ayllus were transformed gradually into patriarchal types. The members of these ayllus had the same last name, and formed practically one large extensive family. The ayllus, the nerve and muscle of the empire, were placed at the bottom of the Incaic hierarchy. The members of the ayllus were the husbandmen and the artisans. They could not aspire to become quipucamayocs (statisticians), engineers, functionaries of the state, amantas (teachers), haravics (poets of the Imperial Court), or high ranking priests of the sun. These occupations were privileges of the social elite of the empire. Undoubtedly, there was a sharp social division among this elite composed of some thousands, and the people composed of millions of inhabitants. So in this very rigid caste system probably there was equality only among the members of the same social group.

### Agrarian Community

Until the eighteenth century it was believed that the Peruvian agrarian community was the original creation of the Incas. More careful studies since the nineteenth century have shown that the Peruvian agrarian community was established many thousand years before the Incas. The origin of this agrarian community is lost in the darkness of pre-history. Whatever date was its origin, it is logical to suppose that this agrarian community was the result of a long evolution. Apparently, in this pre-Inca agrarian community there was a collective type of soil property which was modified by the Inca conquerors. What was the type of agrarian policy in the Inca Empire formed by thousands of pre-Inca local agrarian communities? This question is one of the most controversial subjects in the study of the Inca Empire. Some writers point out that the Incas had a perfect communist agrarian policy. Among the Peruvian writers Jose Carlos Mariategui has emphasized greatly this point of view:<sup>8</sup> "The Incaic communism can not be denied because it was developed under the totalitarian regime of the Incas. The Incaic communism was definitely an agrarian communism." (Author's translation.) Of course, Mariategui lived a couple of years in Paris where the economic system of the Incas has many ardent admirers. One of these admirers, Monsieur Bouthoux, according to the Italian writer

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<sup>8</sup>Jose Carlos Mariategui, Siete Ensayos de Interpretation de la Realidad Peruana, ed. Minerva Sagastegui, Lima, Peru, 1922, p. 37.

Gialcome, wants to make the universal social revolution not in the name of Stalin or Lenin, but in the name of the Incas of Peru.<sup>9</sup> Gialcome says, "Routhoux wants revolution in the name of the Incas, because he thinks that the whole Incaic regime was a prototype of agrarian communism." (Author's translation.) Other writers, like the Peruvian Jose de la Riva Agüero and the German Hans Horkheimer, think that there was not agrarian communism in the Inca Empire.

In reality, the collective ownership of land in the Inca Empire has some peculiar characteristics which are different from the communism patterns of the primitive agrarian communities of Europe. In communism, the land belongs completely to the state. In the primitive German and Swiss social groups the member of the communities had the right for all their lives to exploit a parcel of land. In the Empire of the Incas the land belonged to the Inca (state), Priests (church), and communities (people). In the primitive European social groups, the members of the community having a parcel of land didn't receive more when they had children. In the Peruvian communities increased parcels of land were received in accordance with the size of the family. This factor of periodical distribution being the outstanding characteristic of the collective ownership of the soil by the people, let us see its organization.

The Inca distributed to newly married couples a parcel

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<sup>9</sup> Gialcome, op. cit., p. 55.

of land called tupu. Garcilaso Inca de la Vega points out that the tupu was one and a half fanega (grain measure about 1.6 bushels). The French writer Castonnet Des Fosses writes that the fanega was about 58 acres. Probably the tupu (Indian agrarian measure) was a reasonable parcel of land which was enough for married life without children. The Indian married couple received from the state one tupu for each newborn baby boy, and a half a tupu for a baby girl. In accordance with this agrarian policy the parcels of land in the Peruvian families increased in direct proportion to the numbers of children. In the case of the Inca's or priests' land properties, there was not periodical distribution of land because the nobles were exempt from the rules of the common people. The Inca was the owner of the woods, mines, coca plantations, wild herds, and best lands of the territory, and the priests were owners of great areas of good farming land too. Ownership of the soil in the communities being collective, private property was limited to a very few things, perhaps to the house, a garden plot, clothing, kitchen utensils, and other personal objects.

### Economic Factors

Agriculture. Agriculture was the basic activity of the Peruvian agrarian communities. All kinds of evidence show that the Peruvian people made outstanding achievements in agriculture. This achievement in farming activities was the culmination of constant working through many thousands of years. In fact the domestication of plants, such as cotton,



the potato, maize, papaya, various beans, quinin, pina, the tomato, cacao, mamey, chirimoya, pepino, and yuca was made a long time before the Incas. Cook, a distinguished botanist who was in Bingham's expedition to Peru, in 1920, found a wild ancestor of the potato in the high Andes. This tuberose root was cultivated probably by the Chavin and Tiahuanaco civilizations.<sup>10</sup> Hiram Bingham says:

They (Cook and assistants) found a small plant growing in the high Andes, with a tubercous root about the size of a small pea. It proved to be edible and from it, in the course of centuries, they (pre-Incas) finally developed a dozen varieties of what we call the "Irish" or white potato.

Genetic research shows also that corn was cultivated possibly along the southern margin of the tropical forests of Peru, and cotton in the northern region of this country. The Incas didn't domesticate new plants, but it is quite possible they improved the quality and size of some potato varieties.<sup>11</sup> According to Wendell C. Bennett and Junius B. Bird, "No new plants were domesticated by the Incas, but all those known previously were still grown."

During the Inca Empire, perhaps because of the increase in population, the Indian farmers utilized all possible cultivable areas of the empire by means of terraces in the mountains and by a method of digging away the shifting sand of the

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<sup>10</sup>Hiram Bingham, Lost City of the Incas, New York, 1948, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup>Wendell C. Bennett and Junius B. Bird, Andean Culture History, New York, 1949, p. 221.

sea in the coastal area. The height and width of the terraces depended on the gradient of the mountain slopes. The height of most of the terraces was usually eight to fourteen feet, and the width six to fifteen feet. The terrace building must have been difficult because the Peruvian mountains are extremely steep. However, the Inca people were able to utilize for agriculture most of the mountains of the Peruvian sierra.<sup>12</sup> Bingham says, "In part of the Andes (Peru), hillsides containing 100 terraces, one above the other, are not uncommon." The Peruvian coast is desiccated except in the valleys crossed by rivers coming from the west chain of the Andes. Except for two major rivers (the Santa and Chira in the northern region of Peru), most of them become dry in the summer season. The Inca people overcame this inconvenience by employing systems of irrigation and reservoirs. The Inca engineers were able to run contours for fifteen to twenty-five miles. The traces of this excellent work may be found at the present time in Moche, two miles from Trujillo, in the northern region of Peru. Traces found also in the mountains of Cajamarca (northern sierra of Peru) show channels excavated in the rocks of more than 100 kilometers. Traces of reservoirs also are found in many places on the Peruvian coast. Some archaeologists have found traces of an underground system of channels. Louis Baudin cites in his book, L'Etat Imperialist des Inka, the findings of the archaeologist

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<sup>12</sup>Bingham, op. cit., p. 13.

Joyce.<sup>13</sup> Baudin says, "In Sipa mountain, in front of Pachachaca, underground channels form a system of communicating ducts." (Author's translation.) The land being the most precious treasure of the Inca because it was the basis of his life, he was extremely careful in the conservation of the soil. In fact, the Inca people built dozens of terraces in the hills to avoid erosion. On the other hand, the Inca people improved agricultural production by employing adequately the bird guano found in Chiucha Island, in the southern region of the country. According to the opinion of Hans Horkeimer, the agriculture of the Inca Empire, by its agrarian policy, the cultivation of a great number of plants, and the excellent agronomic engineering, was superior to the agriculture of fifteenth century Europe.

Cultivation of the Soil. There were two types of soil cultivation: first, the land cultivated by the community; second, the land cultivated by the family. The Inca's and the priests' lands were cultivated by all members of the communities except the ill and the imperial nobility. The workers didn't receive any remuneration for their work in the planting and harvesting of the Inca's land. It was a sacred duty of the vassals toward their lords. Each family of the common people cultivated by themselves their parcel of land. However, in cases of necessity the family received the help of other members of the local community. This reciprocal help

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<sup>13</sup>Louis Baudin, L'Etat Imperialist des Inka, Paris: Institute d'Etnology, 1928, p. 87.

in planting, harvesting and house building was called "minka" in the empire of the Incas. According to the chroniclers, particularly Cobo, there was a pleasant atmosphere in the cultivation of the soil.

There was in the empire a strict regulation in the order of soil cultivation. Garcilaso Inca de la Vega points out that the people started cultivating the priests' soil, secondly the cripples' land, then the common people's soil, and finally that of the curacas (provincial nobles) and the Inca's land. Whatever may have been the order of soil cultivation, the Indians probably worked many more days on the land of their lords than on their own farms.

The farming tools of the Indians were extremely simple and modest compared with the mechanical tools of our day. The chaquitacla (plow for the feet), crowbar (champsis), and small pickaxes were the Indian's tools employed in agriculture. These tools were made with bronze material except the chaquitacla which was of wood, having only a blade of bronze in the point.

Domestic Animals. The Inca people didn't succeed very much in animal domestication because all their efforts, apparently, were concentrated on agriculture. However, the Incas made some progress in breeding animals. The llama, the king of the domesticated animals, is said to have been bred and domesticated from the wild guanaco and vicuna. Some writers point out that the Incas were able to domesticate the guanaco which apparently is the common ancestor of the alpaca, llama, and vicuna. But this statement is not supported by evidence.

Bingham doubts the domestication of the guanaco by the Incas.<sup>14</sup> He says, "It is doubtful whether they (Incas) would have been so successful in securing and domesticating the 'little camels' (huanacos).\" The alpaca, smaller than the llama, was domesticated, and the Incas developed a dozen different varieties of guinea pig (cuys), and three varieties of allous or small dogs.

The Incas kept flocks of wild huanacas and vicunas in the mountains. Probably the largest centers of these flocks were the highlands between Cuzco and Arequipa, the plateau of Bombon (Junin), and the mountains between Aucash and Huanuco, because these places, apparently, were the best habitats for the Peruvian "camels.\" Even at the present time there are flocks of these wild animals in the mountains of Junin, Arequipa and Aucash.

The number of domesticated animals being limited, the Inca's alimentation was primarily vegetarian. The Incas utilized the llama's meat occasionally because the families had a limited store of dried strips of llama meat. The llama was considered mainly as an animal of transportation and an animal for religious sacrifices. The common families had a very limited number of llamas.<sup>15</sup> Baudin says, "In the lower class of people the head of each family had a pair of llamas.\" (Author's translation.) The large flocks of llamas and alpacas were the

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<sup>15</sup>Baudin, op. cit., p. 56.

Inca's property. However, the Inca distributed periodically wool from their flocks to the common people. This wool was used in the weaving of clothing. The Inca people achieved great proficiency in weaving. The warp and the art of dyeing were excellent. For dyeing the Indians utilized some plants of the forest and highlands, and for the weaving primitive tools. Much Incaic weaving (both cotton and wool) may be seen at the present time in the museums of European and American countries, especially in the Anthropological Museum of Magdalena (Lima, Peru), and the Musee de l'Homme of Paris. The great quantity of Incaic coastal weaving which it is possible to see now is due to the ancient Peruvian custom of mummifying their cadavers and burying them with their finest clothing. Because of the dryness of the Peruvian coast this clothing has been kept undestroyed during many centuries.

Metallurgy. The Incaic metallurgists didn't know very much about inorganic chemistry. However, they may have known some basic chemical formula for combining copper and tin. The combination of these metals was used by the Incaic metallurgists. Professor Charles H. Matthewson of Yale University has studied particularly the purity of the Incaic bronze and the proportions of its composition. According to the findings of Professor Matthewson, which are cited by Bingham, the Inca bronze is "remarkably" pure.<sup>16</sup> Bingham says:

Inca bronze has been found to be remarkably pure, aside from very small quantities of sulphur. The

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<sup>16</sup>Bingham, op. cit., p. 25.

proportion of copper in Inca bronze varies from eighty-six per cent in some articles to ninety-seven per cent in others.

The Incas used the bronze for utilitarian and ornamental purposes. They made with the bronze such objects as shawl-pins, tweezers, chisels, knives, axes, champis (crowbars), cud heads, digging stick points, flat-headed pins, discs, needles, rings, bracelets, spangles, bells, ear spoons, and bronze mirrors.

### Planned Economy

The economic production is regulated by the natural laws of demand and supply in non planned or laissez faire economics. In the planned economy the production is controlled by the state. The Inca Empire had this last type of economy. The Inca and his functionaries planned carefully the whole production of the empire. This Incaic policy was possible by means of very rigid regulations and the employment of statistics. The statisticians kept in the quipus (system of Indian calculation) the birth, death and marriage rates, the number of flocks, quantity of stored food, and the incoming and outgoing products of the tambos or storehouses. By this means the Inca knew the population of the empire and of each province including the smallest villages. This knowledge was important because production depended on the size of the population. The planned Incaic economy took into consideration the population, land size and land productibility. The provinces with low percentage of land productibility and great population probably received the state's help, so the people could live on the maize and potatoes of the state. The demand

was calculated, fixing and limiting the human needs. Apparently the Indian families had a uniform standard of living based on a certain quantity of chuno (frozen potato), potato, and charqui (dried meat). There may have been little superfluity in the production of the common people. It seems likely that each family cultivated only that which was strictly necessary for living. Concerning the offer of "work" for the big landholder or Inca's state, it was not a matter of free will. All the Indians of the community were obligated to work the land of their Emperor. This was something like a system of tax-payment.<sup>17</sup> Reginald Enock says, "The taxes (in the Empire of the Incas) were paid in labour and produce and not in money." The communal work was regulated. It must be done in certain periods of the year and according to the nature of the work, age, sex and physical complexion of the Indians. If the Inca had kept all this communal production for his personal and family enjoyment, it would have been the most tremendous human exploitation in pre-Hispanic epoch. But the Inca employed this production for keeping the equilibrium of supply and demand. The storehouses or reserves were employed to help the provinces in which the crops were deficient or lost completely because of extreme dryness or rainfall.

In the planned economy of the Incas the commerce had very typical characteristics. Some chroniclers like Garcilaso Inca de la Vega point out that there were local commercial

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<sup>17</sup>Reginald Enock, The Land Laws and Socialism of the Incas of Peru. (Address.) London, 1912, p. 12.



trades in which barter systems or exchange of goods were employed. Individual production being limited, it is probable that these local trades were extremely limited. Louis Baudin points out that there was a regional commercial trade between the highlands, coast and forest.<sup>18</sup> According to Baudin, "A traffic in merchandise was established between the coast, mountain and jungle." (Author's translation.) There seems to be doubt as to the existence of this commercial trade among individuals, because they had a limited amount of production, and because the individuals, under the strict regulations, couldn't move from one province to the other. It is true that there was a circulation of products among the three regions of the country, as proved in the findings of the archaeological excavations. But this circulation of goods would have been completely under the state's operation and control. The Inca Empire had a detailed regulation for the production, distribution, consumption and circulation of goods. This system of planned economy was not adequate for individual competition, therefore all the economic activities were standardized under strict rules. In this economic system even alimentation was controlled. Guaman Poma de Ayala in his original book, Nueva Cronica y Buen Gobierno, points out certain regulations of alimentation (consumption of products).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Baudin, op. cit., p. 165.

<sup>19</sup>Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Nueva Cronica y Buen Gobierno, Lisbon, 1560, p. 28.

"Boys and girls under thirty," he says, were not supposed to eat grease, honey, vinegar, or chili." (Author's translation.)

Probably the frugality of the Indian people of the Empire was the consequence of a great number of restrictions and regulations in production.

### Political Organization

The government of the Incas was extremely centralized. The Inca with the cooperation of a limited personnel planned the policy of the Empire. The representatives of the Inca in the provinces followed his instructions blindly. Cuzco, the capital of the Empire, was also the political and religious city of the empire.

Some writers, like the Peruvian, Jose de la Riva Agüero, point out that the Inca alone, without the cooperation of anyone, ruled the country. But the majority of the testimonies of the chroniclers point out that the Inca, before taking any political or military steps, discussed the political or military projects with his Council which was composed of a limited group of the more capable men of the imperial nobility. Other chroniclers, like Fidel Lopez, point out that the Inca's power was limited and controlled by his Supreme Council, comparable to the Senate. Each of these statements seems exaggerated. In the first place, probably the Inca was not able to rule the country by himself because the great extension of territory and large population of the Empire presented many problems the solution of which required the

assistance and cooperation of many individuals. In the second place, it seems dubious that the Inca discussed the problems of state with his Council as the autocratic authority of the Inca probably did not dispose him to discuss such problems with his vassals, or permit them to participate in making decisions. No doubt the Inca held meetings with his Council to be acquainted with the general situation of the empire before taking any decisive steps. Finally, it seems rather dubious that the power of the Inca was limited and controlled by his Council because most historical testimonies coincide in the viewpoint that the Inca was an absolute ruler.

For the political administration the Inca Empire was divided into four regions. (Tahuantinsuyo: tahua = four, suyo = region.) At the head of each of these regions or suyus was a high ranking representative of the Inca called suyuyu. The suyuyu, or vice-king, lived in the capital of the region in which he was the Inca's representative. The suyuyu held the status of imperial nobility and was in the complete confidence of his ruler. The suyuyu had four functionaries or tukuyriku under his control. The tukuyriku (tukuy = all, riku = to see: the man who observes everything) traveled constantly in his region to observe, control, and facilitate the realization of the Empire's policies. The suyuyu was apprised of what was going on in his region through the reports of his tukuyrikus. The hunu-camayo (hunu = 10,000, camayo = official: official for 10,000 families) were under the authority of the tukuyrikus. The hunu-camayo reported to their chief on affairs transpiring in the areas under their

jurisdiction. Under the hunu-camayojs were the pachac-camayoc (pachac = 100, camayoc = official: a man who rules over 100 families), and under these functionaries were the chunca-camayojs (chunca = 10, a man who rules over 10 families), the officers at the bottom of the political pyramid structure of the Empire of the Incas. This political pyramid, based on the decimal system, promoted a terrific bureaucracy which followed without any objection the policy formulated by the Inca. The policy of the Inca tended primarily to keep unity and order in the Empire. Probably, in order to attain this objective, the Inca formulated, as an instrument for political unification, the sun's adoration. All the peoples of the Empire must have community of interests in the adoration of the sun, and in the veneration of the Inca who was himself considered as a person of solar descent. On the other hand, the political strategy of the Incas was based on his respect for the local institutions and folkways of the communities of his Empire. Apparently, the Inca policy was interested substantially in the unification of the Empire under the name of the Inca-divinity and his father-sun. The local customs and the local gods remained when they were not in contradiction to the general policy of the Empire. Besides respect for the local customs, for political reasons the Incas didn't want to antagonize, persecute or dominate the curacas, ancient lords of regions conquered by the imperial forces. The curacas generally had some minor authority and received honors and decorations of the Inca. The sons of the curacas of the Empire were concentrated in Cuzco because the Incas wanted to teach them

the basic principles of the empire civilization. Probably the Incas thought that education was better than force to change the mental attitudes and beliefs of the people. Educated in the culture and customs of the Incas, the curacas' sons could be instruments in the culture of their provinces under the Inca's philosophy of life. In addition, probably the young provincial nobles were kept in Cuzco as hostages in order to avoid the possible insurrection of their fathers.

In spite of a religious approach, it seems possible that the Incas employed the language as a means of unifying the Empire. Quechua language (Inca language) teachers were sent all over the empire and Quechua was established as the imperial language. Before the Inca's domination there were in the Peruvian territory many languages, as mochicas (Lambayeque), huanucua (Huanuco, central region of Peru), cajanuexas (northern region of the sierra), huancas (Junin, central region of the sierra). Between 1498 and 1530 the Quechua language was spoken in all the Empire except in the Altiplano (Peru) where Aymara was spoken. One national language, one supreme divinity, and one supreme emperor for the tahuantinsuyo were the main elements which unified many different tribes under the direct control of the Inca state. This state was an absolute monarchy. The emperor and all the top ranking officers of the government were of the noble family of Quechuas. The monarchy was hereditary. At the death of the Inca the practice of primogeniture was followed with the oldest legitimate son acceding to the throne. Since the Inca had many wives and many children, it was the oldest son born of his

marriage with his sister who was considered as his legitimate successor. Incidentally, marriage between the Inca and his sister took place to maintain, as they felt, the purity of the family strain.

According to all the historical testimonies the succession to the throne never originated any dispute or bloody conflict except the civil war between Huascas and Atahualpa just before the arrival of the Spaniards in Peru. Succession carried out without any kind of difficulty assured a permanent stability in the government. This political stability allowed the Inca to concentrate all his efforts on the administration of the Empire. The policy of this administration, by means of rigid control and numberless regulations, promoted a kind of passivity and lack of initiative in the behavior of the Indians. The people of the Empire were unable to execute a personal project. Everybody was limited to following traditional rules and imperial instructions. In fact, apparently, the whole policy of the empire tended to promote a kind of mental status-quo in the people, and minimized the processes of change by means of a strong authoritarianism. However, some Peruvian writers like Jose Uriel Garcia and Luis E. Valcarcel point out that there was democracy in the Empire of the Incas, because there was justice for the people. It is difficult to understand how democracy could be possible in an empire in which all was planned and controlled by an elite who had a supernatural power over the common people. It is difficult to understand how democracy could be possible in a country where freedom was unknown.

Other writers believe that the Inca Empire was based on a true form of communism. Communism, according to Marx's doctrine, is a political system in which there are no social classes. On the other hand, Marx points out that communism is possible only in a country which has strong proletarian masses. The Inca Empire had a rigid caste system, and from the economic point of view was definitely an empire which had not attained the industrial form of economy and therefore did not have a proletariat. Consequently, there was not communism in the Inca Empire; rather, the Inca Empire was an absolute monarchy in which the state had certain characteristics of socialism. This statement seems paradoxical. But there is not in modern political terminology a term which expresses adequately the political system of the Incas.

The state is successful in its policy when it is able to promote means of economic security, peace, and social order in the country. In this sense, the state of the Incas was successful because the empire promoted economic security, peace, and social order. But this political success was attained under the authoritarian philosophy of the state. Is it enough for the state to promote only economic security? Individuals can be unhappy in the authoritarian system of government even when they do not suffer hunger. Valcarcel points out that the Indians were happy under the Inca Empire because they had economic security and many colorful fiestas. It is very difficult to know if all the popular fiestas are sources of happiness. It is quite possible that the Indians were interested in the fiestas as a collective escape from such a

monotonous life and the terrific regulations of the Empire. Perhaps the fiestas were the only source of free spiritual expression. At any rate, the state of the Incas was one of the best political organizations of pre-Hispanic Peru. The Inca rulers have shown their political cleverness in promoting a successful administration and exercising a wise diplomacy with their enemies.

### Judicial Organization

In modern states the laws are formulated by the legislative power. The laws of the Inca Empire were formulated by the Inca himself without any popular participation. The Incaic laws were considered divine because the legislator was the son of the god. The divine law was inviolable and inalterable and the Incaic legislation pointed out that the laws were equal for the Inca and for the people. These general juridic principles were something like a constitution which was the fundamental basis for the civil, penal, and administrative codes, etc.

Civil Code. The civil code prescribed the nature of interrelationship between the members of the family, between the families and their local communities, and between the local communities and the Empire. Marriage at the age of twenty-five years was compulsory. There was no free choice in marriage. The Inca and his functionaries in the provinces chose the partners of the marriage. The individuals who were chosen to become married had to accept the Inca's choice. The husband and wife interrelationship was based on loyalty, good



understanding and reciprocal assistance. Adultery and polygamy were forbidden among the common people. The children must respect, obey, and help their parents, particularly when they became old. The parents must take care of their young children and teach them to cultivate the soil and make clothing for themselves. Concerning the local communities, there were such laws as friendship and mutual assistance among all members of the community, and the obligation to do everything for the welfare of the community. The laws regarding the inter-relationship between the communities and the Empire were as follows: (a) unconditional respect for the Supreme Ruler's authority, (b) adoration of the maximum national divinity, (c) the use of the Quechua language, (d) the punctual payment of taxes.

Working Code. The working code regulated the work in the mines, coca plantations, local communities' duties and public services in the building of churches, palaces, fortresses, and in the construction of roads, canals, irrigation, bridges, and so forth. The workers were fed by the state, and they did not receive any salary for their work. The land of the Empire was cultivated by the members of the local communities. Mining work must be performed by the Indians of the mountains because they were supposed to be familiar with life at high altitudes in which the metals were found. The coca plantation workers were chosen among the inhabitants of the valleys with hot climate. The Indians called to the local communities and public imperial works must come punctually to the place, and at the time fixed by the functionaries of

the administration.

Military Code. The supreme chief of the army was the Inca who planned and directed all the military campaigns. Military service was compulsory for all individuals of the Empire from twenty-five to fifty years old. The state supplied weapons and food to the soldiers. The land of the soldiers in active duty was cultivated by the individuals of their local communities. The state took care of the families of the soldiers dead or crippled in the military campaigns. The army discipline was extremely severe. The soldiers had to respect, obey and follow blindly the instructions of their officers. Deserters received the death sentence without any trial. On the other hand, the soldiers must respect the properties of the enemies. The confiscation of enemy property was an exclusive business of the state.

Penal Code. The punishments in the Inca Empire were death, flagellation, prison, and exile. Criminals and individuals who blasphemed against the Inca or sun were killed. The curacas who punished the Indians under their authority, the killer of a wife or husband, individuals who set fire to the houses, and those who executed abortions, were also punished with the death sentence. The lazy were punished with flagellation, and the liars with cruel torments. The meretricious were isolated from the community, and thieves, after bringing back the stolen objects, were exiled to the forest. The functionaries of the administration who neglected their duties were dismissed or jailed in prison.

The supreme judicial authority was the Inca and the

members of the nobility. The judges were supposed to be honest and just. Corrupt judges were killed. The penal procedure was summary. The trials for slight or grave transgressions of the law were finished in five days. There was no appeal to the judges' sentences.

Moral Code. The moral code of the Inca Empire was based on principles which tended to foster good habits such as to tell the truth, and not to be a liar or thief, or lazy. Tito Giurato points out some moral aphorisms of Pachacutec Inca which may be an example of the moral beliefs of the Indian's rulers.<sup>20</sup> Giurato says, "Covetousness is harmful. The wise man is known by his patience in cases of adversity." (Author's translation.) It seems possible that the Inca people had good moral qualities. However, it seems that the Indians' moral behavior was under the pressure of a terrific regulation; therefore, individuals did not have the possibility of acting freely. It seems possible that the Indians didn't lie because of fear of heavy punishments. On the other hand, in the Inca Empire there was not a clear distinction between morals and law. In fact, the law in most cases was based entirely on moral reasoning without taking into consideration individual and social factors of the laws transgressed. However, the Incaic law had some superior accomplishments regarding work legislation, the civil code, and social security.

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<sup>20</sup>Tito Giurato, Peru Milenario, Lima, Peru: Editorial Ecos, 1947, p. 182.

If there was not consideration for the superior attributes of human personality, at least there was consideration for the orphans, old people, and cripples who were under the protection and assistance of the state. If there was not proportion between the delicts and the punishments, at least there was not corruption in the administration of justice. According to Garcilaso, the Inca and the members of the nobility were never punished or criticized by the people.<sup>21</sup> Garcilaso says, "It does not appear that any Inka of the blood royal has ever been punished, at least publicly, and the Indians deny that such a thing has ever taken place." This means that the Incas never transgressed the laws which were made by themselves. Of course, the oppressed Indians were not able to criticize and punish their rulers. This was out of the question. The fact is that the Incas apparently had good moral principles, and that they observed and respected the laws of the Empire in order to show a good example of behavior to the common people.

### Religion and Philosophy of the Incas

The Incas were polytheists. They venerated the sun, moon, stars, and lightning. There was a hierarchy among the gods. In fact, the sun was the Peruvian "Jupiter," and was venerated as national god in the Empire. It has been said that the Incas didn't arrive at the notion of a spiritual god. However, there are facts which are contradictory to this

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<sup>21</sup>Garcilaso, op. cit., p. 154.

assertion. As a matter of fact, the Incas venerated the Pachacamac (the creator of the world). This god was supposed to be the true creator of the earth, heaven and living beings. Pachacamac was supposed to be the father of everything including the sun. Apparently, the cult of Pachacamac was not spread in the Empire. In fact, this god had only one church in the sacred city of Pachacamac (southern coastal region of Peru) which was, according to the chroniclers, the biggest pilgrimage center of the empire. The Indians were fervent believers of their gods which they honored with many fiestas. In these popular fiestas the Indians sacrificed llamas in honor of their gods. Some writers, like H. Cunow, point out that there was human sacrifice to the gods.<sup>22</sup> Cunow states:

The victims were chosen among the children eight or ten years old. The priests strangled the victims in the presence of the people, and offered to the gods the hearts of the children. (Author's translation.)

Human sacrifice in the Inca religion is a controversial subject among the writers who have studied this point. At any rate, if there was human sacrifice in the Inca Empire, it must have been limited to a very few cases.

In spite of the veneration of the gods, the Indians venerated, as in the Ancient Egyptian Empire, the dead of their rulers and families.<sup>23</sup> Poma de Ayala says, "During the

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<sup>22</sup>H. Cunow, Sistema de Parentesco Peruano y las Comunidades Gentilicias de los Incas, trans. Maria Woitscheck, Paris, 1929, p. 35.

<sup>23</sup>Poma de Ayala, op. cit., p. 257.

month of November, the Indians take the mummies out of their tombs with the purpose of venerating them." (Author's translation.)

The Indians believed in the immortality of the dead. In fact, the Indians put food in the tombs because the dead were supposed to eat like living individuals. There are not facts to prove that the Indians believed in a heaven or hell. However, the Indians believed in a bad spirit called supay (devil) which was supposed to live in the darkest place of the world. The Indian arymans were sources of temptation, sickness and cruel adversities. Periodically, there were rituals for compelling the supay to go far away from the communities.

What was the philosophical conception of the Indians regarding the world and the divinity? Based on logical induction and historical testimonies it is possible to point out the beliefs of the Indians regarding the world and their god. The physical world of the Greeks was composed of four elements: earth, water, fire and wind. The physical world of the Indians had all these elements except the wind. The Indians had a deep veneration for the elements of earth and water because there were such common expressions as Mama Gocha, Mama Pacha, (mother lake, mother earth). The Indian's world was formed by the region of light, or hanan Pacha (heaven), the region where humans live or cam Pacha (half), and the Ukju or underground region, where live the dead and germs. So the Indian's world had three dimensions: high, half and underground. The gods, sources of welfare and happiness, live in the heaven.

The zenith was called hanan, and the nadir Urin. The world in which man lives had four directions: anti (east), konti, (west), kolla (south), and chinchay (north). The Pachacamac god, the true creator of the world, was supposed to be located not in the world; therefore, it can be said that the Indians were transcendentalists. Apparently, this philosophical conception was not popular because there was not popular education in the Empire of the Incas. The amantas (noble teachers) and the Incas were concerned with some philosophical problems, the common people were rather animists, and venerated the sun with fervor. It seems possible that the Incas had deep doubts about the divinity of the sun, and apparently the rulers appeared to the masses as sons of the sun only for political reasons. Regarding this question, J. J. Tschudi writes:<sup>24</sup> "It is doubtful that the Incas could believe themselves to be descendants of the sun. They were too clever to believe in such fables." (Author's translation.)

### The Art of the Incas

Architecture. The Incas' architecture reached a remarkable achievement in aesthetic as well as in the solid quality of the buildings. After many centuries, at the present time it is possible to see Incaic ruins of military, religious and civil architecture in a perfect state of conservation. In the strong earthquake of 1950 the majority of

- <sup>24</sup>J. J. Tschudi, Contribuciones a la Historia, Civilization y Linguística del Peru Antiguo, Tomo I, Lima, Peru: Librería San Martí y Cia., 1918, p. 29.  
Peru: Librería San Martí y Cia., 1918, p. 29.

the modern buildings of Cuzco were destroyed, but the Incaic walls of the Jacsayhuam fortress and the modern houses built above the Incaic foundation blocks didn't suffer damage at all. The solidity of the Inca architecture was based on the strength of the materials, and on the architectural skill in the wall construction. The stone blocks are generally rectangular. The weight of these single blocks in some places, like Saksayhuaman, is around twenty or thirty tons. The lower tiers of a wall are made of larger blocks than the upper, and the junctures of the blocks are as perfect as modern junctures of marble blocks. The similarity of the Incaic walls and the Egyptian style has been remarked by Bingham.<sup>25</sup>

The walls of temples and palaces (Incaic) are not perpendicular but slope slightly inward. They are of so-called Egyptian style, being narrower at the top than at the bottom.

The roofs of the monumental palaces or churches were covered with thatch made of grass or bushes because the Incas didn't know the use of tiles or shingles. According to Bennett, the Inca architects planned the buildings by making clay models. These architects had aesthetic aptitudes because the Incaic buildings have simple geometrical forms and proportions. The buildings do not have arches or vaults, and lack ornamentation. But the interior walls of the palaces and churches were decorated with numerous silver and gold plates. Apparently, the Indian architects were concerned only with the construction of royal palaces and public buildings, because

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<sup>25</sup> Bingham, op. cit., p. 5.



the houses of the common people were of very inferior quality of masonry.

Pottery. The archaeologists have found in their excavations numbers of pre-Inca and Incaic vases which are placed in the main museums of the world. The Incaic ceramic is polished and polychrome painted with orange, yellow, red, black and white. The designs on the vases are geometrical and more or less standardized. The arybal is the most typical Incaic vase. This vase has a conical pointed base, vertical flat sides and tall collar. Mostly the Inca ceramists made animal and vegetable decorations on the wooden vases.<sup>26</sup> According to H. Trimbom, "The vases of wood had decorations of animals and plants." (Author's translation.) Probably the decorations in the painting on these wooden vases were rudimentary because of lack of knowledge of relief and perspective.

For a long time, much has been said of the great achievement of the Incaic ceramics. However, this achievement was very inferior to the Nazca and, primarily, Chimu ceramics. The Incaic vases have excellent geometrical forms, but do not have the beautiful decorations of the coastal vases. The Chimu ceramists were artists who made human portraits of clay and painted their vases with a variety of scenes which show artistic graciousness and rich inspiration. By contrast, the Incaic vases seem made in mass production because there is almost uniformity in their execution and form. Probably the

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<sup>26</sup>H. Trimbom, Arte Inca, Madrid, 1935, p. 24.

Incas absorbed in projects of conquest and politico-social organizations neglected artistic production somewhat. However, this does not mean that the Incas were inferior in art. As a matter of fact, they were excellent, achieving a monumental type of architecture, gracious stone sculpture (destroyed by the Spaniards), wonderful jewelry and weaving, and original literature production.

Literature and Music. The Incas didn't know writing, therefore there are not written books of prose and poetry by the Indian haravics (poets) of the Empire. However, there are a few writers who point out that the Incas knew some kind of alphabet. For instance, Rafael Larco Hoyle has found in his excavations some lima beans which have in their surfaces geometrical incisions such as points, combinations of points, lines, angles, and so forth. Based on this finding Larco points out that the Incas knew a particular type of writing. The theory of Hoyle regarding the Incaic writing has not any scientific support. In the opinion of those who are most competent to judge, there was not any type of writing in the Empire of the Incas. In fact, there are no historical testimonies supporting Larco's assumption, nor was any kind of writing found in the Incaic tombs.

The Incas' literature is known only through the writings of chroniclers, primarily Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, and through the survival of some tales in the present Indian communities. The Indians cultivated prose and poetry. Prose was confined to the tales, apologues, and máxims. The poetry was epic and lyric. In the great epic poetry, the subjects

of the poets' inspirations were such things as memories of the important political events, legends, traditions, and cosmogonic ideas. The minor epics were primarily the local traditions, and hunting songs. The subjects of the lyric poetry were elegy, love, pastoral and agricultural songs. Garcilaso Inca de la Vega pointed out that the Incas knew comedies and tragedies. At the present time there is in existence part of a play which is supposed to be Incaic. This play, which is called "Ollanta" has three acts. The leading actors of the play are the general Ollanta and the princess Cusi Coyllor, daughter of the Inca. The main argument of the play is a love story. The great warrior Ollanta who has won many battles for the glory of his Inca falls in love with the charming princess Cusi Coyllor ("Venus") who loves the famous soldier passionately. The father, learning of the love of his daughter for a warrior without Inca blood, becomes very angry. Ollanta escapes to the "Ollantaytambo fortress" where he revolts against his Emperor. In the meantime the princess has been jailed and kept in a dark room without food and water. One imperial officer, with a clever strategy, defeats Ollanta, who is brought a prisoner to the Inca's presence. Everybody--in the imperial court--waits the death of Ollanta. But the Inca forgives the rebel general who immediately marries the princess. So the whole tragedy has a happy end. The authenticity of this play is a controversial thing. Some writers think that the play has been created by some Spanish priest. At any rate, it is quite possible that the play was written by a Spanish priest, based on the Indian tradition. Probably

this tradition has been distorted in some aspects by the play's writer. It is very dubious that Cusi Coyllor was the Inca's daughter because the rigid system of caste couldn't allow a "common soldier" who was not supposed to be a general, to aspire to marriage with an imperial princess. Probably, the general Ollanta was a provincial noble who fell in love with some noble girl of Cuzco. Anyway, the Ollanta play is excellent in form and fond, and is one of the best examples of the Inca poets' achievements in literature. These poets or haravics were like the jugglers of the European Middle Age. The haravics declaimed their compositions in the imperial court in solemn occasions. These compositions probably had many metaphors because the surviving Incaic tales are very rich in metaphoric ways of expression. The employment of metaphors was facilitated by a language (Quechua) rich in vocabulary. Possibly, in a world where everything was regulated, the dances and literary productions were the only sources in which the vassals could act as free individuals.

Music. The Incaic people didn't know harmony in musical composition. The music was pentatonic, and very simple. The musical instruments were many kinds of flutes, jingles, and drums. It is said that the Incaic music was extremely sad. This statement is based mostly on speculation without scientific support. Whatever may have been the predominant tendency of the Incas' music, the Indians were very fond of the music which was a popular art spread all over the Empire.

Based on the exploratory analysis already done of

Inca culture, it is possible to say that this culture reached, in some respects, a high achievement. Starting in the valley of Cuzco the Incas finished by controlling the biggest pre-Hispanic empire of America. But this was not only a matter of control of many tribes or a confederation of tribes. Beyond a simple political and military domination, the Inca Empire was, in the author's point of view, the historical synthesis of a long evolution of many thousands of years. Probably, this historical synthesis was reached around 1500 A.D. under the government of Huayna Capac. In this historical synthesis some qualities of the pre-Incas (artistic creativeness) disappeared, but there arose some superior achievements such as the economic organization and political wisdom. The Incas were good politicians as well as excellent diplomats. In fact the Incas employed the army only when they had not any possibility of arriving at an agreement with the enemy by means of persuasion and some diplomatic pressure. The Incas' culture is surprising by its paradoxical characteristics. For instance, the Incas didn't know the zero, and yet they were able to calculate the resistance of materials in the construction of buildings, and to construct excellent roads, canals for irrigation, and so forth. The Incas had a rudimentary medicine, but they were able to trepanate the skull. The Incas didn't know the wheel, but they were able to make ceramics of excellent form and proportions.

The Achilles heel of this great civilization was the regimentation of individuals under the powerful control of

the state. In this authoritarian state the individuals seemed like living tools performing always something under the supervision of the functionaries. At any rate, each civilization has its defects. The Incas' civilization had the defect of annihilating the human personality in exchange for social order and economic security.

### Peru in the Time of Conquest, and the Fall of the Empire

The imperialistic period of the Incas started probably around 1400 and finished around 1500. Huayna Capac was the last emperor who fought for territorial expansion. This emperor completely defeated the Sciris (Ecuador), and extended his empire to Pasto (Colombia) in the northern region of Peru. Huayna Capac, after the Sciris' defeat, fixed his permanent residence in Quito, capital of the Sciris' kingdom. After Quito the Inca planned a policy of road construction and general welfare for the whole empire. The Inca Empire reached its peak of achievement during the Huayna Capac's administration. After this period came the decline of the empire. This decline began practically with the political testament of Huayna Capac. This Inca, in his death bed, divided the Empire between his sons Huascar and Atahualpa. Huascar, the true heir of the whole empire according to the imperial tradition, was to rule in what is now the Peruvians' territory. Atahualpa, the bastard son of the emperor, was to rule what is known as the territory of Ecuador. For the first time, after four hundred years, the Inca Empire had two rulers.

Huayna Capac died probably around 1525. From this date, on which the empire was divided between Huascar and Atahualpa, until 1530 there was peace between those emperors. However, a lasting peace was not possible between the brothers because they had, according to the chroniclers of the conquest, territorial and dynastic ambitions. Those ambitions led to a civil war between the brothers. For the first time in the history of the Inca Empire the common people saw, astonished, a cruel war between Incas. The troops of Huascar and Atahualpa fought bravely in many battles, but the last battle in the plains of Quipaypan, near Cuzco, decided the complete victory of Atahualpa over Huascar. Huascar was taken prisoner, and the general Quizquis at the head of the victorious troops, in the spring of 1532, according to Cieza de Leon, occupied Cuzco in the name of Atahualpa. Atahualpa remained in Cajamarca during the victorious advance of his troops toward the imperial capital. He was crowned emperor of the whole empire in the city of Cajamarca a few days after the occupation of Cuzco by his troops. According to Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, while Atahualpa celebrated his coronation with great fiestas, his general Quizquis cruelly killed all the Indian nobility of Cuzco.

In these circumstances, the Spanish troops arrived at Tumbes (Peru) in April, 1532. The small Spanish army was under the command of Francisco Pizarro. The Spanish captain didn't find any resistance from the Indians on his arrival. From Tumbes the Spaniards advanced to the southern region of the Peruvian coast as far as the valley of Piura, which is

approximately 150 miles from Tumbes. In the valley of Piura, Francisco Pizarro founded the first Spanish city in Peru, under the name of San Miguel de Piura. From this place Francisco Pizarro, on September 24, 1532, marched toward Cajamarca where was the Inca Atahualpa. During the march the Spaniards found a warm hospitality among the Indians of the small villages between Piura and Cajamarca. The Inca Atahualpa knew that the white people were coming toward Cajamarca. However, the emperor didn't do anything to offer resistance to the Spaniards in the narrow passages of the mountains. On the contrary, Atahualpa sent many gifts to Pizarro, and ordered his vassals to give the foreigners all kinds of facilities.

On November 15, 1532, Pizarro entered the city of Cajamarca. Atahualpa was in his quarters very near this city. Pizarro sent two officers, Hernando Pizarro and Hernando de Soto, with thirty-five Cavaliers to the Inca's encampment. The Spanish ambassadors invited Atahualpa to come to the city to be the guest of the captain, Francisco Pizarro. The Indian ruler accepted the invitation. The Spaniards planned an ambushade which consisted of taking the Inca prisoner in the face of his soldiers. On November 16, 1532, Atahualpa in his gold litter, and accompanied by his army, arrived at the square city of Cajamarca. Fray Vicente de Valverde came alone to the meeting with the Inca. He told the Indian emperor, through the Indian interpreter Felipillo, about God, the mystery of the Trinity, and all the main precepts of the Christian religion. Finally, Fray Valverde told the Inca to become Christian and a vassal of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.



According to all the chroniclers, Atahualpa answered the priest: "I will be no mans tributary. I am greater than any prince upon earth. For my faith I will not change." Valverde went away and angrily told Pizarro: "Get on at once; I absolve you." The fray's words were the signal for the attack. Pizarro and his cavaliers threw themselves with courage against the Indian soldiers. The cavalry made a great massacre, and the emperor was taken prisoner while his soldiers were fleeing in every direction. The Spanish victory was complete. Not one Spanish soldier was killed in the capture of Atahualpa. The great Empire of the Incas fell as a giant with feet of clay. The capture of Atahualpa practically put the whole empire in the hands of the Spaniards. The prisoner Inca, instead of revolting against the conquerors, decided to buy his liberation with the treasures of the empire. The conquerors, with the assistance of the Indians, travelled all over the most important cities of the empire, taking gold and silver from the churches and palaces. The Spanish soldiers took booty, committed crimes and all kinds of violence through the country. The Indians didn't react against the alluvion of Spanish crimes and rapacities. The gold and the silver of the empire didn't save the emperor's life. Accused of polygamy and idolatry, Atahualpa was killed by the Spaniards. After the death of this Inca, Francisco Pizarro crowned the prince Toparpa as new Inca of the Empire, and carrying with him this Inca-puppet, marched toward Guzco. During the march Toparpa died in Janja, almost mid-point between Cajamarca and Guzco. Pizarro continued his march toward the imperial

capital. The Indians offered certain resistance in the mountain passage of Apurimac and Cuzco. But the resistance was not well organized, so the Spaniards defeated the Indians who didn't resist again. The conquerors arrived at Cuzco on November 15, 1533. The most powerful and richest capital of America fell into the hands of the Spanish without any resistance.

In Cuzco, for political reasons, Pizarro decided to crown Manco Inca as Inca of Peru. Regarding the coronation of this Inca, William Prescott writes:<sup>27</sup>

The ceremony of coronation was a miserable pageant; the prince (Manco) himself was but a puppet in the hands of his conqueror; and the glory of the children of the sun had departed forever.

In fact, Manco Inca never ruled his country because the Spanish were the true masters of the Empire. After some months, Manco started to organize secretly an insurrection against the Spaniards of the country, and early in February, 1536, a general insurrection against the Spaniards began in Peru. Cuzco and Lima (city founded by the Spaniards on January 18, 1535) were simultaneously sieged and attacked. Particularly in Cuzco the Indians attacked violently under Manco's leadership. From the fortress of Sacsayhuaman the Indians shot burning arrows into the city where the Spaniards were. The Spanish troops had many crucial moments with the continuous attacks of the Indians. Finally, the Spanish succeeded in taking the fortress under a surprise night attack. The

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<sup>27</sup>William Prescott, Conquest of Peru, Book III, Boston, 1859, p. 4.

Indians fought courageously but were defeated by the Spaniards. When all was lost for the Indians, Cahuide, a noble chief who directed the attack, threw himself from the summit of the fortress.

After the loss of the fortress, Manco pursued the siege of Cuzco for many months, and finally retreated to the mountains of Ollaytaytambo. The defeat of Manco was the end of the conquest.

What were the causes of the fall of the Inca Empire which had a large and disciplined army? There are many possible explanations of the fall of the Inca Empire under a small group of Spanish soldiers. The following are possible causes:

1. The complete indifference of the Indians to losing the sovereignty of their country. Probably the Indians did not have a national consciousness because they were absorbed in their own communities. Beyond the boundaries of the community the world probably ended for the Indians; therefore, they didn't care for what was going on in the Empire. On the other hand, many provinces looked upon the Inca as a usurper and, therefore, they remained indifferent when the supreme ruler was taken prisoner.
2. The consequences of civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa. The excellent social and political organization of the empire and its unity probably were the result of the strong military power of the Incas. Apparently, the Indians were accustomed to obey only

one powerful ruler. Therefore, when civil war arose between the brothers, the Indians were confused with the duality of power, and probably lost the belief in the divinity of the Incas. Lacking the religious belief which was an instrument of the apparent unity of the empire, the Indians had not, at the moment of conquest, ideals for which to fight.

3. The loyalty relationship between the Incas and their vassals was based probably on fear rather than love; therefore, when the Inca was taken prisoner, the Indians were indifferent to the fate of their supreme ruler. Support of this possibility may be found in the statement of Guaman Poma de Ayala:<sup>28</sup> "When the Inca Atahualpa was in prison, the vassals, generals and nobles of the empire didn't care for his fate." (Author's translation.)
4. Most of the writers point out as a cause of the fall of the Empire the superiority of the muskets over the Indians' bows, slings, lances and axes. On the other hand, the horses impressed the Indians greatly. According to Miguel de Estete, "When the Indians saw the horses they were afraid, and ran away." (Author's translation.)<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Poma de Ayala, op. cit., p. 388.

<sup>29</sup>Miguel de Estete, Relation de la Conquista del Peru (Cronicas de 1533 a 1552) arreglo de Horacio Urteaga, Lima, Peru, 1935, p. 24.

5. Having complete confidence in the superiority of the manpower of his army, Atahualpa therefore possibly allowed the small group of foreign soldiers to advance freely from Piura to Cajamarca. Possibly the Inca had some plans in mind to finish with the Spanish when they arrived at Cajamarca. This statement is supported by some testimonies of chroniclers like Cieza de Leon.

On the other hand, the fall of the Inca Empire was due to the courage, enthusiasm and strong religious beliefs of the Spanish soldiers. The Spaniards fought like the mediæval crusaders for the glory of God and King. The Spanish soldiers fought bravely because they believed they had the support of God in spreading the Christian faith. According to Miguel de Estete, "The Lord protected us, therefore we have won the battles of the conquest."<sup>30</sup> (Author's translation.) This providentialist attitude of the Spanish was a strong support for the Spanish soldiers in the insurrection of Manco Inca.

The conquest motivated a complete change in the life of the Indian. Vassals of a new supreme ruler, mistreated and having lost his best property, the Indian retreated more and more to the poorest lands of the highland. Except for the religion and some plants and cattle, the Indians didn't assimilate the Spanish culture. Since Pizarro until the present

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

time, for 421 years, the Indians have succeeded in keeping their language (Quechua) and their old social type of ayllu organization. In addition, the Indians have kept also many Incaic traditions and characteristics which can be much better understood with a knowledge of the historical background of the Indian people.

## CHAPTER III

### PHYSICAL FACTORS

#### Introduction

In the present chapter an attempt will be made to study the territory, climate, race, nutrition, health and growth patterns of the children. Based on this exploratory study some practical recommendations will be stated for improving the material handicaps of the children and adults of the Indian communities.

#### The Territory

Climate. Peru lies approximately on the central west coast of South America. It is bounded on the north by Ecuador, on the northeast and east by Colombia and Brazil, on the southeast by Bolivia, and at its southern tip by Chile. Peru has a total area of 482,256 square miles.

Peru is crossed by three branches of the Cordillera of the Andes: Western or Maritime Cordillera, Central Cordillera, and Eastern Cordillera. The highest peaks are found in the Cordillera Blanca which is a branch of the Western Andes. The Huascaran, the highest peak of this Cordillera, is 22,500 feet above sea level. The lowest peaks are found in the Eastern Cordillera.

The great backbone of the Andes runs the entire length of the country, creating three different regions: coast, sierra and montana. To the west, between the Andes

and the Pacific ocean, lies a narrow coastal strip which is nearly 1,500 miles in length. In some northern places, this strip has a width of more than one hundred miles, while in the southern region there are places of only four or five miles in width. The average width is approximately forty-six miles.

The coast is not uniformly level. Crossridges of foot-hills and low mountains stretch all the way to the edge of the ocean forming a series of narrow valleys on the coast. These valleys are crossed by rivers that descend from the Western Cordillera. Most of these rivers, except the Santa and the Chira in the northern coastal region, have a low volume of water which dries up completely during the summer season.

The highland is a lofty plateau which lies between the Western and Eastern Cordilleras, and accounts for nearly thirty-five per cent of the country's area. The topography of this highland is extremely rugged. It is a crisscross of mountain chains with gorges, canyons, and many deep valleys.

The jungle is the country's largest area; however, most of it is still unexplored. The jungle, known as the Green Ocean, because of its exuberant green vegetation, is divided by numerous rivers which flow into the Amazon River. The Amazon is the main artery of the Peruvian and Brazilian jungle.

The southern highland region is divided administratively into the departments of Arequipa, Moquequa, Cuzco, Puno and Apurimac. This study is concerned only with the



three last departments where the percentage of Indian population is high.

The topography of Cuzco varies according to the altitude. At 8,000 and 9,000 feet Cuzco has broad valleys where the surrounding hills and mountains are not so rugged. These valleys have fertile soil which, with irrigation, is suitable for raising barley, wheat, and potato crops. At approximately 10,000 feet there are many small basins or ravines where the surrounding mountains are abrupt and precipitous. This region is capable of potato and quinoa cultivation. At altitudes above 12,000 feet, the high, level, natural slopes lying between the lofty mountains are the great pasture lands covered with ichu (tufted forage grass). Generally, the peaks of these mountains are snow-covered, with lichens, mosses, and a few sturdy plants like the humanrripa and the huir-huiri being the only products of this snow-line vegetation.

Apurimac has deep valleys, high small basins, and pasture lands. Abaucay is one of these deep valleys which is at an altitude of 6,000 to 7,000 feet. This basin has a fertile soil appropriate for raising sugar-cane, alfalfa, and fruits. The mountains surrounding this basin are abrupt with very few slopes adequate for cultivation. The small high basins and pasture lands of Apurimac are similar to those of the Cuzco area.

The Altiplanicie of Collao, a treeless tableland, is found in the department of Puno and is the largest altiplanicie of Peru. Most of this highland area is covered with pasturage. The high basins found in this plateau area have

soil adequate for the raising of potatoes, barley, and quinoa. The nature of this soil, according to Emilio Romero, is as follows:<sup>31</sup>

Soil of the Highland of Collao		
Volatile materials	1 1	21.30 per cent
Silicates . . . . .		72.20
Phosphoric acid . . .		.17
Nitrogen . . . . .		.29
Other materials . . .		<u>6.04</u>
		100.00 per cent.

However, this analysis seems to be fragmentary and incomplete since, up to this time, a thorough analysis has not been made of the various types of soil of the Altiplanicie of Collao.

In the southeast region of this Altiplanicie is found historic Lake Titicaca. This lake, considered the second highest lake in the world, lies at 12,000 feet above sea level.

The climate has a great variety in the southern highland region. This variety depends on the elevation, although there may be some local variations due to certain topographical influences. In the deep valleys and basins the climate is tropical, and in the regions located at 8,000 or 9,000 feet the climate is temperate. In the latter regions there are good lands, abundant water, and a climate favorable to crops. The punas (above 9,000 feet), on the other hand, are chilly and unpleasant throughout the year due to the altitude and cold.

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<sup>31</sup>Emilio Romero, Geografia Economica del Peru, Lima, Peru: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1930, p. 20.

There is no true spring or autumn season in the highland, only winter and summer. The rainy season usually starts in January and ends in April and there is more rainfall in the hills and mountains than in the valleys and basins.

### Race

Origin. The origin of the American Indian is very controversial. Some writers as Brasseur de Bourbourg and Florentine Ameghino point out that the Indian race is autochthonic of America. A couple of years ago, Ameghino found some human bones in his excavations made in the plains of Argentina. The Argentinian anthropologist pointed out that the bones were found in a layer of the Tertiary Period. Since man's beginnings have been established during the Quaternary Period, Ameghino formulated his thesis based on his findings that Argentina was, many hundred thousands of years ago, the cradle of humanity.

But this audacious thesis was discredited by scientific evidences found by French and American anthropologists. Hrdlicka, after his excavations made in Peru in 1913, pointed out that the American Indians had lived on the American continent for twenty centuries.<sup>32</sup> Hrdlicka says, "There are no signs that any group has been in any of the sites for even as much as, say, twenty centuries." Concerning this subject, Kroeber has the same opinion as Hrdlicka. The French writer

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<sup>32</sup>Ales Hrdlicka, Anthropological Work in Peru in 1913, Washington, D.C., 1914, p. 56.

A. Metraux points out that the Indians lived in America 20,000 years ago.<sup>33</sup> Metraux says, "America was probably inhabited 20,000 years ago by fishermen and hunters who came from Asia." (Author's translation.)

No one knows with certainty the antiquity of the American Indian. The fact on which there is unanimous agreement among the anthropologists of the twentieth century is that the Indians are descendents of the Asiatic race. This unanimous opinion of many famous scientists has completely discredited the autochthonic theory of the Indians' American origin. The arguments of the Asiatic origin theorists against the autochthonic theory may be summarized by the following points: (1) At the present time, there is a strong tendency on the part of the anthropologists to consider as more credible the monogenic theory of the racial origin of humanity. (2) Remains of human bones like those of the Java and Heidelberg men have not been found in America. In fact, the human bones found in America do not differ substantially from the actual *Homo Sapiens*. (3) Fossils of the *Catarrhinos* monkeys which are supposed to be the near ancestors of man in the evolutionist theory concerning the origin of the human race have never been found in America. These arguments apparently discard the autochthonic origin theory in favor of the emigration theory. According to this theory the Indians' ancestors came from the southeast region of Asia. They came to the New World in successive small waves at the end of the last

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<sup>33</sup>Alfred Metraux, Rouges de L'Amerique Du Sud, Paris: Editions Baurrelrier, 1950, p. 9.

glacial period. Hrdlicka and other writers believe that the southeastern Asiatic emigrants arrived in America via the Behring Strait. Paul Rivet, however, apparently rejects the theory that the primitive emigrants who arrived in America were from the southeast Asiatic mainland. The French ethnologist points out that the oriental emigrants came to America from Australia, New Guinea, Melanesia, and Polynesia. Some of these emigrants, according to Rivet, followed the ocean currents in small primitive boats. Rivet's theory appears to be supported by the remains of skulls of a negroid type found in the excavations of Lagoa Santa (Brazil), and northern and southern regions of Peru. These negroid types were apparently the descendants of the negroes of New Guinea. In addition to the remains of human bones of the negroid type found in the excavations, some Mochica portrait vases have outstanding negro racial features. This artistic pottery work of the Peruvian Indians of Lambayeque and Trujillo also supports Rivet's theory. At any rate it seems likely that the negro emigration to America in the pre-European period was extremely limited. Probably the major emigration to the New World in this period was of Mongolic origin. The American Indians of Mongolic origin have acquired throughout the centuries some particular racial characteristics due to environmental factors, such as altitude, humidity, solar radiation, diet habits, and so forth. For instance, the Peruvian Quechuas and Aymaras of the highland, according to Dr. Isaiah Bowman, have some particular morphological and biological characteristics.

Carlos Monje states:<sup>34</sup>

Altitude, barometric pressure, ionization of the atmosphere, all these elements of the Andean climate have evolved an ethnic type (Quechuas and Aymaras) with morphological and biological characteristics distinct from those of other groups that people the earth.

Some anthropometric features of the Quechuas. The Quechuas of the southern highland Indian communities are probably descendents of Asiatic people. The color of the skin of the Quechuas is generally dark brown. The face is broad and the nose generally has a straight dorsum and divergent nostril. The eyes have a Mongolic spot and the predominant color for the aureola is medium maroon. The Quechuas have thicker lips than the white races, and straight black hair like the Mongolics. They have no beard and the pilous system of the body is absent. The Quechuas have broad shoulders and almost a medium stature. H. E. Ferris, measuring many groups of Quechuas, has established an average height of 1.583 m., and for the mixed-bloods 1.587 m. The Quechuas have short lower extremities, and long upper extremities in relation to height. Concerning this subject Ferris points out the following measurements:<sup>35</sup>

In the entire group the average span of the Quechua is 1.621 m., with extremes of 1.762 m. and 1.371 m. The average arm length is 0.29 m. The average length of the hand is 0.174 m., with 0.197 m. and 0.156 m. as extremes.

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<sup>34</sup>Carlos Monje, Acclimatation in the Andes, trans. F. Brown, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1948.

<sup>35</sup>H. E. Ferris, "Indians of Cuzco and Apurimac," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Lancaster, Penna: A. A. Association, 1916, p. 86.

The Quechua has an athletic complexion but generally the muscular development of the arm and forearm is poor. This fact has been found in dynamometric records made by Ferris and Rouma. Rouma, a French scientist, has measured some Aymara groups who live in Puno. He points out that between the Quechuas and Aymaras there are no differences in body measurements.

Dr. Monje states that the Quechuan heart and lungs are extremely well developed due to the high altitude. According to this same writer, the vegetative nervous system has slow reactions due to the action of the "parasimpatico" which bridle the heart and slows the respiration.<sup>36</sup> The Quechua is on the average mesocephalic, and his brain weight, according to Ferris, is 1,250 grams.

### Nutrition

It is widely recognised that nutrition plays a great role in physical and mental health. For years there has been an interest in nutritional problems, but scientists have taken a serious interest in this problem only since the nineteenth century. This interest has been greatly accelerated during the twentieth century. During this period outstanding progress in organic chemistry and bio-chemistry threw new light on the study of nutritional problems. This scientific progress has been the result of long and patient research.

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<sup>36</sup>Carlos Monje, "Influencia Biologica del Altiplano en el Individuo," La Raza, las Sociedades y la Historia de America, Lima, Peru, 1940.

As a result the scientists have been successful in analysing the composition of food products, in isolating the vitamins, and improving the quality of nutrients with minerals and vitamins. Dieticians have established the amount and quality of food required in the normal growth of children, and in the maintenance of good health and efficiency in adults. This scientific approach to the study of nutritional problems has raised the questions: Do the people have what is called an adequate balanced diet? What are the sound nutritional policies for improving deficient diets of people? The technicians of nutrition of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the Point Four Program are making dietary surveys in many countries and helping the people to improve their alimentation. In Peru, in some urban areas like Lima, Trujillo, and Iquitas, the technicians of the Point Four Program are assisting the Peruvian people in these problems. Unfortunately, there have been no such dietary surveys made in the Indian communities of the Peruvian highland. We have no information as yet as to how many units of proteins, fats, carbohydrates, and minerals are present in the daily food consumption of the Indians. All the available data on the diet habits of the Indians are based on empirical observations. Consequently, this study of nutrition of the southern Peruvian communities will lack scientific data, and will be based primarily on direct empirical observation.

What foods do the Indians of the southern highland region of Peru eat? The diet system of the Indians in this region varies according to the altitude in which they live.



The alimentation of the Indians living in the valleys of temperate climate is based almost completely on potatoes, corn, wheat, barley and some native products such as ocas (oca-oxalis), ollucos, mashua, tauri, and "horse beans." Potatoes are frozen outdoors. These chunos (frozen potatoes) are then dried and ground with stones and are called tocos (pressed potatoes). Chuno is used in the preparation of soups (in most cases only for invalids). Corn is eaten in the form of choclo (corn on the cob), caucha (toasted), and mote (kernel style). Chicha, usually called the "Inca's liquor" is also made from corn. Soup called lahua is made with wheat. Only on very special occasions, particularly during the religious festivities of the Saint of the village, is wheat employed in the making of bread. The horse beans are eaten toasted (ro-cucho), and boiled. The Indian virtually never has in his daily diet eggs, meat, milk and milk products, fruits, vegetables, sugar, cocoa, and other important nutrients. Again, meat is eaten only on the great religious feast days. The very few Indians who have cows do not drink the milk. They sell this product to mestizos and whites. The diet of the Indians living in the punas is based almost completely on potatoes and quinoa because the cold climate is not adequate for wheat and corn production. The Andean shepherds also eat some wild lacustrine plants called cushuro. They very seldom kill the llama for its meat. This happens only when this "American camel" becomes old and sick.

What is the amount of food consumption of Indians as a general average? According to the Peruvian Luis Rose Ugarte,

the general average of food consumption among the Indians is lowest in Peru. For instance, according to this author, the general average for the department of Cuzco is 328 kg. a year, and 278 kg. for the department of Puno. Ugarte, in his study, took the urban and rural areas, so the annual percentage per individual probably is lower in the Indian communities. In the amount of food consumption by the Indians the potato occupies first place. It is said that the adult Indian eats one pound and a half of potatoes a day. Potatoes are for the Indians what rice is for the Chinese. Corn is the second product in the Indian diet. Wheat consumption is limited. This product is cultivated primarily for sale in the markets. The wheat of Cuzco, according to J. A. Shellenberger,<sup>37</sup> has a low percentage of proteins. Shellenberger says,

The highest protein wheat comes from Arequipa and the lowest comes from the Cusco area. It is suggested that all flour sold for bread production in Peru be enriched with the following vitamins and minerals: thiamine, riboflavin, iron and calcium.

So the limited quantity of bread that the Indians eat during their fiestas has a low protein content.

Generally speaking, the diet of the Indians is reduced in quantity and mediocre in quality. Their diet, based on very few foods, is completely lacking in important nutrients and vitamins which keep the machinery of the body in efficient condition. It can be said that the Indian diet is markedly below the so-called "balanced" diet. In this poor

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<sup>37</sup>J. A. Shellenberger, The Milling and Baking Industries of Peru, Special Report, Institute of Inter American Affairs, Washington 25, D.C., 1946, p. 10.

dietary system, the children and women, for cultural reasons, are at a disadvantage. The Indians believe that the father must have the best food in the family. For instance, according to this cultural pattern, if the Indians for some exceptional reason should have eggs and milk in their dinner, the head of the family will take these foods, giving only a very little to the boys. The wife and girls will receive none because the Indians apparently consider women as inferior to men. Consequently, the girls will generally get a less amount of food than the boys, as the housekeeping wife will always reserve more and better food for her sons and husband. Pregnancy and illness do not alter this social custom.

It is believed among the Indians that the newborn must suckle the breast of his mother at will, so there is no schedule for feeding. When the child is three or four months old the mother starts giving him potatoes and corn soups. However, the child continues breast feeding sometimes until he is two years old. The child will get no more milk at the end of the suckling period. The nutrition of the child like its parents is based on a very poor vegetarian diet.

The food consumption of the Indian child is virtually uniform in terms of amount and quality. Breakfast at 6:30 in the morning usually consists of barley soup with a meager portion of potatoes no matter what sort of work he does. At 5:30 in the afternoon he will have the same menu, and in the evening a small portion of boiled potatoes or roasted corn. Indian children generally have broad shoulders and deep chests because of the high altitude, but this is only an external

physical appearance. In reality, they are undernourished, and this undernourishment probably starts in the pre-natal period because of certain nutritional deficiencies of the mother. Of course, this statement is not based on experimental data. But the factors already mentioned concerning the lack of an adequate diet allow us to make assumptions regarding the undernourishment of Indian children. It is hard to conceive of vigorous and sturdy children subsisting on a diet which is lacking in important nutrients like milk, eggs, meat, and vegetables.

Possible causes of the Indians' undernourishment. It seems that the problem of undernourishment among the Peruvian Indians lies in the following points: (a) production and trade, (b) family income, (c) increase of the population, and (d) transportation.

Production involves primarily land, tools, and workers. The whole southern region of Peru has five hundred thousand hectares of arable land according to Ugarte. Most of this arable area is in the hands of white and mestizo hacendados (farmers). Unfortunately, the author has no available data on the number of hectares of arable Indian land.

A great percentage of the hacendados' farm production is exported to the main cities of the sierra and coast, primarily Lima. So, in the eventuality of bad crops, the Indians, even if they had money, would not be able to buy corn and potatoes from the hacendados.

Ordinarily the Indian communities own only a small area of arable land. However, the Indians do not utilize the

entire area of their small amount of land. It is said that they utilize only twenty per cent. Primitive farming methods still exist. The wooden plow employed by their ancestors a thousand years ago is still being used. This limited exploitation of the land and the use of primitive tools in farming may explain one of the causes of the low food production which has a tremendous repercussion on the nutrition of the communities. In spite of this low production, the Indians sell a part of their crops in order to raise money for buying salt, chili, and coca which are apparently indispensable in the Indians' existence.

The income of the Indians is extremely low. In 1945 Ugarte pointed out that the daily wage for the Indians in the Cuzco area was fifty Peruvian cents, and thirty-six in Puno and Apurimac. The wage rate in Cuzco would be one hundred eighty Peruvian soles a year (twelve American dollars and ten cents, and the wage rate of Puno and Apurimac would be one hundred and thirty-one soles a year (eight American dollars and seventy cents). From 1945 to 1951 the Peruvian cost of living gradually increased, but Indian wages did not. For example, at the present time, in the southern sierra cities, one pound of meat costs one and a half soles. Prior to 1945 it cost one sol. Rice rose from one sol a pound to one sol and a half. Milk in 1945 cost ten centavos a quart, now it costs twenty-five centavos. The Indians cannot hope to buy these products from the urban markets because of the low purchasing power of Peruvian centavos. On the other hand, the Indians do not employ all their wages for buying foods. They

use only a third of their wages for buying salt and chili. The situation is worse for the Indians who have no land. In this case the Indians work on the farms of the hacendados without receiving wages. The hacendados give them a piece of land for a certain period of time in exchange for their work. But the Indians must give the hacendados half of the production of the land plus their work in the hacienda for most of the year.

The Indians would perish of starvation if they could not have a piece of land on which to raise their corn and potatoes, but the exploitation of the land is limited to twenty per cent of the acreage for the bare necessities of life plus a very small surplus to sell in the markets. Also, in certain southern Indian communities the shortage of land and an increase in the population has had a tremendous influence on the life of the communities. In this case, the extended Indian families who have a small piece of land cannot attain the necessary amount of production in relation to the size of family.

All the factors heretofore mentioned have a direct bearing on the problem of undernourishment among the Indians. It is not the purpose of this work to discuss extensively the possible ways of increasing the Indian production of foods nor to indicate possible solutions for ending the Indian problem of undernourishment. A knowledge of these factors may be helpful for a good understanding of the nutritional problems of the communities. But the fact remains that most of the Indian school children are undernourished; and this under-

nourishment affects their growth and learning processes. This serious situation makes it compelling for the schools to do something for the children. Of course the school is not the only social force which must improve the conditions of life for the children. This is a complex problem which requires the cooperation of many social forces, including the school.

What could the school do to improve the nutrition of the Indian children? The school can do something to improve the diet of the children. In the first place, it seems possible to improve their extremely meager lunch. This improvement should be possible if every rural school would cultivate a school garden. In these gardens vegetables could be grown, and perhaps potatoes and barley. The second step should be the establishment of dining rooms for children (comedores infantiles) in which they could have soup, salad, and perhaps some meat and milk. The vegetables from the school gardens could be used in the children's lunches. Since the school gardens would be capable of producing only a limited crop, some plan should be devised for acquiring potatoes, barley, milk, meat, and so forth. One possible plan might be for the parents of the children to contribute to the school a part of their production of such items. This possibility depends upon the school teachers. It seems likely that the Indian parents would cooperate with the teachers for the benefit of their children if the teachers would make an effort to understand them, and their values and customs. The Point Four Program and the Peruvian State could help the rural schools with an

adequate supply of powdered milk. The comedores infantiles will help to improve the nutrition of the children, and to promote close relationship between the teachers and parents. On the other hand, the parents might change certain ideas concerning food consumption and the production of vegetables. Right now the Indians believe that vegetables cannot be produced in the high small valleys. But experience shows that these plants can be grown easily at 9,000 feet above sea level. Perhaps, on seeing the successful vegetable production of the school gardens, the Indians might become curious and interested. If some Indians of prestige in the community, under the guidance of the teachers, would start planting vegetables and eating them, possibly many Indian families would follow their example.

It is said that the Indians are unable to change their habits of food consumption. Apparently, this conclusion is based on the experience of certain supervisors who have lectured the Indians on the necessity of having a well-balanced diet, and who have recommended that the Indians include in their diet such things as meat, fresh vegetables such as lettuce, carrots, and tomatoes, and citrus fruits. What these well-meaning lecturers have failed to understand is, how can the Indians acquire such foods and habits. These recommendations are as futile as recommendations to a poor share-cropper in the southern part of the U. S. to buy a 1953 Cadillac and a summer house at Miami Beach. In other cases Home Economics teachers give two or three demonstrations a year on the best way to prepare a glass of milk with cocoa. These



demonstrations are good in theory, but not in practice since the Indians have no possibilities of buying the milk and the cocoa. To bring about a change in any kind of habit takes time, and constant opportunities to practice the new one. Consequently, the Indians cannot change their habits with infrequent academic lectures and Home Economics demonstration classes. Education may succeed in changing the Indian food consumption habits through a plan practiced constantly for many years. A good starting point would be to have school gardens in the rural areas to interest the Indians through identification, imitation, suggestion on the part of persons of prestige, and other psychological means in increasing their production and in learning to eat vegetables and other important nutrients.

### Diseases

At the present time science is aware of the majority of the agents which cause disease, and have greatly improved the treatment of all types of disease. According to the scientists, the life span of human beings has been lengthened considerably through the development of prophylaxis, the discovery of new drugs, the establishment of modern hospitals and clinics with excellent laboratories, equipment, and well trained doctors and nurses. However, in vast areas all over the world there still prevails ignorance of the etiology of disease, and reliance on treatment of disease by means of superstitions and magic formulas.

In the southern Peruvian Indian communities the old

Incaic beliefs are still held concerning the origin and treatment of disease. The wind and sorcery, according to Indian belief, are the only sources of disease. However, it is believed that various kinds of winds carry the various types of diseases. For instance, according to Jorge A. Lira, the wind called Kkhakkyá produces respiratory diseases, and the Sokawayna all the blood, urine and skin infections.<sup>38</sup> The treatment of diseases among the Indians is more or less based on a collection of superstitions transmitted without change throughout the generations. In these treatments, according to Lira, various materials such as animal skins, bones, hair, meat, and human saliva, urine, hairs, and fecal substances, are employed. Also used are wild and domesticated leaves, flowers, roots, seeds and so forth. For instance, malaria is treated with skunk meat, and in cases of tuberculosis plasters made of black cat's skin are used; and for hemorrhages the horns of deer are thought to be an effective treatment. When the diseases are thought to be caused by sorcery, magic formulas are relied upon as treatment.

In this type of primitive medicine the prevention of diseases is virtually unknown. In fact, in Indian families where there is tuberculosis, the sick are not isolated but live in the same rooms with their relatives, using the same plates and cups. These practices greatly facilitate the spread of communicable diseases. In many places the water is

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<sup>38</sup>Jorge A. Lira, Farmacopea Tradicional Indígena, Lima, Peru: Imprenta El Condor, 1946, p. 9.

contaminated, and the Indians drink the water without boiling it; also no precaution is taken by purifying the water supplies of the villages.

The lack of hygiene among the Indians facilitates the propagation of flies which are the agents of contagion of tifus exantematico (typhus). In fact the Indians have no habits of personal cleanliness. They seldom wash their hands and faces and they bathe themselves rarely. Soap is rarely used and the comb is virtually an article of luxury. Toothbrushes and toothpaste are unknown, therefore oral and dental hygiene are completely neglected. The Indians each have one set of underclothes which they wear for many months without washing until the clothes are in tatters and vermin infested. They wash the bedclothing once a year, and in some cases they wash the sheets and blankets only in the case of death of an adult member of the family. Indians live in houses which consist of one room for the entire family. This room is also used as a storehouse for their crops, and as a shelter for various small animals such as young pigs and cuyes (guinea pigs). This room has inadequate ventilation and house cleaning is negligible.

In accordance with Peruvian law a health certificate is required prior to marriage but this law is ignored completely in the Indian communities. Therefore, venereal diseases are prevalent. Filth, malnutrition, and lack of prevention cause recurrent epidemics. In many instances burial is put off for many days while the body lies decomposing.

Most prevalent Indian diseases. Colds and pneumonia

are almost epidemic in the periods of cold weather, particularly in the high valleys and punas. In most cases pneumonia produces a high death rate, particularly among the children and old people. Pneumonia is treated with onion juice. Dysentery, and other intestinal infections, are commonplace due to the contaminated foods and water supply. The intestinal infections produce a high death rate among the children, particularly in the first two years of life. This is due, probably, to the fact that babies four or five months old are fed adult food prepared most of the time without cleanliness. Toddlers have further chances for infection from dirty floors.

Tuberculosis is not so prevalent in the Indian communities as in the slum areas of Lima, and other main coastal cities. However, the Peruvian physician, Jose Marroquin, has found a high percentage of tuberculosis among the Indians of Puno.<sup>39</sup> Marroquin states, "We have found a positive reaction of tuberculosis in thirty per cent of 2,000 individuals examined." (Author's translation.) Unfortunately, there are no statistics available of the percentage of tuberculosis in the rural areas of the southern Indian highland communities. It is quite possible that the percentage in these rural areas is not as high as in Puno because Indians living in the city, being in the lowest wage group, get even less food than the rural Indians.

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<sup>39</sup>Jose Marroquin, Temas Indigenistas Peruanos de Caracter Bio-Social, Lima, Peru: Imprenta Amargura, 1944, p. 39.

Dr. Marroquin, and many other Peruvians concerned with the problems of Indian health, points out that in most cases the Indians moving from their communities to the coastal areas contract tuberculosis. It has been said that the Indians get this disease on the coast because of the change of climate and bad nutrition. This statement seems true because the weakened condition of the Indians probably gives them a lower threshold of resistance to infection from tuberculosis which is wide-spread in Lima. For instance, many Indians come to the capital as army recruits where they remain for two years. After this time they return to their Indian communities and ninety per cent of them carry back tuberculosis. It has also been said that tuberculosis in the highland rural areas is transmitted only by sick Indians who return from the coast to their communities. This statement apparently does not recognize the fact that tuberculosis can also be originated in the highland rural areas. Science admits as a probability that tuberculosis can be originated in any part of the world among peoples suffering from undernourishment and living under unsanitary conditions and in congested areas. Ernest Carrol Faust says:

It may be stated that there are certain diseases as tuberculosis, small pox, and typhoid fever, which thrive in practically any climate, provided transmission is present.<sup>40</sup>

Under the conditions of life previously mentioned, it would

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<sup>40</sup>American Association for the Advancement of Science, Centennial, Washington, D.C.: 1950.

seem that there are many opportunities for transmission.

According to Doctors Marroquin and N. Saens there are many cases of gonorrhea and syphilis among the Indians of the highland rural areas. These physicians do not report statistical data, and their assertions are apparently based on generalities which are not supported by studies in the rural areas. Marroquin and Lacuz point out that the Indians get venereal diseases in the coastal areas. However, some Peruvian writers like Landaeta and Romero point out that there are cases of prostitution among the Indian people. If this statement is true, there is a possibility that the Indians acquire venereal diseases without ever coming in contact with the coastal cities. It may be stated that prostitution among the Indian people is much less in comparison with the urban areas. Incidentally, the study of mummy skulls has shown that syphilis was known in the Inca Empire. This historic fact seems to support in a certain measure the statements of Romero and Landaeta.

It is known that malaria is not a highland sickness. Nevertheless, malaria is found among the Indians of the highland rural areas. This is explained by the fact that the Indians migrate periodically to the cotton and sugar cane plantations of the coastal valleys. D.D.T. is not used in the coastal valleys to combat the zancudos anofeles mosquito and it is in these valleys that the Indians contract malaria.

Cocaism. It is said in Peru that cocaism is a major vice of the Indians. This statement seems to be true. The Indians start chewing coca leaves in adolescence and continue

with it probably through their entire lifetime. They commonly chew the coca leaves three or four times a day and oftener in cases of personal disgrace and during religious festivities. According to Marroquin this intense use of coca leaves causes, among the Indian people, disturbances in the digestive, muscular and nervous systems.<sup>41</sup>

For the past two years American and Peruvian scientists have been making researches in order to determine the cocaine concentration in the blood stream and the effect of this drug on the cells, organs and tissues of the Indian people addicted to the use of coca leaves. So far as the author knows the results of this scientific research have not yet been published.

Alcoholism. It may be stated that in Peru most of the people concerned with Indian problems point out that the Indians are chronic alcoholics. However, the facts seem to be in opposition to this general statement. According to most rural teachers, the Indians usually do not drink except during religious or communal festivities. On these occasions, apparently, they drink heavily. There have been no studies made concerning the effects of acute alcoholism on the health of the Indian people. There seems to be a lack of scientific support for generalizations which state that alcoholism is degenerating the Indian people.

Health resources of the Indian highland communities.  
In relation to its population Peru has a shortage of doctors.

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<sup>41</sup>Marroquin, op. cit., p. 29.

The majority of the medical men remain in the main coastal cities, particularly in the capital. However, there is one physician paid by the government who works in the capital of each province. In most of the provinces, hospitals are lacking in adequate numbers of beds and reasonable medical supplies and equipment. Supplies of such things as rubber gloves, catgut, sulphas, penicillin, and other biotics are extremely limited. Due to these shortages the physician of the state can do very little to aid the sick.

The health resources of the southern highland rural area are virtually nil. These resources in almost all cases consist of such things as aspirin, mercurochrome, and other minor medicines. There are no physicians in these rural areas. The very limited medical services are performed by practical nurses.

But in the majority of cases, sick Indians are treated by their own physicians and with their own medicines. Sometimes the Indians go to the city hospitals, located near their communities, when the illness is extremely complicated. Of course in most of these cases even the city doctors can do nothing. It can be said, pushing the matter a little farther, that when the Indians get sick with illnesses such as tuberculosis or paludism they don't recuperate, perhaps in most cases due to the lack of adequate scientific treatment.

What must the teachers do for the improvement of health in the Indian communities? The improvement of health in the Indian communities must be done mostly by the State. However,



the teachers can play an effective role, cooperating with the State in improving the physical conditions of the Indian people.

It might be advisable for the teachers to concentrate their efforts on the communities and in the schools for the improvement of the health in rural areas.

The work of the teachers, in close cooperation with the practical nurses, may be centered in an effort to change the beliefs of the Indians regarding the etiology and treatment of diseases. Of course, it will be very difficult to adopt a concrete policy for helping the Indian people to change their attitudes and beliefs which have become rooted in their collective self, perhaps since many thousands of years ago. A people does not easily change its philosophy of life. So a successful attempt to change this philosophy depends, at least in part, upon the policy adopted. It may be adopted by the teachers and sanitary teachers as a practical methodology in helping the Peruvian southern communities to get away from their superstitions regarding the etiology and treatment of disease. This practical methodology may be centered on concrete facts rather than on theoretic lectures. For instance, if there are cases of pneumonia in the communities the teachers must treat the ill with penicillin. Of course, the teachers would do well to explain clearly that pneumonia is treated more successfully with penicillin than with onion juice. Successful treatments with the new drug could probably change the belief of the Indians concerning the excellence of the onion for curing pneumonia. The use of vaccines, D.D.T.,

and antiseptics in the prevention of epidemics, accompanied with clear explanations in a pleasant and friendly atmosphere may help in changing the Indian's mental attitudes toward modern medicine.

The teachers in the schools might focus their attention on the health and growth control of their students. In this effort the teachers might look for a close relationship with the physician of the urban section near the community. Probably the physician would react favorably to the teacher's suggestion regarding a general check of the Indian children at the beginning of the school year. Professional help is necessary because the diagnosis and treatment of serious diseases require specialization.

Concerning the control of growth, possibly the teachers in the rural schools might keep individual cards of periodic anthropometric measurements of the children, at least once a year. With a scale and height meter, the teacher should not have difficulty in measuring such dimensions as height, weight, shoulder width, hip width, and so forth. Adequate growth control of the children could be useful in giving an approximate idea of the physical condition of the students. It would also be helpful in plotting a curve of average growth in Indian children. This attempt should be facilitated by the homogeneity of the Indian child population in general terms of racial stock.

Concerning hygiene it seems possible that the providing of water-closets and showers in the schools would facilitate among the children the acquisition of good habits of cleanliness.

With community cooperation the school teachers could do this and many other things for the children and the communities if they are filled with good purpose for the progress of the country.

Growth patterns of the Indian children. Most of the literature on the human growth pattern is based on average heights and average weights of boys and girls of various chronologic ages. However, these averages give no information concerning the range of variability of the height and weight. The range of variability of these two aspects of growth is based on individual differences of growth patterns. In any case the average curves of growth have practical advantages.

There is no data available concerning the average curve of growth of the children of the highland Indian communities; in the majority of cases, the school teachers do not measure the height and weight of their students. Therefore, there is no data concerning the individual growth patterns of Indian children. It is possible that Indian children often have a slower maturing rate than the mestizos and white Peruvian children because of differences in nutrition and other ways of living.

It is known that the proper growth of children is positively correlated with an adequate nutritional diet, and a peaceful and pleasant social environment. Inadequate diet and mental and emotional tensions tend to promote failures in growth processes. It has been pointed out that the Indian children have a deficient nutritional diet, and are subject to frequent epidemics of small pox, typhus, intestinal

infections, and other diseases. The methods of teaching in the rural schools promote mental and emotional tensions among the children. I will try to analyse this point in Chapter VI. Therefore, it is logical to assume that undernourishment and mental and emotional tension among Indian children promote many cases of growth failure. Probably the number of these cases is quite high because even in countries such as the U.S. where nutrition is good, a high percentage of growth failure occurs among children due to deficient nutrition. Norman C. Wetzel says:

Simple malnutrition is by far the most frequent of all types of growth failure, for it may be found, if carefully looked for, among twenty or thirty per cent of any group of children, and even in much greater proportions among certain underprivileged populations.<sup>42</sup>

It is quite likely that most instances of growth failure among Indian children are found among girls rather than boys because, due to cultural beliefs of the Indians already mentioned, male children receive better food. There must be cases of growth failure among the Indian children due to disease, but there is no available data regarding this subject. As far as the author knows there are no doctors in the rural areas who can check on the health of the Indian children.

Scholarly achievement, adjusted behavior to private and public life, and general success of the individual are based mostly on the output of his energy. This output of energy probably explains in part the individual differences in terms

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<sup>42</sup>Norman C. Wetzel, The Treatment of Growth Failure in Children, Cleveland, Ohio: N.E.A. Service, Inc., 1948, p. 21.

of mental and physical performance. One of these differences is probably related to the speed in performance of the individual's activities. The individuals with low output of energy will probably not have the same facility as energetic individuals in the execution of certain tasks which require great mental concentration.

Influence of physical factors in the mental activities of Indian children. It seems inadequate to consider some activities as specifically somatic or psychological. In reality, according to Goldstein, all performances of the Individual may be related to the activities of the whole organism. Goldstein says, "We are always dealing with the activity of the whole organism, the effects of which we refer at one time to something called mind, at another time to something called body."<sup>43</sup> In this sense, only by the interrelation of many factors may we explain the behavior of the organism.

In this study the author will state some general assumptions as to how the physical condition of the Indian children produces a marked influence on their school activities. (In the last chapter he will try to synthesize the impact of many factors on the behavior of the Indian children.)

It may well be that most Indian children are slow in the performance of intellectual and physical work in school because of poor output of energy. This assumption is supported by the reports of most Peruvian rural school teachers who point out that the Indian children are slow in learning activities.

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<sup>43</sup>Kurt Goldstein, *The Organism*, New York, Cincinnati: American Book Co., 1939.

The slowness of the Indian children in the performance of school tasks is not a matter of I.Q., as it is believed by the rural teachers; more likely, it is a matter of many factors including health and undernourishment. Physical handicaps may also influence the mental development of the Indian children, which seems to be lower than that of the mestizos and white children. The rural teachers of Peru have never complained regarding a lack of discipline among the Indian children. These children seem to be very quiet and passive. This lack of dynamism in the children may be related in part also to deficient nutritional diets. The assumptions already stated need to be tested in the field of experimentation.

## CHAPTER IV

### CULTURAL ASPECTS

#### Economic Activities

Agriculture, cattle raising, trade and small manufactures are the common activities of the economic life of the Indian communities.

Agriculture is the most outstanding activity of the lower valleys, and cattle raising in the places in which the altitude and climate are not suitable for agricultural activities. The volume of commercial trade in the Indian markets is very limited because of the low output of agricultural products and manufactured goods.

Land tenure. Since the Quechua people's economy is based mostly on agriculture, it is worth while to study briefly the form of property of the arable land of the Indian communities.

In some communities there are three types of land tenure: (a) land of the municipality, (b) land of the Santo Patrono of the village, and (c) land of the community. Land of the municipality belongs to the community as a whole but is under the control of the village authorities. These authorities rent the land to the people of the community. Generally, wealthy Indians rent the arable lands under the control of the municipality. The rent of this land is used for the budgetary expenses of the village administration.

The land of the Santo Patrono of the village is cultivated by all the people of the community. The crops of this land are used for feeding the people of the village during the religious fiestas of the community. The land of the community is divided into small lots. Each family, as in the old Inca Empire, has a lot of arable land. The size of this familiar lot varies according to the general size of the arable land of the whole community. The families, through generations, work their respective lots. However, in some communities the arable land is divided each year among the families. The allotment is made by the governor of the district. Sometimes these allotments cause certain quarrels among the people because of the delimitation of the boundaries of the lots. The distribution of the land is an occasion for great festivals sponsored by the authorities in honor of the governor of the district.

Agriculture. The Peruvian Quechuas have inherited from their ancestors knowledge concerning the technique of agricultural production which is still employed at the present day in Indian communities. For instance, the Quechuas use the wooden plow which was employed by their ancestors, and still use the same channels of irrigation and the same terraces which were built by the Incas. These primitive methods, plus other causes which were pointed out in the preceding chapter, explain partially the limited agricultural production in the Indian communities. The form of work in agriculture used in the communities is based on the aine or work of cooperation among the members of the families and all the people of the



community. This system of aine has been handed down from the Incas. The functioning of this cooperative work is very simple: the married sons help their parents in planting, harvesting, and all kinds of agricultural activities; the parents in turn help their married sons in the activities already mentioned. The time employed in the work is an important factor in the aine. For instance, if three married sons have worked five days on the land of their parents, the parents in turn must work five days on the land of each of their sons. If the father is able to work only three days, he must pay coca or salt to the sons for the difference of the two days.

The system of aine or cooperative work among the people of the community is the same as that practiced among the members of the family. In case of need, any individuals of the community ask the help of their godfathers and neighbors whereupon these people offer their cooperation immediately to the individual who needs help in the work on his lot of land. Sometimes, the adult men work the land of their godfathers or neighbors in the company of their wives and children. These people work with their own tools, while the individual who requested help gives to the helpers coca leaves, chicha, and food. The work of aine is carried out in an atmosphere of gaiety and good humor, joking is frequent among the workers and sometimes, during a break in the work, the people sing huaynos and cachaspaes to the monotonous tune of the flutes, antaras, and drums.

The aine is practiced not only in agriculture, but also in building houses, corrals, in tending flocks, and even

in the household chores. In the building of houses with walls of adobe and tile roofs, the people of the community contribute their work and also materials such as adobe and tiles. The completion of the building of these houses, which is not common in the Indian villages, is celebrated with colorful fiestas, at which time it is usual to consume chicha and aguardiente (brandy distilled from sugar cane). Generally, in building houses with stone walls and straw roofs, cooperation in the work is carried out only by the members of the family and godfathers. The aine in pasturing is carried out mainly among the children. If a child wants free time to accompany his parents to the market, or if he wants only to have a good time with friends, he asks for aine or cooperation of a child of his neighbor, and the neighbor's child will watch over the sheep or pigs during his absence.

If the mother of a family has a fiesta to celebrate the baptism of her baby or the marriage of a son, she may ask for help from her godmothers and neighbors in making chicha and in preparing the meals. These people not only cooperate with their personal work, but also contribute goods for the best success of the fiesta. The aine is based on the Indian philosophy that mutual assistance is the most practical way of overcoming all kinds of difficulties. Each individual of the community is ready to offer his cooperation because he is convinced that in case of his own need he will receive the cooperation of his neighbors and the people of the community.

The public work of general interest such as the building of schools, churches, trails, bridges, and so forth

is executed by the adult people of the community. Sometimes, the women and children ten to twelve years of age cooperate in the public works with the performance of easy tasks such as preparing handfuls of straw for the roofs of the schools and churches. The people working in the public tasks called faenas get no salaries except coca and aguardiente bought with the money from the community funds. The conclusion of the faenas' work calls for a general fiesta with the participation of all the people of the community except the babies, cripples, and the ill.

Rites of Agriculture. The rites of the agriculture of the Quechuas have Christian and Incaic origins. In fact, the Indians use Christian rituals when there is no rain or when hail-storms and pests destroy the potatoes or corn. In such cases there is a solemn procession in honor of the Santo Patrono of the village in which the children cry and recite prayers asking for the protection of the Santo Patrono. The Christian rites are employed ordinarily in order to avoid the hail-storms and dry weather, and also for fighting all kinds of epidemics of the plants. The veneration of the earth Mama pacha (mother earth) with special offerings of coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, according to Indian belief, will insure rich crops. The offerings to the earth divinity are made before seeding. The Indians never plant during the full moon because this phase is considered harmful for the seeding. The whole family is present for the offerings to the earth, but the offering of coca or aguardiente is made only by the parents. This ritual is made with great humility and deep faith.

Herding. Cattle raising among the whites and mestizos is found usually in the valleys of temperate climate. The small amount of cattle raising done by the Indians is found in the highlands where there exists a natural pasturage of ichus. These pasturages are communal property; however, the huts and corrals of the Indian estancias are considered by the Quechuas to be almost private property. But this special type of individual property holding is incomplete because the owners of the corrals cannot sell them. The Indians have possession of the estancias by usufruct but they cannot sell them because the pasturage land is communal.

Generally, the Quechua shepherds were formerly agricultural people who have become established in the punas because of the loss of their arable lands in the places of temperate climate. These shepherds have small flocks of sheep, llamas, alpacas, and a very few pigs. Each family has as a general average eighteen to forty sheep, three to six llamas, and perhaps two to five alpacas. The few Quechua families who own more than a hundred and thirty sheep and forty llamas are considered as wealthy people in the shepherd community. The Indian sheep are light in weight and produce a small amount of wool which is of mediocre quality. The shearing of a sheep gives one pound and a half to two pounds of wool as a general average. Probably, this fact is due to the inferior type of sheep. The Indians have not yet improved by breeding the quality of their sheep.

The shepherds are mostly women and children. The children begin to take care of the sheep at a very early age,

according to the observations of Mishkin.

Children three or four years old, barely able to walk, are put in charge of a flock of ewes with their new born lambs. The oldest and most decrepit women will take a herd to the punas. Men will herd when they have nothing better to do.<sup>44</sup>

It seems that the shepherd's life in the highland is an unpleasant activity due to the inclemency of the weather and to the terrible solitude of the punas. This unpleasant and monotonous activity of the Indian shepherds has an interval of gaiety in the fiestas celebrated during the tagging of young animals. For purposes of identification, the sheep and llamas are tagged in the nose. Sometimes different colors of rings are put in the ears of the animals. All the members of the family participate in the tagging ceremony which is celebrated with songs and dances, chicha and aguardiente.

Rites of cattle raising. The rites of the Peruvian shepherds are almost identical with the rites which were practiced during the Inca empire. To the present day the shepherds venerate small pieces of stone naturally shaped like sheep or llamas. According to Indian belief, these idols of stone called usha-enccaycho promote fecundity of the animals. The shepherds make offerings of coca, tobacco and aguardiente to these idols which are highly venerated. They pay homage also to Auquillo or divinity of the mountains. The Auquillo is very exigent; he must be venerated and he

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<sup>44</sup>Bernard Mishkin, The Contemporary Quechua, Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Steward, Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1946, p. 426.

must receive gifts in return for favors. If the Auquillo is satisfied with the shepherd's behavior, he will avert the diseases of the animals; he will see that the sheep and llamas are not killed by the condors, foxes or pumas, or stolen by brigands. There is also a belief among the shepherds that the Auquillo shows special favors to communities by bringing out of the lake waters herds of sheep and llamas. Regarding this point there are many legends which emphasize the generosity of the Auquillo towards certain communities.

Manufactures. There is a small amount of manufacturing in all the communities of the southern region of Peru which satisfies the needs of the Indian people. All the Indian families manufacture goods for their own consumption plus a small surplus for sale in the Sunday markets and the regional fairs. Textiles, pottery, the fabrication of bricks and lassos are the most popular manufactures. The work in metals is found only in certain communities, particularly in Ayacucho which is famous for handmade filigranes of silver.

The wool of the sheep, llamas, and alpacas is the only material employed in the textile making of the Indian communities. Certain textiles used in ponchos, pullos, and mufflers are made on primitive looms which were invented in the Inca empire. The mechanical looms, which were introduced to the Peruvian communities by the Spaniards, are used in the fabrication of bayetas, blankets and cordellatas. The wooden spindles are used for spinning, and anilines for dyeing the wool. However, in some communities, as in Santiago (Cuzco), dyeing is done with certain Andean plants.

The making of textiles, more than any other manufacture, is an activity of cooperation among all the members of the family, excluding infants. The children help their parents in the spinning and other minor activities, such as handing balls of wool to the father who is weaving on the loom. But the children of six years and older spin and weave most of their own clothing.

The Indian weavers are superb craftsmen. In each community skillful weavers make fine floor carpets, blankets, and ponchos which are highly appreciated in the market. Pottery is also a popular manufacture in the Indian communities. In the making of pottery many kinds of clay are used according to the availability of materials. The Indians manufacture pots, jars, cups, porongos, and so forth. Generally, these domestic utensils are painted red, yellow and orange. Incidentally, this pottery does not have the same beauty as the vases made by the Incas. The pottery makers usually are men, but in a few cases some are women. Here, too, the children help their parents in the minor jobs relating to the making of pottery.

Metal working is a matter of specialization. The occupation is transmitted through generations among the members of certain families of qualified artisans. These artisans make mainly earrings, rings, bracelets, brooches, and pins of copper and silver. The most skillful artisans have emigrated to Lima and other important coastal cities of Peru. In these places the Indian artisan supplies the stores with all kinds of filigreed handwork.

The Indians manufacture sacks and ropes in the communities where there is maguey (cactus), and in places like Titicaca with abundant materials of cat-tail (totora), canoes, baskets and mats are manufactured.

The Market. The market is an important activity in the economic life of the communities. The Indians sell in the market the small surplus of their productions and buy on the other hand the necessary articles of life.

Generally, all members of the family select very carefully during the week the articles which must be carried to the Sunday market. On Sunday, early in the morning, the Indians go to Cuzco carrying their products. The Sunday market is held in the Plaza de la Merced of Cuzco. The Indians choose the places in the square for trading their products. Such products as potatoes, corn, sweaters, blankets, pots, chili, coca, salt and so forth are put on the pullos (small blankets) which are laid on the ground. Generally, in each place of trading there is only one product. For instance, it is usual to see one Indian sitting behind a small pile of potatoes or corn, while another sits there with perhaps a few pots or stockings of wool.

Mainly, trading in the Indian market is carried on by the system of barter. However, trade is made in cash for articles such as aniline, salt, and coca which are considered by the Indians as precious articles. In some cases, in buying coca, many Indians become temporarily associated in order to buy this product in bulk. Mishkin says:



The dried leaves are sold in any quantity from handfuls to arrobas. In this connection, a unique way of buying coca, found in several districts of Cuzco, may be prevalent elsewhere in Peru. Indians may band together to make a collective purchase; a few members of a single family may thus buy a whole arroba of coca in equal shares; or as many as 30 or 40 members of a community may form a kind of consumers' cooperative.<sup>45</sup>

There are no consumers' cooperatives for buying clothes and food in the Indian communities except in the community of Mukiyauyo, located in the center of Peru.

Generally, the children take an active part in the commercial transactions of the market. In many cases, children as young as ten years old trade the products made by themselves, but usually the women do the trading or decide what articles must be acquired for the family. Apparently, the men accept the decision of the women concerning selling or buying products. Ordinarily, the commercial transactions of the market end about five-thirty.

### Social Organization

Quechua Society. The community is the base of the Quechua society. The community is composed of a number of families living in the same geographical region whose boundaries, if they have not been modified by whites or mestizos, probably are the same which were delimited by the functionaries of the Incas.

The people of the communities don't have the same last name as they did in the epoch of the Incas. However, in many communities, particularly in the small ones, there are only

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 437.

a few different last names. This is due, probably, to the frequent intermarriages, as endogamy is one of the characteristic tendencies of Quechua communities. However, it has been observed in isolated cases that certain individuals have married outside of their own community. In these cases, as a general rule, husbands are established in the villages of their wives. These outsiders are hated by the people of the community so they are not accepted into the social life of the village, and they are not invited to the religious festivities. The foreigners do not receive any help from the people of the community and must work the lots of their wives by themselves. The Quechuas not only hate the foreigners but want to expel them from their communities, often resorting to black magic to achieve this purpose. This hate of the Quechuas for the foreigners is probably due in part to their fear of losing some lots of land from the community. The land, the main wealth of the Quechuas, according to the philosophy of this people, must be owned only by the individuals born in the community. The Quechua is not permitted to sell his lot of land to an outsider. If he should, it would be considered a calamity for the community.

Apparently a strong group feeling exists in the Quechua society. The apothegm of "one for all and all for one" is probably a fact in the Indian communities. It seems that all the aspects of the Indian communal life tend to promote unity among the people. This unity is supported by a deep sense of solidarity in times of happiness as well as in times of unhappiness. In the Quechuan philosophy the success or

failure of one individual involves the happiness or sadness of the people as a whole. In this sense, the Quechua appears to be strongly integrated in his community.

This cohesion and solidarity of the group is most noticeable when a white or mestizo tries to take some land from the community. In such cases, each individual contributes money to pay the fees of the lawyer or "tinterillo" in order to recoup by legal measures the land which was taken away, perhaps by violence.

Social Classes--Prestige. There are no social classes in the Quechuan communities. Apparently, all the people of the village have the same social codes, the same system of values, and similar objectives for the education of their children. There are no differences in ways of living; the wealthy Indians as well as the poor ones live in the same type of houses, eat the same foods, and wear the same type of clothing. However, there are certain "social statuses" which denote prestige and honor in the Indian communities. For instance, the Indian who has sponsored the religious fiesta of the Santo Patrono of the village has a high prestige in the community. There seems to be a strong social pressure in the community which impels the individual to sponsor the religious fiestas of the Santo Patrono. The Indians cannot escape this social pressure because if they do not sponsor fiestas, they are considered to be insignificant individuals without personality. In some communities, as Pisag (Cuzco), the individuals who have sponsored a religious fiesta have a black cross on their doors. These crosses are testimonials to proclaim the prestige

and honor of the individuals. The authorities of the village, the sorcerers, the priests, and the teachers also have great prestige in the communities.

### Political Organization

Local political activities. The Indians of southern Peru are completely indifferent to the political life of the country. In fact, due to illiteracy, very few Indians vote in the general elections for the President of the Republic and the representatives to congress. Having no interest in national politics, the political activities of the Indians are concerned only with the welfare of their own communities. This extreme local political activity is exaggerated to the point that there is no political plan which could interest the neighboring communities. As in the Inca Empire, each community is interested exclusively in its own political problems, and pays no attention to what is going on in the neighboring communities. But the local political life of the Indian communities is not completely autonomous because the national government, through its governors, interferes directly in planning the political activities of the villages. In some cases this interference is so frequent that the Indian authorities are merely executive agents for carrying out the plans elaborated by the governors. However, in the majority of cases, the Indian authorities have independence in planning and executing certain policies for their communities. For these cases, the authorities have prestige, and are loved and respected in their villages. However, when the authorities

are completely subordinated to the governors they have no prestige whatsoever nor the confidence of their fellow men. In the case of the puppet authorities, the real leadership in the communities is taken over by the sorcerers. The puppet authorities, without popular support among the masses, are morally compelled to accept the leadership of the sorcerers.

Authorities of the community and elections. The titles of the Indian authorities such as alcalde, segundo alcalde, alquaciles and regidores, are of Spanish origin. Probably, these titles were introduced by the Spaniards during colonial times.

Elections for the authorities are held at the office of the alcalde or in the square of the village. All the adult people of the community take an active part in the elections. The hand-vote system is used in these popular elections.

Candidates for the public positions must meet some indispensable prerequisites. The candidates, since childhood, must have been active in the religious and social affairs of the community. They must also be honest and of good behavior. The candidates to the mayoralty, which is the highest political job in the community, must have been formerly regidores and alguaciles. They must also be former mayordomos of the religious fiestas of the Santo Patrono of the village.

A popular meeting is held at which the candidates are introduced to the public and at which brief statements regarding the virtues and limitations of the candidates' personalities are made. After this introduction, the election starts.

There is some competition in the voting for the regidores and alguacils, but in the voting for mayor there is unanimity. Almost automatically the most recent sponsor of the religious fiesta of the Santo Patrono is elected as mayor. After the elections, the Indians go to the district capital in order to communicate to the governor regarding the election of the new authorities. In almost every case, the governor accepts the results of the Indian elections. Having the approval of the governors, the new Indian authorities go to the capital of the province where the subprefecto delivers the oath of office to the new functionaries.

Responsibilities of the authorities. The responsibility of the mayor is to maintain the social order and to adopt all the necessary measures and policies for the welfare of the community. The mayor acts also as a judge in the disputes of the village. The segundo alcalde has no specific function. The job seems to be honorific. The alguacils are executive officers who carry out the orders of the mayor, and the regidores, assistants of the mayor, maintain the social order according to the indications of the mayor. In some communities like Qqueros, in the department of Cuzco, the capillayoc or fiscal, is an important job according to the observations of Mishkin:

The capillayoc, or fiscal, is one of the most important posts in the community. The occupant, usually the oldest man in Qqueros, is in charge of all religious matters. He must be an expert in Christian as well as pagan ritual. In practically all cases, the capillayoc is a well known sorcerer and diviner.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 447.

Policy of the Community. The authorities conduct the administration of the community with the full cooperation of the adult people. The planning and discussing of the political, economic, and social problems which affect the public interest is done at popular meetings. At these meetings, which are led by the mayor, agreements are made on fixing the dates for starting the seedings and crops. The most convenient measures for the celebration of the religious fiestas or for repairing the schools, churches, bridges, and roads are also discussed. Castro Pozo points out that in some communities of Cuzco and Puno the women take an active part in the discussion at the popular meetings. Castro Pozo states:

In the communities of Cuzco and Puno women participate in the popular meetings, and their participation is desirable in the community. (Author's translation.)<sup>47</sup>

Generally, before adopting any administrative measure, there is a long discussion in the meeting. This discussion is carried out in a peaceful atmosphere in which the various opinions and suggestions of the people are given respectful consideration. However, it is the opinions and suggestions of the leaders, in most cases, which influence strongly the decisions of the people. The authorities, the sorcerers, and the old people are the leaders of the meetings. The opinions and suggestions of the augui or old people are particularly appreciated.

Practically all the decisions are adopted by unanimity.

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<sup>47</sup>Hildebrando Castro Pozo, Nuestra Comunidad Indigena, Editorial, Lima, Peru: El Lucero, 1924, p. 115.

These decisions are carried out in practice with a sense of responsibility because, among the Indians, there is a high regard for the popular will as expressed in the meetings. Therefore, the individuals cooperate actively in all the activities tending toward the realization of the popular agreements. Those individuals who disregard the popular will are considered as undesirables in the community.

The realization of the popular agreements is facilitated by the harmonious relationships and good understanding among the authorities and the people of the community. The people respect their authorities, and in turn the authorities respect the rights of the people. The authorities live in the same manner as the rest of the people. In fact, they work on their lots of land, and take an active part in the sime under the same conditions as the people of the village. However, the authorities enjoy certain distinctions due to their position. These distinctions are more noticeable during the celebration of social and religious fiestas in the community. In these fiestas the authorities have places of honor at the popular banquet. The insignia of the mayorship is a matter of great distinction also. This insignia is a staff of wood of a different size in each community. Probably the average length of this staff, which is the symbol of authority, is 1.50 m. For some communities, the upper section of the staff is wrapped in silver plates covered with rich decorations of folk-lore motifs. The upper section of the staff is covered also with medals of saints, crucifixes, and detentes. Apparently, the Indians have a great reverence for the varas



or staffs. Quite likely, these staffs are a mixture of religious and political symbolism, or perhaps merely a political symbol of authority without any religious connotation.

### Religious Life

Religion. The religion of the Indian communities seems to be a mixture of Incaic and Christian beliefs. In the former, probably the veneration of the earth and the spirit of the mountains are the most important. Mama Pacha, the great divinity of the earth, is thought to bestow the material values which make possible human life. Indians make offerings of coca, tobacco, and aguardiente to the earth divinity as expressions of his faith, submission and gratitude to this divinity. The Auquillo is the sacred spirit of the mountains who is deeply concerned with the welfare of the community and, in some places like Santiago, he is represented as an old man. The Auquillo is always interested and sometimes very severe and will, quite likely, bring harm to individuals who make no offerings to him. The Auquillo, according to Indian belief, is akin to human nature, therefore he is subject to emotions and passions. The Indians believe that some individuals can manipulate the Auquillo by playing on his wishes and emotions. The sorcerers are considered to be the most able persons for discovering the right key to manipulating the will of the deity for the furtherance of personal or general interests. In some places, like Qquero, according to the observations of Mishkin, besides the Auquillo there are other spirits such as Ccoa who lives in the high Andean peaks. The Ccoa is pictured as a

large gray cat with eyes of exceptional phosphorescence, and is an ambivalent divinity who may be a generous benefactor or fearful enemy of the community. Individuals who have found favor with the Ccoa deity, according to the Indian beliefs of Qqueros, will be blessed with good health and abundant crops. By contrast the individuals who are not in the good graces of this divinity have bad crops, and get incurable diseases, because the Ccoa produces and controls the weather, sending at will hail-storms, drought, pests, and so on.

The Ccoa is an extremely irritable divinity who requires frequent offerings and veneration to maintain him in a jovial and friendly frame of mind toward the people of the community. If the Ccoa is neglected, he becomes angry, and in a fit of violence will punish the people by sending to the village all sorts of plagues and diseases.

The spirits of death, as in the epoch of the Incas, are considered as benefactors to the people of the village. It is believed that these spirits live in heaven. However, according to the Quechuas, the spirits return to the earth annually on the Holy Day. On this day the Indians place on the graves of their relatives handfuls of coca, and small pots of potatoes and soup. This practice arises from the belief that the spirits have the same physiological needs as human beings on the Holy Day. In some communities, as in Qqueros, it is believed that the spirits of children who have died without baptism are harmful and bring calamity to the village.

The veneration of the earth and the spirits of the

mountains are of Incaic origin, as has been said. But the cult of the spirits of death, practiced by the Incas, is based partially on Christian beliefs. At the present day, even the most isolated Indian communities having very little contact with the Western Civilization, are under the influences of Christianity. This Christian influence which started during the Spanish Conquest developed gradually during the Colony and Republic. As a result of this influence operating throughout the centuries, the Indians have infused the Christian beliefs into their own and have become familiar with the rituals of the Catholic Church. However, the Indian Christianity has a particular spiritual form and ritualism. Apparently, the Indians didn't care much for the Father and the Holy Ghost. They focus their attention primarily on the saints, and secondarily on the Christ and the Virgin. The procession is one of the most characteristic ritualisms of the Indian Christianity. It seems that the dances of pre-Colombian origin attract them more strongly than the procession itself.

Besides the procession, probably the mass is the religious act which most attracts the Indians. They assist at the mass in the churches of the districts because there are no permanent priests in the Indian villages. Incidentally, the priests come to the villages only for the solemn fiestas when there is some opportunity of making money from the baptisms and marriages.

The description of John Collier, Jr. of the manner in which the Ecuadorian Indians behave at the mass is similar to that observed in some churches of Cuzco. Collier says:

Indian women sit in groups at the foot of the altars while the priest celebrates mass, they nurse their babies, letting the bigger children run around nearby. The Indian children look at everything with big eyes, play together, and at times cry.<sup>48</sup>

It seems that the Indians go to mass partly for the purpose of asking favors of the saints of their predilection. It is believed that each saint has a special knack for performing miracles related to some specific field. For instance, Saint Antonio is excellent in helping to identify thieves or to locate lost objects; San Ramon is the patron saint for protecting pregnant women from the danger of bad parturition, and so forth. The Indians promise offerings to the saints and to have mass celebrated in their honor in exchange for miracles. If an Indian believes that the saints have favored him with the requested miracle, he offers to the images of these saints small medals, brooches, and crosses of silver. This custom of presenting gifts to the saints in exchange for miracles is general among the Indians as well as a great percentage of the white and mestizo population of the coast of Peru. Even in the poorest Indian villages, the saints are liberally plied with gifts. Of course, the saints who are noted for performing more miracles receive more gifts. Castro Pozo points out that the images of saints who are not inclined to produce miracles are whipped by the Indians. He says, "Indians force the will of saints to make miracles. I have seen the Indians

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<sup>48</sup>John Collier, Jr., and Anibal Euitron, The Awakening Valley, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949, p. 97.

whipping the image of Saint Antonio."<sup>49</sup> (Author's translation.) Probably the testimony of Castro Pozo is an isolated case in the Indian communities because it seems that the Quechuas regard the images of saints with deep reverence. In fact, they profit by the occasion of the mass and processions to kiss the hands and feet of the effigies of the saints. In general, the religious beliefs of the Indian play an important role in the social and economic life of the community. In fact, as has been said, the good crops, the absence of diseases, and the general welfare depend upon the gods of the mountains and the Santo Patronos of the villages. Doing everything possible to keep these divinities happy is a strong preoccupation of the Indians. It seems also that the religious beliefs of the Quechuas are strong motivations for self-gratifications through the medium of the fiestas.

Fiestas and dances. Some dances of the Indian communities, such as the fiestas of crops or seeding, are Incaic in origin. Others, like the Inca Atahualpa, were originated immediately after the conquest; and, finally, the religious fiestas of Spanish origin.

The fiestas of crops are acts of gratitude to Mama Pacha (mother earth), goddess of fecundity. The fiesta of the llamas is an homage to the Auquillos, sacred spirits of the Andes.

The fiesta of Atahualpa seems to be a commemoration of the fall of the Inca Empire under the spears of the

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<sup>49</sup> Castro Pozo, op. cit., p. 247.

Spaniards. This fiesta is a play of the capture, trials, and death of Atahualpa in Cajamarca.

The religious fiestas are acts of veneration to the Christ and the saints of the Catholic Church. The number of religious fiestas held during the year varies among the communities. However, in almost all the communities, they celebrate at least the major fiestas of Good Friday, San Juan Bautista, San Santiago, San Antonio, and so forth. But, undoubtedly, the fiesta of the Santo Patrono of the village, in any community, is the most solemn and important.

The individual who sponsors the fiesta is called "mayordomo." The job of being mayordomo entails a big responsibility due to the expenses of the celebration of the fiesta. In fact, the mayordomo, no matter what his economic position, must pay the expenses of the mass and procession. However, all the people of the community help the mayordomo with small amounts of cash, and with coca, chicha, cereals, and aguardiente. Even the children of the village cooperate in working for the success of the fiesta. In fact, children help their parents in making chicha, and children over ten years old give a little money to the mayordomo for buying such things as candles, incense, and fireworks.

The children as well as the adults seem to await with great anticipation the date of the fiesta of the Santo Patrono of the village. This fiesta is celebrated with enthusiasm and gaiety. The fiesta of the Santo Patrono is so tumultuous that it seems to be an escape from the reality of the monotonous life of the Andes. After the celebration of the fiesta

perhaps the mayordomo will be indebted for the rest of his life; but this means nothing to the mayordomo. He is happy with the prestige derived by giving to his fellow men a few days of merrymaking and a chance to let off steam.

The dance is one of the most important acts in the celebration of the religious fiestas. The number of dances varies with the communities. The children and adults take part in the dances. The children from twelve to fifteen years of age dance the chunchu tushuc which is an imitation of the dances of jungle savages. The children seventeen years old dance the Quepe Capitan, and the children of eighteen, the dance called Albazo. For dancing purposes, children and adolescents form groups with persons of the same age who live, in most cases, in the same neighborhood of the village. The adults take part in dances which require stronger physical endurance, necessary in order to stand numberless hours of dancing wearing heavy masks and disguises made of animal skins. It is said that the paraphernalia worn in some Indian dances--disguises such as jaguar kilts, fur masks, fox, deer, puma and vicuna skins--have esoteric meaning. The author thinks that the Indian dances seem to be only acts of amusement in which the adolescents and adults enjoy themselves dancing to the tune of the flutes or of the rented banda de musicos.

#### Child Rearing Practices

Since gestation and parturition have a great influence on the life of the child, it seems important to explore briefly the care of the Indian mother during her gestation period and the practices employed during childbirth.

The Indian mother knows that pregnancy starts with the suspension of menstruation. From the beginning of the pregnancy, almost until the day before childbirth, the Indian mother neglects her health. Until the most advanced months of pregnancy she still works on the farm, carrying sacks of potatoes from the field to the house, or walking the long distance from the village to the market of the district. However, the pregnant Indian women, according to the customs of the community, take some care for protecting the intra-uterine life of their unborn children. For instance, if frogs, skunks, or snakes cross the road on which a pregnant woman is walking, she must avoid the glance of these animals, covering her eyes with her hands or leaving the place immediately. It is believed that the glances of frogs and snakes cause miscarriages or may cause a child to be born "yahua" with some anatomical features of these animals. It is believed also that pregnant women have strange appetites. Therefore, everyone in the community is willing to give them food for fear of miscarriage.

A few days before childbirth the family tries to divine the sex of the child. The divination is made by means of coca or the interpretation of dreams. When the diviner predicts that the child will be male, the family has an informal celebration because among the Indians the boys have more value than girls. If the diviner predicts a female child, the family is not disappointed, but no celebration is held.

During the birth, the woman assumes a crouching position and the delivery is attended by a midwife and the husband. Neither anaesthetics nor disinfectants are used. The umbilical



cord is cut with undisinfected scissors or knives and is tied with thread of cotton or wool. The newborn is bathed in temperate water and wrapped with pieces of bayeta. Until the age of eight or nine months the child is bathed daily with temperate water, except on Thursdays and Fridays which are considered days of bad presage. Also, until this same age, the child is wrapped from the neck to the toes, so that the baby is unable to move its extremities. The cradle is not known in the Indian communities; therefore, the baby is always held in the lap of its mother or is carried on the back of an older brother.

Generally, baptism of the baby occurs five or six days after birth. The parents who neglect to have their children baptised are considered to be indifferent to the future of their children and indifferent also to the welfare of the community. As has been said, according to Indian beliefs, the spirits of the babies having died without baptism, bring all sorts of calamities to the community. So it would seem that baptism is made with the object of being saved from these bad spirits rather than through Christian convictions.

Ordinarily, the Indians of prestige in the community are chosen by the parents as godfathers to their children. Before the ceremony of baptism the parents offer to the future godfathers presents such as selected corn or sheep's wool. The godfathers give to their godchildren simple clothing for the baptism. The ceremony of baptism is celebrated with a fiesta at which the godfathers, relatives, and neighbors of the village are present.

At the present day it is observed that most of the

Indians look for godfathers among the whites and mestizos. This tendency seems to be motivated by the fact that the Indians need white or mestizo friends who can help them in their difficulties with the hacendados.

Nursing, weaning, and toilet training. The Indian mother breastfeeds her babies. The godmother and the neighbors feed the babies only if the mother is seriously ill. There is no fixed schedule for nursing, and it is carried out at irregular intervals. When the baby is cranky or when he cries, the mother doesn't try to find the cause of its bad humor or crying, but limits herself to giving her breast to the child. This practice of soothing the baby by means of the breast is carried out until the child is two years old. At this age weaning begins. With this purpose in mind, the mother starts to eat foods with a high content of chili, since it is believed that the chili communicates a bitter taste to the mother's milk. If, in spite of this, the child still wants to be nursed, the mother smears her nipples with salt or chili. For weaning purposes also, the mother may go, in some cases, to the homes of the godmother or neighbors for a few days.

Regarding toilet training, the Indians pay little attention. Babies less than two years old are not punished for defecating or urinating in their beds. When the child is around two and a half to three years, the parents take him out to the back of the house for defecation or urination. It seems that the children learn to eliminate the waste of the body in a crouching position by observing their parents or the older children. Since there is no special regard for

cleanliness in the Indian families, the child is not trained to take care of his personal cleanliness. The children learn to comb their hair, generally, when they go to school.

Social expectations regarding the work of children.

There is a strong social expectation in the Indian community that the children must start working very early. If children of three and four years are unable to take care of the guinea-pigs and chickens of the family, the parents are criticized by the neighbors and relatives. It is common to see Indian children of five years pasturing the lambs in the vicinity of the house. The girls at six years start spinning the wool of sheep or llamas, while girls of eight years of age are already able to weave sweaters or llielllas for their younger brothers. At twelve or thirteen years of age, the Indian girls, like adults, are weaving ponchos, bayetas and cordellatas. Children seven years old start helping their parents with the farming and children of ten start to work on the land of the neighbors, much of the time in aine, and sometimes receiving small wages. Generally, the adolescents from fifteen to seventeen years of age are considered fully adult as far as work is concerned. However, they are not considered citizens before marriage which takes place between twenty to twenty-five years for the boys, and between eighteen to twenty for the girls. Incidentally, there is no ceremony of initiation for adolescence in the Indian communities. The first menstruation is not a matter of any purification. However, what seems possible is that the mothers teach their adolescent daughters not to work on the land during the menstruation period because, according to

the Indian beliefs, the blood of menstruation absorbs like a sponge the fertility of the land.

Ceremony of hair cutting. The ceremony of hair cutting, or Agcha Rutuy is an Indian custom of Incaic origin. In accordance with this custom, when the child is two or three years old, the godfather cuts a handful of hair of the child in a formal ceremony. After this, the godfather, in accordance with his economic position, gives presents to his godchild. Other persons present at the ceremony, including the parents, also cut a small strand of hair from the child. The value of the gifts from these people is usually in keeping with the quantity of the hair which has been cut. For the girls of three or four years of age, there is a ceremony for piercing their ears. The godmother pierces the ears of the girl and gives her presents. The ceremonies of hair cutting and ear piercing are celebrated by cheerful fiestas at which a great amount of chicha and aguardiente is consumed.

Games of the Indian children. It is a general Peruvian belief that the Indian children don't have the characteristic gaiety and spontaneity of childhood. It is said in lectures and it is written in the newspapers and magazines that the Indian children are adult miniatures, sad and introverted, consecrated only to work, clothed as adults, and having no amusements. These general statements seem to be in contradiction to the facts. The Indian children would seem to have a childhood rich in experiences acquired through a great variety of activities which are based on the cultural background of their environment. Children become interested in

games very early.

The games of the Indian children are based primarily on the imitation of the economic and social activities of their cultural environment. Of course, in this imitation there is a lot of childish imagination. For instance, the boys play at making irrigation canals, planting small staffs of wood in the land, and making corrals for the animals. In these games the children play in group teams imitating the cooperative work of the adults. There are guessing games also among the Indian children. The game consists of guessing how many kernels of corn there are in the clasped hands of one child.

The existence of games of competition among the Indian children is curious because the society in which they are born and raised is not competitive. The sling and the foot races are competitive. Small groups of children of the same neighborhood compete at throwing stones with their slings. The winner of the game is the child who throws the stone the greatest distance. Children of the same sex and approximately of the same age engage in play activities such as foot races and wrestling. Occasionally the children play at gambling, betting small portions of their lunches. The games mentioned above seem to be of Indian origin. However, in some communities such as Tinta (Cuzco), children play with some toys like spinning tops, kites, marbles, and so forth. In the community of Chincheros, Cuzco, the children play at the present day with seesaws, marbles, balls, and so on. Of course, the toys acquired by the children of Tinta and Chincheros are bought in the stores of the cities.

Concerning clothing, it is true that the Indian children wear clothes like their parents. Probably, this practice is due to the cold climate of the highlands. At any rate, the fact that the children are dressed like adults does not mean that they look like adults.

Education in the family. The children in the Indian families do not receive a formal education. The education of the children is mainly based on learning the most adequate ways for carrying out such activities as agriculture, cattle raising, weaving, and so forth.

In the Indian communities the children learn the skills of their culture. So in the field of work, the parents teach their children ways of plowing the land, seeding, harvesting, and selecting the seeds for the next planting. Children at an early age are taught to follow behind to turn over those pieces of turf which were missed by the plow. Children learn also to plant the seeds in the furrow of the prepared land. Children eight and nine years old are taught to manipulate the hoe in the cultivation of potatoes, while children of about twelve years of age start to handle the plow or chaquitacla. The mothers and grandmothers teach the girls activities such as spinning, washing, cooking, and weaving. It can be said that in practically all the Indian communities children are taught the above-mentioned activities. However, in places where there are manufactures, the parents teach their children their own occupations such as pottery making, textile making, metal working, wood carving, masonry, and so on. Generally, at the age of fifteen, the Indian child has finished his training.

Between sixteen and seventeen years of age the young people know all the secrets of the occupations of their parents. Probably this is due to the fact that the science and art of the Indians, in comparison with those of the Western Civilization, are limited to a very few theoretical principles and to a very empirical technique.

### Contrasting Values Among the Indians and Whites

The contrast of the cultural values between the Indians and whites is evident for any superficial observer. This cultural contrast is so deep that it would be necessary to write many chapters for a substantial study. The author is interested only in the exploration of some important points of the contrasting values of the Indian and whites with regard to some aspects such as political, economic, and social.

In the political sphere it seems that in the Peruvian government (composed of whites and mestizos) there is a great discrepancy between the doctrinary principles and the realization of these principles in practice. The political doctrine is based on advanced principles of a democratic form of government. But these principles are rarely practiced. The constitution of the state is modified, many times, by amendments based on presidential decrees rather than on laws approved by the congress. The candidates supported by the government are usually elected. Apparently there is little honesty in the elections; therefore, fraud seems to be quite common. Probably the fraudulent elections give rise to frequent revolutions or the political indifference of the citizens. In contrast to the political instability in the

Peruvian government due to revolutions, the Indians have stability in their form of government.

In contrast to the discrepancy between the principles which exist in the Peruvian government, as has been mentioned, the theory and practice of politics in the Indian communities are closely related. It seems that this positive correlation between principle and practice is due in part to the deep faith of the Indians in their institutions, and the respect they have for their authorities.

In contrast to the fraudulent elections which are common in Peru, the Quechua elections in their communities appear to be honest. In contrast to the political indifference of the white or mestizo Peruvians when they do not receive services from the government, the Indians from adolescence are primarily concerned with the political activities of their communities. In reality, it can be said that religion and politics absorb completely the life of the Indians.

Among the white and mestizo Peruvian population private property is the form of property holding. In the white and mestizo population there is a great inequality in the distribution of wealth. On the coast, particularly in the center and the north, the land belongs to a very few Peruvian families and to some American and English companies. In the sierra, all the large farms and cattle ranches are owned by a few families. This tremendous inequality in the distribution of wealth has produced in Peru an aristocracy made up of a very few rich families who live in great luxury, and at the same time a large white and mestizo population who have a low



standard of living. In contrast to this great economic difference between the rich and poor in the non-Indian population, in the Quechua communities the difference in the distribution of wealth is extremely limited. As has been said, there is practically no difference in the standard of living among the Peruvian Indians.

Among the white and mestizo population of Peru there is a division of social classes based primarily on economic position and education and, secondarily, on the prestige of the family. The upper social class directs and controls the economic and political life of the nation. The middle class, very small in comparison with the middle class of Chile, Brazil, and Argentina, owns a small amount of property and is composed of liberal professionals, school teachers, and employees of the public administration or private enterprise. The lower class made up of skilled and unskilled laborers is the most underprivileged social class with a very low standard of living. It seems that there is a great conflict among these classes for control of the state. However, the political struggle is between the upper and middle social classes. The middle class strives strongly to take over the power, while the upper class uses every method, including force, to remain in power. The lower class is allied with the middle class, but at times is an instrument of the upper social class.

In contrast to this struggle between social classes, there is harmony in the classless society of the Indian communities. No social group in the Quechua society monopolizes the political power or certain sources of raw materials.

In fact, the Indian knows very early that he will be given a chance to hold political office including the mayorship. He knows also that there is no privileged group in his community who will discriminate against him. Finally, while cooperation is the vital force in the social organization of the Quechuas, competition is a strong factor in the white and mestizo population.

Conflicts between the Indians and whites. The main conflict between the Indians and whites is a struggle for the ownership of land. The Peruvian state protects the communal property of the Quechuas; however, the white farmers or hacendados profit by any favorable opportunity for taking over the land of the Indians. In this case, the Indians have great difficulties in recovering their lands.

The white or mestizo governors of the districts, in many cases, interfere through the Indian mayors in the social and political life of the Quechua people. When this occurs, the Indians reject this interference by not recognizing the leadership of their mayors. Other than these cases already mentioned, the Indians do not have conflicts with the whites or mestizos. But the Quechuas who emigrate to the coast do have conflicts with the whites or mestizos. These Indians are ridiculed because of their incorrect pronunciation of the Spanish language or their ways of living. However, those who adjust themselves to the new cultural environment or who succeed in professional life or business are accepted by whites and mestizos because in the Peruvian society there are no noticeable racial prejudices.

The Indians have no conflicts with the state. The Quechuas acknowledge without resistance all their duties toward the government, and they are not involved in revolutions against the state.

### **Influence of Cultural Factors in the Self-Development of the Indian Child**

The general culture of the Indian communities is not complex. The methods of production are empirical, and the social and political regulations very limited.

Within the structure of this empirical production, and owing to the fact that a few simple tools are employed, the child from an early age plays an important role in the familiar and community economy. In fact, the Indian child, in accordance with his age, sex, and physical maturity, has a known place in the tasks of the home, agriculture, cattle raising, textile making, and so forth. In each of these tasks established according to the social expectations of the cultural milieu, the Indian child collaborates with a sense of responsibility and efficiency in the daily work which secures his personal subsistence and that of his relatives. The parents and the people of the community express their appreciation for the child's contribution through words of praise and approval. Due to this adult behavior the child becomes aware very early in his life that his contribution is real and effective in the family as well as in the community. The active participation of the child in the economic, social, and religious life of the community, his complete integration within the familiar group, his sense of responsibility acquired

through performance of tasks, the approval of the adults, probably are important factors which influence the healthy self-development of the Indian child.

The Peruvian white and mestizo children very early become aware that there is a great difference between the things which are established as normative principles and the distortion of these principles in practice. Probably this discrepancy gives rise to doubt and conflict in the self of the child. In contrast, the Indian child probably has few doubts or conflicts which can perturb his self, because he lives in a world where principle and practice are one and the same thing.

It has been said that there are no social classes in the Indian communities. Probably, due to this fact, there is no noticeable social prejudice among the Indian people. On the contrary, there is a warm comradeship among the Quechuas who operate within a plane of equality in their personal interrelationships. Besides, the Indian society is static. In fact, since many centuries ago, they have maintained the cultural patterns of their ancestors. The absence of social prejudices, the stability of the marriages, and the social statism of the Indian society probably influence the healthy self-development of the Indian child.

## CHAPTER V

### AFFECTIONAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

#### Courtship and Trial Marriage

In the Indian communities of Peru the tale of the white stork which descends from heaven bringing the newborn in its beak is unknown. This suggests the idea that the parents do not tell fantastic tales in order to avoid possible questions of the child concerning the birth of babies. In the Quechua cultural milieu prohibitions regarding the premarital sexual life of the adolescents are also unknown.

Throughout the festivities, couples will disappear for a time to wander off to the unfrequented places on the edge of the village to indulge in sexual relations. Premarital sexual freedom is customary in most Quechua communities.<sup>50</sup>

These sexual relations among the unmarried adolescents seem to be the culminatory stage of the courtship. The process of Indian courtship has two phases: (a) the use of charms and spells, (b) the way of expression of love interest. In general, love magic is employed only by the males. The charm is used for captivating the heart of the girl by means of amulets of good luck. These amulets, called cuya-cuya (love-love), are wild flowers of the high mountains which the young people carry in small bags of wool. It is believed that the cuya-cuya has an irresistible power to capture the love of

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<sup>50</sup>Mishkin, op. cit., p. 454.

the most serious and reserved girl. The man expresses his love interest when he believes that the charm has already worked its magic spell. The Indian boy makes his first expression of love by throwing small stones at the feet of his girl. After this he will grab the shawl from around the girl's shoulders and run. The girl runs after the boy who purposely stops very soon. He hands back the lliclla or garment to the girl. This act is considered as the beginning of the real affectional relationship among the young people. Castro Pozo points out that the girl who does not sympathize with the boy fights with all her force to keep him from getting her shawl. But if she loses her lliclla in spite of her resistance, she doesn't run after the boy. This act is considered as a categorical rejection by the girl of the love of the boy.

The duration of the "courtship" may be of a few weeks or many months. As the courtship progresses, it culminates in what is called the sirvinacuy or trial period of marriage.

During the period of courtship the young couples work together in the aine, spend good times together in the social and religious festivities of the community, and go together to the masses and Sunday markets. If the period of courtship is successful, the young couple makes the necessary arrangements for the sirvinacuy or trial period of marriage. The first important step is to obtain the permission of the girl's parents. For this purpose, the boy asks the help of his father, oldest brother, godfather, or any member of prestige in the village who can speak in his name to the girl's father. If the father accepts the proposition of the

ambassadors, an informal fiesta is held in which there are frequent toasts of aguardiente or Peruvian brandy to the future of the young couple. The day after the fiesta the girl goes to the house of the boy's parents. This act is regarded as the real beginning of the sirvinacuy. The trial period of marriage is established in order to determine the compatibility of the couple, and particularly to see that the girl is efficient in the household chores and in the work of agriculture or trade. The sirvinacuy does not entail any obligations between the families of the couple, according to Tschopik.

Trial marriage is often entered into for an indefinite period before actual marriage. It entails no obligation between the families of the couple, being simply designed to ascertain whether the latter are suited to and satisfied with one another.<sup>51</sup>

In fact, this trial marriage is dissolved easily. In case of dissolution of the sirvinacuy, the woman asks for no indemnification. She returns to the home of her parents as if nothing had happened. The dissolution of the trial marriage is not shameful for the woman nor is it a drawback to her getting another lover. However, the cases of dissolution of sirvinacuy are really very few in the Indian communities. The usual thing is that this trial marriage lasts for many years until the couple, under pressure from relatives or clerics, takes steps to be married in a religious ceremony.

Marriage in the Inca empire was endogamic only. This endogamy underwent certain changes during the colonial period

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<sup>51</sup>Harry Tschopik, Jr., The Aymara, Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Steward, Washington; Bureau of American Ethnology, 1946, p. 544.

because of the system of forced labor imposed by the Spaniards in Peru. This policy of slave labor took great numbers of Indians away from their communities to work the mines or to work as domestic servants in the coastal areas. This practice led to exogamy among the Indian people.

At the present time the Quechua communities have a strong tendency toward endogamic marriage. There are few marriages out of the communities. Tschopik states:

The Ayllu and moiety tend to be endogamous, although not by formal prescription. Of 183 recorded cases of marriages contracted between individuals born in the town of Chucuito (Peru), 89 per cent were endogamous within the moiety. Of 26 marriages recorded in Quota Ayllu, which pertains to the town of Ichu (Peru), 20 marriages were recorded of which 90 per cent were endogamous.<sup>52</sup>

In some isolated communities as in Santiago (Cuzco) there are virtually no marriages out of the village. It would seem that the Quechuas have a distrust and fear of the foreigners, even when they are of the same race. This fear seems to be rooted in the belief that the foreigner is a potential thief of the land of the community. According to the Quechua belief, only the endogamous marriages offer guaranty for the integrity of the communal territory.

According to the opinion of the Peruvian rural teachers, the selection of the mates in the Quechua marriage is based only on economic considerations. The husband must have his own piece of land or belong to a family of landholders or at least to a family who owns a flock of sheep and llamas.

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 544.



The wife must know how to cook, spin, weave, and be able to help her husband in the planting and cultivation of crops. It is quite possible that these economic considerations play an important role in the selection of mates. It is probable also that love is important in the Indian marriages. The Quechua songs of the Indian communities pointed out by Hildebrando Castro Pozo seem to support this probability.

Ama soncco sipi huaycho  
 Mana hima juchaymanta;  
 Sultis nocca sipi quiman  
 Juchay quita yachas caspa.

Sweetheart don't take my life  
 Because I am not guilty;  
 I don't take your life  
 Even knowing you are guilty.<sup>53</sup>

Munasccay tarinacoreccarchis  
 Cunipas llichulla llicllitayoc  
 Noccapas llichulla punchituyoc  
 Chaita yuyaripa cana  
 Sonccoy yahuarta huaccascan.

When we met and loved each other  
 You had only your lliclla (shawl)  
 And I had only my poncho.  
 Remembering those days  
 My heart cries blood.<sup>54</sup>

In some communities, as in Kauri (Cuzco) marriage is arranged by the parents without taking into consideration the wishes of the children. The parents arrange marriage contracts when the children are only seven or nine years old. The young people respect the arrangements made by their parents; but if they rebel, they don't receive any help from

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<sup>53</sup>Castro Pozo, op. cit., p. 361.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 363.

their parents. However, the common rule in the majority of the Indian communities is that the young people choose their own partners and the parents respect these selections.

Church practices define the proximity of blood relationships permitted between the young couple. Accordingly, marriage between second cousins is not approved. Marriages among relatives is regarded as immoral in the Quechua communities. It is believed also that this kind of marriage brings great calamities to the village. On the contrary, the marriage of several brothers of the same family with several sisters of another family is considered desirable. This type of marriage among the Indian families is usual.

#### ✧ Religious Weddings and Divorces

The church weddings of the Indians are performed by the priests who visit the Quechua villages annually. These marriages are celebrated with fiestas lasting three or four days, and all the people of the village attend the fiestas. The newly married couples receive gifts such as domestic utensils, food, and sometimes a few tools.

The young couples live in the homes of their parents during the period of trial marriage, but after the church wedding, which makes the marriage permanent, the young couples live in their own homes. The houses of the newly-weds are built by the people of the community. The construction of these small houses is finished in a very few days.

Young couples who resist the church weddings are eventually compelled by their padrinos or priests to have

their marriage legalized by the Church. Mishkin says:

Once a year, or less frequently, a priest may visit one of the recalcitrant communities in the middle of the night. He sends his sexton and local appointee to waken the unmarried couples, lines them up in the open or in a vacant hut, and marries off the assembled pairs, exacting two or three soles for each couple. This is done regularly in Kauri (Cuzco) and is reported from Central Peru.<sup>55</sup>

It seems that the Quechuas place no importance on virginity as a necessary qualification for the religious marriage nor for the trial period. In fact, unmarried women with children and widows are married easily in the Indian communities. However, Castro Pozo points out that virginity is a necessary qualification for the church wedding.<sup>56</sup> Apparently the Catholic Church has introduced this value to the Indian communities.

Marriages are stable among the Quechua people, therefore there are only a very few divorces. However, there are some separations of the married people without divorce. The causes for separation on the husband's side are adultery, sterility, incompetence, and laziness. Adultery is the main cause for separation. During the Inca Empire, according to the chronicler Cieza de Leon, the adulterers were punished with death. At the present time, adultery is regarded as the most shameful sin in the Indian communities. The adulterer is despised in the community, and virtually shut out of the

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<sup>55</sup>Mishkin, op. cit., p. 455.

<sup>56</sup>Castro Pozo, op. cit., p. 135.

social and religious activities of the village. Generally, the adulterers leave the communities to become servants in the mestizo or white homes.

The woman who is maltreated and beaten by her husband has a right to abandon her home. Apparently, cruelty is the only cause for separation by the wife. The Quechuas who beat their wives are regarded as cowards but they are not rejected from the social and religious life of the village.

In the cases of separation of married people, the oldest children remain with their fathers while the women return to the home of their parents or married brothers with their younger children.

#### The Family, the Head of the Family, and the Wife in the Indian Home

The Family. The Quechua family is patrilineal and patrilocal. Its composition varies according to the extension of the arable land of the family. When the piece of land is large, several families, descendants of the same common line, live in the same place. The houses of these extended families are separated by a distance of three or four yards. In some communities some extended families have disappeared due to lack of arable lands. These cases, generally, are observed in the communities which have boundaries with the latifundios.

As a common rule in each Indian household there live the grandparents, the parents with their children, and in some cases the unmarried brothers and sisters of the father. There seems to be a strong cohesion among the members of the

Indian family. This cohesion is based mainly on reciprocal assistance, and on the unity of the family traditions. ✓Co-operation is the cornerstone of the Indian families. All the economic activities are based on close cooperation in the families. The men work on the lots of land of their parents, brothers, sisters, and paternal and maternal uncles and aunts. However, the cooperation of the husbands with the relatives of their wives is very limited. The family cooperation is also present in the social and religious activities. The Indian families function as indivisible unities in the above mentioned activities. This unity seems to be the base of the survival of the Indian family. There is family unity in good times as well as in adversity. The family reacts as one person in the face of difficulties experienced by one of their members. For instance, if someone takes the land of the Indian, the relatives do their utmost to help him regain it. If the Indian is attacked by someone, his relatives regard it as a personal attack. In the Quechua communities all is a matter of family concern. In some communities, like Santiago, whole families hate each other because one individual in the family has come into conflict with an individual of another. Even when one Indian is really the guilty party in the quarrel, the relatives stand squarely behind him.

The head of the family. The father maintains the security and cohesion of the family. His orders and instructions are followed without argument. The father organizes the distribution of the work in the aine, determining the responsibilities of each of the members of the family. The father

determines also the number of days of cooperative work, and supervises the execution of this work. Besides these activities, the father plays an important role in watching over the religious and civic behavior of his children. In fact, the father sees to it that his children accomplish the religious duties of the village such as dances, songs, and so forth. In the festivities of the Indian gods, the father makes the offering of coca leaves and aguardiente in the name of his family.

As a general rule, children obey without discussion the orders of their parents because in the Indian communities no one questions the paternal authority. Disobedient children are regarded as undesirables in the village.

In the Quechua communities bachelors do not hold public jobs even if they are of outstanding personality and capable of leadership. On the contrary, the head of the family has an open road for participating in all the public jobs of the village. In fact, only married men can be delegates of the community, mayors, and sponsors of the religious fiestas of the Santo Patrono of the locality.

In the communal meetings the father speaks in the name of his family. However, the political activities of the Indian father have been decreasing a great deal in the last few years because of the interference of the governors.

The wife in the Indian home. The Indian wife plays an important role in the family. She takes care of the education of his daughters, and works very closely with her husband for the welfare of the family. The wives are present at

the meetings of the chiefs of the extended families and take part in the discussions. Their opinions and suggestions are not neglected, but the final decision is made by the men. Usually, the wives do not object to the decisions.

As a rule the wife lives on the lot of land of her husband. A few years ago, she had not the right to inherit the land of her parents, but at the present time, step by step, the women are acquiring that right. However, the Indian people believe that women should not have the right to inherit the lands of the community, not because the Quechua considers women to be inferior, but because the Indian fears that a woman may marry a foreigner. As has been said, the foreigner is regarded as a potential thief of the lands of the village.

Indian wives primarily are concerned with household duties such as cooking, and washing. They are also responsible for the care of the crops, and for the selling of products in the markets. Besides, most of the wives are concerned with the trading of merchandise. According to Castro Pozo, in the departments of Cuzco, Apurimac, and Ayacucho, the Indian wives have monopolized all the small trade. He says:

In the departments of Junin, Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurimac, and Cuzco women have monopolized the trade in cereals, wool, and other merchandise. (Author's translation.)<sup>57</sup>

The women spend the profits of the trade for supporting the family.

In the Indian communities all the women belong on the

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

same social level. However, the wives of the mayors, sorcerers, and sponsors of the fiestas share the prestige of their husbands. In the social and religious festivities the wives of the authorities, dressed in their best clothing, have a special place at the public dinners. But the men and women eat separately in the fiestas.

#### Relationships among the Members of the Extended Family

It seems that there is close relationship among the numerous members of the extended family. The relatives visit each other almost daily, because they live in the same area. Therefore everyone knows what is going on in the homes of his relatives. If there is trouble in one of these homes, let us say the sickness of a child, immediately the relatives express their regret to the father of the child, and do their utmost to help.

There seems to be great concern for the welfare of all the members of the extended family. This interest is more noticeable in the cases of orphan children and widows. The cultivation of their land is given preference by all the members of the family.

There is a great respect for the parents' generation. This respect is shown in the way of greeting and by special inflexion of the voice. The old people of the family are treated also with a great respect. The adults and children call the old people of the family "taita" (father), and this same consideration is shown to all the old people of the community. In the family and communal festivities the old



people are served first.

The children regard their uncles and aunts and other relatives with respect, but at the same time with confidence. They address their father's brothers as "father" and in the case of the mother's sisters, as "mother." Cousins are considered as brothers. The children frequently visit the homes of their relatives who give them food, and affection. The children are closely attached to the relatives of their parents, but they have more confidence in their grandparents. The grandfather often tells stories and popular jokes to his small grandsons. If the grandparents cannot work in the field because of age or sickness, they help their grandchildren in the care of the babies. The Quechuas, according to Mishkin, say that the grandparents spoil the grandchildren. He says, "The Quechuas hold the almost universal notion that grandparents spoil their grandchildren with constant attention and coddling."<sup>58</sup>

3      The Institution of the Godfather, and Relationships between the Padrinos and Ahijados (godsons)

The institution of godfather is wide spread in the Indian communities. The affectional ties between the godfather and godchildren are strong. The padrino and grandchild visit each other frequently. The child gives gifts to his godfather and treats him with great respect. Generally the child eats in the home of his parents where he is treated with warm affection.

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<sup>58</sup>Mishkin, op. cit., p. 462.

The relationship between the padrino and godchild starts when the child is three or four years old, and lasts for the rest of their lives. It seems that the child begins early in life to ask the help of his padrino in order to solve his difficulties. For instance, if the child is whipped by his father, he reports this treatment to his padrino. The godfather gives a sermon to his compadre, and asks him to modify his behavior. The father of the child does not resent the interference of the godfather in his family affairs. On the contrary, he listens with attention to the sermon of the godfather and promises him not to punish the child. Generally the father keeps his word.

The godfather is adviser to his adult godchildren. The Quechua seeks the opinion of his padrino before starting on any enterprise. Mostly, these enterprises are related to the sponsoring of a fiesta of the Santo Patrono or going to work for a while on the sugar cane plantations of the coast. The godchild follows the advice of his godfather because he holds him in high regard. If a Quechua holds public office, particularly that of the mayorship, he will quite often ask his padrino for advice. Frequently the godfather works hard for the political success of his godson. The padrino is not only an adviser; he also helps his godchild in all the conflicts and crises of life. The godchild, for his part, is always at the disposal of his godfather for any kind of service. Usually the godson works on the land of his padrino, aside from the "aine policy," and without receiving pay.

There are three kinds of godfathers in the Quechua

communities: (a) the godfather of baptism, (b) of the hair-cutting ceremony, (c) of marriage. The godfather of baptism is regarded as the most important. As has been said, in the last years the Indians have a tendency to choose as godfathers of baptism for their children the mestizo and white people. In these cases, there is not as close an affectional relationship between the padrinos and godchildren. The godfathers of the hair-cutting ceremony and marriage are the well-to-do members of the family.

#### \ Affectional Relationship between the Husband and Wife

It is said in Peru that the Indian people are not capable of feeling love, therefore there is no affectional relationship between the husband and wife. It is also said that the primitive sexual appetites are the only ties between the married people. The opinion of Castro Pozo is shared by a large majority of mestizo and white Peruvians. He says: "The Indian marriages are tied only by sexual appetites. Women have opportunities for prostitution during the social festivities." (Author's translation.)<sup>59</sup> As if this were not enough, it is said that the Indians enslave their women, and treat them with cruelty and a lack of any kind of consideration. These ideas seem to be stereotyped, and have continued with obduracy since the days of the Colony. In reality, there seems to have been no research made regarding the nature of the affectional relationship between the married people. However, there are some noticeable indications which support the belief that there is a warm affectional

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<sup>59</sup>Castro Pozo, op. cit., p. 125.

relationship between the husband and wife. Let us explore the ways in which the Indian husband shows affection for his wife.

In the Indian communities the women who wear the best dresses in the dances of pallas (princess) enjoy a certain prestige in the village. The husbands do their best to buy the ornaments for the dresses of their wives, and cheap hand-made silver bracelets. In reality, the husbands want their wives to have the honor of being the best dressed women of the dance. When this happens the husband shares the satisfaction and prestige with his wife.

The Quechuas have a high esteem for the women who make chicha of excellent quality for the social and religious festivities of the village. It is likely that the women feel satisfaction and pride if they succeed in making a good chicha. The husband gives all his free hours in helping his wife prepare the Inca brandy. He does his best in this work to give his wife the opportunity to feel happy by gaining prestige as an excellent chicha-maker.

When the wife is sick the husband spends most of his time at her bedside trying to divine by chewing coca the causes of the sickness and the most adequate method of treatment. If his wife dies, the husband, unable to control his emotions, cries like a child at the wake and at the burial. Annually, on All Souls' Day, he visits the grave of his wife in the company of his children and relatives. At this time, generally, the father tells his children about the kindness and virtues of the dead person.

Now let us explore in what ways the wife shows her affection to her husband. It would seem that the woman makes available all her resources and good will in an effort to help her husband when he has troubles with the mestizo or white authorities. If the husband is put in jail for a real or imaginary fault, the wife walks some miles daily from the village to the district (ciudad) carrying food for her husband. What is more, she sells part of the crops or some sheep in order to raise money for a tinterillo (practical lawyer). When the prisoner is sent to the jail of the capital of the province, the wife goes behind him, leaving her children with relatives except for the baby which she carries on her back. It is not an unusual sight to see in the doors of the jails of the provinces Indian women with sad faces awaiting the freedom of their husbands.

The enganche is the typical form of getting workers for the mestizo or white farms of the southern region of Peru. The farmer or hacendado pays the Indian in advance a certain amount of money for his work in the planting or harvesting. If the Indian decides to return to his village because of maltreatment or sickness, the hacendado sends him to jail. Then the hacendado demands double or more the amount of the advanced pay for the freedom of the Indian. In this case the woman, with tears in her eyes, begs the hacendado for the freedom of her man. This case is reported by Castro Pozo who thinks that the Indian married people are tied only by sexual forces: "The wife of the 'enganchado' sells her sheep or llamas to pay the hacendado. She begs him for the freedom of

her husband." (Author's translation.)<sup>60</sup>

When the soldiers come to the village to forcibly take the young men for the army, the wives hide their husbands and would prefer to suffer threats or physical punishment rather than reveal the hiding place.

If a drunken husband falls down on the road from the district to the village to sleep it off, the wife sits down near him and waits for some hours until he awakens.

It seems that these examples of care, abnegation, sacrifice, and patience show that the Indian women feel a loyal and warm affection for their husbands.

Then, too, the wife tries to select the best wool for weaving the poncho or bufanda of her husband. If the family has too little wool, the wife prefers to weave clothing for her husband and children rather than for herself. The wife is greatly concerned also with the activities of her husband. If the husband is a professional weaver, potter, or dyer, she helps him to produce the best quality of products. The skilled artisan has a certain prestige in the community. He loses this prestige when he produces mediocre articles. The Indian wives do everything in their power toward maintaining the prestige of their husbands in the village. This strong drive to work for the self-enhancement of the husband is a sign of the woman's affection for her man. It is possible to state, finally, that there is a mutual understanding, cooperative work, respect, loyalty, and warm affectional

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

relationship between the Quechua married people.

✓ Affectional Relationships between the  
Parents and Children

It is taken for granted in Peru that there are no affectional ties between the parents and children. Indian parents are pictured as cold, selfish, and rude, and incapable of feeling any affection for their children. It is said also that the only interest of the parents is to exploit the children, making them work hard from an early age. Castro Pozo points out that the Indian parents give away their children without qualm, renting or selling them to the mestizo or white people. He says, "Children are rented or sold as if they were merchandise." (Author's translation.)<sup>61</sup> It seems that the statement of this Peruvian writer is accepted uncritically by a large percentage of mestizo and white population in Peru. On the other hand, it is said that the Indian children hate their parents, and run away from home frequently. It seems obvious that these statements are not based on facts. In reality there is an affectional relationship between the parents and children. This affectional relationship seems to be based on mutual care, attention, trust, and loyalty.

As has been pointed out, the Indian mother never leaves her child alone. When the mother goes to the market she carries the baby on her back. If the child is not on the lap of his mother, he is in the arms of his brothers or grandfathers. The mother rocks the baby frequently and sings

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

sweet songs to him. Sometimes, without taking into consideration that the baby does not speak yet, the mother talks to him affectionately, using phrases such as: "Mother, mother, I am awaiting your orders." In other cases, she identifies her baby with the most influential men of the community. In these cases, the mother speaks for her baby in a solemn tone of voice: "I am the priest, I'm the mayor, I am the sponsor of the Santo Patrono," and so forth.

Children of three to five years of age, at the end of their tasks, frequently lie for a while in the laps of their mothers. Their mothers encourage them with affectionate phrases of approval like this: "You are a good boy. You have done a good job today." When the children start to dance in the religious festivities of the village, the mothers buy masks and disguises for them. For the adolescent girls they buy copper rings and ornaments for their fiesta dresses.

The fathers also hold in their arms the younger children and sing for them cachuas and cachasparis. They patiently teach the older children to play the flute, quena, and antara. The fathers do not demonstrate their affections by kissing the children but by teasing and pommeling them and sometimes by tickling them or making teasing remarks. When the children are sick the parents do their utmost to bring them back to health.

Moreover, when the children are not in school or in the homes of relatives, they are always in the company of their parents at home, in the field, at the social and religious festivities of the village, at the Sunday masses, at the



fairs and markets. This constant companionship of the parents and children, determined by the cultural environment, seems to strengthen more and more the affectional ties between them.

The Indian fathers show more preference for their sons because girls in the Quechua culture are regarded as less desirable than boys. However, girls are not rejected nor unwanted. The mothers do not show sex discriminations in giving their affection to their offspring. The parents and relatives give special attention to the youngest son or chanacos of the family, even if they are girls. The preference of the parents for the chanacos may be noticed in the inheritance which the children receive. In effect, the parents before dying bequeath to the youngest son the things that they consider more valuable, such as kitchen utensils, blankets, house, and so on. Mishkin says:

The Quechua principle that each offspring should inherit equally is first modified by the prerogatives of the chanaco. The chanaco is the youngest son, who has absolute rights to the house and house plot.<sup>62</sup>

It has been said very often in Peru that the Indians have no interest in the education of their children. However, there are some evidences which show the falsity of these affirmations. For instance, the parents build the schools of the village, and assist at the school meetings when they are invited by the teachers who are interested in their cooperation. According to Mr. Luis Lopez Galarreta, a Peruvian teacher

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<sup>62</sup>Mishkin, op. cit., p. 456.

working in the Servicio Peruano Norte Americano de Educacion, the Indian parents display a desire to cooperate with the school when they are invited by the teachers. Teachers who neglect their school work are despised in the community. Castro Pozo points out that in some cases immoral teachers were expelled from the villages by the Indians. This constant preoccupation with the education of the children seems to demonstrate the affection of the parents for their children. In turn, the children are affectionate and respectful with their parents. They have a great attachment to their homes, and support their parents when they are unable to work because of old age or sickness. In general, there seems to exist an affectional climate in the Quechua home which promotes harmony, good understanding, and good relationships among the members of the family. However, it seems that in the communities surrounded by the latifundios, the Indian families live in a permanent state of anxiety of losing their lands. This anxiety seems to undermine the harmony and unity of the Indian family. The young people living in these communities emigrate easily to the urban zones or the sugar cane plantations of the coast.

### Sibling Rivalries

Overt rivalry among Indian brothers and sisters seems to be non-existent. The older children are not jealous of the care and special attention given the baby. This may be due to the fact that the children of two or three years of age receive not only the affection of their parents, but also

the attention and affection of their uncles, aunts, oldest brothers, godfathers, and grandparents.

People who have observed life in the Indian communities report the fact that the children three to four years old take care of the babies, but it has not been reported that they do this with affection. In fact, the youngsters rock the babies in their small arms murmuring simple words of endearment. The children, ten to twelve years of age, teach their younger brothers and sisters some games such as the sling game, which consists in throwing small stones as far as possible.

The children make gifts for each other. The boys buy cheap earrings or rings for their sisters who in turn weave sweaters and bufandas for them.

It is common in Indian families for the oldest brothers to show special attention for the youngest ones, while the oldest brother of the family is regarded with respect and consideration. The younger brothers follow the advice of the oldest, and agree with the decisions made by him. The oldest son is the executor of the testaments of his parents. Mishkin says:

The pive, or oldest son, is usually the executor of the family estate. His decisions in the absence of witnessed instructions from the deceased are usually accepted by the other heirs.<sup>63</sup>

In general, a close affectional relationship seems to exist between Indian siblings. This relationship is based on

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 456.

solidarity, confidence, and reciprocal assistance. The affectional ties between the children remain unbroken during their lives. It is not unusual to find in Indian homes sick people who live under the protection and assistance of their brothers. In case of the death of the father, the young children of both sexes live in the homes of their married brothers.

#### 4 Affectional Relationships between the Teachers and Children

There is no available data in Peruvian and foreign literature about the affectional relationships between the rural teachers and children. The author had a chance to obtain some data on this subject during a week of observation in the first, second, third, and fourth grades of the Elementary School of Chincheros (Cuzco), during the workshop of July, 1951. What will be pointed out further about the affectional relationship between the rural teachers and children may apply to the rest of the southern Peruvian rural schools because there are similar problems in all the highland schools.

In all the classes of the Elementary Rural School of Chincheros there was great formality in the relations between the teachers and children. There was a lack of permissiveness in the classes to the extent that the children displayed noticeable indications of fear of talking with their classmates, of asking questions of their teachers, or of simply asking permission to go to the small bathroom of the school. This lack of permissiveness tended to create a noticeable coldness in the relationships between the teachers

and children. The teachers--with good will--seemed to be absorbed in merely transmitting knowledge without paying heed to the individual feelings of the children or stopping to talk with them in a friendly way about their problems and needs.

On the other hand, it seemed that the rural teachers of Chincheros, in spite of their great concern for the education, did not completely accept the Indian children. This presumption is based on the fact that the teachers displayed in their conversations unfavorable attitudes regarding the Indian children. It is possible that these teachers have internalized consciously or unconsciously the prejudices of the Peruvian ruling class concerning the character and morality of the Indian people.

In general, the rural teachers seem to believe that the Indian children are unsociable, hypocritical, lazy, liars, with a "standard" type of intelligence. The teachers express these beliefs frequently. It is probable that these attitudes are responsible for the unfriendly behavior of the teachers toward the children.

On the other hand, in some communities the Indian children seem to have internalized the antagonisms of their parents against the teachers. Probably, this is due to two facts: (a) the racial hate of the Indians against the mestizos and whites, (b) the Quechua belief that the teachers work little but get good salaries. It is possible that these antagonistic feelings of the teachers and children are barriers to the establishment of a friendly attitude between them.

### Peer-Groups in the Indian Communities

In Quechua communities it is possible to observe groups of children playing at games, dancing, and singing. Children of both sexes and in the same age group play together and they are also members of the same extended family. It is very seldom that children play with those of a different extended family. Children of three and four years of age play together while pasturing the sheep near the household. Those from eight to sixteen years rehearse dances and songs for the celebration of the religious fiestas. Usually the oldest are the leaders in the direction of the activities of the group. Cooperation seems to be the most outstanding value of these groups which are dissolved at the end of the rehearsal period of dances and songs. The groups function a few weeks before the religious festivities. These temporary groups of limited activities may be considered as peer groups in the Indian communities. However, everything seems to indicate that there are not well organized peer groups in the Quechua villages. This assumption is based on two facts: (a) the Indian children seem to reserve all their affection and interest for their parents and near relatives, so they do not feel the need to organize stable peer groups; (b) the children work most of the time helping their parents and relatives. Perhaps for this reason, at the end of their daily activities, they do not have much energy to form peer groups.

What has been said of the temporary peer groups of Indian children is extremely limited because there is no available data about this subject. It is evident that

research is needed in the area of Indian peer groups.

### Influence of the Affectional Relationships in the Self-Development of the Indian Children

The absence of divorces, the harmonious and peaceful atmosphere of Quechua homes, the warm affectional relationships between the parents and children, the lack of noticeable sibling rivalries, are factors which seem to promote a healthful self-development of the children.

Due to these factors the Quechua child from an early age seems to have a sense of security and a feeling of adequacy. This sense of security seems to give to the child self-confidence in the performance of his developmental tasks. The fine achievement of these tasks is not carried out under authoritarian pressure or social competition. It is rather the result of love and cooperation.

The Indian child knows that he has a place in his family, and that he is loved and understood by his parents, godfathers, and relatives. This feeling of being loved and understood seems to help the child to make fine adjustments to the social expectations of his cultural environment. In the Indian communities cases of maladjusted children are very unusual.

The love and cooperation of the Indian families promote a desirable climate for the development of peaceful attitudes. In fact the Indian child is peaceful, docile, and respectful.

The Indian child gradually enhances his self in direct contact with the life of his environment, and the

affection of his parents and relatives. His self-development is not interrupted or diverted by emotional disturbances. Incidentally, cases of personality disorders among the Indian people are rare.

Due to his early experiences the adult Quechua seems to have a happy personality in spite of his poorness and backwardness. He shows a consistent behavior, self-confidence, and strong loyalty to his family and cultural traditions, and seems to be contented, good-natured, and modest.

However, the Indian child as well as the adult loses the sense of security and feeling of adequacy when he lives in the urban zones in direct contact with mestizo and white population.

### Summary

Courtship in the Indian communities has two phases: the employing of charms and spells, and the declaration of love. A successful courtship ends in a trial period of marriage called *sirvinacuy* in the Indian communities. The *sirvinacuy* entails no obligations between the families of the couple. Usually the *sirvinacuy* ends in religious marriage. The Indian marriages are stable, therefore divorce is rather unusual in the Quechua communities. However, there are some cases of separation without formal divorce. The causes of separation on the part of the husband are adultery, sterility, incompetence, and laziness; and on the part of the wife, cruelty. The Quechua family is patrilineal and patrilocal. The head of the family enjoys prestige and authority. The husband and wife cooperate closely for the welfare of the



family. In this close cooperation the husband performs the heavy tasks, and the wife does the domestic chores and carries on the small trade of the family. Generally, the father and mother, the children, the brothers of the father, and the grandparents all live together. The other members of the extended family live only a short distance away. There is a close relationship between the family and the relatives, and there is close cooperation between them. The orphans and widows are provided for by their relatives. The children frequently visit in the homes of their aunts and uncles, and other relatives, from whom they receive affection and assistance. The godfather is a wide spread institution in the Quechua communities. The aihados have a great respect for their godfathers. Before taking any important steps they consult the opinion of their godfathers. The godfathers help and advise their godsons in all of their difficulties.

There is an affectional relationship between the Indian husband and wife. A spirit of cooperation, respect, loyalty, and mutual assistance exists between them. Each one does everything possible for the happiness of his partner. There exist also strong affectional ties between the parents and children. The Indian mother never leaves her baby alone and experiences a great sense of satisfaction during the nursing period. The father shows his affection toward the children by teasing them. Also the parents interest themselves in the education and welfare of the children. The children love their parents and spend most of their time with them. The children seem to feel affection, respect, and

loyalty for their parents.

There does not seem to be any sibling rivalry in the Indian homes. The older children take care of the younger ones with affection. In general, there exists between brothers and sisters affection, confidence, and cooperation.

There is not much evidence of affectional relationships between the teachers and pupils. There is a lack of permissiveness in the schools which impedes the spontaneous activities of the children. The teachers have an unfavorable attitude toward the children, and the children in turn are prejudiced against the teachers, these prejudices being acquired in the home. This seems to be one of the obstacles which impede the establishment of the affectional relationships between the teachers and pupils. In the Indian communities there are groups of children devoting themselves to games and practicing dances for fiestas. These groups are only temporary, which seems to indicate that among the Quechuas there are no permanent organizations of peer-groups.

The Indian child, due to the love, understanding, and cooperation received in the home, seems to have a feeling of security and of adequacy. Besides, he seems to be capable of performing his developmental tasks efficiently and of adjusting easily to the social expectations of his environment. There seem to be no cases of personality disorders among the children. The adults seem to be contented with their lot, and are good-natured and modest. Children as well as adults lose their feeling of security when living among the mestizos and whites.

## CHAPTER VI

### PRESENT STATUS OF RURAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN PERU

This chapter deals with a brief analysis and evaluation of the plans and programs of Peruvian elementary education. In addition, it tries to analyze the nature of learning processes in the rural schools of Cuzco, the ways in which the teachers handle the children, and the main goals of education of the rural teachers. Finally, this chapter deals with a summary study of the background of rural teachers and their knowledge concerning child behavior and development.

#### Plans and Programs of Peruvian Elementary Education

In accordance with Article Six of the Organic Law of Public Education the Government determines the content of elementary school subjects. The Ministry of Education appoints some functionaries of the Department of Elementary Education of the Ministry of Public Education to prepare the projects of the plans and programs. The Commission reports on its project to the National Council of Education whose members are appointed by the Government. The National Council of Education studies the project of the Commission and reports to the Ministry of Education on its study. Usually, the Ministry approves the judgement of the National Council of Education concerning the plans and programs prepared by the Commission. Finally, the plans and programs are instituted by a decree signed by the President of the Republic and

the Ministry of Education.

In 1941, during the administration of Manuel Prado y Ugarteche, the new Plans and Programs of Peruvian elementary education which are used at the present time in the public and private schools were instituted.

In accordance with these plans and programs there are three stages of elementary education: (1) kindergarten, (2) transition classes, (3) the usual public elementary education.<sup>64</sup> Kindergarten is for children from four to six years of age; "transition classes" are for those between six and seven years of age; and the public elementary education is for children from eight to thirteen years of age.

Kindergarten and the transition classes are stages of preschool education in which the coeducational system is used. The public elementary education is not coeducational. This stage has two grades: first grade education for children from seven to eleven years of age; and the second grade of education for those between eleven and thirteen years old.

There are kindergartens in Lima and the important cities of the coast, mountain, and jungle. Kindergartens have not yet been established in the Indian communities. Generally, the elementary schools of these communities have transition, first, second, and third grades. However, in some rural schools as in Chincheros (Cuzco) there are all the grades of the elementary education except kindergartens.

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<sup>64</sup>Cameron D. Ebaugh, Education in Peru, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946, p. 12.

At the present time the Ministry of Public Education proposes to introduce new plans and programs into the elementary schools. Dr. Santiago Pardo Lezameta, former director of elementary education, points out that new plans and programs will be experimented with in some public schools of Lima before being introduced into all the public and private schools of Peru.

The author has no references concerning the results of the experimentation of the new Plans and Programs which are not yet being used in the schools.

### General Aims of Elementary Education

The general objectives of the elementary school instruction stated in the Plans and Programs of 1947 are the following:

1. To provide the elements of general culture and to awaken a liking for country life and an interest in its industries.
2. To contribute to physical development and good health.
3. To stimulate altruism and cooperation.
4. To favor the acquisition and conservation of good habits, especially of punctuality, truthfulness, perseverance, industriousness, the spirit of initiative, self-reliance, good will toward ones neighbors.
5. To strengthen the feeling of patriotism, tempering it with attitudes of social and international peace.
6. To cultivate religious sentiments.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Ministerio de Educacion Publica, Planes y Programas para la Educacion Infantil, las Clases de Transicion y la Educacion Primaria Comun, 2 ed. oficial, Lima: Imprenta del Colegio Militar, 1947, p. 27.

## Courses of Studies of the Elementary Education

According to the new plans of 1941, instruction of the first and second grades is by the method of "globalization" and revolves around three "vital areas" as centers of attention: home and school, the town, and the fatherland. The elementary school subjects are taught as important factors in the understanding of the three "vital areas." During this period instruction undergoes a development of things already known.

The courses of the first and second grades of the elementary education are: nature study, arithmetic, language, and social education. Nature study deals with certain rudiments of Anatomy, Botany, Chemistry, and Zoology. Mathematics deals with some rudiments of Arithmetic and Geometry; and social education with the study of Civics, History, and Geography.

The subjects of the last four years of elementary education are: language, arithmetic, nature study, social education, morals and religion, singing, art and manual activities, physical education, shopwork, and gardening. For girls, home economics and child care are added in the fifth and sixth years. In the last four years the whole method or "globalization" is not emphasized, but rather is concerned with the relationships among the various subjects.

The program of education contains twelve main subjects of language, eight of arithmetic, twenty of nature study, thirteen of history, geography and civics, and nine of religion. Each of these main subjects contains some

sub-groups. The courses of the fourth grade have the same number of subjects as each of the courses mentioned above for the program of the third grade except for geography, history, and civics.

The program of education of the fifth and sixth grades contains ten subjects of language, eight of arithmetic, twenty of nature study, twenty-three of civics, history and geography, and ten of religion. Each of these subjects also contains many sub-headings. However, the subjects of study of the last four years of elementary education are different in the nature of their content.

Throughout the elementary school years, subject matter is to be acquired through a series of activities with their corresponding learning outcomes. For instance, on page 49 of the official program, item number four under language for the third grade is: "Interpretation of poetry, fables, riddles, and so forth. Interpretation of maxims." (Author's translation.)<sup>66</sup> The type of activity pointed out in the program for this subject is: "Memorizing and reciting poetry, reading fables, guessing riddles. Short compositions on some themes of recitation. Drawing or modeling some passages of the recitation." (Author's translation.) The subjects of the courses of study and their corresponding fixed activities are identical for all the urban and rural schools of Peru.

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

## Brief Evaluation of the Plans and Programs of Elementary Education

The present plans and programs of Peruvian elementary education seem to be superior to the plans used prior to 1941. In fact, the plans and programs prior to 1941 were completely rigid. On the other hand, in the curriculum of these plans subject matters from the first grade were used. The present plans and programs are relatively more flexible, and point up the method of globalization, at least in the first grades. The plans prior to 1941 were like strait-jackets which paralyzed the movement, initiative, and creativeness of the teachers. The present plans and programs give the teachers a certain freedom of initiative, at least theoretically.

However, the present plans of the Peruvian elementary education seem, from the point of view of the author, to have the following deficiencies:

1. The plans and programs have been made in Lima by a commission made up of only a very few people.<sup>67</sup> The State must provide guide-lines for the plans, but the teachers and pupils must elaborate their plans and programs in every school of the country.
2. The plans and programs are identical for the urban and rural schools in spite of the great cultural and economic differences which exist among the Peruvian cities and rural communities. For instance, it

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 26.



seems inadequate to use the same programs in Lima and in the southern Indian communities of Peru. Relatively speaking, Lima is a modern city which has advantages of certain cultural media such as radio, newspapers, museums, public libraries, and so forth. The Quechua communities, as has been said in the preceding chapters, are lacking in the most simple conveniences of Western Civilization. The school curriculum should be based mainly on the cultural advancement of the environment.

3. The subject matter of the programs is not fitted to the children. In fact, the same curriculum is used in all the schools of the country and with all students, without taking into consideration individual differences in terms of physical, mental, and emotional maturity.
4. The questions and activities of the plans and programs are fixed in advance without giving attention to the experience, needs, and interests of the children.
5. The questions of the plans and programs seem to be exceedingly numerous in all the grades of elementary education. Generally, the teachers have tremendous difficulty in explaining all the points of the programs.
6. The plans and programs must be revised according to the social and economic changes taking place in the communities. The Peruvian programs have not been

changes for twelve years. Certainly the Quechua communities have been static since the decline of the Inca Empire, but some coastal cities, particularly Lima, Chiclayo, and Pura, have had visible social and economic changes in the last twelve years.

7. The democratic philosophy is basic in the education of children in a free country. The general aims of Peruvian elementary education have failed to indicate that the democratic principle is essential in the whole process of education.

#### Learning Theory and Practice in the Rural Schools of Southern Peru

The main characteristics of the learning theory of the Peruvian southern rural schools may be summarized by the following points:

1. The motivation of the classes in the rural schools seems to be openly extrinsic. Generally, the teacher says at the beginning of the class, "Hoy nos vamos a ocupar de la siguiente leccion." (Today we are going to have the following lesson.) The teacher explains the lesson in an academic fashion without taking into consideration whether or not the children are really interested in the class.
2. The learning processes in the rural schools are strongly intellectualistic. The author observed that the fourth grade teacher of the rural school of Chincheros (Cuzco) explained to the children about the use, origin, and physical and chemical

properties of clay in terms entirely intellectualistic. At the end of the long explanation, the teacher wrote on the blackboard many questions about clay. The pupils appeared to be inactive during the whole period of the dissertation.

3. Memorizing in learning is widely used in the southern rural schools. After the teacher's explanation of a certain subject, the children memorize this subject in the school text books. Generally, during the months of November and December, the last months of the second semester of the Peruvian school year, the children--without any previous explanation--memorize many chapters from their school texts. The teacher writes the lessons on the blackboard in places where there are few text books.

Usually the teachers give high marks to children who are able to "recitar la leccion" (recite the lesson) almost by heart. It is doubtful whether the children can understand clearly the true meaning of the subjects studied by means of rigid memorization.

4. The physical and mental maturity of the child is not taken into consideration in the rural schools. In fact, there are children from nine to seventeen years of age in the second and third grades in most of the rural schools. All of these children of different levels of physical maturity are expected to work at the same rate in the painful task of memorizing meaningless lessons. For instance, in the second

grade of the rural school of Chicheros (Cuzco) in July, 1951, there were approximately ten children over fourteen years of age in a group of forty children. The oldest children of the class were the most advanced according to the opinion of the second grade teacher of Chincheros. The author observed that the teacher demanded that all the children of the class have the same achievement as the advanced children.

It would seem that the rural teachers think that the children of the same grade must work with the same intensity, and have the same achievement. The physical maturity, the precarious state of health, and the emotional disturbances of the children mean nothing. The school grade is apparently regarded as the magic leveler of the individual differences in terms of physical and mental growth.

5. The rural schools have limited equipment, supplies, and materials. The Ministry of Public Education provides only one standard reading book for the first and second grade children. Pepe y Lola is the official reading book which is used in all urban and rural schools of Peru. The government also provides pencils and notebooks to the rural schools. This supply of school materials is deficient. In the majority of the rural schools, according to the teachers' reports in the Lima summer workshop of 1951, a great percentage of Indian children do not have school materials. This seems to be due to the fact

that the school materials are distributed mostly in the coastal urban zones. The children themselves buy the textbooks of elementary education. The textbook called Tesoro Escolar is used in all the Peruvian schools.

The author observed that the children of some rural schools of the Cuzco area had no school materials except a few copies of Pepe y Lola and El Tesoro Escolar. The deficiency of equipment, supplies, and materials seems to be a negative factor in the learning processes of the Peruvian rural schools. The children use the same reading books through lack of school libraries. It is unnecessary to say that the use of the same reading books is not adequate for satisfying the differences in aptitudes, interests, and tendencies of the children. The very few schools which have a small collection of books do not use them in the learning processes. The books of these schools are more like ornaments rather than tools of work.

The rural school of Chincheros has a select collection of twenty to twenty-five books which are in the principal's office. During his two week visit in Chincheros, the author observed that the children did not utilize the school's books.

6. All the school activities take place in the schools. The children and teachers do not prepare plans or projects for getting materials of study from the

community. For instance, the Incaic architecture is studied by using a drawing as a means of illustration. Deposits of clay and coal, and the ruins of Sacsayhuaman, Pissag, Qqueros, architectonic debris of the Inca civilization, are to be found near the rural schools of the Cuzco area. In spite of this fact, the children do not visit these places for study purposes. It seems that the rural school is separated from the community by an iron curtain. The natural surroundings, the economic and social events of Quechua society are not employed as live sources of learning. The text-book Tesoro Escolar is apparently considered as a marvelous source of information rather than the treasure of real facts to be found in the community.

7. The teacher explains a great amount of facts every day. It seems that the reputation of the teacher is based partly on his ability to explain a subject with as many details as possible.

The author observed in the fifth grade of Chincheros' school that the teacher explained in one hour the administration of five emperors of the Inca Empire. In his long speech, the teacher explained the conquests made by these emperors, and the material and social progress of their policies. It seems doubtful whether children can learn with this type of teaching because a great amount of knowledge transmitted in a short time is confusing even for adults.

8. In the first and second grades of the elementary rural schools all the activities are centered on the learning of the Spanish language for which the text-book Pepe y Lola is mostly used. From the beginning most of the teachers speak Spanish in the reading class. They believe that this practice is successful for the learning of Spanish. By means of monotonous repetition, the children are compelled to learn phrases and sentences from the text-book. These sentences are meaningless to the children because they are strange to their culture, and are not the result of their personal experiences. Probably this fact accounts for one of the reasons why the children have such difficulty in learning Spanish in the rural schools. According to the reports of the teachers, the majority of the third grade children have a very deficient knowledge of Spanish when they finish school.
9. A rigid schedule is used in the learning processes of the rural schools. The courses of the school's program are taught according to the schedule which is fixed at the beginning of the year. In the classroom all the activities are subordinate to the schedule. A fifth grade child in the Chincheros school, after a class on Anatomy relating to the study of the stomach, asked the teacher in a timid fashion if chili is harmful to the health. The teacher answered the child: "We are going to study this point next

week in the subject of hygiene of digestion."

In the summer workshop of Lima in 1951 many rural teachers of Guzco and Puno pointed out that the schedules are fundamental norms which must be followed by the teachers. According to this point of view, the interests and needs of the children must be subordinated to the rigidity of the schools' schedules.

10. The children remain in the classrooms for many hours without a break, working on their tasks or listening to the teacher's explanations. The study of the Indian alimentation in Chapter III of this thesis points out the fact that the Quechua children go to school in the mornings after a poor breakfast without milk, cereals, or eggs. These children remain almost four consecutive hours without break in crowded classrooms which have poor ventilation. Undoubtedly these children must become tired after working long hours without recess. It is doubtful whether tired children learn their tasks easily. Prolonged concentration of the mind on a subject decreases the capacity of assimilation even in adults with great physical endurance.
11. The learning processes in the rural schools do not promote cooperation among the children in the solution of the school's tasks. The Indian child who goes to school has a favorable mental attitude toward the cooperative type of work. The child internalizes



this attitude from the sap of his culture. In fact, according to the analysis of Chapter IV, cooperation seems to be one of the outstanding characteristics of Quechua society. However, the child in the school is compelled to execute his tasks within an atmosphere where there is no cooperation among the children. It would seem that the teachers do not stimulate the children to share their experiences with the class nor promote cooperative work related with the solution of school problems. On the contrary, the child is forbidden to help other children in their school tasks. It is true that individual learning is important, but the exchange of ideas in the learning processes is equally important.

12. All the activities of the children and teachers in the Peruvian rural schools are performed in accordance with the instructions of the official plans and programs of education. The author on his visit to certain schools of the Cuzco area did not observe one case in which projects of school activities were planned by the teachers and children.

All that has been said seems to indicate that the learning processes of the southern Peruvian rural schools are guided by principles and practices of the so-called traditional school.

However, some teachers in the Cuzco area seem to have become aware of the needs and interests of the children in learning processes, but this awareness has not yet been

crystallized into fact. There are very few schools where the teachers promote various kinds of activities in learning processes. Incidentally, this can be observed in the schools of some teachers who assisted at the summer workshop of 1951 which was sponsored by the Servicio Cooperativo Peruano Norte Americano de Educacion.

In general, the rural teachers of the Cuzco area display good will for teaching their children. Unfortunately, they seem insensitive to the feelings of the children.

#### Ways in Which the Rural Teachers Handle the Children

There is little available data concerning this subject. This study is based on the opinions expressed by the teachers in the summer workshop of 1951, and the observations of the author in some rural schools of the Cuzco area, particularly Chincheros.

Discussing discipline problems in the workshop mentioned above, one of the rural teachers said more or less this: "From the beginning, the teacher must show his authority in the class room. In this way, the school's discipline is assured. The permissive teacher, who allows the children to talk and move freely, is lost because 'al que se hace miel las moscas se lo comen.'" (he who covers himself with honey will be devoured by the flies--author's translation.) Another teacher said: "The teacher must show strong authority to establish order in the classroom to control the childrens' activities efficiently." These quotations are not literal because the author has forgotten the exact use of words made

by the teachers at the time of the 1951 workshop. But they do accurately express the concepts expressed by the teachers.

Very few teachers differed in opinion with the statements mentioned above. On the contrary, most of them expressed their opinions in the same manner.

The author observed also that the teachers handled their pupils in an autocratic way in the rural schools of the Cuzco area. In fact, in the classroom situations, the teachers dictated orders to the children much the same as a general would to the soldiers under his command. In this autocratic atmosphere, children had no chance to elect their fellows for any kind of activities. For instance, in the school of Chincheros, the teacher directly appointed the children who might sweep the floor of the classroom or get paracshas from the field to make brooms. Moreover, when the fourth grade children were going to play with the fifth graders, the teachers alone decided who might play, and who might be the captains of the teams.

The autocratic attitude of the teachers is reflected in the classroom organization. In fact, teachers demand that the children maintain strict silence in the class. The children may not speak with their classmates even in low tones. Children usually ask no questions when they are interrogated by their teachers. The teacher channels and controls autocratically all the children's activities. The children try to be attentive to all the gestures and orders of their teachers as do musicians in an orchestra to the baton of the conductor. The school's discipline seems to be

of exterior imposition. It would seem that the major objective is to demand the complete subordination of the children to the teacher's will. In this type of discipline, the teacher is a powerful master interested in maintaining silence in the class.

It is said in Peru, particularly in the capital, that the rural teachers whip the children who do not behave nicely or who do not perform their tasks. This statement seems to be exaggerated. The author has not observed one case in which such treatment was used. However, the teachers employ threats and punishment with the children in the southern Indian communities.

There are five kinds of punishment in the rural schools: taking away the only break period of the day, expelling the children from the classes, asking the pupils to stand in the corner of the class for some hours, writing the same sentence in the notebook fifty or sixty times and, finally, keeping the children in school after the end of the school day.

The author observed in the third grade class of the Chincheros school that a child, apparently restless, was moving around in his desk paying no attention to the teacher's explanation. The teacher rebuked the child, but he kept on. The teacher said in an angry tone of voice: "You are making noise, and you are not listening to the lesson because you are lazy. Stand up immediately in that corner and don't come back to your desk until I tell you to." Without a word, the child went to one corner of the classroom.

The author observed on another occasion three fifth graders of the Chincheros school writing in their notebooks the sentences of punishment a half hour after school had let out. The teacher had written three sentences on the blackboard which were supposed to be written a couple dozen times by the children. The author does not remember the content of these sentences.

Threats are frequently employed by the teachers in handling children. The usual threat is related to what is called recitation of the pasos or lessons. The author observed the following episode in one small elementary school located near Chincheros. In the third grade class, while the teacher was explaining the lesson, two children were whispering at their desks. The teacher, visibly irritated, told these children: "You are talking all the time. We will see at the lesson time. By the way, you will be the first ones to recite the lesson this afternoon." The author has observed similar cases in most of the rural schools of Cuzco. The teachers threaten the bulleros or noisy children by expelling them from the class or by keeping them after the school period is over.

The most serious threat seems to be related to the final examinations of the year. The teachers threaten the bulleros with failing them in the final tests if they do not modify their behavior. When a pencil or notebook is lost in the classroom, the teacher threatens the whole group with taking away the break period for several days if the prospective thief does not immediately replace the school

materials lost in the class.

Report cards of behavior and achievement are employed in some rural schools. But these report cards are mostly used as a means of intimidation in order to promote a rigid discipline in the classroom. Teachers can frequently be heard threatening to give the children bad behavior on the report cards if they make noise in the class.

It would seem that the continuous use of threats and punishments in handling Quechua children creates an atmosphere of fear in the southern rural schools. In fact, children show visible signs of inhibition in school work situations. All they do is to keep quiet and pay careful attention to the orders and instructions of their teachers.

On the other hand, recognition is employed in handling children in the rural schools. But this recognition is reserved only for the aprovechados or advanced children of the class. These children are considered as models, and the great concern of the teachers is that all the children of the class should have the same academic achievements of the aprovechados students. The children who have difficulties in learning, although they make great efforts to answer the teacher's questions or to solve the problems of their school tasks, receive not a word of approval or encouragement. On the contrary, they are criticised for their mediocre achievements, and sometimes shamed by the teacher in a sarcastic fashion in the presence of their fellow students. The following episode may be an illustration for what has been said. The author observed in one rural school the

following incident. A fifth grader had tremendous difficulty in accurately pronouncing some words in the lesson-recitation of a tale from Peruvian Traditions by Ricardo Palma. The teacher helped him many times in correcting his mispronunciation, but the child still couldn't pronounce properly in spite of the teacher's help. Finally, the angry teacher exploded: "Aren't you ashamed of yourself for mispronouncing these words. You are already a young fellow, and yet you are unable to speak the Spanish language properly." The child went back to his seat showing visible signs of shame on his face. It is not difficult to imagine the terrible effect of the teacher's explosion on the child's self-esteem.

In one section of the Pissag Elementary School, during the class on geography, a child was drawing in his notebook. The teacher took away the child's notebook, and ordered him to work on geography. In addition, the child was threatened with losing his break period if he was going to start drawing again. In general, it seems that the rural teachers employ negative ways in handling children. Probably there are exceptions, but the threat, punishment, sarcasm, criticism, the use of aggressive words, the lack of good humor, and deprivation are common ways in which the teachers handle the children.

#### Goals of Teachers in Rural Education

The main goal of teachers in the first two grades of elementary schools is to teach the Indian children to read and to write the Spanish language. The prestige of the

teacher in a rural environment depends mostly on whether his pupils, at the end of the school year, are able to read the Pepe y Lola text-book. In order to gain this prestige which gives professional status, teachers concentrate all their efforts on trying to teach Spanish to their pupils. On the other hand, it would seem that the teachers are compelled by the Indian communities and the Peruvian government to pay special attention to the teaching of Spanish. It seems that the parents in some Quechua communities think it is important for the children to learn Spanish so they can help them in the trade and work relationships with the whites. The parents also seem to think that if their children learn Spanish, they may have a better chance to improve their social and economic situation.

The rural teachers of Cuzco and Puno expressed a great concern for the bilingual problems (Aymara-Spanish and Quechua-Spanish) in the summer workshop of 1951. At one of the meetings in which there was some discussion of the bilingualism, one teacher said something like this: "We are interested in learning the best method for teaching the Spanish language to the Indian children. The Quechua and Aymara parents ask frequently that we teach Spanish to their children." Many other teachers expressed similar points of view concerning the language problem.

The Government does not state as a goal of elementary education the learning of the Spanish language in the Indian rural communities. However, the Government regards the idea of having only one language as a successful means for the



achievement of national unity. In accordance with this idea, the state puts special emphasis on the teaching of Spanish in the Indian communities. In fact, the state through the educational supervisors of the country constantly recommends to the teachers the teaching of Spanish to the Quechua children.

After the second grade of elementary school, another main goal of the rural teachers is to finish by all means all the points of the Plans and Programs of Education. There isn't any ministerial directive which states that the teachers must explain all the subjects of the official program during the school year. However, there is indirect official pressure in this direction. In fact, the questions on the final tests of the year are prepared by the Direccion de Educacion Comun Primaria of the Public Ministry of Education. These questions, according to the teachers in various places of Peru, represent a selection of questions on all of the subjects of the Plans and Programs.

Again, the supervisors of education when visiting the schools of their geographic jurisdiction, are concerned primarily with knowing toward what point of the Plans and Programs the schools are moving. Finally, the classroom teachers are under pressure from the school principals regarding the development of the program subjects. This pressure of state, community, and school principals seems to create a certain fear in the teachers, fear which incites them to make a great effort to finish the program.

Because this program is so extensive, from the

beginning of November teachers completely neglect the pasos de recitation of the children. In this period the main concern of the teachers is to catch up on the courses in which they are behind. Because of this practice of dispensing a great amount of knowledge, the teachers have no time to detect the abilities of the children, or to provide any kind of opportunity for the development of these abilities. With their obsession of the programs, teachers forget to promote an adequate climate in the school for the normal development of the child, for the development of positive attitudes, or for the formation of good work habits.

In spite of the constant work, and the teacher's good will for attaining the goals mentioned above, there are reasons for believing that the results obtained by the teachers are mediocre. In the first place, it is doubtful whether the children have at the end of the year a clear understanding of the numerous subjects learned during the year. This assumption is based on the fact that a great percentage of Quechua children, even in the last grades of elementary education, do not have a good understanding of the Spanish language. Probably this fact is a handicap for the Indian children because learning processes become quite difficult with an insufficient knowledge of the language. The method of teaching used in the rural schools is based mostly on memorization of the subjects which are in most cases strange to the Quechua culture. This type of teaching is another cause of the mediocrity of the results obtained in the rural schools. In the second place, it must be quite difficult

for children who are attending schools having only the first two grades to acquire an adequate knowledge of Spanish during those two years. This assumption is based on the fact that the Quechua children, according to reports of southern Peruvian teachers, sometimes do not attend classes for many weeks during the year, especially during planting and harvesting times. In addition, the Indian children have little or no opportunity to practice their Spanish outside of school since Quechua is the only language spoken in the community.

#### Background of the Peruvian Rural Teachers

Elementary school teachers fall into three categories: (1) normal school graduates, who hold the title of Urban Normalist or Rural Normalist; (2) titled or certificated teachers, who have not graduated from normal school, but hold a certificate permitting them to teach; (3) unlicensed teachers.

Every year the Government grants a certain number of scholarships to the young people willing to study in the Rural Normal Schools. The scholarships are granted to the candidates who obtain the best marks in the tests of admission to the school. Until three years ago, the Organic Law of Education required only certificates of elementary education for the candidates to the Rural Normal Schools. At the present time, the candidates have secondary education. Rural Normalists are graduated after three years of study.

The teachers of the second category obtain their

certificates after successfully passing the examinations which are held in Lima during the vacations of the teachers. The questions on these tests are formulated by the Direccion de Educacion Comun Primaria of the Ministry of Public Education.

The teachers of the third category are not required to take examinations in order to teach. They are appointed by the Director of Elementary Education on the recommendation of the Supervisors of Education, at least theoretically. In practice it seems that the supervisors as well as the Director of Elementary Education are influenced by the recommendations of politicians or priests in the appointment of the teachers.

Most of the rural teachers in Peru fall into the third category. Sometimes it is possible to find in rural schools teachers with an incomplete elementary education. However, since the administration of Manuel Prado y Ugarteche, the Peruvian government has been interested in the professional improvement of the teachers in public service, particularly the teachers in the third category. In fact, summer courses are given in Lima for the teachers of the third category who want to obtain the title of Rural Normalist. Admission to these courses of improvement is granted to uncertified teachers who have completed their elementary school education and have had seven years of experience in public school teaching. The course for the uncertified teachers comprises three terms of three months each, thirty hours a week. At the end of this training the teacher

students receive their title as Rural Normalists.

The Servicio Cooperativo Peruano Norte Americano de Educacion, established in Peru under the Point Four Program of the United States, is also working for the improvement of the graduate and undergraduate rural teachers. The American specialists who are working in Peru have concentrated their attention on the problems of education of the rural areas of Cuzco and the Altiplano.

#### Knowledge of the Peruvian Teachers Regarding Child Behavior and Development

One of the ways of exploring the knowledge of the rural teachers concerning child behavior and development may be through an analysis of the outstanding aspects of the education given in the Rural Normal Schools. This analysis will be the basis for making certain assumptions concerning the knowledge of the rural teachers about the problems mentioned above.

Most of the teachers of the Rural Normal Schools are graduated from the Faculties of Education of the Peruvian Universities or from the Institutos Pedagogicos of Lima. Consequently, in order to have an idea of the quality of education given in the Rural Normal Schools it is necessary to analyze briefly the education given in the universities of Peru. The plans for teacher preparation are similar in these universities except for certain minor differences of procedure.

The author studied in the Catholic University of Lima, and in the National University of Trujillo. Lacking

available data, the author will try to analyze which are the principles underlying child behavior and development in these universities, particularly the Catholic University, basing the analysis on his personal experiences in the above mentioned universities.

In the first place, in the Catholic University of Lima, at least until 1941, there was a departmentalization in the study of various forces which shape the personality of the child. There was no emphasis on the principle that biological and cultural forces are deeply interwoven in determining child behavior and development. Particularly, in the study of the child there was no emphasis placed on the importance of the affectional and social processes. The study of the child was centered mostly around a dualistic approach: body and mind. But the biological and mental factors were regarded as two independent entities without any close relationship. There were studies of the different stages of physical growth, but there were no clear references of each of these stages in the behavior and self-development. The developmental tasks were studied with no attention given to the physical and cultural forces. For instance, no specific mention was made of social expectations or physical or emotional levels of maturity as important factors influencing the developmental tasks. Absorbed in the description of developmental tasks as independent entities, the professors of the Catholic University of Lima put special emphasis on the study of the child as a "standard type" with mental readiness for certain tasks related to his chronologi-

cal age. No emphasis was put on the individual differences of physical, mental, and emotional maturity.

Moreover, the students received no information regarding the behavior and development of Peruvian children. The Peruvian professors as well as the French, Belgian, and Spanish professors of the Catholic University were concerned with the explanation of the physical and mental development of the European rather than the Peruvian child. Prospective teachers were prepared as if they were going to work in the schools of Paris, Brussels, or Madrid. The students received no information concerning possible ways of studying the Peruvian child within the structure of his culture. It was taken for granted, at least implicitly, that the European and Peruvian children were similar physically and mentally in each of the phases of their development.

In June of 1951, the author observed in the Barranco School, Balneario, of Lima, that the teachers were employing foreign intelligence tests in testing the children. Later, the Assistant Director of Barranco School pointed out that the results of the tests were not satisfactory because the I.Q.'s of the Peruvian children were lower than the foreign intelligence tests scales. What happened in the Barranco School also happens in many other schools where foreign intelligence tests, which are not adequate for the cultural experiences of the Peruvian children, are used indiscriminately. This suggests once more that Peruvian teachers consider the native children as if they were Europeans or Americans.

Another characteristic of education in the Catholic

University is the concentration on the study of methods of teaching rather than on knowledge of the child. The theory of ultra-modern methods of teaching is useless if the child is unknown.

Based on the brief analysis mentioned above plus personal observations, the author thinks that most of the graduate or undergraduate rural teachers, who were disciples of graduate teachers in the universities, are lacking a good professional background concerning the fundamental principles underlying child behavior and development. Probably there are exceptions but, in general, the rural teachers are concerned primarily with transmitting knowledge rather than in becoming interested in the feelings, abilities, and behavior of their pupils.

However, there are signs which indicate that the Peruvian teachers are willing to study the behavior and development of the Peruvian child. This interest has been shown in national meetings of the teachers sponsored by themselves. Unfortunately, this interest has not been crystallized into fact. Lack of leadership is one of the reasons for this situation. It would seem that the most intelligent teachers leave the teaching profession because of low salaries, and social status.

For their part the southern Peruvian rural teachers show a great interest in the improvement of their professional knowledge. Teachers attend the workshops sponsored by the American specialists, and they seem sensitive to the new educational approaches. In fact, the author observed in



some rural schools of Cuzco that the teachers are putting into practice the new techniques of reading and writing which were suggested by the Americans. However, the rural teachers seem to have a poor knowledge of the basic principles of human development. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the American specialists, who show interest and good will in helping the teachers, were concerned primarily with teaching methods rather than helping the rural teachers to understand child behavior and development.

### Summary

The Peruvian government determines the school courses, and the content of these courses. Usually, the ministry approves the report of the National Council of Education concerning the project of the Plans and Programs of Elementary Education. In 1951, President Manuel Odria instituted the Plans and Programs of Elementary Education. According to these plans and programs the elementary education is of three stages: kindergarten, transition, and educacion primaria comun. Kindergartens and transition classes are stages of pre-school education. There are kindergartens only in the important Peruvian cities.

The public elementary education is of two stages: first grade, and second grade. The former comprises the first, second, and third grades; and the latter the fourth, fifth and sixth grades. Most of the rural schools are of the first stage.

The main objectives of elementary education are to

provide the elements of general culture, to stimulate altruism and cooperation, to favor acquisition of good habits, and to cultivate religious sentiments.

Instruction in the first two years is by the method of "globalizacion" and revolves around three "vital areas": home and school, the town, and the fatherland. The subjects taught in the second grade (the last four years of elementary education) are: language, arithmetic, social education, nature-study, religion, singing, art, and manual activities, physical education, shopwork and gardening. For girls, home economics and child care are added in the fifth and sixth years.

The subject matter of each course fixed by the Programs is exceedingly long and detailed, and the activities connected with the subject matter tend to neglect the experiences, needs, and interests of the Quechua children.

The learning process in the rural schools is intellectualistic based mostly on text-book "recitations." Besides, the learning in rural schools does not utilize materials from the environment, and operates outside of the cultural reality of the Quechua society.

In general, it seems that the rural teachers handle their children by employing negative means such as punishment, threat, criticism, deprivation, and so forth.

The fundamental goal of the first and second grade teachers is to teach the Spanish language to the children. The teachers of the last four years of elementary education are interested primarily in explaining all of the subject

matter of the Programs.

The Peruvian rural teachers fall into three categories: (1) normal school graduates, (2) certified teachers, (3) unlicensed teachers. The last ones are the most numerous.

It would seem that the rural teachers lack a good professional background concerning the basic principles of child behavior and development. In general they do not take into consideration the biological and cultural forces which shape the self or personality of the child.

The next chapter will deal with some main conclusions concerning the exploratory analysis of the culture of the Indian communities and the influence of this culture on the self-development of children. Also, some conclusions will be pointed out concerning the attitudes of the teachers toward the children and the program and methods used in the rural schools. Finally, the last chapter will deal with three questions: (1) principles which should underly an approach to the education of the Indians; (2) the use of suitable plans, programs, and methods of education in the rural schools; (3) the preparation of the teachers; and some suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The study of the Inca culture made in Chapter II has shown that many cultural factors of the present Indian communities of southern Peru are survivals of the Inca civilization. For instance, the form of landholding, social organization, fiestas and dances, beliefs concerning etiology and treatment of diseases are all survivals of the ancient Inca culture. Due to this fact, the study of the Inca civilization has been helpful in the understanding of the philosophy of the Indian communities. From the exploratory analysis of the race, nutrition, and health of the Indians made in Chapter III the following main conclusions were derived:

1. According to the opinions of Peruvian and foreign anthropologists the Peruvian Indians are descendants of the Asiatic emigrants who arrived in America around 20,000 years ago.
2. The Quechuas, after many centuries of living in the mountains, have been able to adapt themselves perfectly to life at high altitudes.
3. The diet of the Quechuas is reduced in quantity, and inferior in quality. The quantity of food consumption by the southern Indian is the lowest in the country, and his diet, based on cereals, potatoes, and other native products, does not contain eggs,

meat, milk, fruits, vegetables, sugar, cocoa, and other important foods.

4. The deficient diet of the Indians is due to the primitive methods of production, lack of arable land, low family income, and transportation difficulties.
5. Intestinal diseases are spread in the communities by the water supply; and typhus is due to the lack of hygiene.
6. There are no physicians nor medicines in Quechua communities. The Indians care for their sick by means of magic and sorcery.

From the analysis of the cultural factors of the Indian communities made in Chapter IV the following main conclusions were derived:

1. Agriculture and textile making are the main activities of the Quechuas. Landholding is communal.
2. The aine or cooperative work is practiced in agriculture, house-building, pasturing, and household chores. The children take part in the cooperative work in their homes, and in the social activities of the community.
3. There are no social classes in the Indian communities. In the classless Quechua society there is a strong feeling of solidarity among the Indians.
4. The Quechuas elect their authorities at popular meetings. The authorities have the full cooperation of the people in the exercise of their duties.

5. Usually there is a good relationship between the authorities and the people of the village. However, the authorities lose prestige and leadership when they become puppets of the governors.
6. The religion of the Quechuas is a mixture of Incaic and Christian beliefs. The Quechuas venerate the earth, high mountain peaks, and saints, particularly the Santo Patrono of their villages.
7. Religious and social festivities are events in which all the people of the community participate. Children work with their parents, relatives, and neighbors for the success of the festivities, and dance in religious and social ceremonies.
8. The Indian mother breastfeeds her babies without a fixed schedule. Nursing is practiced until the child is two years old, and the young children are not punished for defecating or urinating in their beds.
9. Children start to work very early in life, in accordance with the social expectations of the Quechuas. However, it is not all work for the children. They enjoy playing different games of imitation and competition.
10. There are great cultural contrasts between the Quechuas and Peruvian whites and mixed bloods. These cultural contrasts are most noticeable in the family organization system of work, property, and politics. From the analysis of affectional relationships in the Quechua society made in Chapter V the following main

conclusions were derived:

1. There is a trial marriage period to determine the compatibility of the couples. Usually, the trial period culminates in a religious ceremony.
2. Quechua marriages are stable. There are very few divorces in the Indian marriages.
3. The Quechua family is patrilineal and patrilocal. As a general rule in each Indian household the grandparents, the parents and their children, and in some cases the unmarried brothers and sisters of the father all live together.
4. The extended families live in the same neighborhood. There are strong affectional relationships between the members of these families. Children frequently visit their relatives who give them warm affection.
5. There seem to be mutual understanding, assistance, respect, loyalty, and warm affectional relationships between the Quechua married people.
6. The father is the head of the family and fixes the responsibilities of each of the members of the family. The wife and children obey his orders respectfully and without objection.
7. There are deep affectional relationships between the parents and children. Parents aspire to a better future for their children. They spend all of their modest resources for the education of their offspring.
8. Children have a deep attachment to their parents

whom they assist dutifully and affectionately, particularly in cases of sickness.

9. There is no evidence of open rivalry between the older children and the younger ones. Apparently, this is due to the fact that the children enjoy the affection and understanding of their numerous relatives. The godfathers are considered as relatives. They give affection, guidance, and assistance to their godchildren.
10. There is no evidence of well organized peer groups in the Quechua society. Children of the same neighborhood organize temporary groups for the rehearsal of songs and dances for the religious and social ceremonies.

All the cultural factors already mentioned have a tremendous influence in the life of the child. This cultural influence upon the life of the child, in accordance with the exploratory analysis of the Quechua society, may be summarized in the following main conclusions:

1. The nutrition of the child is deficient in quantity and quality due to the poorness of the Indian families.
2. The child seems to have a low output of energy due to the poor and ill balanced diet.
3. There is a high percentage of mortality among the children due to the unsanitary conditions of the environment, lack of hygiene, medicines, and medical assistance.



4. The Quechua child, early in life, internalizes the mental attitude of cooperation of his family and the people of the community.
5. The Quechua child is not an individualist. He cooperates with his brothers, friends, parents, relatives, and all the people of the village for the successful attainment of the goals of the group.
6. The Quechua child growing up in a social environment in which aggression is a deviation rather than a common rule, is pacific, tolerant, and docile.
7. In a classless society without religious and racial prejudices, the Quechua child does not seem to have a sense of individual failure, frustration, or pessimistic or hostile attitudes.
8. The Quechua child is completely integrated within his family and community. He is warmly accepted in his family, and in the social groups of the village.
9. Children and adolescents acquire a great sense of belonging by participation in the ceremonies, rites, and social and religious dances of the community.
10. Due to the warm affection of the parents and relatives, the Quechua child from an early age seems to have a sense of security, and a feeling of adequacy.
11. The sense of security seems to give the child self-confidence in the performance of his developmental tasks. The fine achievements of these tasks is not carried out under authoritarian pressure or social competition.

12. The Indian child knows that he has a place in his family, and that he is loved and understood by his parents and relatives. This feeling of being loved and understood seems to help the child to make fine adjustments to the social expectations of his cultural environment.
13. The Indian child considers his parents, relatives, and the people of the village as individuals always willing to give him affection, assistance, and protection. This fact seems to induce the child to have faith and confidence in the world which surrounds him.
14. The infrequency of divorce, the harmonious and peaceful atmosphere of Quechua homes, the warm affectional relationships between the parents and children, the lack of noticeable sibling rivalries, are factors which seem to promote a healthful self-development of the child.
15. The Indian child gradually enhances his self in direct contact with the life of his environment, and the affection of his parents and relatives.

From the analysis of the Peruvian plans and programs of elementary education, and the analysis of the methods of education and background of rural teachers made in Chapter VI the following main conclusions were derived:

1. The plans and programs, and methods of teaching of the rural schools are the results of the philosophy of education, and limited knowledge of the child on

the part of the teachers.

2. It seems that the philosophy of the teachers is based on the premise that individuals of different cultures have the same character and temperament, and the same beliefs, customs, needs, and interests. Due to this philosophy the plans and programs for the Peruvian rural and urban areas are identical, despite the great cultural differences between the Quechua communities and those with no Indian population.

The rural teacher's knowledge of the child may be summarized by the following points:

1. The action of the biological and cultural factors in shaping child behavior and development is not clearly understood by the teachers.
2. No attention is given to the levels of physical and emotional maturity which condition to a certain extent the mental readiness of the child for some tasks.
3. It is believed that all the children of a certain chronological age are ready to execute tasks adequate to that age, without regard to individual differences.
4. It is believed that a strong and rigid authority is the best way to promote discipline in the school.

The methods of teaching in the rural schools seem to be based primarily on the points mentioned above. The outstanding characteristic of this teaching may be summarized in the following main conclusions:

1. The physical, mental, and emotional maturity of the

child is not taken into account in the learning process. All the children of the same chronological age are regarded as having the same physical maturity, and the same mental readiness.

2. School activities are based on rigid schedules, neglecting the needs and interests of the child.
3. In the process of learning the sources of information to be found in the community are completely overlooked.
4. Teachers handle the children autocratically, without any respect for their personality.
5. Teachers use negative ways such as punishment, threats, criticism, and sarcasm, in handling children.

Regarding the affectional relationships between teachers and children, the following main conclusions may be pointed out:

1. It seems that the rural teacher does not fully accept the Indian child. Due to this fact, the teacher assumes an unfriendly attitude toward the children.
2. The unfriendly attitude of the teacher, the formal environment of the classes, and the lack of permissiveness promote an unpleasant emotional climate in the rural schools.
3. The unfriendly attitude of the teacher toward the children is seemingly the result of the prejudices against the Indians.

These prejudices, according to evidences found in the attitude of the teachers regarding the Indians, may be

summarized by the following points:

1. Indians are in a process of complete degradation due to alcoholism, cocaism, and religious superstitions.
2. Indians have no aspiration for overcoming their poorness and ignorance.
3. Indians are incapable of feeling love, and their marriages are based on economic reasons and sexual appetites.
4. Parents sell their children as goods because they do not love them; and the children hate their parents, and run away from home frequently.
5. The Indian children are shy, distrustful, lazy, hypocritical, liars, and have a low "standard" type of I.Q.

#### Principles Which Should Underly an Approach to the Education of the Indian People

The author believes that education should be based on philosophical principles which will lead the minds of the children toward the attainment of certain desirable goals. The democratic philosophy aspires to the formation of free individuals; while the goal of totalitarian philosophy is the formation of submissive individuals subordinated completely to the powerful state.

The programs and methods of education, and the preparation of the teachers, are based mostly on the philosophy of education. For this reason, the author believes it is necessary to formulate certain personal viewpoints concerning the principles which should underly an approach to the

education of the Indian people.

Each culture is the accumulation of knowledge acquired over many centuries. New cultural, scientific, and technological discoveries augment the cultural heredity of the past. Also, each culture during the centuries has been broadening its cultural horizon through contact with other cultures. At the present time, due to the incredible progress of transportation, there is a great contact and cultural exchange among most of the countries of the world, and there are very few countries isolated in ivory towers.

However, in spite of this frequent cultural exchange between countries, each country has a particular and distinct cultural profile. Each country has its own peculiar manner of judging aesthetic creations, and in interpreting and evaluating the historic process. To put it briefly, each culture has its own philosophy which conditions its aesthetic, religious, social, political, and economic life.

For the Hindus, the monkey and cow are sacred animals and objects of adoration and veneration. To the mind of an individual of western civilization, the Hindu cult is regarded as primitive fetishism. An individual educated in a republican country has a difficult time in understanding the Englishman's devotion to his monarchy. A Chinese looks with indifference at the man who is about to drown. In the same situation, an individual of the western civilization would feel a moral obligation to try to save the life of the drowning man. This means that the people of each culture attach a particular meaning to the things which they perceive, are

more indifferent or more sensitive in their emotional reactions to certain situations, and adjust their ways of behavior characteristically when confronted by certain problems.

If a believer in Buddhism or Mohammedanism were ridiculed for adoring his gods, he would probably react with violent anger. Individuals and countries have a deep attachment to their beliefs and customs, and they resist by all means any attempt to destroy their cultural traditions. In fact, the Spaniards changed their mental attitudes very little during the eight centuries of Arab domination. Neither have the Peruvian Quechuas changed very much during three centuries of Spanish domination.

From the analysis of the Quechua society made in the preceding chapters was derived the fact that the Indian people have their own philosophy of life. Consequently, it is necessary to recognize this fact in the education of the Indians. Most Peruvians seem to recognize the culture of the Quechua society, but this recognition is distorted by prejudices. In fact, it is believed in Peru that the culture of the Indians is a mass of primitive beliefs and superstitions, something like a huge cancerous tumor which corrodes the entrails of the country. What is more, it is believed that the Indians are useless because they are undergoing a process of complete degeneration.

An approach to the Indian culture unencumbered by emotional prejudices and equipped with sound judgement would make it possible to point out the virtues and defects of the Indian culture. This approach is possible within the

framework of a democratic philosophy. A democratic person dealing with Indians would accept and respect their culture, and would consider them as human beings able to make a valuable contribution rather than as inferior and stupid individuals. He would not look upon the Indians as a heavy burden, but as useful individuals who can contribute in one form or another to the economic production of the country or to the defense of the national integrity.

A democratic philosophy of education would not have to impose almost by force cultural values unknown to the Quechua society. On the contrary, it would try to work with the cultural values of the Indian environment in the education of the Quechua people. A democratic philosophy would not expect to change in one day the backwardness of the Quechua society. It would be disastrous if the Indian people were forced to adopt overnight the cultural values and ways of living of western civilization. The progress of countries is a slow process of evolution. There are some which progress faster than others. This is due to many factors, probably the most important being the quality of education, political stability, the extent and richness of the territory.

The progress of the Quechua people is a matter of evolution in which the teachers must do their best in developing to the maximum the potentialities of the Indian people. In this process of evolution there should be no attempt to destroy the Quechua language with the objective of promoting the national unity. One language in a country facilitates the understanding of the people and the formation of the



national unity. However, there are countries like Switzerland in which four languages are spoken. In spite of this fact, Switzerland has a strong sense of national consciousness. The Quechua language has survived more than 400 years in spite of the attempt by the Spaniards and Peruvians to destroy it. The author believes that Spanish should be taught in the rural schools, but there should be no attempt to destroy the language of the communities. If the Quechua language were employed in teaching Spanish to the Indians by scientific methods recommended by linguists, probably in a very few generations the Quechuas would be bilingual. The Indian bilinguals could employ Spanish in their relationships with whites and the people of mixed blood, and the Quechua language within their own communities. Something like this is happening at the present time in the German and Italian zones of Switzerland where the people speak their dialects in daily conversation, while good German and Italian is used in schools, and in government communications. The existence of three different languages in Peru (Quechua, Aymara, and Spanish) should not be considered an obstacle to good understanding among the Peruvian people, or to the strengthening of national cohesion, because the national cohesion of Peru should be based on a belief in democratic institutions. This aim could be achieved through democratic education which would respect the cultural differences of the country including the languages.

It is believed in Peru that the progress of the Indians may be accomplished only by the teachers. The author

believes that the progress of the Indians will come about through the coordinate effort of the state, education, and all the social forces of the country.

It is not the purpose of this study to point out what should be the political program of the Peruvian government regarding the progress of the Indian communities. However, it seems necessary to make some brief comments about the policy of the State toward the Indians.

Since the beginning of the Republic the Peruvian government seems to have had no special concern for the needs and problems of the Indians. Ideas concerning the betterment of the Indian communities seem to have been mostly theoretical rather than practical. The best policy of the Peruvian government would be incomplete if the problems of the Indians are ignored. Problems such as the construction of roads, electrification of the Quechua villages, improvement of rural sanitation, etc., could not be accomplished satisfactorily without the cooperation of the state. However, the government cannot be expected to do everything. The people themselves should try to utilize their own resources to the greatest advantage for the progress of their communities. The teachers and social workers should try to stimulate the initiative of the Indians toward making plans for the betterment of their local communities.

In some sectors of the Peruvian middle class it is believed that all the conservatives are indifferent to the fate of the Indian people. In reality, in the past as well as at the present time some conservatives have been

sympathetic toward the Indians. It might be desirable if members of all Peruvian social classes who are interested in helping the Indians were to work in cooperation. The future of Peru is closely related to the future of the Indian communities. Therefore, any positive attempt for carrying out a plan for the education of the Indians is desirable.

#### Possible Changes Which Might Be Made in the Rural Plans and Programs of Education

The purpose of this portion of the study is to point out some suggestions which could be used in a possible reform of the plans and programs of Peruvian rural education. These suggestions may be summarized by the following points:

1. The Ministry of Education, after a careful consideration of Indian culture, and with the cooperation of some experienced rural teachers, could formulate guide-line programs for all the schools of the Indian communities. These state guide-lines could point out some fundamental principles on which the rural education could be based. Consequently, the state guide-lines would not be concerned with a detailed enumeration of the subject matter of the courses of each grade. Also they would not indicate the kind of activities to be used each week in teaching the courses of the program.
2. The plans and programs of education should be prepared by the teachers because, presumably, they are more aware of the needs of the children in the

locality. In the preparation of the plans and programs the teachers should ask for the cooperation of the leaders of the community. The local leaders who know the needs of their villages, and the aspirations of the local people, could contribute valuable ideas and suggestions. Seeking the participation of the leaders in the preparation of the plans and programs of education could be one of the ways of promoting cooperation between the school and the community. The Quechua children could also participate in the preparation of the programs. At the present time, due to the type of education, and the emotional climate of the rural schools, the Indian children seem to be inhibited in expressing their needs and interests. This restraint of the children would disappear if the teachers would assume a more friendly attitude toward them.

3. The plans and programs of rural education should be flexible. Greater flexibility of the programs would permit the making of all necessary modifications according to the circumstances, and the needs and interests of the children.
4. The plans and programs of education should deal mostly with the life of the community. The exploratory analysis of the Indian culture made in the preceding chapters has shown that the children, from a very early age, acquire experiences in direct contact

with all the social activities of the community. Therefore, it would be desirable for the plans and programs of education to deal with the subjects related to the experiences of the children. For instance, projects of study concerning agricultural activities such as fertilization of the land, quality of the seeds, irrigation of the plants, and disinfectants for controlling the pests of corn and potatoes, would be of great interest to the Quechua children, and have a practical utility in the life of the communities. These few examples tend to emphasize that the plans and programs of rural education could deal mostly with the economic and cultural activities of the community. Of course, the plans should also include a study of the Peruvian culture, and some notions of foreign cultures, particularly of the American countries, because a plan of study limited to the local culture would tend to form limited mentalities.

5. The plans and programs of education should be prepared according to the mental maturity of the children. If the child is not yet ready to comprehend certain problems, for instance let us say fractions in arithmetic, it would be unwise to push him into these tasks.
6. The plans and programs should be revised periodically. This practice would facilitate the making of changes and rectifications in accordance with the

situations and needs of the children. Annual meetings of the teachers working in the same area for the purpose of exchanging ideas about the plans and programs used during the year should be extremely interesting.

#### **Suggestions for Changes in the Application of the Learning Processes in the Rural Schools**

According to the analysis made in the preceding chapter, traditional school methods of teaching are used in southern Peruvian rural education. It seems necessary to change this practice. The author believes that the following main points regarding the changing of the development of the learning processes in the rural schools should be taken into account:

1. Learning processes in the rural schools should be based fundamentally on the needs and interests of the Indian children rather than be subordinated to the text-books as dominant means of learning.
2. Learning should not be dominated by the interests and caprices of the teacher. Learning should be child centered.
3. The rural teachers should not expect the same achievement of all the children of the same grade in their school work, because achievement varies according to the individual differences in terms of mental maturity and specific abilities.
4. The rural teachers should obtain the maximum advantage from the cooperative habit of the Indian

children by establishing team work in learning. In this type of learning all the children would participate actively in carrying out the projects of the group. Team work in learning does not annihilate the initiative and originality of the individual. On the contrary, the social interaction derived from team work is a valuable experience for the child. Also, in team work dealing with many kinds of activities, the child would have a chance to develop his aptitudes and abilities.

5. In the rural schools learning methods based on the memorization of meaningless subject matter should be done away with. This type of learning tends to store many meaningless rules, formulas, and facts in the head of the child. The child should learn by doing, manipulating, and experimenting in many kinds of activities which are interesting and meaningful to him. For instance, the learning of arithmetic would be more interesting for the Indian child if he dealt with the familiar trade problems of the village market rather than memorizing the prices of sun glasses and English and American refrigerators. The rural teacher must help the child to develop logical reasoning and reflective thinking rather than compel him to memorize subject matter unfamiliar to his personal experiences.
6. The rural instructors teach Civics, Geography, History, Grammar, Reading, and so forth as separate

subjects. These courses should be organized into broader and more inclusive fields such as social studies and language arts. For instance, a project of study on the Sacsayhuaman fortress would provide materials of history, geography, and civics. The story of the attack of Manco Inca from the fortress against the Spaniards would be incomplete and disconnected without studying the strategic hill which dominates the city of Cuzco, and without referring to the patriotism of the Indian leader. In many respects history, geography, and civics are closely related.

7. The Peruvian rural schools are divorced from the life of the community. Therefore, all the learning activities take place in the schools. The schools must be considered as segments of the life of the community, and as institutions which help the younger generations in an understanding of the cultural values of their society. If there is a great difference in the principles and beliefs of the schools and those of the communities, the younger generations will develop in an atmosphere of confusion, skepticism, and pessimism.

As the school can be considered a segment of the community, the community could be the focus of many school activities. The children and teachers should organize field trips for the purpose of studying certain social and economic aspects of



community life. The materials obtained in the community could be valuable in learning. Also, teachers should stimulate and guide the children in participation in enterprises tended to promote the progress of the community.

In some Quechua communities there are coal and lime deposits which are not used. The children, guided by the teachers, could carry out projects intended to induce the people to utilize the coal as fuel, and the lime for bleaching the walls of the homes. In many Quechua communities people drink contaminated water. In these communities, children and teachers could carry out projects for purifying the water supply with the help of the village people. These are some illustrations of the ways in which the schools might promote the progress of the community.

8. The main goal of the rural teachers, to finish explaining all the subject matter of the programs by the end of the school year, should be modified. Individual growth in skills, insight into social problems at the level of the child's mental maturity to understand, the formation of work habits and social attitudes--in one word, the healthful mental development of the child--is much more important than the goal of completing the programs, and the marks of achievement.

9. In the majority of the rural schools, from the first to the third grade, activities are concerned with learning the Spanish language. These limited types of activity offer few opportunities to children for developing skills. The children should have different types of activities. Materials of the locality, such as clay, straw, and wood, could be employed in manual work; incidents happening on field trips could be employed in themes of discussion and composition; finally, all sorts of available materials of the community could be utilized by the children for experimenting, constructing, and manipulating.
10. In the rural schools the children work only at tasks assigned by the teacher. This undesirable practice inhibits the free expression of the interests and aptitudes of the children. The teachers should promote favorable situations in which the children can freely express their ideas and feelings in their activities, and which would facilitate the development of creativeness and self-reliance in the children.
11. The autocratic organization of the class, the discipline of imposition, the rejection of the children by the teacher create an emotional tension which causes anxiety, frustration, and resentment in the children. Within a negative emotional climate learning is difficult and unpleasant. A democratic organization of the class, friendly relationships

between the teachers and children, and a discipline of self-control facilitate learning, and promote the healthful mental and emotional development of children.

12. Rural schools have limited equipment and supplies of materials. This is a handicap in learning. If the State will not supply adequate school materials, the teachers and children could organize festivals for the purpose of raising money to buy needed textbooks and reading materials.

### Preparation of the Teachers

The objective of this study is not to point out a detailed plan for the preparation of the Peruvian rural teachers, or to increase the knowledge of the teachers now in service. The author believes that a detailed plan should be prepared with the cooperation of many teachers, and direct contact with reality. The objective now is to point out a brief plan concerning the training of teachers. The preparation of capable Peruvian teachers is connected with a reform of the Plans and Programs of Education in the Rural Normal Schools. In this reform, in the author's viewpoint, the following main points can be considered:

1. The Ministry of Education should appoint a committee for the study of the actual Plans and Programs of the Rural Normal Schools. This committee, in cooperation with the teachers of the Normal Schools, would point out some possible changes in the programs.

Based on the report of the committee and the suggestions of experienced rural teachers, new plans of education for the Rural Normal Schools should be prepared.

2. The plans and programs of the Rural Normal Schools should be flexible and subject to frequent revisions and evaluations.
3. The plans should take into account the study of the modern schools of general psychology, social psychology, cultural anthropology, sociology, genetics, and other sciences which throw new light onto the knowledge of child behavior and development. There is little Peruvian scientific material on the sciences mentioned above. Therefore, it would be necessary to study books written and research made by foreign scientists. This study would be helpful to students in many respects. Of course, this does not mean that Peruvians should apply the results of the foreign research to Peruvian reality indiscriminately. One of the values of this study should lie in the fact that Peruvian students could become acquainted with the scientific method employed in research. Moreover, the knowledge of scientific work done in other countries would arouse interest in the students for making similar studies in their own culture.
4. In the Rural Normal Schools the main focus should be centered on the study of the Indian child and

adolescent. In this sense all the cultural factors of the Quechua society which influence the life of the Indian child and adolescent should be taken into account.

5. In the Rural Normal Schools there should be seminars in which the teachers would guide the students in the study of the Indian child by means of case records. Possible ways of studying the child in his community should also be discussed in the seminars.
6. The students must be guided carefully in the study of modern methods of teaching. The future teachers need a clear understanding of these methods for promoting an efficient and pleasant learning in the rural communities.
7. The Rural Normal Schools must equip teachers with a good general education. In spite of the specialization in the teaching profession more than in any other the individual needs a good general cultural background because, if he is lacking in this background and is obsessed with his own specialty, he fails to grasp the general panorama of his culture, and has a tendency to explain and evaluate everything happening in his surroundings in terms of his specialization. Specialization is the main characteristic of our present civilization. However, the specialist needs a general culture in order to appreciate life as a whole, and not as a segment.
8. All the activities and social interactions in the

Rural Normal Schools should gravitate within democratic principles and practices and, therefore, the formation of teachers of a democratic mentality is extremely important, particularly in Peru. Teachers educated in an environment wherein the individual personality is respected and wherein justice is practised, will be more sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the Indians, and better able to form a democratic consciousness in the younger generations.

The reform of education requires the preparation of plans, and the study of adequate means for the realization of these plans. The best projects of educational reform never get beyond the limits of the theoretical stage if there are no means by which to secure their successful achievement. The author believes that in the preparation of teachers for the Rural Normal Schools the following factors should be kept in mind: selection of the teachers of the Normal schools, teaching materials, special attention by the State to the problems of rural education, and selection of the student candidates to the scholarships of the Rural Normal Schools.

Teachers should be selected from Peruvian professionals best qualified, and with good moral reputations. Political influence should not be a qualification in the appointment of teachers. If it were possible, foreign specialists might be contracted as teachers in the Rural Normal Schools who, by their background, could be valuable

collaborators in the preparation of the teachers.

Concerning materials of teaching, the Rural Normal Schools must be provided with libraries, adequate equipment, and supplies of necessary materials for securing an efficient education. These materials cannot be bought without the economic support of the State. The Peruvian government probably would do its best in giving adequate support toward the realization of the projects of reform of rural education.

Finally, the scholarships to the Rural Normal Schools should be granted to the more able candidates. With the purpose of attracting intelligent young people to the rural education, it would be desirable for the Peruvian government to increase the salaries of the teachers.

Regarding the preparation of rural and urban teachers, there are positive hopes in Peru at the present time. In fact, in the near future, La Escuela Normal Central de Chosica will be inaugurated due to the cooperative efforts of the Peruvian government and the United States government under the Point Four Program. However, the preparation of young teachers is a matter of some years. For this reason, it might be necessary to adopt certain measures for the educational improvement of the rural teachers now in service. At the present time El Servicio Cooperativo Peruano Norteamericano de Educacion is developing a plan with the teachers of Cuzco and Puno areas. In January and July of 1951, the Servicio sponsored two workshops, one in Lima, the other in Cuzco.

Undoubtedly, the workshops are efficient as a means

for improving the knowledge of the teachers. This efficiency would be greater if the same group of teachers could attend two or three consecutive workshops. Besides the workshops, it would be desirable if supervisors would frequently visit the rural schools in order to help the teachers in their difficulties and problems regarding the education of the children. It would also be desirable for the Peruvian government to sponsor a meeting of teachers in Lima, in which delegate teachers from all the rural zones of the country could participate. At this national meeting the teachers should have a chance to discuss problems and projects of education in which they are primarily interested. This discussion would enrich the experiences of the teachers.

#### Suggestions for Further Research

The main handicap of the author in his project was that he had no opportunity to get materials in the field, and attempted to analyze many problems at the same time. For this reason, future research by other persons in problems explored by the author will throw more light on the knowledge of the cultural influences on the self-development of the Indian child, and will point out more accurately the kind of methods which would be more adequate in Peruvian rural education.

There has been no research made in Peru on the Indian child and adolescent. Therefore, there are many problems which could be made objects of research in the Indian communities. It is not the purpose of the author to suggest



points of possible research. However, the author believes that a good starting point would be to investigate in the field, problems related with the physical growth patterns of the Quechua child, the developmental tasks of the Indian child, and the nature of the Indian peer groups.

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