# SOCIOCULTURAL PATTERNS: PARENTING EXPERIENCES IN A NATIVE COMMUNITY

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## Summary

The upbringing of infants in native communities in various latitudes of the world has generated concern by governments, politicians and researchers, because in many cases they are vulnerable population segments. In this sense, the research was oriented to analyze experiences of raising infants of a native community within the framework of social and cultural patterns. Phenomenological design was used with a qualitative approach and a sample that was integrated by mothers of infants from the native Yanesha community of Tsachopen, province of Oxapampa, Pasco region, Peru. The data were collected with individual interviews, which allowed to process the discourses related to the reality lived and felt by the informants. It was found that parenting experiences respond to certain sociocultural patterns such as the identity and heritage culture of the community, which is threatened by the progressive loss of language and the presence of foreign elements, as well as there is a gradual eradication of 'punishment' for persuasive practices in the line of correcting behaviors; Likewise, there is the claim for the apathy of the State in terms of education and the implementation of the vast regulations issued to protect members of vulnerable populations, such as children from native communities, such as the Yanesha.

**Keywords:** Sociocultural patterns, upbringing, cultural identity.



#### **Abstract**

The upbringing of infants in native communities in various latitudes of the world has generated concern for governments, politicians and researchers, since they are in many cases vulnerable population segments. In this sense, the research was oriented to analyze experiences of raising infants in a native community within the framework of social and cultural patterns. The phenomenological design was used with a qualitative approach and a sample that was made up of mothers of infants from the Yanesha native community of Tsachopen, Oxapampa province, Pasco region, Peru. The data was collected through individual interviews, which allowed us to process the discourses related to the reality lived and felt by the informants. It was found that parenting experiences respond to certain sociocultural patterns such as the identity and patrimonial culture of the community, which is threatened by the progressive loss of language and the presence of foreign elements, as well as a gradual eradication of 'punishment' by persuasive practices in the line of correcting behaviors; Likewise, there is a claim for the State's neglect in terms of education and the implementation of the vast regulations issued to protect members of vulnerable populations, such as children from native communities, such as the Yanesha.

Keywords: Sociocultural patterns, upbringing, cultural identity.

#### INTRODUCTION

Currently, child upbringing has taken on greater relevance, the purpose being the eradication of the risk of abuse in these age segments and improving their well-being, which has been warned since 2016 by the World Health Organization - WHO (Landoy *et al.*, 2021) and the United Nations Children's Fund - UNICEF (De Mendoza, 2022); And while it is true that in urban areas parenting is characterized by different styles, it is not the same for rural areas or far from cities. This is how this social panorama on child rearing presents certain gaps, since authors such as Buitrago and Álvarez (2022), report that in Latin American countries there is little information, both in public and civil institutions about the forms of upbringing in families of native and indigenous communities.

When addressing the issue of infant upbringing, it refers to the process by which caregivers establish mechanisms based on their experiences, imaginaries and expectations in order to provide the necessary attention to the development of children (Sherman and Schafft, 2022; Plesko et al., 2021), which is of great complexity, since various factors influence "ranging from the personality of parents and children to the difficulties of the family and the different types of group" (Punin *et al.*, 2018, p. 4). Another factor lies in culture, which Peña *et al.* (2017) point to it as the vehicle of customs and traditions, allowing access to an identity that helps to differentiate themselves from others and value themselves as members of a group that transfers these experiences and patterns of behavior to others.

Likewise, other studies mention that the upbringing of minors in native communities has been changing, as reported by Murovhi *et al.* (2018) when conducting an inquiry in African communities, where they found that traditional child-rearing practices were modified due to

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cultural evolution, where many communities moved from a subsistence economy to a cash economy migrating to cities, as well as the establishment of modern institutions, including formal schools; This process forced parents to move away in search of employment in order to care for their families; in most traditional African cultures, parenting was a collective effort. Currently these practices seem to be mostly inward-focused, with each parent and family doing things their own way, according to Cudris et al. (2020) Every culture or ethnic group in which an individual grows up is a macrosystem that has indirect effects on the attitudes and parenting styles of children; that is, the care of minors is more linked to the experiences lived by parents and this will depend on the parenting styles and patterns assumed by their generations.

Leavy and Szulc (2021) propose that the indigenous or native "are part of processes of production of alterities that allude to cultural difference, but that cannot be understood outside the power relations that organize such diversity in interethnic relations of social subordination" (p. 80); That is, otherness in native or indigenous cultural spaces is oriented to the attention of diversity and human experience and it is in this context where the upbringing of infants and boys and girls takes place. According to Vargas and Marulanda (2021) parenting guidelines are rooted in the behavior of each parent of a native or indigenous community and are what determine the dimensions of the human being, it is they who decide how they will raise and educate their children, reconsidering that customs or traditions that define their cultural identity are the one they will transmit to their offspring. Importantly, child rearing in indigenous communities is related to notions of community well-being that encompass social, cultural, spiritual, environmental and economic intersections that are deeply rooted in differentiated and locally-based traditional knowledge, according to Campos & Zohar (2021).

Rodriguez et al. (2015) found in a study conducted in native communities of Chocontá, Colombia, identified 19 myths in the healing of children under one year, such as placing a button on the navel and placing a girdle to support it, go to the healer to perform massage and prayers and cure his diarrhea, the use of a red bathrobe to protect him from coughing, Put a kind of bracelet with a religious image to prevent the evil eye, among others.

Colangelo (2020) states that both cultural diversity and social inequality are closely related to the care of infants and children, and both in the educational and health fields it means adopting measures to reduce these gaps and ensure that those born within a native community have the right to the same opportunities for development and care; in this line Badanta et al. (2019) argue that the Amazon is home to the greatest diversity of indigenous groups in the Peruvian State, which leads to challenges in paying attention to health problems, considering the limited access that these communities have to health services, as well as the geographical and cultural barriers that foster greater marginalization and inequalities, Above all, for the most vulnerable population, such as minors and the elderly.

Peru, according to figures reported in the last census of 2017, is one of the Latin American countries with the presence of the largest number of indigenous and native peoples, communities that would be made up of about four million people, who are immersed in a process of somewhat slow change, especially in the customs and traditions of the ethnic group to which they belong;

however, it is evident that these populations make efforts to preserve their ways of upbringing, their cultural, social and health practices of each community (Sánchez, 2017); Hence the importance of deepening the knowledge of parenting practices in families of native communities.

On education and parenting patterns, Incacutipa (2021) points out that in native Aymara communities, education is part of the recreational activity of the indigenous minor, which refers to the knowledge he acquires of his social and cultural environment in which it develops, representing a transcendental fact, since it is not only considered as a recreational activity, but it prepares him for his future life during the stage of childhood thanks to the game that evidences the development of his social and psychomotor capacity, which prepares him for school, which they often do not access because they are very far from the population center and in others they provide education in a language that is not the mother tongue.

Peru is a country with a great diversity of policies given in recent years, which have been focused mainly on the education and health sector; among them, Supreme Decree No. 006-2016-MINEDU, which approved the Sectoral Policy on Intercultural Education and Intercultural Bilingual Education (EIB), which is aimed at providing training to infants, children, adolescents and young people of indigenous or native peoples in their native language, considering their transcendence, customs, traditions and cultural organization of the community (Sánchez, 2021); However, despite the established norms or policies, there are still gaps in their implementation, since there are very few teachers who master a certain language to provide education. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics [INEI] (2019), coverage in education at the regular basic level is lower in areas of poor geographical accessibility, which tends to increase in indigenous and native communities; which has led to claims by communities for regional governments to solve this problem, which was evidenced more strongly during the pandemic, since children did not even have access to programs such as Aprendo en Casa (Nieva et al., 2021; Altmann et al., 2021). To avoid the above, "Operators of health, education, protection and justice services must be trained on the rights-based approach, not from a punitive perspective, but from an empowering one, so that they can guarantee and defend the rights of children to live fully enjoying all their rights" (Moreno, 2022, p. 12); The author also indicates that "Prioritizing violence prevention means ensuring better living conditions for children and their families, and is a guarantee that the best interests of the child are prioritized" (idem).

On health, since 2005 the Ministry of Health (MINSA) has developed documents focused on meeting the intercultural demands of indigenous peoples, as can be seen:

 Table 1

 MINSA regulations with an intercultural approach to assist indigenous peoples.

| No. | Year | Number   |
|-----|------|--|
| 1   | 2005 | Technical Standard for vertical childbirth care with intercultural adaptation. |
| 2   | 2006 | Human rights approach. Gender equity and interculturality in health:           |
|     |      | Conceptual framework.  |
| 3   | 2007 | Technical Standard for indigenous people in isolation and initial contact.     |

- - 4 2008 Technical document-cultural adequacy of orientation/counseling in sexual and reproductive health.
  - 5 2013 Intercultural Health Sector Policy.
  - 6 2014 Technical Paper: Intercultural Dialogues in Health.
  - 7 2016 Technical Health Standard for Vertical Childbirth Care within the Framework of Human Rights with Intercultural Relevance.
  - 8 2016 Technical Health Standard for the Prevention and Control of Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection in Amazonian Indigenous Peoples with Intercultural Relevance.
  - 9 2017 Administrative Directive for the Registration of Ethnicity in the Health Information System.
  - 10 2018 Guidelines for incorporating cultural relevance into differentiated comprehensive adolescent health care services.
  - 11 2019 Administrative Directive for the Adaptation of Health Services with Cultural Relevance in the First Level of Care.

Note: Source Pesantes and Gianella (2020)

Despite the innumerable attempts to attend to the children of the native communities, a vulnerable group of the Peruvian population, the regulations only remained in proposed concepts, since little is developed in these communities in providing health service, as well as in education the small amount of human resources (doctors, nurses, obstetricians) prepared with an intercultural approach. considering how remote most of these communities are and how little access they have to them (Pesantes and Gianella, 2020); has led according to the Inter-American Development Bank - IDB (2019) that the prevalence of anemia is 56.07% in children belonging to these communities; Likewise, 21.36% of children under 5 years of age are chronically malnourished.

The approach to Peruvian native communities to analyze experiences related to the upbringing of infants in mothers of a Yanesha community within the framework of their heritage culture and other factors was the purpose of this study; experiences that encompass the identity, culture, health and education that corresponds to the upbringing of native infants.

### **METHOD**

In the qualitative study, the phenomenological methodological design was used, whose purpose was to understand the relevance of social and cultural patterns and other elements in the experiences or practices of raising infants in the native Yanesha community of Tsachopen in the province of Oxapampa, Pasco region, Peru. The qualitative data were collected with individual interviews, which allowed the analysis of the language to approach the reality of the experiences of the community on the way of raising their minor children; For which a semi-structured interview guide was designed and used with topics related to the upbringing of infants with personal information and several specific categories related to the parenting experiences of the mothers of the sample were considered.

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The selection of study subjects was made among the mothers of infants from the Yanesha community located in Tsachopen, a choice that did not obey a criterion of statistical representativeness due to the qualitative approach, but was oriented when describing the speeches of the informants. The reporting mothers were selected considering inclusion and exclusion criteria:

In the case of inclusion, the following were considered:

- 1. Has children ranging in age from three to five years.
- 2. You live in the right community and that a member of your family is a Yanesha.
- 3. Your children attend a bilingual initial educational institution that contains the Yanesha language as a second language.
- 4. He has knowledge about Yanesha culture and traditions.
- 5. Expresses explicit acceptance of your participation

And in the case of exclusion, the following were taken into account:

- 1. Has children who do not live in the Yanesha community
- 2. He does not consider himself part of the community or any member of his family.
- 3. He has no knowledge about the community, its culture or its traditions.

The study population included mothers from the initial institution of the Tsachopen sector, Chontabamba and two leaders of the Tsachopen community. While the sample consisted of 12 informants, a number determined by saturation, since the three final qualitative interviews revealed almost all the data discovered in advance. Individual interviews were conducted with the reporting mothers, which were recorded with audio and video recorders, with prior informed consent. The mothers were considered because they are the ones who are responsible for the upbringing of the infants and who were the immediate informants. All were citizens and declared their willingness to be part of the study; Likewise, they were clearly informed of the proposed objectives and were indicated regarding the confidentiality of the results reached. Qualitative data were collected with a semi-structured interview guide, an instrument typical of qualitative research, as specified by Cruz-Aguilar et al. (2021).

The data analysis was carried out through the reading and interpretation of the textual transcripts of the speeches of the interviews and to ensure the methodological rigor of the research, the auditability and transcription of the versions of the informants were used, the mothers of families who were considered to be the parents of minors conceptually delimited according to Supreme Decree No. 008-2021-MIMP, Supreme Decree approving the *National Multisectoral Policy for Children and Adolescents by 2030*, where subjects are included in three periods of human development: childhood (from 0 to 5 years of age), childhood (from 6 to 11 years old) and adolescence (from 12 to 17 years old).

# **RESULTS**

The results of the research are the product of the processing of the speeches obtained from 12 interviews with mothers of children of an initial educational institution of the Yanesha community;

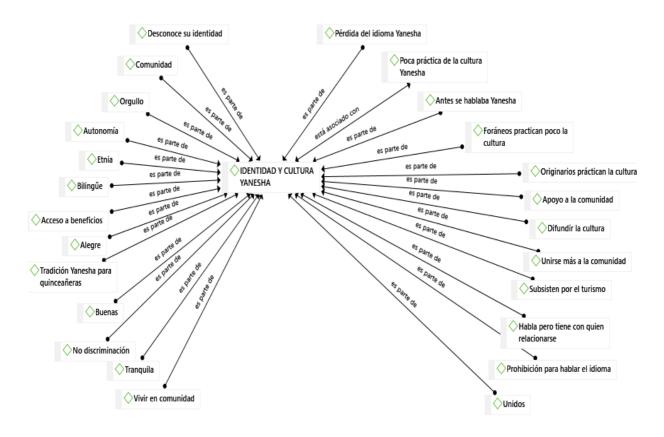
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which were recorded prior to informed consent and then proceeded with the respective transcription, coding and processing with the Atlas ti software.

The categories and subcategories resulted from the analysis of the interviews after the application of the data coding process. It is important to note that the codes were obtained through the process of analyzing the discourses of the key informants, who from their experiences in raising children in the aforementioned Yanesha community, gave their opinions freely and openly about their experiences.

In the process of analysis, codes emerged that were organized into groups that are observed in the following figures:

Figure 1
Subcategories and relationships related to Yanesha identity and culture in a native community



**Note.** It presents the codes that are part of the Yanesha identity and culture, based on the statements of the mothers of the Yanesha community about the upbringing of their children.

The informants mothers of the Yanesha community highlighted opinions that expressed the pride they felt about their community, their customs and experiences that were related to the ethnic group, since they are aspects valued by other people who appreciate the community for its identity and culture. Another important characteristic was to be cheerful in the treatment and to be considered a good and quiet community for their traditions and community experiences,

according to their ancestral sociocultural patterns. However, there were opinions of two interviewees who said they did not know their identity, since they were foreigners. What distinguishes the identity of the community so that it continues to strengthen is non-discrimination, access to benefits, since they feel that by belonging to the Yanesha they access better benefits than other peoples in the area. On the other hand, they highlight as a necessity that the identity is strengthened with the practice of customs and that they are transmitted from generation to generation, which we appreciate in the following statements:

"[...] I would never be ashamed that I am a yanesha, wherever I go I would say "I am a yanesha". (Interviewee 1 [E1])

"For me it's something very nice. Because, not only are we a culture that comes from many years ago, but we come from a lot of tradition and a lot of pride for me." (E8)

"It is a pride, it is part of bringing a tradition of family, of values, of unique things that can enrich you as a person." (E4)

"[...] I do identify with the Yanesha woman, but this in terms of identification I could tell you that I believe that a Yanesha woman is: responsible, cheerful and at most the people I have met if they are Yanesha by birth are good."

"[...] If you're not from the community, you can't access certain benefits." (E3)

"Being Yanesha here I have seen that they have many benefits, in Oxapampa they have almost no help, but for being here they do give us a lot of help." (E7)

"The only thing I could do is organize ourselves maybe a little more and not lose our identity and continue cultivating, well then and continue from generation to generation because it is very beautiful." (E9)

What characterizes the Yanesha culture, for the most part, is the language and its customs, these are aspects that the interviewees highlighted, on the first, they refer that the loss of the language and the little practice of the Yanesha culture by foreigners is affecting cultural practices, this fact brings with it discrimination. They also mentioned that the loss of the language is due to the prohibition of speaking it, an action that was carried out in previous generations and that today they realize that it is important to cultivate it to preserve their culture. On the other hand, they report that the few inhabitants who express themselves in the native language have no one to relate to. Despite the cultural problems of the community, they consider that culture is the source of Yanesha upbringing, as it helps preserve their customs and cultural riches, which can be seen in the opinions:

"For me to be a Yanesha is to be a person who identifies with the culture [...] We are kind people, we are not envious people, we are sociable we like to share our culture." (E6)

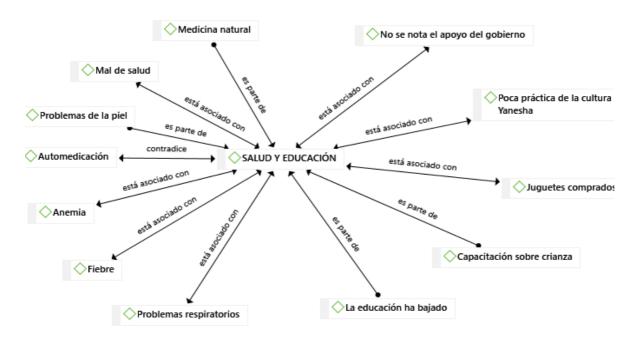
"Well, I grew up mostly with my grandfather, he has raised us in his own way; formerly they raised their children; They spoke the language [...] what is not practiced now, the language has been lost and the culture is almost no longer practiced." (E11)

"Well my upbringing, I can tell you, my dad is yanesha, he is; my mother is from the mountains, but [...] the problem was that my father was forbidden to speak the language before" (E2)

"Well within the community we practice it more clearly [...] The ones that come from outside, usually don't, and that's a bit shocking." (E10)

"I think that here what should be improved is that people should put aside the way of looking at people who are not natives of the community, because I often feel bad, because I feel that they look at me in a different way as with anger and it should not be like that [...]". (E7)

**Figure 2**Subcategories and relationships related to the health and education of infants in a Yanesha community.



**Note.** Codes related to the health and education of Yanesha children, according to the opinion of the mothers of the community.

Health and education as part of the upbringing, is under the responsibility of the mothers who take care of their Yanesha children, on this fact, they mentioned that to cure their children of the diseases they take them to the medical post of the locality and for attention of greater complexity or psychological, to the hospital of the nearest town where, They usually do not find immediate attention. The most common disease suffered by children is anemia, followed by respiratory and skin problems, which are often treated with self-medication or natural medicine. Education, according to the assessments of the caring mothers, has decreased, they feel that the government does not support them and that the culture is little practiced in the community, due to the influence of customs of people who are not native to the area, for education there are mostly purchased toys and mothers are aware that they need training on raising their children. Expressions that are presented by some of the informants:

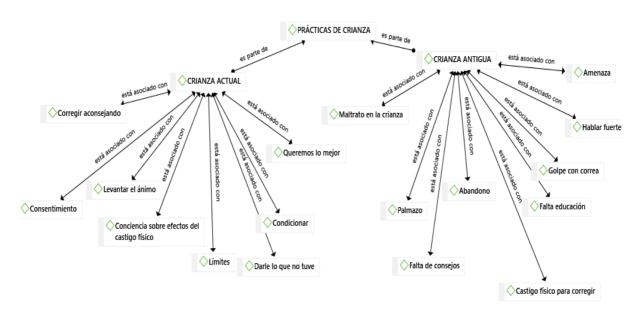
[...] When she had anemia at about 6 months, she recovered after a year [...] and they told us to give her the ferrous sulfate, but I did not give her the ferrous sulfate because the ferrous sulfate is very strong and they damage her teeth [...]". (E5)

- "[...] When she was little she had problems with anemia, so now she has recovered she eats everything well, but how does she see that the other little ones eat sweets, she also wants to eat sweets [...]" (E9)
- [...] I fed her well, I bought vitamins that was Conforte, it's a vitamin that cheers her up, that whets their appetite." (E1)
- "No, I have only given him paracetamol, because that is what I always give him. Sometimes the post is not there." (E10)
- [...] we have needed an appointment with a psychologist, but for the Insurance, there is no psychologist, so they tell us, it will reach the end of the month and we have to wait for that end of the month because a particular psychologist charges you the session one hundred soles, depending on I do not know how many sessions ". (E12)

"Because here, if you don't die, they don't take care of you. I've been treating a psychologist for months and I can't get it, and sometimes going to a private individual is that, there have to be five therapies and I, where do I get the money." (E7)

[...] training us in some things, well here in Peru, one to be a mom does not teach us, right? Then we learn, but maybe I would like there to be maybe some talks on how to motivate how to raise our children." (E7)

Figure 3 Subcategories and relationships related to infant parenting practices in a Yanesha community.



Note. Codes on the current and former upbringing of Yanesha infants, according to the opinion of the mothers of the community, on the upbringing of their children.

Infant rearing practices in the Yanesha community have been marked by identity that is a factor rooted in their culture and punishment that has been passed down from generation to generation. The mothers of the children mentioned that the upbringing they received was associated with threats, beatings, slaps or abandonment, forms of physical punishment that their fathers repeated with them and that they have tried to avoid transmitting to their children. The current upbringing of children applied by Yanesha mothers is characterized by correcting by advising, lifting the mood with positive phrases, since they are aware of the effects of physical punishment on the development of infants. On the other hand, they pointed out that the way they raise their children is by advising them, consenting to them, conditioning them and giving them what they did not receive from their parents as children.

"When I was in my elementary school, I was late and what mom did, was punish you, punished in your hands." (E4)

"Previously, great uncles would grab the rod. But now I try not to yell at or hit my daughter, but try to educate her. As normal as possible." (E8)

"Well, you felt bad as a person, as a daughter you felt bad, no, so I don't do that with my daughter; What I do is talk a lot and when she makes a mistake or is failed I tell her." (E1)

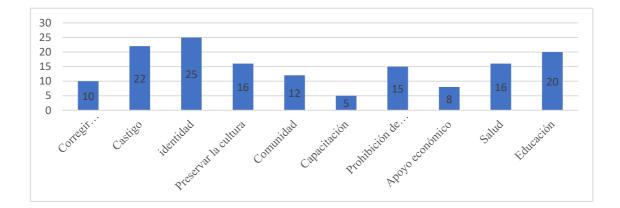
"No, I don't punish him, I just tell him you know what son that doesn't do that's bad to do." (E6)

"We were beaten and stubborn, and now we try not to do this with our children." (E3)

"We do not know how to face that moment when a child has a strong tantrum, it has happened to me that my little daughter has had in the stage when her little sister was born" (E11)

"[...] He threw tantrums so loud that he even sweated when he cried and I did not know how to control then, this has come a time that, if I slapped him; But it was not because I have to correct him, but I did not know that moment how to control him." (E9)

"Let's see, look, I love my daughter, I love her, she is my life, she is my only daughter and I try my best to spoil her; I mean, let's just say I spoil it too much, but it also has limits." (E5)



**Figure 4** Frequencies of parenting experiences in a Yanesha community

**Note.** It presents the most frequent codes on the upbringing of Yanese infants that emerged from the analysis of interviews with mothers in the community.

The codes that most frequently present are identity, punishment and education, three

concepts that summarize the upbringing of the children of the Yanesha community, since they value their culture and feel proud of their customs and environment that stands out for their language, despite the threat of loss, their clothing, their way of life and what they represent for tourism that is, currently their way of subsisting. On the other hand, there is the punishment, inherited by generations in the treatment they received from their parents and that, despite wanting to avoid it, has been mentioned in the opinions as corrective actions that they exercise with their children, another frequent concept is education, mothers pointed out that it is an important factor to improve the upbringing of their children and demand training to assume a better role.

#### **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

The study brought with it the approach to mothers of a native Yanesha community, located in the Peruvian Amazon, an area of the territory that houses the greatest diversity of indigenous groups in the Peruvian State (Badanta *et al.*, 2019), which allowed to identify various experiences of the parents related to the upbringing of infants, being the categories on which the research turned, identity and culture, health and education, and parenting practices; that is, parenting experiences cover aspects such as identity, culture, health and education that correspond to the upbringing of native infants, but there is no information on the subject (Buitrago and Álvarez, 2022).

Regarding Yanesha identity and culture, the opinions of the native interviewees who declared pride in their community, their customs and experiences that were related to the ethnic group stand out, which highlights a strong identity component (E1, E4, E8), being the most frequent code (figure 4), which agrees with the opinions of Vargas and Marulanda (2021). Sánchez (2017) and Peña *et al.* (2017); Likewise, the characteristic of being cheerful in the treatment and that they are considered a good and quiet community for their traditions and community experiences is highlighted, which is consistent with the results of Incacutipa (2021) in terms of similar experiences in Aymara native communities in school experiences. Despite the cultural problems of the Yanesha community, culture is the source of upbringing, as it allows preserving their customs and cultural riches (E2, E6, E7, E10, E11); which implies that native people have to face the indifference of outsiders to Yanesha customs and culture regarding the upbringing of infants, such as that "it is a bit shocking" (E10), because "they look at me in a different way" (E7).

Health and education is associated with child rearing, a task that is under the responsibility of Yanesha mothers. On the subject, the informants indicated that to cure certain diseases their children take them to the local medical post and for more complex or psychological care (E7, E12), to the hospital of the nearest town where, in general, they do not find immediate attention. The most frequent disease is anemia (E5, E9), followed by respiratory and skin problems, which are often treated with self-medication or natural medicine, which is a reflection of IDB figures (2019) regarding the prevalence of anemia of 56.07% in children from native communities and 21.36% of children under 5 years of age present chronic malnutrition. There is no evidence of greater approach and attachment to the practice of traditional medicine, as if observed in certain

Colombian native communities (Rodríguez et al., 2015); because there is a tendency to conventional medicine, but that care is not optimal because it does not take into account suggestions such as those of Moreno (2022) and because professionals are not prepared with an intercultural approach (Pesantes and Gianella, 2020).

Education, according to the assessments of caring mothers, has decreased, they feel abandoned and that the government does not support guidance on "parenting" (E7) despite the abundant regulations on the subject, as presented by Pesantes and Gianella (2020) and Supreme Decree No. 008-2021-MIMP that approves the National Multisectoral Policy for Girls, Children and Adolescents to 2030; but previously, Supreme Decree No. 006-2016-MINEDU approved the Sectoral Policy on Intercultural Education and Intercultural Bilingual Education (EIB) which is aimed at providing training to infants, children, adolescents and young people from indigenous or native communities in their native language, considering their transcendence, customs, traditions and cultural organization of the community within the framework of the rights of such population segments (Sánchez, 2021); which demonstrates the lack of effectiveness in the implementation of existing regulations that try to foresee the risk of abuse in these age segments and has been warned by the WHO (Landoy et al., 2021). Likewise, it is perceived in the informants that they feel that the native culture is practiced less in the community, due to the influence of customs of people who are not native to the area, which is contrary to the fact of conceiving child rearing in indigenous communities related to community well-being that comprise social intersections, cultural, spiritual, environmental and economic that are anchored in differentiated and locally based traditional knowledge, according to Campos & Zohar (2021) and that make efforts to preserve forms of upbringing associated with their cultural, social and health practice of their community, consistent with what is supported by Sánchez (2017), developing sustainable development efforts and should be based on local understandings of community wellbeing (Campos & Zohar, 2021).

Regarding the practices of upbringing in childhood in a Yanesha community, it is highlighted that it is marked by the identity that is a factor rooted in their culture as indicated by Peña et al. (2017) and the punishment, for example, that has been transmitted from generation to generation, which responds to what Vargas and Marulanda (2021) indicate that the parenting patterns are rooted in the behavior of each parent. The mothers of the children mentioned that the upbringing they received was associated with threats, beatings, slaps or abandonment, forms of physical punishment that their fathers repeated with them and that they have tried to avoid transmitting to their children (E1, E3, E4, E8, E9), the punishment being something latent in practice or facts since it is a frequent code (figure 4). The current upbringing of Yanesha children applied by mothers is characterized by correcting by advising, lifting the mood with positive phrases, since they are aware of the effects of physical punishment on the development of children. On the other hand, they pointed out that the way they raise their children is by advising them, consenting to them, conditioning them and giving them what they did not receive from their parents as children (E1, E3, E5, E6) and is a reflection of an educational component (figure 4); which is consistent with the

somewhat slow process of change in the customs and traditions of the ethnic group as reported by Sánchez (2017).

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

Child rearing practices by mothers in a Yanesha community are marked by social and cultural patterns, such as cultural identity that is an ingrained factor in their daily lives; However, the term 'punishment' is associated with upbringing and is part of sociocultural patterns, which is a practice that is used to 'correct' children, but which are experiences that according to various versions are gradually eradicated, which could be influenced by the educational theme coming from foreign culture (formal or non-formal education), that leads mothers to reasonable practices such as advice, since there is no tendency to reproduce inappropriate ancestral practices whose effects are considered harmful in the life and development of minors by the informants.

There are concerns of the Peruvian government to protect children from vulnerable populations of native communities, such as the Yanesha; protection through a normative base issued by MINSA and MINEDU, which includes the National Multisectoral Sectoral Policy to 2030, as well as the Sectoral Policy on Intercultural Education and Intercultural Bilingual Education within the framework of preservation of customs, traditions and its own cultural organization; but also, there are international entities that fulfill a mission of protection of vulnerable populations, such as WHO and INICEF. However, there is a perception among the informants of a lack of State neglect, which indicates that there is no effective implementation of the regulations referring to the protection of children in native communities.

Health and education are associated with child rearing, a task reserved for mothers in the Yanesha community. In the case of physical or psychological health, the cure of certain diseases to their children, they resort to the local medical post or the hospital of the nearest town where care is perceived as not optimal because professionals are not prepared with an intercultural approach; In this way, a greater approach to conventional medicine is evident, showing reluctance for traditional medicine, the medicine of their ancestors. Likewise, there is a tendency for mothers not to resort to ancestral practices of punishment in the upbringing of infants, giving way to advice to correct certain behaviors, changes that are the product of an educational component, although there is a perception of State abandonment in terms of training in the upbringing of children.

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