Apprehending Volition in Early Socialization: Raising "Little Persons" among Rural Mapuche Families

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Abstract   On the basis of ethnographic fieldwork with rural Mapuche families in the Araucanía region of Chile, this article analyzes ways in which Mapuche parenting practices and the process of socialization during early childhood involve and transmit a sense of volition that is intrinsic to Mapuche notions of personhood and autonomy. Recounting concrete daily events, we describe how children make use of their own initiative and intentionality when exploring, acting, learning, and creating social relationships. At the same time, Mapuche parents avoid constant visual supervision and direct intervention, rarely oppressing children's volition while respecting and valuing children's personal and direct experiences of the world. By considering volition as an important cultural feature of parenting and socialization, and by reflecting upon how different ideologies of childhood and parenting relate to children's volition, we aim to contribute to current developments on early socialization and parenting cultures. [Early socialization, volition, Mapuche, parenting]

Resumen   Basado en trabajo de campo etnográfico con familias mapuche en la región de la Araucanía en Chile, este artículo analiza prácticas de parentalidad y el proceso de socialización durante la primera infancia en tanto transmiten un sentido de la volición que es intrínseco a la noción mapuche de persona y autonomía. A partir de eventos cotidianos describimos cómo los niños hacen uso de su iniciativa e intencionalidad para explorar, actuar, aprender y crear relaciones sociales. Sus padres evitan la supervisión visual constante y la intervención directa, raramente oprimiendo la volición de los niños, respetando y valorando la experiencia directa del niño con el mundo. Considerando a la volición como una característica cultural importante de la parentalidad y la socialización, y reflexionando sobre cómo distintas ideologías de la niñez y parentalidad se relacionan con la volición de los niños, esperamos aportar a debates contemporáneos sobre socialización temprana y culturas de parentalidad. [socialización temprana, volición, Mapuche, parentalidad]

Academic enquiries regarding Mapuche personhood—Mapuche are the largest indigenous group in Chile—have been a long-term duty for several anthropologists, who have characterized it as "autonomous," specifically highlighting their individual freedom to choose and act according to their own will (Course 2011; González 2012; T. Melville 1976). These studies are based on research carried out with Mapuche adult men; the processes through which volition as a pivotal element of Mapuche autonomy is socialized during early childhood remain less studied.

The existing literature on socialization in cultural psychology and anthropology focuses on the socialization of cognition (Gauvain 1998; Keller 1992; Rogoff 1990), of emotionality (see Fung 1999; Keller and Otto 2014; Lutz 1983, 1988; Rosaldo 1984), and of physical and motor capacities (Keller, Yovsi, and Völker 2002). However, a consideration of the socialization of volition—in the sense of "own-ness" and the intentionality of acts (Throop 2010:34)—remains mostly unexplored. There are indeed works that focus on the socialization of autonomy in non-Western contexts (Briggs 2008; Chisholm 1996; Kagitcibasi 2005; Keller and Kärtner 2013; Paradise 1987; Rogoff 2003) and in Western contexts (Kusserow 2004; Suizzo 2004), but these consider autonomy in the broader sense without directly highlighting volition as a particular aspect to be fostered by parents and apprehended by children.[1] Even if there are approaches that consider judgment and decision-making in childhood, they are concerned with the influence of cognitive, psychological, and social factors (cf. Jacob and Klaczynski 2005), not the cultural meanings of decision-making in particular or how it is socialized.

In this article, we explore how rural Mapuche parenting practices and the process of socialization during early childhood involve and transmit a sense of volition that is intrinsic to the Mapuche notions of autonomous personhood (*che*). Based on ethnographic fieldwork with 14 rural Mapuche families with children under two years old currently living in Southern Chile, we describe parenting practices that privilege children's personal experience and avoid stifling their volition. At the same time, these practices enable children's initiative and intentionality in exploring, learning, and socializing with others. By considering volition as a cultural feature to be developed and apprehended during Mapuche early childhood and by comparing these findings with Western ideologies of childhood and parenting, we aim to contribute to the study of contemporary early socialization and parenting cultures.

Autonomy and Volition among Mapuche

Several scholars highlight independence and autonomy as fundamental characteristics of the Mapuche (e.g., Course 2011; Foerster 2004; González 2012; T. Melville 1976). For example, Thomas Melville (1976) explains features of what he calls the "Mapuche psyche," referring to their refusal to engage in authoritative and hierarchical relationships within a group (1976:317). He claims that Mapuche operate with a "self-help ideology," emphasizing that in the case one does become involved with an individual or a group, it is due to his or her own interest rather than others' or group interests. Thus, he observes how Mapuche families encourage "personal independence" amongst their children, inculcating the importance of "personal responsibility to other individuals which must be recognized by a reciprocal grant of rights" (1976:215). These characteristics align with what anthropologists have attributed to Amerindians, long described as cultivating and valuing the individual autonomy which permits social relationships (see Overing 1989, 2003; Rivière 1984). In the case of the Piaroa in Venezuela, Overing describes what she calls an "obstinate individualism," referring to a notion of personal autonomy characterized by personal capacities such as "consciousness, comprehension, intentionality, volition, and responsibility" (2003:306).

Magnus Course (2011) introduces Thomas Melville's notion of "personal independence" in the broader anthropological discussion about Amerindian definitions of personhood and sociality, arguing that in Mapuche philosophy, the notion of society is "founded on individual autonomy and responsibility, rather than group belonging and hierarchy" (2011:xii). He explores what it means to be a *che* ("person" in Mapuche language), claiming that Mapuche personhood consists not of a given essence, but of a status one is attributed by others in relation, following two main characteristics: human physicality and the capacity for productive sociality (2011:25). This argument becomes salient when Course explains that there are entities that, despite their human physicality, are not considered "true persons" because they lack the capacity for productive sociality: some supernatural entities, drunk people, or the mentally ill fall under this category. Even newborn babies (*llushu*) are at risk because they cannot interact with others yet. The prerequisites of this capacity for productive sociality are: first, "autonomous thinking," or the capacity to think for oneself; second, "intentionality," "personal volition," or the capacity for one's own "agency"; and third, "social action," or the capacity to interact with others (2011:30, 2013). Since the production of sociality is what defines a person, Course clarifies that "those relations which a person creates through their own volition during the course of their life" (2007:82) are more decisive than kin or given relationships. In this context, sharing—and, more specifically, hospitality—are offered to known and unknown people, as personhood is both attributed and simultaneously demonstrated through these acts (Course 2011:28). In such a context, autonomous individuals who choose to interact with each other carry out sociality and exchange.

In a similar vein, González (2012, 2013) claims that Mapuche notions of thought, truth, and experience rely fundamentally on personal experience emerging from personal engagement with the environment, or what he calls the "uniqueness of personal experience principle" (2012:54). This principle is based on the "conception of persons as autonomous and independent beings, which leads us to an overall notion of persons as entities *a priori* disconnected in terms of knowledge, understanding, and experience, from other equally autonomous and independent entities" (2012:17). Therefore, we face a "radical singularism" (2012:160) in which reality depends on the experience of each person. This discontinuity between persons enables Mapuche to be respectful of others' ways of thinking, especially when entering into social relationships (2012:247).

Inherent to this autonomy and priority of personal experience is the capacity to choose according to a person's own desires or capacity for "personal volition." Thomas Melville explains that Mapuche "have never placed an ideological premium on group cohesion nor on concepts of group loyalty, maintaining instead that an *individual's freedom of action* is one's most prized possessions" (1976:310, emphasis added). Similarly, Course (2011) agrees with Melville's claims when he states: "Personal autonomy is sacrosanct to Mapuche men, a point made clear by the constant assertions 'Nobody tells me what to do' and 'I do what I want'" (2011:56). Accordingly, Ana Mariella Bacigalupo (2004) shows how even in the case of shamanic spiritual possession, personal autonomy and volition are taken for granted. The *machi*—Mapuche shamans—"stress their relational selves in order to legitimate themselves as machi" when relating with spirits. At the same time, "they emphasize their individual

personhood when asserting their agency and volition in everyday life and in distancing themselves from possessing spirits who take over their bodies and speak through them" (Bacigalupo 2004:222).

Following Thomas Melville's ethnography, González highlights how this type of "freedom" is pursued for children in socialization processes, "creating free individuals able to move unrestrained and according to their own will (and willing to struggle to defend their right to do so)" (2012:30). It is along these claims that we consider will or volition as a pivotal element of autonomy that is not only present in adult men, but is a relevant dimension of Mapuche early socialization processes.

In order to develop this argument, we follow Murphy and Throop's "anthropology of will" (2010), stating that anthropology has traditionally followed the philosophical distinction "that partitions human behavior into three main categories: cognition (which encompasses knowledge), emotion (which includes feelings, moods, and affects), and volition (including desires, choices, and proclivities to act)" (2010:2).[2] They claim that cultural anthropology has rooted many of its discussions of subjective experience in viewing the relationships between culture and cognition or culture and emotion, yet it has somehow undermined relevant elaborations "on how culture and volition are, broadly speaking, interconnected" (2010:2). It is precisely along this gap that we place our discussion: we will reflect on the capacity of executing self-attributed choices or actions according to one's own desire, which in the case of Mapuche appears as a fundamental social ideal. We will consider what Throop call a "sense of own-ness" or authorship of an act that is not necessarily an explicit reflexive act (2010:34)—in other words, not the Western notion of a reflexive, individual, Cartesian consciousness, but in the sense of an intentional action. For this aim, we prefer using the concept of "volition" and not "agency"—even if they overlap when referring to the capacity to act. In anthropology and sociology, the concept of agency has acquired different meanings that escape the aims of this study. For example, it has been equated with resistance, understood as oppositional agency against the constraining powers of structure and norms, while leaving aside "the multiplicity of motivation behind all human actions" (Ahearn 2001:116). Also, in recent theoretical developments (e.g., Callon 1986; Latour 1999; Law and Mol 2008; cf. Knappett and Malafouris 2008),[3] the concept of agency has been separated from "intentionality" and attributed to a range of assemblages that make a difference in the world without necessarily involving human intentionality. In this article, we have opted for volition as a concept that is intrinsically related to intentionality as a fundamental aspect for an understanding of Mapuche autonomous personhood.

Mapuche Socialization and Volition

The Mapuche socialization process takes place primarily through constant interaction with family, kin, and nonkin and, at the same time, with a direct relationship to the natural environment (Quilaqueo and Quintriqueo 2010). Not only parents but a broader set of relatives share childcare activities (Sadler and Obach 2006; Williamson et al. 2012). As Williamson et al. state, "adults (father, mother, grandmothers, *cacique [chiefs]*, *machi [shamans]*,

neighbors, relatives) are responsible for diverse moments and situations of the socialization of the children, some of them with specific formative functions. There is a decentered curriculum in which the infancy is produced" (2012:142).[4]

As in other contexts (Gottlieb 2000; LeVine 2003), a Mapuche child is conceived of not as a "disabled" or "inferior" being (Williamson et al. 2012:141), but with "an individuality already shaped since an early age" (Sadler and Obach 2006:36),[5] which is expressed in the Mapuche word *püchiche*, literally "little person" (Course 2011; Llanquinao 2014; Quidel and Pichinao 2002; Sadler and Obach 2006; Williamson et al. 2012). Therefore, children are considered "able to manifest and sometimes impose their own will to the adults" (Sadler and Obach 2006:36).[6] Williamson et al. hence stress that "early socialization is predominantly respectful of their *che* (personhood)" (2012:140).[7]

Likewise, Quidel (2005), Díaz-Coliñir (1999), and Course (2011) describe Mapuche children's capacity to initiate action in both learning processes and sociality. Quidel (2005) highlights their ability to "initiate participation," which is expressed in cognitive and early socialization processes by experimentation and imitation. Díaz-Coliñir stresses that "adults do not impose the task: it is the children who perceive the need to learn and act, which makes them appear self-motivated and creative" (1999:48).[8] Course (2011) has noticed that infants show intentionality and agency when they develop the capability for social reaction, which takes place as infants respond vocally, though not verbally, to stimulation. According to Course, from that moment onward, a baby is no longer considered a *llushu* (newborn baby), but instead a *püchiche*.

These features of the socialization process have previously been noticed in the work of Margaret Melville, who claimed that a "Mapuche toddler learns how to fend for himself from an early stage," participating in family and daily activities and assuming farm and household responsibilities (1976:155).[9] Descriptions of children's capabilities of decision, expression of desires, opinions, and preferences, and imposition of their own will (Díaz-Coliñir 1999; M. Melville 1976; Quidel 2005; Quidel and Pichinao 2002; Williamson et al. 2012) are recurrent within the existing literature about Mapuche infancy and socialization. Among these accounts, the notions of autonomy and volition are indirectly mentioned and considered relevant but are rarely theorized as is done in the case of adult men. Our effort consists of bridging this gap by describing Mapuche parenting beliefs and practices during early socialization regarding volition as intrinsic to an autonomous person. This task requires considering, at least succinctly, the ways in which recent academic work on early socialization in different cultural and social settings conceptualizes autonomy as a pivotal point in this process.

Studying Socialization, Autonomy, and Individualism in Different Contexts

Moving away from the bipolar definition of individualism and collectivism (Hofstede 1980; Oyserman et al. 2002; Triandis 1995), recent ethnographic studies of socialization and autonomy consider the tensions between autonomy—relatedness or autonomy—interdependence

not as contradictory, but rather as coexisting dimensions of human life (e.g., Chisholm 1996; Keller 2011; Rogoff 2003; Suizzo 2004). These studies range from a focus upon the cultural specificity of autonomy in different indigenous communities (Briggs 2008; Chisholm 1996; Paradise 1987) or specific societies (Suizzo 2004) to cross-cultural studies that compare cultural models of parenting (Kagitcibasi 2005; Keller 2011; Keller and Kärtner 2013; Rogoff 2003). Similarly, recent studies of parenting account for the different and sometimes conflicting ways in which autonomy and individualism take place, for example when comparing by class (Kusserow 2004) or contrasting welcoming versus immigrant groups (Jaysane-Darr 2013; Jiménez 2013).

In dialogue with developmental psychological approaches, Paradise (1987), Chisholm (1996), Briggs (2008), and Rogoff (2003) focus on emic notions of autonomy that are closely related to the volitional capacity of children and adults. Chisholm (1996) remarks upon the freedom of choice and the respect of others' will in Navajo socialization, while Briggs (2008) states that Utku early socialization is characterized by a "considerable freedom to act autonomously, to make choices that they perceive as independent" (2008:195). Paradise (1987) notes children's "initiative" and "autonomy" in the Mazahua as part of the particular mother-child interaction that allows each to act separately and autonomously while being physically together. Finally, in her comparative analysis of socialization of autonomy and interdependence, Rogoff highlights the "right [of people] to make their own decisions about their own actions" among North and Central American Indians and uses as an example her own study of Maya childbearing practices, in which "parents do not forcefully intervene against the child's will" (2003:204).

The work of Kagitcibasi (2005) and Keller and Kärtner (2013)[10] consider both autonomy and relatedness as universal human needs, constitutive of the child development process that manifests differently depending on the eco-social context (Keller and Kärtner 2013:68). Keller and Kärtner define autonomy as "agency and control over one's life" (2013:75), which in the case of Western urban middle-class individuals is manifested as "self-reflective ways of being" from which "separate, self-contained individuals establish self-selected relations to others" (2013:75). Comparatively, in what they address as "subsistence-based farming ecologies," autonomy is displayed as "action autonomy" that emphasizes "self-regulated accomplishment of role-based obligations and responsibilities" within a "network of obligatory relationships" (2013:77).

Recent works on parenting and early socialization in Western contexts demystify generalizing assumptions that identify the West as "the place" in which "autonomy" operates as the dominant or general value in early socialization. For example, Anne-Marie Suizzo (2004) observes that French families seem to combine individualistic and collectivistic orientations when considering the development of individual pleasures and qualities important; she notes their self-assuredness at the same time as they possess the ultimate goal of being able to join groups. In a similar vein, in her ethnography of parenting preschool children in three communities in New York, Adrie Kusserow (2004) identifies different kinds of "individualisms"—as opposed to the stereotype of Americans as "individualistic"—that are

reproduced within different classes. While middle-class children grow up with a sense of "soft" individualism, in which creativity and self-expression are reinforced, working-class children grow up with "hard" individualism, in which success and achievement can only take place after hard work, discipline, and determination within dangerous surroundings.

In these studies, the concept of autonomy—and, indirectly, volition—has become an object of inquiry, highlighting the cultural variability of notions not only of "autonomy" but of "independence" and "individualism" and illustrating, at the same time, the diversity of parenting practices through which these are socialized. Along with this focus on parenting, this study emphasizes both concrete daily events and more abstract notions about children and child-rearing, with the aim of acknowledging how a specific notion of volition can be apprehended.

Research Context and Methods

This article is based on ethnographic research with rural Mapuche people in the Araucanía region of southern Chile, in which a one-year fieldwork period took place between 2013 and 2014. Mapuche are the largest indigenous people in Chile, currently numbering approximately one million.[11] Nowadays, 62 percent of them live in cities such as Santiago, the capital of Chile, or Temuco, the capital of Araucanía. The remaining 38 percent live in rural areas (INE 2002). Araucanía has the largest rural indigenous population (71 percent, according to INE 2002) and is the historical center of the conflict over land property between Mapuche people and the Chilean state (e.g., Bengoa and Valenzuela 1983; Boccara and Seguel-Boccara 1999; Di Giminiani 2012; Foerster and Vergara 2000; Marimán 1997).

Currently, rural Mapuche mostly live in *comunidades* (communities), the political units recognized by the state. The groups of families that constitute these communities hold *Títulos de Merced*, a collective legal title of landholding that was given to Mapuche residential groups, usually relatives, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with the aim to confine them to indigenous reductions. These reductions were created after the euphemistically titled *pacificación* ("pacification") of Araucanía, a war held by the Chilean state against Mapuche people, in which over 80,000 Mapuche were relocated and confined to about 5 percent of the territory they had held before the Chilean invasion. Another 40,000 Mapuche were left without any kind of legal title over land property and were soon expelled (Calbucura 1998; Di Giminani 2012; Marimán 2006).

As a result of their eradication, Mapuche people became impoverished and today constitute one of the poorest groups of the Chilean population (MIDEPLAN 2009; Saavedra 2000). This situation redefined and reinforced some of Mapuche economic and political institutions,[12] which also gave rise to a particular cultural conscience for keeping traditions alive, at least until the mid-20th century (Faron 1969). In recent decades, the rural Mapuche population has experienced an accelerated "modernization process" (Bengoa and Caniguan 2011:23). Younger generations have different experiences regarding family size, work opportunities, global culture participation, and access to education and public subsidies

in the context of the Chilean state's current neoliberal and multicultural politics (Bengoa and Valenzuela 1983; Richards 2007; Webb 2014). For example, rural Mapuche families have an average of two children, much less than previous generations (Bengoa 1997).[13] In terms of education, even though rural Mapuche in the Araucanía region have the highest percentage of illiteracy (11.4%) in the country (MIDEPLAN 2009), education coverage has increased considerably, with Mapuche people in Araucanía possessing 7.7 years of education on average (MIDEPLAN 2009). Nowadays, children attend public rural schools for primary education until they are 12 or 14 years old, and most of them finish secondary education in boarding schools in the nearest town or city. Only six percent of the Mapuche population in Araucanía reaches tertiary education (MIDEPLAN 2009). Like the rest of low-income Chilean citizens, Mapuche families receive subsidies to improve their homes and monetary vouchers for each child.[14] Rural Mapuche people combine the traditional division of labor and duties in the countryside with incorporation into the waged labor market (Bengoa 1997; Saavedra 2002). They work as employees of Chilean landowners whose properties border the indigenous communities or migrate to the country's central region as seasonal workers in the agricultural industry. Others migrate permanently or temporarily to the city to find jobs in domestic service, construction, or mining, among other professions.

As part of a wider research project that studied the process of becoming a mother in different contexts in Chile (Murray 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2014),[15] we contacted 14 women who were about to give birth or had recently done so and were living in different rural communities in the *comuna* (district) of Vilcún in Araucanía. Their ages ranged between 18 and 37. Following an ethnographic approach that deepened in their everyday life from a holistic perspective, we met the women monthly, mostly in their homes. In addition, we also accompanied family members to different activities and occasions, including medical appointments and school and community events, throughout the course of 12 months. Fieldwork consisted mostly of participant observation and also included semistructured interviews with women and their families. At the same time, fieldwork included semistructured interviews with 10 local professionals with whom these women interacted.

In line with the abovementioned statistics, these women had an average of two children—a considerable decrease compared to their mothers and grandmothers. They lived on land of one to three acres that had one to four houses for the different nuclear families (parents and children). Elderly couples (the grandparents or great-grandparents of the children in this study), who are usually the landowners, live either with a younger couple and their children in the same house or in a different house on the family land. In the second case, even if they arrange home duties separately, older family members maintain a collaborative relationship regarding farm duties and childbearing activities. Six of the women in this study, three of whom were married, lived with their husbands or partners in their in-laws' land and house, following the Mapuche virilocal rule of residence.[16] Only four lived with their partners in their own family land and house. Four women were single mothers who lived with their parents. Most of the houses had been provided by the Chilean state through subsidies and were about 40 square meters in size. They were composed of one common room (kitchen–living–dining room) and two or three bedrooms. The houses were arranged around a wooden stove, following the traditional organization of the *ruka* (house) in which

the fire was settled in the middle of the common room. Most of the houses had access to potable water and, more recently, to electricity, implying an important change in the use of electric appliances as well as media connectivity.

Findings: The Socialization of Volition in Rural Mapuche Families

In our fieldwork observations of Mapuche socialization, it was clear that the development of autonomy, with emphasis specifically on volition, was valued and encouraged by parents. In what follows, we describe some parenting practices and beliefs present in daily interactions in order to illustrate their view of volition. We present these findings in three domains or situations of daily interactions in which volition emerges: first, in the children's freedom to explore without parental visual supervision; second, in the children's initiative to undertake learning processes; and third, in the children's initiation of social relationships while participating in sociability.

Exploration and Intentional Action

In the field, we repeatedly observed that very young children often stayed by themselves out of their parents' sight. For example, Josefina (23, mother of one) had allowed her son Sebastián to play outside in the vicinity of the house without her direct supervision ever since he had learned to walk at approximately one year old. Rather than providing visual care, Josefina made use of hearing as strategy. This became apparent one afternoon, for instance, when she suddenly interrupted a lively conversation she was having in the house in order to check out what Sebastián was up to. When she came back from the yard with Sebastián, she explained that she had heard him climbing dangerous construction materials, a noise imperceptible to the researchers. Minutes later, Sebastián was playing outside again.

Mapuche child supervision takes a specific shape, characterized by making use of different senses in order to take care of children and involving not only the parents, but also an extended group of people in charge of care. Considering that physical presence and ocular supervision is rather limited in the countryside, the sense of hearing is one of the most relevant early parenting tools for childcare. Even before seeing, José Quidel (2005) has previously noted that for Mapuche, *allkütun* (hearing) is the first act an individual performs as a *che* (person), referring to the capacity to be aware of the surrounding events (Quilaqueo and Quintriqueo 2010).[17] A thorough sense of hearing allows parents to continue their daily duties while staying alert to the child's activities, mindful of any sound or indication of some sort of danger to the child.

Mónica (24, mother of two) explains this parenting strategy, relating it to their household and farm duties:

> This is how we raise our children here...mothers do many things at the same time, not just one. I watch the pigs, the sheep...I let [my daughter Camila] play outside. Sometimes I'm doing the laundry and she is in another place. I then have to look for her

and ask, "Camila, are you there? Are you well?" I yell very often to hear her response; if there is no reply, I get worried. (Mónica, May 2014)[18]

At the same time, other adults and older children also assume responsibility in childcare; parenting practices are rather distributed or shared. For example, Lorena (23, mother of one) relies upon her uncles to a great extent with the care of her two-year-old son Gaspar:

> There are more people taking care of him [Gaspar]; if he goes outside, I know he will arrive well. I trust them. For example, here my uncle Carlos goes outside [with Gaspar]; they go to the field, they go around far away and come back. With my other uncle it is the same, and I know they look after him and that he is going to be well. (Lorena, May 2014)[19]

Similarly, elders not only look after children,[20] but also have a relevant role providing advice to parents (*ngülam* in the Mapuzungún language) on how to take care of babies (Caro and Terencán 2006; Williamson et al. 2012). By employing their sense of hearing and sharing childcare duties, parents are freed from constantly having to be in the physical immediacy of children. Children play outside freely because there are different adults alert to their activities in such a way that allo-parenting results in a feature of the socialization of volition. Consequently, from a very early age children go by themselves to visit relatives' houses nearby; they check upon the animals and crops or play in the fields with cousins and neighbors. In short, they can choose where to go, what to touch, what to play with, and with whom to interact—all with scarce adult or parental direct involvement.

The absence of direct parental intervention is also the case regarding the physical presence and gaze of adults: they do not interfere or impose their plans on the child. For example, when children wander around, opening drawers, climbing the furniture, playing with objects, or watching TV, adults continue their tasks aware of any potentially dangerous situation. The main reason for this lack of visual and physical intervention is not their rural lifestyle and labor but a deliberate decision about fostering independence. For example, Paulina (26, mother of three) contrasted her parental attitude to what psychologists promoted at the health center, where she received advice suggesting that she should set time schedules for her daughters and impose order on their activities. "Not all children are the same . . . they are not robots!" she insisted, elaborating on why it makes no sense to her:

> It is too patterned . . . I can imagine it—"You have just one hour to play!"—and the girls saying, "Oh! I have just one hour to play!" and getting desperate. (Paulina, May 2014)[21]

Her husband Javier (32) agreed:

> We give them independence because it will be useful later in life. It is better to prepare them, give them space. Me, for example, I went out to work the first time when I was 14 years old; I spent 3 months far away, alone . . . . I think it is better to be independent at an early age, to be more prepared to face life." (Javier, May 2014)[22]

This independence regarding children's actions resembles the Mazahua mother–child relationships described by Ruth Paradise (1987) in two ways. First, Paradise argues that mothers and children are characterized as acting "separated-but-together": "They are together but each is involved in his or her own separate activity" (1987:81). In the case of Mapuche, adults let children mind "their own business"; for example, when eating at the table, children are allowed to leave the table when they have finished and, as Lorena put it, "keep doing his life" (*sigue haciendo su vida*) and play.

Second, Paradise notes that among Mazahuas, the child is expected to initiate action, refraining from adults' guidance or assistance, especially in the case of nursing: "It is his initiative and he finds the way, usually without her having to collaborate much" (Paradise 1987:80). Among Mapuche, it is common to encounter toddlers climbing upon their mothers' laps and breastfeeding by themselves; their mothers welcome them tenderly while continuing to focus their attention elsewhere. Actually, many Mapuche children nurse under the shirts of their mothers without creating a visual contact. As Lorena put it, "From above the shirt is as midwives teach us, and from below is more traditional, as Mapuche have done."[23] She explained that employing the technique "from below" allows mothers to attend to other tasks while breastfeeding. At the same time, most mothers claimed that "my baby seeks me" (*mi guagua me busca*). Beginning at about one year old, a child will perch on his or her mother's lap, move her shirt, grab her breast, and breastfeed.

Children are not only expected to initiate action; indeed, in an attitude of respect toward their exploration of the world, their volition is rarely oppressed. For example, Valeria (18, mother of one) recalled that her 18-month-old daughter Amanda once picked up a chili (*trapi*) at breakfast. Valeria calmly told her, "Do not touch it, that's spicy," but did not take it from Amanda; instead she just waited. Amanda chewed the chili, tasted it, and suddenly started crying, "Water, water!" "She had to taste it," explained Valeria. This attitude remains the case even when facing potential danger: for example, Alfonso (15 months old) once grabbed an iron bar and started walking around. Rather than taking it from him abruptly, his mother, father, and grandmother tried to convince him to let it go, saying, "Give it to me." When Alfonso ignored them, they offered him something else in exchange for him to drop it.

This freedom to explore takes place in a context in which parents privilege the child's self-exploring. For Mapuche, "every person must discover on his/her own what his/her own way of doing things. In the same way every person must know which is the best option for him/her in any case" (González 2012:270), according to one's own experience of the world.

Learning by Their Own Initiative

Throughout fieldwork, we witnessed parents' reluctance to verbalize to babies and toddlers the "proper" way of doing things regarding playing, eating, or walking. This confirmed descriptions by Caro and Terecán, who observed Mapuche parents' "scarce verbalization" to their children in order to make explicit the "way of doing things" (2006:7). Instead—and in alignment with the section above—parents expect their children to learn from their

own observations, initiative, and eventual imitation. Concomitantly, parents do not attribute children's milestones to their own involvement; they assume them to be a result of a child's own initiative. Children "started doing it by themselves" was a recurrent answer to questions regarding the manner in which children had learned. For example, Paulina claimed:

> The smaller one [20 months old] imitates it all—everything María observes, she imitates it. Just a while ago, I was making some bread and she started to make bread with me. She asked me, "What are you doing?" and I told her, "Cooking." Or sometimes she helps her father Javier collect some wood for the stove; when she sees him going out, she goes behind him and helps him with wood, looking for animals . . . .Everything we do, I do not tell her "Do this"—she does it by herself. (Paulina, May 2014)[24]

During fieldwork, it was common to see children helping their parents look for wood, taking care of and feeding animals, kneading bread dough, and cleaning, among other daily domestic activities in which the lack of directions became a pattern. On one occasion, Mónica was rocking her baby's stroller to make her sleep; her older daughter Katy (18 months old) was playing nearby. When Mónica had to leave to assist her husband with farm duties, Katy took Mónica's place and spontaneously began to rock her sister's stroller, using the same technique as her mother, without being commanded or asked. When Mónica returned, she explained that she had never asked Katy to move the stroller or showed her how to move it. "It came from herself," she remarked. A similar situation occurred in the case of Andrés (15 months old), whose parents and grandparents explained how one day, he began feeding chickens without any command:

> In the morning, he went straight to the place where his grandmother kept the food, took the pot, and then started to call the chickens in the same way his grandmother used to do it— "Shhh, shhh"—and then he finally fed the chickens. (Natalia, 18, May 2014)[25]

From an early stage, babies observe action from a strategic central location in the crib within the common room, capturing a range of family dynamics and eventually starting to imitate some words. This practice follows a settled tradition in which, for generations, babies were kept in their *kupülwe*—the traditional Mapuche cradleboard—and carried wherever their mothers went; mothers could thus safely perform their tasks under the gaze of their babies. Inez Hilger made note of this in the mid–20th century, quoting a Mapuche woman: "A mother who weaves has the baby in its cradle right close to her; the baby watches her weave then" (1957:25; see also Titiev 1951:87). Similarly, one-year-old *püchiche* accompany their relatives to the orchard, farm, kitchen, or indeed any other location, learning by observation. Mónica noted:

> I think they learn watching, exploring, and playing. There are things that you teach them as well, but sometimes you don't have time to teach them. I cannot sit at midday to teach them; I have to go from one place to another, doing all I have to do. I like when she sees and explores—in that way she knows the work and duties we have at home, what we are doing—so one day she might help us and be a hardworking person. (Mónica, May 2014)[26]

When these women explained how they learned when they were little, observation and imitation came to their minds as well. In a similar vein to what Patricia Greenfield (2004:40) has observed in the case of the Zinacantec in Chiapas (México), some of the women in this study suggested that they learned weaving with the traditional Mapuche loom when they were little children by sitting next to their grandmothers as they were working. Rather than following instructions, they learned without explicit directions by using their capability to observe and retain visual information.

Although "learning by observation" is considered a universal learning strategy, we agree with Suzanne Gaskins and Ruth Paradise's argument that "some cultures provide environments that maximize the opportunities for this kind of learning and lean more heavily on it as a tool of cultural transmission" (2010:85–86), showing that learning through observation in daily life typically occurs in familiar contexts into which children are integrated in everyday interactions (2010:87). In line with this, "observational learning" seems to be a long-standing practice for Mapuche, generating the abovementioned kind of environment by making use of scarce adult verbalization, for example. Mischa Titiev has already witnessed how parents allow children to follow their own inclinations rather than rigid patterns (1951:87), letting them "learn from observation and imitation" in a "carefree stage of infancy" (1951:91). Similarly, M. Inez Hilger noticed these features when she stated that "generally speaking, the small child has great freedom and is not coerced into learning" (1957:74), while "occupation and other activities were learned through nonparticipant observations, imitation in play, and active participation with elders" (1957:75). More recent scholars, such as María Díaz-Coliñir (1999), José Quidel (2005), and Guillermo Williamson et al. (2012), also emphasize the importance of observation and imitation in Mapuche children's learning process.

At this stage, it is important to note that the conjunction between observation, imitation, and personal experience requires analysis. As Díaz-Coliñir puts it, "The Mapuche child learns by acting, doing concrete things, satisfying its curiosity, imitating others, making mistakes, correcting its own errors that are part of the self-evaluation" (1999:41). In our research, Lorena highlighted the relevance of personal experience in learning. She thought her two-year-old son Gaspar had learned more living in the countryside than going to a daycare center in the city:

> I think he learned much more in the countryside than in the daycare in Temuco: he talks better, he knows many things, animals; he knows the names of everything. While in Temuco, it wasn't the same: children don't see cows, chickens, or pigs, they only have drawings or pictures. Here in the countryside you can see animals live. Gaspar likes going out and watching animals; he has more direct learning. The things Gaspar doesn't use, things he doesn't know, then I explain to him . . . I know he knows things. For example, he observes the wood branches outside and he says, "For stove." He knows that those branches are thrown to the fire. (Lorena, May 2014)[27]

Similarly, the importance of experience in learning appears clearly in the case of the use of the *küll küll* when learning to walk. Some children in this study were put in a *küll küll* (see also Caro 1997:5), a wooden structure with parallel bars which babies are expected to

hold to practice their first steps. Parents and other relatives build this structure in order to provide and secure children's opportunity to learn how to walk by themselves. Once placed in the *küll küll*, family members sit around and cheer to coax the baby out, watching the baby grabbing the bar and trying to stand up. Older children get inside the *küll küll*, inviting the baby to imitate them as they walk while grabbing the bars. However, neither explicit explanations nor direct assistance take place, as babies are not supposed to learn by holding the arms of others but by holding onto the *küll küll* themselves. This artifact epitomizes the Mapuche way of learning by self-experience and mistakes, yet it also illustrates the kind of emotional support and protection that enables situations and environments to spark the initiative of children learning through acting in their own personal way.

Intention to Sociability

Commensality, creation of relationships beyond family ties, greeting, and hospitality are pivotal aspects of Mapuche sociability (Course 2011:26–30), and the previously mentioned autonomy and volition—which take place through exploring and learning—develop hand in hand with the social relations with which children engage. In this context, parents involve children in adult sociability from an early stage, expecting them to learn how to appropiately relate with others, in line with Mapuche values. From the time that a baby is born, parents place the crib in a central location in the main common room, allowing for diffent kinds of interactions with adults and older children. By the age of three months, babies are already participating in family commensality and sitting in adults' laps, while at six months old they are already eating the same milled food as adults. A remarkable example of children's involvement in sociability through commensality is that of children sharing *mate*, a hot beverage usually associated with sociability in Mapuche society (Course 2007) and Latin America (Barreto 1989). For example, Lucía (37, mother of three) told us that her son Claudio (18 months old) loved drinking *mate* sitting alongside adults, as do many other toddlers of his age. Similarly, practitioners in the local daycare center shared their *mate* with Claudio and other *matero* (*mate*-loving) children, seating them in small chairs in the *mate* circle. Amanda, a girl of the same age, sat in her own small chair placed next to her grandmother's couch. In this way, Mapuche children become accustomed to socializing with adults.

One example of how parents encourage their children to start relationships beyond the family is the case of two-year-old Martín, whose mother asked him to accompany one of the researchers to buy some sauces and a piece of candy for himself at the local kiosk, a five-minute walk away from home. His mother gave him some coins—he didn't know the value of them—and asked the researcher explicitly to let him buy the products by himself, expecting him to be able to relate and interact with others on his own without help. Confidently, Martín greeted every person he met along the way, asking their names or what they were doing. At the kiosk, the child greeted the clerk, asking how he was doing, before asking for the goods. The man told him the total price and Martín searched for the money in his pockets, acting as if he were "counting" it. The clerk smiled and gave him the receipt as Martín said goodbye.

Greeting is an important aspect of Mapuche sociability (see Course 2011:26–28). Not surprisingly, one of the first things that Sebastián's family taught him was the word *fütha kuyfil*, which means "It's been a long time . . . " and is a greeting in Mapuzungún. They also taught him to say *pewkallal* ("goodbye") while shaking hands—and Gonzalo, his father, corrected him, saying, "With the right hand, son."

The salience of greeting can be seen when parents encourage their children to greet people—in fact, nearly the only direction or mandate that adults give to children is "Greet!" ["¡Saluda!"]. They get disappointed when children show shyness, remarking, "Oh, he is too *huaso* today!"[28] Greeting is related to the acknowledgment of the other as a person (Course 2011:27) and to respect:

> When [young people] don't greet you, they are being disrespectful to you . . . when I was little, I always greeted everybody: grandparents, grandmothers, neighbors . . . . And I think it goes in the culture. (Paulina, May 2014)[29]

Hospitality is pivotal as a signal of deference (see Course 2011:28), particularly through offering food to visitors, as children learn very early on. Actually, children in the field were concerned by the researchers' eating habits; they asked the researchers to eat and even offered them food from their spoons. Parents highlighted how they started doing this by their own initiative. As Alfonso's parents said:

> Researcher: What do you think is important to teach him?
>
> Juan (father): Well, first of all, respect to his parents and grandparents, or to any person. I think it is important to teach him to share everything. If he can, if he has something, he must share, even if it is little.
>
> Natalia (mother): Alfonso is good at sharing: if he is eating something, he immediately gives you some.
>
> J: The bad thing is that he is good at sharing, but only with people he knows.
>
> N: But if you ask him, he shares with you. That's how we started: "Give me some?" And then he started to share by himself. We teach him in this way, saying, "Give me some?"[30]

Similarly to what Course describes for Mapuche adults (Course 2011:26), children forge relations starting from their own volition, expanding social relationships beyond the family; they are expected to, and do indeed, relate and interact with visitors, showing hospitality and initiating a social action through exchanging a smile, words, food, or a handshake. It is common to see children playing and acting as if they had their own houses, inviting people in. Renata (22, mother of two) described how her daughters (two and three years old, respectively) created the whole welcoming protocol: "Come in, please, it is cold outside." "Sit down, please, I'm going to serve you some soup." "Do you prefer scrambled or boiled eggs?" The girls offered a meal made of leaves and branches.

Mothers are in charge of interpreting a baby's needs, desires, or fears, always encouraging the baby to socialize with both family and visitors of all kinds (Course 2011:28). The relevance of developing social relatedness during childhood is salient in the fact that one of the greatest fears these Mapuche mothers manifested was that of their child becomimg a *mamón*, literally a "sucker": a Chilean concept used as a metaphor for children that are too attached to their mothers. This contrasts with findings in urban Santiago, where many mothers encourage a lifelong relationship of mutual dependency with their children, feeling proud of being able to afford "spoiling" them (Murray 2013a, 2014). On the contrary, as Sebastián's grandmother Rosa (85) noted, "Breastfeeding for too long [more than two years] makes children become *mañosos* [spoiled], avoiding greeting and sharing with other people" (Rosa, October 2013).[31]

Within this early sociability there are some hierarchical boundaries that children must learn. Children can be punished if they are disrespectful with adults or if they challenge parental requests. However, Mapuche children are not seen as subordinated as in other contexts (Montgomery 2009). For example, for the Tonga in Polynesia children are located at the bottom of the social hierarchy because they are conceived as lacking social competence (Montgomery 2009:56, see also Morton 1996). Likewise, the Fulani children of West Africa are subordinated to their parents and treated as completely powerless beings (Johnson 2000). Instead, Mapuche children establish relations with adults that are relatively horizontal (Quidel and Pichinao 2002:10) and treated as any other person in the community. These horizontal relations can also be tracked following the fact that adults rarely talk to young children using "baby talk" or "motherese" but instead speak to them with the same tone as with other adults. In the same sense, symbolic markers of "babies," such as baby clothing and toys, are not as present as in other contexts, confirming the status of *püchiche*.

Conclusion: Considering Volition in the Study of Parenting Cultures

Based on ethnographic work with a group of Mapuche families and their young children, in this article we have focused on the socialization of volition as intentionality, suggesting that this is an aspect of early socialization that requires further academic attention. Mapuche children explore by themselves and initiate their actions without much adult participation. Independence is fundamental in a context in which children learn by themselves, mainly through observation and imitation, finding their own way of doing things, and solving problems. In this context, parents and family members expect young children to learn how to relate to others and to create new relationships beyond family ties through commensality, greeting, hospitality, and sharing with known and unknown people. Accordingly, adults avoid verbalizing directions and commands, respecting and valuing children's personal and direct experiences of the world and rarely oppressing a child's volition.

At this point, we could ask: What notion of volition is involved in the processes that we have described? What are the notions of person, child, and parent that are at stake? And what are the ideologies of parenting involved in this context? While in Western contexts children have been conceived as possessing a "particular nature" that distinguish them from adults

(Ariès 1962:128) and whose volition must be disciplined (Foucault 1977), controlled, and civilized (Elias 2000),[32] amongst Mapuche, volition in socialization consists both of a part of the process of learning and, more importantly, of an already existing feature of personhood or the autonomous *che* (Course 2011; González 2012; T. Melville 1976). It is their volition that allows children to engage in activities and learn, echoing what Rogoff et al. (2003) describe as "intent participation," in which they observe how children actively perform concentration and initiative within informal community situations in different indigenous American communities. By considering toddlers as owners of intentionality, as any Mapuche person does (Course 2011), parents are deferent toward their children's will, encouraging them to participate actively and autonomously in ongoing activities and social relations. This is an aspect that, as we have seen, is variable along a range of contexts (Johnson 2000; Montgomery 2009; Morton 1996) and specifically critical when compared to—broadly speaking—Western tradition in its approach to childhood.

Even more evidently, Mapuche early parenting contrasts with current parenting strategies in a range of Western contexts—and beyond (see Faircloth et al. 2013)—that also seek to instill a child's autonomy but are accomplished in terms of a goal that requires a long path of "intensive" parenting practices (Faircloth et al. 2013; Furedi 2002; Hays 1996; Hoffman 2000; Kusserow 2004; Wall 2010). Intensive parenting ideology is based on what Frank Furedi (2002) calls "infant determinism" conceiving the child as "soft and malleable" (Vincent and Ball 2007:1065) and a "vulnerable" and "sensitive" being (Faircloth et al. 2013:3), to the extent that parents' activities are conceived as determinants of "each individual child['s] development and future (Faircloth et al. 2013:24). Thus, the child is a project to be developed and "improved" by parents (Vincent and Ball 2007:1065) in order to achieve self-confidence and helpfulness. Scholars have also claimed that intensive parenting, and its goal of "maximization of the individual achievement" (Faircloth et al. 2013:4), is closely related to a neoliberal project in which the state aims to create citizens who can embody the ideals of the new capitalism: individualistic, risk-taking, and entrepreneurial selves (Faircloth et al. 2013; Shirani et al. 2011).

Such an idea of childhood contrasts with the Mapuche notion of *püchiche* in at least two senses. First, although there is an emphasis on the development of personal capabilities and the possibility of parents to influence them, toddlers are far from being considered "determined"; rather, they are viewed as the main agents in the shaping of their futures. Second, the respectful approach to children's volition considers an autonomous person whose autonomy manifests necessarily in the production and reproduction of social relations, within and outside the family (Course 2011) and far from the usual understanding of individualism in the Cartesian sense. Mapuche children are respected and expected to show respect for others' will and autonomy as the starting point in creating and maintaining social relations (Course 2011; González 2012); they are also expected to collaborate, creating group belonging and harmony (see Kagitcibasi 2005 for a similar argument). In this sense, the Mapuche case becomes another example of how individualistic—collectivistic or autonomy—interdependence orientations are not contradictory, but rather coexisting aspects in dynamic tension within individuals and cultures (Keller 2011; Rogoff 2003; Suizzo 2004).

The "intensive parenting" ideology demands that parents devote "large amounts of time, energy and material resources on the child" (Hays 1996:x) put the child's needs first (child-centered) and pay attention to what experts say about child development (Hays 1996:44–45). In a similar vein, Annete Lareau (2002) suggests that this type of orientation and treatment toward the child has been situated as a "cultural logic of middle-class parents" that emphasizes a "concerted cultivation" of children, in which parents hold the majority of the responsibility in developing the child's potential. In contrast, Lareau identifies a cultural logic of "natural growth" among working-class parents, in which parents believe that by providing "love, food and safety," they ensure children's growing and thriving. In the view of the American working-class parents, "children just are," so parents do not need to focus on developing children's abilities and talents (2002:748–749). At one level, the Mapuche case resonates with this "natural growth" logic, as Mapuche adults do not focus on developing child's abilities by themselves. But the Mapuche case is also very different, as parents—and, more broadly, adults—play a fundamental role in reinforcing the already existing volition that comes along with being considered as a *che* (person). This low "intensiveness" allows a child to develop freedom and his or her own interests in a way that escapes the potential contradictions of "intensive parenting" and "child-centeredness," exemplified by Diane Hoffman's description of American emotional socialization in which "although mothers explicitly [value] emotional connectedness and freedom of expression with their children, the actual strategies advocated for dealing with emotions . . . are centered on control and constraint of emotional discourse and expression" (Hoffmann 2013:75).

The current trends in "intensive parenting" have arrived in Chile, especially among policy makers and health experts, who negotiate with a diverse range of parenting cultures in the country. For example, Murray (2012, 2013a, 2013b) has argued that these trends, promoted by expert knowledge, have been negotiated and interpreted by women in Santiago de Chile, a context in which a specific take on "child-centeredness" and "intensive parenting" is inherent to the ideology of motherhood and kinship and where children are also conceived of as vulnerable and porous (Murray 2013a:161). Thus, these women aim to maintain physical proximity to their children, consolidating their fundamental role as nurturers and experts in the needs of every child as "devotional" mothers. In other words, these women easily embrace intensive parenting mandates, reinforcing their sense of being "good mothers." However, rather than seeking to ensure their children's independence, these mothers pursue mutual dependency and the creation of lifelong relationships with their children, far from the aim of autonomy that intensive parenting promotes. In a divergent manner, the Mapuche families of this study tend to ignore and reject these intensive parenting mandates in line with their ideology of childhood and kinship.[33] Nevertheless, sometimes Mapuche mothers feel the pressure to incorporate these parenting mandates, adapting some practices in order to become more "acceptable" (Richards 2007) for state practitioners' standards of becoming "good mothers."

These brief comparisons evince the fact that further attention to the notion and practice of volition as a feature of socialization and parenting may provide fruitful insight to those interested in a critical approach to the study parenting and socialization. The study of volition

in socialization opens a path for research that may enrich the already consolidated categories under which anthropology and psychology have approached these phenomena.

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Notes

1. For a definition of autonomy that is more explicitly related to volition, see Kagitcibasi (2005).

2. Motivation, as it has been used in psychology when referring to the three universal aspects of the self (cognition, emotion, and motivation), could be understood as very similar to the concept of volition because it "centers on the question of why people initiate, terminate, and persist in specific actions in particular circumstances" (Markus and Kitayama 1991:239).

3. In actor-network theory, for example, the approach to agency "becomes a matter of attribution, *post hoc* and after the action" by an observer (Law and Mol 2008:58); thus, the origin of an action relies not in the intention of a reflexive human consciousness but is instead spread throughout a vast web of human and material entities (Law and Mol 2008).

4. "Los adultos (padre y madre, abuelas, caciques, capitanes de amigos, machis, vecinos, parientes) son responsables de diversos momentos y situaciones de la socialización de los niños, algunos con funciones formativas específicas. Hay un currículo descentralizado en que se forma la infancia."

5. "es tratado como una individualidad ya formada desde muy pequeño (un pichike che)."

6. "es capaz de manifestar y a veces incluso imponer su voluntad a los adultos."

7. "La socialización inicial aparece predominantemente respetuosa de su che (ser-persona)."

8. "No son los adultos los que imponen el quehacer, es el mismo niño el que percibe la necesidad de aprender y actuar, lo que lo hace aparecer automotivado y creativo" (Díaz-Coliñir, 1999:48).

9. "El niño mapuche aprende a valerse por sí mismo desde tierna edad" (M. Melville 1976:155)

10. Among others, see also Franz and White (1985); Guisinger and Blatt (1994); and Wiggins and Trapnell (1996).

11. There are significant differences between the instruments used to account for the Mapuche population. While in 1992 the Mapuche population was recorded as 928,060, in 2002 it was 604,349 and in 2012 reached 1,508,722 (see Valdés 2004).

12. For further descriptions on the political structure, kinship, and economical organization of Mapuche, see Titiev (1951); Faron (1969); Bengoa (1983, 1997); Stuchlik (1976); and Latcham (1922).

13. Mapuche women between 30 and 34 years of age have an average of 2.26 children, while women over 50 years old have on average 4.8 children (INE 2002).

14. Through the state policy program for infancy, *Chile Crece Contigo* ("Chile Grows with You"), Mapuche also receive a crib, a nursing pillow, clothes, and a booklet on secure attachment (Murray 2014).

15. This research project first began as part of a FONDECYT project (2010–13) funded by CONICYT. Later, it became funded by the Interdisciplinary Center for Intercultural and Indigenous Studies (ICIIS), project CONICYT/FONDAP/15110006 (2012–17).

16. Although classic literature about Mapuche makes use of the term *patrilocal* for characterizing the residential pattern, we prefer to use *virilocality* to designate the tradition in which women migrate to their partners' family land or houses (Course 2011).

17. This sensory perception of the environment defies Western ocularcentrism (Levin 1993; Pallasmaa 2013) or hegemony of vision (Ingold 2000) regarding the possibility for knowledge (Ingold 2000:9, 243).

18. "Eso es como criamos acá a los hijos, que yo igual he visto, las mamás, las mujeres se dedican a varias cosas no solamente a una cosa . . . Yo veo los chanchos, las ovejas . . . Y la dejo jugar afuera, hay veces que yo estoy lavando y ella está por otro lado después vengo pa acá y mirándola y diciéndole '¿Camila, estay ahí, estás bien?'; gritándole a cada rato pa que me responda porque si no me responde yo estoy preocupa."

19. "Hay más gente que lo está mirando igual po, aquí si sale con un tío sale y sé que va a llegar bien po, la confianza igual en ellos. Ponte tu acá con mi tío Carlitos sale po' sale a la cancha da la vuelta lejos y llegan. Con mi otro tío igual y sé que lo cuidan y que va a estar bien."

20. In some of the households observed, grandmothers share a room and bed with the baby or toddlers and are in charge of healing the baby from *empacho* (stomach disease) and *mal de ojo* (evil eye). For more information about evil eye among Mapuche, see Citarella et al. (1995).

21. "De repente muy pauteado . . . ya me veo ya: '¡Tienen una hora para jugar!' Y las niñas: '¡Uy! Tengo una hora para jugar!' y se pongan desesperadas."

22. "Nosotros le damos independencia, porque le va a servir para después po', así es mejor le sirve para la vida después. Mejor prepararlo, les damos su espacio. Yo, por ejemplo, la primera vez que salí a trabajar tenía 14 años, y estuve como 3 meses afuera, sólo . . . .Pero yo pienso mejor independiente a más temprana edad, para enfrentar la vida."

23. "Por arriba de la polera es como lo enseñan las matronas, por abajo es como más tradicional, como lo hacían los mapuche."

24. "La más chica siempre imita todo, la María todo lo que ve lo imita. En denante estaba haciendo pan y ella igual estaba haciendo pan también, y me pregunta, '¿Qué estai haciendo?' 'Cocinando,' le digo yo. O le ayuda a Javier a buscar la leña cuando lo ve salir a buscar, también a ver los animales . . . ahí todo lo que hace uno, uno no le dice '¡Hace esto!' Ella lo hace sola."

25. "Tempranito fue directo a sacar el tarro donde su abuela tiene guardado los granos. Lo tomó y empezó a llamar a los pollos igualito que la abuela—'Shhh, shhh'—y después les dio los granos a los pollos."

26. "Yo creo que aprende mirando y ellos exploran y jugando. Y hay cosas que uno le enseña igual sí, y a veces uno no tiene tiempo como pa enseñarle a los hijos; uno no puede sentarse como mediodía a enseñarle a los niños, tiene que andar de allá pa acá haciendo. Me gusta que mire y explore—que sepa el trabajo que tenemos en la casa, que lo que hacimos nosotros—pa que igual ella un día ayude, sea bien empeñosa."

27. "Yo digo que acá en el campo aprendió mucho más que cuando estábamos en el jardín de Temuco, porque habla mejor, conoce más las cosas, los animales, sabe los nombres de todo po', en cambio en Temuco no, no era lo mismo, los niños no ven nunca vacas, ni pollos o chanchos, son puros dibujos, en cambio, acá en el campo los veí' en vivo a los animales po'. A Gaspar le gustaba salir a mirar las vacas, las ovejas, entonces tenía un aprendizaje más directo igual. Son las cosas que Gaspar no usa, que no sabe, entonces le explico, pero uno sabe que el hijo sabe cosas, por ejemplo, ve los palitos de leña afuera y dice que es para 'la cocina' y sabe que eso se echa al fuego."

28. *Huaso* is used to designate a Chilean peasant. Sometimes it is used for referring to someone that is shy or tight-lipped.

29. "Cuando no saludan, no te respeta a ti; a mi cuando chica, yo siempre saludaba a todos: a los abuelos, las abuelas, los vecinos, y es como que va en la cultura, yo creo, pienso."

30. Investigadora: ¿Y qué cosa crees que es importante enseñarle?

Juan: Bueno, primero que todo el respeto hacia los padres y abuelos. O cualquier persona, que no ande haciéndole maña, o que le pegue. Enseñarle que tiene que compartir todo. Mientras él pueda, con tal que tenga, con tal que...tiene que compartir, sea lo más mínimo. Porque, después si no puede pelearse también por una galleta.

Natalia: Él igual comparte. Es bueno pa compartir. Está comiendo algo, y te da al tiro, así.

J: Es bueno para compartir, pero con personas que conoce. Eso es lo malo.

N: Pero si tú le pedís, igual te da. Nosotros así empezamos. "¿Dame?" Y ahí empezó. Y ahí empezó a dar solito. Que igual enseñamos así "dame," pa que no sea...

31. In these contexts, mothers are expected to breastfeed for approximately a year and a half, at least. Similarly, Cheuquepan et al. described that Mapuche women believe infants can get "*soberbios*" (arrogant) if breastfed too long (n.d.:5). What is at stake, in other words, is children's autonomy and capacity to socialize regarding nursing and attachment to their mothers.

32. In other words, the child is understood as a *tabula rasa* (blank slate) in which adults can "imprint" their knowledge (Locke 1965; Pavez Soto 2013).

33. For other cases of Mapuche rejection of authoritative medical knowledge, see Bonelli (2012), Alarcón et al. (2004) and Alarcón and Nahuelcheo (2008).

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