Hunter-gatherers data sheet Robert Walker

1. Description

1.1 Name of group/language family: Yuqui, Tupi-Guarani language family (1, p. 634)

1.2 Location: Eastern Bolivian lowlands approximately 170 km south of Trinidad in the Cochabamba and Santa Cruz territories located in the drainages of the Rio Ichilo-Mamore river system including the Chimore and Chapare (1, distance calculated from Figure 1, p. 633). The Yuqui camp is about 60 km from the eastern edge of the Andes mountains (5, p.375). The river system is part of the Madeira river system, a southern tributary of the Amazon River (ibid.). The Yuqui camp at Chimore lies at 64 degrees 56 minutes 50 seconds west and 16 degrees 47 minutes south and at an altitude of about 250 meters (5, p. 375).

1.3 Population size (breeding, dialectal): At peaceful European contact in 1965, the population was only 43, primarily an endogamous (1, p. 641). In 1982 the population was 70 (1, note 4, p. 648). In 1983 there were 73 (4, p. 221). In 1988 the population was 103 (5, p. 376), a 41.1% increase since 1983. An April 1991 census found 136 Yuqui (6, p. 250). Two other bands, both of which has joined the Chimore reservation in the late 1980s, numbered 24 and 21 individuals (5, p. 375). In a 1996 Bolivian census (CIRTB) there were 138 Yuqui (this information comes from a pamphlet that Mike Gurven acquired last summer and I don't have specific source information).

1.4 Home range size (yearly, life): Pre-contact range is approximated to have been 4500 km^2 (6, p. 251). The two zones that the Yuqui now (late 1980s) hunt are more less concentric rings around the mission. The inner circle hunted in day trips has a total area of 78.5 square km and the outer circle extends 10 km out from the mission with an area of 245.5 square km. The two zones total 314 square km. All but 2 of the 358 hunts in 1983 and all but 19 of the 371 hunts in 1988 were within the inner core area. Even in 1988 when hunters were forced to hunt farther and farther from the mission, 72% of all game were captured within a 5 km radius (5, p. 376).

1.5 Density (person/km2): Roughly 0.01 at contact (=43/4500). In 1986 probably more like 0.33 (=138/413, calculated from 1.3 and 1.4 above)

1.6 History: Inferred by Stearman (1, pp. 639-647) on the basis of language and other cultural affinities such as absence of stone tools and lack/fear of domesticated dogs, the Siriono and Yuqui are remnants of one of the pre-Columbian Guarani incursions from Paraguay into Bolivia. The Yuqui have linguistic and cultural ties to the Guarayo, another Guarani lowland Bolivian group. It is likely that the Siriono and Yuqui are descendants of the Chiriguano branch of the Itatin Guarani (evidenced by residual slavery practices, shallow commitment to horticulture, and perhaps inability/"loss of know how" to make fire) who conquered and enslaved the Chane of lowland Bolivia. Later, the Chiriguano invasion into the Mojos region north of Santa Cruz, home to the Baure Indians, was ill-fated and ended in "defeat, dispersal, and isolation" (1, p. 640). In the 17th century, religious missionization began with Jesuits, followed by Franciscans, and currently Protestants. Depopulation ensued as a direct result of smallpox, influenza, and measles. Stearman argues for the Yuqui/Siriono connection based on cultural and genetic affinities between the two. Once separated from the Siriono, the Yuqui group itself fissioned in 1930-2, supposedly over a dispute by two brothers over a woman. Present-day settlement inhabitants are descendants of the 14 followers of the younger brother who broke off from the main Yuqui group. Stearman (3, p. xii) posits that 2 forest groups were in the process of being contacted in 1986. One of these groups comprised of 24 individuals and the other 21. Both have joined the Chimore mission (5, p.375). Prior to peaceful contact, the Yuqui and Bolivian peasants were involved in multiple skirmishes many of which led to deaths on both sides. The Yuqui strategy was one of high mobility that allowed "constant pilferage" with a "willingness to shoot anyone in sight" (5, p. 374). Stearman's study group was "pacified" in 1965 by missionaries. A permanent village was set up in 1974 on the bank of the Rio Chimore after a long history of hostile relations with settlers and ranchers. In recent times increased settlement in the area, most of which centers around

growing coca for illicit drug trade, has drastically reduced the availability of many important prey species (5, p. 375).

2. Environmental Features

2.1 ecotype: Tropical rain forest that contains large marshes; area shows extensive river activity, marked by overgrown abandoned riverbeds and oxbow lakes (5, p. 375)

2.2 temperature: Temperature ranges from 39 degrees Celsius in February to 0 degrees Celsius in July; cold fronts from the south known as *surazos* move through the area from May through September accompanied with strong winds (5, p. 375 and 6, p. 251). Stearman also reports a low temperature of 4 degrees Celsius in July (6, p.251)

2.3 rainfall: Very short dry season in July/August; 2800mm average annual rainfall (1, p. 635), 4000 mm average annual rainfall (5, p. 375 and 6, p. 251)

3. Economy

3.1 Main carbohydrate staples (% of energy in diet):
Missionization has led to dependence on plaintains because this is the one crop that can survive Yuqui neglect. Manioc and rice are grown to a much less extent. Just like the Siriono, the Yuqui are reluctant farmers and would rather hunt and gather (3, p. 78). Honey is a keystone species for surviving lean periods (dry season). Entire contents of the hive are eaten including pollen, royal jelly, propolis, and the fat-rich larvae (6, p. 256). Two pounds of honey are commonly consumed by one individual at one sitting (3, p. 69). When nothing else is available, the Yuqui eat the starchy palm heart, raw or cooked, which is referred to as "starvation food". The Yuqui gather over 50 varieties of fruits and tubers, but when asked they produced a list of 95 (3, p. 69). The most prolific and consistently available vegetable is the palm fruit (ibid.). With the introduction of the axe, fruit trees are now simply cut down as opposed to picked by climbing as used to be the strategy (3, p. 71).

3.1.1 extraction rates

3.1.2 density or distribution pattern: In an area contiguous to the Yuqui region, 36% of the 94 tree species in a 1 hectare plot provided humanly edible fruit (6, p. 254). Dense stands of monospecific fruit bearing trees or oligarchic forests are found in the region (and in Amazonia) as a result of severe flooding, shallow soils, or frequent disturbances (6, p. 247)

3.2 Main protein lipid sources (% energy, % P-L): 1983--fish comprised 57% of P-L; 27% in 1988 (5, p. 378). "When meat is plentiful, nothing else is eaten" (6, p. 254). It is reported that fish often allows survival during lean periods (dry season) when other foods are not available and ponds dry up. With decreased game density between 1983 and 1988, the Yuqui rely more heavily on fish for subsistence (3, p. 56).

In 1983, the following 5 species comprised 65% by weight of the diet—deer, tapir, capybara, collared peccary, and white-lipped peccary; in 1988 tapir, white-lipped peccary, and capybara did not appear in the diet. See table below from 5, p. 380 table 3:

ANIMAL SUBORDER	COMMON NAME	*Genus species*	TOTAL WEIGHT (kg) EXTRACTED IN 1983 (out of 56 observation days)	TOTAL WEIGHT (kg) EXTRACTED IN 1988 (out of 56 observation days)
Rodentia	capybara	*Hydrochaeris hydrochaeris*	259	0
	paca	*Agouti paca*	33.5	6
	porcupine	*Coendu sp.*	7.5	14.1
	squirrel	Sciuridae	1.75	2.7
	agouti	*Agouti paca*	1	45.6
	spiny rat	*Proechimys sp.*	0	1.1
Edentata	armadillo	*Dasypus novemcinctus*	67.5	13.1
	armadillo	*Dasypus kappleri*	0	12
	sloth	*Bradypus tridactylus*	6	14.3
	giant anteater	*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*	0	34
Artiodactyla	white-lipped peccary	*Tayasu pecari*	174	0
	collared peccary	*Tayasu tajacu*	141	201.3
	deer	*Mazama americana*	36.5	31
Perissodactyla	tapir	*Tapirus terrestris*	150	0
Primates	capuchin monkey	*Cebus apella*	29.5	67.1
	Howler monkey	*Alouatta seniculus*	0	130.5
	night monkey	*Aoutus sp.*	5	16.2
	spider monkey	*Ateles spaniscus*	0	8
	squirrel monkey	*Saimiri sciureus*	0	18.6
	titi monkey	*Callicebus moloch*	0	3.5
Carnivora	coati	*Nasua nasua*	17	147.5
	kinkajou	*Potos flavus*	2	32.7
	puma	*Felis concolor*	0	16
	tyra	*Eira barbara*	4	13.8
Marsupialia	opossum	*Didelphis marsupialis*	0	3.5
Reptilia/	caiman	*Paleosuchus sp.*	29.5	32.5
Amphibians	tortoise	*Geochelone sp.*	92.5	164.5
	turtle (aquatic)	*Chelonia sp.*	0	24
Birds	Lots-most prominent	currasow, guan, and duck	98.75	150.5
TOTALS			1169	1213.7

It should be noted that returns and return rates do not reflect the "snacking behavior" of Yuqui hunters who are observed to "vacuum the forest" as they hunt (6, p. 253).

3.2.1 extraction rates (overall including search time):

All hunting/fishing zones 0.43 kg/man-day

Only long hunts outside core area 0.64 kg/man-day (5, p. 377)

Very little difference in overall game availability due to seasonality, though primates do tend to congregate in areas where seasonal fruits occur during January and February. No prolonged periods of fish scarcity in Chimore River due to seasonal migratory patterns and extensive flooding (5, p. 375)

3.2.2 density or distribution pattern: 1988s prey density suffered a serious decline since 1983; Yuqui have decreased prey selectivity and settle for much smaller game (5, p. 381, Figure 3). Near rivers where terrain is low and swampy, caimans, capybaras and marsh rats take refuge. Peccaries and deer are found in the high and dry areas.

3.2.3 Search Party/Pursuit group size/hunt duration for major PL resources: 1983 mean hunt duration=6.97 hours; 1988=7.98 hours

3.3 Dietary intake: (calories per capita) Animal protein consumption table:

SOURCE=5, p. 383 table 5	1983	1988
Number of consumers	73	96
Gross kilos	2733.9	1616.35
Game only	1169	1254.5
Fish only	1564.9	361.85
Gross kilos per capita	37.45	16.84
Gross kilos per capita per diem	.67	.3
Edible portion per capita per diem	.44	.2
Animal protein consumption per capita per diem	88 grams	40 grams

3.4 Special tools and techniques: Shotguns and .22's in addition to the traditional longbows are used for animal procurement. Firearm inventory is important for successful game procurement and as a symbol of wealth but no data are provided for differential return rates (4, p. 237). Two types of arrows are used—a bamboo lanceolate point for large game and a black palm barbed point for smaller animals (3, p. 39). In "dry" season fish are collected by hand from evaporating ponds, and fishing in forest lagoons has always been a Yuqui foraging strategy. No longer fearful of open waterways (as used to be the case due to feared contacts with outsiders) hook and line fishing and gill nets from canoes has recently become prominent especially the day immediately following a flood surge. (5, p. 375). Barbasco poisoning was also used prior to contact (5, p. 381). Trekking was no longer used in 1983, but in 1988 hunts had increased in distance, frequency, and duration, and decreased prey selectivity—all indicative of declining prey populations resulting from settler incursion (5, pp. 377-9)

3.5 Storage: The tortoise is the Yuqui's only form of stored meat as they are tied to poles until ready for slaughter (3, p. 63).

3.6 Sexual division of production (% calories, %PL by males and females) Gathering is done by 1) opportunistically by men as they move in groups looking for game, 2) opportunistically by groups of men and women as the latter assist in tracking, calling, retrieving, and if the animal is wounded or can be killed by hand, hunting game, and 3) groups of women focusing on plant resource patches. Camp movements (pre-contact) centered on which of these three strategies had precedence. Prior to contact some Yuqui women reportedly learned to use a small bow with which to kill fish (6, p.252).

3.65 Cooperation during production (% time in cooperation, % cals produced cooperatively, do men hunt solitarily or together, etc.) See section 3.6 above. Men hunt solitary as well as in groups of 2 or 3. When white-lipped peccaries troupes are sighted, all men from camp are alerted and make kills together (3, pp. 54-55).

3.7 Age divisions of production (production by children and elderly):

3.8 Non-foraging economy: The Yuqui are not keen on horticulture despite the pleadings from the missionaries. In 1983 the Yuqui took 396 man-hours (doesn't include women/children help) to clear one hectare. For comparison, the Machiguenga take around 100 hours to clear a hectare (4, p. 239). There is a non-significant tendency for poor hunters to devote more time to horticulture (ibid.). Pre-contact Yuqui reportedly never practice horticulture and had no trading or other external sources of food except for raids on peasant farmers (6, p. 250). There are language terms for agricultural items, however, indicating a distant agricultural/horticultural past.

Time use:

3.8.1 Men's food acquisition work: (hr/day): Fishing is a better strategy than hunting for higher protein acquisition rates (test comparing group of mostly hunters to a group of mostly fishers is significant, 4, p. 234). Men's time allocation out of 56 days in 1983 and 1988, averages over all men (4, p. 231 table 5):

ACTIVITY	hunting/fishing	horticulture	wage labor	fruit/honey	TOTAL
man-hours	2599.56	396	396	456	3848
percent of sum	68%	10%	10%	12%	100%

food processing-yes

tool work-yes

housework-?

sick: In 1983, mean of 1.43 sick days per hunter (23 sick days total out of 56 days of 16 hunters or 3%) (4, p. 23). In 1988, 87 man days (out of 56 days times 19 men=1064) or 8% or a mean of 4.57days per hunter; 10 of 19 hunters suffered from typhoid fever (5, p. 378)

3.8.2 Women's food acquisition work: Vegetable matter considered "starvation" food though it was gathered (4, p. 221).

food processing-yes

tool work-yes

housework-yes

3.8.3 Children and Elderly food acquisition work

food processing-yes

tool work-?

housework-yes

Food sharing patterns:

3.9.1 Percent meat kept by nuclear family of acquirer: See appendixed table for break down by individual hunters. Totals table for 1983 Yuqui hunters (4, p.226 table 2):

game takes (kg)	fish takes (kg)	game+fish (kg)	amount sold	percent sold	given away	percent given away
1169	1564.9	2733.9	300.6	11%	556.75	20%

3.9.2 Percent collected kept by nuclear family of acquirer

3.9.3 Kin bias (close kin fraction/non-relative fraction) Speculative since data is only coded in amounts given away total without specifying recipient. Since the entire population is decided from 14 individuals who were themselves closely related, a kin bias in sharing is a given.

3.9.4 Other specified sharing patterns: Most arguments result from accusations of withholding or failing to provide meat (4, p. 238). An adult female without a husband had to be present on a hunt to receive her fair share (3, p. 12). Unattended gardens often fall prey to the quick hands of neighbors (3, p. 36).

Given the opportunity, the Yuqui steal money from each other to buy things as the ownership is impossible to establish (3, p. 110). Snacking on hunts is common and organs are often consumed immediately which avoids sharing a large portion with one's relatives (3, p. 52). Once Stearman began doing favors for others, she entered into the "system of exchange involving debts and obligations" (3, p. 66).

In my own simple analysis of correlations in the 1983 Yuqui data (see attached table from source 4 and 5), I found that hunters that produced more fish and game received less (significant for game only, fish only, and total) and received from a significantly lower number of people for fish only and total. Those who foraged longest gave more and received less in 1983 (which makes sense since returns are calculated from time spent foraging). A possibly interesting pattern is seen if data from 1988 are included. Those hunters with higher return rates in 1998 received more in 1983 (p-value slightly less than 0.05). Perhaps this is a reflection of intergenerational food flows. Return rates between 1983 and 1988 are not significantly correlated and have a negative trend, but game takes however are significant between 1983 and 1988.

3.10 Food taboos—Yuqui say that coatis and kinkajou "taste bad and make you sick". These animals were rarely taken in 1983 but became more common with decreased prey selectivity in 1988 (5, p.379). This distaste (but not avoidance) includes olingo. It does not appear to be based on taboo, rather a claim that the taste is strong and that too eating too much of the fat induces vomiting (5, p. 384 note 4). Yuqui recite a number of old dietary taboos pertaining to age categories and pregnancy. "Twin" fruits were not eaten as they induced twin births. Pregnant women could not eat deer heads because deer have runny noses and that makes the children sick. Speth would say that this taboo lowers fat intake. Elderly Yuqui women (mid to late 40s) were prohibited from eating otter and catfish, neither of which were common in the diet (3, p. 98). The only functional taboos include insects including palm grubs but not larvae, bats, and snakes (6, p. 253). The dietary law is that to be eaten something must have wings or feet (3, p. 69).

4. Anthropometry

4.1 Mean adult height (m and f)

4.2 Mean adult weight (m and f)

4.3 Age specific child weight or height

5. Life History

5.1 Major causes of mortality (0-5, 5-60): Pre-contact mortality mostly warfare for all age groups

5.3 Juvenile survival rate (0-1, 0-15 m and f)

5.4 Adult survival rate (15- 55, 15-70 m and f)

5.5 Age first birth (m and f)

5.6 Completed family size (m and f)

5.7 Inter-birth-interval (f)

5.8.1 Age first marriage (m and f)

5.8.2 Mean number of "divorces" (age 15-50, m and f) Adultery is common and carried out in the woods and is "a constant worry for everyone." The greatest cause for divorce however is not alienation of affection but failure of the husband to provide ample supplies of meat. Divorce, like marriage, was simply a matter of which hammock one slept in (3, p. 96).

5.8.3 Polygyny (%males, % females, mean and range of spouse #): The Yuqui, like the Siriono, were probably polygynous at one time. The Yuqui were all monogamous at the time of contact, but this was likely a result of low numbers of adults and the dispute that "caused" the group to fission (3, p. 94).

5.8.4 Arranged marriage, bride purchase, evidence of coercion.
(kin preference)

5.8.5 Percent of time spent in childcare

Sex ratio

Stearman (3, p. 97) states that "at present, there are actually more women than men: 38 females and 35 males." This was in 1983 and includes all age categories.

In source 3, p. 122, Figure 13, Stearman gives an age profile in 5-year categories, which can be compared to the Chimore camp of 1996 (no source except CIRTB, see note in section 1.3 above and treat with skepticism):

1996

Age group	0-4	5-19	20+
Males	17	35	37
Females	9	20	20

1983

Age group	0-4	5-19	20+
Males	9	13	13
Females	7	14	17

Interesting differences but are they real?

5.9.1 sex ratio for 0-4 year-olds: 1996 CIRTB=1.9; 1983 Stearman=1.29

5.9.2 juvenile ratio (age 5-19) 1996=1.75; 1983=0.93

5.9.3 adult ratio (age 20+) 1986=1.85; 1983=0.76

5.9.4 sex biased homicide/neglect: Female infanticide and neglect more common than for males (3, p. 97).

Warfare/homicide

5.10.1 Percent adult male deaths due to warfare: Not documented. Attacks on and from Bolivian settlers were common starting around 1950. A typical incident occurred in 1955 when a group of settlers came across a Yuqui camp and staged a surprise attack. All the men were off hunting, and an unknown number of deaths occurred with 4 children being kidnapped. They were later to become servants to Bolivian farmers (6, p. 24).

5.10.2 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death (ratio) warfare with Bolivian settlers and peasants

5.10.3 Percent children killed before age 10: The first pregnancy was almost always aborted by the "breaking" method (3, p. 90, see below for description). Stearman cites the common group selectionist argument that "it is a means of controlling population growth to ensure the survival of the group" (3, p. 90). Suspicious cases of child death probably indicate continued infanticide through mission times. Male children were and still are preferred given the importance of hunting (3, p. 91) though male children were killed as well (3, p. 97).

5.10.4 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Prevalent infanticide prior to contact and still may occur. Customs included "breaking" of first child by father who would kneel on his pregnant wife's abdomen to expel the fetus, banging the child against a tree if the mother died, and women

killing their infants to spite the husbands for "some injustice" (1, note 5, p. 648). Clubfooted female child neglected during group move and drowned trying to cross a stream.

5.10.5 Percent females in residential group captured by raiding: assumed to be zero

6. Social Organization and interaction

6.1 Residential group size: Since contact residential size has been the same as population size (see section 1.3 above). Pre-contact Yuqui groups were on the order of 43, 24, and 21 individuals (5, p. 375), but it is not clear if they resided together or fissioned into small groups.

6.2 Mobility pattern: Frequent pre-contact movement, now settled at mission. Informants report that pre-contact Yuqui groups rarely stayed more than 3-4 days in one location, but this was during the time of repeated hostile interactions with Bolivian peasants (6. p. 250). Trekking had been abandoned by 1983 (5, p. 377).

6.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): Yuqui and Siriono bands are headed by a leader (referred to by missionaries, Holmberg, and neo-Bolivians as a chief) who are elder males considered the "father" of the band (1, p. 646). Papa Equita being the only headman of the Chimore camp that Stearman studied necessarily epitomizes the Yuqui concept of leadership—1) *saya* essentially not a slave, 2) good hunter, 3) senior status, and 4) charismatic (4, p. 222). The current pseudo-leader is Leonardo (ranks third in total game takes, see attached data sheet). He is entitled to first share of meat, but this rule is often broken, though an informant said "Yes, everyone has to give to Leonardo." Leonardo received from the greatest number of people during Stearman's study (4, p. 225). This puts him in a position to pass meat that he receives to others, an indication of power/influence (costly signaling?). Leonardo is "magnanimous about sharing" (4, p. 229). He only helps very little with gardening effort (4, p. 239). There is a slave class which has since contact begun to dissolve. Early mission records indicate that slaves are thinner than their *saya* counterparts (4, p. 227). Slave-like activities still occur in certain situations (ibid.). One way to overcome the slave status is to be good at hunting, apparently the strategy of Humberto (4, p.230 see attached data).

6.4 Post marital residence: Neolocality determined by the availability of trees for hanging hammocks (1, pp. 645-6). The preferred marriage is a cross-cousin, 58% (3, p. 117).

6.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): None, Yuqui had a system of raid-and-run.

6.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex) Close kin defend their own, but in cases where a mother thought her daughter was in the wrong, she would side with the her daughter's spouse, especially if he were a good provider of meat (3, p. 11).

6.7 Special friendships/joking relationships

6.8 misc. social relations. Teasing, taunting, and testing common between all individuals and to Stearman and return of anger and stubbornness bestows prestige (3, p. 9).

7. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion

7.1 Time allocation to RCR: Very little, no organized, repetitive social events (1, p. 639), and they go to bed shortly after dark (3, p. 128). They do have a universe consisting of ghosts and spirits (3, pp.129-132) that are handled through chanting. On the mission, Christian prayers are chanted as prayers at meetings (3, p. 140).

7.2 Specialization (shamans, etc): None, no religious or medical specialists. Knowledge of medicinal plants is limited (3, p. 38).

7.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): Death ritual--build "corpse house", destroy belongings, and chanting. Scarification of legs of the grievers is done with an agouti incisor.

Menstrual huts were constructed with a few fronds placed in the ground to serve as a screen (3, p. 53). No one except the mother could touch a newborn and a new mother was only visited by a select group of other women (3, p. 88). The new father was kept away from his family and commonly faster for one to several days and did not hunt (3, p. 89).

8. Other interesting features (maximum of 10)

1) No domesticated animals, not even the dog which is equated as a jaguar (1, p. 630 same as Siriono 2, p. 69). However, Timoteo, a poor hunter, temporarily drastically increased his hunting returns after a missionary gave him two dogs.

2) Shelters are "rude piles of palm branches" (1, p. 630 same as 2 pp. 34-38)

3) No fire-making methods and do not work stone, hides, or bone (1, p. 630 same as Siriono 2, p. 17, 22, 26)

4) Do not construct watercraft despite nearby rivers and lakes (1, p. 631 same as Siriono 2, p. 62, 103

5) Distinctive 2-meter long arrows which more than a few times found themselves lodged in a Bolivian peasant (1, p. 632)

6) Two types of hereditary marks—pockmark depression on back of the ear lobe and circular "punch" behind the ear (1, p, 634 and Siriono 2, p. 8)

7) Incidences of clubfootedness—2 of 31 children born since contact (1, p. 634 and 15% incidence among Siriono, 2, p. 9)

8) Children named after an animal killed by their father around the time of birth (1, p. 637)

9) Whistling as forest communication and to scare off potential enemies (1, p. 637)

10) Pottery limited and poorly made, no musical instruments, no spinning or weaving, basketry has little elaboration, vestigial traces of slavery practices and patrilinearity, and 16 terms for varieties of honey (1, p. 639)

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