

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20521
BIBLIOGRAPHIC INPUT SHEET

FOR AID USE ONLY
Batch 66

1. SUBJECT CLASSIFICATION	A. PRIMARY Food production and nutrition	AE50-0000-G240
	B. SECONDARY Rural sociology--Tunisia	

2. TITLE AND SUBTITLE
Rural life in Tunisia

3. AUTHOR(S)
LaMacchia, Linda; Steere, Carole; Ware, Janet; Ware, Lewis

4. DOCUMENT DATE 1967	5. NUMBER OF PAGES 199p.	6. ARC NUMBER ARC
--------------------------	-----------------------------	----------------------

7. REFERENCE ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS
Harvard

8. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES (Sponsoring Organization, Publishers, Availability)
(In Research Project in North Africa. Internal rpt.no.1)

9. ABSTRACT

10. CONTROL NUMBER PN-AAE-310	11. PRICE OF DOCUMENT
12. DESCRIPTORS Attitudes Cooperatives Family relations Tunisia	13. PROJECT NUMBER
	14. CONTRACT NUMBER CSD-297 Res.
	15. TYPE OF DOCUMENT

CSD-297 Rev.
PN-AAE-212

RURAL LIFE IN TUNISIA
Summer Observations, 1967

Linda LaMacchia
Carole Steere
Janet Ware
Lewis Ware

Internal Report 1
Harvard University
Research Project in North Africa
Sidi Bou Said, Tunisia

November 30, 1967 CSD 297

RURAL LIFE IN TUNISIA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWARD

John L. Simmons, Anne Hammons

PART ONE: A COOPERATIVE STATE FARM

SECTION A: THE FARM

Lewis Ware

INTRODUCTION	1
I. THE COOPERATIVE	3
A. Physical Description	
B. Administration and Administrative Personnel	
C. Technical Personnel and External Services	
D. Internal Services	
II. THE PEOPLE	
A. The Director, Salah Janoubi His history, His Relationship with his Workers, His Attitudes towards Agriculture and Credit, His Relation to People and Institutions on the Outside, His Role outside the Cooperative, His Attitude towards his Work and the Cooperative.	
B. <u>The Medjlis El Idara</u> , Their Origins, Their Family and Land Histories, Their Attitudes towards Education, Credit and Household Planning, Transition from the <u>Colon</u> to the Cooperative: Attitudes towards the Coop.	
III. <u>SUMMARY OF SECTION A</u>	21
IV. <u>APPENDIX TO SECTION A</u>	22
A. The Technical Staff The <u>agent technique</u> , the <u>adjoint technique</u> , the teachers.	22

B. The Commissions 23
Mohamed Ben Ayad, Night Watchman; Ali
Zerilli, Night Watchman.

C. Attitudes of Some Members of the
Cooperative on Education, Life Under
the Colons, the Cooperative Itself,
Their Own Lives and Individual
Planning 24
Hamoza Ziman, Dairyman; Mohamed
Shaheen, Vine Cutter; Salah Zaid,
Ordinary Worker, Olive Sector; Salah
Jerbi Worker in the Olive Sector;
Hasiib Antar, Dairyman; Mohamed
Bechir, Vat Tender; Salah Aissa; Amor
Saadoni, Worker in the Citrus Section.

D. Notes on a Meeting of the Medjlis
El Idara. 27

SECTION B: THE WOMEN

Janet Ware

	INTRODUCTION	30 - 31
I.	FAMILY BACKGROUND	32
II.	CHILDHOOD-YOUTH	33
III.	EDUCATION	34
	A. Formal and Informal Education	
	B. Attitudes Towards Education	
	C. Educational Aspirations for Their Children?.	
IV.	HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIPS	36
	A. Courtship	
	B. Hopes for Their Daughters	
	C. Marriage Janoubi, Zerilli.	
V.	PREGNANCY, BIRTH CONTROL, ABORTION	43
VI.	CHILDBEARING	44
	Nursing, Toilet Training, Thumb- Sucking, Mother-Child Relationship.	

VII.	SEXUAL ATTITUDES Sexual Attitudes and Joking, Physical Contact.	51
VIII.	CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD Mobility, Limits of life on the Cooperative, Visitors, Interest in Life outside the Cooperative, Attitudes toward Politics and Women's Rights, Radio, Television, the Cinema and Reading Material.	53
IX.	ECONOMIC STATUS A. Salary and Savings B. Social Differentiation	60
X.	HABITATION A. Janoubi B. Zerilli	65
XI.	WORK	72
XII.	DIET AND EATING HABITS A. Diet B. Preparation C. Eating Habits D. Pets	77
XIII.	PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE A. Dress B. Hygiene	83
XIV.	HEALTH	88
	CONCLUSION OF SECTION B.	92

PART TWO: TWO PRIVATE FARM FAMILIES

Linda Lamacchia, Carole Steere

PREFACE	94
INTRODUCTION	96

I.	THE PLACE	98
	A. EL ROUD	
	B. Menzel Bou Zelfa	
II.	FAMILY LIFE	103
	A. The families	
	B. Architectural Plan of the Houses	
III.	COMPARATIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVELS	111
	A. Living Standards	
	B. Land and Farm Equipment, Livestock and Crops	
	C. Attitudes Towards Land	
	D. Plans	
IV.	CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE TWO FAMILIES BEGAN WORKING	119
	A. The Region	
	B. Inheritance	
	C. Upbringing and Tradition	
	D. Outlooks	
V.	ATTITUDES TOWARD THE STATE, CREDIT BANK AND COOP	124
	A. The Baskets	
	B. The Amaras	
	C. Conclusion	
VI.	RELATIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ROLES AS CITIZENS, PRESTIGE, SOURCES OF INFORMATION	136
VII.	ROLE OF THE WOMEN AS FARM WIVES	139
VIII.	CHARACTER OF THE FARMER	142
IX.	CHANGING ORIENTATIONS OF NUCLEAR FAMI- LY VIS-A-VIS EXTENDED FAMILY	144
X.	LIFE CYCLE	146
	A. Infancy	
	Childhood and nutrition, Health, Childhood and adolescence	
	B. Childrearing	
	Toys and play, A child's name, Discipline, Education Role of Women Housekeeping, Eating Habits	

XI.	RELIGION AND CAUSALITY	168
XII.	SOCIAL GROUP VERSUS INDIVIDUAL	171
	GENERAL CONCLUSION TO PART II.	
	GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN TERMS	176
	APPENDICES	
	<u>House Plans</u>	
	Janoubi Home, El Amal Cooperative	179
	Zerilli House, El Amal Cooperative	180
	House Plan, Amara Family, El Roud	181
	<u>Genealogies</u>	
	Sons of Mohamed Barket	182
	Daughter of Mohamed Barket	183
	Amara Family	184
	Ben Kahla family - related by marriage to the Amara family	185

Foreword

Since 1963, the Harvard North Africa Project has carried out research in the areas of education, health and agriculture. The multi-disciplinary research programs are designed and executed by faculty members in the social and medical sciences with the goal of improving the methods and measures of economic and social planning. The research therefore is of a cooperative nature with a practical purpose.

The observations of this report are the result of the Project's need for information on farm life and the desire of four Peace Corps Volunteers to live with rural families.

Peace Corps participation in the Project began in 1966 with the initiative of two Volunteers who were then teaching English in Tunisia. Jim Allman and John Rice spoke with the Project director, David Kinsey, who was impressed by their command of Arabic and knowledge of the country. He suggested that they supervise a series of field interviews in the western plateau village of Tadjerouine. The results of their six weeks' work were so rewarding both to Harvard and to the Volunteers that the following summer four other Volunteers offered their services and were gladly accepted by John Simmons, the new Project director.

The four Volunteers, a married couple and two young women, were already more directly involved in local life than the average Volunteer in Tunisia's largely professional and urban Peace Corps program. They felt, however, that the intense experience of living for an extended time in an Arab household would deepen their perception

and expand their appreciation of their Peace Corps work.

The Volunteers began their home observations with the minimum of explicit directions and no attempt was made to enforce a rigid methodology. The written results are varied, rich, uneven, and alive. As raw material for gaining an understanding of Tunisian family life, the Volunteers' observations can be useful. For understanding some of the tensions created when an eager and perceptive Volunteer rubs against the harsh grain of a foreign society, they can be invaluable.

The approach to data collection was that of participant-observer. The Volunteers shared family life for five weeks. An outline of the required data provided a framework for observation and reporting. A brief discussion of interviewing and probing techniques preceded the family stays. Daily journal notes were organized into a weekly report. When the Volunteers met at the summer field station of the Project one day a week, they exchanged reports and views. Readings before and during the stays included family and village studies.

The Volunteers had little or no formal training in Anthropology or the social sciences; three had majored in Languages and the fourth in History and Linguistics. Their reports have been edited only to minimize ambiguities, not to alter the original language or intent.

Despite the objective and dispassionate tone used by the Volunteers, the reader will sometimes sense their confusion and uneasiness. The sections on the women's discussions of sex and passion, the

riotous indiscipline of the children, and the apparent callousness of the men toward their wives reveal some of the Volunteers' tensions. These were strains upon the Volunteers and were not allowed to affect the relationships that they were building with their families, which were warm and strong.

An important criterion for selection of the families was the size of their land holdings. The Amaras own slightly less than the area average; the Barkets more. Djanoubi is responsible for a large 3700-acre state-farm cooperative--an institution that Tunisia sees as one of the answers to its deep-rooted agricultural problems.

One must be cautious, despite this, in accepting these families as typical. Local Tunisian officials suggested several families from which these were selected, and each family was connected in some way with official Tunisian structure. Mounir Barket is a board member of the regional agricultural bank, one of the earliest members of his Cooperative, and a close and trusted friend of the powerful families that control his town. Salah Djanoubi is a party appointee to the directorship of a large cooperative, a powerful and responsible position. The Amaras are related by the marriage of their sister to the bright young cheikh of El Roud. These families are, then, allied with Tunisia's course of political progress; moreover, they feel that they have benefited from the recent changes. This optimism and faith in their futures and that of their country is evident; other farm families do not share these attitudes to the same extent.

Although reflected in their national involvement, their optimism is also based on a proven sense of personal worth. These are all men who have won their places in the world on their own: through party militancy in Salah's case; or by sacrificial hard work and acumen as in the case of the prosperous Munir, who made his work clothes from blue-dyed flour sacks in his youth; or by the careful, thrifty family cooperation of the Amaras. They have seen that they can shape their futures and are alive with the self-confidence they have gained. In this also they are probably atypical of their rural traditional society. It is the more remarkable then that having slipped some of the economic and traditional bonds of their society, the three families have retained so many of its social and institutional forms. Despite appreciable differences in education, income and social level, there is little difference in the family structure, style of life, child-rearing techniques, attitudes toward government, work, their children's futures, either among these families or among those, as seen through Volunteer eyes, of their poorer neighbors and farm workers. A way of life changes slowly; witness the conflict between Salah and Adhia, and the seemingly timeless patterns traced by the Volunteers are indeed in the process of change.

Another caution would be against dismissing as superficial or easy the generalizations occasionally ventured in the papers. The syndrome of characteristics involved in change in developing

countries is largely cross-cultural. The Volunteers' insights into these cultural confrontations are valid in many contexts and could serve as an introduction to family life in other societies as well as a preparation for any intensive overseas experience.

What did the summer experience mean to the Volunteers? Carole Steere writes that:

My original interest in participating in a family stay stemmed from some of the basic reasons I joined the Peace Corps. I was very curious about how other human beings live their lives and think within their world. In addition, I hoped to see whether it were genuinely possible to view existence through the eyes of someone from a different culture by living that culture with him on a day to day, face to face basis. The Harvard Project offered me the chance to achieve this personal goal as well as provide descriptive information on Tunisian farm life which would perhaps aid in the interpretation of the economic data being gathered in the agricultural credit study--a study which could have a profound effect on governmental planning here in Tunisia and possibly in other developing countries as well.

The actual work was conducted within a general economic framework outlined at the beginning of the Project. But we were given the freedom and responsibility to create our own subdivisions from the initial guideline. Weekly reports and verbal discussions provided many opportunities for a stimulating exchange of ideas among those involved in the work.

Looking back, what actually did this family stay mean to me? Primarily it gave me a chance to further investigate and meaningfully tie together some of the aspects of Tunisian life which I had already been exposed to but did not as yet understand. Because I was forced to speak nothing but Arabic my fluency was greatly improved. This increased speaking ability has been a source of great enjoyment and personal enrichment in the kinds of intercultural relationships I have been able to have here. My exposure to the Project as a whole (both the family stay and the quantitative agricultural study) has increased my awareness and interest in the

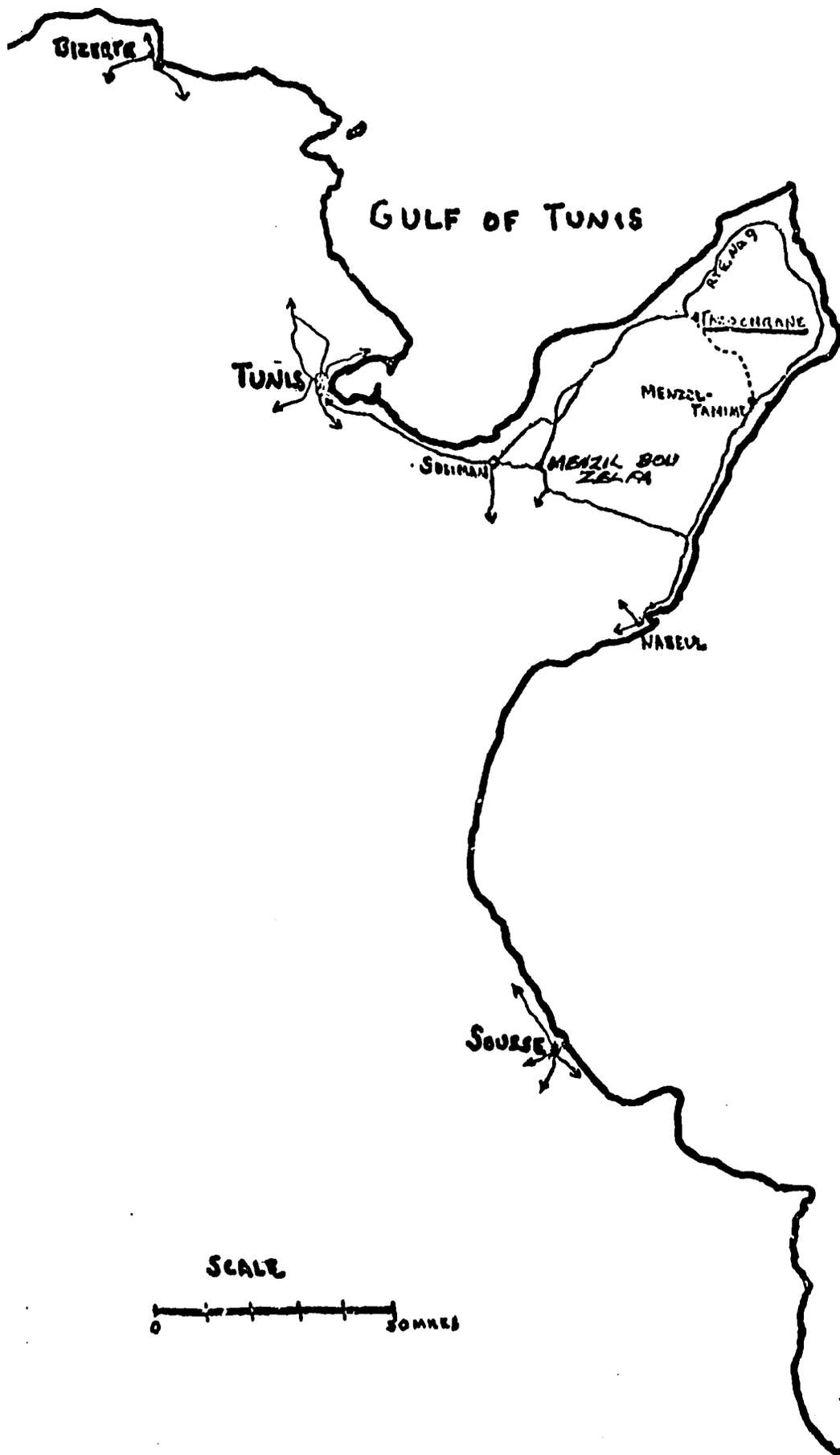
relationship between institutions and people's daily lives, particularly the role and effects of government planning in the developing world on the existing value system and future happiness of the individual. My concept of what it means to be an international citizen rather than simply an American and the responsibilities such a realization implies in furthering the cause of intercultural understanding has broadened. Last and most important for my immediate present is the deep personal friendship which the family and I were able to develop together--a relationship where two cultures meshed successfully because we loved and respected each other as human beings. For me, then, the family stay was and is a rich and significant part of my Peace Corps experience and perhaps a determining factor in my future career choice.

* * * * *

The report was edited with the assistance of Mrs. Janet Putnam, an ex-Peace Corps Volunteer in the Philippines.

Anne Hammons
John Simmons

NORTH-EASTERN TUNISIA



PART ONE

"A Cooperative State Farm"

THE FARM

INTRODUCTION

The Harvard Project in North Africa first caught my attention and interest during our Peace corps training program in the summer of 1965, during a lecture given by Professor Leon Carl Brown. Soon after arriving in Tunis in the fall of 1966, my wife and I met the Project's Field Director, John L. Simmons, and volunteered our services. As a result we helped to conduct a pilot educational and literacy research at Menzel Temime on the Cap Bon peninsula during our 1967 spring vacation, where most of the two weeks were spent rounding up subjects and administering a questionnaire with the aid of two Tunisian interpreters.

Harvard's research plans in the same area for the summer of 1967 provided us with the opportunity to live as members of a Tunisian family. Being active participants in the daily routine would fill a long recognized gap in our total Tunisian experience for, although we had met numerous families throughout the country, we had never yet experienced firsthand observation and participation. Because our working day would not be divided between professional commitments at school and the necessary demands on our time by the family itself, the situation seemed ideal.

Finding a family in the environs of Soliman, the summer project headquarters, proved an eight-day chore, as it was essential that we find a family that could bear the financial burden of two additional family members. It had been made abundantly clear to us that to offer to pay for our room and board would be an insult to our new family. It was the efficient délégué of Soliman, Béchir El Ayadi, who finally located a family, following long days of vain searching on our part. With one telephone call to Cheik Rachid of El Roud he found a Tunisian home for us in Sidi Nasir, and another for fellow volunteer Carol Streere in El Roud itself. The following day we visited our prospective family--that of Salah Janoubi, the director of the El Amal Cooperative, and soon after we moved in.

The cooperative de polyculture called "El Amal" is located in the Sidi Nasir district of the Cheikhhat (a region formerly under the rule of a Cheik) of El Roud, about fifteen kilometers off the main road which runs north from Soliman to the tip of the cape at El Haouaria. The farm itself lies among low, rolling hills between the coastal mountains and a spine of hills that separate the two shores of the peninsula. The sea is at a distance of four kilometers and can be seen from the main house against the horizon which, on a clear day, is broken occasionally by the massive form of the island of Zembra.

I found that at El Amal I was left alone to do my work as I saw fit. My method of collecting material was simple: I decided beforehand that I would limit my investigation to the director and the members of the Medjlis El Idara. First I made the acquaintance of each of the eight members, made a copy of their work schedules, and each day, armed with a set of questions in my mind; I would walk out into the fields to talk to these men. After taking notes on our conversations, I would return to the Janoubi house where I would type my observations verbatim immediately and then wait for Salah Janoubi, the head of the house and El Amal's director, to come home for lunch. After eating I would usually engage him in conversation on various subjects, most corresponding to those which the members of the Medjlis El Idara had already discussed with me. I would then go back to the fields and repeat the entire procedure once more before dinner. Bi-weekly, on Saturdays, my wife and I would go to Soliman for a conference with the Harvard Project's Director, John L. Simmons, during which our observations were discussed and new suggestions on methodology were offered.

9

The field work was terminated after six weeks. During that time, when I was not working with the director and the Medjlis El Idara, I also had the opportunity to observe the cooperative members at large and interview several of them in the fields or at home. Those observations are incorporated into this report in the form of an appendix along with other information that is extraneous to the main topics discussed.

I. THE COOPERATIVE

A. Physical Description

The cooperative itself consists of a small cluster of buildings: an administrative building, a cow barn, the mechanics' workshop, the director's house and several small outbuildings used for various purposes. The members live in the vicinity, sometimes as much as five kilometers away, in agglomerations of gourbis (small huts) of stone and thatch which dot the landscape. For their needs there is a small store and barber shop not far from the main house, and a large warehouse which serves to store the coop's aging wine.

El Amal is an enterprise of about 1,500 hectares of which 700 are cultivated, 1/7 given over to olive trees, 1/7 to wheat, and the rest to various crops of oranges, peanuts, melons, garden and truck vegetables. The greatest part of the remaining land is devoted to the cultivation of wine grapes, the main cash crop of the coop.

Half of the land is not cultivated but covered with a type of scrub which indicates a poor soil. This scrub, which covers most of the hills bordering the sea, is likely to remain. The coop hasn't the necessary capital to make this land produce and, being too near the sea, it would not likely be good for anything, certainly not for wheat or fruit trees which might be destroyed by the wind. At present, these scrubby hills serve as a windbreak for the fields below and prevent their erosion.

The land is used in basically the same way as it was under the colons, the White Sisters; the soil conditions are best for vineyards and olive trees. The other crops are the coop's idea, based on the demands of the market and the plan technique. The coop is larger than the former domain, having absorbed the neighboring Pordeau estate, the buildings of which are used to shelter half of the coop's herd of 120 excellent Holstein cows.

B. Administration and Administrative Personnel

Superficially, the cooperative seems administratively and technically simple. The administration is headed by a director, Salah Janoubi, who is appointed by the Service d'Agriculture, a division of the Ministry of Planning and Finance. He is also the president of the coop, a post normally elective and usually filled by a member of the coop. Because it is a new coop (organized just two years ago), the Service decided to centralize its control. The director is assisted by two full-time secretaries, Zaid and Mongi Derwish, the latter also being head of the commission that cares for the livestock. All the members belong to various "Commissions" whose essential task is to advise the director on matters concerning their respective crops. There is a commission for each crop, and at the general yearly meeting of the coop each member, regardless of his particular function, may choose to belong to any commission, according to his inclination. At this meeting a Conseil d'Administration (the Arabic Medjlis El Idara or administrative board) is chosen. This is a group of eight workers whose job is to meet with the director on a bi-weekly basis to plan and discuss the work of the preceding and following months. These men are elected by the general membership, usually on the basis of skill, rather than popularity, and they often have direct responsibility in the coop as heads of the various work-forces called chantiers, such as the chantier de construction, -de grain, -de cave, etc.

C. Technical Personnel and External Services

Aside from this direct participation in the affairs of the cooperative, there are other people present who have well-defined functions but do not depend directly on the coop for their livelihood: for instance, the adjoint technique must report on and recommend treatment for crop disease. His immediate superior is the agricultural engineer for the entire region and he is responsible to him for a monthly report. Soil and water conservation is the field of the technical agent. He generally works independently or

with his own chantier which he hires from the outside and with which he works to build terraces and dams against erosion. He depends for direction on the Service de Conservation des Sols et des Eaux (Soil and Water Conservation Service) under the regional Commissariat de Développement in Nabeul, and has less to do with the internal functioning of the coop than has Hamouda, the adjoint.

D. Internal Services

In addition to the aid the cooperative receives from the outside, the coop itself provides certain internal services: there is a barber shop for the men, the barber being a member whose salary is paid by the coop; and there are two centres de formation, one in a room of the main building where literacy classes are held in the evenings for the men, and the other located one kilometer away in the former Bordeau house on the other farm, where instruction is given the women in sewing, embroidery, weaving and general handicrafts. The coop also rents a television set which Salah has installed in the main house for the pleasure of the workers since there are no cafés or towns for miles around.

II. THE PEOPLE

A. The Director, Salah Janoubi

His History. Salah Janoubi is a pleasant person, and extremely dedicated to his work: his hours are long and he accepts this as part of his job. He is not a traditional type, yet he is unwilling to take uncalculated risks. His direction of the affairs of the cooperative is sure, confident, and thoughtful, but not dynamic. He is a Sahelian and was born in Touza, twelve kilometers from Monastir, as were his father and grandfather. The latter was the Cheik of Touza, had three wives and was a very influential person. Cheik Janoubi worked extensive land holdings in olive groves which, upon his death, were divided among his children. Salah's father received two or three hundred pieds d'olives (olive trees), most of which he sold before his death in 1946. After selling his holdings he became a merchant dealing in the purchase of raw olives from which he extracted oil with his own press and marketed the oil in the surrounding area with his own truck.

Salah was born in 1926, one of seven children of whom only himself and one sister are living. She married and had three daughters before her husband died, leaving the support of the children in the hands of her only brother.

Salah went to primary school in Touza and in 1939 took the entrance examination for the Lycee Carnot to which he was admitted. His father was wealthy enough to support him as a full pensionnaire (boarding student) even after he changed schools and enrolled in the Collège Sadiki in 1941. In 1942-43, during the German and Italian occupation of Tunisia, school was suspended for a year at the time when Salah was passing into the fifth year of secondary school. He was forced to return to Touza where he remained until he heard that the schools were to be reopened and that an exam de passage was to be given for admission to the higher classes at Sadiki. He begged his father to allow him to return to Tunis in the summer to prepare for the autumn exam. When his father refused,

fearing for the boy's safety, Salah was bitterly disappointed. He learned years later, when he returned to Sadiki for a certificat de scolarization, that he had been automatically passed into the fifth year and could have continued his studies. "Now," he said, "all the boys I went to school with have become hauts fonctionnaires (high-ranking employees) in the government, especially Mohammed Aleya, who was one of my pals then."

He returned to Touza and learned his father's business, which he carried on after the latter's death until Independence in 1956, when he got his first real break. Because of his long record of party activity, begun while at Sadiki, he was called by the party to attend a one-month training project at the Ecole de Cadres Neo-Destouriens (Neo-Destourian Party Training School). As a result of his training he acquired the position of secretary in the Federation Neo Destourienne, which took him to many different parts of the country: first to Menzel Bourgiba in 1957, then to Mahdia and Nabeul, and finally to Grombalia where, in 1961, the Société El Amal was organized from the former domains of the White Sisters. Salah was named as its director, a position which he has held from that day to this although the Société has since become the cooperative.

About his early history Salah tells me an interesting story: "In 1952, I was helping out a friend for a month by driving his louage (hired car) for him between Tunis and Touza. This was at the time of the manifestation against France. One evening I reached Sousse and advised my passengers that I could not go on to Touza because I would have to pass through Djemmal where there had been a bombing and a curfew had been imposed. One of my passengers, the brother of the Cheik of Djemmal, assured me that the curfew had been lifted three days before, so I took the risk and drove on. I was not surprised to find it still in effect and myself arrested and thrown into prison with my passengers. We were all questioned, and everybody was released except me because the gendarmes had found my party membership card. I was afraid of being beaten and blamed for the bombing, and, well, I was aware of the tactics of the French police and was prepared

to confess to anything. In the meantime, the Cheik's brother got word to the owner of my louage, who knew Radhia's (my future wife's) father. He was a bus driver in town, and his boss was a big man and very influential with the French. My friend asked Radhia's father to ask his boss to intercede on my behalf. I was lucky. The man got me sprung and I went to thank them all, especially Radhia's father. I learned then that he had marriageable daughters and asked him to choose one for me. I married Radhia six years later."

Salah did not marry Radhia out of gratitude to her father. In fact, he did not even see her until the day they were married. He had other motivations. Salah came from a fairly well-to-do family which was against his marrying into a family any less wealthy than his. When he was younger he dutifully became engaged to his cousin, but she died shortly thereafter. Under the influence of Bourgiba he decided that he ought to have the right to marry into a family of his own choosing. So when he met Radhia's father he decided this family was the one for him. This man was his "destiny." He recalls this as being a revolt against Tunisian tradition for which he gives this rationalization: "If you marry into a wealthy family you can count on a lot of money problems later on. If you marry into a less wealthy family like my wife's, the chances are better for you to be understood by your wife and get along with your in-laws."

His Relationship With His Workers. Salah gets along fairly well with his workers. He is respected and most of the men, instead of calling him Si Salah (Mister Salah, the normal title of respect in Arabic), call him 'Amm Salah (Uncle Salah), a title given to a man in authority. He hesitates to judge them, as they do him. He claims a certain amount of democracy in his relationship with them, based on free expression of opinions and participation in decision-making via the conseil and the commissions. But in fact, because of his background and education, he is somewhat removed from the workers and tends to be more authoritarian and paternalistic than democratic in his attitude. Yet he does listen to their advice, but he qualifies this by stating: "I listen to their advice

when it's good advice. I have no objection to people from the outside coming in to speak to my men. It's the men in the coop whom I don't like talking to their pals about things that don't concern them. For instance, Hamouda, the adjoint, is a young and inexperienced man. It's his job to report to me concerning the results of his inspection tours, but he doesn't have the right to tell the men to start a treatment. I like independence in a man, but independence only in things that concern him. Kilani Bekir knows the farm very well--he is second to me in knowledge of the land--but sometimes he becomes very sentimental about little injustices and doesn't think things out. He can do what he wants according to his own judgement, but in things he doesn't know he must ask me. That goes for all the members of the Medjlis El Idara. They are all good fellows, some better formé than others. I don't wait for a meeting of the council to decide things together; we make decisions on the spot sometimes, but each according to his responsibility."

Salah has definite ideas about his men and their relationships to the cooperative. He believes that the coop has a social aim: "The farmers have made the transition from colonialism to the cooperative with a number of problems. They are mostly illiterate. Now they are more 'civilized.' We have provided them with an adult school; we organize lectures and trips throughout the Republic. They work better, see more, understand more, comprehend their responsibilities. They are better people."

Salah feels also that the coop must attempt to raise not only the farmer's income and form his mentalité, but raise his standard of living as well. He has embarked on an ambitious program of housing construction in order to move his 120 member families into new homes. To do this he had to choose between two alternatives. He was offered a loan of 6000 Dinars (about \$12,000) at 7% interest which he did not accept; he considers money invested in housing to be 'dead' money. He decided to finance the houses by asking 500 millimes (about \$1) per month from every member, plus a free day of labor a month. With savings on labor and materials, he expects to finish the project in six years.

His Attitudes Towards Agriculture and Credit.

There is a serious lack of water at El Amal. This seems to be the leading consideration in the decision to plant one crop or another. The other considerations, such as market price or demand for a certain crop, seem to be secondary. If he could, Salah would like to get a jump on everything. Mainly, he would like to produce crops that ripen early and for which he could get a high price on the market. He is always looking for a crop that meets market requirements as well as those of the environment. He feels that sometimes it is necessary to try two or three times to be certain that a crop will not be successful. He is not afraid to invest money, either credit or profits if he feels it has the power to produce, and he will spare no expense to realize his projects. But he will not use credit for projects that in themselves are not financially profitable, such as the forementioned housing project. Salah feels that "you have to spend money to earn." He also believes in experimentation to improve his crops. For example, regarding the pepper, tomato, melon and peanut crops, Salah explained that in the Sahel they plant peppers in October in order to harvest them in March for the opening of the season. Shelter from the winter elements in the Sahel is provided by rows of carrots planted between the rows of peppers. He tried this method on the Cap Bon but failed because he found the winter to be considerably longer than in the South. Next year he will plant peppers earlier in September, using not only carrots but some other type of shelter as well, every twenty meters. He will leave the carrots in longer than usual, even if they begin to rob the peppers of valuable nutrients in the soil. In order to counterbalance this, he will fertilize with cow dung mixed with water and urine which he can pump out of the barn. In this way he hopes to profit from the high market prices at the beginning of the season.

The tomatoes didn't succeed as he had hoped. This is the first time he has tried them on the farm, and he received much advice from the members on the matter. The crop failed because he did not

provide adequate shelter, He chose a well-protected area, not too large and surrounded by cypress trees, and thought that because of the natural shelter it was not necessary to erect the shelters every twenty meters among the rows. This did not suffice, the growth of the crop was retarded, and when he discovered this he rushed to construct the shelters, but it was done too late. The tomatoes reached the market in middle season.

The melons, on the other hand, had great success. He chose the area adjacent to the sea for his field. Because of the sandy soil the area is not suitable for peppers or tomatoes. Water was pumped up from a nearby wed (stream) for irrigation. The crop prospered and he got it to market early enough to make a large profit. Next year Salah plans to raise an early crop and a late crop, in order to reap a double gain, but he knows the late crop will depend on the weather: if it is hot in September and October, people will buy melons. He was very proud that the other cooperatives in the region were impressed by his success.

Again, he tried peanuts for the first time. Salah planted four fields, two with American peanuts, the other two with a Libyan variety. He is experimenting to see which strain is best. If everything works out well, he will plant a new crop next year. He chose peanuts because of their adaptability to the soil and their stable price on the Tunis market.

His Relation to People and Institutions on the Outside. Salah is in constant contact with various people outside the cooperative. Their relation to him and the role they play in the affairs of the coop are very difficult to discern. The délégué (regional party leader) plays a political role. Since agriculture is state-controlled, the délégué, as the chief political officer of the region, is usually called on to coordinate the coop's dealings with the State. Salah consults the délégué frequently and is consulted by him in return.

The Union Locale des Cooperatives is a coordinating body for the activities of the various coops

in the region with regard to the Union Régionale in Nabeul. The Union supplies the coop's needs with regard to personnel, machinery, etc. Control of the coops comes directly from the Ministry of Plan and Finances through the Service des Cooperatives. The director of the local union for Sidi Nasir is also president of another large cooperative in Cap Bon, and of a pré-cooperative. He is a personal friend of Salah.

The délégué, the agricultural engineer and the head of the local union are always present for consultation when Salah wishes to make a major modification of the plan technique for El Amal, since the plan is the expression of the government's agricultural projects.

The party is also represented at El Amal by the central Sidi Nasir cell whose membership totals 25, eight of which form the executive committee that meets every two weeks. The local cell is one of eight in the region and the committee is drawn exclusively from the members of the cooperative. Salah is a member of the committee and is in charge of its finances. He says that the party naturally has a voice in every sphere of activity at the coop but does not interfere in its internal affairs. More important is the party's propagandistic function, which pertains to the development of proper social and political attitudes among the workers, or as Salah calls it, "formation de cadres" (education of party groups).

Whatever his relationship is to these men, he rarely speaks of them in more than general terms. Yet he is very emphatic in stating that he welcomes all their visits to the coop, official and unofficial, but prefers each to address the members within the limits of his professional capacity. He himself prefers to communicate to his men all ideas that come from the outside, and does not like his authority to be pre-empted.

His Role Outside the Cooperative. Adjoining the cooperative of El Amal are two other coops, El Rawda and El Zohar, which were at one time directed by the head of another nearby coop. Wed Zargis.

Three months after his installation, the director was removed as incompetent and a new director put in his place, but the new director had a hard time getting things moving. The délegué of Soliman called Salah into his office one day and asked him if he would accept the combined directorship of the three cooperatives. Salah decided against such a position in favor of an "advisory" capacity. In reality, he became the "director" of El Rawda and El Zohar, with his own ad-joints and staff. Discussing the problems of the cooperatives; he claims that the esprit de corps of the members is excellent, but weak direction, a lack of water, and poor land have combined to pose serious problems for the survival of the two coops. Once the two organizations find themselves on a firmer footing he would like to see his role reduced and the coops become self-governing.

I had the occasion to visit El Rawda one day with Salah. The cooperative has 640 hectares of land, 100 of which are devoted to olives, 200 to cereals, the other half unused and covered with scrubs. The farm is worked by 48 cooperateurs. Salah indicated that the coop is not in the best of shape because its crops are not diversified and depend too much on water; rainfall has been very scant lately. He suggested to the coop that it raise tomatoes, using the water of a nearby spring for irrigation. The spring has always been there but no one came up with a feasible plan to pump the water out. Salah wanted to see the source himself; he felt confident that the water could be taken out at a minimum of cost. If the water source was not constant, he would suggest the digging of a reservoir using the free labor of the members and paying the rental of pumping equipment with the state subsidy given for conservation of water sources. He had talked this over already with the technical agent and the agricultural engineer and they agreed. If the water source was constant, a simple pumping operation would do.

The cooperative of El Rawda has two buildings, a small office and a huge barn. There we met the President and two of his workers who were to take us to the source. It was easy to understand just why Salah is so important to the coop and why he is really its boss.

The president of the coop is one of the veteran farmers, an old man, feeble and ill, who walked out to greet us with the aid of a cane.

After seeing the source Salah was satisfied that there was no need for a reservoir. He returned to the coop where the entire membership was waiting anxiously for him. When he said that a simple pump would do the job, there was a great sigh of relief, and 48 voices said "baraka-allahu-fik" (thank God). Salah spent another hour there giving advice on a host of other matter, walking around the barn followed by a grateful entourage, pointing out improvements to be made, making suggestions, etc. As he was about to leave, Salah asked if there was some fresh corn he could take back with him for his dinner table. There was a scurry to get the corn, and in addition to this droit de seigneur he was offered a choice ^{among} six healthy watermelons. Everyone said good-bye and heaped blessings on Salah for his help and his encouragement.

His attitude Towards His Work and the Cooperative.

Salah is genuinely dedicated to the idea of cooperative farming as a social ideal and as the best way to improve the economic status of the peasant in Tunisia. He is a man who is thrifty by nature and takes no uncalculated risks. He feels that he must save money. One of his secretaries is also the head of the section which deals with livestock maintenance. His budget is small and he has to cut corners. He can't afford to dig wells by mechanical means and will always try hand-digging before anything else. He does not like to pay off loans with profits. He thinks of his job and certain others as being special. He stated that his men are not paid according to their responsibilities but according to the degree of technical ability they possess. For instance, the driver of the combine receives twice the pay of the head of all the work-gangs, who has more responsibility. "The men accept responsibility as part of the job; they don't expect to be paid for it!" The coop, to Salah's mind, is the only institution which has the power to better the peasant's lot. He is convinced that the yearly benefits must not be passed immediately on to the members but must be used to reduce the coop's debt and buy new machinery as quickly as possible. "The stronger the coop, the better the future will be for the men."

And he wants to preserve the resources of the coop to the greatest extent possible; "The Sisters never practiced crop rotation; they always left a parcel fallow for a year or two. We want to keep our soil fertile so we plant nitrogen-giving legumes and never let the earth go uncultivated. The Sisters let their vines grow and never cut them back. They wanted maximum yield but they tired out the vines. We cut them back, taking a medium yield but keeping the vines healthy."

B. The Medjlis El Idara

The eight members of the Medjlis El Idara, or administrative board, are:

- Kilani Bekir, age 39, married, six children, head of the work gangs (chef de chantier).
Jaber El Beji, age 44, married (two wives), ten children, dairyman.
Amor Sahli, age 37, married six children, works the company store.
Khemais Miled, age 32, married, two children, caporal (corporal) de chantier under Bekir.
Ahmed Mouria, age 46, married, seven children, chef de construction (foreman of the building crew).
Sadok Khelil, age 24, unmarried, works the company store with Amor.
Mongi Derwish, age 24, unmarried, secretary to Salah and chef d'elevage (in charge of livestock).
Mekki Barguellil, age 41, married, four children, caporal de chantier under Bekir.

Their Origins. All the men were born in the Cap Bon region, either in Sidi Nasir or in the Grombalia area. A sizeable number of workers outside the board with whom I spoke were born in the Cheikhat of Dakhla, also on the Cap Bon. To a man, they came from families that had migrated from somewhere else, usually during the lifetime of the great-grandfather just at the beginning of the protectorate period. Of all the members of the board, only Salah is not a native of the region. I might say in passing that this fact has little bearing on the men's acceptance of his leadership; they all recognize that the Sahelians have always been favored because of their wealth and superior education, and they bear no hard feelings. The men's great-grandfathers came from the

South--mostly from the interior, from the arid steppes, from Kairouan and Sidi Bou Zid, and sometimes from as far away as Tripoli as in the case of Khemais. Only Amor Shali claims a Sahelian origin, from a little town outside Mahdia. The families migrated for one reason; a lack of work brought on by poor agricultural conditions and loss of land to the French colons.

Their Family and Land Histories. I was looking among the men for those whose land histories followed the "landless-landed-landless" pattern, as did that of many families shortly after the dissolution of the habous properties in 1956. I wanted to find families who were originally landless, received land in habous, and lost it again before coming to work on the coop. No such families were to be found at El Amal. If they had been, I might have found a clue to their transition from private ownership to cooperative ownership. The pattern was not there. None of the members of the council ever possessed land of his own; neither did the majority of their fathers and grandfathers. Their fathers were agricultural day-laborers, like themselves before they joined the coop. Among their ancestors, those who did have land had always had it (it was never habous land) and had watched it melt away--by attrition, by inheritance, by loss to the colons, or by selling it piece by piece to feed their families. The story of Jaber El Beji's family is a good example:

"My father was born 95 years ago in El Hammama in the Sidi Bou Zid district. He was a farmer and had 50 hectares of olive trees and wheat. My mother at one time had 70 hectares, but her inheritance was sold before she married. My father owned his land outright, but lost it after 50 years because he hadn't registered it. The French took it piece by piece. He became a laborer on the local colon farms and began wandering from area to area, from farm to farm. He wound up in Grombalia and went back to Kairouan to find a wife. I was born in 1923 in Grombalia, also the birthplace of my brothers and sisters. I married my first wife, Mabrouka, there in 1943; she brought no land. I did the same type of work as my father. I married Aissa ten years later. My father, who became too old to work, wandered back and forth among his children,

living off them. I stayed in Grombalia until 1963, when I came to El Amal."

Their Attitudes Towards Education, Credit, And Household Planning. All the men are functionally illiterate. Some have gone to school for a year or two with the result that they can read several words in Arabic. Education to them means the key to success. All the men agree that education would have made a difference in their lives. When I reminded some that there was an adult school at El Amal, they sighed and said they were too old to start now. Many of the men who have attended the school have left because they have little confidence in ever becoming literate. Yet all agree certainly that their children should be educated. Whereas they have no definite plans for their children, they know that, at least, education will take them out of El Amal. For the most part, they would like for their children to leave. Only Mekki and Khemais want their children to stay and help them at the coop. Mekki would not force his son to stay, but Khemais would, and would use any means to do so. Most would like to see their children in white-collar jobs or in the professions. Ahmed Mouria would like his boy to be the "first Tunisian on the moon." Education is not costly when the children are in primary school. The primary school is two kilometers from El Amal, and all the children walk. The families' expenses are in clothes, books, paper and pencils. But when the child is ready for secondary education, the families are faced with the problem of sending them to Grombalia or Soliman as boarders. Of the members of the council only Mekki and Jaber have children in secondary school, and it costs them about ten Dinars a year per child.

The money for schooling is hard to come by. The men earn little and it is not quite enough to make ends meet. Yet Mekki and Jaber have to save in order to keep their children in school. The other men don't save at all, except for the bachelors, Mongi and Sadok. Mongi claims that he could save enough to establish a small bank account in Grombalia. No one keeps accounts because no one reads or writes. Although most of the men claim to be careful

about their millimes, all say they never have enough to last until the next pay check. When they receive their pay, they flock to the store to buy provisions, tea and cigarettes. I was talking to Mekki one day and noticed that in his pocket he had a notebook filled with figures. When I asked him if he was keeping a household account he said no, that this was a record of what he spends for his son's education; he doesn't keep any account of what he spends daily. When I asked him which was more important, he said the school record, because he intended to make his son "pay back every millime." None of the wives were ever entrusted with large sums of money. For all intents and purposes, women do not seem to have a role in the financial affairs of the family. The men complain only that their wives nag them to stop smoking and drinking tea because it's expensive. Very few heed this advice, although they do listen to their wives' counsel on other matters.

All the members of the coop may obtain credit at the store against their salaries, but when they need money for an emergency they must find it elsewhere. Although the coop will lend them small sums, as did the White Sisters, they prefer to go to their friends and families.

Ahmed Mouria summed up the money situation when he asked: "How do you expect me to save when I'm building the houses that I'm paying for too?"

Transition from the Colon to the Cooperative:
Attitudes Towards the Coop. Under the colons the men were day-laborers earning a wage based on seniority, that ran from about 350 to 450 millimes (70¢ to 90¢) per day. In addition, the farmers were allowed to clear as much as they could of the uncultivated land of the domain, on which they could build their houses, plant whatever crop they wished, and keep livestock and poultry. They were under contractual obligation to pay the colon rent in cash or in kind. Ahmed Mouria stated: "Things were better under the Babasat (Sisters) I had 40 hectares for a rent of 30 Dinars a year. I had olives and cattle, plus wheat and barley. When there was no rain, I sold my cows. I had enough, but could always borrow from the Sisters if necessary. The farmer was free to be his own boss. Now the far-

mer is less free, but he has more work. Maybe things tend to even out in the long run."

Most of the workers feel the same way--things were better under the colon. Even the members of the council sometimes express a feeling of loss. The transition for most of them has been painful--they feel dispossessed. They have returned to the status of day-laborers at little more (385 millimes per day) than before. Their attachment to the land they work is slight and they fail to grasp the abstract idea that the land now belongs to all of them. Their main concern is to make more money and receive the profits from the coop. Many of the members of the coop suspect that the profits are being withheld and that they are the victims of a great injustice. Even with the coop's efforts to bring them into participation, they have little idea of their role in its affairs. Not one worker could define the functions of the various commissions; of which most are members, or his responsibility as member. Salah defines the commission as the basic unit of cooperative democracy where each member can express his opinion on the whys and wherefores of agriculture on the coop, where he can make suggestions from his knowledge or observation, where he can influence the course of events on the farm. Most of the men simply say they meet with Salah and he talks about the state of the particular crop, and then someone writes down what he says. Some members have gone so far as to say that the commission is a rubber-stamp organization and that Salah is going to do whatever he wants anyway.

The members of the administrative council understand their responsibilities better, but only Kilani Bekir can really articulate them. He has a definite idea of his importance to the farm: "If I didn't do my job, who would do it for me? Who would fill the void?" He is skeptical of his fellows' ability to understand their relationship to the coop. "These Arabs," he says, "don't understand that the coop started without capital and only debts. We must liquidated those debts before we can share the profits. They don't understand that the land is theirs. All they want is money, more money."

Concerning the council, he offers this account

of an event to illustrate what might go on in the meeting:

"The délégué makes us a proposal and we have a meeting to discuss what action we should take, according to the facts at hand; then we send the délégué a written decision. He then writes back and tells us whether he is for or against the plan. In any case, it's our responsibility to send the results of our deliberation to the Union Regionale in Nabeul. In case of a fight with the délégué over an issue, which he has vetoed, a meeting is called to review the proposal. If we feel we cannot improve the proposal by a compromise, we call on the services of the agricultural engineer, who has authority over the délégué in these matters."

III. SUMMARY

The cooperative in El Amal claims to be more than a farm devoted to the maximum exploitation of its resources; it also claims to be a vehicle for the integration of the farmer into modern Tunisian society. To that extent the cooperative, through its adults' school and its centre de formation, attempts a dialogue between the two worlds on the basis of shared experiences and values.

My short stay at El Amal and my observation of people's attitudes and values have demonstrated to me that many obstacles are yet to be overcome before the members will become modern farmers and citizens; for they are still mostly illiterate, and their former landlessness and migrant youths remain fresh memories for them.

The cooperative has made an effort to practice internal democracy by involving the workers in the decision-making processes, by having them participate in its execution, by making them understand that a free spirit of association is necessary to cooperative enterprise.

The members, for their part, maintain a certain indifference and confine their interest to the question of wages. If any one value has permeated their milieu it is education, since in education they see an opportunity for their children to escape the farm and ameliorate their status.

No one man, no one institution has bridged the gap at El Amal, neither the party, reduced to a propagandizing function by the government officials to whom the cooperative is directly responsible, nor Salah Janoubi, the director, for all his good programs. And it seems that, at least for the present, no permanent solution is in sight.

IV. APPENDIX

A. The Technical Staff

The Agent Technique. Moncef Filfil comes from the same town in the Sahel as Salah Janoubi, though they never met before he came to El Amal. Moncef is an earnest and educated young man who feels he has a lot to give to the cooperative in the way of ideas, but finds himself isolated from responsibility by the narrowly defined nature of his position. He tends to be very critical of the people around him, especially Hamouda Slimane, the adjoint technique, Salah, and the central administrators. "It's high time they appointed an engineer as the director of this cooperative, someone who knows something about farming, not like Salah, It's about time we got a decent adjoint on the farm, too. Hamouda doesn't know how to do his job. He can't even recognize rot on olive trees! And why doesn't the agricultural engineer attached to our district come and look at things, instead of issuing gas coupons to all his friends who use government cars to ride around the country just to say hello to their friends? We never see him; he never comes here!"

The Adjoint Technique. Hamouda Slimane is 21 years old and was born in Djedeida near Bizerte. His father was always a landless farmer and to this day cultivates someone else's land. His father had three years of schooling and reads Arabic poorly. Hamouda's family consists of his parents, seven sisters and two brothers. He had his brevet de l'enseignement agricole (agricultural education diploma) from the College Moyen d'Agriculture de Sidi Thabet. After graduation in June of 1966, he worked behind a desk at the Service d'agriculture until he was transferred to El Amal last March. He is somewhat shy, a quiet young man who has difficulty in defining his job responsibilities on the cooperative. He makes inspection tours around the farm looking for signs of disease among the crops, makes suggestions for treatment to the director, and then writes a monthly report to the agricultural engineer. He is paid directly by the Office de Production Animale et Vegetale; he receives thirty-one Dinars a month and free housing on the farm. He has an advisory relationship to the director, whom he likes. Hamouda likes his fel-

low workers, and thinks they work hard because they know the land belongs to them. If he were Salah, he would give them more encouragement. That's how he would improve production on the cooperative.

The Teachers. There are two teachers at El Amal, both appointed by the Ministry of Education to teach reading to the illiterates and handicrafts to the young girls. During my stay I did not have the opportunity to interview either of them. Before the teachers were appointed, Salah Janoubi had to convince the Ministry that they were needed. For over a year, one of Salah's secretaries taught the men in the evenings in the spare room in his office building which he converted into a school. This past September a monitrice (woman instructor) came to teach the girls a little reading and embroidery; she receives fifteen Dinars a month. Salah hopes to enlarge the class for those who are good enough for elementary school training and are not yet married. After three years they would receive a special 'certificate of social education' like the men, who are now being taught by a teacher who came to El Amal with his entire family. The girls seem to show more interest in school than the men, and this leads Salah to believe that he can ask for a more experienced teacher to begin classes in reading and writing for them very soon; however, most of the fathers are not pleased at having their daughters away from home for such long periods of time.

B. The Commissions

Mohamed Ben Ayad, Night Watchman. "I belong to the commission that deals with the irrigation of fruit trees. We are about twenty men and we meet together once in a while to discuss the needs of our sector and to report to the director, but it's only a formal gesture; he takes all the initiative and does as he pleases. If the commission says to plant wheat, we find barley there the next year. We meet, we say 'good morning' to each other, and that's it. Salah makes all the decisions but he has no idea of agriculture; he knows a little about olives because he's from the Sahel, but that's all he knows. There is a 'grand commission' (administrative council), you know, which makes all the decisions with Salah."

Ali Zerilli, Night Watchman. Ali claims the commissions are not just rubber-stamp groups to approve the director's decisions. "At the yearly meeting of all the workers, the men are asked to sign up for a commission. If they don't want to, they don't have to; the choice is theirs to serve or not, to choose the commission they want according to what they know. I'm on the dairy commission. We take a look at things, and if we see something wrong we have Salah call a meeting of the commission at which we report to him. He makes a note of the problem and takes action."

C. Attitudes of Some Members of the Cooperative on Education, Life Under the Colons, the Cooperative Itself, Their Own Lives, and Individual Planning

Hamba Ziman, Dairyman. He works in the dairy and claims that it's better than working his own land because he believes that he will eventually share in the profits and receive a parcel of free land from the cooperative. His family were originally Zlass tribesmen. His father migrated to this region around the turn of the century, lived first in Dakhla, then came to this farm 43 years ago. His father went to school for five years but is functionally illiterate. Of education, Hamba says: "If you don't have an education, you don't have eyes. I went to primary school, so I am only blind in one eye." Hamba claims that farmers need education in order to know how much fertilizer to use per hectare, to make the count of final inventory, etc. He will make sure that his children go to school just as long as they can!

Mohamed Shaheen, Vine Cutter. Mohammed Shaheen is occasionally hired by the coop to cut the vines, even though he is not a member. He would like very much to join the coop because it would mean steady work near his home. He wants his son to be literate and spends about twelve Dinars a year for school expenses, which is a great deal for a man in his circumstances. He would like for his son to become whatever he can according to his intelligence, and doesn't attempt to make the choice for him. He thinks that a cooperative is one of the most effective ways of acting together and considers that his responsibility to the cooperative is to work well.

Salah Zaid, Ordinary Worker, Olive Sector. Salah Zaid is a member of the coop, and an unhappy one at that. He claims that the cooperative doesn't want to share the profits. They say they will, but then they go off and buy a tractor with the profits. He realizes that there is a certain advantage in long-range planning, but claims that the coop is not taking the men into its confidence and being frank about the use of funds. Salah says that this is dangerous, because the farmers contract debts in expectation of money.

Salah Jerbi, Worker in the Almond Sector.

Question: Why don't you attend the adult school established by the coop for illiterate workers?

Answer : I'm too old. It wouldn't help me a bit to learn to read or write.

Question: Are things better now on the farm than under the White Sisters?

Answer : Things were better under the colons because the farmers got the fruits of the land which they rented from the colons. A man had a shirt on his back because he could afford to buy it. When the state took the land, the farmers joined the cooperatives because they had nowhere else to go.

Question: What are the benefits you have received?

Answer : None. The cooperative doesn't share the profits.

Question: What are the obligations you feel towards the cooperative?

Answer : To do our work as best we can. That's all!

Question: What do your wives think of all this--the cooperative, their lives on it?

Answer : Wives and husbands are all of the same mind. Before we had land, sheep to sell; now we have nothing. We think highly of Salah, though; he lends us money for marriages and doctors' bills.

Question: How can the cooperative make things better?

Answer : I want the coop to buy cereals and sell them to me on credit, and then I could save a little money by cutting down on our consumption of tobacco and tea.

Question: Many members would like their sons to return to the coop to work with them; in that way they would earn a double salary. But what

if the son refuses to come back? What would you do in those circumstances?
Answer : If the boy doesn't want to come back, so much the worse!

Hasiib Antar, Dairyman.

Question: Today is Monday, pay day. What do you do with your money when you receive it?
Answer : I buy a little meat, couscous (semolina), a little of this, a little of that; I pay my debts.
Question: Do you save any money?
Answer : (with a laugh) No.
Question: Do you give your wife any money for her needs?
Answer : (with a laugh) No.
Question: Do you ever have enough until next payday?
Answer : Never.
Question: Do you listen to your wife when she gives you advice on running the household or family affairs in general?
Answer : I listen to her only when she has something good to say.
Question: Your children go to school. Would you like them to follow your footsteps and join the cooperative?
Answer : Only if they could become the director.
Question: What do you pay for their education?
Answer : What it costs me for paper, chalk, and pencils.

Concerning credit, he never borrows except from his friends, never asks credit at the store (he claims they won't give it to him anyhow, or to anyone else). If it should ever come to a crisis, he isn't sure what he would do, except that in case of medical crisis he is sure of free care and hospitalization by the government.

Mohammed Bachir, Vat Tender. Mohammed's father worked for the White Sisters and wanted to buy a piece of land from them, but when they were expelled, it was too late and the land was collectivized. "Before the coop, we made 274 millimes a day but we lived better because we had land. We didn't have to buy couscous; we could make it from the wheat we grew on our own land. If we got seniority under the Babasat (White Sisters) we could make as much as 407 millimes a day.

Now the coop gives us everything on credit, but how can we pay all these things back?"

Salah Aissa. "Life was better under the colons, and I don't think we were less 'civilized' then. Even if the coop sends us on an excursion, we have to pay something towards it. I don't like its methods for making 'civilized' modern men of us; we were better men under the colons, better farmers, too. We had good technicians to guide us. I had five hectares under the colons--half in wheat, the other half in beans, tomatoes and chick peas. I paid three Dinars 400 millimes rent yearly, or, in kind, 100 kilos of wheat. In times of drought I used to ask the colon for an extension of time to pay my rent, and he was always generous. In addition, I earned 350 millimes a day, and could make do. I was free to keep a cow. I can't do any of these things now. I had enough money then; I don't read or write, but I did have to keep a record; I made enough. Who makes enough today even to know where it goes!"

Amor Saadani, Worker in the Citrus Section. "We are Zlass from Kairouan. My father had three sons and twelve hectares of land. I still have the four hectares that were my share, and so do my brothers. We were free under the Sisters to harvest on our own land; now we have nothing except our pay. Before, we weren't 'civilized,' but now the government wants us to be modern men--but we aren't. Why? Because the pay is too little. Instead of learning to read and write, I would rather earn a little more money."

D. Notes on a Meeting of the Medjlis El Idara

The meeting began at about 5:30 P.M. one Sunday and lasted until about 10:00 P.M. I left after two and a half hours, as the lights of the cooperative had not gone on and I couldn't continue taking notes.

The meeting opened with a playful dispute over who had taken a pile of stones near the store which was to be used by the building crew. Sadok, who ought to have kept an eye on the stones, was scolded by Salah. He wanted to know who had taken them; did the agent technique, Wirdi "what's-his-name" take them?

Even though the complaint was serious and made Sadok feel very uncomfortable, everyone laughed when it was all over. "But this is not a subject for discussion," said Salah, and the meeting began late with Mongi Derwich's tardy arrival.

Salah first asked if the men had any questions about the month's work; no one did. Then Salah smiled, and as a second thought, turned to Sadok, shook his head and said, "What a boner you pulled, Sadok, what a boner!" which made Sadok blush.

The first order of business was a question of barley reserves. While Salah asked Khemais a more direct question, Sadok went out for a glass of water. The men talked among themselves while Khemais answered. The conversations centered around the harvesting of the barley and the time needed to do it.

They passed on to milk productions. Mongi was called on to give figures which Salah accepted and which the members approved. "Mongi is doing his job."

Salah then introduced the problem of a tractor driver who wasn't doing his work. "What do we do with him? He won't do his job right," said Kilani. There was a long moment of silence broken by Mongi cracking his knuckles loudly. "That guy has to work; why doesn't he?" asked Salah. Salah always demands explanations in a high-pitched voice, sometimes angrily, sometimes in a conciliatory tone even to Sadok, the youngest member. His directive to Kilani, "Keep on trying to make him come around."

Salah then asked, "How is the grape crop? Any diseases?" Kilani said no, only the problem of the sirocco and the lack of water. "How much can we expect to get from each hectare?" asked Salah again. No one knew. Jaber said the earth is weak and full of clay; he didn't think the yield would be high. "When there is no water, what do you want?" Give it to them in a tea glass, " replies Salah. Everyone laughed to break the tension. Jaber talked about a new way to cut the grapes to get around the lack of water. Salah was unconvinced but listened attentively. Kilani thought the grapes would be too strong if they cut them in a new way. Jaber disputed this with Kilani. Salah

wanted to know how the new Alicante vines were doing this year. Kilani said all right, but nothing spectacular. Pensively, Salah asked Mekki about the state of the peanuts, melons, and squash. "How many melons can be harvested?" With his usual precision, Mekki took out the book in which he has noted every millimes of expense for his son's education, and said, "163" and then fell into his habitual silence. "Will the peanuts be good?" "Yes."

I left the meeting as Salah was asking Mongi what the Czech veterinarian had done for the cows during his regular visit. Mongi said he gave them some vitamins. Everyone laughed, because the vet has the reputation of being a little crazy .

THE WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

Radhia Djanoubi, Salah's wife, and I were the only women in a household containing five children ranging in age from one year and seven months to seven years, seven months. In addition there was a seventeen-year-old niece living with them who added some depth and information to my study. I regret the lack, however, of an older woman who would have provided a more total picture. After meeting several neighbors, I decided to observe not only Radhia but also Habiba Zerilli, the wife of Ali Zerilli, the night guard of the Cooperative. I have tried to compare and contrast their ways of life and make some personal observations.

Both women were willing subjects and accepted me without suspicion. Habiba, being naturally more vivacious, opened up immediately and Radhia eventually followed suit. I tried to divide my time equally between them by spending part of every morning and every afternoon with each one. However, because I felt obligated to spend more time with Radhia since I was living with her, I collected much more information on the Janoubi family than on that of the Zerillis. Ideally I should now live with Habiba's family in order to complete the study.

My information-gathering techniques were varied. Sometimes I would ask specific questions; other times I would ask indirect questions while they were doing household chores or listening to music. As I got to know them better and as my command of Arabic improved I relied less on taking notes in front of them and recorded conversations later in my room. Note-taking didn't seem to bother them especially when we talked about neutral matters such as their children's ages or their ambitions for their sons and daughters, but when speaking about more intimate topics such as their feelings about their husbands I was certain they would speak more freely if they felt I wasn't going to write down their thoughts. They were aware that I was studying their way of life, but I doubt whether they fully realized just how thoroughly this was being done.

I. FAMILY BACKGROUND

Both the maternal and paternal grandfathers of Radhia Janoubi were small farming land-owners in the Sahel, holding title to an undetermined number of hectares in the area of Teboulba. (In addition her maternal grandfather sculptured stone facades.) As is traditional, the land of Radhia's paternal grandfather was divided among his sons on his death, the share of Radhia's father being about two hectares which are now worked by a hired hand. Both Radhia's parents were born in Teboulba but were not related before marriage. Her mother, now 53, can neither read nor write but her father, 56, studied in the Zawiyya and can read and write Arabic and even speak a little French as a result of his job as a bus driver which takes him to neighboring towns in the Sahel. Radhia's parents have five living daughters and one living son; seven other children have died.

Habiba's family is more varied and exhibits a general decline in fortune. Habiba's maternal grandfather was considerably more well-off than her father's family. Though both men were farmers near Sfax, the maternal grandfather owned about 350 hectares of land (which still belongs to the family), of which 200 hectares are given over to the cultivation of olives, 100 to almonds, and 50 to apricots. On the other hand, only 15 hectares remain of the small land holdings in the Sfax area belonging to Habiba's paternal grandfather. Neither of Habiba's parents, who are distantly related, are literate. Her father, now 60, migrated with the family to Grombalia when Habiba was two years old, because "he had very little land left. He had to sell most of it in order to buy food and clothes." Since coming to Grombalia he has been pruning olive trees and cutting wheat on the land of other farmers. Her mother, 50, sometimes works in the fields even now. In reply to the question "Whose life is better, your mother's or your grandmother's?" Habiba said: "My grandmother's life is better than my mother's because she had more money." Habiba's parents have three living children; three died in childhood or at birth.

II. CHILDHOOD-YOUTH

Radhia was born in Teboulba in 1939. When she was young, Radhia's house of two rooms and a courtyard had no electricity or running water though there was a well in the courtyard. Her mother nursed her until she was two years old, after which she received no milk. (She began to brush her teeth at the age of five.) As a girl she was obliged to stay inside and help her mother. Her father would not permit her to go outside of the courtyard and consequently she never made any friends.

In spite of the wealth of her grandparents Habiba's own family circumstances were even poorer than those of Radhia. Born near Sfax in 1940, her family moved to Grombalia and a one-room house with no electricity or running water when she was two years old. She, like Radhia, was nursed until two and thereafter received no milk at all. As a girl her father permitted her to visit neighbors but she seldom took advantage of the opportunity because "I was afraid of the dogs." She and her mother were allowed to go to town only for the hammam once or twice a week. Even though her father is a tenant farmer, Habiba claims she never worked in the fields as a girl, though I tend to doubt this assertion. She claims she can remember no special event of interest that took place when she was small, supposedly because "I lived several kilometers from town," although she visited an aunt in Tunis when she was too young to retain any vivid memory of the trip.

III. EDUCATION

A. Formal and Informal Education

Neither Radhia nor Habiba received any formal education. Radhia did not attend school "because when I was a girl there were no schools in my town." Habiba didn't go because "we didn't have enough money to buy bookbags, notebooks, books and pens. My father would have liked me to have gone, but he couldn't afford it." Her younger brother, aged thirteen, went to school instead and another brother, aged twenty, had one year of schooling. Habiba doesn't envy her brothers' opportunities, but rather speaks with pride of their accomplishments. She is immensely pleased that her younger brother can speak, read, and write French as well as Arabic and that her twenty-year-old brother works in Tunis. She is also proud that her husband, Ali, is going to the adult school on the cooperative. During my second visit to her home she showed me his textbooks.

Both women received informal training on how to keep house by observing their mothers. Radhia also said, "My mother taught me how to sew and to knit."

B. Attitudes Towards Education

Unlike Habiba, Radhia definitely feels a certain amount of inadequacy because she can't read and write and complains that her husband won't let her learn. She would also like to go to a sewing school in Tunis but, again, Salah doesn't want her to. She is able to make dresses without copying a pattern and often sews clothes for the cooperative store. Two of her sisters are studying in Teboulba and she undoubtedly envies them.

It is obvious that Radhia respects and longs for education. For instance, one day she told her daughters to study their summer review lessons. They didn't particularly want to because school was no longer in session. She became angry with the older in particular, because "next year she is going to begin to study French, and if she doesn't know her Arabic well, she won't do well in French." Later when her daughter began to read from her Arabic book, Radhia took the book from her and began to read herself. This was a first year reader. She was very persistent and obviously proud to have

reached page twenty and to have impressed me. Both Jellila and her niece Fatma helped her when she ran into difficulties. When I asked her how she had learned to read, she replied smilingly, "By myself." Another day, while I was helping Jellila learn to count to ten in French, Radhia sat near us and repeated to herself the French numbers. Later when I tested Jellila, Radhia would quickly give Jellila the answer anytime the child would hesitate.

C. Educational Aspirations for their Children

Both mothers believe that education will provide good futures for their children. They feel schooling has liberated their daughters, who can now do things they were never permitted to do. When asked the question, "Whose life is better, yours or your daughters?" Radhia answered unhesitatingly, "Their life is better. They can come and go as they like. They go to school." On another occasion she said, "They have better opportunities. They are very lucky. They'll profit from these. They'll lead the good life." Radhia plans for her sons to become a doctor and an agricultural engineer, and her three daughters a teacher, a nurse, and, the third, a teacher who will study in France or America.

Habiba said, "My daughter will have a better life because she will have the opportunity to study. She'll have better clothes and a better house." All Habiba's hopes will be realized in her children. Her daughter Fadhila will have more and better possessions and she will live in a city all because of the opportunity to study. Her son Nourredine will be able to become a teacher.

IV. HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIPS

A. Courtship

Both Radhia and Habiba were courted and married in the traditional manner which is to say neither knew her husband even slightly before marriage (although Habiba had seen Ali once before her wedding day.). Radhia was engaged to Salah for about four years before they were married and in all that time did not see him once. She was chosen because she was the oldest girl in her family. They are not relatives but come from different families and neighboring towns (Salah is from Touza). Radhia was married nine years ago at the age of 19. She and Salah have five children.

Habiba first saw her future husband at a party in Grombalia. He noticed her at the same party and was so struck by her beauty he immediately asked his mother to ask Habiba's father whether she would accept him in marriage.* Habiba said yes, the contract was signed after two weeks, and she didn't see him again before the wedding one year later. She says that before her wedding "I was afraid." The very night of her marriage she became ill and had to spend two months at home in bed, and then one month and four days in the hospital. Habiba was also nineteen when she married and has now been married eight years. She and Ali have two children but Ali also has a teenage daughter by another marriage and no children by a second marriage, both of which ended in divorce. Habiba is his third wife and a distant relative.

* Ali's mother communicated with Habiba's family because Ali's father is dead.

B. Hopes for their Daughters

Both Radhia and Habiba insist that they want their daughters' marriages to be different and better. Radhia said: "I don't want them to be married the way I was. I was very unhappy. After they finish their education they may live where their work is, and they will choose their own husbands." She does not particularly want someone from the family. She says it would make no difference if one of her daughters were to marry a felleha (farmer) and would not mind if her daughters lived far away. "They will live where their husbands' work is." Even her sons may live where their work calls them. Whereas Radhia's parents received one hundred dinars as a bride price, she does not expect money from any of her daughters' husbands but she feels they should supply jewelry, perfume, clothes and furniture.*

Habiba agrees, saying, "Fadhila may choose her own husband." She quickly recalled how afraid she was before her marriage because she did not know Ali. When asked if she would prefer her daughter to marry in the family, Habiba replied, "I don't want her to marry into my husband's family because they make too much noise." She doesn't mind if Fadhila married into her side of the family, however, or even if she married a Frenchman or an American. She would prefer for her daughter's husband to be a teacher or a director and to live in Nabeul or Tunis. (She asked me "Béhi?"- "Is that good?") Ali paid only fifteen dinars for her because he didn't have enough money to pay any more, but Habiba expects one hundred dinars for Fadhila and thinks her son-in-law should also supply furniture (except the bed which Ali will supply), lots of gold (not silver, silver is not as good) jewelry, and many bottles of perfume. (She sighed and smiled thinking about this.) Although she would not mind a great deal if Fadhila had to live far away, Habiba would much prefer that her only son Nourredine live nearby.

* When one of Salah's nieces whom he supports was married recently, Salah refused to accept money from the bridegroom, much against his own mother's wishes.

C. Marriage

Radhia and Salah Janoubi. The role of each woman in her marriage is clearly defined. She exists primarily to please her husband, to keep a good house, and to be a good mother. Other than this, little is expected of her, although Radhia is expected to prepare meals for as many as sixty people when Salah has to entertain outsiders in connection with his job. As a minor form of revolt Radhia sometimes fails to produce Salah's tea when he wants it. Often she waits to serve him until he specifically asks her to do so and, on one occasion, she even told him she had not prepared his tea because she had been busy answering my questions.

Salah is undemonstrative towards his wife in public. Only twice did I observe signs of tenderness or solicitude on his part towards her -- once he served her couscous at the table because he knew she wasn't feeling well* and on another occasion Salah stroked Radhia's hair and arms at the beach in front of several relatives. He doesn't seem to help her cope with her daily problems and usually is with her only for meals and after dinner.

Radhia's remarks about their relationship are very telling and express her frustrations in not having an equal and tender relationship with her husband. For instance, Salah spends an inordinate amount of time away from the house on business and never telephones when he will be late for meals. Radhia complained, "He comes and goes as he pleases. I can't stop him from doing this although I tell him I don't like it. In the winter sometimes he leaves at six in the morning and won't come back until four or five in the late afternoon. Then he's too tired to talk to me or to help the children with their lessons. He's never around when we want him and I'm fed up with it. I always have to wait lunch for him. After eating this late lunch, he'll go to our room and sleep. In the summer it's better because the work isn't as hard. But it's only because Lew and you are here that he comes home now to eat at decent hours. In the winter sometimes he won't come home until

* I tend to think that Radhia's frequent headaches and complaints of fatigue are slightly exaggerated in order to elicit more tenderness from her husband.

ten at night.* Usually I'm already in bed and he'll say "Wake up, put my supper on the table and serve my tea." If I don't want to get up because I'm tired, he becomes angry. Eventually I have to get up, but I'm not at all happy about it."

Nonetheless, for all her complaints, Radhia's relationship with Salah has actually improved since the first year of their marriage. She says, "When we were first married he used to go out all the time. I stayed at home and had to wait meals. Even now when he returns to visit his family in Touza, he leaves me alone with the women. I would like to go out with him." When I suggested her life must be better now that they live on the cooperative where there are no cafés she said, "It's somewhat better but it really doesn't make too much difference because now he goes to cafés in Tunis, Nabeul and other towns." In spite of everything, however, Radhia says she loves Salah and that "now he listens to me more than when we first got married. Then he didn't listen to me at all. In general our life is better now because he spends more time at home."

In spite of Radhia's complaints Salah does seem to enjoy sharing experiences with his family, taking them to the beach, to Tunis for shopping and even a meal when necessary, and on visits to friends in Nabeul and relatives in Tunis. Salah is able to do this because the cooperative's car is at his disposal. Sometimes he takes Radhia and the children on tours of the cooperative and when friends come to visit he invites them to play cards with Radhia and him. Whenever the conversation is in French, he thoughtfully translates for her so that she will not feel left out and hurt. Whenever possible he takes Radhia to the cinema, but he does not encourage her to improve her educational level. Even though she wants desperately to learn to read and write and to go to sewing school, he refuses to allow her to do so. I think he feels it's too late for Radhia now and is afraid school would interfere with her duties as a wife and a mother.

When asked whether or not she offers advice to her husband, Radhia answered, "I tell him that I don't like

*This is particularly annoying because her life in the winter is even more limited than in summer. She spends nearly all her time alone in the house with her mother-in-law with whom she has difficulty in getting along.

him to smoke too much because I'm afraid for his health, and that I don't want him to go to cafes and to drink beer." She does not help her husband when he has problems with his work, because "I don't read or write." Although she has access to a small portion of his salary, now that they live in El Amal she has less occasion to spend money than she had when living in Nabeul and Grombalia where she did all the marketing.

The principal source of irritation in the Janoubi marriage is what Radhia feels is an insufficient amount of time to spend together. Radhia blames this on Salah's work and feels he has to work too hard. She complains that he does not confine his work to the office but often brings book work home in the evenings and even works on Sundays. She resents not being able to go along on his frequent trips to Tunis, Grombalia and Nabeul although she realizes these are working trips and she would only be in the way.

Another family problem arises when her mother-in-law comes to spend the school season with them. Radhia explained, "She doesn't like me because Salah doesn't tell her everything we do." The mother-in-law also interferes when she tries to discipline the children. "Whenever I put them in their room because they are bad and making too much noise, she comes and opens the door. I can't do anything. She doesn't want me to hit them. And Salah won't tell her not to interfere." Radhia feels helpless because she cannot respond to her mother-in-law's criticisms. It would be a lack of respect and would only cause more family problems.

Habiba and Ali Zerilli. The relationship of Habiba and Ali is almost as entirely different from that of Radhia and Salah as one could be in an Arab family. Aside from the obvious economic differences which must play a part in any marriage, Ali's temperament differs greatly from that of Salah.

Ali is a more demonstrative person than Salah and shows much more affection towards his wife. He spends more time with Habiba primarily because his job is less demanding. Most of his day is spent near home and often he drinks tea with Habiba beside him. Their meals together are filled with pleasant talk and laughter both among themselves and with the children. Ali is very proud of Habiba's beauty and often wishes aloud that he could buy her lovely clothes and pieces of fine jewelry. His pride, however, gives birth also to jealousy and Habiba is not permitted to wander about the farm, but can only visit Radhia and another neighbor. As often as their means permit, Ali takes Habiba to the beach and to visit their parents in Grombalia. When in town he, like Salah, leaves his wife with the women while he goes to the cafés, but Habiba does not resent this as Radhia does. Basically Habiba is more satisfied with her role.

In regard to offering advice to her husband, Habiba says she tells him only what purchases to make in the way of food for the family. Ali does most of the shopping at the cooperative store but Habiba does have some money with which to buy swerg, a dentifrice made of aromatic bark, and little odds and ends from a peddler who comes around selling pins, teacups, incense, khol (mascara), etc. Usually Ali buys everything Habiba wants in the way of food and clothes for the children but when he plans to buy wine, he ignores her advice. She gently advises him, "Don't buy too much wine because we don't have enough money. Don't forget you want a new shirt to wear to Grombalia the next time we go." But in spite of her practical warning, Ali rarely follows her advice in this matter.

It is his excessive love of wine which causes their largest marital problem for, when he drinks, Habiba has just cause to fear her husband. Each paycheck, Ali goes out to buy a few bottles of wine. Whenever he drinks too much he yells at her, insults her and even beats her. Habiba is mortally afraid that one night when he gets

drunk he will slit her throat with a knife. She has told Ali this, but he only laughs it off. One day after drinking, he began to beat her with a shoe because he believed she had been near some men. Screaming at her, "Where have you been?" he beat her so badly that she was ill for three months. During this time she got up to do her chores, but she did not speak to Ali for four days. Habiba is painfully, ashamedly aware that all the neighbors know about his drinking and how he treats her but, in spite of this, Habiba loves Ali when he laughs, when he is in a good humor, and when he treats her well. She insists she does not love him when he yells at her or when he is cruel.

V. PREGNANCY, BIRTH CONTROL, ABORTION

When Radhia was a girl she dreamed of having a large family someday and when she married Salah her greatest desire was to have eight children. Although she complains about the children's noise and other aspects of their behavior, she insists that she would like to have more than five. But this is now impossible for her. Salah and Radhia were childless for a year and a half after their marriage, but then children were born in rapid succession until after seven and a half years of marriage they had five. When Radhia became pregnant for the sixth time, Salah convinced her to have an abortion, and while she was on the operating table the doctor sterilized her with Salah's permission. Three days later when the doctor and Salah broke the news to her, Radhia was heartbroken and cried for several days though now she seems to bear little resentment towards Salah over this betrayal. She claims to be an advocate of family planning and takes pride in knowing about and telling visitors about the contraceptive pill. She has decided now that limiting the family is a good idea and would be quite happy for her own children to practice birth control.

Habiba, on the other hand, seems to be one of the rare individuals who has a small number of children while practicing no form of control whatsoever. In eight years of marriage she has had only two children and would actually like to have one more. "After my third child, I don't want any more," she says, putting her hands to her ears. "They make too much noise." Habiba and her neighbors are afraid to use the intra-uterine loop given out by the government clinics because they believe it is painful and causes illness, perhaps even death. Rather than use this device, Habiba plans to abort a fourth child either with a mothball inserted into the womb or by way of a secret concoction her mother uses.*

* Her mother aborted once by using a mixture of the herb nmella and something else she refuses to identify.

VI. CHILDBEARING

The eldest of Radhia's five children is Rima, seven years and seven months. Of all the children she is the best behaved, helping her mother around the house, running errands to the store, or borrowing things from Habiba and Fatma Riani, the wife of the cooperative adult school teacher. Very often on her own initiative Rima sweeps the porch, takes care of the children at the table, cleans the stove, roasts corn and green peppers, and washes and dries dishes. Rima is generally quiet and self-sufficient though when unjustly punished by her mother on one occasion during our stay, she became quite sullen.

Jellila is six years and eleven months old and is just beginning to take the initiative to help her mother around the house.* She is the best looking of the children and the most selfish. She always has to be first on the swing and isn't happy unless she monopolizes it and every other game. If someone wants to get on the swing, she grabs it back even if the other child begins to cry or is slightly injured. Whenever she is not instantly successful in getting something she wants from her brothers and sisters, she bites, slaps, or throws dirt into their eyes.

Mohamed, who is four years and six months, seems to be the slowest and dullest of the children. He rarely speaks and is overshadowed in all his activities by his sisters. When he tries to play ball, Jellila usually takes the ball away from him; when he tries to get on the swing, Jellila pushes him off.

Maheres, who is three years and three months, is quite different from Mohamed. He is very sly and talkative. He usually gets what he wants by persistent crying and whining or by sneaking away with it. He once opened a locked closet by turning the key with a knife put through the hole. When he discovered the hiding place of freshly baked cookies, he stole into the room when no one was looking and took his fill. He is much more successful in fulfilling his desires than Mohamed. However, once

* In general, it seems that as the children grow older, more is expected of them. They must assume more household responsibilities and help with the younger children.

when he and Mohamed threw a crying tantrum because they weren't to be allowed to accompany Jellila and Rima on a visit to their aunt in Tunis, both were heartily slapped by their father.*

Like Maheres, Besma (one year and seven months) gets what she wants by persistent crying or by pinching or scratching. She has learned to fend very well for herself in a household of selfish and self-motivated children.

Radhia's children realize they hold a special position on the cooperative and this seems to give them more confidence and pushiness in dealing with their peers. They seem to sense their material superiority and this influences their behavior.

In temperament as well as number, Habiba's children differ from those of Radhia. Nourredine is a shy, quiet boy who spends much of his time following his mother around. He is aware, as much as a six-year-old can be, that there is a vast difference between his way of life and the life of Radhia's children. He is timid when he visits their house with his mother and is particularly pleased when he is given something to eat. He peeks into bowls and gazes at the foods inside with wondering curiosity. He is not as brazen as Radhia's children when, on visits to his house, they open drawers and take things out as if it were very much their just right to do so.

Habiba's only other child is two and the darling of her father. In contrast, Ali shows almost no affection toward his son. He seems to be disappointed that Nourredine is weak and poorly built. He often says with pride that Fadhila is stronger than Nourredine. Fadhila is a good child but very dependent on her mother. By whining and crying Fadhila is usually able to get what she wants. Unlike Besma, she is very unaggressive.

Nursing. Each time Radhia had a child she nursed him for an average of five months, ceasing only when she became pregnant once again. After nursing, she switched to bottle feeding and continues to give them all milk because the doctor told her this was good for them.

* Perhaps Salah, who rarely raises a hand to his children, did so this time because they were carrying on in front of their relatives.

Habiba, on the other hand, has received very little advice from the proper sources on childrearing. She nursed Nourredine for three years* after which he was given no milk. Habiba nursed Fadhila for one year and seven months, and afterwards gave her no milk because "we can't afford it."**

Toilet Training. Radhia would like for her children to use the toilet but when the three youngest urinate or have bowel movements on the floor of the house, they are not scolded. Maheres and Mohamed often have bowel movements by the bushes or in the courtyard, after which Radhia throws their excretion into the flowers and bushes by the front porch. Even though Besma has a trainer it is rarely used and the only time Radhia supervises the children's toilet habits is before bedtime. The children do not flush the toilet--partially because the chain is too high for them to reach.

If Habiba's daughter Fadhila is not scolded for urinating in the house it could be because there is not a toilet on the premises. Whenever the child has a bowel movement in her pants, she is quickly cleaned and nothing else is said about the matter.

Thumb-Sucking. All of Radhia's children except Rima suck their thumbs often. Besides sucking their thumbs when they are tired, they do so when they are bored, frustrated, or just after being punished. Besma seems to do it automatically in imitation of her brothers and sisters.

Although Radhia tells Besma this is bad and pushes the child's thumb away from her mouth, she does it so unconvincingly that Besma quickly puts her finger into her mouth again. Since Radhia does not persist, the habit continues.

Nourredine never sucks his thumb although he is the same age as Radhia's daughter Jellila who does so frequently.*** Fadhila rarely sucks her thumb and when she

* Perhaps because she was not in good health herself, Nourredine became a very thin and weak little boy.

** I think this is a case of priorities. If she were convinced of the necessity of milk, Habiba would probably make the necessary sacrifices to provide it.

***Jellila is hit and punished much more than Nourredine. Habiba does not like to hit him because "he is very weak."

does her father takes it immediately out of her mouth.

Mother-Child Relationship. In bringing up her children it is apparent that Radhia has an undirected approach. There is no attempt to teach the children limits and self-control. Neither does she try to instil in them a sense of responsibility toward the family or for their own individual actions. She does not try to develop a sense of family cooperation or respect for the privacy and rights of others.

The children's play and work activities are not directed. Radhia does not take an active role in developing their work habits or in teaching them games or in playing with them. The only time Salah plays with them is in the water at the beach. Sometimes Radhia will make faces at Besma and pretend she is dead when Besma slaps her face, but apart from this the children are left to their own devices. Having only a ball, a swing, and several beach toys, the children are forced to rely on their own initiative and creativity to invent new games and toys. They throw around crushed bottle caps but not in any organized fashion. They also like to play with captured birds and bugs and the girls enjoy gathering jasmine.

Radhia tells her school-age girls to study their summer lessons, but when they refuse she can do nothing about it. When they do finally get around to studying, the other children are permitted to remain in the same room. Inevitably they grab pencils and notebooks and soon begin to yell and cry.

Discipline when it is used is inconsistent and ineffective. Many times the children do not know why they are being punished and often they are not punished for an action that the day before was deemed worth a slap. No explanations or value judgments are given when Radhia deals with their rude and wild behavior. The result is that the children have developed almost no sense of what is right and wrong--nor any sense of guilt. When they are punished they usually receive a slap. If they do something that Radhia at that moment considers extremely bad, she hits them several times with her shoe. Sometimes she

puts them in their rooms, but this has proved ineffective as they quickly sneak out. Soon after they have a healthy cry, the incident is forgotten and there is no need to ask forgiveness or to say, "I'm sorry, Mother, I won't do that again."

Radhia rarely takes notice when the children cry and hit each other or when they play with dangerous objects such as scissors. Consequently, should Jelila bite Mohamed and be left unpunished, she will do it again if she finds she can get what she wants from the biting. The only time we saw a reward offered for a desired action was when Radhia told Resma she would give her a piece of candy if she would wink at Lew. Resma did not wink.

Affection is spontaneous, but, again is not always consistent. It certainly is not used to reward good behavior or withheld as a punishment for bad behavior. Only fifteen minutes after hitting a child several times with her shoe, Radhia is quite capable of hugging him, but rather as though nothing had ever happened between them. Radhia displays much more affection towards the children than does Salah. I have seen him kiss the youngest child only once.

Because Salah is away from the house so often, the burden of discipline falls on Radhia's shoulders. Unfortunately she is not always up to this task. Once when she could not discern which of her children had broken a prized silver-plated ashtray, she indiscriminately hit every child with her shoe. Each one was told to step up for his dose and if he refused Radhia chased after him.* Rima, in particular, bore much resentment for being unjustly punished. Even when Salah is at home, he takes no active role in disciplining the children, and will even permit them to shout and

*It took a quiet discussion with Salah to have the guilty party speak up.

play in the room where he is doing bookwork for the cooperative. Once he let Maheres eat at the supper table with us. The child babbled incessantly for an hour showing us how he could whistle and saying "ya, Baba" between every mouthful. Only once did Salah tell the child to be quiet.

The children rarely listen to their mother or come when she calls, even if Radhia has been calling for five minutes. Neither do they feel it necessary to do what she tells them to do. If she tells Besma to stop playing with a pair of scissors, Besma may or may not stop. One reason for this disobedience is that Radhia is sometimes rather lazy: she lacks the energy or interest to enforce her commands. She oftens asks her niece Fatma or Habiba to discipline the children instead of getting up to do it herself. If Radhia doesn't ask someone else, she usually ignores the children until the situation gets out of control.

Speaking of her problems, Radhia said, "My main problem is my children. They never let me rest. They don't always listen to me and they are always going into my drawers when I tell them not to. My husband doesn't want me to hit them, but to tell them that their action isn't good." I rarely saw her carry out this advice as she feels that "bad behavior should be punished by slapping."

Habiba feels she has fewer problems in raising her children, and does not complain about them as much as Radhia does. This is, of course, partially due to the fact that Habiba has only two children with a difference of four years between them. Also she is much less lazy than Radhia. Unfortunately as a result they have become overly dependent on her. Nourredine is extremely mother-oriented and rarely leaves Habiba's side. Radhila constantly wants Habiba to hold her and cries when her mother leaves her alone. Habiba's children are less spoiled than Radhia's, probably because they have very few possessions--no toys and only two changes of clothing.

Because Nourredine is a boy, he is not expected to help his mother. Habiba does not direct his work and play habits and he is very often told to go out and play with his cousins but to stay out of the sun. Habiba spends as much time as possible with the children but her household and gardening chores take up a good amount of her time and energy. Nourredine does not have any toys, so he must think up his own pasttimes. Once he and his cousins pushed Fadhila merrily about in a wheelbarrow. Another time he played for some time with a small bird before he killed it to eat. But most of the time Nourredine is content to sit in or near the house and watch his mother work. Very often he gets in her way and is told to go out. He never accompanies Habiba to the garden when she works there but, instead, remains at home with his father.

In spite of her obvious love for her children Habiba is suprisingly undemonstrative towards them. Ali, on the other hand, shows a great deal of affection towards Fadhila. She is Daddy's pet and can do no wrong. At meals and after meals while drinking tea Ali fondles and kisses Fadhila and plays games with her. One such game is for Fadhila to point to her facial features when Ali names them in Arabic.

Generally, when her children need her, Habiba comes to their aid but when she is particularly busy (such as when showing me how to make bread for the first time) she ignores them. One day Fadhila cut her foot while Habiba was kindling wood in the clay oven. The child cried and whined but was only told to be quiet.

Habiba believes that "children should be slapped when they make a lot of noise." Her only complaint about her children is that they are too noisy. Nourredine does not always listen to her when she tells him to leave the room, to stop opening a drawer, or to keep quiet, but this does not annoy her. The only time I saw her angry with Nourredine was when he broke a jar containing precious tea. He was quickly slapped for this. In general Habiba does not like to hit Nourredine "because he is too weak."

VII. SEXUAL ATTITUDES

Sexual Attitudes and Joking. The women talked and joked about sex rarely and only among themselves. If there had been other female members in Radhia's household or more frequent visitors, sex talk probably would have increased. Discussions and jokes were always simple, direct, physically graphic and often crude.

Sex was generally considered different for women than for men--but only because women received less pleasure from the act. "Men are always strong" all but one of Radhia's neighbors agreed, while women don't always feel in the mood. Zohra Mahmoud then declared, "I love my husband only when he makes love to me."

Neither my presence nor that of children or unmarried girls made sexual talk more restrained. Radhia asked me the day after my arrival, how frequently my husband and I had sexual intercourse. She asked me, in front of Maheres, if uncircumcised men can have children and then playfully touched Maheres' penis, saying that in any case he would soon be circumcised. Fatma, her timid seventeen-year-old niece could escape sexual talk only by hurriedly leaving the group of conversing women and shutting herself into the kitchen until they turned to another subject.

Sexual jokes were extremely crude and often supposed closing off the vagina in some curious way or even its disappearance. The humor, expressed in waves of giggles, came partly from the physical incongruity but perhaps mostly from the trick played on the husband. For example, once when Fatma and Radhia were sewing up a newly-stuffed mattress they joked about sewing me up as well, to the consternation of my husband. Another time, when several women and I were roasting hot peppers, they began to laugh and with much giggling Fatma suggested that I insert a pepper for later discovery. One morning when I was baking cookies Radhia pointed to Habiba's vagina, suggesting that it be put into the hot oven. "When Ali comes home he'll find nothing," said Radhia and they giggled with great delight.

Physical Contact. Most women I've seen in other families constantly kiss each other upon arriving and departing. There wasn't much of this done in El Amal. The only women who ever kissed were Fatma and Radhia and Radhia and her female relatives when they arrived and departed. But Radhia and Habiba and Habiba and her other neighbors don't usually kiss each other except if they are relatively good friends and have just returned from a long trip. On the other hand, most of the women I got to know would kiss me every time I saw them, especially Habiba. Habiba seemed to derive much pleasure from this and from holding my hand or putting her arm around my shoulder. She touched my breasts twice and once remarked "mesquina" at my small size. Radhia held my hand twice. She often stretched suggestively in front of me, the children, and Lew, although I doubt whether she knew how suggestive she was.

The children are freely permitted to touch their mother. Radhia's children are allowed to touch her breasts. She sometimes playfully touches Besma's vagina. Once when Ali was asking Fadhila to point out her nose, lips, eyes and ears as he named them in Arabic, he pointed to her chest and vagina, saying that one day they would be developed. I haven't seen Habiba's boy touch her breasts, perhaps because he is considered too old. Whereas Radhia and Salah will bathe together in their bathtub, Habiba bathes only when Ali is out and the children are asleep. The Janoubi children are always locked out when their parents bathe together. During our stay at the cooperative, I never saw a couple kiss.

VIII. CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Mobility. Radhia, because of her husband's work, has enjoyed more exposure to the outside world than Habiba. After her marriage Radhia moved to her husband's village of Touza, which is not far from her own town. As Salah began to take more important positions, they moved first to Nabeul for three years and then to Grombalia for another three years. Two years ago they moved to El Amal. In Nabeul and Grombalia Radhia was free to go shopping in the markets with other women and to visit her friends without her husband accompanying her. The only place she couldn't go without Salah was to the beach.

After coming to Sidi Nasir Radhia became less mobile, but she certainly leaves the cooperative more often than Habiba. Radhia is permitted to walk around the cooperative and to speak with the workers. Habiba, on the other hand, has been warned by Ali to avoid not only talking to other men but even walking near them. Once she and I had to take a very indirect route to the garden to pick tomatoes because Habiba was afraid to pass in front of the barns where several men were congregated. Whereas Radhia shops at the cooperative store, Habiba has to send Ali or Nourredine. When Habiba visits either Radhia or Fatma Mahmoud or goes to work in the gardens, she is usually accompanied by one of her children.

Whenever Salah is free he takes the family on rides in the car or visits to friends in Nabeul or Grombalia, and several times a year they make the long trip to Touza and ~~Teboulba~~ to visit their families. Salah has also taken Radhia and the children to Tunis on shopping excursions and visits to relatives. Sometimes they eat in inexpensive restaurants if the hour is late. Radhia is very proud of the fact that once Salah even took them to an expensive café on an island near Monastir. About once a month during the winter when Salah's mother is living with them Salah takes Radhia to the Arab, and even occasionally, the French cinema.

These brief outings, however, have not satisfied Radhia's desire to travel and to leave the cooperative. To the contrary, they have increased her expectations. She is unhappy because these trips are not frequent.

Salah leaves the cooperative nearly every day, and she would like to accompany him even though she realizes she might get in the way. She wants to leave the farm more than once every ten days to two weeks. She dreams of seeing more places and eating in an expensive restaurant alone with her husband.

Although Habiba hardly ever leaves the farm, and would like to visit Grombalia more often or go to Tunis to shop sometime, she doesn't complain about not being able to do so. Her expectations are lower than Radhia's.

Habiba and Ali were married and lived in Grombalia for five years before coming to El Amal three years ago. Every Aid Sghrir and Aid Kabir they visit their families in Grombalia but they rarely have the opportunity to go more than four times a year. Most of their trips to Grombalia last several days. During the summer one of the children sometimes spends a few weeks with his grandparents. For the past two months Habiba has been looking forward to the wedding of one of her cousins that will take place in Tunis in September. She's not sure of the date but is waiting for Ali to receive a card telling them to meet the family in Grombalia, so that they can all go to Tunis by bus. Habiba would like very much to visit the rest of her family, especially her mother's mother in Sfax, but lack of money is preventing them from going.

Limits of Life on the Cooperative. Radhia makes it obvious that she would prefer not to live on the cooperative. She said: "Life is boring and lonely here." She once asked me whether I were bored living so far from the cinema and stores. When I answered that I enjoyed life on the farm she was rather surprised. **Radhia** misses her friends from Nabeul and going shopping with them, as she has few friends on the cooperative and spends most of her time at home alone with the children. She would like to visit with Fatma Mahmoud more often, but when they finally get together the children make so much noise that they can't talk in peace. Although she and Habiba are friendly, their relationship is not as one between equals. Therefore, even though Radhia doesn't get along particularly well with her mother-in-law, she is somewhat happy when she comes to spend the school season because then at least "I have someone to speak to."

Although Radhia enjoys visiting and shopping in Tunis, she would not like to live there. She would prefer to live in Nabeul because the beach is nearby, there are many stores, and most of her dear friends live nearby. While talking to her neighbors one day about life in the city she said: "Life was better in Nabeul. I could go shopping and cook anything I wanted. Here I can't cook everything because a lot of food isn't available."

Habiba seems happy to live on the cooperative. She likes her house and the view. Although she has never voiced the desire to live in a city herself, she would like Fadhila to live in either Nabeul or Tunis. She doesn't want Fadhila to live on the cooperative because the opportunities to possess good housing and beautiful clothes are so limited.

Visitors. Although Radhia doesn't have many visitors at El Amal, she doesn't look forward to visitors when there will be many people coming with their children. This only means more work for her. Before the arrival of seven relatives, (the first visit she had received from any members of Salah's family all summer) she suggested half seriously: "Let's leave them tomorrow and go somewhere ourselves." Once they arrived, however, Radhia seemed to enjoy the company of the two women. She walked (the men accompanying them), ate, cooked, took care of the children, chatted on the porch and went to the beach with them. Radhia had to eat supper alone with the women although she usually eats with Salah because her cousins-in-law were "ashamed" to eat with men. She, the women and the children ate with spoons from one bowl placed on a midda on the porch while the men and I ate from a table in the dining room with **separate** plates, forks, and spoons. These same women, however did not feel embarrassed to eat lunch with my husband and the other men at the beach. For all her talk about the loneliness of her life, Radhia was not unhappy to see her visitors leave. She made no pretenses to Lew and me about approving of the visitors' children or the way they behaved themselves.

Unlike Radhia, Habiba feels "ashamed" and "embarrassed" in the company of strange male visitors. The only exception was Lew because he was my husband and trusted by Ali. One day when all the women joined in to make couscous for sixteen visiting agricultural students, the women ate in the dining room after the men

had left. Salah had not eaten with his visitors and was eating alone at the end of a long table. It took several minutes of concerted effort for me to persuade Habiba to eat in the room with him. On another occasion when John Simmons was having dinner with the family, she refused to go in to meet him because, "I'm embarrassed. He is a stranger."

Interest in Life Outside the Cooperative. Radhia, as could be expected, was more interested in my life outside of the cooperative than Habiba. She asked many more questions about my family, how I cook and clean, what I think about the cinema, where my husband takes me and what we do together. Often when she discovered something she considered interesting about my life, she told the other women as though she had access to some very special information. For example, any time we met a woman for the first time, Radhia would quickly fill her in on my birth control methods. She was impressed that I know how to type and that I could answer letters from my mother all by myself. Whenever I wrote home or received a letter from my mother, I would translate the message for her. Radhia would smile and say "HMMMMM" each time I mentioned her name in telling my family how well she was treating us and how much we enjoyed living with her. She is quite open to new ideas in food and asked me several times to cook American dishes for her. As a result she is now a strong convert to southern fried chicken. After a discussion about tampons, and the freedom its use offers, Radhia asked me to give her one immediately so that she could go swimming with her relatives. I had to promise to find her some in Tunis.

On the other hand, Habiba, who is generally content with her life, was only slightly interested in my American way of doing things. When we were with her husband, he asked questions about life in America and especially about the cost of things, but Habiba's interest was minimal in these discussions. She thinks that life is better in America because people earn more money and can buy more things. She didn't ask me how I cared for my house but was to a certain extent interested in how I cook some dishes.

Attitudes Towards Politics and Women's Rights.

Since Radhia has so much more contact with the outside world than Habiba, she has been able to develop more definite opinions about the government and the President and women's rights than her neighbor. One day when we had been discussing investing money, she said, "Bour-giba doesn't want women to put money in jewelry. He suggested that all women sell their jewelry and invest the money in their towns or put it in the bank." She added later, "People in the country keep money at home. They hide it in mattresses, they buy gold, a cow, or olive trees. People in the city put money in the bank. Those people who don't bank money don't trust the government. They think it's trying to rob them."

Whereas Habiba claims she can't remember anything that happened while she was a child because she lived too far away from town, Radhia showed that she is well aware of how much things have changed in Tunisia since she was a girl and the French were in power. When I asked if her mother had raised her differently than she now raises her children, she replied, "Life is much better now. When I was young the French controlled everything in the town. The Tunisians had no work because the French ran and manned the schools, the post office, the stores and the police. There were no schools, no hospitals, no stores, no restaurants, and very few doctors for the Tunisians. Now my children can go to school. They can have nice clothes and medical care. There are many schools, stores and hospitals--all run by Tunisians. There are Tunisian policemen, post-office clerks, mailmen, teachers, doctors and shopkeepers."

When the President made speeches about women's rights, in particular, Radhia became very excited. She would ask her female friends: "Did you hear the President's speech this morning?" If not, Radhia would tell them with much enthusiasm what had been said. One of these speeches concerned how women should take care of their children. Radhia was impressed when Bour-giba said that children should be kept clean and should be fed properly. Another speech concerned a divorce case. Radhia identified closely with this case because the male defendant was from her husband's town and she was excited

for two days afterward because the woman won the case. Radhia said: "Bourgiba does a lot for women." Another day she said: "Because of Bourgiba, men can't marry two women at a time like Khediri our neighbor." She then drew a picture in the earth of how Khediri sleeps between two wives. This was followed by much laughing. She added: "Bourgiba doesn't like men to hit women. He wants women to work, to dress nicely, to go out of the house, and to study."*

One day when Fatma Mahmoud, Habiba, Zohra Mahmoud, and Radhia and I were talking about life, Fatma told us that her husband was in Monastir without her. Radhia commented, "We women always stay alone." Later when talking about how men treat women Radhia added: "We're like cows. All women are good. But many men drink wine and hit their wives and are no good. They can go everywhere and we have to stay at home."

During this conversation, all of them, especially Fatma, were interested in whether I argue with my husband, whether he gives me money whenever I want it, whether he ever hits me, and whether I can go out by myself whenever and wherever I want. When I answered yes to the last question, Radhia wondered whether Lew permitted me to go out alone with his male friends. I replied yes and several days later when we three were talking alone together, she asked Lew the same question.

Radio, Television, the Cinema and Reading Material. Besides leaving the farm itself and receiving outside visitors, Radhia's and Habiba's other contacts with the world are the radio and television. Each woman has a radio at home. Habiba has had hers for two years and likes to listen to music and plays. Her favorite music is Arabic music, but she also enjoys French music although she doesn't understand the words. Radhia's interest is broader and though she listens to music, she also listens to the news as well. On Wednesday morn-

*Habiba's reasons for liking Bourgiba are stated more simply than Radhia's. She said: "I like Bourgiba because he doesn't like husbands to hit their wives. He loves women and children. The French aren't here."

ings she listens to a doctor who tells women how to raise their children, what to feed them, when they should be taken to the doctor, how much they should weigh, etc. Even though she permits the children to make noise during this broadcast, she seems to retain most of the information she receives.

Both women have gone to see the cooperative television that is in the office though this is primarily the men's domain. However on several occasions Radhia, Habiba and a few other women have gone with their children. Whenever Radhia decided to leave, however, all the women had to leave with her. The men, who had been patiently looking on from the porch then took over the vacated room.

Radhia is the only one of the two women who has been to the cinema and she would like to go more often. She is very proud that she has been to the Colisee in Tunis several times. She understands Arabic films more easily than she does the French ones, but she prefers French films because "many things are better." She is able to get the general idea through the action and when in doubt, Salah translates for her.

The only reading material in Radhis'a house is the Arabic newspaper that Salah reads and the children's school books. In Habiba's house there are Ali's and Nourredine's school books. Since Ali cannot read there is no newspaper and when it is necessary for Ali to send a letter, he must ask his neighbor to write it for him. In neither house are there magazines or books. Radhia and Habiba were delighted to look through and have me explain several American magazines I had brought with me to El Amal.

IX. ECONOMIC STATUS

A. Salary and Savings

Salah receives sixty-six Dinars a month with which he must support his wife, five children, mother and two unmarried nieces whose father is dead. The nieces are being sent to boarding school which costs Salah more than one hundred Dinars annually. The Janoubi's house, supplied by the cooperative, is filled with their own furniture which is modest but sturdy. They have two private gardens (worked by Ali and Habiba), several chickens and one sheep. As director, Salah also has unlimited use of the cooperative's car.

Most of their savings are invested in jewelry for Radhia and in olive trees in the Sahel.* Radhia claims to have about seven hundred Dinars worth of gold jewelry but, from what she showed me, I tend to believe the value she has placed on her things is exaggerated. They do not put money in the banks.

In return for filling the position of night watchman, every two weeks Ali receives six Dinars. Their house is supplied by the cooperative which also pays for minor repairs.** They own several chickens, but they are too small and undernourished to lay eggs. In comparison to the average cooperateur Ali does rather well, but he works hard for supplementary benefits. He works all night guarding the main buildings of the cooperative, at five in the morning hosing down Salah's porch and garden. During the day, Ali does odd jobs around the farm such as killing chickens for Radhia. In exchange for farming his two private gardens for him, Salah has given Ali the right to one half of the produce. Ali receives extra money by selling the

* Salah recently bought fifty olive trees in Touza.

**When I noticed a window frame being replaced by some workers, Habiba informed me, "The cooperative pays for it."

tomatoes and green peppers that grow in Salah's gardens to other farmers. In addition, from the two gardens, Ali has an ample supply of fresh vegetables all summer--green peppers, tomatoes, m'loukhia, silaq, celery and parsley. Habiba and Radhia also look ahead to the winter by preparing home-made tomato paste. Because of all his work, Ali finds time to sleep only a very few hours in the morning and in the afternoon.

With their salary of twelve Dinars a month, Habiba and Ali find it very difficult to make ends meet. Habiba says that very often she does not have enough money to buy meat, milk, eggs and clothing. Ali does make sure, however, that there is always sufficient money to buy several bottles of wine and even beer after each paycheck. Whenever they have a little money saved up, rather than buy the eggs and milk that Habiba says they cannot afford, they spend it on tea, sugar, meat and clothing.* When clothes are bought they are usually for Habiba as Ali says that he wants his wife to look pretty and to dress nicely. Although it was not a religious holiday, they recently bought a lamb with Ali's sister in order to prepare an osben, perhaps on my behalf.

They could additionally supplement their basic salary if Ali would permit Habiba to work in the fields for the cooperative. However, Ali feels that, "The 300 millimes a day isn't worth all that effort. It's too hot in the fields and she would become ill." Habiba does work in their own gardens several hours a day but in this case they are working for themselves and the labor is not as tiring as working all day under the hot sun.

When I asked Habiba how her life on the cooperative compares with her life before, she said: "It's a nice place to live. We have a beautiful view. It's cool. There is a lot of wind. I have more clothes now, but not enough. We have more money now, but not

*Ali drinks huge quantities of strong tea which taxes their budget.

enough. We eat more vegetables now. Ali works all the time now...day and night." She also feels her life is somewhat better than her mother's: "There isn't much difference in our lives. Mine is a little better. My house is larger and is made of stone. It has three rooms. Hers has one room and is made of earth. She has to buy tomatoes, corn, green peppers. We don't because we have a garden. We have running water and electricity.* She doesn't. Sometimes she works the land but not always. I never worked in the fields when I was young."

Ali and Habiba's money is invested in jewelry also but the majority of it is silver, not gold like Radhia's. They do have one gold hand of Fatma which is usually kept in a secret place. Every day Habiba wears two silver bracelets, a silver ring, one silver earring (the other is broken) and two hlels (silver pins) which hold up her melia. Her silver chain with three big hands of Fatma is worn only on special occasions as it is cumbersome and makes her work difficult. Although she wants to wear modern clothes and would not like to be tattooed,** she would like very much to own ankle bracelets. These would probably impress the women on the farm but I doubt she would wear them to Tunis.

B. Social Differentiation

Because Radhia's husband is the head of the cooperative, she maintains a special status in relation to the other women. She is somewhat friendly with only three women: Fatma Mahmoud, Habiba and Zohra Mahmoud.

* The running water is about ten feet from their house.

**Even though her mother is tattooed, Habiba says, "She is prettier than I. On my mother it looks nice." She then gave me an example of a neighbor on whom it does not look well.

Her relationship with Fatma is more or less one between equals even though Fatma is slightly better educated than Radhia. Radhia ordinarily visits Fatma only when she has a favor to ask of her. For instance, when Radhia decided to wash the mattress cover to her bed, it was necessary to remove all the wool stuffing. She felt able to wash the cover herself, but when it came to restuffing the mattress and sewing the ends properly, she called on Fatma to help her. Fatma, a frail woman, worked for three hours during the hottest day of the summer to aid her friend. In addition, the only time during our stay that Radhia and Salah made a social visit together was to Fatma's one evening. The object of the visit was for the women to finish sewing two dresses for Radhia's two daughters. Radhia and Salah left for the Mahmoud's at ten one evening after we had all finished playing cards.* They stayed at Fatma's until one in the morning and then awakened the next morning at six a.m. in order to make a visit to their families in Touza and Teboulba.**

Radhia's relationship with Habiba is very definitely one between unequals. This is seen in the innumerable small tasks that Habiba does for Radhia without being paid. There seems to be an unspoken understanding that Habiba will do these odd jobs. For instance, as Ali takes of Radhia's chickens whenever there are eggs, Habiba takes them to Radhia almost immediately. Should Radhia want a chicken for lunch, one of her children asks Habiba to bring several over for inspection. If Radhia then decided none of the first batch will do, Habiba returns with another

* I could not understand why they had not decided not to play cards with us but to go to Fatma's earlier. Perhaps Radhia did not think of visiting Fatma until after we had begun playing and was too polite to say she had something else planned.

**Apparently Radhia was very anxious to finish the dresses so that the girls would impress their relatives.

one. When Radhia has finally made her choice, Habiba takes the chicken home for Ali to kill. Then Habiba or Radhia's niece or Zohra Mahmoud cleans it. When there is no one around, Radhia is forced to clean it herself. And although we had chicken nearly everyday, I saw her clean a chicken only twice.

Another example of the unequal relation between Radhia and Habiba is that it is Habiba who picks vegetables for both families in their common garden. On two occasions Habiba and her sister-in-law spent many hours harvesting several boxes of tomatoes, in order to prepare tomato paste for the winter. After picking the tomatoes, Habiba left two boxes at Radhia's and the following day put her own tomatoes as well as Radhia's through Radhia's foodmill. This work is very hard on the grinding arm and as a result Zohra Mahmoud ground Radhia's share for the second batch of tomatoes. Habiba completed the task by adding the preservative and Radhia was presented with the finished product. All that remained was for her to put the tomato paste in jars and this was done by her niece Fatma.

In spite of the difference in their status, however, their relationship is a friendly one. When Habiba delivers something, she usually stays to chat. The only time Radhia goes to Habiba's is to pick up her children who have wandered over there or to ask Habiba to do something. Only when I was visiting Habiba did she ever spend more than several minutes there. On one occasion Radhia stayed to watch us make osben and to drink some tea,* but she always seemed anxious to leave. At the same time, Habiba feels completely free to borrow kitchen implements from Radhia. Whenever she lacks olive oil, salt or sugar, she literally runs over to borrow some from Radhia. Habiba also borrows Radhia's foodmill and sieve on occasion. Borrowing is also done in return as well, and Radhia has borrowed one of Habiba's large pots.

*Habiba is more likely to offer Radhia tea than to be offered tea by Radhia.

On one of her trips to Tunis, Radhia bought some modern clothes for Habiba and, rather than ask for the money in advance, she is letting Habiba pay it back in bi-monthly installments. Not once in all my time there did either woman speak in a derogatory manner of the other although Habiba did mention once that Radhia's children make too much noise, indicating that they are ill-behaved.

Zohra Mahmoud first came to Radhia's house to work towards the end of our visit. She originally came to smoke the bees out of one of the back storage rooms and to gather their honey for the cooperative. Soon, Zohra Mahmoud (who was six months pregnant) began to do additional work around Radhia's house such as cleaning chickens and washing clothes.

When sixteen agricultural students came for lunch one afternoon everyone pitched in and I was impressed by how well and efficiently the preparations were carried out. Zohra Mahmoud did all the hard work, sweating over the open hearth of the outside kitchen cooking couscous, then roasting tomatoes and green peppers. Habiba helped peel the green peppers and tomatoes and washed the dishes while Fatma Mahmoud cut the meat for a mechoui and grilled it over the canoun. Radhia's contribution to the lunch was rounding up people to help prepare it, getting plates together, helping to set the table, and serving out couscous and salad in the kitchen. With no apparent direction each woman did her share and, in addition, they took advantage of this occasion to enjoy themselves socially by chatting and joking.

X. HABITATION

A. Janoubi

Radhia's house is not a typical Tunisian structure because it was built for and lived in by the White Sisters. It has six interior rooms plus a kitchen, a bathroom, a W.C, a front porch, an enclosed courtyard in the back surrounded by a large enclosed combination washroom-kitchen, and two other rooms. The latter are large, unenclosed storage rooms for tomatoes, wheat, onions, and beans, and an enclosed room where the cooperative's aviary is kept. The exterior of the house is painted white. The interior is yellow and blue, and the floors are tiled. The windows have green shutters and screens which date from the time of the White Sisters. Radhia has made curtains for all the windows. There is electricity in all the rooms except those around the courtyard.

Of the six rooms, there is a living room at the entrance and a dining room to its left. To the right through a hall are three bedrooms and the bathroom and the W.C. Behind the living room is a small room which holds two of the cooperative's telephones and Radhia's sewing machine. The closets in this room are used to store Radhia's clothes and some of the children's clothes, and to hide and lock up cartons of soda from the children. From this room a hall leads to the kitchen and a pantry.

The living room at first view appears to be rarely used. The sum total of the furniture is a small card table and two small chairs. There is one scenic picture on the wall and no pictures of the President. * There is a fireplace used in the winter which, Radhia says, is extremely uncomfortable: "We have to keep the windows and doors closed all the time."

*There is at least one photograph of Bourguiba in almost every public and private establishment in Tunisia.

seven by three foot rug from Nabeul. This is used for sitting. During our stay, this rug was stored in a closet except for special occasions. When it is hot the rug is removed to the porch, covered with a sheet, and used by the family and visitors. When there are many people, those who can't sit on the rug or other mats, sit on a small bench. During the winter the family spend many hours on this rug.

The children play a great deal on the front porch, especially since Salah recently hung a rope swing. Radhia spends a lot of time sitting here or sewing on her machine. When Salah comes home from the office and has paper work, he does it on the table in the living room or he moves it outside on the porch if it is hot. This is the family's social center during the summer, dinner is eaten here, and often we played cards together after eating. After Lew and I had gone to bed, Salah and Radhia remained on the porch, drinking tea, talking and listening to the radio.

The dining room is furnished with a large, sturdy buffet where all the dishes, glasses and flatware are stored. Because Radhia must often feed guests visiting the cooperative, she has enough placesettings for twenty, some of which was paid for by the cooperative. On top of the buffet Radhia displays her good coffee and tea services. There is a strong dining room table and six chairs (which cost 36 Dinars) and an old radio that is never used. There is a closet which is kept locked and on the walls is one picture calendar.

In the kitchen there is a sink, a closet used to store sugar, bread and left-over food, a stove with three burners and an oven, two counters with enclosed shelves, and a long bench where the children sometimes eat. Radhia stores her pots, pans and olive oil under the two counters. She says a refrigerator would satisfy all her needs.

In the pantry between the kitchen and the dining room, Radhia stores flour, spices, honey, tomato paste, bsissa, couscous, whole wheat and other foods. She also keeps two large Tunisian sieves and large pots

here. Raisins, orange and rose water, and some left-over food are kept between a window and its screen near the pantry. The back entrance-way to the kitchen is enclosed and has a stone shelf. Radhia does most of her cooking on the kitchen stove, but she does some of it on a canoun in this entranceway when she cooks a stew slowly, makes tea, or grills tomatoes and green peppers. Sometimes the children roast corn here. Vegetables that Radhia plans to use quickly, three grills, and a foodmill are stored here.

Wash is hung in the courtyard and sometimes the children eat there on a mat. The only cooking done in the outside kitchen over an open hearth is for large crowds. All Radhia's wash is done in this outside washroom-kitchen in tubs placed on the ground. There is a sink, but the drain doesn't work.

The master bedroom has a double bed with a wool-filled mattress, a chest of drawers, a vanity with a large mirror, a small night table and two clothes closets. The top closet shelves are used to store objects that Radhia doesn't want the children to touch. Even so the children enjoy going through their mother's drawers and once Mohammed succeeded in getting to the top shelf of one of the closets and broke a prized silver-plated ashtray that had been carefully hidden. Radhia and Salah sleep alone in this bedroom unless there are many night guests. On such occasions Besma is put on the floor there in the sleeping part of her carriage.

During our visit all the children slept in the middle bedroom. Besma and Mahares each had their own crib. Rima, Jellila and Mohamed slept together in a double bed. When Salah's niece Fatma came to visit, she slept in the double bed with Rima, Jellila and Mohamed for several days. Once when Lew and I went away for the weekend, we returned to see a change in the sleeping arrangements. They had moved the sleeping part of Besma's powder blue carriage from our room to Radhia's room. The wheels were left in our room. Mahares remained in his crib, but Mohamed took over Besma's there by making more room in the double bed. A few days later Besma and her carriage were moved back into the chil-

dren's bedroom. An unused bed in our room was not removed, however, to give to Fatma, as they said there was not enough space in the middle bedroom for another bed.

Lew and I slept in the third bedroom. This room is furnished with one double bed, a small bed, and a chest of drawers resting on bricks. The drawers are filled with blankets and clothes, so our belongings were stored on the top. Beside the chest of drawers there is a small storage area where wool and the hose that is used to wash and cool off the front porch are placed. Although the door would never close, the children rarely came in without being invited. During the winter, Salah's mother and Rima and Jellila sleep in this room.

The bathroom contains a sink with a mirror above it, a bathtub with shower attachment, a bidet, and a hot water heater. The children often wash their sandals in the bathtub. The hot water heater is generally used only during the winter. In the summer Salah and Radhia take baths with water heated on the stove in a bucket. The children are washed in the washroom-kitchen or in the kitchen. On the shelf above the sink there is a box containing four toothbrushes, soap, toothpaste and a razor. A razor blade is generally left sitting on the shelf.

The W.C. has a toilet and a silver cup for washing off. However, there is no spixot. A toilet paper rack left by the White Sisters is unused.

B. Zerilli

Habiba's stone house is more modest than Radhia's but much better looking and more comfortable than the houses of all the other cooperateurs. It has three small rooms and a small enclosed courtyard. The house is L-shaped, with an arched roof and stone floors. Both the interior and the exterior of the house are white-washed except for the interior of the two walls that help form the courtyard. The door to the courtyard and two other doors that enter the house itself can be

locked. Whenever Habiba goes out, she locks up the house and wears the keys on one of the pins that holds up her melia.*

The bedroom contains one double bed which is actually two doors supported by five cement blocks. The doors are covered by old sheepskins, one wool blanket and one sheet. There are two straw pillows. Because Ali works at night, Habiba usually sleeps alone here with the children. Clothes are hung on the walls with nails. There are two windows. One is glassed in and the other has only a screen. Habiba is very pleased that the former occupants left this screen and one in her third room because "they keep out the flies." On the walls there are several pictures from magazines-- one of President Bourguiba, another of him and his wife, and a third of a pretty woman. There is also a picture of Ali and Habiba when they were first married. Since there is no door between this room and the next, Habiba has hung up a white curtain for privacy.

The next room, which connects with the lower end of the L, is used as the family social center. Whenever it is hot or very cold outside meals are eaten here. The only furniture is a table and a bureau with two drawers and one set of cabinets. Habiba keeps all clothes in this bureau; her own best clothes and jewelry are kept in a small painted wooden chest that is kept on top of the bureau. Her mirror, which is the top of a jar, is kept here also. There is a small diamond shaped window which has no glass, a small shelf built into the wall, and a door that leads to the courtyard. When Radhia or I came over we were offered a small stool and chair to sit on. Habiba, Ali and the children usually sit on mats that are placed on the floor. More clothes and a two year old portable radio hang on the walls. This is the only room that has an electric light.

*Radhia and Salah lock their house only when they go away for an entire day or longer. When they go to the beach or for a walk, they shut the front door and its shutters, but don't lock them.

From this room it is possible to enter the third room at the bottom part of the L through a doorless entryway. In this room Habiba stores many kitchen implements and makes bread on a low table. On two wooden shelves are stored a small couscouisiere, wheat, beans, work tools, a few pieces of flatware, two dishes and a large enamel pot. Beneath the table are other pots and the large tin tub in which Habiba kneads her bread, and dirty clothes are thrown between the table and the wall to await washing. There is a screened-in window and a door that leads to the courtyard.

The courtyard has a stone floor with an open hearth in one corner which consists of a hole in the ground and several stones. Habiba's supply of heat comes from olive wood which she gathers herself. This corner is covered by tin roofing that has a small opening for smoke to escape. There is a tin barrel in another corner and small table in the third corner. On this table Habiba keeps an earthen ware couscouisiere, a small frying pan, a large pot which is used for large washes and to heat water for baths, and an aluminum dish. Habiba does most of her cooking over the open hearth but she makes tea and grills peppers and tomatoes over her canoun. Tea is served from her two tea glasses,* and a small handmade wooden tray with legs. Habiba has only one large glass.

The house has no plumbing. There is no running water nor is there a W.C. inside or in the vicinity of the house. There is a cleared out section surrounded by a wall of olive branches and leaves behind the house which the family probably use as a toilet. Some straw is spread on the ground.

About ten feet from the courtyard there is a cement fountain with a spigot about three feet from the basin part of the fountain. The water empties into an open drain through a ten foot pipe. A hose is sometimes attached in order to water the garden beside

*Everyone takes turns drinking. All and the guest of honor are served first and Habiba last.

the fountain. The open drain runs behinds Habiba's sister-in-law's house. The chickens congregate here especially when food is washed in the basin. The chickens and Ali's two dogs also enter the courtyard while Habiba is preparing meals but are quickly chased out.

XI. WORK

Radhia and Habiba take their housework seriously and are proud of their clean and neat homes. In both houses the floors are washed every morning. When Fatma or the part-time helper Hedia are not around, Radhia does the work herself using a bucket full of water and a rag. The work is arduous, requiring constant bending as the woman immerses the rag, swishes it over the floor using her hands, then wrings out the dirty water and begins again. In Radhia's house the kitchen, living room, and the hall are washed everyday; the W.C., the three bedrooms and the dining room every two or three days.* In Habiba's much smaller house, the courtyard and three rooms are washed each morning after the family has gone out. The only area she leaves unwashed is the dirt section near the hearth.

Radhia generally washes the dishes herself. Placing a teaspoon of "Omo" detergent in an empty tin can, and then filling the can with water, she dunks a small rag in the mixture and then washes the dishes with it. Because the rag is rarely washed out, the water in the can becomes dirty quickly. The dishes are washed first, then the flatware, the glasses and the pots.** Everything is rinsed well in cold water and dried either with a clean or a soiled napkin or towel.***

* Although Ali rinses down the front porch every morning, Radhia's children like to hose it down again after their naps on particularly hot days.

** Perhaps because the flatware is not always washed thoroughly, Salah has acquired the habit of wiping each piece of cutlery with his napkin before beginning to eat.

*** Napkins are used at the table by the adults but are not frequently changed nor are they reserved for the use of the same person at each meal.

Radhia does not keep a reserve stock of "Omo." When she runs out of it, it normally takes at least two weeks for Salah to replenish the supply so that for this reason she uses soap sparingly when she washes dishes. For the two weeks she waits for more "Omo" Radhia uses only water or sometimes a mixture of hand soap and water.

The few pots and dishes that she uses at meals, Habiba usually rinses out either in the basin of the fountain they share with two other families or in a large bucket in her house. She rarely washes her dishes with soap and as a rule they are not dried.

Both women make it a habit of washing all fruit, vegetables and meat. Often the water is shut off for several hours during the afternoon. During this time the toilet in Radhia's house cannot be flushed and dishes and vegetables cannot be washed by either woman. For such occasions they usually keep a gargoulette filled with water.

Radhia's laundry is done in the combination wash-room-kitchen in a large pottery tub, tin bucket and tin tub. Dirty clothes are left to soak in soap and water for several hours or overnight in the pottery or tin tub, sometimes with the bleach "Javel" added. The soapy water is not changed after each wash so that it gives off a strong odor. There is a sink in this room with a stopped-up drain pipe which Radhia rarely uses. When it is used, however, water is permitted to lie stagnant for several days until someone finally decides to empty it with a bailing pot. Radhia and Habiba both do their wash squatting or bending over, using cold water. After each garment is washed, Zohra places it in the bucket which is filled with clean water. After all the wash has been put into this bucket, Radhia wrings it out. She never rinses her wash so the clothes are never completely clean. When I first arrived, there were no clothespins because the children had destroyed their last supply. Radhia would hang her laundry on the line only to find half of it fallen onto the courtyard floor an hour later. As soon as I gave her clothespins for a present, she began to use them faithfully. Al-

though she had been accustomed to using clothespins before my arrival, she had never thought to ask Salah to buy more on one of his numerous trips to Soliman.*

When Habiba's wash is small, she usually does it at the fountain with a bar of soap and then hangs it to dry on the wire fence that surrounds the garden. Because Fadhila has only two pairs of underpants, Habiba has to wash them as soon as they are dirtied. Whenever Habiba has a great deal of laundry, she does it in a large metal basin in her courtyard and the clothes are hung to dry on a clothesline in the area before her house. She used plastic clothespins that were bought in Grombalia. Although Habiba washes her children's clothes everyday they always look dirty because of constant playing in the dirt and frequent use.**

Radhia knows how to use a sewing machine but is very slow to mend rips and holes in her own and her children's clothes. Some of the girl's dresses and one of Radhia's skirts have no buttons, but are held together by safety pins. As could be expected, Habiba has less access to thread and needles and the little thread she does buy is used to mend quite serious tears and to tie together osben. Fatma Mahmoud is altering one of her dresses because she cannot use a sewing machine.

Her possession of a stove, bathtub, sink and toilet poses an additional cleaning problem for Radhia but she manages often to disregard it. After washing dishes, Radhia usually cleans the sink and drainboard with plenty of water but no cleanser. The stove is wiped off after each meal and cleaned thoroughly once a week. During our stay she cleaned the bathroom sink only once and the bathtub four times.*** The toi-

* Or, because Salah has forgotten so often to buy "Omo" or any other items Radhia has asked him to bring back, she had probably given up asking him.

** They only have two changes of clothes.

***The bathtub was stained from lack of regular cleaning.

let bowl was never cleaned or flushed with "Javel" or any other detergent. Because the toilet was never flushed by the children and flushed by Radhia and Salah only after bowel movements, there was a constant strong odor emanating from the W.C.

Radhia generally throws refuse in a tin basin by the back porch which is emptied nearly everyday near the bushes behind the courtyard and, thus, provides a constant source of food for numerous dogs, cats and chickens. Whenever Habiba prepares meals, she quickly sweeps up vegetable peels and other refuse with a few branches. This trash is then thrown about fifteen feet from the house into the pen where the cooperative's cows are kept during the day. The chickens have to fight over these scraps with the cows.

Whenever Radhia has leftover food she stores it in the kitchen closet. It is left uncovered and the children are able to take food from the plates or the bread bin any time they wish. Other left-over food is stored between the glass and the screen of one of the windows in the kitchen which receives the afternoon sun. The children especially like to raid this window because it is here that Radhia dries grapes. The screening helps keep the flies away and when the fly population becomes too numerous, Radhia sprays the entire house and porch with "Fly-Tox." She once commented on how bad it is for the food when flies settle on it. Because she usually finishes cooking and places the food in serving dishes on the dining room table long before Salah is ready to eat, this is a severe problem in the summer. Sometimes Radhia covers the food with other dishes.*

Regarding house work Radhia said: "Washing floors and clothes are the most difficult work. I wash clothes everyday because I have a large family. Cooking is difficult, too, but less so." She complains regularly that she never finds enough time to rest because she must take care of the house and the children.

*Habiba covers her leftovers with a plate.

The children take up a lot of her time but she is more fortunate than her neighbors as Hedia and Fatma help her with both the housework and the children. Radhia would be able to rest more if she had more control over her children. It is this weakness that prevents her from getting the rest she obviously needs. When she wants to sleep during the day in the privacy of her room, she is not left in peace. One day Radhia had a splitting headache but couldn't rest for more than ten minutes at a time because first Fatma came to ask her to do something in the kitchen and then the children wouldn't stay out of the room.

In answer to the question: "What would you prefer to do, housework or field work?" Radhia said: "It is more difficult to work in the fields. You have to bend over constantly and work in the hot sun." Neither Radhia's mother nor her grandmother worked in the fields because they "weren't strong enough." She would like for her eldest son to become an agricultural engineer, but does not want her children to be simple farmers. Habiba definitely prefers housework to farmwork. Unlike Radhia she does not think housework is difficult. She enjoys making bread in her outside oven and cooking and doesn't even mind washing the floors and clothes. It must be remembered, however, that her house is smaller than Radhia's and she has only two children, who have far fewer clothes than Radhia's. In regard to housework and farmwork Habiba said: "Housework is not difficult. Making tomato paste is more difficult than housework but not more difficult than field work. Farm work is hard because it is very hot in the summer and very cold in the winter. (She made her teeth chatter.) I don't have warm clothes. I wear the same ones summer and winter." Making a grimace, Habiba said she doesn't want Nourredine to become a farmer, "That's not good." Neither does she want Fadhila to marry one.*

*Although she did say once that Fadhila could marry a farmer, I doubt whether he could provide the "nice clothes, the nice house and the nice shoes" that Habiba expects from Fadhila's future husband.

XII. DIET AND EATING HABITS

A. Diet.

The meals that Radhia feeds her family are more varied and rich in vitamins and minerals than the food that Habiba serves. To some degree this difference is due to the economic difference between the families.

Radhia's children receive milk twice a day. For breakfast they have cafe au lait with some bsissa. This is a mixture of crushed chick peas, flour, sugar, and olive oil depending on whether it is to be thick or mere liquid. Sometimes they have a mixture of milk and pieces of bread. Radhia and Salah drink cafe au lait and eat bsissa, although Radhia eats bsissa much less regularly than Salah. One day Radhia served soft boiled eggs after I had told her Americans eat eggs for breakfast, but this was never repeated.

Between breakfast and lunch, the children snack on corn that they roast themselves, bread, bsissa or leftover food from the previous night's supper. These snacks are not directed or planned out but are simply taken whenever the children please. The two older girls sometimes make lemonade for themselves.

Lunch is the biggest meal of the day. Radhia usually serves chicken, beef or lamb, with tomato sauce, potatoes and green peppers to which she sometimes adds parsley. Her sauces aren't uncomfortably hot and are generally seasoned with onions, cumin, coriander, caraway, black pepper, red pepper and salt.* Salah must bring back meat when he goes into town on business as there is no butcher on the farm. For this reason Radhia is obliged to cook chicken nearly everyday. Twice a week she serves couscous and spaghetti.

The main dish varied only three times during our stay. Once Radhia made fried meat patties in sauce

*The spices must be crushed in a mortar and pestle.

(kifteh), another time she served fried eggs, fried peppers, tomatoes and potatoes in lots of oil,* and the third time she grilled lamb hearts and kidneys on the charcoal grill or canoun. A fresh tomato, green pepper, onion and cucumber salad or a grilled green pepper and tomato salad (salata mechouia) usually accompany the meal. Once in a while Radhia adds half a tin of tuna or sardines to her salads. For dessert in the summer there is watermelon and sometimes cantalope because these fruits are grown on the cooperative. During the winter they eat many oranges. Bread in a green plastic basket and water in a pitcher are always on the table.

After their siesta Radhia gives the children a carbonated drink and sometimes serves tea or coffee to Salah. Very often the children roast corn, eat bread, candy, cookies, almonds or fruit as a snack

Supper is not as large as lunch. Sometimes Radhia fails to prepare enough either from bad planning or from laziness. Once in a while, she serves two dishes (such as chicken or beef in sauce and salad, or soup and salad), but usually she serves only one dish with much bread. Very rarely does Radhia vary supper. Sometimes she serves fish or fried eggs, peppers and tomatoes. Fruit is always served for dessert and tea is taken on the porch afterwards.

In the poorer Zerilli family breakfast consists of leftovers from supper (spaghetti, couscous or a spicy cooked vegetable salad called chetchouka) or a fresh tomato and green pepper salad with oil or merely bread and oil. They never drink coffee but after breakfast, Ali has his tea. Habiba drinks a little after he is served, but she cannot drink a great deal because "it makes my stomach ache and I can't eat much."

Between meals Habiba may give the children sugar, roasted corn, a little bit of tea if they cry for it, bread, or roasted fave beans. After the peanut harvest

*Neither Radhia nor Habiba use pure olive oil.

there are peanuts to munch and to be served in the tea. Nourredine doesn't eat as much as Fadhila and rarely gets sugar. Even though Habiba tells him he must eat a lot, he refuses. He won't eat beef and lamb, but he does eat birds that he kills, chicken, fish and liver. He and Fadhila love Barbary figs (the fruit of the cactus), but Habiba won't let them snack on more than one or two at a time because "they aren't good for them." Because Barbary figs are available for all who wish to pick them, Habiba and Ali eat many of them during the summer. Only rarely does Ali buy soft drinks for the children, although he buys wine and beer for himself after each payday.

The quality of Habiba's meals varies according to how much money she has to spend. The Zerillis eat better the first week after payday than the week before it. For the week after payday, they eat plenty of couscous and spaghetti, meat two times, and fish when it is available. Sometimes salads accompany the main dish and there is always bread and water as Habiba makes six loaves of bread every other day. On special occasions they kill one of their chickens or they buy some lamb and its innards to make osben. They very rarely eat dessert, but when they do it is always fruit grown on the cooperative. During the week before payday, they eat primarily starchy food in a tomato sauce with hardly any meat at all. If they have no money for pasta or couscous, they eat only vegetables in season from their garden and bread soaked in oil. Habiba spices her food with red and black pepper, salt, and sometimes coriander. If she has enough money she buys onions. When there are leftovers from lunch, they are generally eaten for supper. Eggs are seldomly served and the children never drink milk.

B. Preparation

Like most Tunisian women Radhia and Habiba tend to over cook vegetables. However when I told them this destroys the vitamin and mineral content, they said they would cook them less. Radhia did this immediately, but I left too soon to see whether Habiba followed my advice. Neither woman generally overprepares. Only

when they serve couscous and pasta are they apt to have many leftovers. Fresh vegetables, fruit and meat is well washed by both of them. They also seed and peel cucumbers and squash. Tomato and green pepper seeds are always removed but the skin is peeled off only when making salata mechouia. Even though Radhia has an oven, she never uses it. One day when I made cookies in the oven she wanted to turn it off once it reached a certain temperature and couldn't accept the idea that the cookies wouldn't cook properly in this manner.

C. Eating Habits

There is sufficient food for the adults in Radhia's house but because she doesn't supervise the children while they eat, they don't consume as much as they should. She complains that Mohamed doesn't eat enough, but never makes sure that he does. The children usually eat by themselves with Rima, the eldest, giving moderate supervision. Radhia does not serve each child individually nor help them cut their meal into bite-size pieces. The children eat from the same plate with either one spoon for them all, a spoon for each one, or their fingers, and there is one glass of water for them all. After Fatma arrived, she ate all her meals with the children and took over Rima's task of supervision.

The children are not bound to one location for their meals. They may be seen eating at a table in the living room or the dining room, on the floor in the kitchen, from a bench in the kitchen or on the porch, on boxes in the kitchen-washroom, or on mats in the courtyard or on the front porch. As a group they never eat with their parents, but sometimes if one child is sick or unable to sleep, he is permitted to sit with his parents and eat from Radhia's plate. Sometimes they do this because they are genuinely hungry as a result of not having eaten enough at dinner time. Other times this is done because they need and want special attention. Only at the beach does the family eat together.

Not only do the children not have an established eating place, but they eat at different times each day.

They may eat lunch anytime between 10 o'clock and one, and supper from seven to nine o'clock. Meal time depends on how organized or unorganized Radhia is on any given day.

Radhia and Salah take their meals together and usually eat in the dining room or on the front porch when it is hot. They eat breakfast on the card table in the living room. They eat from separate plates and use their own forks, spoons and knives and glasses. One day when they were very tired and Radhia had no time to prepare supper, they ate a modest meal from a midda (low Arab table) on the floor of the porch from the same bowl. When Radhia is with people who eat in the traditional manner, from the same bowl, she easily joins in. She eats alone with women and children when necessary but prefers to eat in mixed company. She said: "I'm not accustomed to eating with my children, I much prefer to eat with men and women together."

Because Salah's work takes him away from the cooperative for indefinite amounts of time, they do not eat at set hours. Since Salah never telephones to say he will be delayed, Radhia usually prepares a meal and lays out the food hours before it is to be eaten. Consequently one often eats cold stews and couscous. Only towards the end of our visit, did Radhia begin to dish out the food after reheating it. She would leave the finished food in the pot until Salah returned and then serve everyone from the pot which was placed on a trivet. Even if she did not reheat the food, it was still more palatable than when she dished out each individual serving hours before the meal itself. I believe she picked up this idea from me when I told her that we usually serve our meals warm and from serving dishes. Instead of using serving dishes, she used a pot.

Habiba and Ali eat all their meals with their children so that it is much easier for Habiba to supervise their eating habits. The family eats from a common bowl on a midda with their fingers and bread or with spoons. They are seated on a mat. During the winter and hot summer days, they always eat in their

living room. When the weather is nice they eat in their courtyard. Breakfast is eaten between eight and nine, lunch between twelve and one, and supper between six and eight. Tea is generally served after the meal itself, and in the summer Ali, his brother-in-law, Habiba, and the children take advantage of a shady area behind their house to drink tea, rest and chat.

D. Pets

Both families feed their dogs food that is to be discarded. Since Habiba discards less food than Radhia, Habiba's dogs often eat from the refuse pile near Radhia's house. Quite often Radhia feeds her dog bread that has been soaked in water. Habiba's chickens are left to fend for themselves.

XIII. PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HYGIENE

A. Dress

When she was younger Radhia always wore a sef-sari (a white garment that covers the woman completely) and when she and Salah moved to Nabeul and later to Grombalia she says she "used to wear one when I went out shopping alone." She then smilingly added that when her husband was with her she went without a sef-sari. Radhia doesn't like sefsaris and it has been two years since she has worn one. The only exception to this rule is when she goes to weddings and she must cover up because she wears a very low-cut fouta blousa. She has never worn a melia (a long piece of material draped around the body and held up by two large pins), but has always dressed in western clothes. Around the house she usually wears only an undershirt under her outer garments, but when she goes out she usually put on a brassiere. Whenever she goes into town she puts on a pair of heels, even if she is only going to visit the doctor. Although she would like to cut her hair, she wears it long because her husband prefers it that way. It hangs a little below her shoulders and is generally worn loose.

Habiba, like her mother has always worn a melia. But she also owns one western dress, one western skirt with two matching sweaters. These western clothes are for special occasions such as visiting her mother in Grombalia or going to Tunis. She still wears her melia on the cooperative because "I'm used to it," but would like to have more western clothes so that she could wear them around the farm and her house. The melia is good for the winter, but it is too hot to wear in the summer. Habiba says that sometimes she will wear her melia to Grombalia, but only when it is new. When it becomes old and ripped, she plans to wear her western clothes which were only bought recently. She specifically asked Radhia to buy her the western skirt and two sweaters on Radhia's last trip to Tunis. The ensemble cost nine Dinars, which are being paid back in bi-monthly 500 millime installments. After every payday, Habiba delivers the money to Radhia. The outfit

was bought especially for a wedding in Tunis several months before the wedding itself. On one of my visits to Tunis, Habiba commissioned me to buy her a scarf to complement her outfit. I was instructed not to buy "an ordinary, cheap looking one, but an expensive looking one"--something that would impress her Tunis relatives.

When Habiba goes to Grombalia she wears a sefsari because "Ali doesn't want other men to see me." She distinguishes between the "country" sefsari which is made from a coarse material (usually wool), and the "city" sefsari which is made from finer material. When she goes to Tunis for the wedding, Habiba definitely wants to wear a "city" sefsari because most of the people at the wedding will be from the city.

Habiba's other western outfit, being too decollete, was recently given to Zohra Mahmoud for alterations. Habiba had been embarrassed to wear it anywhere but in the privacy of her home. In addition to these prized possessions, Habiba also owns two pairs of western shoes, one pair of sturdy loafers and one pair of high heeled shoes. The latter was a gift of her brother-in-law who works in France. Because her loafers are "too hot for the summer," Habiba did most of her work in bare feet until recently when she purchased sandals for 700 millimes from the cooperative store. She now wears these all the time. Before wearing them, however, her husband put nails in them as a precaution against ripping as "Shoes aren't made well here."

Habiba wears her long hair in braids and usually has a scarf around her head.

Given Radhia's higher financial and social status and her greater contact with the outside world, whenever we talked about what they would buy if they were to go to Tunis Radhia would first mention a coffee and tea service, and then clothes for herself and the children. Habiba always mentions clothes for herself first and then for the children.

In answer to the question 'Whose life is better, your's or your mother's,' Radhia said: "My life is:

better. When I was a girl my mother couldn't go out except to weddings. She always wore a sefsari whenever she did go out. She still wears a sefsari. Now, however, she may go out more often than she did in the past. My father used to hit her. In fact most husbands hit their wives then. My husband has never hit me." Her mother never wore a melia nor worked in the fields like Habiba's mother.

B. Hygiene

Radhia takes rather good care of herself and her clothes, although she doesn't seem concerned when sometimes a sweater or skirt has holes in it or is not fastened. She changes clothes frequently and washes them after one or two days of wear. Habiba is very proud that she is good looking and takes special care of herself. Although she can't change clothes as often as Radhia, she washes her two melias every three days. Because she cooks over an open hearth, must gather wood for cooking and baking bread, and squats while she cooks, her clothes become dirty easily and often smell of smoke. While Radhia is never seen without sandals, at the beginning of the summer Habiba walked around in bare feet until Ali bought her the new pair of sandals which she began to wear most of the time.

Radhia normally brushes her teeth with toothpaste once and sometimes twice a day unless she has difficult stains she wants to get rid of, then she rubs them with swerg or brushes them with charcoal. One afternoon to Jellila's consternation, Radhia used her toothbrush when she cleaned her teeth with charcoal. Habiba does not possess a toothbrush, but cleans her teeth almost every day with swerg. She once said that she cleaned her teeth every day with a solution of soap and water, but when she wasn't looking Lourredine said this is not true. She had said Ali cleans his teeth in this manner and when I asked her whether she also used soap and water, she shook her head indicating yes.

Radhia bathes about once a week, washing her hair at the same time. She removes the hair from all of her body as frequently as necessary with a cooked mixture of lemon, sugar and water. She plucks her eyebrows often and whenever there are guests she uses khol. Her hair is neat and shiny because she brushes it several times a day and enjoys putting it in many different styles. When getting up from naps or before meals, she brushes cologne through it to freshen up.

In keeping with her pride in her own natural beauty, Habiba feels cleanliness is very important. She says she feels her best right after a bath when her is clean and shiny, her clothes are freshly off the clothesline, her eyes are black with khol, and her teeth bright from a rubbing with swerg. During the day Habiba frequently washes her face, hands, arms and feet. She takes a complete bath in which she washes her hair once a week. On one occasion she showed me her hands after working in the garden, and remarked how unhappy she was that they were so dirty: "It will take me a long time to get them clean." Like Radhia she removes all her body hair as soon as it grows back. Her hair is generally neat because she wears it in braids tied behind her neck. She takes pains to look as pretty as possible everyday and never fails to apply khol in the morning. She said: "It's good for the eyes. It acts as a medicine."

Radhia allows her children to walk and play in clothes that are ripped and fastened with safety pins or not fastened at all. Yet when they visit friends in Nabeul or relatives or visitors are expected at the cooperative, the children are bathed several hours in advance and dressed in their best and spotless clothes. Even though they all have sandals they are very often permitted to run around the house and the grounds in bare feet.

Habiba's children look less clean than Radhia's primarily because they play much more in the dirt and their two changes of clothes are too old and worn to ever really look clean. Whenever Fadhila, who is not yet toilet trained, runs out of pants, she walks around or sits on the ground, nothing covering her backside. Habiba's children, and Radhia's as well, are put to bed in the clothes they have been wearing most of the day.

Because Nourredine and Fadhila have no sandals, they always go barefoot. Each has a good pair of shoes, however, that are used for special occasions.

Radhia's children are washed thoroughly every two or three days in warm water and soap while Habiba washes Fadhila several times a day with soap and cold water. Nourredine is washed less often and both children get a bath about once a week. When Habiba washes Fadhila's face, she usually dries it with some of the child's clothing. When the child's nose runs she quickly wipes or washes it. Sometimes the child is told to blow her nose into a leaf. Because Nourredine's and Fadhila's hair is so curly and holds dust easily, their hair, although washed once a week, doesn't appear clean. Habiba rarely combs Fadhila's hair. Radhia combs her children's hair sometime during the morning. The older girls like to comb their own hair.

Radhia's children have been taught how to use a toothbrush and at least once a day they brush their teeth with toothpaste. They seem to enjoy cleaning their teeth and spend several minutes at the sink. Lacking toothbrushes or toothpaste, Habiba's children clean their teeth infrequently with soap and water.

Commenting on cleanliness and how much she disliked dirtiness Habiba said that Radhia preferred not to have a certain woman work for her because "she is dirty--her hair, her clothes, her child, and her house." Radhia and Habiba have both been successful in their endeavors to keep themselves, their children and their houses clean.

XIV. HEALTH

In general both women's health is good. They have minor complaints but there seems to be nothing serious at present. Radhia complains that she is always tired and has frequent headaches but this is primarily due to her lack of control over her children. Habiba complains of stomach trouble when she drinks too much tea, but although she works longer and harder than Radhia, she rarely complains of fatigue. Radhia's children also are in good health. None of them have the distended stomach that Fadhila has nor do any of them appear as undernourished as Nourredine.

Because Radhia has more money and access to large towns, she is able to secure the services of a doctor and to buy patent medicines more frequently than Habiba. Very often, however, Radhia neglected to consult a doctor at the first sign of an illness. She tends to let the condition become more serious before taking definite action. For instance, at one point she developed a very bad heat rash on her abdomen. After the first visit to the doctor in Gromballia the condition became worse after constant scratching. Radhia was very upset but hadn't been able to convince Salah to take her to the doctor again until I told her how serious this condition might be. Radhia's care of her teeth is another example of her tendency to neglect herself. Even though she has had two painful cavities, one being quite a large hole, she has not been to the dentist because "it doesn't hurt all the time," and "he is too expensive."

Whenever the children are sick and it is impossible to get a doctor's advice Radhia uses folk remedies her mother taught her. When Maheres suffered from sun exposure, she cracked an egg over his head, had his blood let from his ears with a dirty razor blade, and gave him a mixture of honey and vinegar to drink. Salah doesn't encourage bloodletting and doesn't like to be present when it is done. On the other hand, he doesn't forbid it nor does he take advantage of his telephone to call the doctor.

Habiba also practices folk remedies. She does this not so much as a last resort, but because she believes in their efficacy. She lets her children's blood herself or has a neighbor do it at the slightest sign of illness. Whereas Radhia prefers as few cuts as possible, Habiba cuts her children swiftly twenty or more times without seeming to be concerned about having an accident because the child is moving wildly. One day she asked her sister-in-law to cut Fadhila around the ears, temples and forehead. Habiba held Fadhila, who, upon seeing the razor blade began to cry and wiggle around in an agitated manner. When I felt Fadhila's head and said she wasn't hot after all, Habiba told her sister-in-law to go home but later let Fadhila's blood herself when the child didn't expect it. Within an hour the child was out of bed and playing normally.

Habiba frequently uses a powdered herb called Zatar which she believes makes the bones strong. Superstitions also play a role in curing Habiba's family and bringing good fortune. One day I noticed that Nourredine was wearing a rectangular piece of sewn cloth attached to the inside of his shirt with a safety pin. Inside the protective cover was a piece of paper. Apparently when Nourredine was last in Grombalia visiting Habiba's mother he became sick. Someone took him to a public notary who wrote some verses from the Koran on this sheet of paper. Habiba quoted: "In the name of God, thanks to God, God is righteous, all merciful and forgiving." These verses, if worn constantly, are to protect Nourredine from becoming ill again. Ali and Habiba have put a horseshoe above their front door. Habiba said: "It will bring us a good luck."

When Radhia's children are injured, they are quickly taken care of. The wound is washed and sometimes covered, but no antiseptic is used. After tending them Radhia kisses the wound or the children and they are sent off to play. Generally, Habiba washes, but doesn't cover, her children's cuts. Radhia sometimes ignores her children's cries for help, but Fatma and her mother-in-law generally fill in the gap.

Radhia claims that she would go to the doctor more often and at the first sign of an illness if she had better means of getting into Grombalia and if her husband were not so busy. Salah doesn't have the time to take her there anytime she has complaints. Although Radhia has put her faith in doctors, she said that many Tunisians don't trust them: "Doctors don't know what they're doing." Dentists cannot be consulted frequently because they are too expensive and several visits are required for a simple job. Radhia had all her children in the hospital and is glad of it. Her first delivery was very difficult and she was ill for some time afterwards. She doesn't like male doctors to see her sexual organs and prefers a "qaabla" (nurse) to deliver children if the birth is not a difficult one. The only reason that she doesn't enjoy staying in hospitals is that her children cannot visit although she does enjoy the rest that hospitals afford her. Most of the advice she has received on child rearing has been from the family doctor and a doctor on a radio program.

Habiba gets medical aid and advice less often than Radhia because she has less money and access to Grombalia. The last time Habiba saw a doctor was a year ago. She complains that her stomach has been hurting her off and on for some time, but she said, "I'll wait for our visit to Grombalia before the wedding." If she and Ali were greatly concerned about her condition, however, they could convince Salah to have them driven into town by the cooperative's truck or car. Although they possess a state health card for indigent people, they doubt its worth. Ali said with Habiba's approval: "They only give you the best medicine if you pay for it. Even though they have it, they won't give it to you." They are so convinced that the state health card provides inferior care, that they prefer to wait until they have saved money before consulting a doctor. Ali said: "When Habiba became seriously ill after our wedding day, she stayed at home for two months and received care through the state health card. She didn't get better. But as soon as my brother who works in France gave us some money to go to the hospital for good care, she became better after one month and four days."

Even though Habiba had Nourredine in a hospital, she had Fadhila at home and wants to give birth to her third child at home. She said: "Many women die from childbirth in the hospital. At home my mother and friends helped me." She had Fadhila on the floor of the living room and was held down by ropes. Like Radhia, Habiba has qualms about having a doctor examine her sexual organs.

CONCLUSION

If we use traditional, transitional and modern as three general classifications for the Tunisian woman, we can determine how far Radhia and Habiba have changed. Both women were raised in traditional households where the daughters did not go to school but instead learned their future roles of housewife and mother from the examples set by their mothers. Their lives were so isolated that they had practically no access to the world beyond their courtyards. They were married in the traditional manner. Whereas Habiba did see her future husband once at a party, Radhia didn't see Salah at all during their long engagement.

It was Radhia's marriage to an educated man with a promising future that took her out of this traditional world into a more transitional one. In nine years Radhia has moved four times, has been permitted to go out by herself and shop, has generally shunned wearing the sefsari, and has gone to restaurants and the cinema. These are things that her mother could never have hoped to do. Radhia's new experiences and contact with the outside world have awakened broader desires, and raised her expectations. Not satisfied with living vicariously through her children's numerous opportunities, she wants to learn to read and write, to attend sewing school, and to go out more often. She agreed to an abortion and considers birth control a good rather than an evil.

In spite of all these modern desires and experiences, Radhia remains essentially a transitional figure because many of these innovations are not consistently practiced. Although she believes in the efficacy of doctors and hospitals, she still uses folk remedies on occasion for curing her children. Doctors are rarely consulted at the first signs of illness. She washes her dishes in soap but uses too little to be effective. Although Salah plays cards with her and takes her out on excursions, Radhia does not enjoy the equal partnership with her husband that her modern counterpart considers normal. This is well illustrated by her comment: "We women are treated like

cows." And even though Radhia aspires to more education and freedom, like a number of modern women, she has no desire to escape from many practices of her milieu. She still cooks traditional dishes, eats alone with women relatives who refuse to eat in mixed company, and faithfully keeps Ramadan.*

Habiba, on the other hand, is not as complex a figure as Radhia. She is a traditional person, not so much by desire as by practice. Her life is considerably more isolated than Radhia's as her husband forbids her to talk with other men and to walk freely around the cooperative. She very rarely leaves the farm. She believes strongly in the practice of folk remedies and hardly ever consults a doctor. In comparison with her mother, however, she has advanced somewhat. Although she continues to wear a melia, she does have some modern clothes and would like to buy more. She thinks her mother's tatoos look well on her, but would not like to be tatoored herself. It is in regard to her children that Habiba's desires tend to be more modern. She is happy that they have the opportunity to attend school and foresees a more prosperous future for them. Fadhila, she believes, will live in a city and be able to take advantage of all it has to offer. Although her future son-in-law will have to pay one hundred Dinars for her, Fadhila will be given the freedom to choose whoever she wants.

✱

✱

✱

*Both families keep Ramadan and consider it a festive occasion. Habiba did complain, however, that her husband spends most of the day in bed during Ramadan and often refuses to run errands at the cooperative store. If she asks him to buy some meat, he is apt to say: "I'm too tired." He tends to be grouchy and yells at her more than usual. Ali wears a chechiya (traditional red felt skull cap), but neither Salah nor Ali go to the mosque. There is none on the cooperative. We have never seen them pray either.

PART TWO

"TWO PRIVATE FARM FAMILIES"

PREFACE

This study has been undertaken to provide anthropological information on two Tunisian farm families of differing socio-economic status. It is to be used to clarify and expand the data being gathered in the Project's agricultural survey.

Two of us, Peace Corps Volunteers, both young women, lived individually in two extended family households, consisting of three brothers and their dependents in each family, for a six-week period during July and August, 1967. One of us lived with a family owning twenty hectares; the other with a family farming their first year of an eight hectare rental contract. We began living in the families with the understanding that we would 1) speak their language--Arabic, 2) live their daily lives, 3) try to integrate ourselves as much as possible into their world and 4) in so doing, upset the rhythm of their lives as little as possible.

Our method of approach included directed observation, when we either brought up a topic or guided a going conversation to obtain certain information, and undirected observations when we were non-participating observers. Probably the most successful methods occurred when people talked freely with only a minimum of directive remarks from us.

The openness and honesty of the informants and, therefore, the validity of the information gathered depended upon the degree to which we were integrated into the routine of family life. We were both taken into these families, accepted as members with kinship titles and given all the generosity, hospitality and love that they accord their consanguineal relatives. In turn we accepted the attendant responsibilities, obligations, and attitudes inherent in rural Tunisian family membership.

In the following synthesis of our two experiences we hope not only to compare and contrast life within the families but also, in a second section, to explore their economic similarities and differences. Although this study has involved only two families, it will hope-

fully give a relatively typical picture of rural farm life in the Cap Bon region of Tunisia that can provide some meaningful background information for the economic study being conducted in this region.

Soliman, Tunisia
August, 1967.

INTRODUCTION

If one flies over the western end of Cap Bon in northeastern Tunisia, he will discover below him a large, flat fertile plain stretching southeastward from the crescent coastline of the Gulf of Tunis. To the west lie the city of Grombalia and the foothills which rise sharply into the giant mountains, Bou Kournine and Ressayas. The rich central agricultural section of the plain has fostered the development of the three main towns of Soliman, Menzel Bou Zelfa and Beni Khalled. Menzel Bou Zelfa (population 10,000) is located on a paved secondary road connecting Soliman and Beni Khalled. Famous for its Thursday souk day, it is the home of the Barket family. To the northeast the plain narrows and becomes more rolling before spreading out once more into a small fertile plain containing the house of the Amara family in the tiny village of El Roud (population 800). Isolated from the nearby seacoast town of Sidi Daoud by the scenic mountain Bou Korbous to the west, it is approached from the east by a dirt road issuing from the main route connecting Soliman to El Haouia on the tip of the cape.

Thus located in close proximity geographically, these two families in rural Cap Bon, along with the rest of Tunisia, are beginning to indicate signs of the massive changes being worked on Tunisian society. These signs are seen against the background of the different economic levels of two families which are nevertheless remarkably similar in their life styles.

The following study will be divided into two sections: one will investigate the effects of a changing value system on rural farm family life: the other an exploration of the farmers economic behavior and attitudes. Thus a central theme running throughout the discussion will be a consideration of values and attitudes as they are affected by the movement of the society from stability to change. Much of the life in these two families appears still to be molded to the traditional pattern in such areas as the role of women, the relationship between religion and causality, and the orientation of all human activity toward the social group. Yet behind this outward stability a dynamic undercurrent of change is

beginning to make inroads especially in the realm of education and the identity of the individual. The results of these changes of attitude will possibly become evident in the life style of the next generation.

The first section deals with the farmer's economic behavior and relevant attitudes, beliefs and aspirations. In discussing agricultural work and living standards those attitudes showing fatalism, planning, self-confidence, empathy, adaptability, or their opposites, will be looked for, as will aspects of the farmer's character, such as thrift, industry, mobility and those "leadership" qualities admired in this culture.

Questions to be considered are: What is the relation between the positive attitudes enumerated, and the socio-economic level? What are the conditions contributing to positive or negative attitudes?

I. THE PLACE

A resume of the two communities involved in the study will present the outside milieu surrounding the socio-economic levels of the two families and serve as a preface to their comparison.

A. EL ROUD.

El Roud, home of the Amara family, is a tiny rural farm village in the fertile Cap Bon region of Tunisia. Supporting a population of about 500, most of whom are related to one another, it has no central water system, but does possess electricity, two groceries, a pottery shop, a grain mill, an olive oil plant, and the new farming cooperative, in which Destourian party cell meetings are held. There is no cafe in El Roud, but there is a room where the men can sit around and talk. And there is a primary school of several classrooms in the village.

Most people live in extended family houches (a houche includes all the rooms and courtyard of one extended family) which are located close together in the center of town. A new area of housing has recently been built by the government on the edge of the older parts of town. This is used to resettle families who have been living apart out in the fields or up in the mountains in ghourbis. Rent in these government homes is 1.500 Dinars a month. The government is interested in settling people together in order to make the distribution of goods and services more effective. Nevertheless, village sentiment prefers to build houses out on the farm land, and several "villas" are to be found outside the village.

Buses don't come to El Roud,* and there is no louage service or train station. Several people have cars or motorcycles of their own, and quite a few have bikes. But when people leave town, it's generally on foot to go to the crossroads three kilometers away on

*In the fall of 1967 bus service was begun between El Roud and Soliman on a schedule of three times a day.

the narrow dirt road to El Roud. There, they catch the bus to Soliman or to Menzel Bou Zelfa, perhaps to Menzel Bou Zelfa's Thursday souk, since El Roud doesn't have a souk, or to find part-time work. At the crossroads, too, is the nearest dispensary, the national guard station, and a post-office with a telephone. There is a mail box but no post-office in El Roud. Newspapers are rarely seen. There are several telephones, one in the Cheik's office and one in the coop. There is a television in the coop that people can watch if they like.

Land ownership among villagers is a recent phenomenon in El Roud, and most people's fathers and grandfathers were landless peasants. Before 1957, when the Habous Law was passed, all the local land was held by absentee owners and could not be bought or sold. In 1957, the government took over the land and offered it for sale. Now good land in El Roud may be bought for 300 Dinars a hectare; the poorest land in the mountains for fifty Dinars a hectare. All 180 of the coop members own, or, as in the case of the Amaras, will soon own land of their own, but much of the working population works on others' land. When asked about the size of their holdings, local farmers replied that few were larger than 20 hectares, "We are all small landholders."

A variety of crops are raised as there is no regional specialization: vines, olives, citrus, truck-farming and wheat are found. Herds of sheep are still raised by some of the inhabitants of El Roud.

Every summer a migrant population comes from the Sahel for the grape harvest. These migrants are not considered a part of the population, and are resented for their competition. They live in the fields in hastily built shelters of the type that local families build to shelter themselves from the midday sun, or in tents. There is no water in their homes. The villagers think that these people are dirty and will steal behind one's back. The villagers carry their possessions home from the fields every night to prevent theft.

These migrants never settle in El Roud as there is not enough regular work. The people of El Roud themselves trace their ancestry back 400 years to the founding of the village, which they say coincides with the coming of their ancestors from Morocco to settle in Sidi Nasir.

The population is said to be stable. When the adults of the village were children, the population was smaller, but the increase in size is attributed to greater production of children within the village. People have not come in from the outside, nor have many people left. A few who have gotten an education have left in recent years to find better jobs.

People in El Roud have some definite ideas for improvements in the village. They would like, in order of importance:

1. a hammam for bathing
2. a municipality to organize sanitation, particularly garbage collection. El Roud is the seat of a Cheikat, but there is no municipality as yet.
3. a central oven. Bread must at present be baked at home in the taboona clay ovens or imported from Soliman.

To this list, the coop secretary adds a paved road.

Improvements of this nature can only come through authorization from the Delegué of Soliman. But the implementation would also require a collection of contributions, according to the secretary of the coop. This may be why the improvements, although generally desired and agreed to be necessary, have not been undertaken.

B. Menzel Bou Zelfa

Menzel Bou Zelfa, home of the Barket family, is no longer a village. It is a busy market town whose Thursday souk is attended by farmers from miles around and whose yearly orange festival is famous in Tunisia.

The streets of Menzel are paved and broad enough for the cars, trucks, vans, bicycles, mule carts and donkeys in circulation. There is a louage service and regular bus service to Tunis, and to the neighboring towns of Soliman and Beni Khalled. The bus pulls up to the central square of the town where a public garden is being designed. Pink paving stones are being laid with a fountain in the center, surrounded by flowers. Beside the square is a parking lot. On one side is a cooperative market whose butchers have refrigerators and fresh meat all summer. On another side is a new general store run by the same society that runs the market. On the opposite corner pottery is displayed on the ground before the party headquarters which boasts a loudspeaker over the door. The delegue's office is just across the street. Along the main street, and in the opposite direction, is the tabac, where daily newspapers may be bought, the pharmacy, the post office, a carpenter's shop, a bookstore, the "hospital" and the large two-story primary school with separate buildings for girls and boys. Menzel also has a new kindergarten and playground, run with the help of two Peace Corps teachers. Next to it, an airy high-ceilinged artisanat has recently been constructed in which young women will learn rug making under the instruction of two monitrices from Hammamet. Women may learn to sew and embroider in the women's union. There are three hamams in the town.

Menzel is the seat of a delegation, and of a cheikat, and has a municipality of twelve council members. There is a party cell headquarters, a branch of the Société République de Transport, and a service coop of two branches with a membership of over a thousand. There are several banks, including the local representative of the Banque National, the Caisse Locale, the Banque Internationale and the Banque de Commerce et d'Industrie.

Most of the inhabitants of Menzel are farmers, specializing in orange cultivation and priding themselves on the fact that "the French come to learn from us, when it comes to citrus production." Many live in villas on their own land. These may also keep a house in town. Houses in town may have electricity and running water. Many farmers have other specialities, such as masonry or mechanics or commerce: these have their own trucks or vans.

Land is not cheap in Menzel. Good land with mature orange trees on it may run to 2000 Dinars a hectare, poor unplanted land may be well under 50 Dinars. Although most landowners have small holdings of only a few hectares, some of the inhabitants, such as the president of the coop, own up to one hundred. Others may own 50, 40, 20 hectares in scattered parcels.

Migrant workers come from the Sahel every year, and though many return to their own olive land there for part of the year, many stay on as there is said to be plenty of work in Menzel. There doesn't seem to be the same hostility towards migrant workers that is found in El Roud, since so many Sahelians have been already successfully assimilated into the town's population, and since labor competition is not a problem. The lack of skilled labor for the orchards is, in fact, second only to the recent water shortage on the list of problems facing Menzel's farmers. All of the improvements hoped for in El Roud have been attained in Menzel. The one pressing desire is for government action on a regional scale to solve the water problem.

II. FAMILY LIFE

Many aspects of life in these two families appear to adhere to tradition, producing an inner core of stability and changelessness. Indeed, the visible routine of life, especially evident in the daily lives of the women, remains essentially the same as it has been for generations. Nevertheless, underlying this surface equilibrium, there is evidence of embryonic change in the life of these two farm families.

Part of the glue which has kept their life style so constant is a value system which holds the survival of the social group above that of the individual. Today the individual as a separate entity with a sense of personal worth and identity is just beginning to evolve within these families. With a sense of personal identity emerges the realization that the individual can take on responsibility and himself be a causal force. Although evidence for this change indicates it is still in a beginning stage, it is the kind of evidence which can perhaps be projected into the future, assuring a greater sense of individual awareness and accompanying personal productivity as the end result. The following study of the relation between the stability-change continuum in rural farm life will be based on the factual material gathered from the two families. After an introduction to the family members themselves, the changing orientation of the nuclear family vis-a-vis the extended family will be considered. A detailed account of the life cycle of these two families will include discussions of child care, health and nutrition, childrearing, (toys, play, and discipline), education, and the role of women. The conclusion of the life cycle leads naturally to consideration of religion and causality which also affects the emergence of the individual from the social group.

A. THE FAMILIES

Personalities: Both the Barket and Amara households consist of three brothers and their dependants living under one roof. A discussion of the lives of these families should necessarily begin with an introduction to the various personalities to be encountered.

Menzel BoujZelfa: the Barket family

Munir Hamada Barket, forty-eight years old, is the uncontested head and decision-maker of the entire Barket household. Active in his community, he is the treasurer of the Parents' Association of the school, a member of the board of the Caisse Locale and was a boy scout master for many years. He enjoys his work as a farmer, manages authoritatively

his farm and household, and is a shrewd bargainer. He values hard work, thrift and the patient sniffing out of new methods and buying and selling advantages. Although illiterate, he keeps his accounts carefully and has managed to pick up French. Munir does not have a generalized, intellectual curiosity. His interest is, rather, utilitarian. A defender of the value of experimentation in agriculture, one of his most-used expressions is "En avant!" (forward). Munir is known as a man who likes to laugh. He is sociable in that he enjoys marketing and bargaining, the café, riding through town and sitting over tea with the men after supper. Yet in conversation he cannot be called talkative. Often he remains silent during and after supper. However, in certain situations, such as a gathering of his workers or with his family, he likes to be the only one to talk at any length, giving explanations, having the last word, and generally taking an authoritative tone.

His second wife and cousin Fatouma is thirty-eight years old. His first wife died in childbirth, leaving him no children. Their children include the twins Hamida and Monia, ten years old. Both girls are boarding "chez les soeurs" in Tunis, but Hamida has passed into the sixth grade, while Monia has flunked the fifth. Hamida has been at the head of her class, and her father is proud of her. She is calm while Monia is "tres nerveuse." They will continue to secondary school, Khalthoum, called "Kahla" (the black) because of her head of frizzy blond hair, is nine years old and repeating the second grade this year. Adel is four and a half and attends the kindergarten run by Tunisian and Peace Corps girls. Two other children died, one at childbirth, the other of illness. "Aind Rubbi" (God willed it).

Hamza Barket, the second brother, has the special task of repairing machinery, particularly the pumps. He does not talk much, sits alone when he is at home, never comes home for supper, and does not laugh except when he has been drinking (which is every night, according to his wife). His sister-in-law, Melouka says the children are afraid of him as he does not laugh when he whips them. He allows his wife to be disrespectful to him. She shouts "shut up!" or "All he likes is his wine!", refuses to serve him water or does so with bad grace, and tosses his bread on the table. He gets up later in the morning than the others, spends a good deal of time at the café, and does not

seem to have a great deal of work to do. He looks seedy and unhappy, and walks with his head down. The causes of his unhappiness and the effects his partial abdication as a family member have had on the family have not yet been determined.

His wife Khediya, thirty-four, is his cousin and the younger sister of Munir's first wife. Khediya is the family seamstress and admits that she does not suit her husband. The eldest of their four children is Nazim, thirteen and a half, who has passed the sixth grade examination. His mother wants him to marry his cousin Hamide, who seems a good deal more intelligent than he. Hayet, ten, is repeating the fourth grade. Abdujabar, called "Hazz", is repeating the third grade. Najoua, six and a half, enters the second grade this fall. Six other children have died, two in childbirth and four of illness or by accident.

Kilani Barket, the youngest of the three brothers, is forty-two. His speciality is masonry but now he is working on the wells. He seems calm, cheerful, solid and hardworking. His hours have been long in recent months. He shows more attachment to the land itself and to his own special work than Munir. For example, he expressed a hope that his son, Jamil, would become an agricultural engineer and keep some property. "Naturally" he would be happier if Jamil worked the very same land as he had. He takes pride in his work, has a kind, open character, confidence in his ability and shows no jealousy of his own status. He is not a silent man, nor is he a talkative one. He spends more time sitting quietly with his own family on his doorstep than do his brothers. He is not an authoritarian figure, and does not seem to take himself quite seriously when disciplining the children. He smiles in spite of himself, as he tries to sound fierce. The respect he receives evidently results from his good example rather than his impressive manner. There does not seem to be any authority conflict with Munir over decisions affecting his nuclear family. Indeed, he would probably be most uncomfortable in commercial transactions, not having the shrewdness of Munir and being perhaps too kind, too gullible and too honest.

His wife, Melouka, is his cousin. She and Khediya lived in the same house during childhood, after the death of Melouka's father. For some reason Melouka seems to be ostracized and bossed by the other two wives. She always looks unhappy. They have three children. Fatma, called Neziha at school, is twelve and repeating the fifth grade.

When asked if her father was akel (good, kind) she said, "Yes, with conviction. But concerning her mother she shrugged and gave a little smile. His son Jamil is eleven and repeating the fifth grade and his daughter Moufida, eight, is entering third.

Another brother, Abdelkader, died five years ago at the age of thirty leaving a wife and no children. A very pious man, he is said by the family to have died reading the Koran. His name is still painted on the back of their truck. When he died, a sixty-five year old widow, Khality Fatra, came to live with the family to console the old mother, Amti Melouka.

El Roud: the Amara Family

The head of the Amara family, Abdallah, forty-two, has been married fourteen years and has had two years of formal education in a Koranic school. He is very quiet, competent and has definite ideas about plans for his own future and that of his land. He never raises his his voice but what he says is taken seriously. With his children he is tender but not verbal. He answers question easily but will not generally take the initiative in a conversation. Around the family teapot he generally sits quietly, smiles infrequently, never laughs, and appears to take life seriously.

His wife Nabiha is thirty and has had no education. Her life centers around the care of children, home, and **farm**. She visibly enjoys answering questions and has many questions of her own in return. She says that she and her husband have never fought in the fourteen years of their marriage. With her seven children she is often harsh and inconsistent in her handling of their discipline; but with her female friends she is outgoing, laughs and keeps up her end of the conversation but never to the point of dominating the others in the circle. Two children died in infancy and so the eldest child is now Keria, ten and a half, who is repeating the third grade. She is authoritarian with all the younger children except her brother, Habiba, nine, who is repeating the second grade and is a strong-willed, independent boy, Najoua, seven, is entering the second grade this year and her younger brother Ali, five and a half, is entering the first grade. Latifa, four, seems to be the one child who is always getting into trouble with everyone. Raoudha, two, and Ahmed ten months, complete this nuclear family.

Hasouna, Abdallah's younger brother, is twenty-eight, Like his brother he has had a couple of years of education but his work is not confined solely to the farm. He also works as a mason in Soliman doing

construction work. One of the hired men who works with the brothers is paid by Həsouna to compensate for the loss of his labour. Unlike either of his brothers he comes home every night and in general stays to drink tea rather than go to the "village cafe". He enjoys talking, laughing and smiling a lot. He talks to his daughter although she is still too young to answer. With his wife he frequently communicates both verbally and nonverbally. He cannot, of course, demonstrate affection for her in the presence of other people but it is obviously present.

His wife, Fatma, is twenty-one and the mother of two little girls, having lost her first child, a son, in childbirth. She is gentle with children, both her own and others, soft-spoken and kind with her women friends, and a happy person. She likes to talk, offers information which she thinks might be of value to this study, is anxious to answer all questions and is inquisitive in return. She is uneducated, **but**, unlike her sister-in-law, she neither works in the fields nor wears a melia but is centered at home. Her daughter Dounya, two, is spoiled but otherwise well cared for. Her youngest daughter, Besma, is three months old.

Ahmed Amara, Abdallah's brother, is extremely independent in his work. He and his family always sleep in a straw shed in the fields during the summer months. He therefore sees little of the extended family. Nevertheless, he is a talkative person who tends to dominate a group conversation. A highly skilled farmer, he has no formal schooling but has been learning by trial and error for thirty-three years. He highly values hard work, careful planning and helping others. His wife Yasmina is quiet and somewhat isolated from **Nabiha** and Fatma. Although she spends most of her time in the fields she will spend one or two nights a week in the village home with her youngest children. In the fields she is constantly a hard, diligent worker. Her seven children are Menoubia, Abderrezeg, Melika, Radhia, Rebha, Mahmoud and Mohamed.

The last resident of the household is Fatouma, the sixty-eight year old mother of the three brothers and a widow since the death of her husband seven years ago. She neither dominates nor is dominated by anyone in the household. She takes care of her youngest grandchildren when their mothers are busy cooking or washing clothes, does a good deal of the family mending and continues to get water twice daily from the well.

She is alert, inquisitive, enjoys talking and takes a wry amusement in small daily events.

The portrait of one other village couple will be included because of their intimacy with the nuclear family of Abdallah and Nabiha. Their contact seems to exceed greatly that between Abdallah and Ahmed's families. Rachid, the village cheikh, is thirty and speaks fluent French. His personal qualities qualify him to be an excellent cheikh. He is intelligent and extremely perceptive. Besides being sensitive he displays patience, kindness and friendliness in his dealings with others. He smiles frequently and is sincere in his wish to help in any way possible. He enjoys exchanging ideas and has many interesting questions. He seems to get a great deal of pleasure from his work and to take his responsibilities seriously. With his wife he is gentle and considerate, having a relationship with her similar to that between Hasouna and Fatma.

Khira, the wife of Rachid and sister of Nabiha, is twenty-four and the mother of a month-old daughter named Fatin. She has no education and spends her time at home. She and Rachid live alone in a house which is outside the center of the village and with no neighboring dwellings. She therefore lacks the close communication with women of the extended household. She combines a quiet gentleness with efficiency and timid curiosity. She accepts life calmly, patiently, and happily finding a warm delight in small happenings.

B. ARCHITECTURAL PLAN OF THE HOUSES

The Baraket home is located away from town, out on the land, so that according to Munir, "the children won't be subjected to bad influences while they're still growing up." Two families have similar living quarters--double room off a central court. The third family has a large single room. Each room is furnished with heavy old furniture: two double beds, a chest of drawers, a cupboard with mirror, a dressing table and a chair. Hamza and Munir have transistor radios without batteries. Kilani has an electric radio. A fourth room is occupied by old Melouka, Khalti Fatma, and Fatma and contains three beds pushed together. Adjoining this room is a closet

with winter blankets stored away. The large television is kept in this room when it is too cool to watch it in the court. There is also a salon, not used in summer, and empty except for a large heavy dresser to store kitchen implements, several plates of leftovers, hunks of bread and a drawerful of old shoes. In front of the house, to one side of the driveway, is the "office", a separate building with a single room containing old armchairs, tools scattered on the floor, and an electric radio. Decorations of wheat stalks hang on the walls. Just inside the back door is a rickety cupboard with some kitchen implements and a four-burner stove with a large oven in which plates of leftovers are kept. An oily brown sack hangs over the back doorway. In the backyard is a well that had not run for three weeks (the motor is broken) covered over with corrugated iron. Various implements are laid on this and chickens hop across. Two unused bicycles stand in the pumphouse next to the well. Behind the well cooking is done on an open fire in large, flat-bottomed pots resting on two fat branches. The water basin is a large one and is adjacent to the left side of the house.

Unlike the Barket's, the Amara house is located in the very center of town. Each nuclear family occupies a room encircling the central courtyard, and Fatouma occupies the room that makes the fourth wall of the courtyard. The central courtyard is used as an all-purpose family room in summer for eating, drinking tea, washing, and playing. Cooking is usually done on an open fire but sometimes on a prima stove in a smaller central area covered by a stone roof adjacent to the large courtyard. Each wife has a small storeroom of her own called a "cugina" where staples such as macaroni, spaghetti, semolina, and flour are stored in large clay pots. In general, each nuclear family cooks and eats as a separate unit. But since my arrival they have been eating in groups of men, women, and children.

Abdallah has an electric radio, bureau and a double "bed" which is actually a stone shelf built into the wall and covered with sheep skins at night. Ahmed and Fatouma have similar stone beds and only Hasouna possesses a double bed with mattress and springs. They have also a large wooden closet, display cabinet, two chairs, a crib for Dounya and a portable radio. The household possesses three "taboonas" (rounded

mud oven for baking bread) just outside the cooking area. The doorway to each family's room is covered by a tattered cloth as well as having a wooden door. In the corner of the courtyard nearest the cooking area is located the "mehadh" (J.C.) and drain. Water is taken from a well about five-minute's walk from the house. The rounded roofs are used for play by the children and for drying foods such as tomatoes. Out in the fields both Abdallah and Ahmed have each built a small thatched shack for shelter from the midday sun or for sleeping when the family is too tired to walk the kilometer back to the village center on summer nights. It can be seen therefore that the Barket and Awara houses do not differ drastically in their architecture even though the Barket's possess more furnishings and a little more space.

III. COMPARATIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVELS

A. Living Standards

The Barkets are better off than are the Amaras and live more comfortably. They have a larger, thicker-walled house than do the Amaras and they are also able to house several of their workers. Fewer people sleep together in a room, as there are fewer children per family, and each family has two rooms. The house is better furnished and the furniture is large, heavy and serviceable, though old. There are enough spring beds, mattresses, pillows, blankets, sheepskins and rugs for everyone; whereas the Amaras have insufficient quantities of these, and last winter had to borrow from Nabiha's mother. The only modern appliance in the Amaras' house is a radio. The Barkets have two transistor radios, a new large-screened television, a new large gas range with oven and a new sewing machine. Munir is planning to buy a refrigerator. The Barkets are able to keep their house cleaner than are the Amara women, because none of the Barket women have to work in the fields.

Munir has already bought three plots of land in town on which he plans to build three western-style apartments for the three brothers and their wives to occupy when the children are married. The Amaras are planning to build a villa on their new land. The first ten bricks were made and drying when I was there.

The Barkets can afford to eat better than the Amaras do. There is always an egg for each child every morning from their own chickens, a glass of milk from their own cow, and lots of fresh fruit from their own garden and local markets. There is always meat and fish, although in small amounts. The Amaras can rarely buy meat in El Roud, even if they could afford it, as there is no butcher. An infrequent egg is shared by several people. Watermelons and melons were eaten in large quantities because they are provided by the farm. The Amaras' meals seemed much spicier than the Barkets, possibly because cheaper spices and oils were used.

The Barkets often buy new material for clothes from a material vendor who calls at the farm on his laden bicycle every Thursday souk day. Old clothes are given away to the workers. All but one of the Amara women wear mellias, and have few changes of dress.

The family car permits the Barkets to buy things from Tunis and Sfax when they like, and also to amuse themselves. Last year they rented an apartment on the beach in Hammam-Lif for a few weeks. The year before that they spent most of the summer there. The men went back and forth to work easily.

Although the Barkets are a good deal more comfortable today than the Amaras, habits from their poorer days remain. As will be seen in the sections on Housekeeping and Nutrition, the women, although they are secluded, veiled and are not required to work in the fields, still are negligent about their appearance and that of the children. The house is not kept as clean and neat as it could be. Food is still predominantly starchy. Necessary dental and medical visits are avoided. The house furnishing is functional. There is no decorated living room of the style that is commonly found in Menzel Bou Zelfa, even in poor houses, with hanging tapestries, embroidered tablecloths, and glass-windowed cupboards. The soft armchairs are made of cheap inflated plastic and are discarded into the office each summer. Although three of the Barket children are in a private boarding school, one in a public, at a total cost of 33 Dinars a month (one of the Amara children is boarding at the high school in Nabeul on government grants), there are only two or three books other than textbooks in the house and almost no toys.

Socio-economic level is evidently not the sole determinant of how money is spent or of living standards.

B. Land and Farm Equipment, Livestock and Crops

Barkat
Munir/and his two brothers own their land. They

are the proprietors of 20 hectares of good citrus and truck-farming land. Munir no longer has to work with his hands on the land: he is the manager, the marketer, the supervisor of the farm. Kilani, a mason and Hamza, a mechanic, still work with the men.

The Amara brothers and their wives, except for Fatma, whose husband has a second job, work in the fields. They are truck-farming eight hectares of land belonging to their cousin "Wild Ammi" on a ten-year purchase plan. For ten years they work the land, taking $\frac{3}{4}$ of the profits. The proprietor is an absentee landowner. After ten years, four hectares will belong to them, and they will have the option to buy the other four.

The Barkets' land is watered by five wells with six-horse-power pumps. Two other wells have no pumps yet. Three of the wells have had to be deepened this year to a depth of 20 meters and more. Two dams, built with government help, now belong to the family. There are several water basins.

The Amaras' land is irrigated by three wells, two of which were dug this year, and one of which is saline.

Munir's farm equipment includes a plow with three types of attachments drawn by his two mules or his two oxen. The Amaras' plow is metal with a blade that must be sharpened about every ten days and must be replaced every four months at a cost of 500 millimes. Ahmed feels that the metal plow is not as good as the old wooden one because it does not plow as deep a furrow. Only a tractor, which he would like to buy, could do as good a job, he feels. The hoe used by the Amaras in the field has a wooden handle and a metal foot, costs about 600 millimes and lasts a year.

For marketing Munir has two carts and a truck. The Amara brothers have the use of a truck belonging to their cousin.

Other livestock on the Barket farm includes two donkeys, four milkcows and two young bulls. Munir plans to buy a young bull. The Amaras have a mule and a horse.

C. Attitude Toward Land

There were inconsistencies in Munir's estimation of the market value of his land. During the first week of my stay, he estimated between 100 and 400 Dinars, the first for good, treeless land, the second for land with 20-year-old trees on it. Cousin Taieb, however, said one cannot get good land, even treeless, for much less than 12,000. In conversation with both men, Munir told me that he had paid 1000 Dinars for one hectare on which are eight-year-old trees. This price was special because he was acting at the time as advisor to the three brothers who sold him the land. Their older brother, who had been their chief (as Munir himself is in his family), had died and they had let things fall apart, not knowing how to take care of the land. (Munir called them "men without livers.")

About ten years ago, he said, he had bought another piece with 20-year-old trees at 4000 Dinars a hectare. This too was a special case. He had worked the land as a sharecropper for many years, finally earning half of the land, and then buying the rest.

I asked for an estimate of the market value of the land nearest the house which is planted in mature trees, many bearing three-hundred kilograms of fruit a year. Cousin Taieb rephrased my question for Munir: "If you should ever want to sell, what would you accept per hectare?" Significantly, Munir was unable to accept even the hypothetical situation for a time, insisting "But I would never want to sell, ever. What could replace such a large yearly income?" Finally he estimated an impossibly high figure of 40,000 Dinars.

These unrelated variations in land value are probably meant to be illustrative of other values.

The first examples, the buying price, perhaps are given to show how good a bargain he made; the exorbitant selling price to show what the land means to him now.

But although this piece of land near the house is one of his oldest, his attachment to seems wholly economic. Perhaps he assumes that at least one of the four sons will someday farm the land he now farms. But he doesn't mention this in speaking of his hopes for the sons (of whom only one is his own): he wants them to become doctors, or engineers, or teachers, or find jobs that will serve others as well as bring the whole family home money, perhaps as "directors of something." In fact, he has said that he is anxious for the children to grow up so that he can stop working and leave the land. He and his wife (and brothers and their wives) will then move into new town houses. He hopes to travel in Europe. They may even sell the land. The brother Kilani, however, wants his son to be an agricultural engineer. And, of course, he'd like him to have the family land. "This is why we're working".

The Amara men appeared to have no emotional ties to the land they had worked for so many years but did not own, and a corresponding deep commitment towards careful planning for their own land. It may be deduced that their land represents their new status as proprietors, and that land ownership is closely linked to the many changes that have taken place in El Roud in recent years. The successful exploitation of this land will determine their future status. By the nature of the contract they have entered into they must make this land profit, as they cannot buy and sell this or any other land in the next ten years. If they can make this land profitable during the next ten years, they will be able to buy it. Their land and their plans for the future are interdependent.

Munir Barket has freely bought and sold land in the past to assemble it in unified parcels. In refusing to put a price on the land around the house which is the oldest piece, he may have been expressing a sentimental attachment. His explanation that even a high price could not make up for the lost yearly rev-

enue was certainly not sentimental. One might expect that pride of personal achievement, independence, or economic and social success might be identified in his mind with his particular plots of land, or even with the fact of ownership itself, as is possibly true for the Amaras. This does not seem true, however, in Munir's case. His pride is rather in his own qualities of good management, independent of the land, which could as well be any other commodity—olive, wheat, or fish—like those his grandfather dealt in.

Modifying this purely commercial judgement, however, is the fact that he likes his work as a farmer very much. As we drove through fields where his olive trees were growing, he exclaimed, "Look! Doesn't the sight of them give pleasure to your eyes?" He continued, "I take pleasure in my animals, apart from their work value. In Scouts we learned to love everything because God made them." The water outlets in the fields are shut off when not in use, he says, because of the birds that come to drink.

D. Plans

The Amaras don't even have the bare necessities in their house, so it would be expected that their planning is not grandiose. However, rather than equipping their present house, Abdallah Amara is planning a new villa (a non-Arab house) on their newly-acquired land, and has already shosen the spot and started making the bricks. The new location is only about a kilometer from the old house; but significantly is well outside the central cluster of village houses, offering cooler breezes in summer and independence for the nuclear family from the other relatives.

The Barkets too are planning three new houses, and have already purchased the land, ten years or more in advance of the time when they plan to move. A Sfaxian architect will be hired to design the houses. They will be of French design rather than Arab as French houses require less land and Munir expects only the husbands and wives to occupy them. The girls generally marry and move away

It is, however, worthy of note that Munir apparently expects the sons to live with their own wives and children in separate houses, too, rather than with their fathers. In their choice of a house style a conservative (or sentimental) preference for the old style was not evident. Frigidaires have been mentioned several times, and three will be bought in the next few years for the new houses.

Munir plans to buy a young bull as soon as he finds one that has a strong frame, but is cheap because it is thin. He will then fatten it for several months and sell it to buy a milk cow. Three of his four cows will calve between February and April '69. He will sell any bull calves and keep the heifers. When he has three or four more cows (bringing the total to twelve) he plans to assign one of the workers to do nothing but take care of his cows. Probably Azizza will do this as she is getting old--in her 50's. This branching out into livestock rearing has a precedent. The old patriarch, Mohamed, the first Barket, had at one time large numbers of livestock.

The Amaras plan to buy a truck of their own and a tractor. This project would not, in view of their income, seem possible in the near future. Perhaps they are planning for the time when they no longer have the use of the cousin's truck.

Munir is decisive in his plan for his children's education: all of them will go as far as they can. One of his daughters will be ready for secondary school at the end of the next school year. He has given the Sisters at the Catholic school she is attending his permission for her to take the mission school entrance exam. Should she succeed, she will have the choice of entering the girls' high in Rades, or the Lycée Carnot, a mixed high school teaching the French syllabus. Her cousin, Zohra Choftar, the niece of Taleb Choftar, is entering Carnot this year, although her father, Mohamed, had some misgivings about her doing so. Carnot, as well as being separate from the state system, is known for the "modernness" of its teenagers and their dress, often startling to conservative eyes.

The attitude of the Amara brothers was less easy to define. During our first discussion Ahmed said that he wanted his oldest son to help him on the land as soon as possible. During the second, Abdallah said he wanted the same for his own son. Possibly the important connection between education and socio-economic success is not fully grasped. This possibility seems to be borne out by Nabiha's comments: "During the colonial period," she remarks, "Tunisians knew nothing, but now that all children go to school eventually everyone will be able to read and write." She seemed to be completely unaware of the consequences of education for the farming life which is the very backbone of her existence (perhaps that is why). During a conversation with the men, in which the criterion sought by an American girl in a future husband was discussed, they showed surprise that I would not consider marriage with an uneducated man, even if he were nice. They felt, however, that socio-economic level was important. So the two had not been closely related in their minds.

Amara family plans include those plans for improving the village that will affect them immediately: a hammam, a communal oven, and a garbage collection system. They do not seem to be doing anything about it.

IV. CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE TWO FAMILIES BEGAN WORKING

A. The Region

The opportunities for improvement of income and of living standard are not the same for a farmer living in Menzel and one living in El Roud. Transportation to the large centers for marketing and supplies is made easier by Menzel's location on the main road, and communication is better, due to a more mobile population, visitors who come to market or shop, and cafés that encourage exchange of ideas. Although land is more expensive in Menzel, there is also more work and more skills to be learned.

Since 1964, there has been a service coop in El Roud which has already made a significant difference to the village. It remains to be seen how far changing institutions can make up for El Roud's locational disadvantages. There is more institutional support in Menzel from banks, a large coop and a municipality.

B. Inheritance

The Amaras inherited no land, and the Barkets only a little. The Amara brothers were sharecroppers on a father-in-law's farm until 1966. They had never owned land, and had no hopes of becoming landowners. They often had nothing at all, they said, as the landlord for whom they worked was not always fair in dividing the profits, and their income was neither guaranteed or steady. Finally, after more than thirty years of working for others, they accumulated a small capital but found no landowner willing to sell at a price they could afford.

At that point, the owner of the land they now cultivate proposed the previously described ten-year purchase plan. The owner had not intended to sell, and had he sold outright, could have made more money than is possible under the present arrangement. Why, then, has he agreed?

He is a first cousin of the brothers--their fathers were brothers. Until two years ago he lived in the houche next door to the houche where the brothers live. Because of the patrilocal residence roles, these men have spent their entire lives together. Of all the possible first cousin relationships (the Arabic language makes a verbal distinction between all eight), that of the son or daughter of one's father's brother appears to be the most important. Marriage ideally is supposed to be contracted with one's first cousin through his father's brother. This particular land had been owned by someone in the Amara family for as far back as anyone can remember and the present plan assures that it will remain in the family. This is very important to the present owner who agreed because the brothers were relatives and possibly only because they were still carrying the family name. One of the brothers reports that this sort of ten-year plan is widely used in Tunisia because it helps the small farmer who has no ready capital.

At the time of Munir Barket's marriage (at 31), his mother gave him a small capital which enabled him to buy three and a half hectares of land that had to be cleared of scrub brush by his brother and himself. Since 1947 he has bought land steadily. Land has been resold to buy land bordering the rest, so that his 20 hectares are now assembled into four major groupings, separated by several kilometers.

But in his youth, Munir, too, had worked as a hired laborer, along with Aziza who is now his employee. He attributes his rapid rise from worker to proprietor to thrift, saying that Aziza and her family didn't know how to save money. "They ate too well, always drank tea. I used to make myself trousers out of sacks that I had dyed blue."

C. Upbringing and Tradition

For several hundred years, the Amara brothers say, their families have done the same kind of work on other peoples' land. The Barkets lay claim to a more varied heritage.

His good luck at fishing won him the new name Barket or fortune, to replace Hamida as his family name. He was then able to buy one and a half hectares of land and to rent 70 hectares with money he had saved, so he turned to farming, planting a variety of crops and raising sheep and other animals. But when the proprietor of the 70 hectares died, his children no longer rented the land to Barket. At his death, Mohamed Barket left only a small parcel of land to his four sons and four daughters--as well as a dual tradition of commerce and farming. He lived a long life, during which he had an important influence on his grandchildren. They still tell stories of his formidable authoritarian character.

As a young man, Munir Barket had done some buying and selling for his grandfather, driving a cart to Pont de Fahs, buying wheat there, carting it back to Menzel and reselling it at the souk. He also worked as a day laborer on other people's land. Munir was expelled from the third grade for asking a question of his French instructor that was judged to have political overtones: "Tunisian books have pictures to illustrate the alphabet, D for door, C for cow. Why do the French books always have a viper on the cover?" Today he doesn't read or write, but knows his numbers well; he is the treasurer of the Parents' Association of the school and is on the Council of the Caisse Locale. He has either retained or picked up a fair amount of French. His brothers Hamza and Kilani went to school for an equally short time, and Khadija for a year, but they say they did not learn anything.

D. Outlooks

The Amaras come from a Bedouin tradition, generally more superstitious and fatalistic than the bourgeois-urban background of the Barkets. The word "mektoub" (it is written) was never heard in the Barket house.

The Amaras have always lived in El Roud, an isolated economically poor region. They have been immobile until recently and their experience has been unvaried. Their narrow experience of people and places may explain their prejudices against Southerners and against Negroes. In talking with my "mother's younger brother, a student, I discovered a strong prejudice against southern Tunisia. He feels that 1.) southerners are lazy and don't work hard, and that 2.) the reason the south doesn't have enough water for farming is because they just don't bother to dig enough wells. My opinions considering both these comments seemed to have no effect on his stereotyped attitudes although I had just spent a year in a southern village.

In a discussion with the Cheik of El Roud, an unexpected attitude of prejudice towards Negroes showed up. White Tunisians "never" marry Negroes. Each race should stick to itself. He wanted to know about school desegregation in the United States and about whether Negroes really were different and trouble-makers.

Although Munir Barket was without education, as were the Amaras, he had a wider experience than they had, buying and selling, travelling and coming in contact with many types of people. His grandfather had worked with Jews. One of Munir's most prized stewards was a Negro. Munir not only speaks a fair amount of French, but a few words of Italian and German. The Amaras speak only Arabic.

V. ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE STATE,
CREDIT BANK AND COOP

A. The Barkets

The State, Much of this beginning section is based on a single conversation with Munir Barket and his cousin Taieb Choftar. Munir's opinions were reserved and criticisms had to be drawn out of him. Cousin Taieb is a volatile young man, given to the French style of vivid expression and a negative attitude toward government. Taieb and his brothers own over 40 hectares on part of which they are experimenting with melons.

Munir and Taieb criticized the government for raising the prices of agricultural supplies. Prices of fertilizers and machine parts and cement have tripled since 1963, they said, the price of pumps has doubled--300 to 600 Dinars--, and "you can't find new ones anywhere." Some things are no longer to be had at all. For example, a treatment for quince is no longer imported from France, although the market price for the fruit is high and it is easy to cultivate. "Why must politics interfere with economics these days?" asked Taieb. "In the face of fire, we farmers still advance," Munir declared, with a gesture of shoving bureaucracy aside.

Not only have the prices of parts tripled, but bureaucratic hurdles protect the rarest items from private buyers. For instance, to buy two new tires for his truck, Munir must (1) get a "medical certificate" from a mechanic saying the old tires are no good. (2) get a certificate from the Cheik saying that Mr. Barket has a truck in need of the two tires. (3) Present 1 and 2 to the Délégué for his signature. (4) Present these papers in person in Tunis to a society that now sells tires at 42 Dinars each. There, his name is added to a waiting list. Priority is given, however, to any coop or society that requests tires. Munir may get his tires after a few months. It was implied that the government wants to discourage private transport.

The government was also criticized for failing to deal with the water problem. "This is an agricultural country, but they're doing their best to harm agriculture." At the bi-annual regional meeting of ministers in Nabeul which Munir and Taleb attended, a Water Seminar was promised, during which time a solution would be sought. This has not yet been held. What are the possible solutions? Taleb says that sea water can be converted, or water may be brought from a lake near Bizerte. Earlier an engineer claimed that wells dug at 300 meters would supply all the region with water at a strong force with only one well each 50 square kilometers. Taleb says, "If the government would give me the authorization, I myself would dig a well at 150 meters. It would be worth it to me even if I had to give them $\frac{1}{2}$ my orange harvest in return (an exaggeration). And I would give free water to all my neighbors," (he now does when he can). --Why won't they give him the authorization? "They claim that the other wells would become salty." He shrugs, as if he doubts their explanation. But he does seem to think that a real solution would have to be regional.

An example was given of governmental stupidity in dealing with the problem. There is a natural lake or a marsh a few kilometers from Munir's land. In winter water accumulates and adds to the underground water stream. In order to reclaim the land for agriculture the government contracted with foreign engineers who built a channel that runs the water out to sea, wasting it. Munir and Taleb believe that the harm done by the loss of water far outweighs the benefits of reclaiming the area of about 100 hectares.

Several other examples of the government's error in giving contracts to foreign engineers were given: In 1960, a persuasive German came to Menzel to sell shares to the farmers for a factory he had contracted to build for the Tunisian government. The scheme involved using orange peels to produce an "essence" for use in airplane construction. Munir paid 200 Dinars for a share, Taleb, 1000 Dinars. They claim the total collected was one million Dinars. What happened to the factory? "Now pigeons live in it. Our money was all

lost." It seems that the location chosen was inconvenient, or that the rubber parts of the machine were full of holes. Was the money pocketed? Who knows?

Groups of foreign engineers sent to Menzel to analyse the soil have said that certain soils were poor when the trees growing on that soil were each producing 300 kilograms of oranges.

The materials for a bridge to be built in Tunis at Bab El Alouch would have cost Tunisia a lot according to estimates of foreign engineers, but a Tunisian and his wife came forward with the suggestion that a local clay be used as a base, saving the country money.

Yougoslavs in Public Works were all ready to junk several new bulldozers as not suited to Tunisian conditions. Munir's cousin Mohamed, a mechanic for Public Works, adapted them so that they were usable.

As a result Munir says: "Unless an engineer is Tunisian, my eyes and ears are shut." They admitted that "the same is not true for industrial engineers. There foreigners are safe. They can apply their rules. But you can't get good agriculture from books. Agriculture is alive, you have to experiment." Even Tunisian engineers, they feel, should spent at least three years working in different regions of the country. But "although Tunisian engineers are good, they don't know more than we fellahin do about our work. Even the director of the coop and his cousin who has a doctorate in engineering can't tell us anything." The coop agronomist visited Munir's land two years ago. Although Munir respects his ability, he said he had learned nothing new from him. The coop directors aren't as informed as Taleb, he claims, since he has spent six months in France studying "primers" such as melons. Taleb says: "I'll never have an engineer on land of mine! And when it comes to orange cultivation there's nothing anyone can teach Menzel farmers. In fact, French engineers come here to learn about orange cultivation."

In 1963, Munir and his brothers won a big silver cup for farming (now tarnished on the floor of his office

with the junk and tools). During the competition, "high" engineers came to Munir's land, looked at the trees, asked about farming practices and the rationale for them, as well as some demonstrations of tree trimming. They asked how he knew so much, uneducated as he was. He answered, "I experiment. When I hear of a new method, I try it out on a small scale and then apply it if it works. For example, we try clipping the branches of the trees at a different time each year." --How do you know which branches to cut? He held up his hand. "You look for the regular pattern of the tree. If there is a sixth branch growing out at an odd angle, chances are it's growing at the expense of the other five, taking all the juices. So even if it looks green and healthy I cut it. Like a man who feels more fit when his hair is neatly combed."

Another example of experimentation that Munir mentioned often is the spacing of orange trees. Several years ago they were spaced 5 meters by 5 meters, later 6 meters by 6 meters. Now he spaces them 5 meters by 7 meters. This way, the side facing the wind is spaced narrowly and the side facing the sun, widely.

The same year Munir had his own display booth at the annual orange festival. He displayed varieties of citrus in different stages of growth, from the seed to the fruit-bearing trees. He also arranged a glass water basin filled with orange juice and a rubber device that sprayed the juice up, out and in again. For several years before that he had also been giving out several tons of free orange juice from a juice machine he installed in his display booth.

Since 1964, he no longer gives a display. He grimaced and shrugged. "Now the coop wants to run the whole affair." --"But I thought you said that you farmers were the coop?" "In a class a student is drawing a picture on the blackboard. The schoolmaster takes the chalk away and draws the picture himself. I'm not interested in the fair anymore, I say each one for himself!"

B. The Coop: Attitudes towards the coop are more ambiguous than those toward the National Agricultural Bank and the central government. Coops are given the benefit of the doubt, and their shortcomings attributed to youth, lack of experience and facilities, although shortages of construction materials and fertilizer force the farmers to buy these products in Tunis.

Munir and Taleb sell their own produce on the local market, and have made private arrangements with foreign buyers for their export produce in addition to that marketed through the coop. They feel that a shortage of trucks and frequent crises deny the coop the flexibility that an alert private farmer enjoys. The coop is often forced to sell in nearby Tunis, for example, although prices in more distance Sfax or Sousse are momentarily higher.

Coop officials have also shown poor judgment in buying supplies. Munir was able this year to find orange crates in Tunis at 25 millimes each less than those sold by the coop. Farmers without either his access to Tunis or his drive for a bargain lost money by using the coop boxes. Munir and Taleb feel the coop officials are not well-enough informed to conduct the extensive information service big farmers require, nor do they carry enough political weight to influence government policy on issues affecting farmers. Nor do they give instructions in the simpler techniques, like mixing fertilizers, that could aid the smaller farmers.

Were they dependent on the coop, their criticism would doubtless be sharper. As it is, they can profit from it on occasion, but remain for the most part private entrepreneurs. The coop was criticized for completely taking over the initiative at the orange fair. But it was only the star pupil holding the chalk who was hurt. The class as a whole may well have benefited. Although personally disposed toward private enterprise, Munir and Taleb have indicated that when the coop can handle all the produce it will be more profitable to all, should everyone be obliged to market through the coop.

The Credit Bank, Munir sits on the committee of the Caisse Locale that processed demands for loans. His opinions were more reserved than those of Taieb, who said, "The men at the Caisse Locale are not serious-minded." And, "Reform the National Agricultural Bank? I'd burn it down!"

The principal criticisms were that insufficient capital is available through the Caisse and that there are too many questions, interference, and too long a wait for both Caisse and bank credit. Taieb put in a demand for credit from the Bank to dig a well in 1964. The money has just come through, three years later. "It's possible," Munir agreed, but insisted that "an error must have been made."

Taieb claimed that a year's wait is not unusual. There are flat ceilings on credit available through the Caisse:

<u>Caisse</u> :	for one hectare of oranges,	50 D.
"	"	wheat, 10
"	"	potatoes, 30
"	"	grapes, 25

Taieb protested that a man can't dig a well for 50 Dinars; in fact there's very little he can do with 50 Dinars except buy food. A neighbor, Salah Hanafi, had asked for 300 Dinars to deepen his well. He got only 150 Dinars because of the size of his land; half the sum necessary to dig the well.

Both men objected to the questions asked by the Bank and Caisse. They both borrow from the Banque de Commerce et d'Industrie which gives immediate loans, with no questions asked. Taieb generally borrows amounts of about 7000 Dinars a year. Interest is the same (5 or 6%) as the government banks, and loans are given for one year. The BCI is set up for larger proprietors:

Munir claimed that he went to the BCI because he had a checking account there, and they knew him. In addition, he didn't want to borrow from the Caisse, as he sat on the board. The National Agricultural Bank sends out inspectors to measure the well and verify claims, as the Bank doesn't know the men as well as

does the local Caisse. Sometimes it is three months before the inspectors arrive. Munir claimed at first that questions, inspectors, even a several months' wait were reasonable. Taieb said that the Caisse referred them to a cement dealer. If the coop is out of cement, the society approved by the Caisse has higher prices than its competitors in Menzel.

According to Taieb, the Caisse and the National Agricultural Bank are both ineffective. Munir qualified; "The Caisse is small. They're only insured up to 3000 Dinars, so that's all there is at any one time in the vault. Above that, they'd have to send to Grombalia. The bank gives large loans and doesn't give the same system of ceilings as the Caisse. A man with a single hectare could get 1000 Dinars for the National Agricultural Bank, depending on the type of capital on his land. But he'd have to wait for it, while a big man would go straight into the Bank office, have a cigarette and get immediate credit." Munir added, "But I got an immediate loan from the Bank back in 1963, 300 Dinars for a pump." Taieb shrugged, "A pump, that's different."

Taieb summed up his attitude to the central government: "I'm anti-government automatically. They are sleeping. Any project, especially in agriculture, takes ten years. Except when they are building new hotels and cafes."

Munir, older and more involved in the community perhaps, is more tolerant. Two old spinsters whose land the government just confiscated to build a cemetery came to him for advice. The price that the women would receive was not what they imagined was the value of their land, and he agreed with them. When asked his opinion of this kind of confiscation, he replied with a shrug. "Every government everywhere is like that. If they want something, they go ahead and take it" Munir does not criticize the government for an aggressiveness that he advises in individuals.

B. The Amaras

The State, One hears few criticisms of the coop, the Soliman Caisse Locale or the state from the Amara brothers. On the contrary, many opinions expressed by them on local

conditions were very much similar to the party line as given in an interview with the secretary of the party and the coop. These opinions also agreed with Bourguiba's policy on the international situation.

One negative attitude concerning French buying did emerge. Tunisian products such as dates and olive oil which bring a high price on the world market (the U.S.A. was mentioned as an important consumer) must first go through a middleman-France. Although ~~these~~ products are expensive in the United States, it is France which takes a good deal of the profit. This is done through a form of economic pressure. France refuses to buy Tunisian vegetable and fruits if Tunisia will not also market her specialty foods through France. A definite feeling of resentment was expressed, but with it an acceptance of this as the way things are. The Tunisian government's role in this was not discussed, nor was the government specifically blamed.

The Coop. The three-year government campaign prior to the official beginning of the coop on February 17, 1964, seems to have been successful in enlisting the allegiance of the farmers in such a way that they are not aware of other directions of pressures. They attribute the coop's success among the other government coops to their own assumption of responsibility to support the coop. Each member has paid his dues, bought coop supplies (the coop has a monopoly on supplies in El Roud now), and marketed tomatoes and potatoes through the coop, attended its frequent general meetings, listened to the advice of the (rotating) government advisor attached to the El Roud coop on watermelon cultivation and planned to apply his advice on watermelon shelters next year. The brothers show confidence in the disinterestedness of the nine council members and in the knowledgeability of the government advisor who visits them each month. They feel disposed to share their own knowledge and experience with the others. Ahmed emphasized this point.

On the whole, the brothers appeared to be convinced that the idealism behind cooperation is sound. The following statement was made by Abdallah: "The coop is new here.. People come from the government to tell the farmer about it. The farmers elected the director, who is paid from the coop's market profit, and are pleased with his work. He keeps them informed about any innovations. For example, the coop has offered to help any farmers to use an improved kind of crop shelter next year. The shelter is used for watermelons in Solimen and will get them to market earlier in the season." Watermelons and cantalopes brought a good price last season, so Abdallah wants to try the new crop shelters. He says that this cooperative is one of the most successful in the whole governorat because the land is good and there is no water problem. The coop has plans to buy cattle and Abdallah is planning to contribute to support this project.

The coop secretary had said that the coop holds frequent meetings with all the farmers, although in nearby coops a general meeting is held only once a year. If there is a crisis, as for example a plant disease, the coop members may meet as often as every two weeks. The coop also takes much of the responsibility for getting small farmers credit from the Caisse in Soliman, although larger neighboring coops do not. Plans and ideas are drawn up by the Council. Initiative comes from within this body rather than from an outside government source, the secretary says. When the village wants improvements, it is the party's job to collect money from everyone, then to approach the delegate with plans and money. If the project is approved, the delegate also contributes money.

The Amara brothers did not criticize the routine management of the coop, and did not think that dues were high. Part of the dues are paid upon joining the coop, and vary with the number of hectares and the crop cultivated: (a hectare of new land at 1 Dinar 500; of truck farming, 2 D. 500; of fruit trees, 3 Dinars) plus a "confidence" fee of ten Dinars to be paid on time. They were not obliged to join the coop, and believe their dues are well spent. They did not complain of shortages, and said that supplies are cheaper than elsewhere. Credit on supplies is available for all without delay. "Everything I've asked for, I've got," Ahmed said. He does not seem aware of any difficulty in a private individual obtaining machinery and machine parts. Ahmed plans to buy at some time in the future a tractor and a truck of their own (they are presently sharing their cousin's truck). When asked if that purchase would be very difficult, he seemed surprised, "No, why?"

There are some discrepancies in the picture. The Amara brothers said that they had elected their own director, but the usual process is for the council members to choose him from among themselves, so their version is probably not true. The coop secretary said that support of the coop involved marketing through the coop. The brothers market only potatoes and tomatoes through the coop, as this is obligatory and more pro-

fitable as well. They believe other products are more profitably marketed on their own in their cousin's truck. Unexpectedly, Hasouna stated that coops were especially beneficial to small farmers like himself who do not have a great deal of produce to market. He says that large landowners oppose the coops because they can make more money by marketing their own produce. They claim that all the members have confidence in their advisors and listen to them, but a recent tomato crisis was caused by their not doing so.

The problem arose when the cooperative made a contract with a tomato paste factory. The contract was for a certain tonnage of tomatoes for which the required number of boxes was to be supplied by the factory. The farmers were advised how much to produce, but planted more, creating a surplus. By the end of the crisis boxes were being given out according to how much tomato land a person had registered at the beginning of the season. Earlier in the crisis, farmers had caused a run on the boxes, the first arrivals were given more than their share, and fights and disputes broke out later. Hasouna felt that a director with more education could have used foresight in averting the crisis.

During the crisis itself, before the reasons for the confusion were known, the opinions that emerged showed that no one understood what was happening. The women were quick to blame the coop for the lack of boxes. Everyone seemed to think that someone else was getting the benefits. Some said that all farmers got the same number of boxes no matter how much tomato land they had, and the poorer farmers gained because they could harvest their entire crop, while the richer farmers lost because their unharvested tomatoes rotted. Others said that those who asked for 50 boxes got 20 while those who asked for 10 got 5. Still others complained that the rich got all the boxes they wanted while the poor farmers got only a few. Only one woman remembered that someone from the government had come to El Roud and talked to the farmers at the cooperative, asking them not to plant so many tomatoes because there would be too many.

The crisis did not seem to have any effect on the confidence of the members in the coop. By and large the coop was believed beneficial and the Amara brothers and the other farmers were pleased with it. Membership had increased in two years from 166 to 180. Significantly, in discussion with the Amaras, they said the most admired men in the village were the Director of the coop and the Party Cell Leader.

The Credit Bank: The Amara brothers received a loan in the past year for the construction of two wells. Inspectors came to the land after a three-month wait. They showed no sign of disapproval of the long wait, nor of the fact of the inspection.

C. Conclusion: The attitudes expressed by the Amaras towards the state, the Caisse, and the coop were positive: they consented to the idea and the ideals of cooperation and showed they had accepted the new responsibilities involved in group participation. They were actively receptive to the coop's help and advice, showing "planning behavior" in coordination with the coop. They expressed confidence in the coop as a group, and found its extension service of great use. In contrast to Lunir Barket's claim that he already knew as much as the experts, they freely admit that the advisor knew more. The Amaras were uncritical of both management and the party.

Significant in Taleb and Munir's criticism of the state and the banks was that it was not aimed at the dishonesty of favoritism or the kind of aggressiveness shown by the confiscation of private property. What was criticized was slowness and inefficiency, subservient reliance on foreign engineers, and lack of confidence in its own people and resources. Assertive government aggression within reason would not be criticized. Munir admires the trait rather than otherwise. The Bar-kets do, however, object to inactivity: "They sleep," Taleb said.

They emphatically expressed confidence in Tunisian resources and people, in Cap Bon know-how in the domain of citrus cultivation, and in themselves above all. They feel qualified by their own experiences--experience is highly valued--to judge and to act on their own judgment. And in practice, this is what they do. The Amaras of course, cannot rely on their own experience to a comparable extent, since they are new to a proprietor's responsibilities.

Munir and Taleb showed a broader grasp of issues than did the Amara brothers, giving concrete examples indicative of their breadth of contacts and information, probably due to their greater mobility. An abstract aspect of their marketing and supply problems bothered Taleb, who asked, "Tell me, why is it that politics interferes with economics nowadays?"

Where the Amaras could be accused of naivete, Munir was skeptical of the goodwill and ability of the government and its agents.

In sum, the theme running through Taleb and Munir's comments was a preference for private enterprise and its implications for independence. In contrast, the Amaras theme was the value of cooperation and cooperativism.

VI. RELATIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD
AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS ROLES
AS CITIZEN , PRESTIGE, SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The farmer's relationship with the world outside the extended family is affected by his socio-economic level. This section will deal with opinions and attitudes towards the outside world and how these are formed.

El Roudi men have an awareness of and definite opinions concerning international relations. These opinions are generally not original but are most often an expression of government views which they have heard on the radio. I collected the following attitudes and opinions from the Cheik and from Nabiha's brother. Both men once started were very verbal and, anxious to express their views, were, in fact, seemingly starved for a chance to communicate and exchange ideas with a foreigner. The Cheik was particularly interested in family life in the United States, the role of women there, poverty and especially Negro-White relations. Out of this discussion emerged an unexpected prejudice towards Negroes which has been described above.

Nabiha's brother was eager to discuss the fairly recent past: the history of Tunisia's liberation from France, the Bizerte crisis, the death of Kennedy (a popular topic among all Tunisians), the recent Israeli-Egyptian war, inter-Arab relations, DeGaulle's fiasco in Canada, France in the modern world and particularly her dealings with Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. He feels that both Bourguiba and the King of Morocco are governing well but expressed negative attitudes towards Algeria and especially towards Nasser whom he says lies constantly. Like most of the Arab world he feels that Israel has no right to the territory she occupies, blames the United States, England and France, but favors the moderate approach based on negotiation advocated by Bourguiba, rather than war. He says that most Frenchmen are well-meaning, especially DeGaulle whom he admires, but feels that during the colonial years a few were

selfish, cruel and imperialistic and that they caused all the trouble. He attributes the differences between Tunisia and Algeria to good government by Bourguiba after independence. He also mentioned that Bourguiba refused Russian aid in the Bizerte crisis. He appeared well-informed and interested in finding out more about the international situation, but at the same time his views were safely orthodox.

The Amara brothers are not leading residents of El Roud. They view their roles as citizens to be the responsibility of one individual farmer to another. These attitudes are manifest in their membership in the cooperative. It is an active, participating, concerned membership which expresses confidence in and accepts the responsibility of the ideal of cooperation.

Munir is an active citizen in his community, involved with the school Parents' Association as its treasurer and with the Caisse Locale as a member of the Administrative Council. He knows many Menzelians well, having been a scout master for many years. He is a farmer of prestige and power in his community. He thus has much broader contacts personally than do the Amara brothers. Consequently his opinions are formed chiefly from discussion with other men who likewise have wide and diversified contacts. Thus his opinion is original, the ingredients for it gleaned from a variety of sources and synthesized into one man's individual opinion. This is particularly evident in the precise views concerning the government, the Caisse and the cooperative. Because of his socio-economic status he has been exposed to differing points of view and through his prestige is able to influence the opinions of other men. Thus although he is not a former of government policy, he is able to react to it in an independent manner, and is an opinion source among men of his socio-economic level. The Amaras do not have the same opportunities to gather and exchange opinions and ideas from a variety of sources. They can therefore be characterized as opinion receivers from one main source--the government, rather than opinion sources who originate new attitudes.

It should be noted that certain unique personality factors in the particular farmers involved have a distinct effect on their approach to the outside world. People in El Roud are generally curious, inquisitive, helpful and eager exchangers of ideas, as anxious to learn as they are to impart information about their life. Munir tends to be an observer rather than a questioner. In general, he would prefer to explain how to do something concrete than debate an issue: to describe how to thin orange trees rather than the role of agriculture in Tunisia. His interests are utilitarian and concrete rather than generalized and abstract. However, this approach to dialogue and debate, evasive in nature, seems to be unique to Munir since his friends appeared eager to express their opinions. Many of their opinions would in all probability be completely out of reach of the Amaras who were exposed only to Tunisian government source of information. The Amaras' information isolation is furthermore a product of their limitation of speaking only Arabic, a factor closely related to economic status.

VII. ROLE OF THE WOMEN AS FARM WIVES

Since a detailed discussion of interpersonal family relations has been presented in the section of the report dealing with family life, this section will consider the effect of family relationships on the economic behavior and attitudes of the farmer. As section VIII. is concerned with the farmer's characters and personalities, this section will treat the role of women in farming and the way in which they affect the over-all economic behavior of the farmer as wives and as mothers with the function of socializing their children in farm values. This section can be treated as a companion to the section on the role of women found in the family life section.

Nabiha, as well as keeping house, spends nearly all her daylight hours working out in the fields. Her time in the fields is divided into her actual labor (hoeing, planting, harvesting, etc.) and her work as a mother near the small twig shelter which is the family's field "house." Here she prepares meals and tea, washes laundry and cares for the children. In the field itself she works as a laborer beside the other female employees of her husband. Because she is so closely involved in the actual labor of farming she knows a great deal about agriculture (although not about the financial aspects) and shares in her husband's enthusiasm for the future of their land. She is able to share his feelings concerning the success or failure of a certain crop and will often discuss the day's success with her husband when he returns from the market. She is with her husband and the other farmers a good deal of the time and far less sheltered than a non-working farm wife. She talks freely with the other men working with her husband and is at liberty to travel between the village and the field as she wishes. If she has work to do at home she simply tells her husband that she will not be going to the fields and sends his lunch with one of the children. Although the occasions are rare, Mohamed respects her decisions on knowing that she has weighed her role in the field and her role in the home before deciding.

As a mother she has the role of socializing her children. If farming is to continue in Tunisia children must be given the values of the farming life. Nabiha does not see her children leading the same life she has led. Tunisia's changing values with their stress on education have been absorbed by her children into their own future plans. She nevertheless seems to be unaware of what effect this will have on the future disposition of their land or on farming in general. However, as a farmer's wife intimately connected with the land she cannot help but pass on to her children certain farm attitudes. Her husband is unquestionably the head of their nuclear family. He is always shown respect by her, and they both demand this of the children.

A certain paradoxical tension must necessarily be set up in the minds of Kheria and Habib, the children. On the one hand they are urged to study and are directed towards a "better" future off the land, while on the other hand they are taught to respect and look up to their father whose work is on the land. The children are also taught the value of hard work. Nabiha makes a point of talking with pride of the family work, for the future of the land is the future of the family. Frugality is inculcated as a necessity. This value, is however, distorted. Nabiha constantly mentioned items which she would like for her children (food, clothes) but which the family could not afford and should save for, yet she will spend money on sweets, tea and sugar which could be used for nutritional foods. Thus the Amara children are positively oriented towards farming life in all but that very important consideration of their own futures.

All the Barket women work in the home rather than the fields. Their knowledge or concern for farming is limited as is the degree to which they can share the satisfactions and frustrations of their husbands' daily lives. Their personal relationships are much more distant and less egalitarian than that of the Amaras. Men and women drink their tea separately in the Barket household in contrast to the Amaras who drink their tea together, a custom which serves to em-

phasize this separation. Therefore in discussing their roles as farm wives it would seem appropriate to remove the adjective "farm" completely as their function revolves totally around the care of the home. Their influence as "farm" wives on the economic behavior of their husbands seems negligible.

The socialization of the Barket children is directed towards study and a future job which will bring money to the family. Underlying Munir's economic behavior is his philosophy "go ahead!" and his attitude towards the land as a possibly temporary investment which could easily be sold when the children are grown. The Barket children thus see farming as a means to some other end rather than a way of life in itself. Munir receives respect in his role as eldest brother and by force of his imposing personality. Hamza, on the other hand is not even respected by his wife, and her attitude is passed to the children. Of the Barket brothers, Kilani seems to have the most respect for work on the land, but his position in the family is probably not powerful enough for his attitudes to have effect. Nor are the women likely to pass on his attitudes as they are the powerful authority of Munir.

The Amara women have a significant role to play in relation to the economic behavior of their husbands and in the attitudes with which they are socializing their offspring. This is in contrast to the role and function of the Barket women. Therefore the interpersonal relationships within the two families seem to be comparable only in their effect upon the socialization of the non-farm value of education.

The only similarity in the women's role seems to be the commitment to education they teach their children, with the implications of a future away from the farm.

VIII. CHARACTER OF THE FARMER

The individual personalities of the six men involved in this study and the ways in which they interact with one another strongly influence their respective economic behavior. This section will seek to show how the individuals involved move within their environment rather than pursuing the effects of that environment on their personalities.

The Amara brothers live together amicably and have a mutual respect for each other's skills. No one brother seems to dominate the family--the result of an interesting interaction of age, personality and skill factors. Ahmed, the eldest brother, is a highly skilled, vocal, hard-working farmer. He tends to dominate a conversation and is a careful planner. Because of his long farming experience he is considered an agricultural authority in the village, and takes pride in the role. Abdallah, the middle brother is equally skilled and agrees with Ahmed on the value of hard work, planning and responsibility to other people, but is far less vocal. When these two brothers are together Ahmed will generally do most of the talking but when the conversation turns to facts, figures or prices rather than opinions, Ahmed turns to Abdallah for verification. Ahmed's verbal domination does not flower into a managerial domination of his brothers, because it is coupled with a sense of independence. He prefers to work alone and will plow independently a section of the land and even market his own crop although this is Abdallah's responsibility. Hasouna is the youngest of the brothers. He is easy going, amiable and talkative in a very sociable way in contrast to Abdallah's quiet seriousness and Ahmed's dominating conversation and independence. Because of his youth and adaptable personality one might assume that he would be dominated by either or both of his brothers. This is not true largely because his economic behavior is not confined solely to farm work. His main job is masonry in Soliman. He enjoys a higher standard of living than either of his brothers and is more mobile. He has a paid laborer to do his share of the farmwork and his principal function on the family land is in well construction.

The inter-relationships of the Barket brothers is in contrast to that of the Amaras. Munir is the unopposed head and leader of the Barket family. He maintains his authoritarian role through the cultivation of a personal distance and unapproachable reserve in his dealings with both his family and his workers. Emerging from a dual background of agriculture and commerce, he couples effective skills with willingness to experiment. In the market he is a shrewd bargainer who carefully locates advantageous prices. He is future-oriented and backs his favorite expression "go ahead!" by solid planning for the family's future. A person with an internalized sense of his own worth, dignity, and capability, he presents himself to the outer world as a leader and is treated by others as a person with power. He is an active citizen who was a scout master for many years and is a member of the Administrative Council of the Caisse Locale and treasurer of the school Parents' Association.

The two younger brothers are under his control. Hamza's economic role is that of repairing machinery, especially the pumps. At home he talks infrequently, sits alone, and presents a generally unhappy picture. Kilani is a mason whose task is well work. He is hard-working and more attached to the land than Munir. An open and kind person, he is neither talkative nor silent and spends more time with his family than do his brothers. He is not an authoritarian figure and is respected more as a personality than for the power he holds. The three Barket brothers are rarely together socially. Economically, the two younger brothers have specific roles to play and are not entrusted with any of the executive and managerial responsibilities of the farm.

Thus in one family the three brothers receive equal respect, no one individual has been able to rise to a position of prominence and power, and their experience in an executive role is extremely limited. In the other family, one brother has almost total authority over the other two. His experience and economic strength have also led him to a position of power in the larger community of Menzel Bou Zelfa. With a highly productive farm and relative freedom from poverty, Munir has been able to cultivate managerial qualities.

IX. CHANGING ORIENTATION OF NUCLEAR FAMILY VIS-A-VIS EXTENDED FAMILY

The ancestors of both the Barkets in Menzel Bou Zelfa and the Amaras in El Roud have been in their respective villages for over four hundred years. Now, as in the past, the individual is submerged into the needs of the extended patrilocal household. This set-up, although still the most common, is no longer the ideal as the following examples will illustrate. The old conception of a patrilocal extended household in El Roud included the ideal that these households would live close together in clan groups near the center of town. The government also is interested in settling people together in order to make the distribution of goods and services more effective. Nevertheless, sentiment in both families is against this old ideal. Munir and his brothers and cousins grew up in the patrilocal household of his grandfather, located in the center of Menzel Bou Zelfa, before the three brothers moved out to set up the present household. They hope in the future to move back to the town, but as three separate nuclear households and after the children are grown.

Thus, the Barkets have already made the move from a town house to one in the fields whereas the Amaras are still anticipating such a change. Fatma would like to have a house away from the center of town and all the other relatives so the children will not fight all the time and so "we'll always be sisters." She is not yet ready to live completely separated from other women though. She would like to set up a dual household with Nabiha and Abdallah. Nabiha, however, wants to have a house to herself. Abdallah wants to build a house out on his future land - "It's cooler than here, there's more wind, it's away from other people." He says that most people, if they had the chance, would like to move out and live apart. Although he hopes his children will be educated as much as possible and get whatever jobs they want, he also hopes his sons will live with him in the future house. He expects that they will not work the land themselves but will hire others. Nevertheless they will accept responsibility for the care of the land when he is too old to do so. Although he understands the rationale behind the government's housing policy he expects to go ahead with his plans. He feels that once his sons begin to have a lot of children they will probably want to go and build their own homes but within the limits of the village lands. The present ideal seems to be a patrilocal household while the grandchildren are few and tiny, evolving to neolocal one as the children begin to

mature. It was suggested to Abdallah that a dispersion of nuclear families within a village--seen here by several new houses already scattered outside the center--would lead to wider dispersion of houses and gradually to families all over Tunisia leaving the paternal region. He agreed that this probably would happen and did not seem surprised at the possibility. The effects of this changing family orientation and of the individual's self-awareness can only be surmised. But the fact that Abdallah and many others do wish to separate themselves from the larger family group indicates individuality is beginning to take precedence over consanguinity.

X. LIFE CYCLE

A. INFANCY

Childcare and Nutrition: The life cycle of an individual in either of these two families has great similarity in spite of the socio-economic differences. However, baby care does not seem to be influenced by economic means.

Nabiha Amara's care of her children, as seen by her care of the youngest is far below the standards of cleanliness, nutrition, and comfort of the Barket babies. All of Nabiha's six older children were nourished solely on her milk. With Ahmed's arrival her own milk began to run out. Ahmed receives one half litre (25 millimes or four cents) of unpasteurized cow's milk each day to supplement what he gets from Nabiha. This is boiled unmercifully, sugar added, cooled and poured into his bottle. When her own milk ran out, the doctor told Nabiha to give her baby either powdered milk (Guigoz or Nestles) or raw milk which has been first well heated. She gets a can of powdered milk free from the dispensary every two weeks, upon presentation of her welfare card, but this is not enough. Although she boils milk before giving it to Ahmed, before it is boiled it is stored in a glass bottle with a small "cork" of rolled-up paper stuck in the top. The water to rinse out his bottle is often taken from a barrel full of water in which little worms are swimming. Occasionally, she boils water, pours it into the bottle, and rinses it out.

Nabiha wishes she could afford to buy milk for all her family, and she likes the taste of fresh

milk. If she had the money, she would also buy a powdered baby preparation to be mixed with either milk or water. It comes in a box with a picture of a baby on it (probably Cerelac). From the doctor she heard that many other foods can be added to this preparation, including vegetables and meat after they have been cooked and mashed in the mahares (mortar and pestle). At present she supplements Ahmed's diet with a paste made from cookie, water and sugar which is warmed over a charcoal fire, and sometimes he is fed a soup made from water, semolina and tomato boiled together. She plans to give him squeezed orange juice this coming season.

Ahmed generally is dressed in a raggedy shirt, no underpants, plays in the dirt and sleeps wrapped in a worn, tattered shawl. He is not a healthy or happy baby, undergoing frequent bouts of diarrhea and chronic malnutrition. He cries a great deal and sometimes will not be comforted.

Ahmed's life is in marked contrast to Kemel, a smiling, clean, much-loved four-month-old baby who seems to be in good health. He is the first child of Habiba (the daughter of Munir Barket's worker Aziza) and was born in the hospital as were all the Barket children. He is blond and blue-eyed like his father, he smells sweetly of powder, and his clothes are all brand new and well made. He wears little cotton smocks and panties, not diapers, and when he dirties them, he is dipped into a pail of cold water and washed. He is bound around his back and stomach, but his legs are left free to kick. Special care is always taken to hold his back firmly. On his smock is pinned a good luck charm against "the eye": five fish throats, several snake heads, a tooth-closed shell lined with snake skin, and a sachet into which has been sewn salt and several spices. His nose and

nails are always kept clean. In general, he is a well-cared-for baby. He is the center of attention in the household, and his care involves a combination of traditional and modern methods.

In addition to his mother's milk, which is taken on demand, Kemel is given a breakfast of Blendine, a farina-milk food bought at the pharmacy and mixed with boiling water. He drinks this from a bottle as he has so far refused to accept it from a spoon. Between feedings he is given several bottles a day of coriander and fennel boiled in water to a brownish sort of "tea" said to be good for settling the stomach and also for acting against gas. During the orange season his mother gave him orange juice with sugar, but he would not take it. She thought this was because of his age, so she will try again next season. Although Habiba seems willing to experiment and would like advice on baby care, which she feels that the nurses at the Menzel hospital refuse or are not able to give, she has not, in fact, tried any other foods beyond those mentioned. She knows, for instance, that Lhedija fed Najib chicken broth when he was very young, and that Adel was fed carrot juice, so the idea of milk only until the age of two years is not dogma to her. She seems discouraged, however, for the time being by Kemel's refusal to take the orange juice and to eat from a spoon. Also, he had had diarrhea for a week, after which she was reluctant to put anything new into his stomach.

Her lack of experimenting may stem from the same rationale as her not taking him to the doctor at the

clinic (although she holds a free card) for a check-up or a cold. As long as he appears active and happy she does not think there is anything else she should do. His diarrhea and unhappy crying during that period did worry her enough to ask to have a medicine bought which cost five hundred millimes.

When Kemel is not sleeping he is with the family, generally lying on the ground at his mother's side or near someone else who will shoo away flies, chickens and cats, and take his fist or charm out of his mouth when he sucks on it, with perhaps a light slap. As he is a happy baby it is rarely necessary to pick him up to calm him and since he and his mother have been constant visitors at the Barket house, there is usually someone among the women and children who wants to entertain him. He has not had to fuss to demand attention but when he does cry he is immediately calmed by whatever means are necessary. As is typically the case in Tunisia, he is freely touched and fondled by everyone in the family, workers, and visitors, kissed on the face and mouth whether the person has a cold or not, and unwashed hands are allowed to play with the baby's hands and mouth. However, he is always picked up and carried gently.

Kemel falls asleep for the afternoon nap and also at night nestled to his mother's breast. She nurses him lying sideways on the floor so that he often sleeps on his side, but his normal position when awake is on his back. He is often propped up in a sitting position and sometimes held in a standing position, apparently in order to develop his ability to sit up by himself. But he is never placed on his stomach to encourage him to lift his head and learn to crawl. He is not encouraged to roll over and he cannot do it by himself because the night pillow immobilizes him. He is urged to catch hold of things and holds his own bottle with more or less success, but he has no toys. He is crooned to and talked nonsense to. His name is called at a slight distance (a few yards) until he has come to recognize it, look up, and smile. His mother already has aspirations for him. It goes without saying that he will strive for a higher education and travel and earn a high salary.

Health: A baby is particularly vulnerable to health and sanitation practices. By the W.C. door in the Amara house there is a drain. Therefore all dishes are washed in front of the W.C. Also, laundry when done at home is done here, babies are washed off here with cold water after they have wet their pants and the younger children just squat there in the doorway rather than going into the W.C. itself. Garbage is thrown into a communal pile of several households beside the taboonas. In the Barket household to get water for all purposes except drinking one climbs up on the wall of the basin and dips a pail under the barbed wire that is across the wall between the house and the W.C. Water must be thrown down the toilet bowl and the excess drains down through a hole in the floor. The W.C. is not always used. The children may squat inside or outside the backyard enclosure and garbage is tossed right over the backyard wall. Both families clean their W.C. once a day in the morning. Many buckets of water are thrown down the toilet, on the walls and floor, cleaning being done by a broom made of dried leaves--and a thorough job is done. The Barket broom is left in the all-purpose water basin and the Amara broom by the drain. Fly repellent or Cresyl are used ~~but~~ the W.C. is soon back to its usual condition: muddy, wet, cement floor, swarming flies and unflushed. No connection between flies and disease is made. It is of course terribly easy for these families to catch diseases via oral fecal contamination.

When a baby is sick various remedies include lemon juice or orange blossom water poured on the hair, bleeding from the ear, a paste made from ground onion and lemon juice which is plastered on the head, and small burns on the arm applied with a matchstick.

Change in health and sanitation practices is relatively stagnant. What slow evolution is taking place appears to be coming from the dispensary--for the people at El Roud it is a hot, dusty, three kilometers away. A visit to the dispensary was made with two village women: Nisria who complained of stomach pains and Aroussia who brought her sick baby. We arrived to find the waiting room filled with women. The

male nurse proved friendly and responsive and he launched into a discussion of family planning which he said was being vigorously promoted in the region through a team from the Ministry of Public Health which comes out every Wednesday. Family planning is not just a suggestion made to the women. Each woman who comes to the dispensary for milk (donated by UNICEF) was asked how many children she had. Anyone who had four or more was asked if she practiced family planning. If she did not, she was told quite plainly that if she did not attend the family planning meeting on the next Wednesday she would not be given any more milk.

A few minutes later the midwife who is Bulgarian and speaks a minimum of Arabic, and a Tunisian female nurse arrived for their weekly visit. Both were pleasant, friendly women who seemed sincere and concerned about their work. Most of the women who came to the clinic for consultation had stomach aches and were given a slip of paper for aspirin. During the consultations the midwife frequently interjected comments about cleanliness, wearing shoes, not sitting in the dirt or allowing children to play in it. When Aroussia brought in her baby the midwife spent a long time telling her the proper foods to give the baby (vegetable, fruits, meat, fish, eggs, flour or cookie cooked with milk and sugar, soup and regularly spaced milk feedings). The five month old baby was terribly undernourished and had been sick with diarrhea, vomiting and fever for a month. Two days earlier Aroussia had taken the long bus trip to Tunis because the dispensary doctor had told her to go to the hospital there. In Tunis the illness was diagnosed and a piece of paper giving the illness and recommended medicine was plastered onto the baby's chest. But by the time she arrived at the dispensary the ink was only a blue blur from the baby's sweating. When she saw the doctor he took the paper off and sent her out saying that the paper said nothing. She said of this, "he doesn't know anything, what does he care about my baby?" The baby died a week later, to no one's surprise, and was buried immediately in the village graveyard.

The conversation continued with the midwife. The chief illnesses in children are diarrhea and bronchitis. Diarrheas come because "the mothers are dirty and they

do not keep their children clean either." Of both sanitation and malnutrition she said, "they (the women) are lazy, they aren't intelligent and they don't care what happens to their children." Yet this stereotyped white-man-versus-the-natives attitude was tempered with compassion. Her nurse said, "They have so many children and they work in the fields. They just don't have the time to keep them clean."

Actual observations of the women in El Roud indicate on the contrary that they are concerned about nutrition, are less aware of dirt and above all say that the problem is economic. Therefore, it is not a lack of intelligence or desire to have the best for the child but it is rather a lack of knowledge concerning what is best. As regards health education, the midwife says that she herself is able to come in contact with many women on an individual basis and that she thinks there is also a social worker who visits homes to talk with women about health, sanitation, nutrition, hygiene, etc. However, the women in the village say this is not so.

The doctor, a Bulgarian who speaks very little Arabic, was very busy and not interested in answering questions. Most people who came in had stomach aches, diarrheas, or headaches. Each person received about thirty seconds of brusque consultation concluded by a rapid prescription. He appeared to avoid questions concerning sanitation and malnutrition but did mention that malaria was the chief medical problem of the region. The doctor appeared to rush people through like an assembly line with no concern for individual personalities. He was terribly overburdened, scheduled to visit at this dispensary for two hours, and the only way he could possibly see everyone in this time was to rush them. People complained that he did not know anything and did not care about them. This would be an obvious conclusion considering the social nature of illness here where symptoms are discussed at length, people comforted and many opinions exchanged concerning the best possible medication. In view of the realities of the doctor's visit versus the cultural attitudes attached to illness it is not surprising that villagers wait until the last minute before seeing a doctor.

Childhood and Adolescence: As the life cycle progressed to childhood and adolescence, methods of child-rearing, play, discipline and education become important aspects in the individual's existence. Children, in the present patrilocal housing of the Amara family, are totally subservient to group needs. Possession of personal property or personal space, which is concrete evidence of an individual's existence, is not observable. Children sleep on sheepskins spread on the floor of each nuclear family's room. During the day all blankets and skins are folded up and stacked in the window. There is no particular spot on the floor where a child sleeps every night (excluding the baby who sleeps beside his mother). Therefore, the idea of a space to call one's own is non-existent.

B. Childrearing

Childrearing could perhaps be defined as the directed efforts of the parents to prepare the child for his adult role. With this definition in mind, childrearing in both families appears to be extremely laissez-faire with few positively-directed efforts and inconsistent negatively-directed ones. As a little girl grows up and starts school, she is given more responsibilities than her brothers who play and run free. Kheria Amara must carry the youngest children around and be ready to entertain them whenever her mother needs her. She has also begun to carry well-water in a smaller jug on a daily basis. Every morning when Nabiha is rousing the children she calls the oldest girls first. The little boys often sleep as long as they wish. There is no attempt to show the girls how to help their mothers. The girls help of their own accord. The older Barket girls were observed sporadically washing laundry, washing the floor, peeling potatoes and looking after little Kemel. The boys help in group activities such as shelling nuts, salting tomatoes or stripping corn cobs of their kernels. They must be ready to fetch items, carry things, and run errands; they generally do so promptly without question. The Barket children generally play at home, the boys enjoying more independence than do the girls. The Am-

ara children seem to play in the village streets and stay out of the house most of the time, or else play in the fields where they wander freely. Habib, who is older, is especially independent, often disappearing with his cousins for the greater part of the day.

Toys and Play: What happens when toys are introduced into a toyless environment? This summer I gave the Amara children a ball and two plastic towers--wooden sticks with colored plastic shapes to stack. The towers had the greater success. Useful for the development of motor skills in babies and toddlers, they were meant as a present for ten-month-old Aïmed.

Najouna and Ali received the presents happily. They stacked and restacked the shapes on the sticks, then used them for building, and finally turned them into musical instruments--the shapes for drumming and the sticks as flutes. The arrival of the rest of the children half an hour later brought the usual fighting and tears as each tried to monopolize the toys.

By evening the towers had reached Aïmed. He showed a great deal of interest and curiosity, chewing and batting the toys around, and he did not cry as quickly when left alone. But in the morning he lost the towers again, probably for good, when Latifa made a push toy out of the stick and two of the circular pieces that she rolled around the courtyard.

Toys are essential for the development of motor skills and a sense of sharing--playing is a valuable use of time. A child who has ~~nothing~~ ^{something} to play with does not get bored and cry when left alone for a few minutes. He does not need to be constantly surrounded by other people, receiving from outside sources all direction for his actions. Alone he can take the initiative to discover exactly what a toy is and what it can do. This opportunity to be a possessor and a discoverer for himself is now lacking, though certainly not for long.

The fate of the ball throws some light on the serious problems that the introduction of toys may encounter. At first the ball was fought over, but later good group

play with sharing took place. But all play ended the next morning when Ali and Latifa began to squabble and fight over the ball. Their mother Nabiha grabbed a knife and, in a burst of anger, sliced the ball to pieces.

What forces come into play to cause such a swift, violent destruction of the ball? As a toy was it unimportant? Did the ball seem an intruder threatening her control over the children's activities? As an unexpected gift was it without value? Does Nabiha's reaction show that in spite of talk of future plans, the here-and-now is her only reality? Possibly the quickest way to stop the fight appeared to be to destroy the source--removing the ball momentarily apparently never occurred to her.

The children seemed not to care much. Abdallah saw the ball being destroyed and did not react at all, as if he had not even seen it. Kheria and Habib later noticed the pieces of rubber on the ground and expressed annoyance but not unhappiness or regret.

In any case the ball was ruined and could no longer be played with or fought over. It was removed as a disrupter of family integration and group equilibrium at that moment or anytime in the future, and the children went back to playing with simpler, more traditional toys.

A Child's Name: A child's developing sense of personal identity is further frustrated by his insignificance as a distinct individual in adult eyes. One of the most elementary marks of identity is one's name. In El Roud a child's name seems to have little importance. At one gathering of several women and their small children I took great pains to learn the name of every child in the group. On another occasion not long after I called the child by name much to the amazement of one of the other women who said, "She knows his name and I don't even know it yet!" When Ahmed was being interviewed by the Harvard enqueteurs on names and ages of family members, he mixed up the names and ages of several of the children in his brothers' families. However, when Fatin was born, women spent much time discussing among themselves the pros and cons of various names and advising the young mother. Khira and Moktar made the final decision, though.

Discipline: If the pre-school years are the most important for the formation of the future adult, then today's women show the result of their own training in the way they care for their little ones. An intellectually stimulating environment is totally lacking. Children are continually urged to be quiet and go out and play. Preschoolers are not encouraged to talk or ask questions and in fact spend a great deal of time crying. Discipline has no rational basis and is liberally administered even when the child is obviously hungry, tired and simply in need of a little love. Little ones seem to be hit frequently for crying, and if they continue to cry they are hit still more. This proves to be a very vicious circle for tired little Latifa at ten o'clock at night. Even at this age little girls appear to get hit more than little boys who are simply told not to do something, then ignored.

If discipline is punishment-oriented, and the punishment is continual, inconsistent and arbitrary, so is the affection and attention shown by adults for children. This affection is shown by touching, kissing, snuggling. Children are expected to stay out of the way but always be ready to run errands or care for a brother and sister. Children may be hit one minute and hugged the next with no apparent consistency. One evening Latifa was hit because she refused to come over and let her uncle kiss and fondle her.

Children do not get a good deal of love and attention from one individual but quick, fleeting attention from whoever happens to be in the vicinity. The little boy Adel may lie against his father, his father may kiss him, pat him, smile at him, and let himself be kissed, but he will not listen to what the child has to say to him. He will not question the boy on his interests and activities and reciprocally will not answer questions seriously. The affection shown Kemel is no different from that shown Adel. A succession of adults want to hug and kiss him but do not want to stop and talk.

The attitude of adults in both families towards their offspring seems to be marked by a certain fata-

lism as to extent to which they can influence their children's character and correct their misbehavior. Khediya often cries in despair, "There are no others like them in the world!" Khediya's nine-year-old son Abdujabar was sent to boarding school because of his incorrigible naughtiness. Perhaps because of this fatalism, or because of his laziness, or not really attaching much importance to defiance of authority, corrective discipline is very inconsistent and seems to depend more on the mood of the parent than on the act committed. Whenever there is a punishing parent there are also other adults to laugh with the child, should he defy, or to comfort, should he cry.

Punishment is often quick and violent--stick or hand beatings all over the body--in the Amara family. Generally less violent in the Barket household, punishment usually consists of swatting at a child's leg or outstretched hand with a stick or else by shouts and often-unfulfilled threats that the father will beat him later. If two children are being naughty and one runs away and escapes punishment he is not punished when he returns. Punishment, like affection, is fleeting--a burst of momentary affection. Punishment is not accompanied by an explanation of why a misdeed is wrong or harmful. An apology or reparation is never demanded of the child, nor is admirable behavior praised. They are not reminded or nagged about past misdeeds in such a way as to foster guilt feelings. The same misdeeds may be punished on one occasion and not on another, or the same punishment may be applied to wrongdoings regardless of their seriousness.

The result of inconsistency is that punishment is ineffective and, therefore, continual. In the home there is an atmosphere of punishment, quarrelling, raised voices and crying. To the extent that the children think they can get away with things, the discipline pattern is permissive. This disciplinary permissiveness extends to daily habits such as eating, washing and dressing. Permissiveness in itself may be conducive to self-expression and independent discovery both within and outside the group. However, permissiveness in conjunction with an atmosphere of continual and arbitrary punishment inhibits self-expression. The family's affection, attention and continual presence seems to

be sufficiently reinforcing to prevent any rupture with the group. The end result appears to even be an augmenting of the family group's influence, even to a complete dependence on the group for indications of morally acceptable behavior. The dependence leads to the relativity of moral principles--"It's okay if you're not caught"--and to a fatalism concerning the predictability of human behavior that extends even to objects.

The young individual growing into adolescence is strongly influenced by such discipline. With inconsistent punishment the individual cannot internalize a sense of right and wrong nor develop the internal controls necessary for the growth and implementation of a personal code of morality. The child cannot affect his surroundings by any consistent behavior. Thus at an early age fatalism is accepted as the force moving him. The young adolescent girl must logically be contained forcibly and limited to the home. It is automatically assumed that neither a young girl nor a young boy would be able to rationally control his actions, which are attributed to forces greater than any individual.

One can perhaps postulate that the awareness of one's identity gives rise to pride in one's own integrity and a consequent growth of a personal moral system. Self-awareness also gives an individual the realization that he can be a causal force in his existence. Therefore he can build internal controls to support his personal values. The present disciplinary system, as studied in both these families, promises to be a source of conflict in a society which is recognizing more and more the independence of the individual.

Education: Education takes children out of the home and makes of each student an individual. It will therefore come into conflict with the present disciplinary system.

Although all the adults are illiterate, they share a great respect for education as a doorway to a better life. Though the children have a few books, reading per se is not encouraged. Instead a more general command to "study your lessons" is issued. They may be scolded and threatened to oblige them to do their work. The parents, although proud of their children, do not know how to help and encourage them in their studies, by such things as establishing quiet hours and places for work, or reducing other demands on the children's time. As was described above, parental discipline is concerned more with punishment than with encouragement for positive behavior. Good grades are praised, report cards are displayed to all the family and guests, and Najib's passing the secondary entrance examination was celebrated by large family festivities. However, studying is indiscriminately considered good. If a child seems to be hard at his books it satisfies the parent. The proper atmosphere for studying is not created, and the child generally sits with his book in a room full of people rather than in a quiet room apart. The results are praised, but the behavior leading to such results is not taught.

The home of a nearby landowner in El Roud, although economically better off, clings to a way of life that is remarkably similar to that of the Amaras. Here people still wash their hands after a meal, not before, sleep on the floor in preference to a bed, cook on an open fire out-of-doors instead of on the stove in the kitchen, and go barefoot by preference. The mode of life in this family as in all others in this village remains the domain of women, who, whether rich or poor, are universally uneducated.

Nevertheless, for her children's education, Nabihah hopes that they will go as far as they can and get "good" jobs, not work on the land. She wants them to have a "good life." In spite of these educational aspirations, she hopes the girls will marry

men from the village and stay in El Roud, but she sees the boys as having jobs in Tunis and elsewhere. Fatma has a more extended view for her daughters. She says that both she and Hasouna want them to continue their education until they are grown. She would like them to go to America if the opportunity presents itself and says they will be free to marry whom they please. Munir hopes the Barket boys will have professional positions, jobs that can serve others and still be a source of income to the family. His brother Kilani, however, wants his son to be an agricultural engineer and would like him to have their land. Abdallah and Ahmed Amara have expressed similar wishes for their sons.

The younger generation has some views of its own on education. Menoubia Amara is fourteen and attends the college in Nabeul. She would like to finish her secondary education and become a secretary. In a private conversation with Kheria and Najoua Amara some definite goals emerged. Kheria does not want to work in the fields but would like to be a kindergarten teacher. She does not want to get married because "I don't want to have children" nor does she want to live in El Roud. She says, "The people aren't any good here." She would like to live in Soliman, Menzel Bou Zelfa or Tunis. After reflecting a bit Kheria decided she would like to live in America. When told that no one spoke Arabic there she said she would learn the other language. She is very inquisitive about words. She has expressed surprise that my communication with my own family cannot be in Arabic or even French, which she began studying last year. Najoua mostly listened to this conversation. She would like to be a teacher and marry a man with a beard but is more definite about wanting to come live with me in Gabes and finish her schooling there. Her projection into the future thus really only extends through the most immediate school years.

As can be seen, education as a force for change is already molding the minds of tomorrow's parents who will give tomorrow's children a different life style. The impact of education on these growing girls will determine the future of their families. Of such extents, today's parents are only dimly aware.

C. Role of Women

The role of a woman begins with marriage. The adolescent girl has a practically insignificant say as to whom she will marry. If a man is interested in a particular girl he sends a delegation of friends to talk to her father. If her father says yes then it is settled. She must do her father's bidding whether she personally likes the individual or not.

The week before the wedding is filled with parties. Several days before the wedding a party called the kiswa is held at the bride's home. Here there is singing, dancing and refreshments of chick peas, raisins, almonds, salted squash seeds and almond flavored drink. The bride's entire trousseau is on display for the guests to look over, hence the name "kiswa" meaning costume. Every day during the entire week preceding the wedding the bride is given a scrub bath (a Tunisian scrub bath is extremely vigorous), culminating with a visit to the hot mineral spring bath at Korbous. Every evening there is singing and dancing at the groom's home and both men and women come. At one of these evening gatherings, I noticed that only a small core of the people knew the words to the songs being sung and that most people did not bother to clap after the first couple of songs.

In a Tunisian marriage, the father of the bride pays for her clothes and linens with the bride purchase price. She does not bring a dowry with her. The groom's father, or the groom himself, accepts responsibility for providing the new couple with housing and furnishings as well as food for the wedding itself.

When a young couple first get married, they usually settle in ~~some~~ of a patrilocality house. The bride must of course adjust to the new women and to being away from her own patrilocal home, probably for the first time outside of short visits. To help her bridge this gap the women in the house do all her cooking and washing for her. She is responsible for her own room only. Gradually, she takes on her own washing chores and finally her own cooking. Thus the overwhelming adjustments to be made by the young bride are smoothed by her new relatives.

A similar system of aid occurs when a woman has a baby. During the first week many women come to the house to do all the cleaning and cooking. In the home I visited, Kheria's mother slept overnight for almost the entire first week. During the second week her younger sister came over every day to do the cooking and cleaning. After this time she was once more on her own.

Some change in the relationship between men and women can be observed over a generational continuum. The dowry is not viewed by women as purchase per se but in terms of what will be bought for them with it-- their trousseaux. Nabiha reports that her father paid a Dinar and a half for her mother. Her husband paid twenty-five Dinars for her thirteen years ago. Kheria was just recently married and she cost 200 Dinars. Yet according to Nabiha, a man wants a woman who will not ask for a lot of things.

Nabiha's husband keeps all their money, but he takes her advice on matters of the home. For example, the recent purchase of a large blanket costing sixteen Dinars was left to her decision. He paid, but she examined the blanket, consulted other women, and decided whether it was a good buy or not. He does leave her a few millimes for items of immediate need like milk, sugar, tea, cookies and bread. She says her husband does discuss his work with her because she too has always worked the land, and knows a lot about

farming. Both Abdallah and Hasouna, when they come home from work, discuss the day's happenings. In contrast, her father never consults her mother, claiming that she would not know anything. Nabiha feels that her own life is better than her mother's in this respect.

Although Fatouma Barket worked on the land until her marriage to Munir, both she and her sister-in-law now remain at home. All three keep small change to pay for immediate needs. Fatouma and Khediya Barket are not consulted on family decisions nor do they converse much with their husbands. Kilani will on occasion discuss things with Melouka. Communications between husband and wife in the Barket household, where the women work only in the home and wear sefsaris, seems much more distant than that in the Amara house, where the women, except for Fatma, wear melias and work alongside their husbands in the field.

Housekeeping: Life for Nabiha begins at daybreak. She is the first to rise and the last to go to bed at night. She spends her day getting the children up and fed, folding up the "beds" of sheepskin, and washing the floor. Then she eats breakfast and socializes around a three-cup round of tea with her female relatives. If she does not go out into the fields she will then make bread, wash clothes, sift flour and visit with the neighbors before cooking lunch. After lunch there is another round of tea, the family sleeps, and in the afternoon women again visit one another, or cook bread or wash clothes. If she does go to the fields, as is usual, she may wash clothes there or harvest crops. On these days the whole family migrates to the fields where they settle down under a large tree. A small rounded shed of twigs and straw is nearby and is used for naps after lunch and sometimes for sleeping at night. Lunch is cooked and tea served under the tree. Lunch and siesta take about three hours. Nabiha works in the fields during the afternoon, usually stopping for another round of tea about four-thirty. Then she returns home to cook dinner which is not served until

about nine. Following dinner, she either goes out to visit relatives or cooks dinner and visits within her own house.

Early morning in the Barket household finds two of Munir's female workers giving the backyard and garden the first of many sweepings. Every morning a long time is spent on the laundry. Movements in both families are slow and rythmical. An item is thoroughly and plentifully sudsed. Although this turns the water an opaque grey, no rinse water is used.

Some mornings in the Barket household are spent on special projects, such as the preparation of barley and wheat in bsissa. For this the grain is washed in flat round tubs, spread on the courtyard floor to dry, pounded in the mahares, and picked over and dry roasted over the fire. The cooked bsissa is then ground in a mill in Menzel Bou Zelfa and eaten as a porridge mixed with oil, water, chick peas and sugar.

The Barket women and children are up again by two-thirty in the summer and the main afternoon projects are washing floors and baking bread. Buckets of water are sloshed over all the floor and on the lower walls. After this the water is swept over the floor and out with a broom, and then the floor is mopped with a rag. Malouka was observed laughing as she threw water onto the court floor and sloshed through it in her bare feet, obviously enjoying the work. Special afternoon projects include shelling nuts, salting dried tomatoes, and continuing the grain sorting. These would be central social activities and many women dropping in for a visit would sit down at the work circle. Khediya's afternoons are spent sewing.

The result of such constant housekeeping activity is that the houses are always clean and odorless. To keep a house this way, it is realized, requires this continuing cycle of activity. This fact having been accepted, no objections are made to people tramping on a freshly washed floor or tossing food on a

freshly swept pavement. Thus, the houses are always clean, but tidy only once a day.

Western dress is worn by the children in both families, by the younger Barket women, and by one Amara. The two older Barkets wear fouta and blousa and the other Amara women wear mellias. Distinctions are made between dresses for home and dresses for visiting. Home dresses are expected to get dirty and to be worn several days. Only the Barkets sleep in pajamas and nightgowns. Whereas the Amaras are always barefoot, the Barkets are barefoot only at home. Clean clothes and shoes seem to be put on for appearance, an indicator of socio-economic status rather than for reasons of cleanliness or health. Surprisingly, the Amara children get one warm water bath with soap each week, whereas the Barkets have only one in six weeks. The rest of the time washing is incomplete and done with cold water and no soap. Hair combing is sporadic in both families, averaging about one combing every two or three days.

A woman bears children, keeps house, prepares meals and helps with the field work if her economic status warrants. She stays in the house or visits relatives and does not go wandering out on the streets without a definite destination. She seems to exist solely to serve man. During conversation in a mixed group, she generally takes a secondary place, only adding occasional comments to a discussion on politics or geography. Women by themselves talk about children, other women, food prices, and exchange advice freely. As far as family planning is concerned, none seemed at first to be in evidence, but in fact Nabiha has had a "scoubidou" (intra-uterine loop) for seven months and so far is pleased with the results. Women do talk freely about contraception. Those that have "scoubidous" criticize those who do not.

Eating Habits: The basic diet in the Amara family is bread, macaroni, spaghetti or couscous --all

prepared in a spicy tomato sauce base. Almost no vegetables are eaten and protein is nearly non-existent. Breakfast, consisting of leftovers from the night before and coffee with milk is eaten between six-thirty and seven. A typical lunch, served around noon, consists of tomatoes and hot peppers fried in olive oil and eaten with bread. One plate suffices for all the adults, another for the children. Dinner, the largest meal of the day, is served about nine at night and may or may not be followed by the seasonal fruit. Cantaloupe, watermelon and tomatoes were frequently eaten in the fields in between meals.

A moderately balanced diet is available to the Barket family but not always eaten. Breakfast consists of bread, soft boiled eggs, coffee-flavored milk for the children and coffee for the adults. Munir generally eats bread dipped in olive oil or bsissa. The bulk of the Barket's diet is also starch. A plate is put before eight people that would suffice for two and is supplemented by bread. Everyone has at least a bite of meat at both lunch and supper. A small variety of vegetables is available. Couscous, macaroni, potatoes and starchy soups are cooked with tomatoes, onions, chick-peas, green peppers and perhaps a little squash. Plenty of fresh fruit is served. Snacks of leftovers or plates taken from a meal in preparation are frequently consumed.

Meal preparation generally takes much longer than necessary in both families because it is intermittent. Food is prepared leisurely on an earth floor and cooked slowly over a wood fire. In the Barket household food is placed on a low table. This is surrounded by mats. Everyone dips from the communal bowl, using either tablespoons or pieces of bread, and everyone drinks water from the same container. The few soiled napkins are shared, and spills and bones are captured by the cats.

In the Amara house the women ate from one bowl, the men from a second and the children from a third, but this was because of my presence. Normally they eat in nuclear family groups--the parents eat from

one bowl and the children from another. Each wife would prepare a separate meal for her family. In contrast, the Barkets prepare one meal with the distribution of labor based on informal cooperation. Frequent squabbling occurs over the common use of utensils that are individually owned. The Barkets generally eat the evening meal in family groups, but the other meals vary in composition and location. Priority for the choicest food goes to a guest, the men and finally the women and children.

In the Barket household, men and women drink tea separately. The women prepare tea only for themselves at odd intervals during the day. However, the Amara women drink tea four times a day in the company of their husbands. With the family tea pot the woman becomes an important and central figure, around which her husband, children and other relatives are drawn. No particular number of glasses would be consumed by the Barkets at one sitting, but the Amaras invariably drank three. One sitting generally lasts about an hour during the day, but is dragged out in the evening.

As has been shown, the role played by women in these two families varies in some of the details, but is remarkably similar with regard to health, sanitation, nutrition (both the variety of food and its preparation), discipline, and relationship to the world of men. Possessors of similar values and attitudes, these women are uneducated, confined to the world of other women, and are not exposed to many of the forces for change beginning to operate in the world of their children and men. Despite obvious differences in the economic level of the two families, the inner core which forms the rhythm of every day life remains unchanged. Much of this inner core rests on mutual cooperation and obligation as opposed to individual actions, on fatalism in contrast to personal initiative. Women, then are the perpetuators of stability. This role will again be seen in the following discussion on the relationship between religion and causality.

XI. RELIGION AND CAUSALITY

If prevalence of the 'sacred' is viewed as a force perpetuating social stability, then weakening religious ties indicate change. The Cheik of El Roud, when asked if religion was a strong influence here, replied, "No, not particularly." The consumption of wine by village men is a vivid symptom of dissolving religious bonds. Nabiha says that all men drink wine, and that they get angry if the women complain that the money paid for wine is needed for the children for food. Mokhtar agrees that most men drink wine, but adds with pride that he does not. Fatma feels wine is a problem because it is always bought at the expense of something useful. For a man to drink is all right, she says, but for him to get drunk is not. She is proud that her husband Hasouna never drinks. Recently Aroussia's husband (Abdallah's eldest brother) came in very drunk. All present treated it as a great joke, laughed at his antics and showed him no respect whatsoever.

Ahmed feels that although religion is still strong in the countryside, it is less strong than when he was a boy. Nevertheless, everyone here (in comparison to Tunis) still fasts faithfully during the month of Ramadan. Nabiha who was listening, said that religion really was no longer important. She added that "Nobody prays until they get old. Then they feel they ought to start communicating with God."

If religion is less important, then the sense of God's determining all of man's actions has weakened. Abdallah says that everything that happened on the land used to be attributed to God. Now, he said, man can shape his future, producing more from his land through planning and protecting the capital that his land represents. The brothers have a contract with the Caisse Locale d'Assurances to insure their land against natural disasters. However, "mektoub" ("it is written") is still used to explain accidents. One story was told in which a six-month-old boy was left unattended by his mother while she went to work in the fields. The family had recently captured a wolf cub in the mountains

which they were training as a watch dog. On this day the mother returned to discover that the wolf had eaten the baby. Such unfortunate occurrences are always considered to be God's will.

Some of the structures used in Tunisian Arabic do not reflect this changed view of causality. For instance, on the way home from the fields, Najoua Amara stubbed her toe on a stone. As Kheria expressed this in Arabic it came out, "The stone hit her on the foot." Such personification, giving causal power or decision-making power to inanimate objects, is frequently found in such phrases as "The water doesn't want to boil," or "The weather doesn't want to cool off." If a child bumps its head on a wall an adult will often hit the wall thereby "punishing" it for making the child cry. In all these instances, man is freed from responsibility as the action was carried out by the object itself. Perhaps as people begin to believe in their own ability to cause change, such lingual expressions will also be modified.

Time divisions are as much determined by temperature as by the actual position of the sun. The daylight hours are divided into morning, noon and afternoon. The whole concept of noon involves much more than lineal time since it includes a meal, round of tea, rest and general escape from the heat. Thus the hotter the day the longer noon becomes. When it is unusually hot early in the morning people will be heard to say "Noon is coming" as early as eight or eight-thirty. Likewise, the seasons and particularly the fruit which is consumed during the season--"the time of the pomegranate" or "the time of the ripe Barbary fig"--will be used as distinctions for time far more frequently than either the months of the solar or lunar year. Although the moon and its phases are watched and commented upon throughout the year, this becomes particularly important only during the month of Ramadan.

Men and women have far different views on time. When Abdallah asked about the time difference between Tunisia and America, Nabina first expressed surprise that there was a difference at all. Then she said that

this difference was probably caused by the sun's rotation around the earth. Women not only have less understanding of time sequence, but generally have a more religious view of time and of the future based on the philosophy of mektoub and inshallah (God willing). Both words carry with them an overwhelming sense of power and absolute authority of Allah as a causal force and source of all knowledge. Happenings are always inshallah until they have actually occurred, after which they are mektoub. These expressions are frequently heard in El Roud, though less often in the Barket family.

An example of this fatalistic philosophy follows. One Thursday there was a plan for the entire Amara family to go to the beach the following Monday. Kheria asked her mother if they really would go. Nabiha answered, "I think so but only God knows. If he wants us to go, we'll go, but it's all up to Him, and how can we know now anyway, it's only Thursday night." For Nabiha there was a total lack of an individual's control over destiny. Equally important was her foreshortened view of the future--four days, in this particular instance, were beyond her conception. As it turned out, Monday came and went and the family did not go to the beach because the truck broke down. Thus the philosophy felt by the villagers adequately shields them and explains to them the realities of their lives.

XII. SOCIAL GROUP VERSUS INDIVIDUAL

A changing view of causality has been seen to be a product of an emerging sense of personal identity. The individual is in the process of freeing himself from the bonds of a social, group-oriented society. The values and attitudes that insure the survival of the group are particularly evident in the non-verbal, informal lines of communication. The very architectural structure of the homes and the patrilocality of the families assure that people are always together. After supper the whole Amara family sits down for tea and conversation. People do not go their separate ways. In a similar way, the Barkets stick together in male and female groups. Closeness and lack of privacy are the rule and the result is a real dependence on being with other people. Everything is social. Children sleep close together when small and in all conditions of light and noise. If a person is asleep he is ignored and no special precautions or considerations are accorded him to protect him from the noise of the group. While he is asleep he is not part of the group and seems removed from its consciousness. Upon awakening, he is expected to arise quickly, be cheerful and fit immediately back into the group.

Disputes between women are extremely social. The verbal battle is fast, loud and stinging. Exchanges are not cloaked in niceties. Each party is unmistakably aware of the other's views, as are all the neighbors. A dispute arose between two neighbors of the Amaras because their children had gotten into a fight. The verbal exchange developed into a hair-pulling and rock-throwing session between the two women. Men, women and children from all over the vicinity came out to see the spectacle. Children clapped and adults obviously relished every moment. This receptive audience only served to heighten the women's animosity. Although such free entertainment was fun for the spectators, the anger behind the display could have been very disrupting. Yet even after such words, the parties involved quickly made peace and acted as if they

were the best of friends. Such periodic purging of resentment keeps the group stable and free of long-standing grudges.

Tea is the social ceremony par excellence. The status of group members is reaffirmed every time the tea glasses are handed out. Tea serves as a pleasant focal point to unite the group in a common drinking ritual, and disappointment is expressed if someone in the circle does not want to drink a glass.

Illness like the rest of life is primarily a social occasion. The sick person is surrounded by prodding, poking visitors who give free advice and try to carry on a conversation with the sick one. Physical ailments are freely discussed in detail. This is in marked contrast to spiritual ailments. Moodiness and depression are kept to oneself and not shared. Possibly the worst thing which could happen to a sick person is to be left alone. Aloneness and an accompanying sense of privacy and individuality are not tolerated. Even if one has work to do he is expected to do it with-in the company of the group. A person with a need for privacy and time to think is not understood at all. "Thinking" is done only when one is unhappy and has problems. When thinking as a means of understanding things that were happening was suggested as a possible value, it was understood but had never occurred to those with whom it was discussed.

Food is an integral part of the group experience and essential in Tunisian hospitality which above all tries to make the stranger feel at home. A guest communicates informally in the way he reacts to food. A guest is always offered something, and if possible, a large spread is prepared. Food is literally forced down the throat of the guest. Learning to sense how much one is really obligated to eat is something which takes a long time for an American. One must appear to eat enough to prove that the food was good and that he is no longer hungry. It is advantageous to stop eating well before reaching a full state because one will be urged to take more.

Besides communicating by the way one eats and drinks tea with others, a society with such a strong male-female distinction communicates much by gesture and dress. For example, stretching, which an American would do unconsciously, is considered very suggestive in Tunisia. Dress is a more obvious communicator. Sleeveless or short dresses are not worn by unmarried women in the countryside. In the city, of course, European clothes (both sleeveless and short) seem to be much more acceptable for an unmarried girl.

Thus the present value system, as evidenced by the rules of informal communication, serve to direct an individual's action towards conformity to the group. Acceptance of group dependence is rewarded with security. Group dependence is possibly a response to fatalism which gives rise to inconsistent discipline and moral relativity--phenomena which, when interacting together, present a kind of negative stability. The individual can begin to break out of this system when fatalism is replaced by human causality and a sense of personal integrity grows. This configuration is oriented towards change and productivity.

Such a movement from stability to change is increased by the influx of outside influences. The Amara family showed a general inquisitiveness concerning the family, marital status, occupation and present place of residence of all outsiders. Men asked questions on crops, climate, politics, history and education in the United States. Women asked about birth control, food and eating habits, marriage customs, home life, the woman's role, baby care, religion, death and language. The result of this summer's contact between farm families, on the one hand, and both young beldi (city) Tunisians participating in Harvard's agricultural survey, on the other, cannot be measured at this time, but it must have significantly added to the growing sense of individuality which is beginning to emerge in the community.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

A main concern of both the report on rural farm family life and that discussing the farmer's economic behavior has been an exploration of the relationship of their values and attitudes to the stability-change continuum. If stability is taken to represent the traditional system we can say that the forces within the system when acting in an individual tend to perpetuate themselves and the system remains closed. A child born into this world of values is guided by fatalistic mektoub causality. From his parents this causality is reinforced by an inconsistent disciplinary system which the child is powerless to anticipate. The differences between right and wrong are not always clear to the child who develops a certain moral relativity. This in turn reinforced the mektoub philosophy which places the responsibility for an individual's actions on more powerful forces. The child must then become dependent upon the group, which demands conformity, to find the security and direction to act in an environment of negative reinforcement.

On the other end of the continuum, to which this society is moving, a positive reinforcement of creativity, ideas and initiative (important ingredients for personal productivity) gives rise to dependence on the individual rather than the group. Individualism leads to a belief in human causality and permits the growth of responsibility for the development of personal morality. The factors on the end of the continuum also appear to be self-perpetuating. It remains to be seen how these two closed systems can interact with each other to produce movement from one to another.

In the two families studied there is a socio-economic difference while the household practices and family life are very similar. This inconsistency indicates perhaps that economic behavior and its relevant attitudes will move generally sooner and more rapidly along the stability-change continuum than the more

deeply imbedded values and practices of family life. The chief outside factor which seems to be able to affect the dynamics of the continuum is education in its broadest sense, particularly the education of women. As the girls now being educated begin raising families, the values and changed practices they have learned will be passed on to their offspring and the stability of the closed traditional system will be broken. Family life and socio-economic level will move together along the continuum as the gap between their rates of change is closed.

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN TERMS

Arabic

Aind Rubbi: it's God's will, belonging to God, Chez Dieu.

Beldi: town or city dwellers.

Bes Bes: fennel.

Bint ammi: paternal female first cousin(daughter of my father's brother).

Bint anti: paternal female first cousin(daughter of my father's sister).

Bint khali: maternal female first cousin (daughter of my mother's brother).

Blousa: blouse of the fouta-blousa costume. Very low cut and open midriff.

Canoun: clay bowl containing charcoal over which tea is always prepared.

Cous cous: traditional Tunisian dish of semolina covered with a vegetable stew.

Cugina: "kitchen", but used as a large pantry for storage of staples.

Dinar: approximately two dollars. (~~1.92~~)

Fouta: wide strip of cloth wrapped around the waist and lower body. Skirt section of the fouta-blousa costume.

Ghourbis: earth houses.

Habous: religious endowment. Land placed at the disposal of a religious body, thereafter can never be bought or sold.

Hamman: steam bath: traditionally visited once a week.

Houche: Arab style house including all the rooms and the enclosed central courtyard.

Kiswa: Costume, also a pre-wedding party at the home of the bride where her trousseau is on display.

Khol: a sort of eye-shadow or mascara.

Kuttab: Koranic school.

Maghasa: ten year purchase plan whereby one person owns a piece of land while another works it and takes three-quarters of the profit. After ten years the worker in the maghasa will own half the land with an option to buy the other half.

Mahares: mortar and pestle.

Mechoui: grilled meat

Mehadh: squat-style toilet.

Mektoub: past participle of verb "to write", it is written: philosophy of fatalism and predestination.

Melia: traditional women's outer garment. Colorful cloth of several yards wound about the body and pinned at each shoulder with ornate silver pins.

Mesquina: "poor one,"

Midda: small low round wooden table; family usually sits on the floor around it and eats from common bowl.

Millime: one-fifth of a penny.

Nshallah: if God wills.

Osben: lamb stomach stuffed with chopped meat, fat, spices. Considered a delicacy.

Ramadan: month of daylight fasting, generally given more importance in Islam of North Africa than in Eastern Arab countries.

Sefsari: white silk cloth covering a woman's head, body and outer garments to the ankles. Worn by traditional women whenever they leave the house.

Saida: a popular Tunisian cookie, when mixed with hot water and sugar it is used as a baby food.

Scoubidou: intra-uterine loop.

Silaq: a green more delicate than m'loukhia, a rough spinach green.

Souk: marketplace.

Swerq: an aromatic bark used for cleaning teeth.

Taboul: licorice flavored spice.

Taboona: oven shaped like an upside-down cereal bowl with a round mouth at the top, made from mud and straw and used to cook flat rounds of bread which are baked on its concave inside wall.

Wilid ammi: paternal male first cousin (son of my father's brother).

Zawiyya: the shrine of a marabout (holy man) .

French

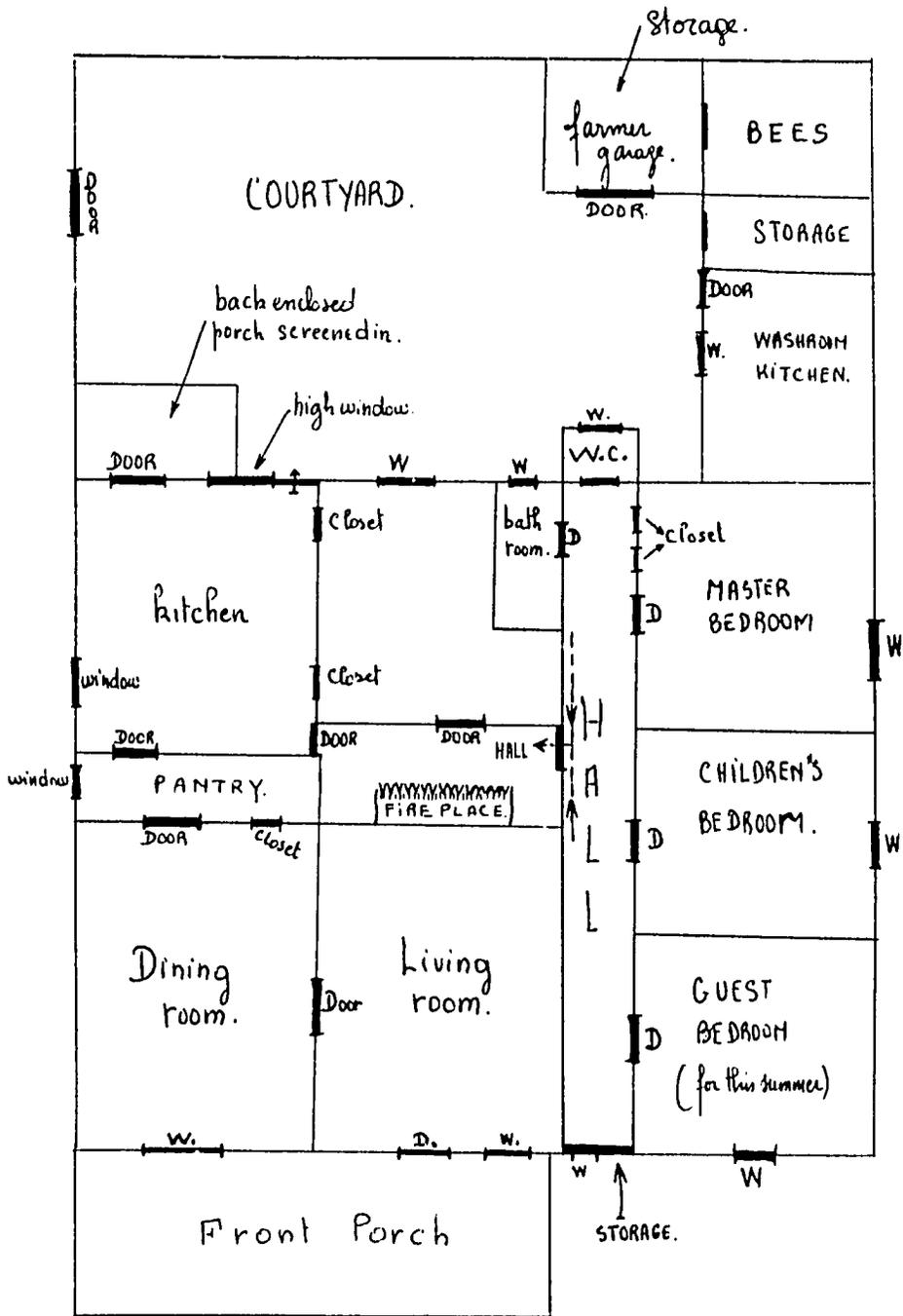
Animatrice: female social worker who visits homes to talk with women about health, sanitation, nutrition and hygiene.

Caisse Locale: mutual credit bank.

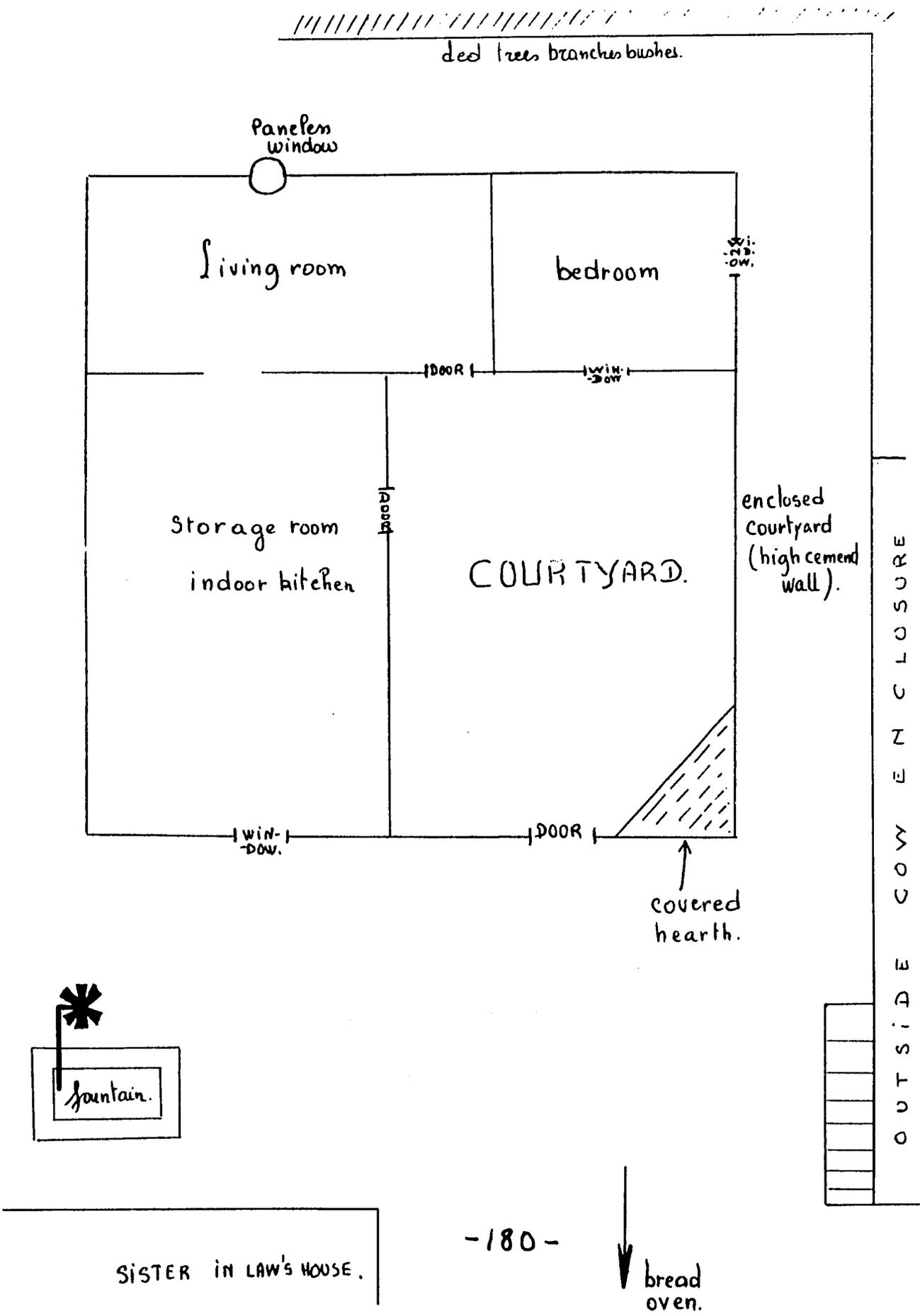
Couscouisière: pots used to prepare couscous, similar to a double boiler but the upper part has holes in it in order that the cous cous may be steamed.

Gargoulette: earthen ware jug used for carrying or storing water

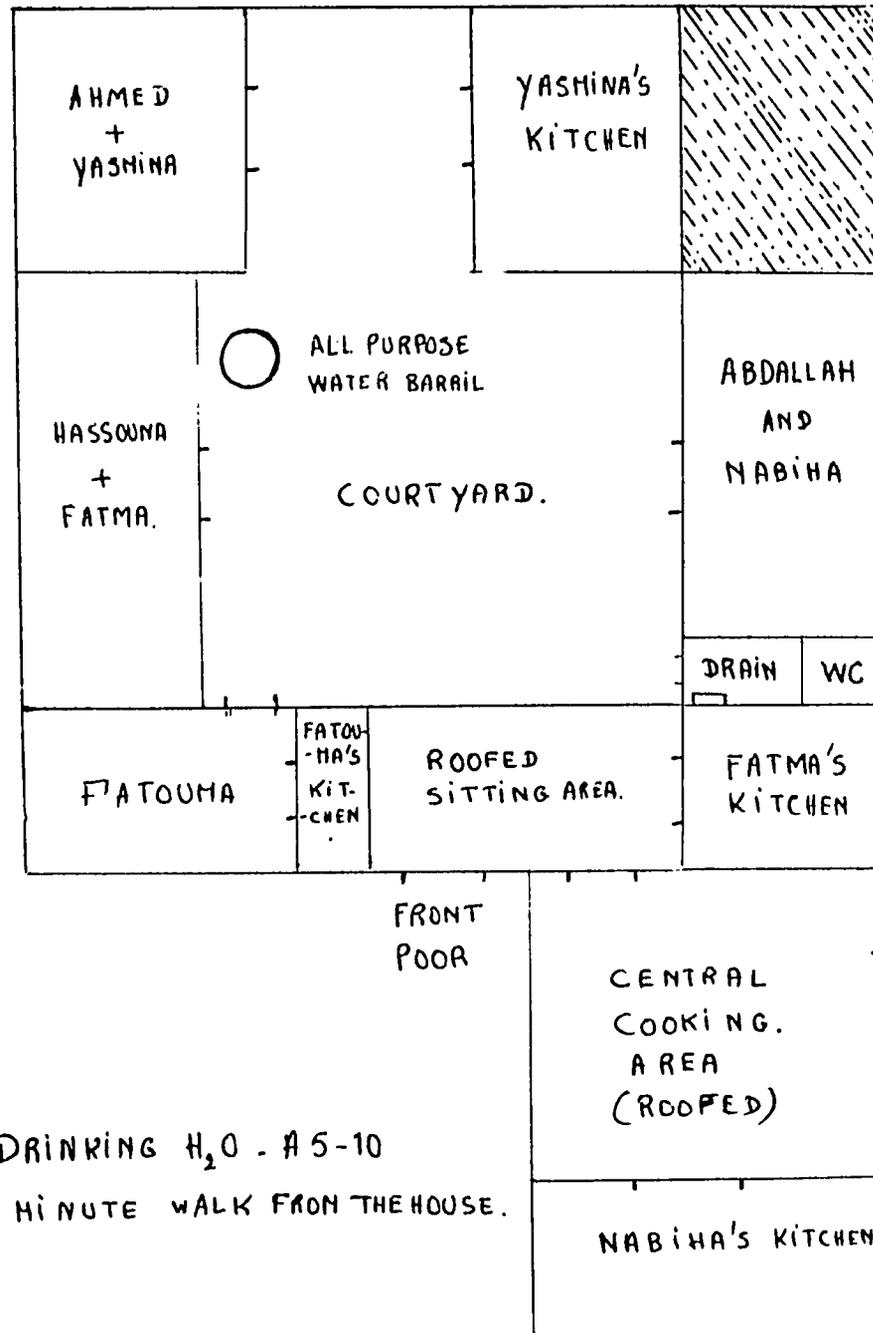
Radhia's House.
 Janoubi Home
 El Amal Cooperative



→ GARDEN.

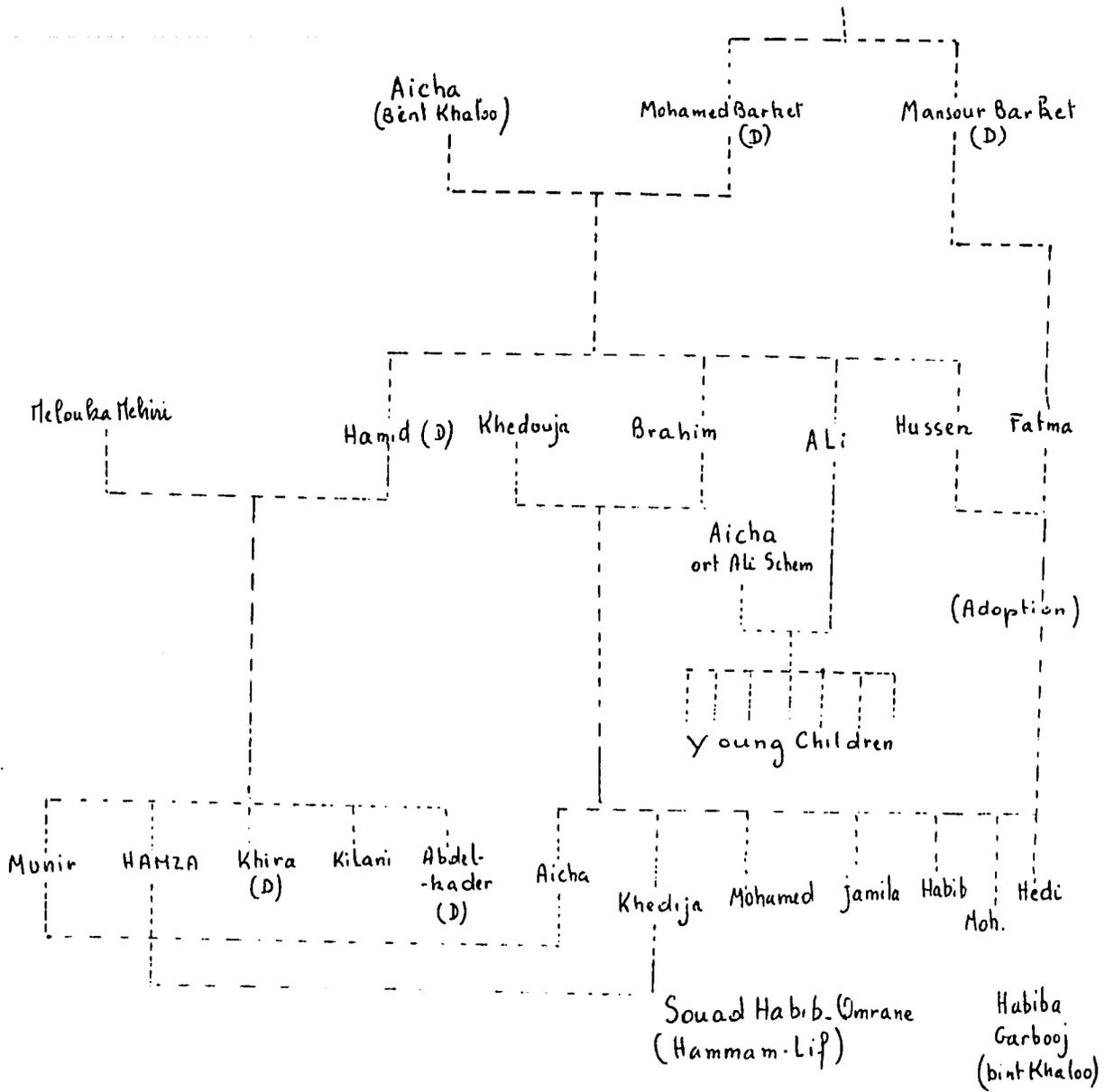


EL ROUD

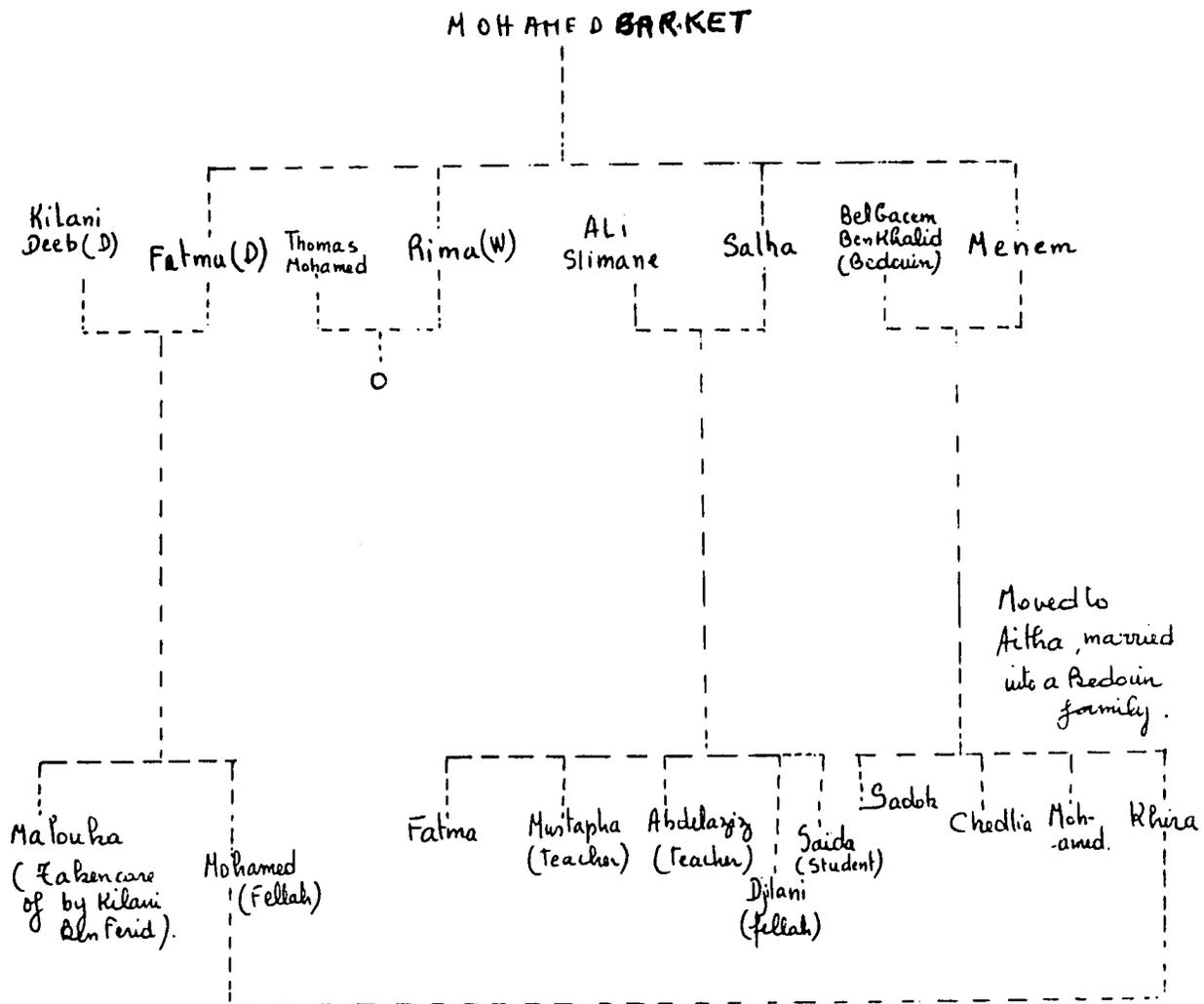


APPENDIX
 GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

SONS OF MOHAMED. BARKET



DAUGHTERS OF MOHAMED.



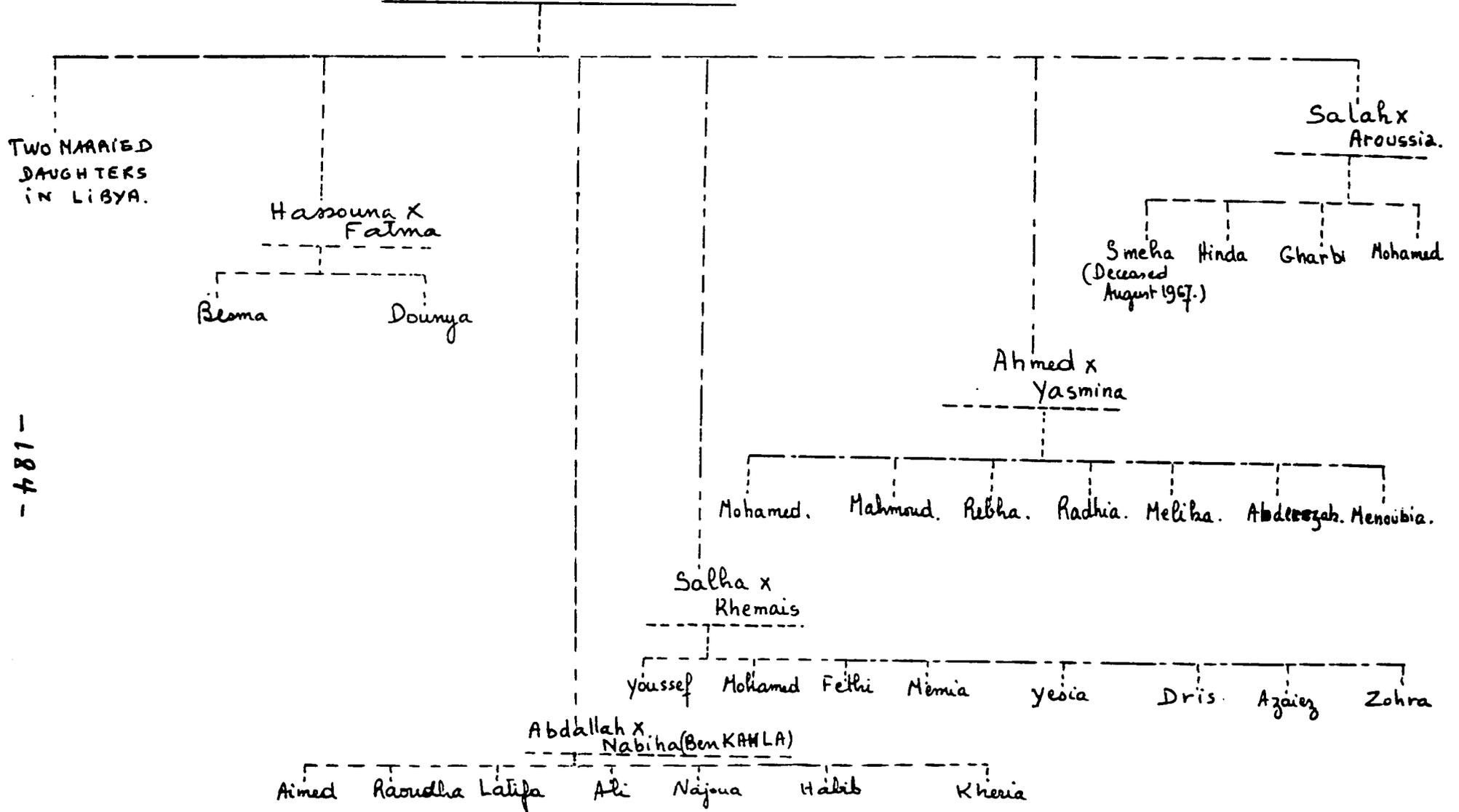
Note.

The fourth daughter, Menem, married into a Bedouin family and moved to Aitha. Chedija was not able to tell me much about her children, as they are far from us. But not too far as is seen by Mohamed's marriage to Khira.

Two of Ali Slimane's three sons became teachers and moved away, married away and influenced the father to educate the younger girl.

AMARA FAMILY.

ALI (Deceased) x FATOUMA.



- 481 -

Ben Kabla Family - related by marriage to the Amara family

- 185 -

