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Village Women Their Changing Lives and Fertility

Studies in Kenya, Mexico and the Philippines



American Association for the Advancement of Science

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Preface

The skills, judgment, interest and cooperation of more than fifty people have been involved in the origin, design, field research, analysis and writing of this project on the relationship between number of children and women's status. Its formal title was the Ethnography of Reproduction because it was an attempt to apply the techniques of ethnography to the study of human reproduction. From the beginning it was determined that a modest amount of experimental field work in three locations would be added to the literature on the impact of development on women's roles and on population already assembled during the course of related projects in the Office of International Science of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). In these decisions the staff of the Office was guided by an Advisory Committee composed of Margaret Mead, President of AAAS at the time the project started, Conrad Taeuber of Georgetown University's Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bioethics, Ward Goodenough of the Board of Directors of AAAS and of University of Pennsylvania, and Vera Rubin, Director of the Research Institute for the Study of Man. The project was funded as Amendment 3 to the contract (AID/CM/phs-C-73-25) between the Agency for International Development and AAAS. Throughout, David Mutchler of the Office of Population, AID, has served as project officer. The staff and Advisory Committee were also able to call on the highly specific and varied experience of consultants: Michael Maccoby, William Wigton, Beverly Hackenberg, Roxann Van Dusen, Lucile Newman, Rae Lesser Blumberg and Paul Myers. We especially appreciate the interest and cooperation of Maccoby and Wigton who continued to work with the project staff until completion of the work. Throughout, Margaret Mead's sage advice served this project well.

Kenya, Mexico, and initially Indonesia were the countries chosen as most suitable for proposed field work. It was later found necessary to substitute the Philippines for Indonesia because unexpected exigencies intervened.

The Philippine study reported in this volume has drawn heavily on the excellent research done in Davao by Beverly and Robert Hackenberg through the Davao Research and Planning Foundation. Beverly Hackenberg served as a consultant to the project, assisted in the selection of the villages and made available to us several interviewers whom she had trained. The life histories were collected and the genealogical censusing conducted by Iris Shinohara who is presently engaged in graduate studies at the University of Hawaii. The interpretation of the data was done by Irene Tinker who takes full responsibility for any misinterpretations concerning villages she has unfortunately never visited.

The Philippines is one area where there is considerable research on women and fertility. Mary Hollnsteiner of the Institute of Philippine Culture had conducted intensive studies particularly in the Manila region, and was generous with her time and assistance.

In Mexico Fernando Cámara Barbachano, Director Assistant of the National Institute of Anthropology and History agreed to work with us and supervise the field work in that country. After preliminary surveys he chose the contrasting villages to be studied and made the necessary arrangements for pursuing field work there. He provided us with geographical, historical and sociological information on the region. The field work began in April and ended in August of 1976, although different researchers came and went according to their responsibilities. Beverly Chiñas of California State University, Chico, an experienced anthropologist, provided us with the ethnographic data and interpretations, collected the life histories, and conducted the genealogical census of Santa María. Sonia Gojman de Millán, with the cooperation of the Mexican Institute of Psychoanalysis, conducted psychoanalytic interviews with women in both villages and interpreted them in light of the theory of social character with supervision from Michael Maccoby. Three research assistants were in the field for the entire period, Silvia Gonzalez, Manuel Ortiz and Teófilo Reyes. Silvia Gonzalez conducted the genealogical census of Fracción de San Juan. Barbara Lenkerd, who did not participate in the field work, but who was on the AAAS staff of the project throughout its duration, integrated the data from all these sources and wrote the Mexico portion of this study.

In Kenya the decision to conduct work in Kikuyu country came with the advice, assistance and recommendations of John and Beatrice Whiting, David Brokensha, Gretha Kershaw, Robert LeVine and Edward Greeley. The very substantial body of work published by these anthropologists has been of immeasurable support. Kershaw's work in particular has been invaluable since she studied a cluster of villages similar in many ways to the one chosen for our project. Beatrice Whiting's work on women and their roles has also informed our perception of women in many basic ways. Achola Pala, one of the first Kenya women to receive a doctorate in anthropology, was resident in the United States during the analytical phase of these studies and gave the benefit of her advice.

Priscilla Reining conducted the field work in Kenya. With the encouragement and support of its Acting Director, Peter Hopcraft, Reining became a Research Associate of the Institute for Development Studies of the University of Nairobi, Kenya. The Institute and its staff became an institutional base, with its opportunity for consultation and for accomplishing the numerous tasks associated with even short term field work. The affiliation is acknowledged with warm gratitude to all. The period of field work lasted from March to July of 1976 and was conducted with the aid of several field assistants/interpreters, Sarah Muchene, Wanjiku Mulli and Christine Matenjwa. Theirs was a difficult role--leaving their homes and children in Nairobi to move into a village with a stranger and accommodate to the highly flexible schedule necessary to intensive field work--and they performed it extraordinarily well. The villagers, especially the several women who spent an exceptional amount of time discussing their lives with us, know the debt owed to them for their accommodation of a stranger in their midst. Thanking them here is but a tiny fraction of repayment for the many kindnesses, interest and stimulation of the privilege of living in their community. A further fraction of repayment comes in the form of an attempt to present as succinctly, accurately and honestly as possible the understanding of how they themselves act and view the relationship between their children and their status. Analysis of field data and writing of results were done by Reining with the assistance of Barbara Lenkerd and Cynthia Elliott, who undertook the analysis of the social character questionnaire responses. Special thanks also go to Monica and Edward Greeley for their hospitality and to Edward Greeley for directing the field work in the collection of sample data in Kiambu District.

Although some of the processing of data involves coding and compilation with its attendant depersonalization, life histories of living individuals and descriptions of actual communities contain uniquely identifying characteristics of an order impossible to erase completely. Nevertheless, all of the names have been changed to culturally appropriate, fictive ones, locations have been generalized (though demographic data is precisely reported) and in other ways a serious and careful effort has been made to protect the identity of all informants.

The World Fertility Survey Core Questionnaire was used in collecting household and family census information and data on women's reproductive histories. Modification of its use in Kenya was discussed with Louise Williams of the International Statistical Institute in London. The data were processed with the DEMOG computer program developed by George Collier of Stanford University, who completed the program to meet our scheduling requirements. In addition to this substantial task for which we wish to acknowledge our equally substantial appreciation, Collier served as a consultant in providing specialized assistance during the data processing. His prompt accommodation of our requirements is also appreciated. The data were coded by Rosalie Fanale, a doctoral student in anthropology at Catholic University, then on AAAS

staff, who also undertook the "interface" with the AID Computer Center staff, Gordon Reed and William Anderson, Their cooperative assistance in this part of the project was certainly appreciated, Wendy Gordon volunteered her time during the summer of 1976 and assisted with the coding.

The technical aspects of the project were funded under a separate grant from the Rockefeller Foundation: preparation of DEMOG, purchase and processing of remote sensing data, construction of an area frame sample in Kenya and specialized consultants. The report which follows does not discuss these technical matters fully, but their availability served an important complementary function necessary to the analysis presented here and it is most appropriate to record our thanks for their financial support.

The manuscript, prepared by three different authors, was thoroughly edited by Kenneth Reese who not only made the final product more uniform but also did so under the considerable constraint of a tight time schedule. All three of us wish to record our thanks to him for this service.

The manuscript was typed rapidly, accurately and cheerfully by Kay Weinstein.

Finally, it is quite correct to thank all for their contributions and to accept responsibility for error of detail, of intent and of expression.

Priscilla Reining, Project Director
Ethnography of Reproduction

Office of International Science
American Association for the
Advancement of Science

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Introduction

The objective of this study was to learn enough about the lives of individual women in three different countries--Kenya, Mexico, and the Philippines--to see how the changes brought about by modernizing conditions might influence family size. The methodology used a unique combination of techniques from various disciplines--life histories, censusing and surveys, participant observation, social character analysis--designed to help bridge the gap between macro and micro studies, between long term field observation and survey research, and between studies of attitudes and behavior.

Results

The major results are summarized here:

1. Nearly everywhere the experience of becoming a mother and having a living child is valued, expected, or even demanded of a woman if she is to lead a normal life within her family and community. But the number of children that a woman has is not of itself a determinant of status. On the contrary, we found that a woman's status can influence the number of children she has.
2. Motivations for family planning differ in different places and among diverse groups. Women may or may not use contraceptives for many different reasons. An understanding of these differences is not achieved through national statistical surveys but must be derived by other methods such as those used in this study.
3. The strategies which influence decisions about family size reflect values and character as well as socio-economic conditions:
In Kenya, the governmental policy of creating a landed middle class is itself creating two distinct groups which respond differently to opportunities;
In Mexico, women in different villages with different historical traditions respond to modernization in clearly distinct ways,

and consequently will probably lower their fertility at differing speeds;

In the Philippines, the economic activity of wives, central to family survival, has tended to encourage larger families; however, the recently perceived need for educated representatives to intercede with the government plus the costs of schooling may reverse this trend.

4. Subsistence as a way of life is rapidly becoming less viable. Villagers are being drawn into the exigencies of inflation and international commodity agreements. In none of the villages studied can the families subsist on the crops they grow or the fish they catch. Adaptation to such change appears to include an increase in fertility rates until new methods of control can be established.
5. A response to the breakdown of subsistence economies can be the development of a culture of rural prosperity as well as that of rural poverty of which it is a counterpart. Because the two are linked, to portray and analyze the one without the other may give a false and discrediting picture of rural life. One cannot assume that fertility rates will be the same in each of these sub-cultural groups.
6. This study has demonstrated that the knowledge required to design more appropriate population programs can be obtained rapidly by field research in areas in which previous studies have ascertained and documented the pertinent socioeconomic conditions and cultural values, provided that such rapid field work is conducted carefully by professionals skilled in the techniques to be used, and in addition, thoroughly conversant with local conditions.
7. The experimental use of social character methods, included to help explain the relationships among character, values, socioeconomic structure and fertility, added an important dimension to this study.
8. Similarly, this study has demonstrated the feasibility of combining techniques from demography, anthropology, psychology, and other social sciences to reinforce each other and to test the assumptions reached on the basis of rapid and limited field research.
9. If adequate cross cultural comparisons are to be made of demographic rates, they must be based on appropriate local level units. This is extremely difficult to do with national statistics.

Context of the Study

In 1974 the AAAS prepared a report, Culture and Population Change, designed to summarize for the American delegation to the World Population

Conference the various theories constructed to explain the striking variations in fertility among different cultures and subcultures. The report challenged the validity of the widely favored theory of demographic transition as a predictor of changes in population growth. A growing number of microstudies were showing that particular groups were responding to economic development by increasing rather than decreasing their fertilities. The best that could be said was that, in most societies, a "tip point" can emerge at which the social and economic value of children begins to exceed the investment in them and that individual families respond by having fewer children.

In 1975, in connection with International Women's Year, the AAAS reviewed the literature on the impact of economic development on women. It became clear that plans introduced to modernize the economies of less developed countries tended to ignore the traditional economic roles of women, particularly in the food sector. The potential or even likely result would be a change in the status of women, and this prospect raised a very real question: How is a woman's standing, in her own mind and within her family and community, related to her fertility? Nearly everywhere society values children and the women who bear them; children are expected and even demanded of women who expect to lead normal lives within their families and communities. This much we know. The more critical question, indeed the key question, is the relationship of a woman's standing to the number of children she has, and the answer or answers to it were the fundamental goal of this project.

Research Design and Methods

Studies were conducted in Kenya, Mexico and the Philippines. In each of these diverse cultural settings we concentrated on women who had reproduced at biological extremes--no children, and many children--as well as an average number. In order to identify women and put the study into context, the field research and subsequent analyses were designed to integrate appropriate methods from ethnography, demography, and psychology. A chief field instrument was the life history, including each woman's genealogical, marital, childbearing, and socioeconomic background and experience. Genealogical information from individual women was combined to provide the genealogical census data required by the DEMOG program (see Appendix I). Genealogical and socioeconomic data were obtained from individuals by means of the World Fertility Survey questionnaire; genealogical links among households were determined using the conventional techniques of anthropologists. Socioeconomic structure was derived from maps, records of landholdings, employment, attendance at schools and churches, and the like, the whole derived both from field observation, surveys and earlier, parallel studies of the particular cultures by others. Information on the status or relative position of women was analyzed with the aid of a scheme of categorization devised by Ward Goodenough, who served on the Advisory Committee for the project. The character of a limited number of women were analyzed using their responses to a social character questionnaire (see Appendix II),

constructed especially for this study by Michael Maccoby who served also as an adviser to the project as a whole. From the results obtained with this combination of methods, which in fact was experimental, we have derived analyses of the three societies that, in terms of comparability, are as nearly parallel as possible, given the exigencies of the field situations.

Kenya

European culture and agricultural and political concepts have profoundly affected but far from obliterated the Kikuyu people of Kenya. The Kikuyu village studied is relatively large and complex, but our results touch only inferentially on economic and other affairs in Kenya as a whole. Still, the village is far from self-sufficient. Its people have not been subsistence farmers exclusively since as long ago as 1916; many derive their core income from coffee, which they were not allowed to grow until the early 1950s, but villagers earn cash income also in other ways, including employment in the modern sector. The longtime trend toward cash cropping was speeded sharply by consolidation of the land, completed in 1956, which created single holdings from the dispersed parcels traditional among the Kikuyu. The resulting farms varied considerably in size, and this was the intent of the colonial government, which hoped to establish a group of prosperous farmers who in turn would provide employment opportunities in the rural areas. A number of able farmers had acquired the training and could see the potential of the cash-cropping opportunity long denied them, and they have done well; others, with less preparation and smaller farms, are struggling, and it appears that two classes--those who hire and those who labor--may be emerging from a previously egalitarian society. The blend of imported and indigenous cultures is especially apparent in the countryside.

Despite the resultant prosperity which coffee has brought to the village, the women must still spend an inordinate amount of time carrying water from the valley streams to their homes on the upper slopes. Women chafe at the demands this task makes on their time and energy. In addition, the spraying required by the coffee crop increases the amount of water women should haul. Where traditionally children relieved their mothers of some of the household drudgery, today the demands of school keep the children from helping extensively with such chores.

We have attempted to disentangle some of the more prominent elements in Kikuyu so as to show how they affect the thought and behavior of men and women of the village and so provide the context for life histories of women whose reproductive fates influence but only partly determine their status.

Mexico

In Mexico, two distinct villages were chosen. Tierra Alta is a

remote mountain village in the mining areas of the central plateau inhabited by independent farmers growing subsistence crops on their own small holdings. Despite the fact that they cannot live entirely on their own crops, as landowners they maintain a pride in their region and a spirit of self-reliance that is in sharp contrast to the second village studied. Santa Maria is located on the plain where the excellent soils attracted the Spanish conquerors who established haciendas throughout this area. This colonial agricultural system had devastating effects on the local inhabitants which have not been entirely reversed despite the agrarian reforms undertaken in the 1930s which distributed the land for use by the tillers. The centuries of servitude have so shaped the character of these people that even today they display resignation and passivity. The different responses to life of the women in these two communities leads to different attitudes towards family size. We are predicting that the women in Tierra Alta, the village with the tradition of independent farming, will limit their families noticeably sooner than will the women in Santa Maria, the village with the hacienda past.

Philippines

In the Philippines two adjacent fishing villages were selected for the study. Cotawan is a small Muslim village whose traditional wooden houses on stilts are scattered along the beach between the Gulf of Davao and a swamp. Palm leaves from the swamp, made into roof shingles has for centuries provided the women with an important economic activity. Today the making of these shingles has become an even more important source of income than the subsistence fishing which the men do with small boats and shore nets. As a result, the whole family now participates in the making of shingles, a fact which encourages large family size since the family cannot exist without this extra income. The Christian squatter settlement of Niwang is just across the river where migrant fishermen built one story homes among the ruins of an abandoned plantation warehouse. The bulk of the inhabitants arrived during the 1950s, bringing to the area a more commercial type of fishing using boats. Women's income is pivotal to family well-being; the poorest families are those where the women have no outside income. While the economic activity and the resultant income of the Christian women covers a broader spectrum than that of the Muslim, the women in both villages control the family budget. These strong economic roles give Philippine women an independence and an equality with men which contrasts markedly with women in Mexico and Kenya. Yet the women are still charged with the housekeeping duties. Children have traditionally helped with these tasks, an advantage now weighed against the costs of education in determining desired family size.

Comparative Summary

Given the richness of the ethnographic detail in the three case studies which follow, it seemed useful to pull out for comparison important points on issues relating to the complicated interrelationship of women's status and fertility.

Status and Income. Women's status varies both within and between the five villages studied. The variation is not simply linked to family income. But relative income is an important influence on the status of women within each community. Women in all of the villages studied except Santa Maria work outside the home and contribute to their family's income. Notably the women of Santa Maria have lower status than the women of Tierra Alta, the other Mexican village, where the women do contribute to the family income. The work of women in both the Muslim and Christian villages in the Philippines makes them economically independent and gives them a strong say or even control over the family finances. The poorest families in the Philippines are those where the women stay home to care for children and have no outside source of income. In Kenya the women have always produced the food consumed by the family and they continue to do so even when it requires them to work for day wages. In fulfilling this traditional role in a contemporary manner, they are maintaining and possibly improving their status. It is important to remember, however, that no matter what the contributions of the women are to the family income, the cultures of all the villages studied still require the women to take a subordinate role in relation to their husbands. Therefore, it is quite important to distinguish among the distinct aspects of status since they can vary independently. Simple measures of income cannot be used to compare status cross culturally.

Income and Fertility. Cash income is necessary in all the villages studied to feed the family and to send children to school. These monetary demands cannot be met with subsistence activities. In all villages studied the trend is toward meeting these new demands at the expense of subsistence. The most elemental monetary demands are generated by children. Further, the speed of modernization has made many villagers aware of the importance of education of children as a bridge to the transformed society. The cost of school books, clothes, and transport must be considered along with the loss of the children's labor in household and agricultural tasks.

Generally sending a child to school is seen as a long term family investment. In Kenya the less prosperous families were beginning to limit their family size in order to be able to send their children to school or for secondary schooling. In Mexico we found a different response to the availability of schools in the two villages. Families in Tierra Alta seem to place more value on schooling as a means for their children's development than do those in Santa Maria who stress the need for the children to start working and contributing to the family income. In the Philippines the Muslims have seen the need to have

a corps of trusted educated people who can mediate between them and the governmental apparatus. We conclude that the monetary demands on a family of sending children to school is a more influential fertility depressant than the length of schooling of the mother.

Status and Fertility. In our study of women reproducing at biological extremes we found that childless women in all villages suffered a loss of status and self-esteem when compared to their peers. There are ways of partially compensating for the lack of children. In Mexico, becoming a godmother and taking seriously the obligations of this role is a route to gaining status for all women; it is especially important for childless women. In the Philippines a Muslim woman allowed her husband a second wife--but found her personal esteem undercut by the jealousy of the second, fertile wife and so left her husband. In all the villages we found a few childless women who were fulfilling the social role of mother by raising nieces and nephews. Only among the most prosperous farmers in the Kenyan village did we find that having many children seemed to raise a woman's status. The importance of kin networks among Kikuyu families encourages large families. This phenomenon also appears among upper class Filipinos not in our study. But the lesson apparently being learned by the less prosperous villagers is: fewer children with more schooling is more important than large families.

Hope and Fertility. The women in the five villages studied, faced with the need to adapt to a cash economy, are responding with different strategies of family size which are not explained solely by their socioeconomic positions. Based on our character interviews, we found that the quality of hope and self-confidence a woman has concerning her future is an important influence on her desired family size. Her level of hope springs from the maturity of her character and her socioeconomic and historical circumstances and does not simply vary with her relative income. We found three main types of fertility responses.

The first response, continuation of traditionally large families, we found among more prosperous women such as the commercial farmers in Kenya. These are active capable women who are under less economic pressure to limit their families and have social and economic reasons for having many children.

A second response, beginning to limit family size, comes from women who are less well off economically, but still hopeful and confident that they can direct their lives and help improve their children's lives. Such women are the more self-confident of the cash laborers in the Kenyan village who must limit their families in order to educate their children. In Mexico we see this response among the women of Tierra Alta who, though not well-off materially, are independent, hopeful women who believe they can improve their lives and those of their children by their own efforts. In the Philippines the most upwardly mobile of the women may be in this category. She has only two children and is realizing the economic advantage of having to educate only two. She is more confident about the future of her children and more satisfied with her life than many of the other women studied.

We found a third response, acquiescence to large family size, among women without much hope and without confidence that they can improve their own lives or those of their children. The women of Santa Maria in Mexico most clearly exemplify this category. They seem to be oppressed by their lives and meet life with resignation even though they are somewhat better off materially than the women in Tierra Alta. They do not seek opportunities for their own development and are less hopeful about their children's future. Because of their resigned attitudes they are less likely to limit their number of children even for economic reasons. There are also some women in this category among the poorest group in the village in Kenya whom we do not expect to actively limit their families. Other villages studied in Kenya among the Gusii also demonstrate a hopelessness that results in large families. (LeVine, Dixon and LeVine 1976).

These different responses have important implications for population and development policies. Different types of programs must be developed to reach different groups. The second group, those women active and hopeful enough to adapt to their limited economic resources, would respond most readily to the availability of modern contraceptives and increased schooling for their children. Development programs to reduce their household drudgery, such as providing water pumps, would give these women more time which they would probably use productively.

But it would be a mistake to assume that the women without much hope for their lives would respond actively to these same opportunities. They might not have the initiative to take up some income producing options. They do not seem to actively adopt the use of modern contraceptives. Hope is not a commodity that can be delivered to the people, and it does not develop easily among adults who are already resigned. Such women need the chance to develop respect for themselves and to gain self confidence in their ability to affect their own lives. This would require real changes in their social and economic opportunities and a transformation of their cultural values. Sensitivity to these issues must be built into population and development programs if they are to reach these women and affect their fertility.

Fertility Rates. Utilizing the DEMOG program to analyze the data from the genealogical censusing, we found that the Total Fertility Rate (total number of children one thousand women would produce in their lifetime) for 1973-75 of the five villages studied showed significant variation from lowest to highest. In Appendix I we discuss our reasons for believing all of these rates are depressed as an artifact of the data processing.

The Total Fertility Rates (TFR) in 1973-75 are as follows:

Kiaguri (Kenya village)	1940
Niwang (Philippine Christian village)	3610
Cotawan (Philippine Muslim village)	4300
Tierra Alta (Mexican village)	5160
Santa Maria (Mexican village)	5750

There are two distinct aspects to an explanation of these rates: genuine desire to practice family planning and the availability of contraceptives. Looking only at the village figures one is tempted to explain them simply as being correlated to the date of introduction of legal, acceptable modern contraceptives. Availability matters. The Kenya government in fact was the first to develop an official family planning program in 1966. President Marcos of the Philippines announced the beginning of a population policy in 1969. Mexico began its official population program only in 1973.

It is imperative to stress that the motivation to limit fertility within each village varied with socioeconomic levels, values, and character. In the Kenyan village in particular, our data indicate a drop in fertility rates starting in the late 1950s before modern contraceptives were available. It seems clear to us that contraceptive availability without motivation for smaller families has little impact. Yet women motivated to limit their families without modern contraceptive availability may use age old methods varying from massage abortions to herbal preparations to coitus interruptus; these women would adopt more reliable methods rather quickly.

Kenya

Introduction

Today in the Kikuyu countryside of Kenya one sees nearly everywhere the signs of the "great transformation," the innumerable changes, large and small, that have come to so much of the world and that might collectively be called "modernization." The transformation began in small ways many years ago, of course, but the pace has accelerated remarkably since World War II. Few peoples and few nations, developed or less so, remain unaffected. Portrayed here is the experience of a single Kikuyu village, more specifically the experience of its women, from very nearly the beginning of the transformation until today. The oldest of the village women who were willing to share their lives with us was already a young girl some eighty years ago when our account begins; the youngest bore a daughter in mid-1976 during the period of our field work. The life histories of the women who worked with us, we believe, can help very much to illuminate the process of population change, and to this end we will couple their combined experience with the statistics that cumulatively characterize the people of the village as a population.

The village of Kiaguri is some forty-eight kilometers north of Nairobi, the capital of Kenya. Its two thousand inhabitants are southern Kikuyu; they occupy an official administrative area that approximates a rectangle, about 6.5 kilometers long and 0.8 kilometer wide, and covers about 525 hectares.

The village comprises a set of ridges and valleys named by and for the people who live there. It is not isolated; modern, all-weather roads are only three kilometers away. The villagers have many links with Nairobi, whose population is eight hundred thousand; with the district town, Kiambu; and with other market towns and Kikuyu settlements. The economy is agricultural and marked by strong trends away from subsistence crops in favor of cash crops and toward the sale of

labor as a commodity. Many of the farmers grow coffee, the main cash crop, and a coffee research station is nearby.

Nearly all of the younger children are in school. The village also has its own secondary school, which takes not only boys, the custom for many years, but girls as well. A few families send their sons and daughters to the University of Nairobi and a few to schools outside of Kenya for further university or graduate training. The prominent families own vehicles, mostly Land Rovers or small lorries. The long-fragmented village land was consolidated in 1955; nearly everyone has moved since from the center village, where all were then living, to their titled farm plots, building new houses in the process. As a result, many live in houses built since 1970 and virtually no one in a house more than fifteen years old. Electricity has reached the market area and the schools. The government of Kenya operates a clinic, a few kilometers away, which is open daily for outpatient service.

Educated women in the village teach in the schools, run women's groups, and participate in church work and services. But in this Kikuyu village, and almost certainly in many others, the typical woman has five characteristics: she cultivates the soil, she carries burdens, she undergoes clitoridectomy (circumcision), she marries, and she bears children. Girls of no more than two experiment at weeding and at loosening and compacting the soil around a plant. Girls of three or four are given small bundles to carry when they accompany their mothers, who typically are carrying much larger and heavier loads. Historically, Kikuyu girls were circumcised in their early teens, before their menstrual periods began, as a part of their initiation into adulthood; boys, too, were circumcised in the course of initiation. Until 1925 (Kershaw 1972, p. 189), the initiations of girls and boys alike were public affairs; strong bonds formed among girls initiated in the same year, the *riika* year, and the same was true of boys. For many years after the public ceremonies were discontinued young girls were taken by their mothers to be circumcised privately and become proper Kikuyu maidens, and we are told that the practice remains common today. Boys nowadays are circumcised as a rule in a hospital, sometimes at birth, but often in their early teens. In their late teens or early twenties women marry and, except in rare circumstances, leave the village. For among the Kikuyu, as among many other patrilineal peoples in Kenya, the new wife moves to the village of her husband. A few young women today do not marry, but remain at home, even when they have one or two children. But the basic pattern is followed by the daughters of nearly every family.

Kikuyu women, once married, feel a deep need to have four children, one to be named after each grandparent. The force of this traditional naming pattern was as evident in 1976 as ever before. The custom is reflected in nearly every genealogy and has been modified only superficially by the widespread adherence to Christianity. Where Christian names are used, for example, they are accompanied by Kikuyu names. To

have more than four children is a blessing and an advantage, the village women say, but only if one can afford to feed and clothe and, especially, educate them. At the government clinic near Kiaguri advice can be obtained on modern contraceptive techniques: the pill, the intrauterine device (IUD), Depoprovera (three-month contraceptive) shots, tubal ligation. The pill is distributed at the local clinic; checkups for IUD's are done in the hospital in Kiambu or Nairobi; Depoprovera shots are given in the Nairobi hospital, and tubal ligations are performed there also.

The Kikuyu naming pattern, as one might expect, is a pervasive element of social structure. There are no family names of the kind characteristic in the west. The *Githaku* is a landholding descent group, commonly named for an ancestor five, six or even eight generations removed. The next largest landholding group, the *Mbari*, is more inclusive socially but more distant genealogically. Much larger, and not a landholding group as such, is the clan, the *Muhiriga*, of which there are only nine for all of the 2.5 million Kikuyu in Kenya. The Kikuyu, typically, know the life histories, including the groups, of their immediate neighbors and of the inhabitants of nearby ridges as well. When unacquainted men or women meet, they first establish lineage affiliation, kinship, home location, and relative age. The social groundwork thus laid, they know how to address each other and discourse can proceed in a proper manner.

In Kiaguri, as elsewhere in Africa, the ages of individuals are difficult to determine. *Riika* years provide good benchmarks, although ages at initiation may vary by several years. Most mothers can remember that various of their children were born before, during, or after events that occurred at known times in the 1940's and later. School records are useful, too, notwithstanding the entry that put all of the children in one class at age eight.

At any rate, we have explored the histories of particular women and the state of the community at intervals of twenty years, approximately a generation, beginning in 1896. This approach is well suited to the structure of our genealogical and demographic data, and it takes us into some critical periods as well. The year 1896, three years after the British protectorate was established officially in East Africa, saw the beginning of the Great Famine, the first marked response to the coming of the Europeans. In 1916 the people of what is now Kenya were caught up in World War I; many young villagers were sent away, some of them never to return. In 1936, the height of the colonial period, Kikuyu country was just beginning to participate in the world market economy, and it suffered like everyone else the hardships of the Great Depression. The year 1956 came midway in the Emergency-- a response to the Mau Mau rebellion--that was imposed in 1952 and lifted in 1960 and that was accompanied by the unrest elsewhere that heralded independence for nations throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

Independence for Kenya came in December 1963. From the vantage point of 1976, therefore, we observed the changes brought by the two decades following the Emergency and by a dozen years of independence.

Demographic data gathered through genealogical censusing from the inhabitants of Kiaguri have been processed by DEMOG (see Appendix I). An output of the program is a graphic display of the population structure, by age and sex, for each year. Although the fragmentary data available through recall for the nineteenth century will generate such population pyramids for earlier periods, the first pyramids giving some semblance of completeness start in 1916.

The text which follows is divided into twenty year time periods: 1896, 1916, 1936, 1956, and 1976. Using the annual population pyramids generated for the period from 1916 to 1976, we have selected thirty five such pyramids and placed them in the upper right hand corner on alternate pages. The selection is designed to correspond to the time period of the text and since the text is more extensive in the last time period, and the population larger, the most data are probably more complete. The small numbers in the earlier time periods are an artifact of recall, and possibly of completeness of coding as well. However the population probably was on the increase nearly everywhere in Kenya as Herz argues (1977, 11). Her revised estimates of the Kenya population show a doubling of the population from two million seven hundred and forty thousand in 1915 to five million three hundred thousand in 1948. In Kiaguri the population quadrupled in the same period. Rough as it is, this provides a standard for measuring recall against the likelihood of actual increase.

The Village in 1896

The Great Famine that struck in 1896 is legendary among the people of Kiaguri. During its three and a half years this complex of drought and disease killed plant and beast and half the inhabitants of the village. Crop failures at first were offset by stores from previous harvests, but these surpluses were depleted by sales to Europeans, sometimes induced by threats. Health was already a problem; the area had experienced epidemics of diseases brought by Europeans, one of them probably cholera. The initiations of boys and girls were long delayed because there was no possibility of assembling the people and food for the great public ceremonies that traditionally marked the passing of children into adulthood.

The village had been settled at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the direct ancestors of the Kikuyu who live there today. The settlers had moved down from the Muranga District, known in colonial times as Fort Hall. During the nineteenth century the villagers cropped the deep soils of their ridges and valleys and grazed goats and cattle on at least the near fringes of the flatter grasslands. On the grasslands they competed with the cattle-raising Masai who lived nearby. The two peoples long combined friendly exchanges of goods and women with deep antagonism reflected most often in raids for women and cattle. Young men died frequently in these skirmishes.

In those days the people traveled and carried goods on foot. The Europeans traveled on foot as well, in caravans; they brought foodstuffs to supply the caravan trade and hired Kikuyu and other men to serve in it. Within the village, women carried the burdens: infants and young children, water, milk, firewood, grain and produce from the fields. Often for these tasks they used pots and the famous Kikuyu baskets that they wove throughout their lives, but especially just before marriage.

Girls received no formal training (except at initiation). From their mothers, sisters, and female cousins they learned the duties of women: to rear children, to prepare food, to tend goats at home, to cultivate the fields. The principal grain was millet, but maize had been introduced. In the lower river gardens the women raised beans and other legumes, taro, and bananas. Land was owned by men, but rights to cultivate it were transmitted by women. When a man married, he received from his mother, through his father, her rights to cultivate certain lands and allocated these rights to his wife. Similarly, when the couple's son married, the mother passed certain of her rights to cultivate through her husband and son to her new daughter-in-law.

The Kikuyu governed themselves through a series of councils of men. To become a member a man had first to be circumcised. Other qualifications included his subsequent training and the acquisition of status by performance of rituals that he paid for in goats. The council system crosscut the descent-group system, with its own councils, but was strong enough so that councilors of a given descent group could and did cooperate preferentially with each other and so created the basic structure of government. The same was true of small groups of unrelated ridge neighbors who were also councilors. European administrators were relatively new to the area in 1896, but already they had asked the people of the village to appoint a go-between with whom they could deal. This arrangement would not be made formal until the early 1910s when Mwangi Njugana was appointed headman. The indigenous system of government was already being weakened, however, by the employment of village men by the caravans. In Kikuyu country, men with small families could fare much better with their own land and stock than by working for Europeans, but many of them went off anyway to earn money for taxes and out of curiosity (Kershaw 1972, p. 102). The villages lost the labor of the young men who left, and the council elders' authority over them was diminished when they returned.

The Individuals in 1896

Njoki

Njoki is a short, slender woman with light brown skin. She was probably born in 1888, because she remembers very well her life with her mother and older stepmother in the years before the Great Famine. Njoki was the daughter of Mbogwa, a chief, and his second wife, Njeri. Mbogwa and his third wife survived the famine, but Njeri and all but two of her children did not. Later Mbogwa's third wife left and married elsewhere, and her subsequent whereabouts are now unknown.

Njoki retains a strong sense of well-being from her early memories. Her mother, she says, had cows and goats and was a very good cultivator. The family was industrious, women were always busy, and food was plentiful. They lacked for nothing. With the coming of the famine, food supplies dwindled, and the family finally had to hunt for wild fruits to survive. After Njoki's mother and older stepmother died, her younger stepmother cared for her, her younger brother, and her surviving sister.

When Njoki was young, a girl customarily was initiated before her first menstrual period, and a group of girls was initiated every year. Boys were initiated only in certain years, and each such *riika* year was named for its most outstanding event. A girl's *riika* year took the name of the closest boys' *riika* year. The Great Famine delayed Njoki's initiation by perhaps five years; her *riika* year, 1902, was called Kamande. By then she was an "older girl" but

still had not started to menstruate, quite possibly because of the years of undernutrition. She was initiated in the Masai fashion.

Just before Njoki was initiated, cuts were made in her upper ears to allow the introduction of bangles. Shortly after initiation, incisions were made in her ear lobes, and she remembers still how the incisions, once healed, were enlarged bit by bit by putting in larger and larger pieces of wood until her ear lobes were extended almost three inches. They remain that way today. It was thus easy to tell whether a girl had been initiated, and the same was true of young men.

Upon initiation, a girl could wear bangles in her ears and change her hair style, and she was known in her village by a different word, which meant "initiated girl." Girls who were initiated together formed a cohesive group until they were married; they would always remember each other, although marriage would take them away from the village. They could behave among themselves as they pleased and greeted each other with a handshake that was for them alone.

Njoki loved to dance, and she remembers still the words and music of dances she learned long ago. The young people danced in a particular style before initiation and in another when newly initiated. They danced at night, the girls with young men and also with girls who had been initiated, and this was their chief form of recreation. During the day the girls were busy helping their mothers with the tasks of the season. On her father's homestead Njoki lived in the initiated girls' house, and her father and mother also lived in separate houses. Her only younger brother was prepared to move into a young man's hut upon being initiated, but tragedy struck and he died during circumcision.

Girls wore skins that formed a skirt, and they were taught to be modest and not to expose their thighs. This is true still; little girls are taught to pull their skirts down over their knees when they sit down. Initiated girls could entertain young men, but they were very, very careful not to allow themselves to be drawn into intercourse. A girl who had a baby before marriage was shunned by the other girls. The bond among girls of the same *riika* group was broken by marriage and pregnancy, but it was broken even more sharply by pregnancy without marriage.

When Njoki was seventeen she was wed to Mwangi Njugana, the Chief of Kiaguri. She was married in the Masai fashion, which meant that her groom came to the gate of her father's compound to fetch her and the wedding party. Although Njoki was not of the village, she had grown up close by, so that her comeliness when dancing had attracted the then newly appointed Chief. He and his go-betweens negotiated with her father to make her his fifth wife. After the wedding, she lived for a year in the house of one of her older co-wives. The co-wife became pregnant, and in Njoki's second year of marriage, when she became pregnant herself, she was given a house and fields of her

own on the Mwangi land. During the early years of the marriage Mwangi took other wives until he had eleven in all. The household became very large as each of the wives had children who in turn had children of their own. When Europeans called on Mwangi he would invite Njoki to help entertain them, and so she felt herself to be one of the more important of his wives.

In Mwangi's compound children were properly spaced. When a wife delivered, her co-wives helped her. They brought her porridge and later a dish made with a black bean cooked and mashed with sweet banana which was thought to be especially good for nursing mothers. New mothers ate it daily, especially during the first three months, whether they liked it or not. Most women expected to continue to nurse their babies and consequently did not expect their menstrual periods to resume for at least two years. A woman who delivered a boy could not expect to stay with her husband again until a mandatory period of six months had passed; after a girl the interval was four months. When the appropriate time had passed, however, Njoki and her co-wives still had to wait for Mwangi to visit them or summon them to his house; they could not properly invite him to visit them. He stayed with one or another of his wives, therefore, at his own discretion and wishes.

Njoki recalls that she was very fat when her firstborn came, and also her lastborn. She recalls also remarking plaintively to Mwangi before her lastborn was conceived that she was too young--about thirty-eight--to be without another baby.

Njoki's second child, a boy, named for her father did not in fact arrive until her firstborn was already seven. After her first child was born and she was a matron ("the mother of a child," in Kikuyu), her skill in gardening and her industry became her greatest assets.

Q. *Why were you so dearly loved?*

A. *Because I was hard-working, and these older ones, Njugana's mother, we were hard-working. And the other older one who is also the mother of Njugana (as the firstborn son).*

Q. *How many of you were the most loved?*

A. *All the ones who were hard-working.*

Q. *What did your husband think about lazy wives?*

A. *He had one when we were cultivating beans, and when we went home she was never allowed in the big house [Mwangi's own house].*

In those years, Njoki and her co-wives helped each other as their babies arrived, worked in their gardens, and participated in the daily events in Mwangi's compound, greeting visitors, helping with circumcision

ceremonies, honoring the ancestors, filling their granaries at harvest time, guarding children and animals against marauders, bringing fuel--all the features of daily life, large and small.

The Village in 1916

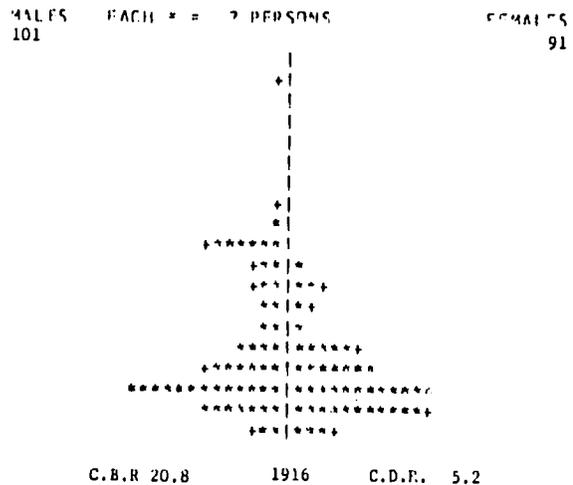
In 1916 Kiaguri was still recovering from the Great Famine. Not for another decade would the population return to the level of twenty years earlier. The households of the village, as in the past, occupied dispersed compounds connected by paths. The head of the house had his own rondavel, a mud and thatch hut, as did each of his wives (possibly excepting a new bride) with her young children. Initiated young men shared a separate rondavel, initiated young women shared another. Goats were penned sometimes in living quarters, sometimes in the kitchen, which also was a detached structure. The women cooked in large clay pots supported by three large stones positioned around the fire. The warmth and light cast by the evening cooking fire made it a natural gathering place for the people inside the fence that surrounded each compound.

There were no roads in 1916, and the people still traveled on foot. Almost all burdens were carried by women, commonly in baskets resting on their backs and suspended from their foreheads by tumplines. Medicine was still the realm of indigenous practitioners. When a child fell ill it was the father's duty to call the medicine man or village doctor, who diagnosed the ailment as a rule by divination. Pebbles were shaken in a gourd and spilled on the ground three times; each time, the number and characteristics of the pebbles were weighed carefully as a guide to the cause of the illness.

Change had come to the councils of junior and senior elders that customarily had governed the community. The junior council had been more or less abandoned because the sets of *riika* sets were no longer being formed. A type of council formerly used only for special purposes had become the more common instrument. Only three goats were required to enter it. The councils were operating in parallel with the chief appointed by the colonial government, who was, however, a member of the senior council and of the largest lineage group. These arrangements had preserved continuity of person if not of form.

The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 had demarcated the White Highlands for European ownership and occupancy only; one boundary of the area was immediately adjacent to Kiaguri. As a result the village had lost its best grazing lands, although goats and even cattle could still be grazed in the bush. The cropland available to the village also was reduced, which put greater pressure on the land remaining. Although the people were still less numerous than before the Great Famine, the loss of land exerted an impact, and it fell unevenly on the community. The death in the famine of an able-bodied head of household meant that his surviving widows and children had to be taken into other households, whose resources in consequence were stressed even twenty years later. From Kershaw's analysis we can assume that the stress was relieved in part by migration of those

with inadequate resources or residential rights only to the newly opened White Highlands, where they could hire out as labor. Partible inheritance was still the rule. That is, as each son married, his own mother gave the new bride cultivation rights to part of her own fields, land that the new groom would inherit sooner or later from his father in shares according to the number of his father's wives. Property was thus subdivided among each wife's sons; this is the main characteristic of the "house-property complex."



The women tilled the fields, bending from the hips, working the soil with their hands and with the ancient digging stick, cultivating rain-watered crops of maize, millet, and potatoes. Children guarded the crop against birds as harvest time approached, and boys tended goats. Crops were grown partly for sale, to supply the new town of Nairobi and laborers on the newly established plantations nearby.

Soon after 1900 the Church of Scotland had installed a permanent mission in southern Kiambu, about ten kilometers from the village. It was staffed by Americans and included a chapel for services and a school. At a neighboring station established in the same period a physician operated a boarding school for boys and a clinic as well. By 1916 the mission, the school, and the clinic had become a triumvirate that was strongly influencing the lives of the Kikuyu in the vicinity. Its effects can be seen even today in the lives of the people of the village. In 1913 the Chief, Mwangi, had decided that his many children, boys and girls alike, would be educated in the new manner. He had determined, therefore, to hire as tutor for them the first local man to have been so educated. The post went to the Padre Njoroge, who in 1916 was an upright, churchgoing, English-speaking gentleman of ninety-five. So some of the village children were attending school in 1916; boys who were tending goats did so in the afternoon and sat at their books in the morning.

The village in 1916 was feeling the effects of World War I. Troops were raised from among the young men of this and many other villages; the group to go were of the "warrior" class, young men who had been initiated but were not yet married. Not all of them returned. The impact of the war, like that of the mission-school-clinic complex, can be seen still among the people of Kiaguri.

Eligible girls could associate with young men, but intercourse was forbidden. An initiated girl could visit an initiated boy in his hut, and she could take food with her and even spend the night. But among her garments was a cloth that she wore around her waist and drawn very tightly between her legs, so that the courtship would not extend beyond embraces and fondling. Although no commitment was made, it was thus possible for initiated young men and women to be friendly lovers. A boy could love many girls in the community, but respect was necessary. The girl took only her breasts to the boy; the rest of her body belonged to her father. If a girl did become pregnant, she and the boy and both their families would be scorned and ridiculed, especially since she would normally marry outside the descent group and the village. She could never expect her father to arrange a proper marriage for her; he would be forced to marry her to an old man who could not find another wife.

Once married, a woman assumed responsibilities that were well understood, as we have seen. The traditional view of the role of a wife was expressed in part by a man of the village in 1976 in an interview conducted by a man. The exchange follows:

- Q. *What are the important things, the traditional things that a man thinks about a wife?*
- A. *Some people say that the Kikuyu are cruel with their wives. But that is not the case. They used to beat the wives, but only for the purpose of discipline, not because they did not like their wives. They are very good to their wives. They regarded them as very valuable. Because if the Kikuyu was never married, he had no place in the community. He was not regarded as of any importance.*
- Q. *When you say the man would beat the wife, how would he beat her? With his hand or what?*
- A. *With a hand, or with a stick, but not cruelly. Those who were drunk were cruel to their wives. But for the matter of discipline, men were not cruel.*
- Q. *What were some of the things that were serious enough that you would need to use discipline?*
- A. *Say there was some communal work, a building. If the man had a compound to build, then maybe his wife would not be too good to him, cooking or bringing things to him. That is one thing. Say the husband has goats; all Kikuyu had goats. He wanted to keep some in the house, never to come outside. It was the duty of the wife to feed the goats from outside. The husband quarreled that the feed was not brought in time, the goats were crying from hunger. The wife was for that purpose.*

The Individuals in 1916

Njoki

Njoki, wife of the Chief, Mwangi Njana, was about twenty-eight in 1916. In that year she bore her second child and second son, Mbogwa, named for her father. Her first child, born in 1907, she had named Njugara after her husband's father. Later he was always called John. In 1918 came the third child and first daughter, Wairemu, named for her husband's mother. Wairemu lived but two years; she contracted pneumonia in 1920 in the cold season, and nothing could be done for her. But the same year saw the birth of Njeri, named for Njoki's own mother. In 1926 Njoki had her third son, Kimani, named for her husband's brother. Today she makes her home with Kimani, the lastborn of her five children and the lastborn son of Mwangi.

Munene

Munene is the title borne in 1976 by Njugana Mwangi, the eldest son of Muumbi, Mwangi's second wife, and the stepson of Njoki. Both neighbor and stranger address this tall, spare man of seventy as Munene, a title conferred in part because he is a longtime chief and in part because he is senior man of his lineage.

Munene was born in the *riika* year of Njege, named for a campaign against porcupines that were foraging among the crops. By 1916 he had already lived ten eventful years, and his wife to be, living in a village some miles distant, was a girl of two. Munene was always a slender boy and was always tall and grew rather quickly, which earned him a nickname which means lucky. He recalls that in 1912 his father the Chief, Mwangi, was about to take his sixth wife and had decided to hold an initiation ceremony in his own compound. To Munene he assigned the task of leading a goat entirely around the outside of the compound on initiation eve to help ward off untoward events such as fighting and excessive bleeding (from circumcision) during the ceremony. Munene still remembers his pride in the favor that his father had thus shown him.

Also during his youth Munene remembers his stepbrother, Njoki's son, returning one dusty afternoon from herding goats with Ndegwa, the lastborn son of Munene's own mother. Near their father's compound the boys raced to jump in a pool to cool off and in doing so bumped heads so severely that one of Ndegwa's teeth became embedded in John Njugana's forehead. Ndegwa lost the tooth, and John Njugana lost the sight of one eye because of nerve damage. The half brothers live in the village today, often helping each other with work, and both bear the scars of their accident of long ago.

getting a bit older, and there were younger wives. She went to the garden and left the work to the younger wives. I was working in the garden with my mother, and my father came. He was angry-- why should she leave the work in the compound and go to the farm. She was beaten and ordered to go to work.

Q. *What did you feel then?*

A. *I was happy. [that my mother went to work with the others.]*

Q. *Did your father discipline the children?*

A. *The boys, when they grew big enough, but the disciplining of girls was left to the mother. But the father had other responsibilities when children were sick. When I was a small boy, about eight, I started schooling. The missionaries taught that you must go to the doctor, not to the medicine doctor. I told my father I did not have much opportunity to go to the medicine doctor. I only remember one case with sickness in the family when my father had to kill a goat and call a medicine doctor. That ceremony was done to myself and my mother. The dung of the goat was put in water, because the medicine doctor had said that there was some taboo in the house. He mixed the water with the dung, and he tasted it. Then he spit it out. All evil had come out.*

By 1916 Munene's education had already begun. The Chief, Mwangi Njugana, was alert to changing times and needed an interpreter, and we have seen that in 1913 he hired the Padre Njoroge to come and tutor his children. Munene was then about seven; he spent his mornings with the Padre Njoroge and herded goats in the afternoons. Two years later the Chief received an order to comply with the suggestion that he send one of his sons to be educated at the boarding school. Some chiefs, fearing a trick, picked a herd-boy servant and sent him off as a son. But Mwangi selected the nine-year-old Munene, who already had proved apt in his studies with the Padre Njoroge. The decision was fundamental to Munene's future. He was a bright lad of the dominant lineage, and the education he received almost certainly was indispensable to the public role he was to play in the decades to come in the village and, indeed, in all of this part of Kikuyu country. In 1976 Munene himself recalled many of the events of those days half a century earlier:

I remember when the padre came. I was a very small boy. He came with a white sheet [of paper] and the numbers. It was print. And he started to teach us, that is an "R" this is an "E", the letters of the alphabet and the numbers. He said afterwards he liked me because I could catch what he wanted the boys to catch. He started the school here [where it is today] after my father went to see the missionary, Mr. Harris, because the District Commissioner had called in all the chiefs and advised them to let their children go to school. The school

Then I got a letter from my teacher in the primary school--he was a European because there were no African teachers who could teach in a primary school. He was an M. D. In 1925 he wrote to me on the Coast asking, "If you are still interested in learning, the school is now completely built, and we are opening it at the beginning of 1926, and I would like to know if you would like to come back." I wrote him and told him, yes, I would like to come back to school. But before I wrote back, I wrote to Mrs. Harris, who was the missionary at the mission school. She was on the side of education; her husband was on the side of the church. I asked her, "What shall I do?" She replied, "I assure you that if you go back to secondary school, you will never regret it. Please."

That was Alliance High School, or Alliance College as it was called then. The Alliance students had to come from all over Kenya, to get twenty-seven of them. I was the twenty-seventh, the last to come that year. Some married teachers had to leave teaching to come to go to school. The arrangement was that my father would pay 150 shillings a year. He agreed, and the first time he paid 33 shillings. But later the principal said that Mr. Harris's boys are lucky boys; he would take Mr. Harris's boys, and they would not have to pay anything.

Alliance High School was started with funds from compensation allocated to the families of men killed in the First World War. Many men had given fictitious names, and the Europeans had not understood, when a Kikuyu man said (in Kikuyu) that his name was Orange, son of Banana, that these were not Kikuyu personal names. So many men couldn't be traced for compensation for their families. So it was suggested that the funds be used to start a school, a secondary school, and thus Alliance High School started.

I stayed there in 1926-28. At the end of the time I passed the senior school certificate; eight of us did out of twenty-seven. When we came out at the end of 1928, our places were waiting for us, to start teaching. And I went to the mission school and Mrs. Harris retired.

Nyina wa Wambui

Nyina wa Wambui, the wife of Njugana Mwangi (Munene), was a child of two in 1916 and living not far from Kiambu, in the village where she would grow up. Today she is a big, comely woman with strong features and a very direct manner. She loves to talk, is generous, and almost always has a small group of people talking and working with her. She makes sure that the people on the farm are properly fed and their problems aired, and that the gardens are properly tended whether she does it herself or helps superintend. She is the same way with the animals, especially the goats.

After a year or two my parents forgave me and did not argue with me any more. The person I was supposed to marry said that if I would have my ears pierced again he would accept me, but I refused to go back to those things.

Wanjeri could not have acted as she did without the mission as a refuge. But the forthrightness and decision she displayed at the age of fifteen in a matter of vital importance to her and her parents was characteristic. It sets her apart from girls who acquiesced against their wishes in the arrangements their parents made for them. Still, Kikuyu women on the whole are not docile, as subsequent events will show.

In this period there was a preprimary school in the village, a primary school at the mission in Kiambu, and a primary-boarding school at Kiamende. There was also Alliance High School, a secondary-boarding school for boys near Nairobi. The school in the village took girls as well as boys, but it is most unlikely that more than a fifth of the eligible children of both sexes were attending. The mission school took girls, as we have seen, but the boarding schools did not.

The year 1936 came during the height of the colonial period. The inevitable friction between the Kikuyu and western ways of life was intensifying noticeably and had been for some years. For Kiaguri, the two most pervasive consequences involved the local economy and traditional customs, especially female circumcision.

The villagers had lost their grazing lands to the Europeans and were grazing goats on fallow land or in bush along the lower sides of the ridges; the size of the goat herds probably was decreasing, according to Kershaw. The people suffered from having to cultivate steeper areas, but besides older staples like millet and maize they were raising more recently introduced crops such as English potatoes, carrots, cabbages, onions, tomatoes, and also wattle trees, a commercial crop. The population of the village was beginning to increase around 1936, but a significant fraction of the new crops was being sold to Europeans. Nairobi, for example, was an active market for produce as well as for firewood and charcoal. The Kiambu District Annual Report for 1931 notes that, "In an average year the Kiambu Native Reserve consumes 46% of what it grows, disposes of 4% by barter or sale to other native areas, sells 41% to nonnative areas and exports 9% abroad" (Kershaw 1972, p. 56). In short, as long as forty years ago less than half of all food produced by the women was for subsistence, in the sense that it was consumed directly in the village, although cash returns from crops may have gone partly to purchase subsistence items such as kerosene, matches, and sugar. These are average figures.

The shift toward cash crops had unhappy ramifications. By 1936, in Kenya in general and in this village in particular, the colonial system, by plan, had drawn the people into a national economy. In consequence, and not at all by plan, they became vulnerable to the Great Depression, including the attendant declines in the prices of commodities. During the depression, according to Munene, the Kikuyu relied on maize and potatoes and beans. But the prices of both maize and potatoes fell to one shilling per bag (180 pounds). An infestation of locusts, moreover, had struck between 1930 and 1933, so that the village experienced real problems.

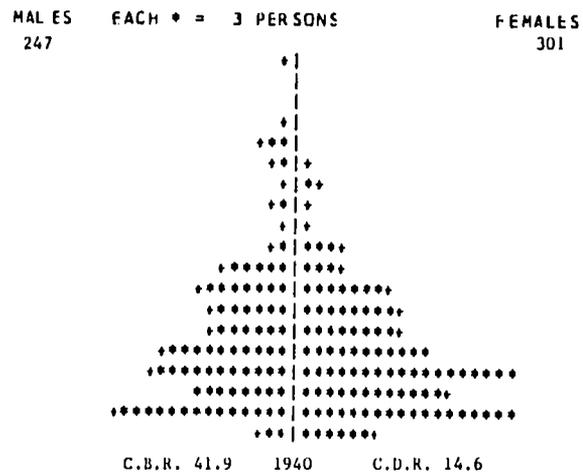
Land at the time was still held in dispersed parcels. Any one man almost certainly would own a number of parcels allocated to his wife or wives in the order of their marriages. The wives usually were given equal shares, regardless of the numbers of their children, although adjustments no doubt were made. Polygamy was the style,

albeit few men within Klaguri could afford a compound as large as the Chief's. At any rate, land disputes were common. Munene's first decade as chief, beginning in 1935, is marked in his memory by "cases, cases, cases" of litigation that consumed the time, energy, and money of the Kikuyu.

Well before 1936 cultural differences had become an issue not only between Europeans and Kikuyu, but among the Kikuyu themselves. In 1919, for example, a dozen boys were circumcised at the mission by traditional techniques but without the traditional instruction for initiates. Later they were snubbed by other Kikuyu, who considered them "mission boys." A number of villagers recall a dispute that erupted in 1928 in the course of an initiation and dance. The issue was whether to follow the old ways or the new, and whether education in the European style was good or not. Fights broke out, and a number of people were injured. Further, the missionaries' promotion of education and conversion to Christianity had called into question traditional Kikuyu beliefs about the supernatural. The missionaries also had long viewed with distaste the practice of female circumcision, which they thought inconsistent with a Christian way of life; an incident in 1929 made the practice the focal point of dissension within the church locally and, indeed, within the colony and internationally. In 1976 the episode was described by Munene:

The circumcision business started right here at the mission. The missionaries had taught that circumcision for females was not good and the people of the church had agreed to it; their daughters were married [without circumcision]. As more girls went to the mission, to the school, they continued without going through the custom of circumcision. But in 1929, it was March I think, the school was closed and the girls went home. One girl was taken for circumcision, and she refused. She went to the bush (she had asked to go to ease herself), and they waited for her and she never came back. But there were people on the opposite ridge who could see her, who could direct the people on the same ridge as she was, to say where she was, and finally she was caught. There were two of them like that. Both circumcised against their wills.

The missionary was very, very angry. The Padre Njoroge, who was the leading figure in the mission and also a member of the county council, had persuaded the government to allow the county

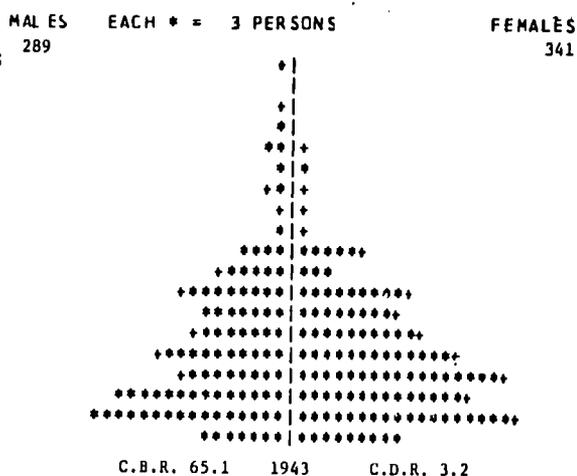


council to pass a resolution that circumcision would be done just to cause bleeding, to make the people believe the girl was circumcised. But these girls were totally circumcised. At the same time, the government would not stop it completely. They had established a ruling that, for circumcision, a girl must agree, the father must agree, and the mother must agree, all three of them. So when the girl proved that she hadn't agreed to her circumcision, the police took the mother to be punished.

Now the trouble started. The father, mother, and circumciser were all inside, and the case was being investigated by the police. Then the news spread, that these people have been imprisoned because they have had their daughter circumcised. When the missionary went from there to the church in Muranga to administer holy communion many people came to sit inside. They said, "Now, why is this? We built this house, all the benches are our benches, and this building is ours and we will not be administered holy communion by you." So there was further trouble. The pastor had a case against the congregation in Muranga, and the congregations there and here went to court, to the High Court of Kenya, to get these people [the parents and circumciser] released. And they employed an advocate. In the hearing before the High Court the advocate asked the missionary, "Is what you are teaching, was it what Christ taught at the shores of Galilee?" and he had to reply that it was not. When this appeared in the paper the Chief Native Commissioner, the MP for African Affairs, was very angry. He tried to get the government to pass some law, some protective bill, but the government would not agree. What the government would allow is to make the people of both sides satisfied, such as to allow only bleeding, to make people believe that circumcision had been performed. During this time many people resigned from the church because we were reading about a missionary who tried to make laws on native customs when he does not know anything about them.

At the time of the case, the advocate asked if people can give the names of Kikuyu who are forbidding circumcision for their daughters. Yes, many, many names. And the other side said it was the Europeans who were forcing this custom [no circumcision]. The Africans are not making it. So there was a division among the Kikuyu. The people of the independent side said that we have abandoned the Africans, and they called those Kidole, which means black Europeans or black white people, those who are signing to forbid circumcision for their daughters. And those who wanted to keep it and who wanted to be independent of Europeans, they are Karinga, the Kikuyu through and through. The Karinga then started the African Independent Church and the African Independent Schools, long before independence.

The issue of circumcision, then, and of decisions by families and by individual girls, was resolved practically by providing alternatives: adherence to the established mission and the schooling and conversion that went with it, or continued adherence to the ritual that had served since time immemorial to identify the adult. It should be noted also that fertility was an element of the controversy. Circumcision had always been thought to promote fertility, and whether uncircumcised girls would bear children became for a time an urgent question. The girls were readily identified by their unpierced ear lobes.



Through it all, and later, the mission pursued a mundane but interesting innovation for its girl students, circumcised or not. When the time came for marriage, girls were given cattle from the school herd as dowry. Boy students, similarly, were offered animals to help them meet traditional bridewealth payments.

The Individua's in 1936

Munene

Munene had been chief for a year when 1936 arrived and the husband of Nyina wa Wambui for five years. The couple had three children, and the fourth would arrive in midyear. He was thirty, and she was twenty-two, and both had known the frictions implicit in a life part western, part Kikuyu.

When Munene had been ready for circumcision, in 1919, the Padre Njoroge advised his father, Mwangi, that it should be done at the mission, where he was in school. The customary ritual was still practiced: boys and girls together would be prepared for circumcision at the compound of one man--Munene's brother was one of them--and then would disperse to their homes. But Mwangi agreed with the Padre, and Munene was one of the dozen boys mentioned earlier who were circumcised at the mission after being taken to the river to bathe and prepare themselves. Once circumcised, however, they did not form a cohesive group as in times past, but continued with school and their other activities. For this they were ignored at dances, and they stopped going. Still, with his initiation in the traditional manner, Munene joined the *riika* group of his year and thus became fully adult. In

this, as in other matters, he pursued the cultural ways of the Kikuyu, but in a new fashion.

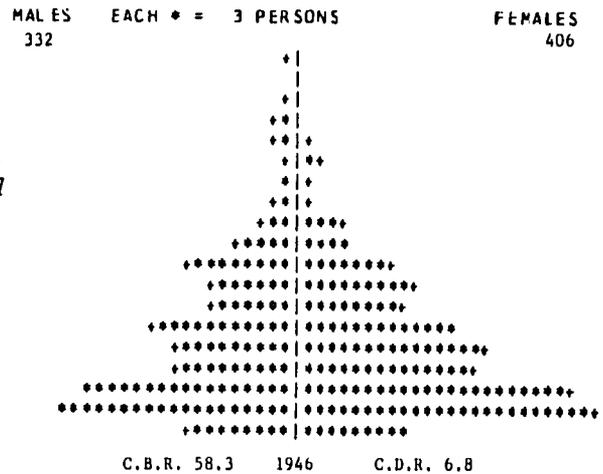
After Munene became headmaster at the mission school, his father began to press him to marry. He would then have been about twenty-three. Among the students at the school was Nyina wa Wambui (Wanjeri), and Munene says, "I liked her when I met her." We have Munene's recollection of subsequent events:

My father said that my younger brother and stepbrothers were now big enough to be married and that I was slowing them up. My step-sister had been married in the same village where Wanjeri grew up, and she told me that this girl was a very good girl. And so I took her recommendation, especially since my father was insisting that I get married, and I couldn't wait to let her go on to school. It was not usual even in those days for a secondary-school boy to marry an illiterate girl. But I liked Wanjeri and I could not wait for her to become educated. She had learned what she could in two or three years, and we started to make arrangements to marry.

We had talked to each other in school, and then I had gone to my father and to her father's house. Her father wasn't happy with Wanjeri because she had refused the first marriage arrangement, and he had had to send all the goats back to the other man. At first he said, "I don't have a daughter now because she refused my orders." Then he asked who I was, and I told him the name of my father, Mwangi, and he said, "Mwangi who?" and I said, Mwangi Njugana, and Wanjeri's father said, "I want to see your father." So I reported to my father, and he said, "Before I paid bridewealth for your mother, I wanted to pay bridewealth for Wanjiku, who is now the mother of Wanjeri, so I'm sure she is a good girl." Wanjeri said she had no objection if her father agreed, and so the arrangements were made.

Then, because we were Christians, we had some trouble, because it is the order of the church that when Christians marry they must not go into the custom of brewing beer. So my father wouldn't brew beer, and Wanjeri's father had to demand beer, which in Kikuyu is called "the beer to demand a wife." My father went to talk to him without beer, it was a problem. It is very rude to say, "I do not give beer." My father came back and asked my teacher to go with him to talk to Wanjeri's father. They went together, and my teacher explained that Christians ban beer-drinking: "These are my boys and they go according to that custom. Njugana's father and you, after you finish the marriage business, then you will have time to drink beer." And who would provide it? My father would do that later.

So my father and Wanjeri's father made arrangements, and they also arranged the amount of bridewealth. This was eight goats and five rams. The five rams are to be killed and eaten on the spot by both families, not one ram left; and the eight goats are to be paid before the wedding. This is to say that a wedding could now take place. Finally, there was beer, but this was done very late. It took about a year before I arranged these things, and I was also making ready the house.



In the old days when a man married, a house, a rondavel, was built for the bride outside the groom's father's compound. It was only temporary and was quickly built. Friends of the groom would cut the poles and make the framework, and the women would bring roofing materials. That's where the bride would come, outside the compound; she waited for eight or ten days, and during that time she was singing. But we did not do that. I had bought furniture in Nairobi and hired transport to bring it to the mission, and they had built me a two-room house with sun-dried brick walls and a tin roof. The furniture was for the house; the kitchen was outside. Wanjeri had gone to Nairobi to get a white dress, and on the day of our wedding she came from her father's to Mrs. Harris's house to be dressed. I had bought a new suit. The families attended the wedding and Padre Njoroge and Mr. and Mrs. Harris. It was a church wedding, a Christian marriage. Mrs. Harris made the wedding cake, and after the ceremony the wedding party went to the Harris's house for tea and cake. That was in February 1930.

Munene has also recalled from that period his experiences with the Harrises and in his work at the mission:

They [the Harrises] were traditionalists, higher class people. They were not higher educated, but higher class teachers in morals and everything. Because, as I told you, people used to say that our mission is the only place that we are taught to stand by ourselves, without the Europeans. When I was headmaster I would inspect the school and the inspector would tell me you must have new latrines, you must have a new classroom, and the people from the Church of Scotland used to have to make a report to the Muzungu to get it done. But we had a committee,

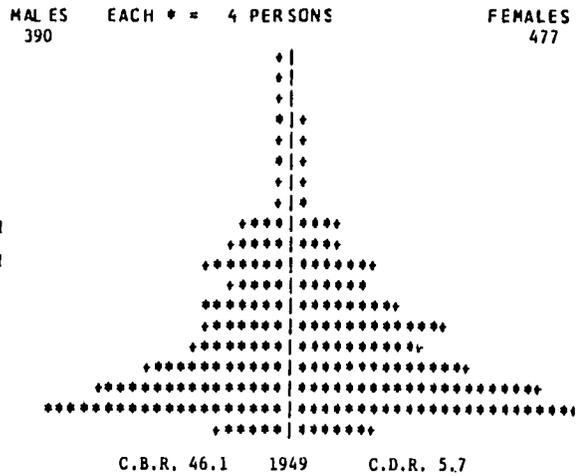
and instead of just saying, "I need this done and this done," I say I'll call the committee. So they wouldn't have to go back through these other people. It would be just our committee and they would do it. And they used to say Mrs. Harris's teaching of the people is excellent. Not only that, I went to a refresher course of the missionaries, and the church-mission society teachers came to lecture to us, and they used to say there is only one church in Africa, and that was our mission. That was the one. The others, all the big churches, they are not churches yet. It was because our church can stand by itself.

Munene and Wanjeri had their first two children at the mission. Mwangi, born in 1931, was named for Munene's father; Kamau, born in 1932, was named for Wanjeri's father. Although the couple lived at the mission, they had farmland some seven kilometers away at the village. They had been given it by Mwangi, and their land today includes some of it. Wanjeri walked there to tend the crops that supplied much of the family's food. By the time she was pregnant with the third child, she was making the round trip daily carrying a baby in front, a baby in back, and food and firewood, as well as working the fields. At this point the couple decided that they should build a house in the European style at the village. It had a bedroom for them, a sitting room, a bedroom for the boys, and later a bedroom for the girls. There was also a two-room, detached kitchen, where Wanjeri's stepsister could live so that she would be warmed by the fire at night. This was not the usual arrangement --one hut for the mother and her young children and a separate hut for the husband and father. In response to a question by an interviewer, Munene said the villagers "... didnt't think there was anything strange. Of course, we had the money to build the house. This was a very special house, and the carpenters and masons and other workmen came to build it for us." At any rate, Wanjeri and the children moved into the house in 1933, and Munene bought a bicycle to commute from the mission. This he did until he stopped teaching and returned to the village to become chief at the start of 1935.

At the end of 1933, the third child was born. He was called Peter, after Mr. Peter, a friend and benefactor of Munene's at the mission. Before Munene gave up his headmastership, he was offered Peter's piano for 650 shillings. Mrs. Harris urged him to buy it because it would give him a way to relax in the evening after wrestling all day with the problems of chief. Eventually he did buy it, for 150 shillings, and had it moved to the new house in the village.

In 1933 Munene was asked by his father and the District Commissioner to consider becoming chief at the start of 1934. But Mrs. Harris, who was responsible for education at the mission, asked him to stay for another year. Each year, beginning in 1930, eight or ten of his students at the mission had qualified to go on the Alliance High School; by the end of 1934, Mrs. Harris argued, some of them would have completed their

training and would be back at the mission to take over the teaching. Later, an open meeting of the village was held with the District Commissioner and Mwangi Njugana to discuss Munene's appointment. Says Munene, *There was no objection in those days there was no friction between the people. My father thought becoming a chief was not as important as remaining a teacher because somebody else could take the work of the chief. But a friend in the District Commissioner's office said that nobody was available to run the Division and this work would help the young and the old as well.*



So Munene became chief, effective in 1935. He built a small reception hut in his compound where people could sit if it were raining. Many of the cases confronting him had to do with land disputes. The tax clerk collected the taxes, which in those days were hut taxes. Munene recalls that, *A man paid twelve shillings for each hut, for each wife. A married man paid twenty shillings. Tax had started many years before; at first they paid two shillings, later six shillings, and then eight and then ten shillings. So it was accepted fully. The government demands the tax, which must be paid. Harry Thuku later changed it to a poll tax.*

Soon after Munene became chief he began to plan the house that was one of the two main ambitions of his life (the other was land reform). He wrote to Chicago, Illinois, for plans for a one-story, U-shaped house with reception rooms, a bedroom wing, and a service wing; these plans he still has. A Kenyan architect used the plans to prepare blueprints and specifications, and Munene and Wanjeri began to assemble the necessary materials. On Saturdays, beginning in 1936, Munene cycled to the forest, carrying lunch and water, to select the trees to be felled for the house; they were sawn there and the lumber moved to the chosen site and stored. Then came the stones--for it was to be a stone house--which were quarried some three kilometers away from the farm. The homesite-to-be was the site of the house built in 1933, which Munene always considered an interim dwelling, and on it he planted jacaranda trees and one eucalyptus. In the end, these preparations and the construction of the house would occupy almost forty years.

Nyina wa Wambui (Wanjeri)

Wanjeri recalls being courted by Munene as the happiest time of her life. When she was just married, she says, *People used to tell me that I was too old to bear children and I took a long time to conceive, but later I gave birth very quickly when I started. Secondly, when I gave birth I never used to be sick like many mothers, and I was so happy.* She discussed with an interviewer the fact that, as Christians, she and Munene were not honoring the postpartum taboo of the Kikuyu. One comment: *Many of the Christians have a dozen children and they didn't mind very much having so many children. Many of the teachers had a number of children and nobody said anything about it. It's a private matter, and the missionaries didn't want to go too deeply into it.*

When Wanjeri's babies were born, she would have stomach problems for about a week and didn't like the soup that Kikuyu women were supposed to like. But she remembers that she did want to eat something after she had given birth and did eat and did like beans. *During my time, when I gave birth, I would eat as much as possible since I didn't mind my stomach growing big. Today's mothers don't eat enough for fear of their stomachs growing big. I didn't have enough milk, so I would force myself to eat and drink a lot of tea, and milk, and porridge so that I would have enough milk to feed my babies.* Wanjeri says that even now Kikuyu women know the importance of breast feeding their babies until they are almost a year old. Normally she nursed each of her own children for eight months and then weaned them to a cup. Sometimes she used to scold other women for nursing their babies too long--past the point where the babies should start getting other foods in their diets.

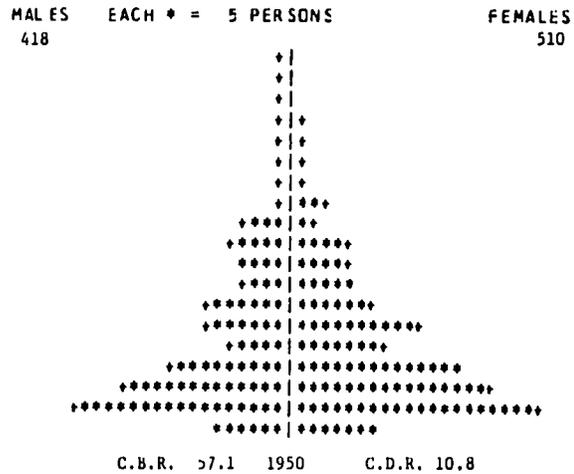
For the birth of the third child, named after her husband's brother, in 1933, Wanjeri went to Kiambu Hospital by car, and this was true for all the rest of her children. In 1936 came the fourth child and fourth son, and he was named David, after her own brother. And in 1938 Wanjeri bore her fifth son, named for Munene's younger brother. That same year, the second son, Kamau, died of tuberculosis at the age of six. Munene and Wanjeri think now, although they did not suspect then, that the child had contracted the disease from one of their cows. A friend of Munene's, the director of medical services, helped to have the boy admitted to Nairobi Hospital. Wanjeri took him there. Munene says, *I accompanied her to see what was needed, but all the same the mother was with the child. It was the man who went to help, to deal with [whatever problems arose]. Today the woman doesn't wait for the man to come help; they know the procedure and go to the hospital straightaway. But then men live away from home. But in those days, I had also to accompany the child. The TB spread very quickly. We thought at first it was only in one lung, but after examination they found the other lung had been affected as well, and the doctor said there was no hope of recovery. He was in the hospital for about three months, it didn't take long, and then he died, and I brought the child back here for burial.*

About two years later, the fourth son, David, who was then four or five, contracted whooping cough and was hospitalized for a long time. While there he caught poliomyelitis and was paralyzed on one side. Thereafter, he lived at home, and Wanjeri cared for him until he died at the age of eighteen.

Through these and later years, the children and the farm were Wanjeri's responsibilities. She has this to say: *What my husband liked best was hard work.*

If it were not for this illness [today she is diabetic], I wouldn't stay for a single day without going to the garden. My work has been farm work, and although we have had many other workers I liked my farm, and even today, if I miss going to the garden, I feel bad. So my habit is to like farming and also goats. I like goats just the way my father did. When my children were little, it was my job to be sure that they were prosperous. In those days, we didn't have the types of fried foods that women give to their children today. We had English and Irish potatoes, rice, and bananas, and these would be cooked, and we used to have beans and maize. We also had a lot of cows, and milk was always plentiful. So my children never used to take tea, but they used to take porridge with milk, and they never tasted sugar because I learned that sugar was bad for their teeth. Personally I could never buy sweets for my children, but I used to give them the things they needed, such as clothes.

Children can give you happiness when they are helping you do work, such as looking after the goats when they are young, but now they don't stay at home, even though I can call them whenever the need arises. They used to wash the dishes; I could send them to bring me a pot without worrying about its getting broken. When my children were growing, Munene bought a Land Rover, and so the children didn't need to carry water. So the happiness children can bring you is when they are staying together and sharing your daily work, except for disobedient children who might make you angry. Love is to love everybody, though don't you know there are some people who are very unhappy when you go to their houses, but the best type of love is to love those you stay with at home, and then the next type is when you go to visit friends, to be friendly with them. A woman loves her children by making sure that they get the things that they need such as clothes--by giving children what they need and only what you can afford. If you cannot afford it, you should explain to them that you cannot afford it. The most demanding type of children are girls, but I had boys at first, they are less



demanding. When you buy school uniforms and daily clothes for the boys, they wouldn't need anything else. But girls need school uniforms and everyday dresses and Sunday dresses. Anyway now, this is a different generation.

Asked how many children one should have, Wanjeri responded: *Do people always think about children? In the old days, people never thought about children unless God gave them to you. We didn't have such thoughts, and we didn't plan the number of children we would get. There is nothing wrong with a large family, after all it is God's gift. Unless the children bring you a lot of troubles and problems, there is nothing wrong. The only problem about a large family arises when children bring problems and then you can regret that you gave birth to them.*

And whether she is happy to have been a woman: *Is womanhood something to be happy about? Womanhood is nothing to be happy about, though I don't regret because I married, but women have a lot to do, especially when they get married. If I'd known when I was a girl, I sometimes think I would never have married, I would have stayed without children, or I would get them the way others do. But children do not cause a lot of work. In fact, the work for them isn't tiring, but a lot of the work at home and commitments are tiring, and these things men don't care very much about. God has blessed us in our marriage; since our wedding we have never separated because we loved each other and decided never to run away.*

Nyambura

Nyambura in 1976 was a short, spare, active woman of fifty-five, mother of four children, a leader of women's groups, and the mainstay of the African Independent Church and school movement in her part of the country. She was born in 1921 on a sisal plantation about twenty-six kilometers from Kiaguri, near a town called Ruiru, in the lower, flatter land. Her father was a laborer on the plantation, which had been started soon after the passage of the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915. Nyambura was her parents' fourth child and third daughter; her brother's name was Mboro, and the second daughter died. Her mother died giving birth to her fifth child, a girl.

When Nyambura was growing up her father stayed at work on the sisal plantation, but also they had a garden and cows and goats, and her father kept bees. She remembers that she was his favorite child, partly because she was responsible for milking and feeding the goats, and herding them too, before she went to school. She climbed trees and hung beehives on them for him as well. After her mother died, her elder sister took charge of the family and brought her up, still on the sisal plantation. Nyambura remembers that, *Our father was very good because he made us like each other, and as our father liked people, he set an example that we followed, and our children are the same, and we are a very happy and united family. Which indeed is the impression she gives.*

In 1928, when Helen was about thirteen, her parents died, her mother on a Tuesday and her father on Friday of the same week. "I don't know what killed them," she says, "but we can say it was cholera, because they started having diarrhea." She and her elder sister were taken in as orphans at the mission, where Helen lived until she was married. She was entered in school there (she probably understands English, but doesn't speak it) and was converted and baptized with a Christian name and has remained a lifelong Christian. She had not been circumcised when she went to the mission and never was, being one of the very first girls who were not. Nyina wa Wambui was at the mission in the same period, having sought refuge there to avoid marrying an older man, as we have seen. The two have known each other ever since. They live at opposite ends of the village today, but have lived closer to one another in times past; as members and elders of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, they would see each other regularly, and their husbands are close friends.

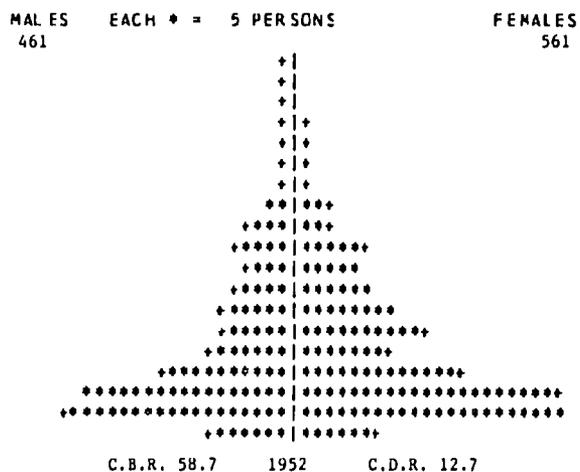
Education in the European style was a lively issue in 1928, the year that Helen's parents died and she went to the mission. She is among those who remember the dispute, mentioned earlier, that the subject stirred up in the course of an initiation and dance in that year. So important did people consider the episode that the name of the dance, Muthirigu, became a year name for 1928. By 1928 Munene was already well into his education at Alliance High School and probably was away from the village at the time that this took place.

When Helen and Ngethe were married, they discussed the number of children they wanted and settled on only two. She says that her failure to conceive after the second child was happenstance, but she says it in a humorous manner; at any rate, she never went to the hospital to seek the reason or otherwise tried to change things. She says also that, *I wanted a small family so that I could be able to educate my children well, clothe them well. I knew that if we had many children we wouldn't be able to educate them and do all the necessary things nicely because we were not well-off by then. Having a small family is nice because you'll be able to fulfill their needs easily, whereas a large family will always trouble you in fulfilling their needs. It is good to have a big family if you're able to fulfill their needs alright, but it's bad to raise a big family if you're not able to help in the daily needs like feeding them properly and failing to pay for the school fees regularly. Parents will not feel happy when their children are suffering because of lacking things they feel they would like to have.*

Wanjiku

Wanjiku was a girl or seven or eight in 1936. She remembers that she was brought up as a customary Kikuyu and it was quite different from today because then there was no education and, secondly, we used to herd. A child like Wambui, Nyokabi's daughter, is now in Standard II,

and if I had gone to school, I would have been in Standard II; but I was not educated. To be brought up as a customary Kikuyu [meant] that we lacked some things, like education, whereas today's child is sent to school and also kept very clean and brought up to today's standards. Back then we were dirty. Even though my father was educated, he was one of those who believed that their daughters will become prostitutes if educated, and so I was not educated just because my father didn't know the use of education. But I used to play about and swim in the rivers, and then I grew up and became a big girl and was initiated in the customary manner.



Wanjiku grew up in a village about six kilometers from the village where she married and now lives. She cannot remember when she learned to cultivate, but she does remember her mother working hard in the garden. She also remembers carrying water and learning how to do so in larger and larger containers, and she remembers learning how to make baskets.

The Village in 1956

By 1956, Kiaguri, like much of Kenya, was displaying the effects of the Mau Mau movement that had erupted early in the 1950s.¹ The worst of the troubles had passed, although the Emergency imposed in the country in 1952 would not be lifted until 1959. During the months just preceding 1956, the village had seen two other developments of far-reaching importance: land consolidation had converted each landowner's scattered plots into a single farm, and the first coffee grown on village land had produced a small harvest. Both events had stemmed at least partly from the unease in the country.

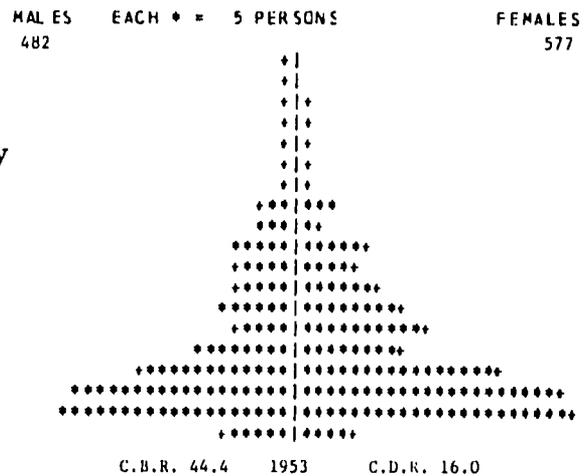
In 1953-54, because of the Mau Mau difficulties, the villagers had been ordered to leave their compounds and move to the half dozen Home Guard posts that were established around the homes of several of the more prominent people, among them Munene, two of his brothers, and the husband of Helen. Rondavels were thrown up to sleep in at night. Many more or less routine activities came to a halt, but people still went to their fields by day.

¹Mau Mau, which was essentially a revolutionary movement, is beyond our scope here, as is the involvement of the villagers in Mau Mau and the Home Guard. The events of the movement have been studied extensively by others, and no effort was made in this study to obtain pertinent recollections. Suffice it to say that the struggle aroused strong opinions and an equally strong sense of identity among those involved. A brief note on its origins may be in order: *Mau Mau was not the consequence of internal land conflict, its explanation is a great deal more complex than that.... During the years of land litigation, no legislation was developed to codify Kikuyu land law as it emerged from court actions. Kikuyu land law in the past had been a body of general principles, not of specific detailed decisions setting precedents. In colonial times, whatever became Kikuyu "law and custom" became largely a matter of unrecorded interpretation by individual Court Officers and Administrators. In this way decisions could be overturned as soon as another case came along and no certainty, no law ever developed or was written down from the multitude of ad hoc decisions. Kikuyu land tenure became increasingly a matter of land without law, and as social relations based on land were one of the cornerstones of Kikuyu social life, social life itself became threatened (Kershaw 1972, p. 26).* It might be noted also that Kiaguri lay on the border of lands that had been allocated to Europeans under the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 and that its people, along with many other Kikuyu, felt a strong and direct sense of having been deprived of some of their land.

At the end of 1954, the villagers were ordered to move to a new village center called the *gichagi*. It was laid out as a rectangle with streets and regularly aligned quarter-acre houseplots, one of them assigned to the head of each of 200 households. A social center was built in the village center, which was close to the primary school and included space for the secondary school that was put up a few years later. The village center also was close to the Presbyterian Church of East Africa and not far from the site for the Roman Catholic Church. In the mid-1950s there were three churches or parishes: the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, the African Independent Church, and the Roman Catholic Mission. The village center had no electricity; paraffin lamps provided light. Pit latrines were dug. Water was piped from a nearby spring to a new storage tank equipped with an engine-driven pump that worked on a ram principle; from the tank the water was pumped to standpipes at several points in the village. The houses were of wattle and reed plastered with mud and in some cases surfaced with split wattle applied in a diamond fashion. Often they were roofed with flattened five-gallon kerosene or petrol tins; sometimes corrugated iron was used. Tile was very, very rare.

The people occupied the new village center in 1955 and remained there until after the Emergency ended. For several years, therefore, the households of the village for the first time lived closely together instead of in the traditional dispersed compounds. But until the land was consolidated, a task completed by the start of 1956, each man retained rights to the parcels of land he owned or had been assigned by virtue of being a relative or spouse of a landowner.

The people of the village were still traveling largely on foot in 1956. This was especially true of women who continued to carry-- babies, food, tools, firewood, water. Two roads had been built in conjunction with the village center. One road led from the Home Guard post along a small valley toward the village center and continued to a small shopping area just outside the village about three kilometers away; the other followed a ridge, below its top, and also led to the small shopping area beyond the boundaries of the community proper. The roads were used by lorries, Land Rovers, bicycles, and pedestrians, the latter often with burdens. Motorized transport was owned by the Divisional Chief, but by very few others within the village. In



1956, moreover, the villagers had to walk daily from their homes in the center village to their newly consolidated farms, where no housing had yet been built. The nearest hospital was six kilometers away in Kiambu, the District Headquarters, and the next nearest was forty-eight kilometers away in Nairobi.

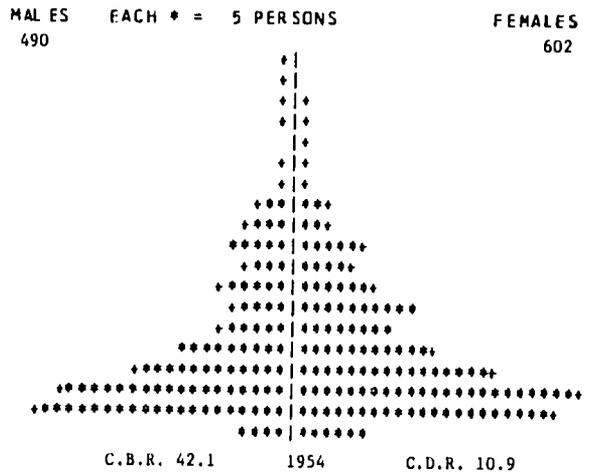
The rate of formation of polygamous families had declined somewhat by 1956. The rate declined further with the move to the village center, whose quarter-acre houseplots would not accommodate large compounds. Further, a man who took more than one wife faced at once the problem of dividing his land, which ran counter to the principles of the consolidation that took effect in 1956. The use of modern contraceptives was extremely rare, in part because of the cost. Babies were breast-fed almost entirely, again because bottle-feeding was costly.

Consolidation of the land, as mentioned earlier, had been a long-time ambition of Munene's (Njugana Mwangi). His years as chief had impressed on him the debilitating effects of land litigation. He was familiar with the western concept of individual title to land, with bank credit, and with western methods of agriculture. And he knew that Kikuyu farmers would be denied these advantages so long as they held their lands in scattered parcels. With the move to the center village, Munene saw that the way was clear. The people were no longer living on their own property; the link between residence and cultivation had been severed. He raised the issue with the District Commissioner, and by October 1954 the work of consolidation had started on an experimental basis in his district. The general procedure was that the elders of each lineage worked out among themselves who had the rights to what land. At the same time the Survey of Kenya, by means of aerial photography, produced a line map that showed the parcels and allowed their acreages to be estimated. Each man was then given as a unit the approximate equivalent of the amount of land that he and his wife or wives were already farming and, finally, the sites of the consolidated farms were specified. The work involved a great deal of discussion and disagreement, but the task was essentially completed by the end of 1955.

In this period other Kikuyu were pushing aggressively for land reform (DeWilde 1967, vol. 2, p. 15), and their interests coincided with the policy of the colonial government as embodied in the Swynnerton Plan. The goal of the plan was to Europeanize farm management, to create a group of prosperous farmers who in turn would employ those of their fellow citizens who were compelled by lack of land to sell their labor. The coincidence of interests, in any event, produced extensive land consolidation implemented by the following specific procedures (DeWilde, 1967, vol. 2, p. 15).

The first step was the identification of an "adjudication area," in this case in those areas of Kikuyu country where the majority expressed support for the adjudication process. An adjudication area

consisted on the average of 500 to 1000 landowners. The second step was the notification of the intent to undertake land consolidation, a notification that carried a time limit of six months during which everyone with claims could present their claims to land. The third step was the process of deciding among claimants, as to their rights, which were recorded in "a record of existing rights." The data in the record of existing rights consisted of measured parcels and the names of those who had a right to those parcels. The fourth step consisted of publishing, or making available, the record of existing rights for arbitration procedures. The fifth step was an empirical measurement of each parcel based on new aerial photographs, and then this area was filed and assessed against the total for each adjudication section. Given the nature of Kikuyu topography an error of no greater than five percent was allowed. The sixth step was the allocation of some of the adjudication section area to schools, churches, roads, and other public purposes, and a fixed percentage was taken from each potential landowner. Step seven, the actual process of consolidation, consisted of giving each landowner, whose rights and parcel size had previously been recorded, one consolidated farm. Again, given the nature of Kikuyu topography, a strip running from river or stream to ridge top was the most usual farm, because that would equalize the nature of the holdings by allocating different types of land from ridgetop to valley bottom. Step eight was the compilation of a register, the adjudication register, and step nine was the registration of the title.



The farms resulting from consolidation in Kikuyu country varied considerably in size. In Kiaguri they ranged from a tenth of an acre to forty acres. Very small holdings were sited next to the center village with its quarter-acre houseplots on the grounds that they could not practically accommodate both housing and crops, and this was still the case in 1976. In Kiambu District and other parts of Kenya, an average of eight parcels of land were consolidated to create each new farm. If this ratio is correct for Kiaguri, the approximately 200 farms there today must represent some 1600 preconsolidation parcels. Each farm was registered in the name of one person, customarily the oldest male in the family. In some cases land was registered in the names of infant sons of the family, but in only a very few cases was it registered in the name of a woman (DeWilde 1967, vol. 2, p. 13). Women, as we have seen, obtain rights to land use solely through their husbands or fathers.

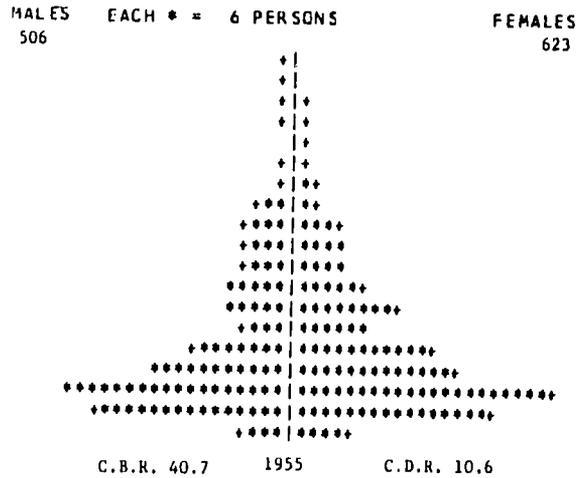
Land consolidation presaged a clear-cut change in what long had been a comparatively egalitarian society. It set the stage for the emergence of a division between prosperous farmers and agricultural laborers, both domiciled in rural villages. Colonial government policy, pressure among the Kikuyu for land reform, and the realities of differing farm sizes and household populations all pointed to the same outcome. One way of putting it is that farming was capitalized.

The newly consolidated farms, each with a registration number and an identified owner, created a situation that was close to freeholding, but with certain restrictions. These were to be exercised by the land control boards set up for each administrative division. No land could change hands without the permission of the land control board, which functioned in part to prevent refragmentation. No farm could be subdivided to create holdings smaller than eight acres in the "Kikuyu grass zone" or smaller than six acres in the "saar grass zone" (the minimum in Kiaguri is six acres). This meant that farms of less than the minimum acreage when first consolidated--or of less than at least twice the necessary acreage then or later--could never legally be subdivided. When an owner died, and his farm was of less than the minimum size, the court could award it to no more than five heirs as coproprietors; alternatively, the court could award the land to one heir and stipulate compensation for the others.

Closely related to land consolidation were the management designs, including detailed farm layouts, to be drawn up for larger farms under the Swynnerton Plan. The variety of terrain on the new farms, especially the larger ones, and the transition to cash crops that was under way led to a pattern of land use based on the degree of slope. Land with a slope of 20% or less called for homesteads and food crops; 20 to 35% slope meant cash crops, especially coffee or tea; and more than 35% called for grass or trees. This general pattern of land use provided the basis for a much more detailed plan, a Swynnerton farm plan, on which homestead site, orchard, coffee and pasture acreages, and the like were drawn to scale on a blueprint. Also specified were points such as the crop-rotation system to be used and the number of animals to be carried on the farm. Such plans envisioned making each farm of sufficient size a self-sustaining universe for one family, the whole on the European style. (Several farms in Kiaguri have plans of this type drawn to scale.) By the end of 1963, however, when Kenya became independent, only about 5400 farm plans, covering 95,000 acres, had been completed out of a potentially much larger number; lack of skilled manpower was given as the principal reason (DeWilde 1967, vol. 2, p. 17).

The deliberate effort of the colonial government to create a cadre of prosperous farmers among the Kikuyu, with all that that entailed, paved the way for the provision of credit, especially to the owners of larger farms.

Hand in hand with the consolidation of the land came the growing of coffee on African-owned farms. Missionaries had introduced coffee to the area in the 1890s. Villagers became familiar with the crop while working on European farms, but they were prohibited from growing it themselves until the early 1950s. The prohibition no doubt contributed to the unrest that led to the Emergency, and the lifting of the prohibition clearly was designed in part to help ease that unrest.



The first coffee was planted in the village by Munene and a very few others in 1953, and the first crop, a small one, was harvested in 1955. With consolidation, planting started in earnest. The agricultural officer in charge prescribed a limit of 100 trees per farm initially; this irritated the Kikuyu until they saw that the point was not to forestall individuals who could handle more than 100 trees, but to give everyone who was able to plant an opportunity to do so while avoiding overplanting in the village as a whole. The agricultural officer also prescribed firm planting instructions: for each tree dig a cubical pit, three feet on a side, drop in two five-gallon tins of cattle manure, and wait several months with the hole open before planting. This was a lot of work, and not everyone was prepared to do it. Still, trees planted like that were still producing in 1976.

The first Coffee Cooperative Society factory was built in 1956 at a cost of about 70,000 Kenyan shillings (Kshs). Potential members of the cooperative contributed ten or more wattle trees (then a cash crop) per household, and the bark was sold to raise the additional 20,000 Kshs needed to start the factory, which began operating in 1957. Other cooperatives were started later. They provide processing and marketing functions and offer certain other services as well.

The land-use plans coincident with consolidation provided for coffee nurseries, which were taken over by the newly formed Coffee Cooperative Society after 1957. In 1963 the nurseries were closed for fear of overplanting. Most of the coffee in the area was planted in 1955-58 and in 1960; the type planted was arabica. A nearby research station supplied the seed, and the nurseries charged about half a shilling or seven U. S. cents per seedling.

The land allocated to coffee in Kiaguri lies on the steepest part of the slope, from about a third to a half of the way up from the stream. The progression includes trees and bushes and sometimes bananas at stream level, then coffee, and then pasture and food crops. From

the ridge, or in an aerial photograph, one sees a continuous band of coffee running from farm to farm on the lower slope. Previously that land was bush intermixed with trees and was used for grazing goats; its conversion to coffee, on nearly every farm, has eliminated the bush and big trees and considerably reduced the acreage available for grazing.

The women of Kiaguri in 1956 were living basically as they always had, although certainly they had adapted to changing conditions during the peak period of the Emergency and similarly would adapt to the changes that were to come. According to a woman who lives in the village today, a group of women formed during the Emergency to collect money for use in the struggle for independence. Some of it went to retain the attorney who represented Mzee Jomo Kenyatta at his trial in 1952-53; some of it went to support the freedom fighters, whose representative came to the village to collect it from the representative of the women's group. The episode was unusual, perhaps, but not atypical of the active role that women traditionally had played in the affairs of the village.

In coping with their normal work the women of the period must have dealt with a number of problems, not the least of them created by the need to move in a relatively short time from compound to Home Guard post to the new center village. With land consolidation came the coffee and other new cash crops, and the women, still the cultivators, became responsible for them. Women still foraged for firewood, and the task was not eased by the conversion of bushland to cropland and the failure of most detailed Swynnerton farm plans to provide an adequate wooded plot.

Girls were still being circumcised, if no longer publicly. Their fathers were still negotiating and collecting bridewealth payments for them and using the returns, sometimes money but especially goats, to pay bridewealth in turn on behalf of their brothers. This reciprocal relationship between brother and sister, and the important duties traditionally discharged by women, made daughters as welcome in households as sons, as indeed they always had been.

Our retrospective data indicate that in 1957 the population of the village was about 1200 people living on 525 hectares or about 0.44 hectare per person. A discussion of demographic trends may be found in the concluding section under that title.

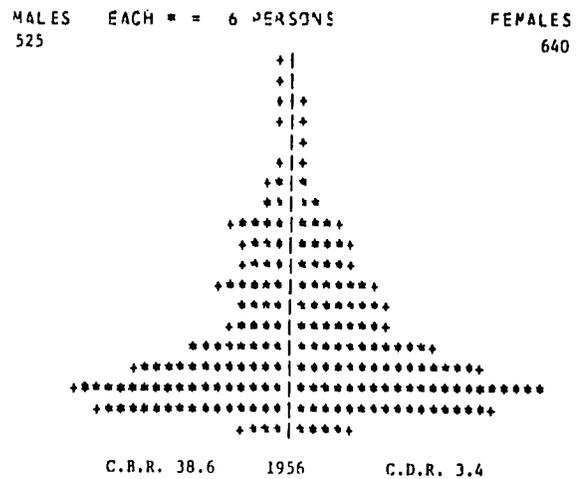
The Individuals in 1956

Njoki

In 1956 Njoki was in her late sixties and living with Mwangi in the new village center, close to the water tank and school and within easy walking distance of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa. When

the Emergency came, they had moved first to the Home Guard post near the home of her eldest child, John Njugana, close to where his home is today. Her father, who was very old, died at the time of the move to the village center.

Njoki had a number of grandchildren by 1956. Her first child, John, had but one child, Njoki, named for her grandmother; her second, Mbogwa, had two wives and six children by each; her third, daughter Wairemu, had died of pneumonia at the age of two; her fourth, daughter Njeri, married after completing Standard IV in school; her fifth, and last, son Kimani, had six children, the youngest a daughter, Njoki, born in 1956. By 1956 Njoki had ten granddaughters, five of them named for her, and fifteen grandsons. The children born to her sons lived in the village center. Njoki, who had always supported the education of her daughters, also supported the education of her granddaughters. In fact, she and Mwangi were criticized for educating their daughters as well as their sons.



From the vantage point of 1976, important aspects of the mid-1950s to Njoki included the moves occasioned by the Emergency and the clothing that people wore. At that time they wore toga-like cloths (the English translation is "sheets"), tied at one shoulder to leave one arm free and the other covered. Women wore an underskirt; they used a second cloth for carrying a baby and also for putting the baby down while at work in the garden or elsewhere. Njoki thinks she noticed during the period that children became naughtier and less obedient and cried more frequently. She thought it important for mothers to make sure that their small children didn't cry. A common solution to the problem, if the mother was too busy to see to the child herself, was to have an older child take the little one on his or her back. Children who cried but were too old to pick up were often punished by being refused food, a recourse that Njoki had learned from her mother.

In 1963 Njoki's husband, the old chief, Mwangi Njugana, died, which brought changes for her as well as for many others. She continued to work the fields, but she moved in with her youngest son, Kimani, and took up life as a widow.

Nyina wa Wambui

In 1956 Nyina wa Wambui also was living in the village center, with Munene. She was known by the name of her youngest child, Wambui.

Of the eleven children she had borne, eight were living. Her first five, all boys, had been borne by 1938; the second son had died of tuberculosis in 1938 at the age of six; the fourth, paralyzed by polio, had died in 1954 at the age of eighteen. Her last six children were girls. The first was born in 1940 and the second in 1941; the third, Wambui, was born in 1943, but died of tuberculosis in 1947; the fourth, known as Ellen, was born in 1945; the fifth, born in 1947, was named for Munene's sister; and the sixth, also named Wambui, was born in 1950. One of the surviving girls was not as well as the other children and was found later to have a heart condition.

In the early 1950's, when Nyina wa Wambui's eldest daughter approached puberty, she decided that, as a Christian child, she would not be circumcised. Of the older sons, one was away at university by the mid-1950s and the other was already married. The five surviving daughters were still at home. The household remained in the village center during that period and worked the new 16 hectare farm -- a large one by local standards--acquired by Munene as a result of consolidation.

Nyambura

Nyambura was in her mid-thirties in 1956 and living in the village center as the second wife of Kiigi. She had married in 1940 after long resisting marriage on the European sisal plantation where she was born and reared because she wished very strongly to live in a village. When she married, she lived very close to where she was living in 1976, although two moves had intervened.

In 1943 Kiigi's first wife died, leaving two young children, a boy, Kamau, and a girl, Wairemu, named for Kiigi's parents. Nyambura raised them and regards them as her own. She herself bore four children: a boy, Kamau, in 1952, and a girl, Wairemu, born in 1954; they also were named for her husband's parents. In 1976, she said, *I have never said that I wanted to have a certain number of children; I stayed for many years without getting children, but I believed that God would give me what I should have.* Kiigi's third wife had two girls, first Wairemu and then Waithera.

In 1976 Nyambura spoke of the four children she raised:

Kamau [the son of Kiigi's first wife] started herding, and after that he started school. I can't remember how old he was, but I think he was seven years. He has never refused to go to school, and he has never done anything bad to annoy me, and has not lost his pencil. He established himself since he was young till he finished high school, and he is now working at Mombasa. Even now when he comes home, he buys clothes for the other children and for his stepmother and also anything else he thinks necessary, like sugar and so forth. He has never refused to do anything,

Munene

While the women of the village during the 1950's were concerned with their children and their crops, the men were concerned with the land on which the crops were grown. Munene, as Divisional Chief, had long been immersed in these concerns; in 1976 he outlined the events of the time:

By 1950 almost every inch of the country had a land dispute. A lot of money, a lot of dispute, a lot of hatred. If you see me, your opponent, talking with somebody, you do not like that man either. The disputes started between buyers and relatives of sellers. He buys land and there was dispute between the boundary of these buyers and the other buyer. The first buyer claims that he has rights to the other side; others go there and say this is the right boundary. A kind of lily which is planted in the ground serves as a boundary plant. "This land is mine because the boundary doesn't come here, it comes to there." "My brother was given this piece to use, but it is mine." This is the kind of dispute that went on.

Before 1930 there were no courts. My father and others went to the District office every Wednesday--they took matters to the District office of each location. All the people from the District went on Wednesday for dispute to be settled. Not before the District Commissioner, but before the chiefs and their elders. The complainant, each one, took one goat to feed the elders. The DC [District Commissioner] has nothing to do with it. There was a recording clerk to record the case. The complainant paid fifty cents (one-half shilling) for every case. If there were ten cases, he would pay each fifty cents. There was no court for the people to take the case to; the elders gave judgment on the land and that was the end of it. Judgment of the dead, that was the end of it. When the courts were made in 1930, it took a long time before people recognized them. People would say they wouldn't work with the court; they want the elders to settle the matter. The people concerned would be called, the elders would look at it, and they would settle it correctly. It went on very well. But then the disputes started more and more and got worse until 1950. I personally had many cases of my own.

Now before the Mau Mau trouble started, I had taken a special course in the school. [I learned that] the land was not properly utilized. I had in mind to get the people to utilize the land properly to get money. I started and the peasant people have done very good. My own brothers, to show they were strong, they were allowed to have one piece of land. Everywhere there were some that got started. They did get a lot of money. They planted onions, potatoes, maize, or cash crops. They could get a good amount of money. Two thousand shillings was a good amount

I think one thing they [the villagers] like was, by having all the land in one piece, they could utilize it more than before. All disputes were done away with by demarcating the boundaries, and no one could take you to court. That is what attracted other people. They came to see what we were doing. They saw that we had no more land disputes; they could see what we were doing in our place. Now land consolidation is quite general. They like it everywhere, they demand it. Now basically people are using their property to get money. And Mr. Kenyatta supported land consolidation ever since he came back. He is even telling the Masai, you must have one area of your own. No matter how many acres you have, have it in one piece.

After demarcation, there was a restriction on coffee planting. We had to make a ruling that no one person be allowed to plant more than one hundred coffee trees in any one planting season. This made people complain a little, because they were interested in planting. They made a lot of complaints that the government is keeping people from planting. A farmer would not be allowed to plant coffee unless he dug a pit three feet deep, three feet wide, and apply a lot of manure; to dig one hundred pits is quite a heavy job. The people here said that this [rule] was passed to reduce the number of people who could plant coffee. How long would it take for one person to plant one hundred trees a year. He will die before he has planted. So I discovered that the argument of the agricultural officer was that if you plant three hundred plants, what would be left for others to plant. So, I understood that the main part of the rule was not to restrict planting but to get everybody satisfied. From then on, during demarcation, I advised people of every sublocation to have a piece of land for a nursery, and a good big one, so that we can plant as much seed as we can. So from that time we planted many, many seeds and got many, many seedlings, and every year we speeded up the planting. So nurseries were part of the land that was demarcated along with schools and churches and markets and so on. And the coffee societies [cooperatives] started in the fifties, after that.

Wanjiku

In 1956, Wanjiku was a very attractive young woman, as pictures taken of her then show. Her ears had been pierced when she was initiated, and on special occasions she wore the large earrings of which she was so fond. In 1956 her husband was home after the Emergency; they had been given title to two farms side by side, and they were planning to plant coffee. During the Emergency two important family events had occurred. The first was that her husband's sister died shortly after his brother-in-law died, leaving three small children not only fatherless but motherless. Though Wanjiku had no children of her own, she and her husband had adopted the children and were

The Village in 1976

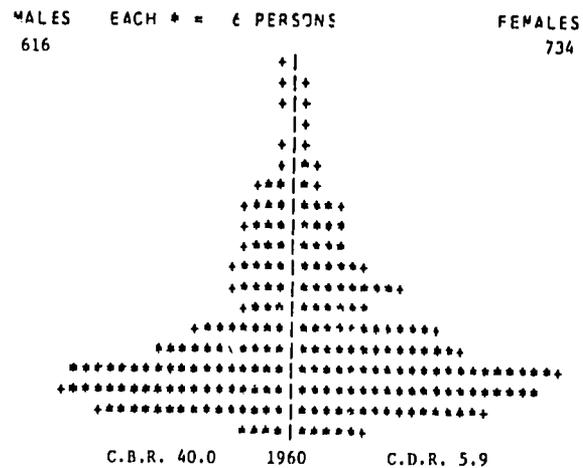
Much had changed in Kiaguri by 1976. A quarter century had passed since the peak of the Emergency and a dozen years since Kenya had become independent, in December 1963. The village is modernizing rapidly and, relative to many other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, is prosperous, well-educated, and well housed. Nearly all of the villagers live on their household farms, although a number of them have full-time jobs, and virtually every able-bodied adult is involved directly in some aspect of cultivation or animal husbandry. The people are living increasingly varied lives. The more obvious indicators, recognized even by the casual observer, include level of education, farm size, house size and type of construction, and possessions such as motorized vehicles. Some people are considered relatively well off by their neighbors; others are considered poor by their neighbors and indeed consider themselves poor.

The evolution of Kiaguri has been intimately linked with that of Nairobi, some forty-eight kilometers distant, and the relationship is mutual. When the railroad first came up from the coast, the present site of Nairobi was selected as the then-terminus because it was well watered and the proximity of the populous Kikuyu country insured adequate supplies of food and labor. Many villagers travel regularly to Nairobi; a few of them hold full-time jobs there, and others go to tend to business interests or for a variety of reasons having to do with the specialized goods and services available in the nation's capital. These travelers are not suburbanites in the western sense--they are people of the village who have things to do in Nairobi. Many individuals who were born in Kiaguri now live in Nairobi, however, and a number of their small children are being reared in the village. The most frequent migrants to the capital are landless young couples in their twenties.

By 1970 or so, most of the villagers had moved to their farms from the quarter-acre houseplots they occupied in 1956 in the village center; a few houses remained in that area, but most of it was being cultivated, commonly by one-time residents who had retained title to their houseplots. The social center was still in the village-center complex. The primary school and the secondary school remained there, too, and a nursery school had been added; because the village is more than six kilometers long, a second primary school had been opened near its far end, some 2.5 kilometers from the village center. The Presbyterian Church of East Africa and the All Saints Catholic Church were at the village center; the African Independent Church lay outside the village proper, about two and a half kilometers away.

A kilometer and a half from the village center is the Kiange shopping area: a bank, two butcheries, several dry-goods and all-purpose stores, a furniture store, two mechanics, the cooperative

creamery, three bars, and a tailor shop. A few families live near the shops, and the Chief's offices are close by. A number of shops are unoccupied, however, and the area, which apparently has declined in the past twenty years, has in general the aura of a backwater. It sits above an unimportant road, out of the mainstream of activity, and the Chief's offices do not in themselves generate significant custom. A second area, on the road to the next village, has two or three shops, and at the other end of Kiaguri, technically in Kwarura, is a third set of shops. A market is held twice weekly at a small town nearby which has two dozen shops as well as a filling station, a clinic, a school, and so on.



The school and church area at the village center is served by electricity, as are the market areas at Kiange and Kwarura, but Kiaguri as a whole is not. In 1976, Chief Njugana and his brothers, who live near him, were waiting for the electric line to be run to their houses, which were already wired, and also to the coffee factory. The only piped water supply in the village is at the secondary school. The water tanks, standpipes, and associated piping installed some twenty years ago in the village center and at the bridge leading to Kiaguri were put out of action five or ten years later when the brass fittings on the ram-type pump were stolen, apparently to be sold for their scrap value. The Divisional Council elected not to replace the fittings, and these two sources of piped water have not operated since. Nowadays rainwater is stored for use in the village center and elsewhere, and water also is carried, mainly by women, from a number of watering points in the village streams. The women carry it on their backs in four- or five-gallon steel or metal cylinders suspended from their foreheads by tumplines; women carrying water are a very common sight in Kiaguri today.

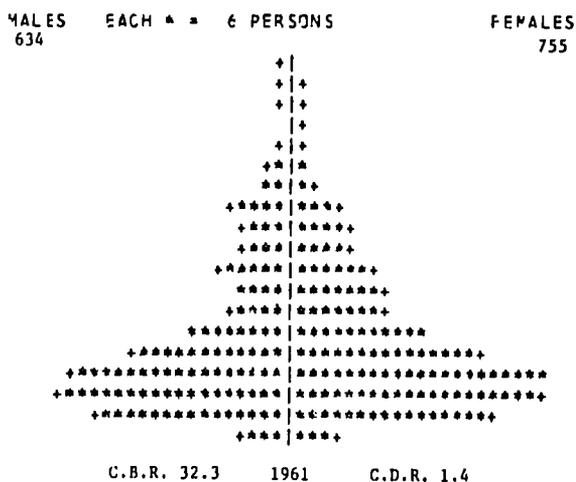
Four decades ago, when Njugana became Chief, Kiaguri had but one decaying road that ran alongside the village, but today there are many roads. Modern, all-weather roads are three kilometers away. Within the village, half a dozen roads run more or less parallel to each other along the ridges and somewhat below their crests; the ridges are connected by several roads that run perpendicular to them. During the day the roads are quite well used by both vehicles and pedestrians. The villagers still travel extensively on foot, but many of them own private motor vehicles and many more use the Matutus that ply the roads and give rather frequent bus service. The private

vehicles usually are some form of pickup truck or Land Rover, the type best adapted to local farm and domestic needs. Matutus are small trucks converted to a kind of taxi with a baggage carrier on top. They offer frequent service and usually are well loaded. Transport by Matutu is comparatively cheap for persons, but very expensive for goods. Municipal buses from Nairobi run through the village, as do lorries owned by a variety of concerns.

In the years following 1956, most of the households of Kiaguri left the village center, as noted earlier, and erected new housing on the consolidated farms to which they held title and on which they could also get loans. In doing so, they returned to the time-honored residential principles of the compound, if in somewhat modified form, and in general they adhere to those principles still. If a man today has more than one wife, each has her own house. Some such men retain a house for their own use, both for storage and as sleeping quarters; others live more or less commonly with one or another of their wives. Where several adolescents or young, unmarried adults are living at home, they are segregated by sex: the females have a house and the males have a house, and both as a rule are some distance from their parents' houses. If a son marries and remains on his father's farm, the new couple have their own house. None of these houses need have more than two or three rooms. One general result of this pattern of residence is that very often the number of structures in a compound bears some inherent relationship to the number, sex, age, and relationships of the people who live there.

These traditional principles of housing seem not to have been altered significantly by the changes in available construction materials. Stone, cement, sawn timber, and tile and sheet metal (for roofing) are in common use. Most houses are rectangular, although in a variety of style, and many have cement foundations. Many also have water storage facilities with capacities of up to four thousand liters. Houses as a rule have from two to perhaps six rooms, although there are several larger stone houses. A common design is three rooms with an entrance to the middle room, which serves as a combination reception and dining room, and almost always contains a table, a cupboard, and some stools or chairs. The middle room gives access to the other two rooms, one on either side of it, which serve as sleeping quarters. Kitchens are often separate because of the smoke. The building sites were selected partly on the basis of Swynnerton farm plans, but virtually all houses have access to a road, some because they adjoin it, others via drive-ways of varying length. In any event, because of the effort that has gone into housing, few villagers indeed live in houses more than fifteen years old and many in houses built since 1970. The few houses that remain in the village center, however, retain their original design: wattle and clay, often with a facade of split sisal poles arranged in a diamond pattern. Some have five or six rooms, but the more common style is three rooms. The rondavels thrown up during the Emergency have all but vanished; in all of Kiaguri, only one, apparently, remains.

Nearly all children of primary-school age in Kiaguri are attending one or the other of the two primary schools, which run from Standard I through Standard VII. A considerable number of children attend the secondary school, which runs from Form I through Form IV. The schools technically are open to all. Fees are not charged per se for admission to primary school, but building and other fees are levied so that cash payment in fact is required for children to attend. Admission fees are required to attend secondary school.



All of the schools are coeducational. The secondary school started as a boys' school, however, and most of its students as yet are boys. Some of the secondary students come from Kiaguri and some from elsewhere in the Division. Most of the latter have informal boarding arrangements with neighboring householders because the school does not have dormitory facilities for students. Although girls are a minority in the local secondary school, some from the village attend secondary boarding school elsewhere, and girls in general appear to be educated as frequently as boys. This is true partly because the local girls have schoolish tastes and partly because educated girls can find employment in Nairobi and elsewhere. A third likely reason is that mothers are the parents most responsible for seeing to it that children are educated, and apparently they are at least as willing to invest in their daughters as in their sons.

Besides the schools' educational functions, they provide employment, of course, for the teaching, administrative, and custodial staff as well as for construction and maintenance people. A number of the teachers are natives of Kiaguri, and others have moved into the area to take teaching posts. The secondary school provides housing for staff; teachers and other staff at the nursery and primary schools live in their own homes. All of the schools in the area were undergoing enlargement and improvement in 1976. The data from this study should allow the population of the village to be projected for at least the coming decade, so that the people who plan for the schools will have an idea of the enrollment to expect during that period.

Of the three churches in the area, the Presbyterian Church of East Africa is the largest in terms of membership. A number of the more prominent men and women of the community serve as elders for this church, and services are held there regularly either by elders

or with the assistance of a visiting padre. The church was built in the 1920's; plans were afoot in 1976 to build a larger one, and construction was under way on a stone house for the padre. The second church in terms of membership is the All Saints Catholic Church. During the field work for this study, in 1976, a Harambee was held to raise money to help complete a building whose stone walls were already standing. Although the third church, the African Independent Church, lies outside Kiaguri proper, a number of villagers participate in its activities. Both the Presbyterian Church of East Africa and the African Independent Church have women's groups who meet on Sundays after the services.

The churches are the product of missionary activity during the early decades of this century, but now are wholly owned and managed by local people, excepting the European pastor, a member of an Irish order, who conducts services at the Catholic church. The two Protestant churches are essentially self-sustaining and operate under the general tutelage of the offices of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, in Nairobi.

The farms of Kiaguri are used in general for annual crops, tree crops, primarily coffee, rotational paddocking, and foraging. Apart from the few small patches of trees that remain, the farms are very fully utilized. The standard food crops are potatoes, maize, and beans, which are cultivated on a rotational basis. Other foods are grown, but in much smaller amounts. The predominant cash crop by far is coffee. Sheep, goats, and dairy cattle are common, and a few people keep chickens, primarily to produce eggs for market.

Planting of the main food crops began on April 10 in 1976 and continued for about a week. Preparatory cultivation, weeding, and planting are done almost entirely by hand. When planting, the women make a hole with a panga (the indigenous broad-bladed knife), drop the seed in, and step on the hole to firm the earth around the seed. On a few large farms--such as the sixteen hectares owned by Munene--the land is cultivated before planting with tractor and plow, and maize is planted with a seed drill.

The villagers by and large are not subsistence farmers. Nearly all of them questioned during April-June 1976 had exhausted their supplies of potatoes, maize, and beans from the 1975 crop. Only a few of the larger farmers grow enough maize to last from one harvest to the next. The Kikuyu traditionally stored staple crops in spherical wickerwork (willow) baskets, perhaps 1.5 meters off the ground. The clearance left space for chickens or goats, and the sheds had slatted walls so that air could circulate through them freely. The design also allows infestation by termites or other pests to be detected readily. This method of storage has been largely replaced by slatted sheds on stilts to accommodate the demands of the current agricultural practice.

Also valued highly are crops like tomatoes, onions, cabbages, celery, lettuce, and squash. Many women would like very much to grow them, but are unable to start them as seedlings because of the lack of water to water them. At least one person grows tomatoes and onions on a carefully tilled plot of about half a hectare immediately next to a stream. They are grown for sale, and the operation is essentially a form of truck gardening.

Nearly every farm owner in Kiaguri has part of his land planted in arabica coffee, and the amount of land devoted to the crop is still increasing. Coffee is beyond doubt the community's principal source of income, both direct, from the sale of the crop, and indirect, from the wages paid to the necessary labor force. The land allocated to coffee lies on the steepest part of the slope between the stream and about a third to a half of the way up. The catena in fact includes trees and bushes and sometimes bananas at stream level, then coffee, and then pasture and food crops. From the ridge, or in an aerial photograph, one sees a continuous band of coffee running from farm to farm on the lower slope. Previously that land was bush intermixed with trees and was used for grazing goats; its conversion to coffee, on nearly every farm, has eliminated the bush and big trees and considerably reduced the acreage available for grazing. The coffee is planted in bench trenches, often edged with grass. There appears to be some erosion, but trenching or terracing is clearly part of the cultivation scheme.

Planting, the application of pesticides, and harvesting impose the major demands for labor in the cultivation of coffee. Seedlings are provided by a nursery run by the coffee cooperative, and for two weeks or so in April 1976, after the rains began, people walking along with coffee seedlings were a very common sight. Pesticides are applied in water with a sprayer, and the coffee is sprayed monthly between January and August. The spray tank and its associated equipment are carried on foot, and because of the weight the task requires two and sometimes three people. They are paid on a piece-work basis, according to the number of trees sprayed. A certain amount of weeding must be done at some times of the year, especially after the rains have set in, and finally the coffee must be harvested. On the larger farms, these several operations cannot be handled by the labor complement available within the family. During the harvest period, October-December, a grower like Munene, for example, needs sixty to eighty laborers. They are paid daily on a piece-work basis--so much per debbi of harvested coffee cherry. Coffee is sprayed mostly by men, because of the weight of the equipment, but much of the other work is done by women.

Prominent features of the landscape are the cooperative coffee factories, where the coffee fruit (cherry) is weighed, processed, stored, and prepared for shipment. The processing converts the cherry to parchment coffee--the bean inside a thin husk; seven kilos of cherry yield about one kilo of parchment coffee. The farmer who sells

service, which leads to excessive mortality and a low calving rate. Still, excepting the small herds seen sometimes in Kiange market, all of the animals display the results of the local artificial insemination program based on grade bulls. The program is a daily route, run from a nearby town, and represents a really substantial improvement in the services available in Kiaguri. Villagers market surplus milk through the creamery cooperative in Kiange market. The cooperative is much more modest in scale than the coffee cooperative, but it is part of the Nairobi milkshed, so to speak, and villagers deliver milk twice daily, by cycle or on foot, after the morning and evening milkings. In mid-1976 discussions were under way on improving the services offered by the cooperative to its members.

Relatively recently a few people in the village have begun to keep chickens to provide eggs for the Nairobi market. The work is labor-intensive and requires a good deal of skill, but eggs bring six Kshs per dozen, which makes the operation comparatively profitable. A leader in this development is Njeri, the wife of Njugana Mwangi (a stepbrother), whom one of her children has styled "a genius" at caring for chickens. Njeri buys day-old chicks in lots of 1000 and raises them from scratch. In mid-1976 she had two lots, one in its second year and one about four months old. Each age group is kept in a separate shed, and the chickens never forage outside. They eat only commercial feed and are watered from a 75,000-liter all-purpose stone tank. As Munene has said, *These chickens have never known hardship*. The floors of the sheds are at least thirty centimeters deep in sawdust, and mixed sawdust and droppings from the sheds are applied to the coffee crop. Njeri markets about 6000 eggs weekly. She uses very careful cost accounting, and when the chickens in an age group begin to tail off in their laying she sells them. Another younger woman, when we visited her in mid-1976, had 200 day-old chicks in a simple incubator she had set up in her house and was planning to go into the same kind of operation.

Since the farms of Kiaguri and elsewhere were consolidated, in the mid- 1950s, title to land has been held legally and recorded in the Land Office. The Survey of Kenya carried maps that delineate land holdings at a scale of 1:2500. Taken together, consolidation, security of title, and the possibility of borrowing money on one's holdings have brought a major revision not only in land use, but also in land tenure. The elders of several lineages in Kiaguri are said to have agreed some years ago that the advent of legal title and the Survey maps had made obsolete the curse traditionally put on people who sold land. A number of sales of village land in fact have taken place. They have occurred, however, almost exclusively within a single lineage or, less often, between lineages within the village. Thus, although people accept the idea of buying and selling land, they still feel strongly that it should be held by villagers for villagers.

most aspects of village life, and it extends to language as well. Swahili and English serve as alternate languages, but all children and adults converse as a rule in Kikuyu.

Geographically, the village is an extended collection of neighborhoods organized in a linear pattern that reflects the ridge-and-valley topography so characteristic of this part of Kikuyu country. Portions of ridges are named, and the name of a given portion becomes an identifying tag for the group of neighbors who live there. Neighborhood names are very much a part of everyday parlance. The field work for this study, in fact, was conducted according to neighborhood at the request of members of the community, who saw that approach as the most feasible of those that could have been used.

Identification with a descent group or lineage remains a vital social parameter. Its importance is clear in the persistence of the traditional Kikuyu naming pattern: the first son named for the father's father, the second son for the mother's father, the first daughter for the father's mother, and so on. Recognition of descent group affiliation is still an everyday occurrence. Today, as in the past, farms tend to be clustered according to lineage membership; clusters of farms owned by members of a single lineage in turn may form a core group in a neighborhood.

The formation of age sets through the performance of public initiation ceremonies ceased in 1925, but adults now in their thirties and forties and older remember the years of their initiations, their *riika* years. Initiation crosscuts neighborhood and lineage; men and women in the community know others of the same *riika* year and identify them as age peers. Kikuyu who meet for the first time quickly ascertain age group, lineage, and neighborhood. They ask each other the pertinent questions specifically, and the responses, as noted earlier, enable them to address each other properly in conversation.

The formal administrative structure that overlays the indigenous social pattern comprises a hierarchy of paid administrators: the Sub-chief, the Chief, the District Officer, and District Commissioner, and the Provincial Commissioner. These officials are responsible for routine affairs and report ultimately to the elected government, including members of parliament and those selected from their ranks to form the cabinet. In each neighborhood is a headman, the most responsible senior male. He is both the representative of the families in his neighborhood and the means of reaching them administratively from higher in the hierarchy. His physical propinquity to the neighborhood is very important.

The steady transition from subsistence to cash farming in Kiaguri has come hand-in-hand with the growing availability of cash-paying employment. Permanent jobs are available in the Chief's office, the

acquisition of new shades of meaning by two common Kikuyu words, *muremi* and *muremia*. Basically, *muremi* means landowner or cultivator, and *muremia* means one who works for cash. Both words can be used for either a man or a woman; neither is unique to this village, although the discussions of them that follow are based entirely on research in this village.

The acquired meaning of *muremi* that is pertinent here is a landholder who is also a cultivator and who also hires other people to come and work for him for cash. An adequate English equivalent for the word is difficult to arrive at, but "commercial farmer" is close in that it describes one who grows crops for sale and requires help in doing so. It should be stressed that such a commercial farmer, especially a woman, is very likely to work on the farm not only in the managerial sense but as a cultivator as well.

The pertinent acquired meaning of *muremia* also is difficult to express adequately in English, but "cash laborer" is close. The implication is that one has been forced out to work by circumstance: age, marital status, farm size, number of children, lack of alternative sources of income, or any combination of these. At the same time it should be stressed that such a cash laborer is very likely to own legally and, especially in the case of women, to cultivate a small parcel of land in addition to the work done outside.

In the Kikuyu village there are very few truly landless persons, so that the distinction between landed and landless does not apply. However, the distinction between prosperous farmers, especially those with three or four hectares or more, and those with smaller farms and fewer assets is quite evident to the villagers. It is also evident that labor-intensive cash crops do require considerably more labor than is available in any single household.

In Kiaguri and, no doubt, in any Kikuyu village, the five classical characteristics of the woman clearly persist, if in somewhat modified form. The typical woman is circumcised, marries, bears children, cultivates, and carries burdens. Women still are responsible for feeding their families and for rearing and educating their children, and they are trained to their duties from an early age. Girls of eighteen months can be seen cultivating with a *panga* in imitation of their mothers; girls of two or three can be seen carrying small burdens when walking with their mothers. Change there has been, certainly. Women may work for cash, sometimes in high-status jobs like teaching, instead of exclusively on their own land. They may find nonagricultural jobs entirely away from the village. Polygynous households are less common than they once were. The stigma of bearing children out of wedlock seems not so strong as it once was, especially among younger women. And parents no longer necessarily seek husbands for their daughters or wives for their sons.

of the parishioners; in the market, where they both sell and buy; at work in the coffee factories; at the ford on the river where clothes are washed; in the schoolyard where they teach; perhaps especially along the road in the late afternoon as they return, often heavily burdened, from marketing, cultivating, gathering fodder or firewood, or from other errands; and, finally, at major ritual events such as weddings. In all of this the predominance of adult women in the population of the village is striking. Kikuyu women nearly all wear the same kinds of clothes, irrespective of probable differences in income. The basic dress is a cotton shirtwaist in print or check with buttons down the front and a pleated skirt. Over this, for the chilly afternoons and evenings, women wear a cardigan. And adult women are rarely seen outside of their homes without a scarf tied attractively around their heads, worn, it is said, to keep their hair clean. On Sundays women dress up, still in the shirtwaist dress and cardigan, but often in versions that are new, attractive, and clean. Women at work in the fields wear clothes that are comfortable and can't be concerned with getting them dirty. Women who are pressed for time launder their own clothes relatively rarely, although they make an effort to launder their children's clothes and their husbands' shirts. In the fields women rarely wear shoes, but elsewhere they commonly wear low-heeled or flat shoes. On Sundays women will often wear a dress with a long coat, although midday is often hot; in the early morning and late afternoon and at night, it is invariably chilly.

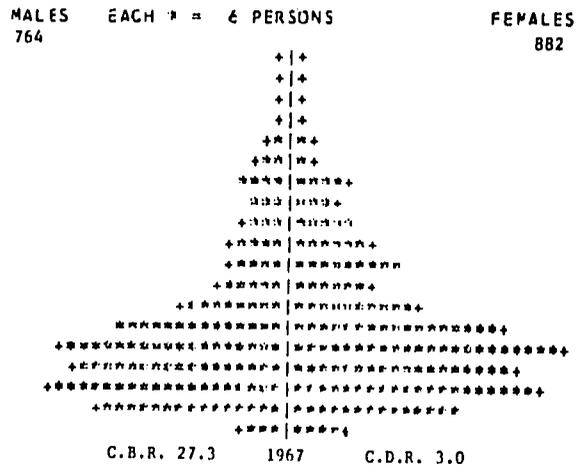
The Individuals in 1976

Wanjiku

In 1976, Wanjiku lives with her husband in a new clapboard house with a packed earth floor and shutter windows. Their 3.5 hectare farm has coffee trees, a pasture, and half a hectare for maize and beans; a second farm has been sold to one of the sons of the old chief. Close at hand on the farm lives Wanjiku's adopted daughter with her two children. On the same farm, part way down the hill, lives her adopted son, his wife, and their three young children and her husband's widowed sister with her married son and daughter-in-law and their young child. The third adopted child, now a young man, has moved away from the village to work for a family in the Rift Valley.

Wanjiku is trim and active and considers herself responsible for the education of her adopted children. She also considers their children her grandchildren. The granddaughter, however, is named for her mother's own mother, even though the grandson is named for his mother's adopted father, Wanjiku's husband. One of Wanjiku's main regrets is that she has not yet had children, and she still hopes.

Wanjiki takes care of her grandchildren, now of school age, and says, *These children of my daughter and my son cannot make a mistake without my beating them, because punishing a child is beating so that he or she can know that the mistake should not be repeated tomorrow.* She remembers sacrificing to give her adopted children schooling and clothing, because their own parents died when they were very young.



She contrasts the present with the past:

My present-day chores are quite different from those I was doing when I was a girl because then my mother used to plan everything for me, and she also used to tell me what work to do. Now that I am a woman I plan my own things. I know it's my duty to make the morning tea, feed the goats and the cows, and then go to the farm. While on the farm, I make sure I'm not late to prepare lunch, and after lunch I wash the dishes and then start preparing supper. I also go to look for what I can find to feed the goats in the evening. So there is no comparison between those days and now because now I have to do everything whether I like it or not.

It is harder for parents today because they have to do all the work by themselves. Their children will go to school and want to come and have lunch, so the mother has to do the cooking and the washing. The parents are working on the farm all alone, and when their children grow up they go to high school and most of them go to boarding schools, so there is no time to help the parents and the parents of today have more work to do than the parents in the old days.

Waithira

Waithira in 1976 is a widow with six children in school. She has a small farm of 0.5 hectares, but the limited amount of coffee she raises does not bring in enough money for school fees and food. Waithira's nineteen-year-old daughter doesn't go to school because she is an invalid; her next daughter, now fifteen, is in Standard VII, and her youngest daughter, now thirteen, is in Standard VI. Waithira's second son, named for his father's father, finished Form I and lives at home but has not had funds to continue in secondary

school. Her eleven-year-old third son is in Standard III, and the next son is in Standard II. Two of her eldest daughter's children live with Waithira, and they are in Standard I and nursery school, respectively. So six children are now in school. Her eldest son, who works in Nairobi, was unable to go to school past Standard I, and his difficulties in finding employment are one of the reasons Waithira works so hard to get education for the younger children. She describes herself:

I am slim and brown. I like people; I'm generous, but I'm poor. I hate a disobedient child, and the very thing I hate is what I always see from my own children. I hate things like disobedience and cheating, because I hate being cheated.

My children make me suffer because none of them likes to go and play with other children and they never obey me. Therefore I'm always unhappy with my children; they don't help me and I have to do everything on my own. That is why I'm not very happy. I'm very slim because of the suffering I get from my children, and so I'm always thinking of what to do with them. My sacrifices are mainly because I work hard on my coffee, I plant maize, beans, and potatoes so that my children will get something to eat. If it is the coffee, I get money for school fees. That is how I sacrifice myself so that I can get something for them. Even if they are disobedient, I try to take them to school. Even the naughty one I also try to help to see if he can change and become better.

Waithira still remembers ruefully a childhood prank about which she now jokes:

I only remember once, when I was a girl, my stepsister and I used to beat another girl. We didn't know but later came to find out that she was a relative, and we were very sorry to realize what we used to do to her. Afterwards, she would tell us, "You know you two wanted to kill me, and I was your relative." So, we could just laugh together.

She still remembers her husband and dreams about him calling her. She remembers also that the times when my husband was alive were the happiest times of my life. I still see the differences between when he was alive and now. I find it hard because the child who cannot hear me could hear if it were the father who was talking to him. And he could fear him, too. So when I had a husband, I was settled and happy.

Today Waithira lives in a three-room house constructed of split sisal poles and clay walls. The house is simply furnished. Keeping up with laundry, cooking, and cultivating at home and working out for others and gathering firewood leaves very little time. And in her

Ann and her husband both work for others as agricultural laborers, but he hopes to obtain technical training. [With support from her family and his, it is possible, if not probable, that the couple will realize their ambitions.]

Ann's husband is the eldest son of his father, who had two wives. His mother died when he was a small child, and this probably is why he has had relatively little schooling--his own mother was not there to help him, to send him off to school or to make sure that he had the fees. His father married for a second time, and he and his second wife have a number of children. They live on the same farm where Ann's husband has built their new house.

In a typical day, Ann says, The first thing in the morning is to make tea for Edward, wash him, and he leaves for school. After that, I sweep the house, clean the dishes, do my washing, and then I go to cultivate. At 12:30 I stop cultivating and go to prepare lunch. After lunch I rest for a short time, and then I clean the dishes. After that, I go to draw water and then I go to cultivate again for a short while. Then I leave the garden and go home. I bathe the children and prepare supper. We eat supper. After that I clean the dishes and then we go to bed. That is the end of the day's work.

Ann carries water from the river for all of her needs, including laundry; women do not do laundry at the river because the area is small and because they do not want to make the water there soapy. Ann considers her hardest work to be laundry and cooking, but she prefers cooking to cultivating.

Ann considers her schooling the most important thing in her life. Because she had very good teachers, she liked going to school. And of all the subjects, she best liked history. She was considered a very good student, and after she moved to Kiaguri, following her marriage, she taught in the nursery school in the social center, within easy walking distance of her home. However, she is no longer employed at the nursery school because funds were short to continue her job. If it were possible, Ann would like to stop going out to work as an agricultural laborer and again teach nursery school.

Ann describes her children: *The first child is Edward. Edward is a big boy and he has started attending school. He likes school very much, and he always wakes me up very early so that I can wash him and give him breakfast. The second child is Nyakaringa, who is very naughty. She likes crying very much and likes eating very early in the morning. The third child is Carol, who is a very small child [she was a few weeks old]. She likes crying and breast-feeding. My children make me happy when they are not sick, but they also please me when they are playing because then I know they are well.*

purpose stores, as well as a bar. Helen's house, which she shares with her husband and her adopted son, is a modern clapboard house with a tile roof, casement windows, and a cement floor, and it's tastefully furnished. She also has a piano. Her husband runs a taxi service between a market town about eight kilometers away and the city of Nairobi, forty-eight kilometers away.

Helen is a big, handsome woman with reddish-brown skin and a clear eye; she is invariably nicely dressed and has imposing stature and carriage. Her two children are not only grown, but a long way from home. Her son, well-educated, works in Nairobi, and her married daughter is the mother of six children and lives in the capital district. Her grandchildren visit her from time to time, and she employs a household helper to work in the house and vegetable garden.

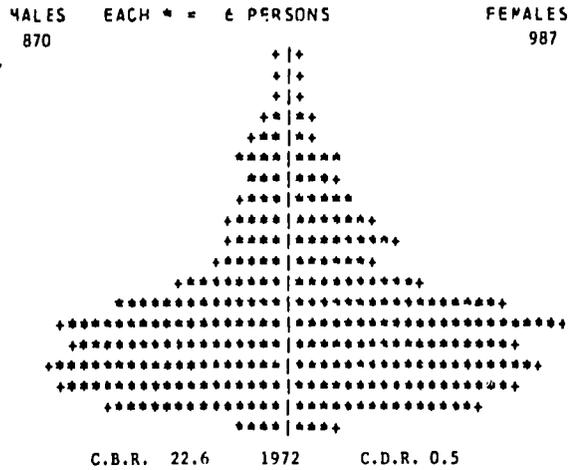
Helen and her husband have a coffee farm and, with *matatu* service they also have motorized transportation available to them. About ten years ago, Helen decided that she would take training as a midwife so that she could help women in the village who were unable to obtain the services of a midwife or to go to Nairobi to be delivered. Helen is also an elder in the church and is a leader of one of the very active women's groups. The women's group gathers money from its members; they meet twice a month. They are pooling their resources and have bought a store in the shops area which they propose to rent out and with that income acquire more property.

Helen's day, in her words, goes like this: When I wake up in the morning, I make tea and serve my husband. Then I go to look for the people who milk the cows, wait for the women who I give work to in the garden, and when they come at nine o'clock in the morning, I show them what to do. Sometimes I accompany them and work in the garden. A housegirl does all the work in the house, and she also prepares lunch. We work in the garden until one o'clock and then go for lunch. And after lunch the women leave and I start making arrangements for supper.

If a woman is about to deliver when I am working in the garden, someone will come and call me and I go to help them. Also, if they fail to deliver at home I can find the means of taking them to the hospital. Some of the women that she helps in the village are poor, and Helen says: I repair my old clothes and give them to poor women. I also go to the Red Cross office at Kiambu to get them help, and if I have a lot of money I can help them even more. I like helping people very much. The work I like best is to go to the garden, although if I am in ill health I am unable to go as frequently as I would like.

I am quite hard-working, and I have a sense of what I want to do in any one day, or in any one week, or even in any entire year. I think somewhat differently than many people because I do not

make a lot of jokes or do a lot of laughing, but generally speaking, when people get to know me, I like them and they like me. So they understand my way of working. Helen also likes to meet people and to talk with people. She goes on: Even though I am a fat woman, that doesn't mean that I don't do my work well in the garden, because I am very active. I also take part in church affairs, and there are some things I lead, and I am a member of the committee and do things a Christian ought to do.



When my children were little, I tried to show them the ways so that they would not misbehave. But if they misbehave, I think the best way is to talk to them nicely, telling them what I want them not to do. I think the best thing is to caution them and also talk to them nicely. If children have been taught the right things, then they learn a sense of respect.

Again, like other women, Helen was earlier concerned with providing school fees, good clothes, and good food for her own children when they were young and now also for her adopted son.

Finally, Helen says that her happiest experience was when she became a convert to Christianity, in 1949. Her conversion came a number of years after she went to a mission school, but she considers that her real conversion took place in the late 1940s.

When Helen is working as a midwife, she also feels it possible or appropriate from time to time to talk about the availability of contraceptive information. But she is also discreet, and her strong position in the village makes it possible for her to offer advice when it is asked, and she can judge what is appropriate to say.

Munene and Nyina wa Wambui

Munene, the Divisional Chief, stayed in the village after land consolidation and after restrictions on growing coffee were lifted, stayed on through independence, and continues today to be an active leader in the countryside. He and his wife, Nyina wa Wambui, have a clear division of labor. The children, and now grandchildren, are her responsibility; she manages the goats, the sheep, the calves, the maize store, superintends the food-crop gardening, maintains the house, and prepares the meals. Above all, she keeps the social fabric

knit through frequent, daily contact with relatives, friends, neighbors, villagers, churchwomen, farm helpers, and visitors. He manages the farms, is an elder in the church, and sits on the land board, the school board, the coffee cooperative, the creamery cooperative, and the agricultural committee and above all is consulted by many for his assistance and opinion.

Within the village, many can relate to the couple, one or the other or both, through kinship links, initiation links, shared experience or now common participation in one or more of the new forms of organization. There is no doubt that within the village and beyond, they are recognized as leaders.

In 1976, the couple are living in their stone house, the house that took them thirty years to build. The saga of the house is almost the history of the family. The plans were acquired from the United States in the 1930s. After the original design was in hand, specifications were drawn up in Kenya by an architect. The house required timber, stone, and tile. These building materials were acquired in turn. The wood was selected, cut, transported from the forest and then stored for thirty years before it went into the house construction. The stones were quarried close to the village, but remained at the quarry until the road had been constructed to bring them to the house site. The tiles were also acquired. Over the years construction of the house was delayed as children required school fees or clothing or medicine. In the meantime, the timber seasoned and the stone stayed in a pile. After land consolidation, when the farm was demarcated, the title was available and the plan was prepared under the terms of the Swynnerton Plan; the house site was shifted to be close to the new road and so save space that would have gone into the driveway. Left behind on the original house site are the trees that had been planted in the 1930s to provide shade for the house. New trees have been planted around the new site. The house has interior plumbing, several bedrooms, three baths, two kitchens, one with European-type kitchen equipment, sink, bottle-gas stove, and the other kitchen with a chimney where food can be cooked in pots the slow way, which is necessary for certain dishes. House construction started in the late 1960s, and the roof and interior carpentry, plastering, and so on was done with some financial assistance from growing children and by a resident craftsman who came and worked on the house for years. A number of similar stone houses are being constructed in the village. They have the advantage of being snug, of being durable and comfortable in the chilly climate. The house is served by rainwater storage tanks with a capacity of about 115,000 liters but, depending on the year, this almost never suffices to carry them through the year. And water is hauled by Land Rover in fifty-gallon drums.

The house was financed by loans from the bank which were repaid with each coffee harvest, so the house is also a testimony to the productivity of the coffee farm.

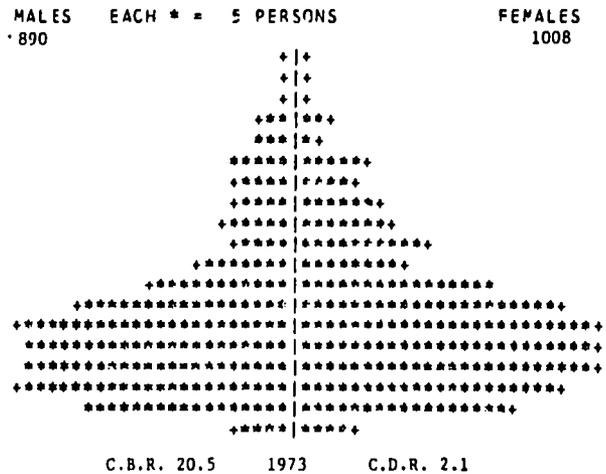
The stone house built by Munene and Nyina wa Wambui is wired for electricity, and the central grid system has reached the market nearby--but not yet their house. However, they anticipate that it will and have decided to wait to buy a refrigerator until they can get an electric one.

The day begins early, at dawn or before. The night before Nyina wa Wambui fixed a thermos of hot boiled milk from the evening milking, and that is waiting on the sideboard in the kitchen. A school girl is staying in the house, and she also must be up early so that she can leave by seven o'clock to walk to school. She and Nyina wa Wambui have morning tea and an early breakfast and open the house. Each door in the house has a key, and Nyina wa Wambui keeps the full set; Munene has his set, and the indoor helper keeps the key to the outside door and the store or pantry. The day's chores and schedule begin. Once or twice a week, Munene drives into Nairobi--to have equipment repaired, to go to the bank, to do shopping and attend meetings. Nyina wa Wambui goes along if she has an appointment; otherwise, she remains at home and supervises three men who work permanently. The goats and chickens are let out, the morning milking is done by one of the men and brought to be boiled. The house is cleaned, and then the main breakfast is fixed: millet porridge, bread, and tea. A visitor arrives and then another. Clothes are washed, beans cleaned for later meals, weeding done.

Through the growing season for the coffee, from flowering to harvest, the needs of the crop have high priority--spraying, cultivating, pruning, replanting--along with the animals--the grade cows--and the other crops: maize, beans, the fruit trees, the vegetable garden, and the paddocks. The cows are given supplemental commercial feed and must be milked, watered, and let out to pasture. The goats, sheep, and chickens get scraps, gleanings, and maize; the dogs are fed maize meal. These domestic activities are in the wife's domain, but purchase and transportation of the imported feeds and much of the shopping is done by Munene.

Munene

Munene sits on the land board, which makes decisions on sales and recognizes the transmission of land to heirs. A specific guideline is that no farm can be subdivided into lots smaller than six acres. Since 130 farms are already that size or smaller, this means that, technically, they must be transmitted to one heir or to a "corporation"



of heirs. Decisions on what is allowable are the province of the land board.

In former times it was considered a breach of ethics to alienate land to persons outside of one's own descent group. With the modernization of tenure through land consolidation and the Swynnerton Plan, the deep preference to retain control in the family and descent groups remains but is increasingly difficult to honor all the time. Formerly, a curse was put on persons who violated the stricture about selling land. After land consolidation the elders in the village agreed together that the curse should no longer be imposed if land were sold. Nevertheless, a strong preference remains, and a number of villagers were at pains to point out when a farm had been sold that the purchaser was a fellow villager and "we are all one descent group."

Munene sits on the school board. His early career as a teacher provides the basis for continuing interest in education and a sense of responsibility for the development of local educational institutions. Among other things, he is given credit by school officials for foreseeing the need for land for expansion of secondary school facilities at the time of land consolidation. Now that primary schools prepare both boys and girls for secondary school, land is available to construct additional buildings. Funds must be raised.

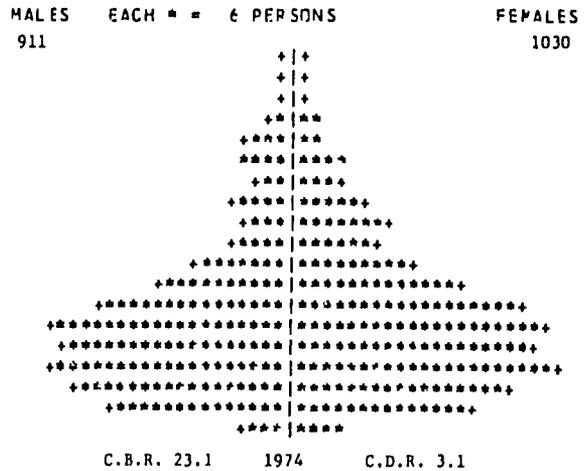
An important relationship exists between the coffee cooperative and the schools; coop members can request that their children's school fees be paid directly by the coffee cooperative out of receipts owed to individual members. It is generally understood that returns from coffee have enabled mothers, fathers, or both, to finance their children's education. In this, equal weight apparently is given to education for girls and boys, with higher education depending on the child's ability and interest in school, as much as or even more than sex. Some parents, who do not have coffee, or are unable for other reasons to meet school fee requirements, especially for secondary education, are quick to say so and express strong regrets.

Munene participates in the dairy cooperative, which collects milk from the morning and evening milkings and sends it, twice daily, to Nairobi. It is the responsibility of the farmer to send or take the milk to the collecting point housed in a store in the shops area of the village. Some of the milk is kept for domestic use in Munene's and Nyina wa Wambui's house and elsewhere. Many farmers are unable or do not have the transport to procure feed and haul water, and the cows are in correspondingly poor condition.

On Sunday mornings, a husband and wife go to church. The church was built back in the 1920s. It is a stone building with a steeple and sits now on a small park close to the school and close to the central village. The church has an organ which Munene plays for the service, and he and his brothers, in the absence of a pastor, and three

other elders conduct the service of morning prayer.

The church is constructed in the form of a cross with a simple table for an altar, with a porch on one side and a small elders' meeting room on the other side. In the nave of the church is a pulpit and benches arranged parallel to the wall, and then beyond the length of the nave benches are arranged in pewlike fashion at right angles to the wall. The roof has clear panels in it so that there is natural lighting. The gothic windows are open. The church is almost always full on Sunday mornings. Most of the parishioners are women.



Munene, as an elder of the church, is principally responsible for conducting the Harambee to secure additional funds for the building plan. Meetings of the elders are occasionally held in the home living-room, and for many years the choir gathered around the piano to rehearse for Sunday services.

The offices of the coffee society are at the coffee factory located below the farm for access to water, and in 1976 Munene was supervising the planting of a new nursery and the construction of a second coffee factory some distance away. Ground for the new factory and nursery has been purchased from the farms of people who owned land in suitable places--one for the nursery and one for the factory. The coffee cooperative's members include some women, and Munene has been chairman of this coffee society since it began. Planning for additional space and supervising construction are both aspects of the management. During the year, Munene went off to take a course for about a week in the administration of cooperatives.

Nyina wa Wambui

Nyina wa Wambui is now a handsome older woman with strong features, a firm voice, and a habit of expressing her opinions easily and giving directions and orders directly. She takes pride in her own performance in routine tasks and is an observant mother and grandmother. Many people call her by the kinship term for grandmother, and this she enjoys. She describes her children:

Let me say about Mwanqi [the eldest, named for his father's father], he first refused to go to school when he was about to finish primary school; then one of our workmen told me that he does not go to school. And I told my husband. My husband forced him back

to school. Since Riuki was near our home, I came to know about his refusal to go to school very late. I had to cry since he was my firstborn. So he started living at home and did not refuse school any more. The only thing I found bad towards Mwangi is that. In any other way he was good. Since then he became a good boy, did his primary school exam and passed, was admitted in Technical School and passed. I have never asked him to do anything and he refused. I used to teach him how to behave. He used to get some water from the river.

The one I had named after my father died when he was about ten. He was a big boy, he was fat. I can't describe him more than that. He was in Standard II. He used to obey me easily, but, unfortunately, he died young.

My third child is Peter. He went to Komothai Primary, Nakuru Secondary, and then to Uganda and then applied to study abroad. When he was young, he had leadership qualities. He liked being tidy and did not like playing with other boys. He did well in school and has been obedient since childhood. Like his father, he didn't talk much.

I had five sons and the sixth child was a daughter. I would like to say that all my children were good, since they were not used to going out with children from outside our family.

There was another child who died from whooping cough. He had been sick a long time and died during the Emergency. There was another child who died from tetanus after the Emergency. Kamau was the last son. He also went to study abroad. When he was young, he used to look after the cows and goats before he went to school. After coming from abroad, he stayed for some time and married in 1970.

My firstborn daughter is Muumbi; she died when she was in secondary school. She had high blood pressure.

My second daughter is named after my mother; she was a good girl during her childhood. After finishing her school, she went to Teacher's Training College and was a teacher. After that she went to work with the airways as a hostess. Then after five years she got married and resigned from the airways.

My next daughter was Wanjiku; she was also a good child. She went to Alliance Girls High School. She liked school very much. She did not need to draw water because my husband had just bought a Land Rover when they were at the age to start drawing water. My lastborn daughter is Wambui. She didn't go through her Form IV examination because there was a young man who was after her very much, and so she forgot most of her school work. She

and wife. I think unity between wife and husband is very important when bringing up children because you can manage all things when you're united.

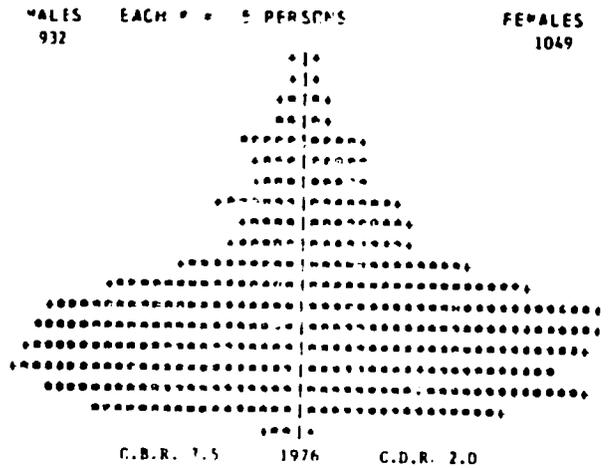
There's no one born with poverty but if one's own behavior differs from other people's one finds it difficult when one wants to seek advice from others. Whether you have a big family or a small family you can always consult people about how to bring up your children nicely. I'm now supporting about twelve children, though some of them are not mine, and at the same time I see that my husband has good food and I try and see that these children are clothed, eat nicely, and have their fees paid. So big families or small families depend on the parents' way of thinking because these children of mine have never gone without clothes or lacked school fees. When I don't have enough money I go to the chief who knows that I'm hard-working [Nyambura's husband is an invalid]; I usually go to him and tell him I need this much for school fees or for anything I need and I pay him afterwards when I have the money. If he doesn't have money, he takes me to Kiambu where [the cooperative] collects money for coffee and they advance me some money. After the payment comes for the coffee I take, they deduct theirs and so I don't find this is a heavy burden. That's why I said that there are advantages and disadvantages of a large family and a small family. I should say there's no difference as long as you know what you're doing. As long as you have brains, whether you have ten or two children you can manage them.

Njoki

In 1976, Njoki is in her late eighties and living in her own two-room house on the coffee farm of her youngest son, Kimani. Kimani and his wife and other members of their household live in a substantial stone house set in the same compound. The house Kimani had built on the farm when he and his family first moved there after they decided to leave the *gichagi* is now used by his son's wife and two small children--Njoki's great grandchildren. A kitchen, a small house for the housegirl, a store, a large cattle barn, and water tanks complete the farmstead. There is always a good deal of activity, in which Njoki takes an active part. Nearly every day she walks down the slope to the valley and up the other side to the farm where she lived with Mwangi and which she shares for purposes of cultivation with the two other surviving widows. She continues to cultivate as much as she can. Among her favorite crops is sugarcane, which she grows to sell to the schoolchildren whose school is adjacent to the farm.

Njoki still keeps some of the things that belonged to Mwangi in the old days and some of her own clothes and possessions, so that her children and grandchildren and great grandchildren can know what Kikuyu traditionally wore and used in former times. She looks back over her long life to earlier times, to the period when her own children were babies and her husband was

Chief, and she keeps in mind the traditions of her village when she jokes with her grandchildren about how they live and their modern ways.



Analysis and Conclusions

Land Consolidation and Status Distinction

In the village of Kiaguri there are 196 farms totaling 515 hectares and varying widely in size. Nearly all of them grow coffee, a labor-intensive crop, that on the larger farms requires more labor at peak periods than can reasonably be expected to be available within the homestead. At the same time, for several reasons, there are men and women within the village whose cash incomes are insufficient to meet their needs, and the common solution is to go out as agricultural labor. The complementary acts of hiring and being hired form the basis of the status distinction discussed earlier between *muremi* (landowner-cultivator-hirer) and *muremia* (one who works for cash). Here, these general statements are examined in detail within the context of the village; at the same time, the viability of land consolidation is assessed. According to locally maintained land records and the Survey of Kenya maps, the following changes have occurred in ownership in the twenty years since 1956, when consolidation was completed. Twenty-six men, the owners of thirty-four farms, have died, and their property has been inherited by their wives. It is generally understood that when these widows die their male heirs will inherit. However, the widows are not simply caretakers for their sons; they manage and cultivate the farms in their own right, and their tenure continues for their lifetimes. Fifteen farms have been inherited by sons and ten additional ones have been sold to other villagers. Some of the sales have been to brothers or other close male relatives, but only one was to a villager who did not previously own land. With this last exception, the buyers of the ten farms already owned farms of five hectares or more, which shows that the consolidation of land, or at least of ownership, appears to be continuing, especially

among farmers whose holdings are at the upper end of the range in size. The trend is remarkable in view of the widespread conviction held earlier that land consolidation was too much against the cultural grain to take roots.

The range in farm size, the amounts of land in various categories, and the hiring-being hired status are summarized in Table 1. The farms have been categorized in multiples of 2.5 hectares, slightly less than the average size of about 2.6 hectares. Of the total of 196 farms, 119 are 2.5 hectares or smaller and account for 25% of the land area; 44 farms are between 2.6 and 5 hectares and account for 28% of the land area; 19 farms are between 5.1 and 7.5 hectares and account for 20% of the land area; 9 farms are between 7.6 and 10 hectares and account for 15% of the land area; and the 5 farms of 10 hectares or larger total 60 hectares or 12% of the land area.

Table 1. Size of farm and socioeconomic status of farmers. Total acreage is 515 hectares. Total number of farms is 196.

Range in Farm Size	No. of Farms	Total Hectares	Percentage	Socioeconomic Status* of Farmers
0.1-2.5 hectares	119	127	25	1, 2
2.6-5.0 hectares	44	146	28	1, 2, 3
5.1-7.5 hectares	19	105	20	3
7.6-10.0 hectares	9	77	15	3
10.0 plus hectares	5	60	12	3
Totals:	196	515	100	

Mean = 2.6 hectares (per farm)
 Mode = 1.6 hectares (per farm number)
 Mode = 1.9 hectares (per number of owners)
 Median = 4.2 hectares (per farm acreage)

*Status: (1) cash laborer, (2) neither, (3) commercial farmer
 Both men and women can be 1, 2, or 3.

Coffee is commonly grown on the thirty-three farms of more than five hectares, and all of them hire labor. Normally, from one to five more-or-less permanent employees reside on these farms; they may be men or women on farms owned by men or women. In addition, during harvest or other critical periods, additional, seasonal workers are hired; the numbers hired are in the dozens and may be as high as one hundred or so. (No field work was conducted during a high-labor period, and the foregoing data are estimates from owners.) A good many of the people who are hired come from Kiaguri or nearby villages. Long-term, live-in labor frequently comes from other parts of Kenya, since for this purpose there is a tendency not to hire Kikuyu from distant villages. It is assumed that some of the labor during harvest is migrant and not village labor.

A socioeconomic profile of the owners-employers on the larger farms in the village shows them to be in their fifties, sixties, and seventies; five of them are women. These landowners also have other property, including substantial houses, a Land Rover or other vehicle, and rain-water storage facilities. Men and women both participate actively in community affairs and villagewide institutions. All have continued to reside and work actively on their farms, even though many of them have off-farm income from jobs, businesses, or investments.

The farm as residence is a nontrivial use of the larger farmers' land. Their children, both daughters and sons, are nearly all grown, educated, married, and working. In the usual fashion, daughters have married outside of the descent group and usually outside of the village. Unlike the practice of earlier times, sons also have moved from the village, many of them into salaried jobs in Nairobi and in other towns and installations in Kenya. A tendency exists toward the formation of a stem family--one son in the next generation being available to take over the farm and, in the meantime, farming nearby or living in the *gichagi* or village center. For varying reasons children frequently live on their grandparents' farm, while their parents live elsewhere. In assessing overall fertility, a sharp distinction must be made between the number of family members resident on a farm at any one time, compared with all children and with the number of sons and their wives and children who are potential residents.

Village landowners whose farms are 2.5 hectares or less are at risk of having to work out in order to make ends meet. In this respect, the forty-five men and women who own from 2.5 to 5 hectares are the most heterogeneous group. Some of them employ labor, some go out to work, some need do neither. A few women of this category form informal groups that work on each others' farms, thus easing the load with companionship, and also meet the labor requirements of special, non-regular tasks.

The specific experience of Kiaguri in the years since the land was consolidated can be viewed as the realization of the earlier government

policy of stimulating and supporting the creation of a cadre of prosperous farmers who now do, in fact, employ others. The employees, however, are rarely landless, although their farms as a rule are smaller than 2.5 hectares and sometimes considerably smaller. People with farms in this size range, especially when they have many people to support, are generally unable to meet their needs without working in addition for cash, and even then may find the going difficult.

The life history material from prosperous farming families shows how their antecedent experiences--training, education, exposure to new values--set the stage for their much later adoption of land consolidation and commercial cropping, especially of coffee. (It might be noted that the antecedent experiences of many in Kiaguri were mediated through the nearest mission.) At the same time, it should be stressed that farm size alone does not determine success or failure. Above some critical level--perhaps five hectares--a well-managed farm probably is more likely to prosper, but men and women alike in Kiaguri have done well on farms of less than five hectares by dint of sound management and drive. At any rate, both men and women in the successful farming families showed early in life a characteristic faculty of independent choice--a faculty displayed in their selection and combination of appropriate aspects of Kikuyu and European culture. Both men and women set out to master and turn to their advantage selected features of European culture, but in their own ways. The qualities of control, of being technically competent but also fair and responsible, are examined in the section on social character. However much the effects of development on income distribution are unanticipated in other places, land consolidation and the introduction of cash cropping in Kenya were expected to produce a prosperous group, as we have seen. In this vein the two basic social principles noted by Cancian are borne out in Kenya.

The first is simply that: Individuals and classes of people will struggle to improve their lot relative to all other individuals and classes of people. This is not a surprising social principle. It is basic to classical economic theory, to Marxist theory, and to the every day American competitive spirit. The second principle is that: All other things equal, individuals and classes of people who have more resources at the beginning of an isolatable period of struggle will have the advantage in the struggle and in the end improve their position relative to others (Cancian 1977).

Social Character

In Kiaguri, because a specialist was not available to administer the social character interviews, as noted earlier, a questionnaire with just twenty-two questions (see Appendix II) was adapted from Fromm and Maccoby (Appendix A, Fromm and Maccoby, 1970, p. 239) and employed during the life history interviews. This effort was experimental, and for two reasons. First, the questionnaire was much shorter than

the optimum, and we were not certain that it would prove useful. Secondly, because the questions were asked and answered through an interpreter, it is assumed that many nuances of meaning were lost, and it was a question whether character interpretation, which depends on many nuances, could be carried out successfully with such data. The answers were analyzed only in English, translated from the Kikuyu.

We have the responses to these questionnaires, with life histories, on just six women in the Kenyan village. We feel, however, that these data are sufficient to clarify the most basic structure of character. Thus, although the data are not as rich as those we collected in Mexico, we found that they did strongly suggest some character differences between the commercial farmers and cash laborers in the village.

The theory of social character states that differences in socio-economic conditions foster the development of different types of character, and that differences in character lead to different choices in adapting to changing social conditions. In the village in Kenya, the emerging distinction between the commercial farmers and the cash laborers, and the earlier conditions of differential land rights, suggested that character differences might be present.

The initial guideline of securing life histories from women who were reproducing at biological extremes meant that the field effort was devoted to identifying, in the village context, women with no children, an approximate average number, and many children. An additional guideline was established early in the field work in Kenya when it seemed possible that status distinctions were developing between two groups--commercial farmers and cash laborers. It was decided that it would be useful and might be important to see if there were differences in the life experience and social character of the two groups.

Findings

In general, the social character data did strongly suggest that such differences exist. Of the six women in Kiaguri, we have data on three who are members of the prosperous group, and three who hire out as agricultural laborers and also till small plots of their own. The three women in the prosperous group, though varying markedly in numbers of children, are among the leading women in the village. Their characters, therefore, demonstrate the most successful adaptation to local economic and social conditions. All three of these women were found to be highly active, capable, and adaptive to their life conditions. Also, they display a productive-independent character type that Fromm and Maccoby discovered to be the most adaptive to small farming on individually-owned plots and that they term "productive hoarding."

The three women in the cash laborer group were found not to be of this independent small-farmer type, but of a more receptive type and, in general, less active, capable, and adaptive. The receptive character is based on the premise that life's goods must be received from outside oneself and therefore develops, as we hypothesize in Kenya, among the dependent group in a society. People of this group, because they do not have enough land to produce their cash income by their own efforts, must also depend on and please the landowner for whom they work. The qualities that make up this character syndrome include loyalty, acceptance, responsiveness, modesty, sociability, and an openness to others, whereas the independent type is more closed and suspicious toward others. (See Appendix II for fuller descriptions of the basic character types.)

The women's responses to several of the questions we asked showed the distinctions between the two groups very clearly. All three of the women in the commercial farming group actively *liked* to cultivate. In answer to the question, "What do you like most about your work?", all three answered "cultivating." Some added other things as well, but this was their first response. According to the theory, those people most adapted to their economic conditions *like* to do what they have to do to earn a living. This was clearly true of the women in the commercial farming group.

On the contrary, the women in the agricultural laboring group did not actively like cultivating. From one, we have no clear data. Another said she likes cooking the best and *didn't* like cultivating. (She used to disobey her mother when she was a girl and refuse to go to the fields to work.) The third said what she likes best is staying home with her children after work to see what they are doing. These findings are extremely significant in light of the theory because they show that the women in the laboring group are less well adapted characterologically to their economic conditions and probably for that reason less successful.

Another question that showed the differences between the groups was "How do you punish your children when they misbehave?" All three of the commercial-farming women answered, "By talking to them" or "Talk to them gently so they will understand their mistakes." The methods used by all three women in the cash-laboring group included beating their children. These responses show both different attitudes toward the basis of authority and obedience and different understandings of how children learn, grow, and develop. The more productive attitude, talking to children, is based on the women's more developed sense of their own powers and ability to influence others through caring and reason. The less productive response, beating children, assumes that the only source of power is force.

A third important distinction that we found between the two groups is in the women's characterological productiveness. In Fromm's sense, productiveness is a fundamental aspect of a person's character (of whichever type) and refers to his or her *ability to use his powers and to*

realize the potentials inherent in him. It covers mental, emotional, and sensory responses to others, to oneself, and to things (Fromm 1947, p. 91). (See Appendix II .) The women in the commercial-farming group are generally more productive, in this sense, than the women in the agricultural-laboring group because the economic conditions of their lives allowed a higher degree of productiveness to develop.

The productiveness of the commercial-farming group is expressed in many types of activities. They all manage their own farms (as well as actually cultivating in their own plots). They hire labor and supervise the work. Several of them are active in church activities. Two of them lead women's groups, and one especially enjoys the singing and dancing. In addition to these roles, one of our women, Nyambura, is a midwife and is called from her cultivating at any time to attend other women in childbirth. She even gives her services at no charge to the women who cannot pay. This shows a highly productive, life-loving attitude. And another woman is very active through the church and the Red Cross "in helping the poor people." These activities are motivated by an active interest and concern for others and show a development of these women's potentials and powers.

Ann, who is basically receptive and who is in the agricultural-laboring class, is also relatively productive. She has made and keeps a very cheerful and tidy homestead and farm, notably different from some others around her. Her understanding that the children themselves suffer when the parents cannot support them shows a productive attitude. The interviewer found her to be actively interested in new things. She went fairly far in school for girls of her generation (Standard III).

The other two women of the cash-laboring group are not so productive. They maintain their homes and care for their children, but have not developed many other activities that might have stimulated their productiveness. One is more actively trying to get things from others, to use others. One who has lost her husband is full of resentment and probably indulgent toward her children, who she feels do not obey her and give her more problems.

The relationship between a woman's character type and the type of work available in an agrarian village is important for the development of her productiveness:

In relation to traditional independent agriculture, successful work demands attitudes which are based on a certain degree of productiveness, such as some initiative, interest, imagination, response to weather conditions and the market. Where a hoarding individual has land and the possibility of exercising his independent initiative, his productive qualities tend to be stimulated and reinforced by his mode of work.

This is not the case for the receptive villager. Even when he has land, the receptive villager tends to fall into dependent relationships and lose control over his property. The requirements of peasant work do not engage his interest and do not mesh with his character. Hence his work does not stimulate him nor reinforce productive-receptive tendencies (Fromm and Maccoby 1970, p. 119).

Thus, the productiveness of the women in the commercial-farming group is stimulated by their work, and this is not true of cash laborers who are not inclined toward agricultural work and management.

The case of Ann is especially important in relation to this point. Ann is in the cash-laboring class and is basically receptive, but (and perhaps unusually) is relatively productive in her attitudes. For a while she worked as a nursery-school teacher, which better suited her character. This position might have continued to stimulate her productiveness; it was an opportunity that had not been available to women traditionally in the village. However, the school's budget was cut and Ann's position was dropped, so she had to go back to doing agricultural labor. We expect that more teaching positions will become available in the village in the future and that she will at some time be able to return to this work which "fits" her character better than cultivating.

The Two Character Types, Socioeconomic Changes in the Village, and Fertility

How did these two types develop? What influence does their presence have on the economic changes now occurring in the village? The following tentative explanation is based on the theory of social character and an understanding of the socioeconomic history of the village. Before land consolidation, which occurred only two decades ago, the Kikuyu traditionally held differing rights to land, and the differentiation was associated with different descent groups, some more, some less dominant. Dominance was based on the relative size of the descent group (lineage) and positions in the council, as well as on full rights to reside on and cultivate the land. It is assumed here that those with enough land to be "independent" probably developed productive-independent characters. Those in a dependent position, who had less than full rights to land, had therefore to depend in part on the pleasure of others for their livelihoods. These developed more receptive characters. (See Appendix II for fuller explanation of the types.) At the same time, those people with more productive independent characters, because their characters "fit" their circumstances, tended to be those who were more successful in keeping and gaining new land. Those with a more receptive character, even in dominant descent groups, tended to lose their land and enter dependent relationships. Such cases are in the data.

Land consolidation was not intended to redistribute the quantities of land held, but rather to assign to each man in one piece the same amount he had held before in separate parcels. One of the main results of the move was to change land into a commodity that could be bought and sold. This change will probably work in the favor of the productive-independent types, who will be able to buy more land, and against the receptive villagers, who may be more easily forced into selling their land at a time of economic need. Traditional rights gave more protection to each person's basic claim to land. In addition, the entrepreneurial character traits (see Appendix II) will be stimulated by this transformation of land into a salable commodity.

As the village modernizes, other opportunities may arise for salaried employment that might suit the receptive types better than agriculture, as in the case of Ann's teaching position. In general, however, the most productive people adapt most readily to new possibilities, and the less productive adapt more slowly. We would predict that, on the whole, the prosperous commercial farmers, as the most productive, will move quickly to take advantage of the new opportunities for the use of capital for buying, selling, lending, and renting. The receptive villagers will tend to remain in subordinate positions as cash laborers, either in agriculture or, increasingly, in enterprises such as coffee factories, construction, and transportation.

In relation to fertility, our general prediction is that the most characterologically productive women of the cash-laboring group will be the first to limit their families significantly. The example of this group is Ann, who wants only four children. Such women understand clearly that in the newly emerging cash economy they can only support so many children and that limiting their families is important for economic survival. Ann, who may be exceptional, also understands, as noted earlier, that it is destructive not just of family finances, but destructive to the children as well, to have too many children and not be able to give them the support they need, especially schooling, to adapt to the changing society. Such perceptions, we believe, will lead the most adaptive, productive families of the cash-laboring group to limit their families. But prosperous commercial farmers who raise their children in the village will probably continue to have larger families because they follow the large-family ideal if they have the resources to do so. Young couples from this group who go to Nairobi, where child-support systems are less well developed, may also begin to limit their families noticeably.

A contrasting village elsewhere in Kenya shows the importance of character in relation to the economic situation in explaining which group will limit families first. In this less prosperous village (studied by others), it was the most active, productive women in the most prosperous group who were limiting their families to get ahead economically. The poorer women, more passive and unconsciously

despairing, were continuing to have the traditional large families. We hypothesize that the overall level of prosperity, well-being, and hope is an important difference in the two villages. The cash laborers in Kiaguri still have rational options to pursue, and the most productive women in that group are doing so by limiting their families. But in the poorer village, in a context of economic and cultural disintegration, there was little hope except for the few families at the top. These were limiting the numbers of their children. The others, without hope, continued to have many children, which only worsened their economic situation. These women didn't want to limit their families because they felt it was against God's will, and the older women actively dissuaded the younger women from using contraceptives. We hypothesize that in a situation where all traditional forms of economic and cultural cohesion are disintegrating, as in their village, the poorest people are stripped of any productive alternative and are deeply despairing. Consciously or unconsciously, they feel that producing more children is one of the few life-affirming acts (Nichols 1977).

Women's Status and Fertility

Virtually all adult women in Kiaguri have been circumcised, married, borne children, and worked as cultivators, irrespective of economic resources, education, self-perception, or any other external or internal indicator. Beyond doubt these characteristics are ancient, and their acquisition in the course of a lifetime must give the Kikuyu woman a very strong sense of fitness and continuity. Further, as mother and cultivator the woman bears comprehensive responsibility for disciplining, training, and formally educating her children and for all aspects of feeding her family. These are clear-cut responsibilities, still felt and probably welcomed by nearly all Kikuyu women; the functions they entail are vital and are the source of the considerable strength enjoyed within the society by women as a group.

Within this context, it is informative to examine the status of women in terms of six more specific categories (Goodenough, personal communication):

1. Autonomy over one's person.
2. Options available in matters where autonomy exists.
3. Amount of deference due from others by virtue of the social standing of the individual and family.
4. Esteem conferred by others for qualities independent of social standing.
5. Rights and duties resulting from being female.

6. The socioeconomic categories used in the research.
7. Self perception as seen in life-history and social-character data (added by Reining).

1. Kikuyu women are hardly docile, as we have seen, and the issue of autonomy over one's person is by no means new. Witness the forthright statement of Nyina wa Wambui that the "only time" she disobeyed her father was when he wanted her to marry someone she didn't like, and she ran away from home. The issue of autonomy also was basic to the furor of some years ago over female circumcision.

2. The numbers of options open to individual females are certainly increasing. Girls do decide nowadays not to be circumcised, with or without their parents' consent. They have residential options and may move to Nairobi or elsewhere. Young women today, especially those of good family, decide occasionally to forego marriage but not motherhood. Parental consent remains important to such decisions, however, and motherhood without marriage, while more of an option than in the past, is not at all the same as motherhood with marriage. An unmarried mother, in fact, is not called by the term for a married mother.

3. The amount of deference due from others by virtue of social standing--membership in dominant or subordinate descent groups--apparently is being clouded by the emergence of class distinctions at the village level, although this view remains tentative. Theoretically, Kikuyu society was strongly egalitarian. Males and females circumcised at the same time formed inalienable bonds among themselves--males with males and females with females--creating a hierarchy based on age. Residents of a ridge identified by a place name are neighborly with one another. But in pre-European days some descent groups probably were dominant or subordinate in ways that resulted in differential amounts of respect. In Kiaguri today, one of the places where levels of respect are perceptible is in church, where degree of participation and location of seating reflect a mixture of personal and familial status in terms of the emerging distinction between *muremi* (landowner-hirer) and *muremia* (worker for hire). These terms can be applied to descent groups as well as to individuals; that is, descent-group affiliation comes to be predictive of whether an individual is *muremi* or *muremia*.

4. The esteem conferred by others for qualities independent of social standing differs quite markedly among women. All of the women whose life histories we have, for example, have been involved in the struggle to send their children to school properly clad and with the fees paid (otherwise they will be turned away), although the level completed ranges from Standard VII through university. The struggle is a common one, and success earns the mother esteem of a very special

sort. Competence in general is highly regarded, as can be seen in the life histories.

Nyina wa Wambui recalled, "What my husband liked best was hard work." A relative remarks of his mother that she is a "genius" at tending chickens. We have from Njoki, on the other hand, the episode of the woman who malingered in the bean patch and in consequence was barred from her husband's house, a penalty the co-wives evidently found just. As men and women admire competence in others, so individual women take pride in their own abilities, in being "hard-working," even in being able to carry heavy loads over considerable distances.

5. The rights and duties that flow from being female are tied very closely to one's position in the life cycle, and a female bears a title specific to her position. An infant has rights, but no more urgent duty than to stay alive. A small girl, no more than two, has rights to food, shelter, direction, and love, but she is beginning also to learn her duties, by mock-cultivating and by carrying a small bundle or sibling on her back. An older but uninitiated girl is today a school-girl, a right recently acquired along with a duty, in her mother's eyes, to do well. She is distinguished from her brother by additional, domestic duties: carrying water with the ubiquitous tumpline, doing household chores, cultivating, carrying a younger sibling when home from school. An uninitiated girl, in short, has a full schedule. An initiated girl, who nowadays may still be in school, retains her duties of earlier years. An initiated girl once could be identified readily by her pierced ears, title, and clothing. Today these distinctions are much more subtle, and for some the rites of graduation and confirmation subsume the transition that came formerly with initiation.

Coming of marriageable age is still important, however the event may be marked. After a girl's family has completed bridewealth negotiations with the family of the groom-to-be, she discards the title for young girl and acquires that for young woman. Bridewealth now is paid mostly in money. The amount, though probably known to the bride, is never divulged, out of modesty, but it is almost surely among the very best indicators of status. Bridewealth is important not only between families, but within the family as well, because bridewealth coming in for a young woman is used in turn in bridewealth negotiations on behalf of one or another of her brothers. The fact is well understood, and it affects the relationships among brothers and sisters in very basic ways. Bridewealth also is related to a woman's rights to land. Until it is paid, she retains a right to home and field on her father's land; once it is paid, her rights shift to her new bridegroom-husband and his family.

The mother with no initiated children and the mother with at least one initiated child formerly were called by different titles, but these by now have been abridged to a single term. When Njoki, our oldest

respondent, was living with her co-wives in the chief's compound, the distinction must have been important during the eighteen years or so before her firstborn was initiated. Today it seems less so. As mentioned earlier, however, the unmarried mother is not called by the term for married mother, which is far and away the most common status term heard in the village for adult females.

The aged woman, in the last phase of the life cycle, is called by a term that Kershaw and Middleton (1965) translate as "toothless old hag." Old and toothless women are present in the village certainly. Their children are long grown, but they retain the appropriate rights to home and field and evidently retain duties, in their own minds at least, as long as they are physically able to discharge them. Our oldest respondent, now approaching ninety, goes almost daily to her fields to work.

Nearly all of the few women in the village who have never married or borne children are quite young. Quite a large number of women are widows. Being unmarried, childless, or widowed affects a woman's status in a fundamental way because each condition reduces the number of her identity relationships: wife:husband, mother:daughter, mother:son, mother-in-law:daughter-in-law, and so on.

6. The socioeconomic distinction between *muperi* and *muperi*--owner-cultivator and hired laborer--identified in this study may signal the emergence of a two-class system in the countryside. The distinction was evident in the field research, but we do not yet know whether it will be reflected in differences in demographic rates. Our analysis has suggested that the women in these two groups differ significantly in social character.

7. It is intuitively apparent that individuals' appreciation of their own character affects their actions and decisions which in turn influences their relative position or status. Such self-perception is seen both in the forthright statements by Nyambura and also in the resigned air of Waithira.

The central question in all of this is the relationship, if any, between a woman's status and the numbers of her children. The study produced no simple answer, nor was one expected. The data show very clearly, however, that one cannot reasonably presume that "if one raises the status of women, the number of children they will have will fall numerically." In Kiaguri it does not work that way.

Among parents whose children are now grown, it is commonly said that many children are a blessing and an advantage, but only if one can afford to feed, clothe, and educate them well. A mother does acquire prestige from having a number of well-educated successful children, but not from having a number of poorly educated, unsuccessful children. A well-off woman with no children may fall somewhat lower in the spectrum than a less well-off woman with two or three children.

But the less well-off woman's standing may peak at perhaps four children and decline with more as family needs begin to outstrip resources. On the whole, then, the relationship would appear to be linear among the economically secure, but not among others. What is true of the generation whose children are grown may not be true of the generation now producing children, and a number of families, upon assessing their economic resources, have elected to use modern contraceptive methods. Still, the attraction of large families--at least two boys and two girls--seems to persist and may typify the Kikuyu tendency to select and combine those features of their own and European culture that they consider the most positive.

The Demographic Characteristics of Kiaguri

The population of Kiaguri is approximately 2000 people. That figure, the sum total of one village, cannot be readily isolated in the published census information, since villages are grouped and the real village for which Kiaguri is a pseudonym is not listed separately. However the size of the other villages grouped with Kiaguri is known and an approximate comparison can be made. Kiaguri is 66% of its census unit and in the 1969 census would have had a proportionate population of 1783. In DEMOG output (see Appendix I), we record a population of 1732. There is no way to recover which individuals compose the census unit count for Kiaguri in 1969, but these data are sufficiently close to permit further comparison.

The composition of the population, of men and women, within the village comes from quite different sources. Men, except laborers and the grandchildren of daughters married elsewhere, become potential life-long inhabitants of their natal village, and the vast majority of the men recorded in fact fit this description. Women are in more diverse categories. There are three main groups: (1) the females born in the village who have moved--primarily for purposes of marriage, (2) the women born elsewhere who have married into the village, and (3) unmarried women who live with their children on their father's farms. By far the largest group of women respondents are in the second numbered group. A few women, widowed or separated, have returned to Kiaguri, since it was their natal village. *

These marital and residential facts affect the nature of the output from DEMOG. Women in group 1, who have since moved away but who were born in the village to still living mothers, are counted in the census corpus and enter into the calculation of fertility. They are both daughters (in the village) and potentially mothers (out of the village). They are counted as daughters for their mother's fertility; they are not recorded with their potentially complete fertility because their children, born out of the village, are not systematically included in the census corpus. These elemental facts of residence and marriage are believed to contribute to reduction of the total fertility rate

TFR. These observations apply to the output measures as they are programmed in DEMOG. However, the daughters can be excluded from the census corpus without removing their relationship to their mothers. When excluded in this fashion, the resulting Age Specific and Total Fertility Rates should more accurately reflect actual fertility. However, the most satisfactory solution to this problem is a total census. A potential solution to the problem consists of sampling within a defined endogamous area, i.e., a set of villages/lineages among which most marriages take place. One hundred percent endogamy is rare, but seventy to ninety percent endogamy is the norm. Kiaguri, by definition, is one village in such a set, but much more extensive field research would be necessary to delimit and then sample such a set. If this were done, however, a most accurate assessment could be made of the variables in other data sets affecting fertility.

The history of relationships between Kikuyu and Europeans has been a complex one and in the period of the Emergency a critically troubled one. This history, though general, is believed responsible for the fact that a number of householders refused to respond to the request for interviews. The location of houses and other information is available from public record and other sources, so that we have an accurate knowledge of households for which we have incomplete data in 1976. The number of these households is eighteen, and they represent ten percent of the one hundred and seventy-two farm owners. Since a number of households are still maintained in the village or *richani*, and six households are associated with the secondary school, the total number of households in the village is one hundred and ninety two. The percentage of undercount is thereby reduced to nine percent. Minimal information is available for five of the households and all of the other households are listed by farm owner. With other sources of error it is, therefore, estimated that the population is under-enumerated by somewhat less than ten percent, but it is spurious to indicate a more precise percentage.

Through DEMOG and related data sets, several measures are available and initial findings can be stated.

1. The population structure by year has appeared in boxes throughout the text, starting with the year 1916. It is quite apparent that the population is increasing (or the data are becoming more accurate or both) and that proportions in the population are changing. The total population over time is shown in Figure 1. In the period 1916 to 1926, there are more men than women in the population but this is an artifact of recall. After that year there are more women than men, a trend continuing into the present and substantiated by other evidence.

2. The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in the period from 1917 to the present is reproduced in Table 2 in five year intervals. In this village the TFR increases steadily from the start of the study period

Figure 1
 Total Population over Time in Kiaguri, Retrospective Recall

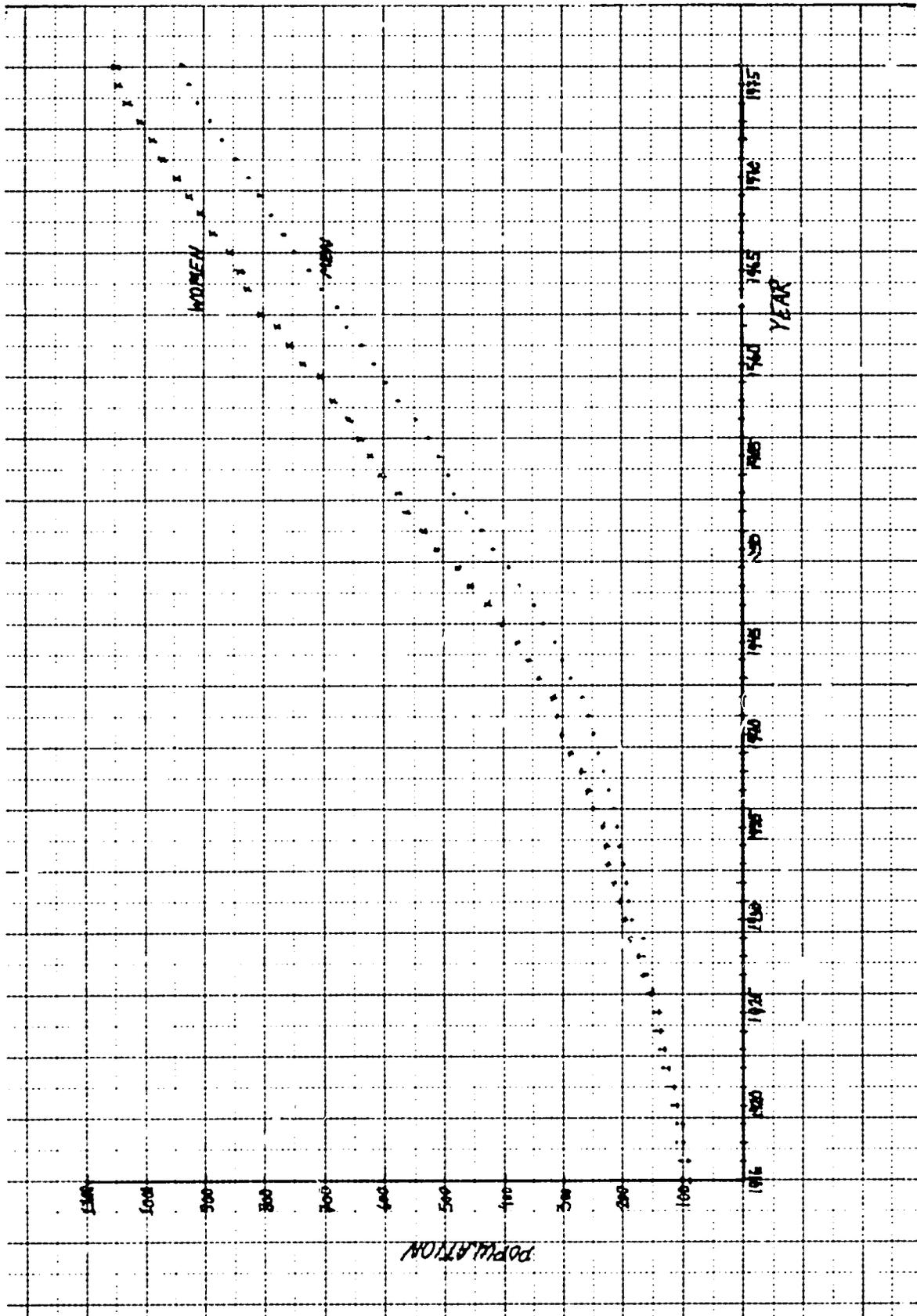


Table 2
Total Fertility Rate (TFR)
in Kiaguri in the Period 1917-1975

<u>Year Intervals</u>	<u>Total Fertility Rate</u>
1917-1921	2400
1922-1926	2899
1927-1931	3324
1932-1936	3448
1937-1941	
1942-1946	5567
1947-1951	6248
1952-1956	6021
1957-1961	4775
1962-1966	3872
1967-1971	2960
1972-1975	2042
1973-1975	1943

peaks in 1951 and has been decreasing since that time. These data are consistent with the shift in marital patterns from polygamy to monogamy (a predisposing condition for an increase) and more recent efforts to institute modern methods of family planning. The values which support the latter have been repeatedly emphasized. The long term expectation should be that village growth will slow. That women also control their own fertility is not surprising in view of the type of control Kikuyu men and women exercise over other aspects of their lives.

3. The year by year Crude Birth Rate (CBR) is examined in relation to rainfall records. A rainfall collecting station has been maintained in the village since 1939 and daily and annual records are available. Rainfall data by year and CBR by year are presented in Figure 2. A number of researchers are investigating the relationship between nutrition and fertility (i.e. Frisch, 1970 and Revelle, 1970) and a number of other researchers consider crop yield to be especially sensitive to rainfall fluctuation (McQuigg, personal communication). The data suggest some regularity between the two data sets. The mechanisms can only be inferred.

4. In Kiaguri, according to our DEMOG output in 1969, boys 0-15 in age are forty one percent of the male population, girls are thirty seven percent of the female population. According to the 1969 census (Republic of Kenya, 1970), the respective percentages are fifty two and fifty three percent. Since the total population of the village is in close agreement, the discrepancy is likely to arise from misreporting of age. In 1976, according to DEMOG, boys compose thirty four and girls twenty nine percent of their respective male and female village populations.

5. Some results from DEMOG are reproduced and the methodology discussed in Appendix I. This is done to allow easier comparison of the results from the three country studies.

6. Finally a comparison of the mean age at parity of mothers in the *muremi* and *muremia* groups is useful. Data for four lineages have been coded in "-CLUDE" lists according to their economic status in relation to agricultural labor. Because the numbers involved are small, caution must be exercised at the present stage of analysis. These results are shown in Table 3.

The figures for cash laborers vary quite markedly--no doubt due to small numbers, but the child bearing period starts earlier. In the commercial farming families the mean parity varies somewhat more directly with age in a linear fashion. It peaks in the age group sixty five to sixty nine--the group which entered into mongamous marriages in the 1930s. Additional work is necessary to determine whether these trends can be supported.

Figure 2
 A Comparison of Rainfall, Crude Birth Rate
 and Crude Death Rate in Kiaguri, 1939-1975

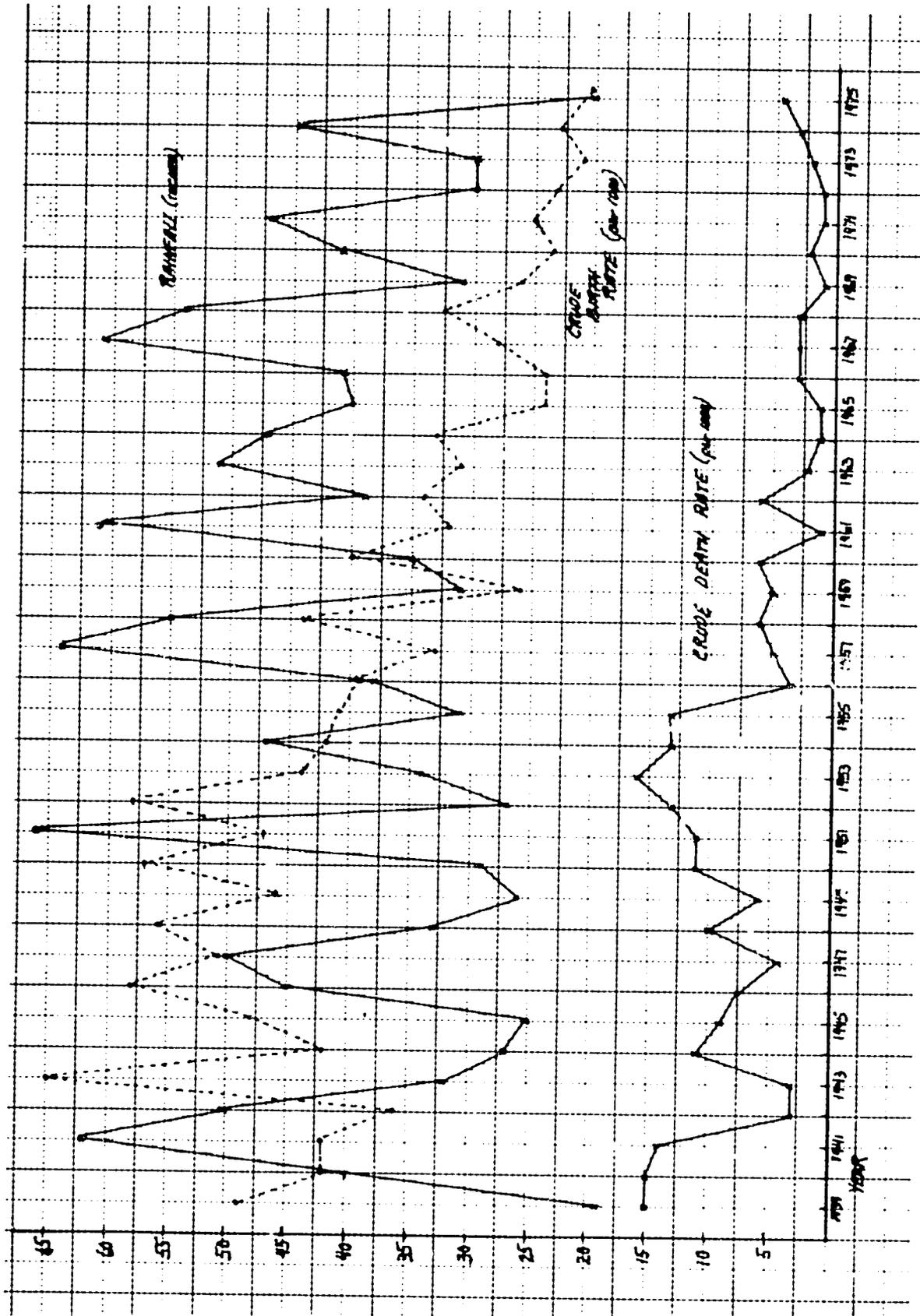


Table 3
 A Comparison of Mean Parity
 by Age Group of Women Who Are Cash Laborers
 and Women Who Are Commercial Farmers

<u>Group</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-39</u>	<u>40-44</u>	<u>45-49</u>	<u>50-54</u>	<u>55-59</u>	<u>60-64</u>	<u>65-69</u>	<u>70 & Over</u>	<u>Un-known</u>
Cash Laborer	0.17	1.33	3.25	0.00	7.00	3.33	7.00	6.00	12.00	11.00	8.50	8.50	0.00
Commercial Farmer	0.05	0.23	0.81	1.65	1.17	2.11	4.86	8.50	6.20	6.50	9.00	7.00	0.00
Sample	0.05	0.74	2.16	1.09	2.32	3.14	2.08	4.08	4.00	4.80	7.25	4.17	0.00

Sample. In addition to the data derived from life histories, from the World Fertility Survey Core questionnaire and from participant observation for a single village, a two stage sample design for the collection of demographic data was constructed for the project by William Wigton, a mathematical statistician. The sample design included, first, the selection of two divisions within Kiambu district and, second, the creation of an area sampling frame for second stage units. The sampling frame procedure involved the arbitrary grouping of all farms into clusters of four and a numbering of each cluster. Farm clusters were then randomly selected for the sample. The field work consisted of administering the World Fertility Survey Core Questionnaire to the householders living on the farms. The same persons who had worked in Kiaguri conducted the interviews, except that Edward Greeley of the University of Nairobi served as field director. No participant observation was possible in addition to the interview proper, nor were other data sources available.

The results of the sample have been processed in the same way as the World Fertility Survey data from Kiaguri, with the aid of DEMOG. These results will be considered in detail in a technical article. However, on a preliminary basis, the sample yielded a total population of four hundred and sixty persons, fifty five percent of them women. Forty percent of the males and thirty one percent of the females are younger than fifteen, thus showing a higher percentage of young people in the sample population. The mean age at parity is shown in Table 3. The data are linear and show a drop in completed fertility from the oldest women in the group to those who can be presumed to have completed their childbearing.

The use of the sample in addition to the micro level village study is an attempt to overcome the inherent difficulties of building a bridge between the micro level study and the macro level study. The common difficulty anthropologists encounter stems in part from the high variability known to be present in small samples, relative to aggregate regional or national statistics. It is our expectation that the confidence limits of results from Kiaguri can be extended, through a detailed comparison with the results from the sample frame.

Conclusion. In examining the results of an experimental use of genealogical data for censusing, a first summary provides a demographic context in addition to the ethnographic context for an examination of women's lives in diverse cultural settings.

Summary

1. The process of land consolidation, begun twenty years ago, is continuing with further consolidation of ownership, together with some *de facto* fragmentation on smaller farms. The *de facto* arrangements among family members are not well documented.
2. Socio-economic status is closely related to but not simply determined by farm size.
3. Women hire labor, form work groups, work on their own farms, or go out to work. In doing all of these, they exercise a basic skill -- a knowledge of plants and a capacity to cultivate.
4. But women who must go out to work for cash like it less well than those who both cultivate and manage their own farms. Liking as well as needing to cultivate becomes a key response reflective of character as well as circumstance.
5. Women are beginning to adopt contraceptives because they perceive of their use as a way of limiting demands on themselves and of creating opportunities for their children.
6. Status and fertility in this analysis then, appear to have a linear relationship (the more children the better) for women in the older age range who have had the means to support their children; status and fertility for many other women appear to be bimodally related. A woman with fewer than four children is thought unfortunate but it is increasingly true that the desired Kikuyu minimum of four may also be becoming the desired maximum as well.
7. The Total Fertility Rate, in this village, peaked in the 1950s and appears to be dropping, a conclusion supported by results from the area frame sample.

Mexico

Introduction and Summary

In Mexico we studied two villages, Santa Maria and Tierra Alta, in the southern part of the central plateau, northwest of Mexico City. The population of each is approximately seven hundred. We chose villages which differ geographically, historically, and socially in order to understand how such differences are related to population dynamics. We found different cultural styles in the two villages, and women with quite different attitudes toward their lives and futures.

Santa Maria lies in what has been for centuries a very productive agricultural region. The conquering Spanish developed ranching and agricultural haciendas there and forced the native and later mestizo (European-Indian) populations to become peons, agricultural laborers bound to the land in a semifeudal system. The region is presently well known for its modernized agriculture and industries. Santa Maria today is an *ejido*, a community that received unalienable land following the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17. The farm plots of the *ejido* are assigned to individuals for their use, but cannot be subdivided or sold; they must be passed intact to an heir. Some families, especially those with irrigated land, are able to make a living from their farms, but the young men must either leave the village or sharecrop on their fathers' land. So today, forty years after the *ejido* was formed, about thirty percent of the family heads in Santa Maria are landless and struggling.

Indigenous cultures in the region were destroyed by the Spanish and replaced by a system of feudal authority to which the people had to adapt. Then this system, too, ended abruptly with the formation of

the *ejido*. After three-hundred years as peons these people were freed to become small family farmers in a region dominated by large commercial farms and developing industries. These events have produced a culture based on the authority of force. The people are uncooperative, each family is for itself alone, and there is a good deal of violence. Santa Marians do not value what comes from themselves; they value what is "modern", what is from the outside. These are the signs of cultural disintegration.

Jobs in the modern sector offer some opportunities for the men of Santa Maria, but not for the women. The women do not usually work in the fields or have any other means of contributing to the family income. They are dependent on the men for their material needs, and their only roles are keeping house and rearing children. We found the Santa Marian women to be passive, unexpressive, and without hope--seeking miracles to improve their lives. They are left in the backwash of economic development with no real opportunities or stimulation. Few of them have happy relationships with their husbands; they find their only real happiness and affection with their children, especially when the children are very young.

The other village, Tierra Alta, is farther north, in a mountainous region with a semidesert climate. The area has poor soils and little rainfall, agricultural productivity is low, so the Spanish colonizers did not develop haciendas there. During the colonial period groups of mestizo settlers established independent, marginal farms in the area, and this freeholding tradition has continued into the present with no sharp breaks. Tierra Alta is an old village, and the people have developed a pride in their mountainous region. Through these circumstances over the centuries those people have developed traits of independence, self-reliance, suspicion toward outsiders and new ideas, but mutual respect, and cooperation among themselves.

The land of Tierra Alta has always yielded very meager livelihoods. The landholdings are too small to support families, and most of them, notably more than in Santa Maria, are struggling to feed and clothe themselves. The people have had to find additional sources of income. In the past the women wove palm strips for sombreros and baskets, a traditional craft in the region, and the men may have worked as ranch hands or in the nearby mines. Today the young men and women must leave the village to seek jobs as agricultural workers or domestic servants, and they continue to seek other ways to increase their incomes.

The women of Tierra Alta have always contributed to the family income in various ways: they work in the fields with their husbands, tend some of their own crops, raise animals, gather fruits and other wild foods, weave palm strips, and sell the products of their various efforts locally. Many of the women have taken advantage of a new

opportunity to acquire knitting machines and have increased their cash incomes significantly while working at home. We found the women in Tierra Alta to be active and expressive. They are struggling to make a living, but they are more hopeful and feel more capable of meeting their problems than the women in Santa Maria.

In both villages increased participation in a cash economy, especially the costs of buying food and sending children to school, makes children more and more an economic liability. Parents do hope for economic help from their children, but they realize that young people, more than before, must leave the villages to make a living and then must struggle to support their own families. Many women in both villages say they wish they had fewer children because of the work and the expense. But this is hindsight, and does not mean necessarily that the women will use the recently legalized modern contraceptives. We believe that the women in the two villages will respond differently to these new conditions.

We predict that the women of Tierra Alta will adopt modern contraceptives sooner than the women of Santa Maria if social conditions remain the same, because the social character¹ of the women in the freeholding village will allow them to adapt more actively and rationally to new circumstances. The more passive and resigned character of the women in Santa Maria will be a limit on such adaptation. The women in Tierra Alta, we believe, will be limiting their families noticeably by 1980 if modern contraceptives are made available to them in a way which respects their traditions. But women in Santa Maria need much more than modern contraceptives before they will choose to limit their families. They need realistic social and economic opportunities for improving their lives. They need the chance to develop the ability to make their own choices and to develop respect for themselves. These needs are unlikely to be met without a significant cultural transformation.

¹ Social character is defined as "a syndrome of character traits which has developed as an adaptation to the economic, social and cultural conditions common to [a] group" (Fromm and Maccoby 1970, p.16). See Appendix II for fuller explanations.

Brief History of the Region
and
the Development of Social Character²

During pre-Hispanic times, the indigenous populations of the southern Mexican central plateau were sparse, and the region was peripheral to the major developments in the meso-American cultures. After the Spanish conquest, the two main geographic systems, the mountains and the plain, together with the Spanish technologies led to two different economic and sociocultural systems. In the mountainous areas the Spanish developed silver mines, trading posts, and textile workshops, while in the plains they developed agricultural and cattle ranching haciendas. In other words, the region was a major center of capital development during colonial times, and the Spaniards considered it one of the prosperous areas of New Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The native peoples, however, suffered one of the most severe losses of population in history. As many as three fourths of the native peoples may have died from epidemics of measles and smallpox introduced by the Spanish. Many of the people remaining were forced to become mine workers, textile workers, agricultural laborers, and ranch hands. The mines, haciendas, and industry divorced the native peoples from their own, more cohesive social organization and integrated them instead into groups of laborers separated from each other along occupational lines. The process of colonial domination subverted or destroyed the native languages, forms of social organization, and systems of values and meaning.

In the plains during the second half of the seventeenth century the Spanish crown gave enormous tracts of land as grants to the first colonizers. Indians were among the first to work on the haciendas, but they were soon joined by and merged with Negro, mulatto, and mestizo laborers. The sparse native populations and the Spanish economic development encouraged migration to the region by mestizos, creoles, and Spaniards as well.

² Historical information in this section is based on the background report by Cámara (1976). The concepts and descriptions of social character were developed by Fromm and Maccoby (1970).

As peons on large haciendas the native and mestizo people learned through the centuries that the way to survive was to submit to and please their masters, and they developed a social character (Fromm and Maccoby 1970) based on their dependent situation. The characteristic attitudes most adaptive to their actual situation were submission to the master, pride in pleasing the master, and dependence on him for protection and sustenance. The basic premise is that all goods come from outside oneself, from the master who has all the power. Thus, the people lost their capacity to develop their own abilities, since they were in no way allowed to exercise them. The master ruled by force, and so the peons came to respect sheer power and force. Such a system offers only two alternatives for acquiring the necessities of life: one receives them from the masters, and so must try to please him; or one tries to take them by stealth and force, which usually was not effective. In the daily life of a hacienda this overpowering system was so pervasive that these attitudes became deeply rooted. It became second nature for the peons to respond in submissive, receptive, or forceful ways, even toward each other. They could not maintain their self-respect and so could not respect their peers whom they knew to be like themselves; thus the possibility of real cooperation was destroyed. These characteristic attitudes, bred and developed through centuries of domination persist in the people who live in Santa Maria today. Many of them are only one or two generations removed from their ancestors who were peons.

11. the mountainous areas around the plain during colonial times, groups of marginal farmers began to settle and establish squatter and individual rights in this poorer land. One such settlement is Tierra Alta. Subsistence farming augmented the settlers' livelihoods as ranch hands or mine workers since it is improbable that the farms in the region were ever large enough for their owners to be self-sufficient from their land. Over the centuries the people of Tierra Alta have developed a pride in and identification with the region. The mountains are beautiful, and though the land is poor, it is their own.

The social character that developed among these freeholding subsistence farmers is quite different from the character of peons, because what they must do to make a living is quite different. Where the peon is essentially dependent, the subsistence farmer must be essentially self-reliant and independent. His livelihood depends on his own work and that of his family and on the whims of nature. Because of his own self-reliance, he respects the other person's independence. He is cautious and suspicious toward outsiders, because of the need to protect the small amount that he has. He is sometimes hoarding to defend against natural disaster, such as drought. Yet he is capable of cooperation based on mutual respect and independence.

Both groups, the peons and the free smallholders, developed in relation to colonial domination. The peons lived constantly in direct relationship with the Spanish masters, while the free smallholders, by chance or by effort, were able to maintain their independence, but only on the marginal lands not colonized by the Spanish. These marginal farmers, mainly mestizos, were not an indigenous group maintaining their traditional communal social and economic organization. They, like the peons, were a social group that formed in response to the Spanish but that developed economically, culturally, and psychologically in ways very different from the peons.

Beginning in the nineteenth century the movements leading to Mexican independence swept the country, and many of the activities were based in the region we have studied. Although independence was legally established in 1824, Mexico was torn by fierce internal strife which caused a very unstable political and economic situation for nearly a century. The mines and textile industries in the north, since they had been based on Spanish capital, collapsed suddenly; the region passed through a period of relative economic decay and lost population to migration. The agriculturally oriented plains to the south continued to be productive, except for the disturbances of warfare, and grew in population, with several urban centers developing rapidly.

During these upheavals the independent subsistence farmers of Tierra Alta continued to eke out their livelihoods in the mountains because their subsistence base had not suffered from the loss of Spanish capital. The position of the peons on the haciendas to the south also was essentially unchanged. Though the peons' legal status improved with independence, their economic position did not. Landless and with no other opportunities, they remained on the haciendas under large landowners who were descendants of Spanish colonizers or rich mestizos.

During the Porfiriato period (1877-1910) a return of foreign investment revived the mining and textile industries in the north, but the basic socioeconomic differences in agriculture between the mountains and the plain persisted. The haciendas were production units for markets, and the ranches and small farms in the highlands were subsistence farms of poor productivity.

The decade of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917) again caused economic upheaval in the region, where much of the fighting took place. It again lost population because of migration and the casualties of war. Adults in Tierra Alta remember their parents

fighting, and they remember having to stay in guarded areas at night, rather than their own houses, for protection.

Modern observers state that the two subcultures we have described continued to differentiate from the 1930's to the present: "... a highland northern area with poor soil, sparse population and low agricultural productivity, geographically and socially isolated and not actively participating in national events; in the south the plains enjoyed rich soil, increasing population and a very valuable agricultural and industrial development with more adequate transportation systems, and more participation in the regional and national economic development" (Cámara 1976).

What has this economic development meant for the people in Santa Maria? In the late 1930's the *ejido* of Santa Maria was formed as one of the last redistributions of hacienda land resulting from the agrarian reform instituted by the Mexican Revolution. At that time every male family head was assigned six or seven hectares of unalienable land. This was one of the most important goals of the Mexican Revolution, and this was the first significant change in the social and economic situation of the peons since they were first colonized, in the 1600's. For almost three centuries they had been peons, and suddenly they were free to become small farmers in the midst of a rapidly commercializing, industrializing, and modernizing region of Mexico.

The Two Villages in the Present

Today, in the opinion of governmental officials, the people of Tierra Alta are among the poorest in the country because they are isolated from modern services and economic activities and have few means of earning a cash income. The same officials see Santa Marians as relatively well-off for small farmers because they have irrigated *ejidal* land. In fact, the Santa Marians with land do have a larger real income than the majority of smallholders in Tierra Alta. But the feelings of the people in the two communities about their own situations are quite the opposite. The people in Santa Maria, even some of those with *ejidal* land, feel themselves to be quite poor and pity themselves in the light of the affluence they see around them on the large commercial farms and in the urbanizing towns and cities close by. They feel powerless to effect their own improvement and look for help from those outside, especially the government. The people of Tierra Alta, more isolated from the centers of economic development, have been autonomous for so long that they feel capable of continuing to eke out their own livelihoods. One field researcher said that it is easy to be deceived and think that the people in Tierra Alta are better off than they are because of their dignity and activeness. They understand their situation quite matter-of-factly. One woman there said, "What we need is a way to earn money without leaving."

There are very poor landless people in both villages. (Approximately thirty percent of the heads of households in each are without land.) In the judgment of one of our field workers, however, no one in Tierra Alta is as desperate as the people without land in Santa Maria because in Tierra Alta there is more cooperation and sharing and the very poor are more likely to get help from relatives and neighbors. This reminds us that the style of social organization and the spirit of the people are as important in understanding a people's well-being as a static count of their resources. A more detailed look at the modes of life in the two communities will begin to show how they are related to these very different attitudes.

In Tierra Alta we studied both the town itself, which is a rural county seat with a population of about seven hundred, and a smaller community, Fracción de San Juan, which has about five hundred people and is three kilometers away. These two adjacent locales are very similar culturally; they will be described here as one village except in those aspects in which they differ significantly.

**Landholding Patterns and
Basic Sources of Income**

In Tierra Alta fifty-nine percent of the family heads own some land, and in Fracción de San Juan sixty-five percent do. The plots are extremely small: the average is 0.2 hectare in both places; the largest holdings in the communities are 2 to 4 hectares, and only ten to twenty families own plots that large. With landholdings of this size, most families cannot make a living from the land alone, and both men and women seek other opportunities for earning income. The men most often leave the village to find seasonal employment as agricultural workers in other parts of Mexico and in the United States; the younger men, both married and single, are often away for periods ranging from weeks to several months but they are usually home for planting and harvesting. Young women increasingly are leaving the village to find work as domestic servants in nearby cities or in Mexico City. One important difference between Tierra Alta proper and Fracción de San Juan is that there is more income in Tierra Alta from other sources--shops, light industry, and some government employment. In the Fracción almost everyone's basic income is in the form of subsistence crops, mainly corn, tomatoes, avocados, peaches, and lemons. Peanuts are grown as a commercial crop by families that are more secure financially. A traditional craft in the area is the weaving of palm strips for mats, baskets, and hats, but it is now declining; only twenty-eight women in the two villages still earn income in this way. In the Fracción, the people buy very little of the food they eat, living mainly from their crops; in Tierra Alta the people buy the main portion of what they eat. In the Fracción the people raise cows, goats, pigs, and chickens. The people of the Fracción also gather wild food and firewood from the hills around the town. Cactus fruits, greens, herbs and other fruits from the hills are a significant part of their diet.

Within the past five years a new home industry, machine knitting, has developed in Tierra Alta and become an important source of cash income for many families. It is mainly the women who operate the knitting machines. The Mexican government supported the development of this now fully commercial scheme, which allowed the knitting machines to be placed in homes and paid for in knitted garments. The machines cost from 3000 pesos (when first introduced) to 6000 pesos for the most elaborate machines available in 1976.³ To work off

³ All values in pesos are given at the rates prevailing in the summer of 1976. There has been a significant devaluation of the peso since that time.

the cost of the machine might take a household around six months. The women who knit say that a proficient knitter who works more or less steadily can earn 250 to 350 pesos a week. Most of the machines are Singer brand and are manufactured in a neighboring state. More women in Tierra Alta than in the Fracción are earning income by knitting. In Tierra Alta there are (by rough estimate) two hundred fifteen women and girls over ten years of age; of these, one hundred seventy (seventy-nine percent) are active in the knitting business, so this new opportunity is increasing the cash income in the majority of households. In the Fracción, of approximately one hundred forty women and girls over ten, only twenty-seven now are engaged in knitting.

When the *ejido* of Santa Maria was formed, in the late 1930's, each family head was assigned a plot of six to seven hectares for his use; he does not formally own the land and cannot sell or subdivide it. Some of the land is irrigated and some is not. The people with more irrigated land are better-off than those who depend totally on the rains because they can get more than one crop per season. Most of the family heads who were originally assigned land are still living and are now in their sixties and seventies. Many of the original families are now sharing their plots with two or three married sons and their wives and children. These young men without land must share land with their fathers, sharecrop with other landholders who need help, or look for work outside the *ejido*. They can provide only a very insecure income for their families. They can sometimes find work on the large commercial farms nearby or work seasonally in other parts of Mexico or in the U.S. Today, forty years after the formation of the *ejido*, roughly thirty percent of the family heads living in Santa Maria are landless. It is interesting that the percentage of landless people in Tierra Alta, where no land reform has taken place is approximately the same, thirty percent, although the plots held there are much smaller.

The main crop in Santa Maria is commercial alfalfa, and the villagers also feed their own animals from this crop. They also grow some corn for their own consumption. They buy most of their food and gather some wild foods and firewood from the hills around the *ejido*, which are held in common. Many more edible species of plants are available around the Fracción de San Juan than near Santa Maria. Santa Marians earn most of their cash income from selling alfalfa and the animals they raise or by agricultural labor.

The people of Fracción de San Juan, though materially poorer, might have a more nutritious diet than the Santa Marians, who must buy most of their food. A careful dietary study would be required

to determine if this were true. The people in the Fracción eat from their own more diversified crops, which include fruits and vegetables, and they have more wild fruits and vegetables available than do the Santa Marians. Poorer diets may be one result of the early stages of moving into a cash economy.

Socioeconomic Categories Used by the Villagers

The villagers in both Tierra Alta and Santa Maria use three basic categories to describe relative economic well-being. *Rico* (rich) refers to those who have more income than the average. We have one life history of a childless widow in Tierra Alta who is *rica*. Several families in Santa Maria have more irrigated land and more animals than the other families, and they are seen as clearly better-off than the rest, though they would probably not be called *rico*. The second category, *de respeto*, refers to the middle group, or the most common income level in the villages. In Tierra Alta these are the people who have some land plus additional income; in Santa Maria, they are the *ejido* members who have six-to-seven hectare plots, but little or no irrigated land. The third category is described as *humilde* (humble). This is the poorest group, those without land or a regular income in Tierra Alta, and those without land or expected access to it in Santa Maria.

Women's Economic Activities

There is a striking difference in women's economic activities in the two villages, and it can be summed up in two words: independence in Tierra Alta, and dependence in Santa Maria. In Tierra Alta women may own and inherit land. It may be no more than a single row in a small parcel, but its importance lies in the fact of equality, of bilateral inheritance that apparently does not favor one sex over the other. In Santa Maria women in theory may have use rights in *ejidal* land, but in practice no women hold land there at present. Legally, *ejidal* land must be assigned to the widow when her husband dies, and she later assigns it to one or more of her sons, but the plot cannot be divided. A daughter can receive the land of her parents only if there are no sons, and if the policies of the specific *ejido* allow it. The rights of widows to land are not always honored. One widow, around forty years old and with six children, told us that she was born and grew up in Santa Maria and married a man with *ejidal* rights in another community. When her husband died, her father-in-law withdrew support and land-use rights from his dead son's family in favor of his surviving son, and the widow was forced to return to her widowed mother in her original home in Santa Maria. Now the family ekes out a meager living by odd jobs and some agricultural labor by the eldest but still-young son.

In Tierra Alta a woman can work her own land. One woman, age 70, still works in her fields several times a week although she has grown sons. Her sons help her, but she gives the orders and makes the decisions about what and when to plant, when to harvest and when to add fertilizer. Crops are diversified, and since plots are small, women can usually harvest and sell their own production locally in small lots. Even if a woman does not own land in her own name, she takes an active part in farming, helping her husband with planting and harvesting and often overseeing farming operations for months at a time while her husband is away working as a laborer. In Santa Maria women are peripheral to farming operations, probably because the larger holdings make for less diversification and less hand and hoe work. Mules are used as draft animals, and men not only do the work, they also harvest and sell the crops in bulk. Some haul their own hay to other parts of the state to sell; others sell it from the field.

In both Tierra Alta and Santa Maria people keep animals--cattle, oxen, mules, goats, pigs, and chickens. Santa Marians appear to keep more large animals than people in Tierra Alta perhaps because they raise animal feed. Their animals seem to be owned not by individuals, but by the household. Men usually make the decisions about their care and disposal. In Tierra Alta, on the other hand, animals more often are owned individually by members of the household. Women in Tierra Alta rely on pigs and goats especially as a source of ready cash when needed. Even children own animals and have the right to sell them on their own account. One girl sold her goats when she was fifteen to raise money for an operation she needed.

In Tierra Alta also a woman may own an agave plant or two from which she can draw *miel* to make *pulque*, a beverage that women make and sell from their homes. The traditional *pulque* is drunk more in Tierra Alta than in Santa Maria, where commercial beer and tequila, which are less nourishing and higher in alcohol, are drunk more frequently. Women in Santa Maria do not make or sell home-made beverages, nor do they have the tree crops, such as avocado, which in Tierra Alta may also be individually owned and the fruit harvested and sold by the owner.

The machine knitting industry in Tierra Alta allows women and girls to contribute to the household income. The knitting is done on consignment. Someone comes around every couple of weeks to pick up completed garments, pay for them, and leave a new supply of yarn, or people take their products to the consignors in the trade towns. Garments are paid for by the time estimated to be required to knit them. A small baby sacque that can be knitted in an hour by

a proficient knitter earns ten pesos. Unmarried girls are the group to which knitting is usually assigned in the household, but otherwise idle boys are also expected to knit and some men who have little or no land have learned the craft. Women with families usually do not knit themselves because it does not lend itself well to interruptions necessitated by child and animal care and general household supervision and duties. But they manage and supervise the knitting of their daughters. Also, they often do some of the handwork, which includes sewing the garments together, crocheting edges and borders, sewing on buttons, and in many cases adding embroidery. Most of the handwork is done by married and older unmarried women in the household or is farmed out to other households without machines and paid for by the knitters.

Unmarried girls have been among the least economically productive group in Tierra Alta in the past because of lack of education and employment opportunities. Knitting has provided this age group with an economically more productive role in the household. Unmarried girls also might do domestic work in a nearby city or in Mexico City, but the knitting industry may make this less necessary. A daughter is expected to send home at least half of her cash earnings as a domestic.

Women in Santa Maria have few of these means of contributing to household income or earning a few pesos on their own account. On occasion they may work a few days as paid labor in a harvest for the large commercial farmers nearby, but this is rare owing to the large pool of underemployed and unemployed males in Santa Maria. Employers prefer to hire men and boys and pay them more than the women. Santa Maria has no crafts or cottage industries. Although craft classes are given by government personnel in nearby communities from time to time, the people apparently are not very interested in attending. There is no incentive to learn crafts because there is no local market for them. As one woman said, "Even if I learned, who would I sell to? People here don't like to buy homemade things." Santa Marian women have nothing they can produce for sale on their own account. Their major economic role is as unpaid household labor and as a consumer rather than generator of household income. They are dependent on their husbands for their livelihood.

In Tierra Alta most women are no more economically dependant on men than are men on women. The household makes up an interdependent and economically cooperating group in which anyone who can contribute to its subsistence is expected to do so. The women do not ask permission or wait for orders or follow commands of menfolk but act on their own initiatives to contribute to the household.

This realm of productive activity among the women has a long history in Tierra Alta. Women's traditional farming and marketing activities and the palm-weaving craft allowed them to develop their independence, forthrightness, and feelings of self-reliance and capability. Because these qualities and their managerial skills were well developed among the women, they were characterologically ready to adapt quickly to the home-knitting opportunity. Within a few years, as we have seen, most of the women have acquired knitting machines.

In Santa Maria the women have no modern conveniences, and they work long and hard at caring for children and animals, cooking, washing clothes, gathering firewood, and other chores. But the work does not give them the feeling of self-reliance and autonomy so apparent among the women of Tierra Alta. The Santa Marian women are much more passive and less expressive and feel helpless to improve their economic situation by their own efforts. In extreme cases they feel "useless." That the position of women is often undermined or neglected by development planners in many parts of the world is now being documented. (See Tinker 1976).

Local Government

The different socioeconomic histories of the two villages have led to quite different styles of local government. Through these governmental styles we can clearly see the different types of authority and social relationships that have developed in the two villages.

In Santa Maria, under the rule of the hacienda owners, the peons came to understand authority only as that which was imposed by force and fear. Authority was used solely in the service of the one who had it. It was the authority of power, and the ingrained, fearful, and obedient response to it seems to continue in the present. A formal organization to govern the *ejido* is prescribed by law, but none has emerged in the forty years since the land was assigned. There are no central committee, no elected president, and no meetings. Governmentally, the *ejido*, though a natural unit, exists as an undifferentiated part of the *municipio* (county), which includes large urban centers and commercial landowners whose interests are very different from those of the Santa Marians. As the Santa Marians turned once to the master of the hacienda, they turn now to the municipal president in the county seat. When they need something they go to him for it; they see him as the one with the power. The municipal president in turn has developed a relationship with several of the more prosperous men of Santa Maria. When he needs to communicate with the *ejido* he calls on them, and to outsiders refers to them as the representatives of the Ejido Executive Committee.

These informally designated leaders carried out the effort to establish a local water system. During Echeverría's presidency there was a national government campaign and financial support for developing local potable water supplies in the rural areas. A system of wells, water tower, and pipes to individual homes was built in Santa Maria. Two of the leaders first struggled over who would lead the effort, and then the one who succeeded collected money from the people for the necessary local contributions over the opposition of the other. He commanded the people's participation with anger and fines. The water system benefits everyone, so that this might have been a truly cooperative effort. But a belligerent style of leadership is all the people know and is what they expect and accept.

The Santa Marians have never experienced authority exercised for the well being of all under the guidance of a leader who respects them. A type of cooperative authority with responsibility has not been able to develop among these people after they suffered the impact of the centuries of the forceful authority of the hacienda system. Our psychological interviews show that they feel backward, ignorant, and useless in comparison with the outsiders whom they see as modern and capable. They do not conceive of building a cooperative organization based on their own abilities because they feel powerless, so they hope for help from forces outside themselves, outside the *ejido*. There is now almost no participation in social or community life within the *ejido*. Each family struggles for its own livelihood and improvement, but the people don't respect or help each other.

One woman, from a family without land in Santa Maria, said to us, "People like us without land? *Que Dios me libre!* We have such a terrible struggle to live! I think the government ought to do something for us--the government ought to give us some land and a few animals to get started! The government ought to help us send our children to school and give us some food for the babies. With no help, how can we live?" Because they hope for help from outside they don't exert their own efforts. In contrast, in Tierra Alta we found several case histories of young couples who were landless when they married, but who were able to earn enough and save enough by their own efforts to buy small plots of land. But this option is not available to the people of Santa Maria: there is no mechanism for acquiring the unalienable land in the *ejido*; the women have few opportunities to earn money or contribute to the effort of saving for the future. So the Santa Marians continue to look for help from the outside.

Table 4
Village Level Variables (from Freedman 1974)

	Fracción de San Juan	Tierra Alta	Santa Maria	Sabinas
Population	500	700	700	8,000
Accessibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 3 km. to Tierra Alta ● 7.5 km. to regional market ● 3 bus hours to large city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 7.5 km. to regional market ● 3 bus hours to large city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 10 km. to Sabinas ● 32 km. to large city 	
Transportation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● walk ● bus ● truck ● bicycles ● no paved roads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● walk ● bus ● truck ● burros ● bicycles (a few) ● no paved roads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● walk ● bus ● truck ● bicycles ● no paved roads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● all forms of transportation ● paved roads
Communications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● no telephones ● no telegraph ● no post office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● post office (delivery 2-3 weeks) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● no telephones ● no telegraph ● no post office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● telephones ● telegraph ● post office
Schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 3 grades of elementary ● most children complete all 3 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 6 grades of elementary ● most children don't complete all 6 ● sexes equal in school attendance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 6 grades of elementary ● more boys in attendance than girls ● most children complete 3 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● high school
Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● legitimate formal government of Fracción 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● formal <i>municipio</i> government ● good particip. ● more democratic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● no legitimate government of <i>ejido</i> ● patron-client rel. to <i>municipio</i> pres. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● formal legitimate <i>municipio</i> (County Seat)

Table 4 (Continued)
Village Level Variables

	Fracción de San Juan	Tierra Alta	Santa Maria	Sabinas
Modern Health Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● none ● people go to Tierra Alta clinic ● hospital 3 bus hours away 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Private Health Clinic & Pharmacy M.D. & R.N. (5 years old & very popular) ● 3-4 midwives ● Hospital 3 bus hours away 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Private doctor 32 km. away ● Hospital 32 km. away ● Buy drugs in Celaya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Private clinic (not used by Santa Marians) ● 2 M.D.'s
Water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● springs ● river ● wells ● boys & girls carry ● none piped in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● most houses have piped water from wells 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Own water tower, piped from wells, to most houses (5 years old) ● public tank for animals 	
Electricity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● a few houses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● most houses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● most houses (from Sabinas) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● complete available
Irrigation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● crude channels from river 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● modern irrigation from wells 	
Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● some radios 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● radio (large majority) ● TV (few) ● newspaper (twice weekly, read by a few) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● radios (everyone) ● TV (few) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● radios, TV and newspapers all readily available

In Tierra Alta, the people, as independent farmers, have depended on their own efforts for so long that they do not characteristically turn for help to the outside; in fact they are suspicious of outsiders. In Tierra Alta and Fracción de San Juan the style of local government is more democratic than in Santa María. Tierra Alta is a county seat and has its own formally elected county government. The independent people of Tierra Alta are more actively related to their local government and participate at the level they choose. The local government is their own, made up of people from among themselves. The elected municipal president is responsible, respectful, and committed to the people of the village. Through the municipal government, the people of Tierra Alta have initiated several municipal improvements; painting houses, repaving the streets with stones, and putting in sidewalks. The municipal president is presently leading an effort, with a great deal of community support, to bring a new school, grades seven to nine, to the county seat. At present there are only six grades of elementary school available. There is controversy in Tierra Alta over the need for the new school, but it is an open controversy among the people themselves and is part of their active response to modernization.

The local government of Tierra Alta is an organization through which the people are actively adapting to the socioeconomic changes with which they are confronted. Their social character, independent and respectful, allows a relatively democratic local government to function.

Availability of Modern Services

Santa María, with its population of approximately seven hundred, is located near more and larger towns and cities than is Tierra Alta. Santa María is ten kilometers from its county seat, Sabinas, a town of approximately eight thousand people; there is hourly bus service between the two. A larger city is about thirty-two kilometers away. Tierra Alta, also with a population of seven hundred, is itself the county seat of its more sparsely populated region. The Fracción and Tierra Alta share the same culture, so that when people from the Fracción go to the county seat they feel at home there, but this is not true for Santa María and Sabinas. There are real cultural and economic differences between Santa María, an agricultural community, and the modern middle-class town of Sabinas. This town is the world of the others to Santa Marians, and they are at times intimidated by it. So, although Tierra Alta is a more rural county seat with fewer services, these services are more culturally accessible to the people of Tierra Alta and the Fracción than the services of Sabinas are to the people of Santa María. Table 4 is a listing of services available in all four locations.

Health services are an example of this contrast. Tierra Alta has a private clinic which has a medical doctor and a registered nurse and is very popular among the people of the town and the Fracción. The doctor is from South America and makes house calls by bicycle. In Sabinas, ten kilometers from Santa Maria, there are two private doctors, but the Santa Marians do not go to them (because of costs or for other reasons.) When an illness is very severe, Santa Marians go by bus thirty-two kilometers to a larger city to private doctors. They also usually buy their medicines there because they are cheaper than in Sabinas.

The people of Tierra Alta, though more remotely situated, have better access to modern health services. We did not study the extent of indigenous health services and knowledge in the two villages, but we would expect that these also would be more developed in Tierra Alta.

At present there are six grades of elementary school available in each village, but there seems to be more support for and more value placed on education in Tierra Alta. There are 24 students in Tierra Alta who have finished elementary school who would like to attend the first year of high school. From Santa Maria there are four young men registered at the Technological Center in Sabinas. As mentioned earlier, the municipal president in Tierra Alta is working actively with community support to bring additional years of schooling to their community. We did not find a similar effort in Santa Maria. This shows that different attitudes and actions of the people do influence the way that modern institutions come to the village. The people in Santa Maria seem to be resigned to what comes--they take advantage of opportunities they see, but have no feeling that they can influence such changes by their own efforts, nor have they developed local institutions through which they could act.

Religious Practices

The religious practices of the women in the two villages are quite different, which is another expression of the different cultural styles we have described. Santa Marian women seek help for the concrete problems of their lives, including illness, from the Virgin Mary much more than do the women of Tierra Alta. Santa Marian women talked enthusiastically about miracles and cures the Virgin had performed for kin and sometimes for their own families. This was one of the few topics that they responded to eagerly. When asked what they would most like to do if they had the time and opportunity,

many women in Santa Maria said that they would like to visit the Shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City again. When asked the same question, the women in Tierra Alta did not mention the Virgin, but wanted to learn to sew, to start a business if they had the money, or to study something. While some of the women in Tierra Alta had been to visit the Virgin of Guadalupe, the fact was incidental and not central to their lives, and they would not travel to Mexico City just for this purpose.

Women in Santa Maria either attend mass regularly or send their older daughters and stay home to take care of the smaller children. In Tierra Alta some women go regularly to mass but more do not, and mass is not the focal point of their lives as it seems to be for the women in Santa Maria.

These differences support our understanding of the different cultural and characterological orientations of the two villages. First, as we have seen, the women in Tierra Alta participate in many more farming and marketing activities outside the home than do the women in Santa Maria. The Sunday mass is one of the few opportunities Santa Marian women have for going out, socializing, and finding real stimulation. Secondly, as we have also seen, the women in Santa Maria are more passive and less expressive and have less confidence in their own capabilities than those in Tierra Alta. Turning to the Virgin for miracles is a passive solution to their problems, but is an understandable one for people who feel powerless and have little hope of improving their lives through their own efforts. Turning to the Virgin expresses the same hope of help from the outside as turning to the government, or, as in former times, to the master of the hacienda.

Life Histories

In Mexico we obtained two types of life histories. Those done by Dr. Beverly Chiñas, are in the anthropological tradition in which the goal is to elicit a woman's personal version of the main events of her life and her understanding of them. In each such interview some questions were designed to obtain data that would provide a basis of comparability among them. The life histories that resulted from this approach are rich in ethnographic information, and a reading of them conveys in concrete detail a sense of what life is like for the women who were kind enough to cooperate with us.

The second type of interview was done by Dr. Sonia Gojman de Millán, a psychoanalyst. She sought to gain an understanding of the essential character structure or central motivations of each of the women she spoke with. To this end, Dr. Gojman developed and used a version of the Fromm-Maccoby social character questionnaire and interpreted the responses. (See Appendix II for fuller information on social character).

With some women we used both types of interview, and in these instances the material has been integrated and is presented as a single life history. With others, because of the exigencies of the field work, we used only one type of interview. With each life history the type(s) of interview conducted is specified.

As our subjects we selected women whose numbers of children range from none to twelve and who occupy differing economic and social positions. In addition, for most life histories compiled, we selected women older than forty-five so as to insure that their family size was complete. We also interviewed a few younger women so as to gain insight into how attitudes may be changing in the younger generation. The life histories that follow are a representative selection of the thirty-two cases compiled.

Women of Tierra Alta

In general, no woman would choose to remain childless in Tierra Alta. Raising children is seen as one of her main roles. Women often suffer greatly if they produce no children; they are considered useless and they are often abandoned. The social situation makes it very hard for them to find any reason to live. They have to find a way of supporting themselves in some form, but they don't expect anything from a man. They often come to feel they deserve the

treatment that they have received and that they are no good. Three brief cases of childless women follow.

An Abandoned Wife (no children, interviewed by Gojman)

One woman who has never borne any children is in her mid-forties and has been abandoned for seven years. It's clear that her husband has another family outside of the area. He left her in the house of his parents. She lives with her in-laws and her sisters-in-law who make her feel that she now has no right to stay in their house. She is employed in the town doing domestic work, but she doesn't really have a home, a place where she feels she belongs. When she's at work, she feels an urgent need to return to the house, and vice-versa. She has fantasies about her husband returning. This would reestablish her rights to live where she is.

Earlier she had various temporary relationships with men, but she has always been left. She would give anything to have a child; she feels that would be her salvation. She continues to imagine that this might be possible, in spite of the fact that she has now entered menopause. She continues to believe, because she wants to believe it, that even now there is something else she can do. Either a husband or a child would give her a firmer position and acknowledged place in the family where she lives (that of her in-laws).

Her demeanor and attitude is that of hiding herself. She appears persecuted and she feels criticized that she is a poor sight for the people around her. She is sick and dedicates a good part of her life to dwelling on her sickness in order to explain her infertility. She thinks this might have been caused by her own imprudence (that is *chewing chicle*). She also looks for defects in women who have children as a way of defending herself and her bad habits, compared to other women.

She is profoundly alone. She is convinced that she will die someday "walking, walking and working" alone. Her work doesn't give her any satisfaction. It's something she does out of necessity and which does nothing to overcome her profound feeling of uselessness. She can only overcome such feelings through fantasies and illusions in mental flights away from reality. This can be seen clearly in her dreams. "I dream that a person arrives in the village to give out money, but when I arrive they don't touch me. I dream there's a lot of water, it is said that this is money, a lot of money. I dream about these insects (lice). It seems my head is crawling with lice; I am scratching with all this itching. It is said that this is a sign that I am going to receive money." These dreams show her

despair, her magical desire for a sudden fortune which she cannot hope for in reality.

A Beggar (no children, case developed by Chiñas)

A woman beggar is said to travel around to different villages in the region, staying for a time in each. While begging is a lowly occupation in Mexico, it does not carry the stigma it does in the United States. Beggars are not outcasts and, generally, people even those with few resources of their own, give something when asked.

It is said she was born not far from Tierra Alta, but outside the county. She was once married, but widowed young and reported to have had a child or two who died very young. A woman describes her:

She stayed here with us for four months. She had a bad leg and couldn't walk, so I asked her to stay with us. She slept right here on the floor [pointing to the space between two double beds in the daughters' bedroom]. We gave her food and this place to sleep. When her leg got better, she left. I know she isn't here in Tierra Alta now, because she always passes by when she is here.

Yes, she is 'gente humilde' [lower class] because she has nothing, no family, she has to beg for a living. She told me she was married once but had no children or had a child which died, I don't remember but her husband died and because they were very poor and had no land and no family she had to start begging to live. I think she must be between 50 and 60 years old.

This woman's generosity in giving food and shelter to a beggar for a considerable period of time cannot be considered unusual behavior.

A Rich Widow (no children, case developed by Chiñas)

One woman living in Tierra Alta is about seventy and was widowed thirty-eight years ago (at age thirty-two), when her husband, who was a military man, was killed in the line of duty. She had no children by the time he was killed. She is a neat little lady, with graying hair, quite dark skin, and wears glasses. She dresses in mourning colors (blacks, greys, navy blues), and her maid is also dressed in black. She is gracious, lively and seems very intelligent.

The important and wealthy men who were her husband's superiors or *patrones* seem to have taken the widows (several men were killed at the same time) under their wing. Her husband also seems to have

left her fairly well off (he was the owner of a hacienda), and it is possible that she gets some sort of military pension. She never married again but traveled around with the families of these important people, possibly as a sort of governess or nanny to their children.

This woman obviously considers herself far above the ordinary folk of Tierra Alta and even above her own brother and his family who live there. She seems well educated but this is probably a reflection of her long and intimate relationship with wealthy, educated people.

One could not conclude that having no children has lowered her prestige in the eyes of the community. She seems to have made the most of the advantages which came her way. But we do not know how she feels about her position or lack of children. The role of a life-long widow is not looked upon as a great misfortune if there is sufficient income for her support. Long widowhood can be nearly as prestigious as dedicating one's life to religion as a nun in the moral code of Mexico, especially if one is wealthy. A destitute widow, on the other hand, is not admired simply because she is a widow.

Julia Romero (age fifty-two, two children,
interviewed by Chiñas and Gojman)

Julia has lived in a profound state of depression since her son left home. Before that she had lived for her children; she sent them to school, by earning money taking in laundry, and doing domestic work in the town. She does not have a knitting machine. She guards with pride her son's certificate of primary school. She had placed all her hopes in him; now that he is gone, she mourns for him. He left home at age sixteen; she doesn't know where he is. When he left she felt useless, incapable and without any hopes. Now she takes absolutely no pleasure in life. When asked who her closest friend was, she said she had none. When asked what she liked to do most, she said "nothing." Her daughter attends school and is planning to leave home when she finishes primary. She helps with the housework, but this does not alleviate the mother's suffering for her lost son.

Julia frequently argues with her husband and she blames him for her son's departure. Her husband has worked as a day laborer in agriculture and in trades in several parts of Mexico and the U.S. He has a sincere friendly manner and speaks of his efforts to try to educate himself and learn a trade.

Julia was the second child but oldest daughter, so she did not go to school, but stayed home to help her mother. Before she married she wove palm strips for hats. She did not leave home until she married at age thirty-one. She had her first child at the age of

thirty-five and he died. Two years later she bore a son, her daughter was born when she was forty.

Because she placed all her hopes in her one son, she is now without hope. He had been her investment in the future. Now nothing touches her emotionally or interests her.

Flora Ramirez Rivera (age thirty-seven, five children,
interviewed by Gojman)

Flora is hardworking, capable, assertive and determined. She is struggling to help her family increase their income and improve their lives. But she is both psychologically and socially confronting some real conflicts.

Flora and her daughter earn cash income by knitting on two machines. She began this effort to produce her own income with some trepidations and doubts, but she overcame them.

She sees her father as a man who was responsible, hardworking, energetic, and very affectionate. She thinks that he was the person most responsible for teaching her to be responsible and for doing what one does well. On the other hand, her mother was a submissive person who didn't protest about anything in order to avoid difficulties. Flora can't be like her mother. But at times she would like to just give in because it seems to her that what she wants and struggles for, improving the future of her family, may be impossible. She has these doubts, but she sees that she is not now entangled in the submissive role like her mother--only obeying her husband and never protesting. But, in order to pursue her goals, she has to face up to her husband.

Her husband is very conservative and looks at life in a fatalistic way. He is afraid of change (which she struggles for) and thinks that they have always lived in their present manner and nothing bad has happened. He thinks it is better to leave things as they are, see what happens and resign oneself to what comes. She, on the other hand, always looks for a way to solve a problem. Their basic approaches to life are in conflict. Some of the things that she does are contrary to what her husband wants. She feels that he doesn't understand, and she is basically sad that he doesn't, but she hasn't given up the search for a solution. She admires the basic masculine values, such as his authority, but she isn't disposed to leave to him the struggle for bettering their situation. She can't function under the old system of submission and resignation, though she hasn't been able to fully establish a new type of relationship with her husband.

She doesn't want to have any more children, for the benefit of the children she already has, and in order not to deplete the economic resources of the family. She is satisfied with the five she now has and has been able until now to educate, care for and give attention to them. Also, the doctor has told her that another child would be dangerous to her health.

But her husband does not accept the use of contraceptives or approve of the family planning system. They do agree that both of them should decide if such measures are taken. For all of these reasons she has refused to sleep with her husband. She feels misunderstood and fears the disintegration of her family. Since she has roundly refused to become pregnant again, her husband has begun to drink and to stay away from home.

Elena Diaz de Enriquez (age thirty-six, six children,
interviewed by Gojman)

Elena is one of the most enthusiastic participants in the new activities of the village. She is very proud of the changes in Tierra Alta, and hopes that these changes will allow a new level of material well being for her children. As the mother of several school children, she organizes the school fiestas.

She is a business woman, heading the business of her father, a shop where she carries the best products and best fruits and vegetables. She thoroughly enjoys this work. Her daughter knits on the machine, and Elena herself also knits when she has time. But, basically she is the proudest of her cooking: "I don't like anyone else to do the cooking."

She and her husband have achieved a complementary and supportive relationship. She is the happiest when she is with him. For the first time in her life she feels confident, understood and helped. He takes part in the education of the children. When they have problems he talks to them, and she and her husband resolve the problem together. The children are not afraid of him, and he doesn't try to scare them. He takes the children with him to work to teach them. He has charged one son with taking care of a little goat, so that the child will learn to tend and maintain the goat.

Elena has had to face up to her father, however, who angrily accuses his son-in-law, saying he should not permit his wife to participate in the administration and handling of the money in the house. She is critical of her father and scolds and complains. She tells him that it is only through her work and her husband's together that they can gain respect as a family.

She doesn't want any more children and she uses contraceptives. Her husband approves of this. But after she started taking contraceptives, she began to experience symptoms of serious conflict. She had fainting spells, blood pressure problems and attacks of nerves. But she is determined to take them. She says she has no doubts whatsoever and asked the interviewer if the symptoms she presents are really caused by the medication or whether possibly they could signal tension that she experienced in deciding to adopt this somewhat unusual measure. She would like to talk to other women about this fear. She is angry when she sees this taken as a joke. She gets furious when she sees things happen to people and they don't try to adjust. She herself faces up to problems and then is afraid for a few moments. Some of her symptoms could perhaps be explained at the physiological level.

Unconsciously in her dreams she perceives that she lives in an unpredictable world: she's washing and all of a sudden there's no water; she bathes her children and the result is nothing but pure sand.

Teresa Reyes Garcia (age fifty, six children,
interviewed by Chiñas)

Teresa is a wizened, thin, wiry woman of about fifty who looks her age and wears faded cotton dresses with an apron over them. She is smaller and thinner than the rest of her family. She says she eats a lot and never gains weight. She is the oldest daughter in a large extended family of which her mother is the center. Her mother is about seventy and has seven children. Teresa herself has six. Teresa spends a good deal of time at her mother's house, especially in the late afternoon and evenings.

As the eldest daughter within the extended family, she occupies a position of relatively high prestige since she has cared for most of the younger siblings and raised some of the nieces, as well as her own children. Seventeen nieces and nephews who live in close proximity all give her the respect and deference owed one's aunt. So even though she probably has the least material resources of the family, she receives a good deal of respect within this large family unit.

Teresa is lively and talkative and has a ready smile. She is quite expressive and often dramatizes what she is saying:

I was the oldest in my family. Another sister died as a baby before I was born. I remember my father and I remember that we were all happy and content when my father was living. We were poor but we were not hungry. I learned to weave palm strips for making sombreros, and I took care of the younger children and helped my mother around the house. Sometimes I helped my father in the field because my two brothers were the youngest in the family and still too small to help. But I didn't like working in the field, and I still don't.

I didn't go to school. How could I? There was no school here then and I was needed at home to help with the work. Almost nobody here went to school then because it was only a rich family who could afford to send their children to the city to study.

I was fourteen when my father died [1939 or 1940]. That was a very sad time for me. I loved my father and he was always kind to us children. I remember him as a gentle, loving man.

Not long after my father died, the worst thing that ever happened to me occurred. One day I went down to the stream to wash my apron. My mother was not home but the smaller children were being watched by my two sisters. I washed the apron and put it in a basket on my shoulder and started home. A young man jumped out from behind some bushes and grabbed me from behind and pulled me down and raped me!

Her mother interrupts: But you were stupid, daughter! You should have screamed for help.

[Teresa, now fifty years old, begins to weep quietly over this traumatic event of more than thirty-five years ago.] I went home crying, my clothes torn, with leaves and grass in my hair. I didn't know what to do so I went to my aunt, whose house was near ours. My aunt said we must go to the church and confess my sin. I don't know, but it seems like it was the same day that we went to the church. When we came out of the church, the young man was waiting. He grabbed my arm and said I belonged to him. My aunt held me by the other arm, and they were pulling me this way and that and arguing. I was crying. I was so frightened I didn't know what to do. I did not want to go with him; I scarcely knew him by sight! But he pulled me away from my aunt and I, frightened and confused, went along with him.

Her mother interrupts again: But, daughter, you were stupid! You should have refused, saying it was against your will! I was furious when I came home and found that my daughter had been stolen!⁴

He took me to his parents in his home village. They all knew I had been stolen, so they watched me all the time so that I couldn't run away. I was accustomed to having charge of a house and giving orders to the rest of the family and here with my parents-in-law I had no freedom at all. I couldn't even eat a tortilla without

⁴This type of marriage by "stealing" occurs only rarely and among the poorest people.

first asking my mother-in-law. I don't know how I endured it. The man was lazy and jealous and moody. I hated him and I hated his parents. He would have moods when he would refuse to eat or to speak to me. I had nothing to do to earn money. My life was worse than that of any slave. I knew how to weave palm strips for hats and I could have earned a little money making these, but they wouldn't let me go out in the hills to collect the material. So, I just sat with my head down, waiting to jump at the commands of my mother-in-law. [She demonstrates how she sat.]

Imagine, my in-laws and my husband would not let me visit my family. If I should meet them on the road, I was not supposed to speak to them or even acknowledge that I knew them. Can you imagine anyone being so hateful?

I became pregnant and had a baby boy, but he died soon after birth. Then I got sick. It seems like I was sick for months. I thought I was going to die, but I didn't care. Let God take me! I thought. But I didn't die but gradually gathered enough strength to stand up, then to take a few shaky steps [again she demonstrates]. At first my eyes were all clouded over and I thought I was going blind, but that cleared up after a time. But for a long time after I began to walk again, I would be doing something and my knees would just buckle and I would fall to the ground!

Then when I had pretty well recovered my health, my husband injured his foot while out in the hills; the foot became infected and turned green and yellow and his whole leg swelled up terribly and he died. I passed my fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth years in that sad place [she counts the years on her fingers], and then in my twentieth year I was left a widow without children. When word reached my mother, she came right over for me and took me home.

My two younger sisters had been born while I was away. When I came home, they were about three and four years old. Ah, I was content to be home again. It seemed like paradise. I didn't care that I had to work hard to take care of the house and family. I promised myself I would never, never marry again, and I never did. I have lived here with my mother or nearby ever since.

So here I was a widow left alone very young. I took charge of my mother's house and family again under my mama's direction, of course, and the years passed. I was very busy tending the children, tending the animals, washing the clothes, hunting firewood, herding, carrying water. I was content.

Then [in 1951] my sister died and left two babies. My sister was only twenty-two years old when she died. The baby girl was still nursing and, of course, she was hungry after her mama died. I would sleep holding her in my arms; and in the night she would

claw at my breast with her fingernails, trying to find the milk, but I didn't have anything to offer her. But we kept her alive. I had long scratches across my neck and chest from her scratching.

Then when I began to have my family, my mother threw me out of her house. After all those years of raising my sisters and brothers and nieces. And I had nothing to show for it. All I got was my food and a few pieces of clothing.

Teresa had two sons, apparently by casual encounters. She never talked of this period of her life. One of her sons works in the city nearby, the other is married and lives in Tierra Alta near her. He has three children. It appears that it was only when she became pregnant for the third time, by a casual encounter with a local man, that her mother evicted her from her home. The child born of this union is now sixteen years old.

I sold some goats I had and got the 200 pesos to buy this plot. That was sixteen years ago. And I'm still here. I don't have a house, just a reed shack, but I like it. I am content. It is mine. [The plot is on a barren hillside, the shack of reeds has a couple of pieces of tin over part of the roof, the rest decaying reeds. A fence of laid rocks gathered from the immediate vicinity surrounds the small lot].

I promised myself long ago I would never marry again. Ay, what misery I suffered! I would have to be crazy to marry again. I have my children, and I don't need any man to give me trouble. When I was widowed, married men with families would approach me on the footpath or on the street and offer me gifts, this and that, an apron, perfume, food, money. I would just sneer and say, "Señor, how nice that you have something remaining after providing for your wife and children," or I would say with surprise, "Ay, amazing! that you can spare so much from your family." That would shame them into turning away.

I have three children with me and one married son who lives down the road with his wife and three children. My eldest daughter is fourteen and went to Mexico City a few months ago to work as a servant. Her aunt got her the job. I don't know what she earns. She sends me 200 pesos every month. I seldom hear from the son who works in the city. My nine-year-old son is in the third grade, and my last daughter is eight and hasn't yet started school.

Every time when a man starts giving me trouble, saying the child is not his, and so on and so forth, I get fed up. He doesn't

help with supporting the child, so why should I put up with his nonsense! I tell them: "Clear out, I don't need anymore problems with you." Now, if I were married, could I do that? Of course not.

I wanted to learn to knit on the machine, but I never seem to have time to concentrate on it. [Her sixteen-year-old son has a knitting machine which is set up in Teresa's mother's house.]

My day begins at daylight. As soon as it's light, I take my maize to the mill [a two- to three-mile uphill walk]. When I return around 6:30 or 7:00 a.m. [she has already walked between five and six miles], I make tortillas and we eat before my son leaves for school [about 8:00 a.m.]. Then I sweep and straighten up around the compound and feed my animals--a few chickens and two calves. Usually I have some pigs, but right now I don't. Then I go to look for firewood. I go scouting all over the hills. This usually takes at least a couple of hours because firewood is really hard to find. I return with enough for the day, sometimes for two days if I am lucky.

While I'm out gathering wood, I pick whatever is edible. Today I brought home a bunch of mesquite beans. They make very good tea. Later I may work my field, but right now I don't have anything because we are waiting for rain. I sharecrop my field with my brother. Every couple of days my daughter and I go to the river to wash clothes and bathe.

We wait until my son comes home from school [around 2:30 p.m.] to eat again. I cook a pot of something, sometimes it's only cooked greens and tortillas, but we survive. [Both Teresa and her children get daily meals and handouts of food at her mother's house.]

After we eat at midday we may take a little siesta, then it's time to feed and water my animals again. It takes quite a while to carry the water [uphill for at least a quarter of a mile over a narrow, rocky path, which in one place goes up a steep bank by steps and footholds clawed in the rocks]. The children help, if they are here.

In the evenings I usually go over to my mother's for a while. We don't have electricity, so I do my mending over there or sometimes sew together some knitting by hand. I can earn a few pesos with that. It's dark when we go home from my mother's, but I don't need a light. My feet know the way.

I don't worry about anything at my home. We are secure there. Who would bother us? We have nothing thieves would want. [But her mother laughs and says Teresa's dogs are so vicious even she won't go over there.]

Reflecting on her life, she says: *It seems like I have been raising children all my life. First my brothers and sisters, then my nieces, and then my own six. Now I say to my children, "Don't bring your children to me to raise. Now I am tired of all that." Now all I want is a little peace in my life. I don't have any money, but what do I need? I am not dependent on anyone either.*

Felicia Lopez (age fifty, eleven children,
interviewed by Chiñas and Gojman)

Felicia, one of the midwives of the village, is a woman who has borne thirteen children, eleven of whom are living. She is energetic and enthusiastic and enjoys her work. She is jovial and chuckled frequently during the interviews.

I was born in a little place not very far from here about the size of Tierra Alta. That was in 1925. My papa was a comerciante and took his wares all around the area by burros. He traveled around buying, selling and trading whatever he could. That was his business all his life. He died in an accident while pursuing his trade, that was not many years ago. My father was about seventy when he died. My mother and all of us six children traveled with him. Altogether there were twelve--but six died while still babies. I was the fifth child. We slept "on the road" or in the countryside. We would be traveling three or four days at a time, arriving at one place one day, then going to the next the following day, then another place the third day, etc. Thus we lived. We suffered a lot on the road, but that was our life.

Q. *Did your father have any land?*

A. *No, in those times, he didn't, but little by little he was able to buy a few small parcels.*

When I was a little girl I attended school for two years. There was no school in my village so when I was eight my mother entered me in a school about thirty kilometers away. I attended school there a year and then I went back home. Then I went back to school for another year.

Q. *What did you like best during those years?*

A. *I really liked nursing and also playing music. I remember that the President of the Republic was Lazaro Cardenas, and once when we were small they took us from the school to present a program in the city. I played the mandolin. They taught us to play several pieces, like marches. Those were the things I learned to play, but now I don't remember anything about playing.*

Then after those two years I went back to live with my parents. In 1950, I came to Tierra Alta a bride. This is the place where my husband was born. My mother still lives in my home town with one of my brothers, and I go to visit her whenever I can. It is only about two and one-half hours from here by bus.

Q. *How did you meet your husband?*

A. *[She laughs] Well, it was like this. He was working in my home town. His family lived there then. He worked in a saddle and harness-making business, so that was how we met. In those days, I wasn't allowed out in the streets without a chaperon, of course, but he saw me one day and found out where I lived from a girl who came to our house frequently. Then later he began sending me messages by children he met in the street. I had never met him, of course. This went on for about a year; when my parents found out about it, they were very upset. They didn't want me to marry him. They hit me [she laughs], but I didn't pay any attention to them because I cared for him; so we eloped and he brought me here to Tierra Alta. Neither my father nor my mother knew him. They had spoken to each other only a few times. They were very angry when I eloped, but then after two or three years they got over it, and my father often came here to visit me and I went home as often as I could. It wasn't long after this though that my father was killed. Our family was very close when we were young, but now we are scattered and seldom see each other.*

When my husband brought me to Tierra Alta as a bride, we lived with another family. My husband was an orphan, so he had no family here then. We stayed there about a month. I didn't know anyone here, of course, and I got very homesick [a little laugh]. I was really sad and now I remembered my family and wanted to go home. I was sorry for leaving home, but I couldn't go back to my parents since they were very angry over the elopement. So, I stayed. My first child was born when I was fifteen, only fifteen. [That would make her about five years younger than she states she is. We estimate she was at least eighteen when she eloped and nineteen when her first child, who died in infancy, was born. The second child is now thirty years old, according to her.]

At that time [when she first came to Tierra Alta as a bride], it was very sad for me. And now my husband didn't treat me as he did before. Now he became very angry with me and treated me badly. After the first few months, when my parents finally forgave me, I got so homesick I was miserable, so he would tell me to go home for a month or two and I would go. [Her first three or four children were born at her mother's.]

Then, little by little as we had more children, I became more at home here in Tierra Alta, and I didn't make the long trip to my mother's as often. [The trip was ten hours by horse then, now about three hours by bus. Then, they had to leave Tierra Alta at 3:00 a.m. to get to her mother's by 9:00 p.m. the same day, walking or by horse.]

Several years later, she still wanted to leave. I wanted to leave but where would I go? I knew no one and had three or four children, so how? I had no way of earning a living and well, one has to endure it, no?

Now my husband isn't like he was. He changed over the years to a more understanding person, and we became accustomed to one another. Now we do not have such problems. Now with the children older [youngest age five], life is not so difficult. We have some land and this house [on the main plaza near the church]. Now things are much easier.

They are now, in fact, one of the better-off families in Tierra Alta. Among the reasons that things are easier financially now are her income from her work as a midwife, income from their knitting machine (her 15-year-old daughter knits), and some contributions to family income from her older children who work away from home. The younger children do work around the house. It used to be necessary for her husband to go out of Tierra Alta to find work. But, they have gradually been able to purchase some land. For the last six or seven years, he has stayed in the village cultivating their own land.

Q. *How did you begin your career as a midwife?*

A. *I started about twenty-three years ago [age twenty-eight]. I had about three or four children then. There was no doctor here and the people suffered much. Many died. I was always interested in nursing and studied two months in my home town and practiced with an older midwife. Then, I returned here. I only handle easy cases. If a problem comes up, I recommend to my patients that they call the doctor here or go to the city where there are a number of doctors. I charge one hundred pesos for a simple case. Sometimes I have six or seven cases within a month and other times several weeks pass without a single case. One can't predict what one's income will be because it's so variable.*

We supplement our income by selling soft drinks and other things on market day, and then during the Saint's fiesta in December many people come and we are able to earn more money from selling soft drinks and whatever we have.

She also told the interviewer that to start her career as a midwife she had to stand up to her husband and overcome her own fears.

According to the patriarchal ideal, the man should support his family. Her husband wanted to fulfill this ideal, but the real economic conditions did not allow it. She told her husband that she couldn't sit around with her arms crossed and see her children not have the things they need. But she was afraid. Working outside the home was new to her, and she didn't know what it would bring. She was also afraid of losing him, and she considered him "the first respect of the house." Nevertheless, she did not allow these fears to stop her, and this shows her fundamental independence, self-reliance and hope that she could help improve their life by her own abilities.

Her character is fundamentally life-affirming. She enjoys her work and admires her teachers, those more-experienced midwives who taught her the profession, and with whom she discusses her cases. She is very proud of her work and hasn't committed any serious errors. Even unconsciously she is hoping for the best for her patients--she dreams about them having their babies and coming out well. This is the most life-loving dream we found among all the women we interviewed. She understands her patients as women, she sympathizes with their experiences and understands their ignorance and suffering.

Evidently her husband, through the years, accepted the fact of her working. Her income has gradually been increasing, however, and in the last few years it has become larger than her husband's. This, again, threatens him. He feels ashamed because it has been economically necessary for her to work. At times he feels so sad that he cries tears that he has failed. Thus her economic capabilities have threatened the patriarchal ideals that are still felt strongly by her husband, and the tension remains between them.

She also worries about her oldest daughter who has worked in Mexico City for seven years and hasn't married. She doesn't understand why and it seems very strange to her. It seems to her that her daughter would be discontent in this form of life without a home, working far away, totally independent and alone.

Though she lives with these problems, her fundamentally creative attitude toward life expresses itself in ways outside her work, as well. She likes to crochet, to sew, to embroider, and to make "as many beautiful things as there are." She sees them and then tries to make them herself. It is possible that her unusually caring, creative, and responsible attitudes may have been helped to develop by her traveling with her family as a girl. Most girls in similar villages would have a much narrower life--close to home and with few trips outside. Her sleeping in the countryside and her opportunities to experience a much broader range of life may have helped her develop confidence, independence and hope. She clearly made a choice to develop her own potentials, including an early interest in nursing, against some resistance both inside and outside of herself.

Her father's occupation allowed this unusual girlhood experience. She evidently felt close to her father. When asked what was the saddest experience in her life, she said, *It was when my papa died in the accident. I have always been sad about that, it was such a shock to me.*

Q. *What do you think the future will bring?*

A. *Now that my children are older and some of them are working and others going to school, I think our lives will be more tranquil. The happiest times for me are when my children come home and we are all together again. They usually come in December for the fiesta and when school is out.*

Josefina Perez (age forty-two to forty-eight,
twelve living children,
interviewed by Chiñas and Gojman)

Josefina Perez is a short, slender woman with thin, slightly wavy dark hair. She is very friendly, is expressive, and wears a ready, almost permanent smile. She was one of the most willing, cooperative and intelligent women interviewed in this study.

She is a quick, energetic person. Her house and yard have a cheerful spotless charm. Although her cows are corralled next to the house, a high wall separates the animals from the living area, and their presence is not noticeable.

I was born very near here in this county. There were eight of us children, and I was the eldest. I am now forty-two years old. [Either she is forty-seven or forty-eight years old, or she was younger than her stated age of twenty-two when married, because her eldest son is twenty-five.] I don't remember anything specific about my very early years, but when I was seven years old, my mother got sick--she went mad. I was the oldest of four children then, and we were living with my father's parents.

I remember how terrified I was because my mother took my little brother who was about one or two years old, put a rope around his neck, and pulled him up to the top of the roof beam over the cooking area! I remember I ran around back, probably at my grandmother's or grandfather's command, ... but I ran around back, crawled onto the roof, and was able to lower the rope. By the time we got him down, his lips were black and his face was purple. Yes, he recovered.

My grandparents scolded my mama and tried to get her to be reasonable, but she just didn't understand.

We children, at least I, the oldest, thought she might try to kill us at any moment like she did my little brother, and when she

began to act aggressive I would grab my little sister and brother and take them to hide on the hill. We would hide out there, terrified, for what seemed like hours, hungry and thirsty, and afraid to go home.

The nursing baby was poisoned by the medicine my mother was being given to cure her. Through the milk, he was poisoned, you know. His arm swelled up enormously and got black--and he died.

Since my mother could not do anything and my grandparents and father had their hands full taking care of her, I had to do everything I could. I had to make the cooking fire, and make tortillas--and I, only seven years old! In order to grind the maize, I had to put some pieces of boards on the earth on which to kneel so I would be high enough to grind. That way I could grind maize, but without the boards, no.

My mother was sick for eight or nine months, but finally the doctor cured her and she was all right after that. So, after those fearful and trying months, my mother again took over the household duties. We children suffered so much, so very much!

Later I remember going to the field to plant the maize. My father would drive the oxen attached to the plow and I would follow along behind, dropping the seed in the furrow and covering them with a little earth. I had to work in the field because I was the oldest. Then after we had planted the corn, I would help my mother wash the clothes in the little stream. This was when I was between seven and nine or ten years of age.

When I was ten, I went to live with an aunt of my father's who had no children. They were alone, only she and her husband. They lived in another part of the county [of Tierra Alta].

When asked, she said she could not recall any happy event from her first ten years, but would try to think of something for our next interview. She was never able to recall a happy occasion or a time when she felt happy during her early childhood.

Q. Can you remember any kind of gift your parents or anyone else gave you?

A. No, we didn't get any gifts. My parents were so poor, how could they give us anything? They could scarcely feed us.

When I went to live with my aunt, I remember being happier than I was at home. It was nice because I was the only child in the house and there was less hard work. My aunt was rich and so I had better food and a better house to live in, and even though she dressed me in cheap clothes and castoffs, I didn't mind. I think I was content there.

I stayed with my aunt until she died when I was twenty-two years old. My two younger sisters stayed home to help my parents with the smaller children who were born after I left. I never lived with my parents after age ten.

As I said, my aunt--really my great-aunt--and my uncle were rich. I was like a daughter of the house with my aunt, and that's all.

Q. *Were your parents paid for your work by the aunt?*

A. *No, my aunt didn't pay my parents anything and neither did she pay me anything. They never had any children but, imagine! they didn't give me anything--nothing, nothing whatsoever, not any inheritance, not a thing. In all those years, I didn't earn a single five-centavo piece. There I passed my fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth years--all my youthful years--and I earned nothing. I went around decently covered but in whatever clothing was available.*

My aunt did give me a little calf once, before she died. This animal grew up to produce a couple of cows, and I recall they produced at least one calf.

When I was fourteen I remember I had my first menstruation. I was living with my aunt and uncle then, of course, and nobody ever told me about it. When it happened I asked a friend a little older than I about it, and she told me it was nothing bad, just the way girls were. She is my sister-in-law now, but then we were just friends. Now mothers tell their daughters these things but then, no never!

After my aunt died, I married my sweetheart. We had grown up together. We have known each other from the time we were small until today! In those times courtship was very different than it is today. In fact, I was working for my aunt and she wouldn't allow me to talk with him--no, never! Well, I thought he would forget me because my aunt never gave us a chance to see each other. And then my aunt died and we were married. I was twenty-two years old then. I don't remember that our courtship was anything formal or drawn out. We just decided sometime long ago we liked each other, and when my aunt died we married.

We had our own house after we married, right next to my husband's parents. For two years we farmed, the two of us, me dropping the seeds and he driving the oxen and plow. We raised a good crop or two those first years. We didn't own any land, just share-cropped, half for the owner and half for us. It was hard, but that's the way we had to work. So time passed. We had a couple of good harvests, as I said, and we were able to buy our little house. It was just a very small house, but it was ours. It only had one tiny room and a little covered patio. We bought this place in 1953.

Q. *Were you happy then?*

A. *Well, listen. I was sick. We married in January 1951, and I became ill right away. I had these terrible pains in my left side here and here. I was really sick, suffering with this until May. By then, I was pregnant with the first child. And, can you imagine? I got sick again with something else. My right finger here [index finger] got a tumor [it is still disfigured], and the infection spread up my arm to the shoulder. It was so bad that the doctor said he was going to have to cut off my arm, but I asked him to wait and we tried to cure it with herbs and little by little it began to get better. My hair was long then, down to my ankles, and I couldn't raise my arm to comb my hair. My husband had to do it for me. When the baby was born, I couldn't dress him because my right arm was still useless. Well, finally my arm was cured. It's O.K. now except for my misshapen finger. Then I was all right for a few years.*

My mother-in-law helped me with my first confinement and with the others too when she could. If she couldn't do it, an older lady would help me. Only the little one [age three] was born with the doctor in attendance.

My daughter-in-law has her babies [three] in a hospital. It costs three thousand pesos, but it is worth it because they come home in good condition, no problems.

By then [1951] we had one child and one expected [the second, a daughter, died at the age of eight months], and we needed money. Well, you know how it is, when you have babies you have to find some way to feed them. So what to do? We went al busqueo. That's what it's called here when you get permission to comb the mine tailings to pick up whatever has been left by the miners, little piece [of metal] by little piece. But I was going to have another baby, so that's what we did. It was a poor way to earn money and we didn't find much, only about fifty pesos a week, but in those days we could live on one hundred pesos a week. We did this in 1951 and 1952, and then in 1953 the mine owners stopped letting us do this.

After that her husband went to work in northern Mexico as a laborer. It's far away but it is still in Mexico. He came and went. He would come home every fifteen days to give me money to buy food. And he brought money to buy maize. Now we had our second son. We had lost the little girl and when our second son was born, our first son was two years and three months old. But how we suffered in those times!

When the first three or four children were little, my husband would be away working, but he would come home to plant the maize

and I remember I would go to help him, of course. We couldn't pay someone to help us! He would drive the ox-team and I would drop the seeds with my right hand, holding the second smallest child in my left arm. The baby would be sleeping in his cradle hanging from a tree limb at the edge of the field, and the oldest two would be toddling after me down the rows!

After Roberto was born [now age ten], I had another problem. Right after he was born, I got this huge boil on the inside of my upper thigh here [she pats her leg]. It swelled up and became very black and, you know, it was so painful I couldn't sit up. I had to lie on my side even to try to bathe myself. It finally burst and after a while it healed.

I don't know when it was, how long after this, but later, well, as they say, we got a little better off, a little bit. My husband kept working away and he stayed away longer. Now he didn't come home so often, only once a month or every forty days; the longest he was ever away was three months. [This was when her husband was going to the U. S. on labor contracts.] He went and came home, left again and returned; there wasn't any other way because the children were very small.

When he was away I slept at the house of my in-laws. Their house was very small, so I didn't live there. I lived in my own house and just slept there nights. And while he was away my sisters-in-law accompanied me. They lived with their parents right close to us, you know. Well, things went well for us. My sisters-in-law like me and looked after me.

When my husband was going to the United States, we lived in a little place out in the county [municipio of Tierra Alta]. We moved here because all my children were beginning school. We had eleven children then, and almost all of them were in school. Right now, I have seven children in school [the elementary school of six grades; the highest education available in the county is in the county seat]. Only the baby [now age three] was born in this house. Well, actually this isn't our house; it belongs to my eldest son.

Here, we are at a disadvantage in many ways because we don't have the things that are available out in the county. Here I have to buy firewood that we collect ourselves out there. Here we don't have a lot of things we had there, chickens, everything. But we are here because of the children who are in school. I think we will move back there when the children are through school. But life is hard out there too because my husband has to come here [near Tierra Alta] to plow the fields, a couple of little plots, along the river here close by, and then he has to go way over

[pointing] and plow a few furrows on the hill, and when he is there he has to stay over there alone. I have to take his tortillas to him because he has to sleep in the field. That field is a three-hour walk from here.

My husband goes out to the farm plots and works daily. Last year the river rose so that it flooded our field. It wasn't bad--some years it washes all the soil away and just leaves bare rock! The water last year just washed out the irrigation canals and rock fences, so he spends a lot of time and labor repairing these. We have this little patch of green corn which is now bearing corn-on-the-cob, after which we cut it and chop it up to feed the cows. In another fifteen days it will be gone and the cows will go dry.

The older boys can't help him because the oldest is married and lives with his wife's parents. He has his wife and children and he must work for them. The second son the same, he is married now and has to pursue his own life. At home now is only the one older son [age twenty]. He left fifteen days ago to find a job elsewhere. It's very hard to find work in other places too, but what can we offer them here? Now that there is no contract work on the other side [in the U. S.], my husband does not go there anymore. He is too old to go as a wetback, as some of the younger men might try to do from time to time.

During these years before we moved to Tierra Alta, I was sick a good deal, as I said earlier. I had to go to the city to cure myself. I don't know why I was sick so much. I think it was a lack of vitamins. We spent a lot of money on my illnesses.

Q. Have your children been healthy?

A. Yes, thank heaven, we haven't had many problems with the children's health, but just last night Carlos almost cut off his left thumb on a broken Coke bottle while herding the cows. We had to take him to the doctor and have it stitched. He went to school today because they are having end-of-term examinations and he couldn't miss.

Now and then the children would be sick, naturally, too, and we would have to take them to the doctor. The only serious illness my children have had was paralysis. Two of them got paralysis [polio-myelitis] when they were small, and we had to take them to the city doctors. We spent a lot of money on this too. My sisters-in-law were always having to take me [i.e., accompany her] to the city to the doctor. In those days we had to go from here by horseback for thirty-five kilometers and take the bus from there to the city. We didn't have a doctor here then.

And that's the way life went, my husband working in the north and bringing home money. After the first few years we hired a man to work our fields; and I managed the fieldwork, as well as the house and children. I had to go to the fields to see if he was working or not, and I had to take his food to him there. Later when my sons were old enough to help with the planting, we didn't have to hire a man. Later they could even drive the oxen and plow.

What the people here need is some way to earn money without going away. The people will work, they want to work, but what is there to do? Two years ago a pants factory opened here. It was just a small factory, a few sewing machines. I went to work there. But a few months ago the factory closed, without paying us what we had earned. Then, two or three months ago new owners came, but they left again without paying us. We didn't earn a lot, 280 pesos every fifteen days, but it helped. Now, a few days ago another man came, saying he was the new owner, but he didn't open the factory or pay our back wages. But I think the factory will re-open and we will be paid what is owed us. When they closed, we workers insisted that the owners leave one of the sewing machines as security for our unpaid wages, so in order to reclaim the machine they are going to have to pay us.

In answer to a question, she states: I went to work in the factory because they preferred to hire mature women, not girls. The girls [ages seventeen and fifteen] stayed home and took care of the housework and younger children. I hope the factory reopens so we can go back to work.

When asked about knitting: We have two knitting machines here, as you can see. We bought them two years ago. They first began placing the machines in Tierra Alta about three years ago [some people have had them for five years]. Our machines are paid for. We paid for them with our knitting in a little more than a year--5000 pesos for one, and 6000 pesos for the other. Now they cost quite a bit more. There is some expense in running the machines too. They have many parts such as needles [several hundred] which break and have to be replaced. But, the machines give us the opportunity to earn something and they provide work for the girls right here at home. If one works at a fairly steady pace, a knitter can earn 250 pesos every eight days. The owners bring the yarn and we knit. They pay by the piece, according to the size of the garment and how complicated the pattern. A small baby sacque can be knitted in an hour and a baby blanket without a very complicated pattern in two hours. If the article has to be hand-finished, some people pay others to do this; but I do most of the handwork here, the sewing. And one of my daughters does the hand crocheting. She prefers to do that, leaving the machines for others [another daughter and a daughter-in-law].

- Q. *If you could change anything about your past life, what would you change?*
- A. *[She laughs] Well, it would have been nice to have more money, more land, but that was not the way things were.*
- Q. *What changes do you think your future might bring?*
- A. *I think, I hope that our family's economic situation will improve as the children grow up, if all of them work. But here there isn't work for everyone. My son [age sixteen], who is finishing elementary school this year, is not going to secondary [junior high school] because we just don't have the money to send him. [He would have to board away from home.] Maybe he can go to Mexico City and find work because we don't have anything to offer him here.*
- Q. *Have you ever thought of moving to the city, or Mexico City, or any other area where there is more work?*
- A. *Well, yes, we have thought about trying to go to the United States. Many people have luck getting their papers. First, the father goes and then sends for his wife and children, but now they say it costs a great deal of money. And they say the work is very hard but, also, one can earn a lot more money there, no?*
- Q. *What would you do if you won 5000 pesos in the national lottery? What would you do if you won 50,000 pesos?*
- A. *If I won 5000 pesos I would put a little store here in my home. With 10,000 pesos I could stock a better store, no? With 50,000 pesos, I would buy a truck and go around to the farms buying maize and other products to resell. But I would need more than 50,000 pesos. I would need that just for the truck and another 50,000 pesos to get started--the expenses of business, you know. I would need money to start buying the maize, beans, and things.*
- Right now it is very difficult for us with seven children in school. We have many expenses. And, here I am struggling to complete my task of putting the children through school.*
- Q. *Tell me about your daily routine.*
- A. *I get up about 5:00 a.m. or a little earlier. By the time I am dressed and have combed my hair, there is enough light to go to the field. Our plot is very close, only about a five- to ten-minute walk, just the other side of the river. I go to cut zacate [feed] for the cows. We have two milk cows and three calves. I take one of the children to help me usually, but right now I go*

alone because all of the children except the two eldest daughters and my daughter-in-law go to school.

I return to the house, then feed the cows and milk. We don't get much milk now because feed is scarce. We get about three litres a day; it is enough so that each child can have a little glass each day. I think it is important that the children have milk. That's why we keep the cows. When they go dry, we go without milk. The baby [age three] loves her milk. She asks what is for breakfast. If there is no milk, she says she doesn't want anything!

Q. Do you ever buy powdered milk?

A. [She laughs again] Oh, no, I couldn't afford to buy powdered milk for the family. A little tin [costing eighteen pesos in Tierra Alta] would not even be enough for a glass per child! Fresh milk costs 4.50 pesos per litre; I can't spend nearly fifteen pesos a day on just milk!

Well, while I milk, the girls get up and start preparing breakfast, one goes to get the maize ground for making tortillas. We all take turns [the four women: the mother, two daughters, and the daughter-in-law] at this. Right now we have thirteen people to feed daily, and this requires a lot of tortillas. We use six litres of maize daily for tortillas. We buy maize at 2.30 pesos per kilo. We have to buy beans, rice, nearly everything we need.

Q. How much do you spend per day on food?

A. We spend more than fifty pesos per day for just bare essentials, and that's in addition to the milk and ear corn and other fruits and vegetables we get from the farm. This year because of the severe hailstorm we had several weeks ago, most of the fruit was destroyed just as they were setting on. Usually we have avocados but this year there are none. [The hailstorm was so severe it killed back the tops of all the fruit trees in the area.] We eat between 8:00 to 8:30 a.m., just before the seven school-children leave for classes.

After breakfast someone helps the smallest get ready for school, and I clear up breakfast, wash dishes, and water my kitchen garden. I water my garden plants [those within the compound; she has a small kitchen garden within the compound--a row of corn, a few plants of lettuce, carrots, and radishes. She also keeps about six to eight rabbits.] By about 9:00 a.m., my daughter [age fifteen] and daughter-in-law [age nineteen] are free to begin knitting. My other daughter usually crochets by hand. [She crocheted a beautiful bedspread by hand for the girls'

double bed. Now she is making a pumpkin-colored spread by a woven technique made in squares on a frame.]

While the girls knit, I do miscellaneous tasks. Often I return to the field to work for a couple of hours and to let the cows eat along the way. Around midday I return with the cows, we can't let them roam unattended. If we have something that requires long cooking, one of the girls has prepared and started it while I have been busy. I try not to cook things which require long cooking because we have to buy firewood.

If my husband is not away working, he goes to the field or the hill where the goats are kept. We have no water at the hill pasture. We want to build a little dam to store water there, but it will cost 10,000 pesos and we haven't been able to do it. This year has been so dry that he has had to go every third day to take the goats to water.

Every other day the girls and I go to the river to wash the clothes [about a five- to ten-minute walk]. We kneel on the bank and scrub the clothes on the rocks. I don't like the laundry to get too large and also we don't have enough clothes for more than two or three days.

When the children return from school [after 2:00 p.m.], we have our dinner [the one large meal of the day]. When that is over and the dishes cleared away, I may rest for an hour or do something restful like sewing the knitted garments together. Since the trouser factory closed, I haven't had any work to make money.

In the evening we have a taquito [snack of tortillas] and go to bed early. We don't have electricity. The line doesn't come this far yet, so we can't do anything after dark. Anyway we get up early so we are ready for bed by 8:00 or 8:30 p.m.

During the day I could do more things around the compound if we had water, but for the past several weeks it has been shut off from 11:00 a.m. to 6:00 to 7:00 p.m. to conserve water.

Oh, it is hard to have a big family; it just wears one out. I tell my daughter-in-law, "Don't have a big family--two or three are enough." It is too hard to take care of so many. With prices the way they are, how are you going to feed them? Now one daughter needs eyeglasses. She says the light hurts her eyes, but we haven't been able to get them yet.

Q. How would you rate yourselves compared to other people in Tierra Alta?

- A. *I would say we were 'gente humilde' [poor, humble people] because we don't own a house and we have very little land. My oldest son owns this house, and we pay no rent. But he has a family now and is going to want the house soon [he is twenty-five with three children]. He bought the compound for 8000 pesos six years ago from earnings working other places as a laborer. The lot had just four walls around it; there was no house. He paid for the house [three rooms] to be built. We bought a lot on the hill near the school two years ago for 14,000 pesos, and we had water piped to it and planted six small avocado trees, but that's all we have been able to do so far.*

My third son is away working now to get money so we can begin building the house. My eleven-year-old son found himself a job running errands for a lady down by the plaza. He is my muy vivo [a real live wire]. He works Saturdays and Sundays and she pays him twenty pesos [ten pesos per day]. He gives me ten pesos, "Here, mama, go buy yourself a refresco," he says! And he buys his clothes with the rest. He has already bought himself a pair of trousers. The girls knit. Four of the boys know how to knit and spend time knitting in the summers when there is no work in farming with their father. The son who is sixteen and just completing sixth grade wants to go to finā work far away, but we think he is too young.

Josefina Perez wants to improve herself and her family; and she is open to new ideas and new ways of doing things. She is enthusiastic about the idea of organizing a cooperative and would like to do so. She knows that this would involve training someone to coordinate the cooperative in order for it to run well. She realizes that this implies a risk and that she would have to have something to invest. But she has the hope that it might be possible and that these problems could be solved little by little. She doesn't simply accept things as they seem; she questions things and looks for a way to overcome them.

She has a cooperative relationship with her husband. She says she respects him and that she doesn't disobey him for any reason (but she is clearly not submissive). She looks forward to a good life with him.

She hopes that her children can continue to progress after their education, and she works hard to provide them with the education she understands that they need. She and her husband made the effort to move into town, where living is more expensive, in order to provide her children with education. She is proud of having carried the responsibility of all of her children, and she feels great satisfaction in having been their guide. It makes her a little sad to think that her children are obliged to leave the village to find work, but she recognizes that it is necessary and accepts it. This is a more mature attitude than some of the other women.

Though she feels pride in her children, she also understands the costs of raising so many. *Sometimes I am ashamed that my children don't have better clothes for school and cannot continue their education. The older children only went to fourth grade because we lived out in the county then and the school had only the first three grades. But, what could we do? We try to do the most that is possible for the children. I wish it were more. That's why I tell my daughters-in-law, "Don't have large families." If there are many children, the whole family suffers.*

Leticia Guerrero (age twenty-four, no children yet,
interviewed by Gojman)

Leticia is the youngest woman we interviewed and seems to express a modern view of life. Her views may represent the direction of the younger generation of women in Tierra Alta. She has happy memories about her schooling, and education was a basic part of her youth. Her happiest experience was to have begun menstruation because it made her feel very important and that she was now very different. Later she worked in a factory which she liked very much because she had her own income. She has recently married and lives in Fracción de San Juan. It has been somewhat hard for her to adjust to married life because she misses her family, her work, and the boisterousness of the town. She does the tasks of housework because they are necessary, but what she enjoys doing is knitting and sewing. She feels that the modern woman doesn't like to stay at home dedicated to the housework, that she wants to be more free to go and work away from home. But she thinks that such a life is somewhat dangerous because people still aren't totally accustomed to it.

She says she wants to have only one or two children, according to what happens, in order to take better care of them, to be able to give them an education, and to see that they have all that is necessary for their development. She believes that children are one of the major happinesses for all women.

She considers herself capable to plan her life and to deal with what comes. She thinks about problems and makes decisions and looks forward to the development of her life. She is more conscious and less emotional and impassioned than many of the older women.

Women of Santa Maria

Alicia Reyes (age fifty-six, no children,
interviewed by Chiñas and Gojman)

Alicia is rather plump, with still-black hair and few wrinkles. Her husband is very thin and pale and wrinkled. They are both in poor health. Her husband is a member of the *ejido* and has seven hectares

of nonirrigated land. They say they are poor, and they live in a very poor house of adobe and reeds with a dirt floor and leaky tin roof. Alicia attributes their poverty to the lack of irrigated land and years of doctor bills and poor health, but not to the lack of children.

To reach the house one has to enter a gate which encloses a small cattle corral and pass among the several animals. In the rainy season the corral is a quagmire of mud and manure several inches deep. The corral is not separated from the house by a fence or another barrier. Although many people have corralled animals in Santa Maria, this was the only house where one had to enter the house through the corral. The animals are very much a part of the household. A calf was tethered in the small kitchen area, and during the interview a hen laid an egg on a sack of feed in the kitchen. Alicia presented the egg to the interviewer.

I was born in Jerez [the adjacent village] fifty-six years ago. My mother died when I was very young. I don't remember her. My grandmother [mother's mother] raised me. My two uncles and their families also lived with my grandmother and grandfather, and we were all poor. We have always been poor. My grandmother used to strike me a good deal. I was always being beaten for something or other. My life was not happy. I was only sixteen when I left my grandmother's house and came here to live with my parents-in-law. My husband and I have known each other all our lives. We courted for two years before he brought me to live here. As I said, I was sixteen and he was twenty. I had another sweetheart for a short time before him, but nobody ever knew about that! [She laughs].

When I left my grandmother's house, my uncles were furious, but later they became accustomed to the idea, but the relations in my family were never very loving.

At first my in-laws treated me well enough. I tried to do what they wanted, and I was a hard worker and knew how to do all the household work. But then when several years passed and I didn't have any children, things deteriorated. They became more and more abusive toward me and so did my husband. He would beat me for no reason, and my mother-in-law would say to my husband: "You have married another man just like yourself. She is not a woman, just a man like yourself." These were dreadful times for me. [She was advised by her neighbors to leave him and she thought about doing so, but she thought that her life would be very sad and without feeling. She was convinced that things would have been better if she had given birth, and she was convinced that she would regret it once she had left.]

Then after seven years, both the parents of my husband died within a short time. Then I told my husband I would leave him

if he continued to mistreat me. "We are alone now," I told him. "If I leave, you will have no one to care for you. Think about it, because I am not going to endure any more." He quit mistreating me.

Q. *What was the happiest time of your life?*

A. *I don't know. I think I was always unhappy and sad when I was a girl. After I married, well, as I told you, I suffered a lot, a lot, because I had no children. And we were always so poor. I suppose I was happiest as a señorita, but I wouldn't want to be single again. To live alone is very sad. I have never lived anywhere else but here and Jerez [a quarter mile away]. Once in a while I go to Mexico City to visit my nieces and nephews. Or I stay home and my husband goes. We can't both go because someone has to take care of the animals.*

We have seven hectares of nonirrigated land, no land at all with irrigation. That is why we have been poor all these years. You know the harvest is not secure on nonirrigated land--sometimes a good harvest, sometimes nothing. Last year we had a beautiful crop started--bean plants loaded with pods, maize looking strong and growing fast--and what happened? Hail! It just destroyed everything. We have to buy maize to feed the animals this year. I buy nine kilos of maize daily to feed ourselves and the animals. We pay fifty-three pesos per day for the care and feeding of the animals we have on the hill. We have just this poor house: we don't even have electricity because we don't have money for that. My only luxury is my radio [battery].

My husband has always been a farmer, but his health has never been good. He didn't go to the U. S. on contract because of his poor health. Now he simply hasn't the strength to farm his land this year. He needs to find someone to work the land on halves, but we are afraid to do it because others have lost their right to the land that way.

I have always worked in the field, helping my husband, because we have no children, but now I am in poor health too. I have arthritis in my right shoulder, my arm, and my knees are so bad that sometimes I can't do anything. I buy tortillas from a niece because it is too painful to make them.

I have always liked my work: housework, helping my husband, caring for my animals. We have been most content when we are well, but we have both had so many health problems that it has kept us poor all our lives.

In 1965 I went to the city for an operation on my liver. My problem was so grave that I was all swollen up, even my eyes were almost swollen shut. It cost 800 pesos for the analysis and the care in the hospital. They wanted to operate but we didn't have the money. I came home and gradually I got better. I never had the operation.

I like to listen to the radio. There is one soap opera that I like, but I don't usually listen to the others. The one I like is "Porfirio." It is about poor people, like us, who keep animals and farm. People get shot in the fields, people get sick, have accidents, need money, become lovers--all the things that happen to people like us. That's why I like "Porfirio."

Q. From whom would you borrow if you needed money?

A. When I need to borrow money I go to my comadres [mothers of her godchildren] or one of two or three women that I know in Sabinas. I don't borrow money from anyone here because they all think we are rich because we have no children. But if they only knew how much we have spent to cure ourselves over the years!

Q. Are some people here well off?

A. Yes, there are some people here who do have money, the ones with irrigated land. But with just nonirrigated land, what can we do?

Q. How many comadres do you have?

A. I don't know exactly how many comadres I have, but we have fifty-six godchildren. [This is an unusually large number for Santa Maria.] Some have died, but most live here in Santa Maria and Jerez and some in Sabinas. We are proud to have so many godchildren, just poor humble people like us.

Q. Do you go to mass?

A. I would like to go to mass more than I do, but we both can't go together because someone has to stay with the animals so my husband goes usually, every fifteen days, whenever there is mass.

When I was young I only went to school for six months, but I always had a great desire to learn to read and write. After I was grown and married, I taught myself the alphabet, and I had an uncle that had a book on mathematics. I was fascinated with that book and decided I would learn mathematics from it. I used to study it all the time, but then my uncle left and took the book with him and I forgot it all. Now my hands are so crippled I couldn't write anyway.

What she would like now more than anything else would be to have at least a little nice house like those she sees in the cities. When she goes to Sabinas or other cities without money is when she most feels the lack of things. The radio soap opera that she likes the best is one about poor people like herself that suffer and live constantly feeling their lack of material things in relation to others around them.

Her dreams also show her sense of deprivation and incapacity. In one dream she feels unable even to cross an irrigation canal. She feels that it is impossible to get clean. The water dries up right when she tries to wash her hair, and it turns out to be nothing but mud. In another dream her blood is spurting from her breast because of a knife wound. The only thing she can find to cover it up is a little piece of corn cob. In order to stop the blood, she has only her own resources-- the corn cobs she uses to feed the animals. The animals seem to take the place of the family that she has never had.

Dolores Garcia (age fifty, six children,
interviewed by Chiñas)

Dolores is a small, thin woman with thin, graying hair. Her husband died two years ago after a long illness. She seems to be still grieving. She smiles now and then, wears a sad and tired expression in repose and does not volunteer much information about herself although she responds to questions.

Her husband was an *ejido* member and farmed six hectares of non-irrigated land. Her three married sons are farming it now. Three married sons and their families live with her, as well as two unmarried daughters and one son. So there are now ten small grandchildren in the compound and ten adults sharing the six hectares. The unmarried son, age eighteen, left for the north several months ago; she has not heard from him.

The compound is large, with a brick front wall and entrance with a tiled floor and double metal door. The rest of the compound is simple adobe huts. Dolores cooks on a fire built on the floor of her one-room house. The compound has water and electricity.

I was born here in Santa Maria fifty years ago, the second of six children. My parents live right next door, and two brothers and a sister still live here in Santa Maria too. I have never lived anywhere else, although I have visited Mexico City several times-- to see the Virgin, you know.

*I don't remember much of importance about my childhood. It was uneventful. My family was about the same as others here--a few hectares of land in the *ejido*. It seems to me everyone here was about the same as today, only now there is more money. In those days it was hard to find a peso, but we lived about the*

same. I learned to do the work about the house--cook, make tortillas, wash clothes, carry water, search for wood. I didn't help plant because I had several brothers.

I went to school for about two years when I was ten or twelve years old, but I didn't learn much and now I have forgotten.

Once in a while when there was work, I would work in the harvest on the larger farms.

My husband was a neighbor. We began courting and then married when I was around eighteen--yes, eighteen, I think. He was two years older. My parents were in accord with our marriage. There was no problem there.

My children were born and we were fortunate because none of our children died, but then my husband became ill many years ago. He was sick for all those years, so we had a lot of expenses and worry.

I was happiest when my husband was alive and well. When he got sick, it made me very sad, and all those years I was sad. I am still sad most of the time. We went to Mexico City to see the Virgin three times to try to get him cured. We tried to get him into a hospital in Mexico City, but they wouldn't accept him. We had no money, so what could we do? We spent everything we could get to try to cure him, but it was no use. God didn't wish it. I go to mass every fifteen days, and I pray to try to accept it, but it is very hard to accept. I will keep praying for him, going to mass. That is all I can do. The Virgin performs miracles sometimes, you know. We asked her to cure my husband. We went three times to ask her for help, but she couldn't do it. It was God's will.

My three eldest sons are married and have children. They and their families live here with me. I only cook for my youngest daughter [age fifteen] and myself now, and we don't have many expenses. We need about one hundred pesos per week to eat. I don't keep any animals, so there is no expense of their maintenance as many people here have.

A few weeks ago my youngest son left for the north to see if he could find work. I haven't heard from him, and I worry that something has happened to him. I pray that we will soon get word. I wonder if he had an accident. How is one to know? Maybe he will come back with money. Some do very well and come back with money; others come back empty-handed. Let's hope he has luck!

I do what there is to do. There is nothing I dislike doing. So what if one did dislike doing something? It is still there to do! You still must do it. Poor people don't have servants to do their work like the people in the town.

I don't listen to the soap operas, although we have a radio and my daughters-in-law like to listen. I hear them but they don't hold my interest. The people in the soap operas have a lot of problems, but they aren't like me. Their life is not like ours.

My children have seven godmothers, my comadres. They all live here and in Jerez. I have two godchildren here in Santa Maria. When I need to borrow a little money, I try my neighbors first, after my family. No, I would be ashamed to ask a comadre for a loan. There are some people here that are not poor. Those families who have a lot of animals--cattle, goats, pigs, mules, they are not poor.

Q. *What size family do you think is ideal?*

A. *[At first, she could not understand the question, but her daughters-in-law and a son interpreted it for her.] I think six. [She has six children, and she came from a family of six. But her youngest daughter-in-law interrupted and said not for her--with prices so high, she wanted no more than the two she now has.*

I think of myself as a person of sad character, a sad person. Now I am sad because we hear nothing from my son who went north. If God wants it, he will return well and with money. Then I will be more content.

Lola Ramirez (age forty-seven, seven children,
interviewed by Chiñas)

Lola is a tall, thin woman of forty-seven, wrinkled beyond her years, with curly black hair now beginning to gray. She has seven daughters, the oldest married and living in Jerez. The youngest child is just one year old. Lola's only son died fifteen years ago shortly after birth.

Since Lola married an orphan without land, they have lived with her mother all their married life. (Lola's father is dead, but her mother and two of her brothers and their families live in the same compound, each with their separate little houses of adobe.) Her husband works at various jobs--sometimes away from Santa Maria. Lola's house consists of two very small separate rooms facing each other with a connecting wall at the back. The space between the two rooms is open and unroofed. Each room is about ten or, at most, twelve feet square.

One room has one double bed with an innerspring mattress and one double bed of reed slats. The other room has two double beds of reed slats. There is a leaky tin-roofed lean-to for cooking at the back of one of the rooms. Nonetheless, these two rooms are shelter for eight people. About fifteen feet away is a water tap and concrete tank, covered with a shade of branches. There is a scrawny little tree by Lola's house, and she has a little flower and herb garden about three-by-six feet alongside one room, raised about two feet by a rock wall to keep the pigs out. A parakeet twitters from its cage on a peg by the door. The mud all around the compounds is ankle deep during the rainy season.

Lola's mother, age seventy-five, volunteered that she hoped her granddaughters had small families because it was just too difficult to feed and clothe many children. She thought three to four children would be a good number, although she herself raised five. Lola thought five would be ideal and that it would be best to have three boys and two girls (she had seven daughters, no sons). The brothers thought six or seven children would make the ideal family, if at least three were boys so they could help support the others, but they agreed it would be better if four or even five were boys!

I was born right here where we still live. There were six of us children, but one of my little brothers died in infancy. All the rest except one still live here. My brother and his wife went to Mexico City many years ago when they only had two children, and they are still there. He has a job in a factory; I don't know what kind of factory it is. They come to visit once or twice a year and bring us clothing for the children and whatever else they can. He sends a few cents to help sustain my mother.

I was the third child in the family, the youngest of the two girls. My father, who died some years ago, had land in another ejido (about three miles away). My brothers farm it now. It is about seven hectares of non-irrigated land. Some years they get a good crop and sometimes not. My husband and I have no land. He was an orphan and when we married my mother said to my papa: "Let's give Lola and her husband a little place here in the compound to live". That is why I have always lived here [instead of with her husband's family which is customary].

I don't remember anything special about my childhood. I learned to do the work and helped my mother. When I was about twelve, I attended school for awhile, but the teacher wasn't reliable. There would be classes a few days, and then there would be none for awhile. I didn't learn anything and after a few months I quit. I continued to live at home and help my mother.

[Q] *I began menstruating at age thirteen, but I was prepared for it because a first cousin had explained it to me beforehand.*

When I was about twenty, my mother was very sick. She went to the doctor and he told her she had a tumor and had to have an operation. She was sick for several years and I had to do all the work. Finally, she went to the city hospital and had the operation. She got better and hasn't had any more trouble since.

Sometimes as a girl I helped my father plant the crops, and sometimes I worked in the fields for wages on the haciendas. When there is work the older girls and I still go to the haciendas to help with the harvests, but usually the boss prefers men and there are always many men looking for work.

[Q] *Looking back, I think I was happiest as a single girl. I didn't have any real worries then, but I didn't realize how carefree I was!*

My husband, since he was an orphan, didn't have any land. Imagine! We became sweethearts and had two children before we married! How could we marry without land and without a place to live? Then my parents said they would build us a little house here in the compound so that we could marry. We were married in 1956. I was twenty-seven and he was thirty.

My husband supported us in those years by working on contract in the U. S. He doesn't go now because he is getting too old for the struggle. He works around here by the day when there is work. But, listen, last week he didn't have a single day's work! How are we to feed eight people? If he can't find work, what chance is there that the girls and I could? Men earn between 40 and 50 pesos per day, but older children and women only earn 30 to 50 pesos when they can find work in the harvests.

[Q] *I have never lived anywhere but here, but when I was single I used to visit frequently with my brother and his family in Mexico City. I would spend a month, sometimes two months or more, with them every year or so when my mother was well. I enjoyed visiting with them; I liked living in the city. The food was better and there were many new things and people to see. When I visited my brother, we always made a trip to see the Virgin of Guadalupe. I haven't been to see her since I married.*

What makes it very difficult for us in that we have no sons--seven girls and no boys. My only son only lived a short time after birth. If we had sons, they could go north and also find work around here, but girls--there is no way for girls to earn money to help support the family. A few years ago in Sabinas

there were classes to teach various crafts, but the older girls were smaller then and I didn't want them going into Sabinas alone every day. Then there was the problem of sending them and leaving all the work for me with the little ones to care for. And even if they learned to make something, where would we sell it? People here don't like to buy homemade things.

We need at least 5 kilos of maize per day to live. Sometimes that is all we have! I don't even have money to buy beans. A few months ago a couple of young men came here from CONASUPER [national cooperative market] and said they were considering putting in a CONASUPER here. That would be a help because we don't save anything by going into Sabinas to buy at CONASUPER; the bus fare [two pesos per person] eats up whatever we save. I go to Sabinas to buy when I have any money. If I had enough money, I would go once a week; but if I only have enough pesos for a little maize and beans, it doesn't pay to go to Sabinas.

We don't own any animals now. I usually keep a few pigs, but right now I don't have any. I want to buy some little pigs--at least two or three as soon as I have a few extra pesos. Then, in emergencies, I can sell a pig and get some money.

[Q] When I must borrow money, I go first to my mother, my sister, my sisters-in-law. If nobody has it, I try the neighbors. We don't have credit at any store here because they only extend credit to people who pay promptly, and since my husband doesn't have steady work we can't always pay promptly. I never ask my comadres for loans; it would be too shameful. I would be too embarrassed to do that!

[Q] I have, let me see, I have six comadres for whom I am godmother to their children. One lives in Sabinas, the rest are here and in Jerez. Comadres who are godmothers to my children, let's see, there are seven, they all live here or in Jerez.

We get up about 6:00 or 6:30 a.m. and I start the fire. We use wood when we have it, but I have a little kerosene stove which we use frequently because wood is hard to find.

One of the girls takes the maize to be ground, and as soon as she returns we begin making tortillas. If my husband has work, I make tortillas and pack his lunch with these and whatever else I have. Then we eat what there is to eat. He eats first and gets the most and best because he has to work! Without his work we would surely starve. It is so hard when there is just one man to support the family!

After breakfast we clean up the dishes, sweep, one or two girls usually wash clothes. We have our water from the tap and a concrete wash tub, and that is a great improvement over the years

when we had to wash clothes in the irrigation ditch. Right now my youngest child and my little niece are sick because of this cold, damp weather, so we take turns holding them. My mother comes over [she lives about 200 feet away in the same compound] every day and holds the little one for a while, too. I mend clothes by hand, I have no sewing machine, and look for wood. The older girls stay in the compound most of the time because they are señoritas, and I don't like them to go out on the hill looking for wood. We have no television and no electricity. How would we pay the electricity bill every month even if we had money to have it installed? We have a battery radio and the girls like to listen to it while they work--they like music and the soap operas--but, imagine!, the radio needs new batteries, so now we don't have a radio!

I don't like the soap operas. I listen if the girls have the radio on, but I can't get involved in them. I have enough problems of my own. There is a mass every fifteen days at the church in Jerez, and I always go if I possibly can; but I think it is important for the girls to go and I stay home with the little ones and let the older girls go a lot of times.

This past school year, my twelve-year-old daughter went to school regularly, and she passed to the third grade! I said to her, "Listen daughter, you are doing well in school. Try to keep doing your best and go again next year and maybe you can finish elementary school! Try your best. Maybe you can get an education and get a good job in Mexico City." She said, "Yes, mama, I will try!". Another daughter went to school last year too and, even as young as she is, she passed too, to second grade! So maybe one of my daughters will succeed in gaining something--a good job--which will help us. Or how will we live when we can't work?

The three older girls attended school when they could, but none went beyond second grade. I myself can't help them and neither can their father, because we didn't go to school long enough to learn anything!

[Q] I would describe my own character as variable--I am happy one minute and crying the next--feel good one day and bad the next. When I have a few cents, I am happy, I feel good! When we have no money, I fall into despair and begin worrying about all our problems. How am I going to feed the little ones; how am I going to get a few clothes for them? How am I going to dress the older girls decently?

When the baby was born, I made a promise to visit the Virgin, but I haven't been able to fulfill my promise yet! The bus fare to Mexico City and back is about fifty pesos, I think, maybe more, and I haven't had the money, but as soon as I can I am going! It makes me sad that I haven't been able to fulfill the promise, but I light

a candle to the Virgin here whenever I can, and I tell her: "Have patience a little longer. I will come as soon as I can!".

Q. *Are some people here well off?*

A. *We all live here about the same except those families who have irrigated land, animals and a team of mules. A few families have several sons who have been successful in bringing back money from the north. One of these latter is building a number of rooms on their house, so the boys can marry and start their own families. People with just non-irrigated land have a hard time making it because the harvests are so uncertain and because they can only get one harvest a year. People like us without land? Que Dios me libre! We have such a terrible struggle to live! I think the government ought to do something for us--the government ought to give us some land and a few animals to get started! The government ought to help us send our children to school and give us some food for the babies. With no help, how can we live!*

Lourdes Martinez (age thirty-nine, nine children living, three died in infancy, interviewed by Chiñas)

Lourdes is a pleasant looking, slightly plump woman of average height. She was a willing, interested, intelligent informant. Her husband is the only son of one of the several more prosperous families in Santa Maria. They have one hectare of irrigated land and six non-irrigated hectares. They live in the same compound with his parents, but in a separate house. One of her three sisters-in-law with seven children also has lived in the compound since the husband abandoned them three years ago. Should Lourdes have one or two more children before age forty-five, she will have one of the largest families in Santa Maria. (The largest family is thirteen living children, the next largest is ten.)

Of the women presented here from Santa Maria, Lourdes appears to be the most content and the most enterprising, partly due to the fact that she is less constrained by poverty than the others, and partly owing to her character and the relatively prosperous position of her family.

I was born near here (less than one hour by bus). There were ten of us children and I was, let's see, I was the fourth, and the second daughter. I learned to do everything around home--make the tortillas, wash the clothes, make the dinner, take care of the little ones; whatever there was to do, I learned to do it when I was very small. We had only a very small parcel of land and how was that to feed all of us? So, when I was about eleven or twelve, maybe ten, I went to work in the fields for the large landowners. That is hard work! And with not enough to eat, how could we do it? But we had to do it or starve. I remember how we would eat tomatoes as we picked. If there was an especially big, ripe one, we ate it on the spot. Now tomatoes don't agree with me. I think I ate too many when I worked in the fields.

Once my parents sent me to work for a family for my board. I don't know what age I was then, maybe about ten. There were twelve in that family and all I got were the left-overs. Imagine how many left-overs there are in a poor family of twelve! They ate beans and tortillas but usually all I got was a little rice in a tortilla. After a while, I refused that and said, "No! I want beans too!" I went back to my mother's house. We didn't have much to eat but it was better than that!

Once when I was young an aunt took me and my sister to the cine in Sabinas to see 'The Miracles of the Virgin'. That was the first film I ever saw and it was incredible! I went several times later. The films were good, but it didn't ever seem as impressive again as the first time.

There have been miracles right here in Sabinas. The Señor of the Three Falls, for example, performs miracles for people. People come from all over Mexico to visit him! There is a dramatic procession which acts out the three falls, carrying the heavy cross, and it is very sad.

And the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico City has performed miracles for us! She cured our son. Ever since he was small he would have attacks, fall down and become unconscious, thrash around on the ground, just fall wherever he was. Doctors tried to cure him and they couldn't. Then, four years ago we took him to the Virgin and she granted our request! He has not had an attack since! I have made three trips to see the Virgin. She has granted me other requests, but the cure of my son was the most important. I plan to go again soon to thank her once more. [Her eyes shine and she quits scrubbing clothes and becomes very animated and excited when she is telling about the miracles and the Virgin.]

When I was sixteen, I was working the fields right across the road from here, the fields of a large landowner. That's how I encountered my future husband. We got to know each other by flirting and chatting a little as we worked, and one day I went with him! After that, I went to confession and then I came here to live with his family. [Her fourteen year old niece asked if she was "robbed".] No, I wasn't "robbed" because I was willing. If one is willing, how can one be robbed?

That was a long time ago [more than twenty years]. and I am still here, still in the kitchen, still doing the same things I have always done! When I first married, I didn't get pregnant right away and I thought: "Oh, maybe I'm going to be like my grandma". She only had two children. But then they soon began to arrive regularly and after four or five, I said: "Well, I am not like my grandma!"

I think families are better off with fewer children because there is less work and less expense. I think maybe five is a good number. When I had only five, things were a lot easier. Of course, it depends. I am unfortunate in having only sons that are older, but my husband is lucky. My eldest daughter is only twelve, and then the other two girls are little [ages three and five]. She helps me a lot but with just the two of us to cook, wash, make tortillas, do the other chores, it makes it very hard. And then we have to make several lunches to send to the field each day at the crack of dawn! We have to move fast around here in the morning so they can get out to the fields!

I spend at least 200 pesos every Sunday when we go to Sabinas to shop for food. If I have 230 or 250 pesos, I can be a little more liberal and maybe buy a few avocados and some cheese, but

if I only have 200 pesos I just buy the necessities. It takes a kilo of beans and four kilos of maize to feed us each day, plus rice and other fruits we gather, whatever extras we find. I buy 12 pesos of chilies on Sunday, and by Wednesday or Thursday, they are gone; they never last the week. Some people have goats they milk, but we don't have any milking goats now. It's been so dry that there is no feed on the hill. I had some chickens but they all died except one, so now we even have to buy eggs. We don't get much fruit. Right now there are a few cactus fruits and if somebody goes to the hill he picks what he finds but that's only a few. Now and then one finds a few other edibles but they aren't abundant. When I go to Sabinas, I buy a slice of fruit for the little ones if I can.

A long time ago, I don't know, maybe fifteen years, there were craft classes in a neighboring ejido. I wanted to learn dress-making and I went. They taught weaving and how to weave fibers, but I couldn't go regularly and I soon forgot everything I did learn [but she sews her own and her daughter's clothes].

There is a school three miles away for adults now. They teach reading and writing and they teach other things, but when do I have time to go three miles to school? These seeds are from there [she points to a bag of seeds of different kinds--tomato, corn, beans, lentils, parsley, carrots, etc., all treated with insecticides]. I didn't go to school. In those days poor children didn't go to school, especially poor girls! It's still hard for parents to send children to school. Two of the boys completed primary, but my eighteen year old only completed second grade and my fourteen year old didn't go. He didn't want to go, so I said: "Well, if you don't even want to go what are you going to learn?" My twelve year old daughter and eleven year old son have completed first grade. My ten year old son hasn't started yet. It is a big expense to keep children in school--special clothing, school supplies, shoes. And then, who is to help with the extra washing, extra work? And now they say that even if the son has completed primary, it isn't certain that he will encounter work. So all that sacrifice, for what?

Two of my older boys are working now on the large farms. One brings home 230 pesos and the other 250 pesos every eight days (a week), so that helps a lot. But we always find the money for groceries somewhere. My husband always comes up with at least 200 pesos for the shopping every week.

Clothing is very expensive now but I have my old machine [sewing machine], and I do a lot of mending on it. Who needs good clothing to work in the fields? I don't pay to have our dresses made either. I make them myself on my old machine. I taught myself how to do it by ripping up an old dress and using the pieces as a guide. Maybe they aren't made too well, but they are fine for us.

[Q] We get up about 6:00 a.m.--sometimes earlier--a little before dawn. I start the fire and my daughter takes the maize to be ground. Since my mother-in-law runs the mill, we don't have to go far or wait in line. As soon as the maize is ground, we begin making tortillas because the men want to leave early for the fields, and they have to take their lunches. They take tortillas, chiles, beans, a little cheese if we have it, whatever else we have. Right now, with school out, there are five, sometimes six lunches to fix.

While my daughter makes tortillas, I make porridge for breakfast and serve it to the men and boys who are going to the fields. Then I make tortillas for a while, and she does the rest of the breakfast. We use a tortilla press because it's a lot faster and when you have four kilos of maize, that's a lot of tortillas. Even so, the men always have to wait to go to the fields until the lunches are ready.

After the men leave, we give the small children breakfast and make the tortillas for our lunch [at 9:30-10:00 a.m.]. Then one or both of the smaller boys take the goats out to herd, and I see that the pigs are fed and watered. We wash clothes just about every day, so my oldest daughter does this while I wash dishes vice versa. After this I sweep the kitchen and the other rooms and passageway and sprinkle water to settle the dust. By now it is about mid-day. I prepare whatever we are having for dinner [major meal served between 1:00 and 3:00 p.m.], start it cooking on the stove. It's usually beans, cooked with a little meat when I have it.

At about 2:00 p.m., the men return from the fields, and we eat dinner for which we have again made tortillas. When this is cleaned up, I may have a couple of hours to sew or mend while I listen to the soap operas. I like to watch them on T.V. [this family has one], but it is harder to watch and work so I mostly listen.

On Sundays I go to mass if there is one [masses are only held every other Sunday] and then in the afternoon I go to Sabinas for weekly shopping. Usually I take one of the small boys with me to help carry the things, but occasionally my oldest daughter goes too.

Sometimes when work permits my husband goes with me and then we may take all the younger children, but this is a special treat. We do that maybe two or three times a year. We go to the city [about fifteen miles] about once a year to purchase some things we need which are cheaper and better there than in Sabinas.

There isn't much entertainment here. On Sunday, maybe the men will go to a cantina for a beer or two and the women will visit and watch television--that's about all. There is a mass every fifteen days, and I go if I possibly can.

Some women go to the fields to help plant, but I don't because we have so many sons. We have one hectare of irrigated land and get two crops per year from that. The rest [six hectares] is non-irrigated. We have a team of mules for plowing. Tractor plowing costs 200 pesos per hectare, I think, and one can hire out with a team of mules and earn 100 pesos per day--that is from dawn to 1:00 p.m.--that's considered a day now!

On Sundays, we go over to visit my family every now and then. My husband will say, "Do you want to visit your mother? Get the kinds cleaned up and let's go." So we go. I don't have any relatives here in Santa Maria--just my in-laws.

When I confessed that I listened to the soap operas, the priest asked if I didn't have anything better to do; but what is there to divert one's mind out here on the ejido except the soap operas?

The woman who lives in a town can spend a lot of time primping, fussing with her hair, looking in the mirror, but we ejido women don't have time for that. We can't run out and buy the tortillas, the milk, the meat close by. In order to feed the family we have to keep busy.

- [Q] When there are no problems, a woman here in the ejido helps with births. There are two or three right here in Santa Maria and others in Jerez and if there is a problem, they send you to Sabinas to a doctor. If an operation is necessary, one has to go to the city. But if the birth is normal, no big deal. It does itself.
- [Q] No, I'm not planning to have more children. The last pregnancy gave me a lot of trouble. I had severe back pains and my arms would become numb, so I don't think we should have any more.
- [Q] I don't have many dreams, but since my son left I have had several dreams about him. Just last night I dreamed he came home.
- [Q] When I need money I borrow from my mother-in-law. I would never go to my comrades! I have, let's see, five comrades for whom I am godmother to their children, and six who are godmothers to my children.
- [Q] I think of myself as one who angers easily [although she is always smiling and appears to be the happiest of the women interviewed in Santa Maria.]

Juana Cabrerias (age forty-four, thirteen living children,
two died in infancy,
interviewed by Chiñas and Gojman)

Juana is a rather tall woman, average weight, light complexion, brown eyes. She has been a very pretty woman in her youth but now looks older than her years and appears sad. She does not smile readily but does respond to jokes and humor with a smile. She is most animated when describing her favorite soap opera, and she is saddest when describing the constant struggle to feed and clothe a large family.

Her husband has had a job as a factory laborer for the past two years and now has a steady income. Before this job he worked intermittently as an agricultural laborer.

I was born in Jerez forty-four years ago, the youngest of four children of my parents. I had three older brothers. My mother died when I was very small--only forty days old. I don't remember her at all. We children were parcelled out to relatives and I, being only an infant, was taken in by my grandmother, my mother's mother. I grew up with her in Jerez. Also living with her was her mother, my great grandmother, and one of my grandmother's brothers, who died before I married. I loved this uncle very much, and when he died I was very sad. [She was thirteen then.] I was the only child in the house.

My father remarried soon after my mother died and had another family. They lived several miles away, but he never did anything for me or looked me up. I did not know him or his other family.

My grandmother--she just died about six years ago--was good to me and although we were poor because she had no land, I did not have an unhappy childhood. I did not have to work excessively hard, as do daughters in large families; I did not have to work in the fields. Our food was simple, but I don't remember going hungry.

However, my grandmother was strict with me. I was not allowed to go to fiestas or anywhere to have a good time. That was strictly forbidden.

When I was about eight, I enrolled in school in Jerez and completed third grade when I was twelve. I can read and write. After that, I began working as the servant for the teacher. We had only one teacher then. I lived with the teacher's family, did the cooking, laundry, and took care of her children for three years [when she was twelve to fifteen]. The teacher paid me thirty pesos per month, which I turned over to my grandmother. But the teacher was strict about my going out too and would never permit me to attend any fiestas or go to Sabinas. But she was good to

me. I don't remember being discontent with her.

During this time, having recently lost the uncle that she loved and working away from home, she felt very alone. She thought frequently of death, even wanted to die, so as not to continue alone with the feeling of being exposed to whatever ruination there was.

I knew my husband since I was small because he lived right here in Santa Maria [one quarter mile from Jerez]. Our courtship began during my daily trips to get water at the well. We didn't have piped water then, and we had to go way over there [pointing] to get water at the well and carry it home. We carried the water in heavy jugs on our shoulders. The suitor would wait along the way to have a word or two with the girl--that's the way we did it, and little by little we got to like each other more and more. I think most girls here encountered their suitors coming and going to the well. What other opportunities were there?

When I was sixteen, I went with my suitor to live with my in-laws here in Santa Maria, right here in this same compound. My in-laws treated me well. My mother-in-law is still living here. We have always been on good terms. My grandmother was not angry with me about it, although she would have preferred us to be married in the church. She liked my husband and she was happy that we would be here close to her.

- Q. *What was the happiest memory from your childhood?*
- A. *[After a long pause] When I was small, an aunt in Mexico took me to visit there two or three times. Once we went to see the Virgin of Guadalupe. I must have been about ten, but I remember it clearly. I hope I can make that pilgrimage again. I think that was the best thing that happened to me as a child. The same aunt paid for my clothing when I was a child.*
- Q. *Do you remember receiving a gift from anyone when you were small?*
- A. *Other than my clothes from my aunt, I don't think I ever received a gift. When we married--let's see, that was about twenty-eight or twenty-nine years ago--when we married, we were very poor. When the oldest children were small, we had a very hard time of it. There was no work, no money, and we had no land. Today prices are high, but we are better off because my husband has a steady job. Over the years, we have gained a little, we are somewhat better off than we were twenty or twenty-five years ago, even though then we had only a small family and now we have eleven children still at home.*

Q. *Who helped when your children were born?*

A. *My mother-in-law usually, but later when she did not feel able a local midwife helped me. [The births of her children were very difficult, and she thinks that this is why she still has pains all over her body.]*

Q. *At what age did you wean your children?*

A. *At about one year to fifteen months. Usually I was pregnant again, and that's why I weaned the baby. We gave the babies porridge and soft drinks, and we would buy powdered milk for the baby for a few months after weaning. One blessing has been that our children have not been sick a lot. We have not had a lot of expenses to cure them as some families do.*

Over the years my husband supported us as best he could. He went to the U. S. a number of times on contract, and he worked as a laborer and as a mason in various places. He built these three rooms. [They have three new rooms of concrete block and metal doors; in at least one is a double bed with box springs and mattress. They have a T.V. and a kerosene stove.] For the past two years, he has had a job at a factory. He commutes to his job daily by bus. [He rides a bicycle six miles to reach the bus. When he is on the 6:00 a.m. shift, he leaves at 4:00 a.m.; on the 2:00 p.m. shift, he leaves at noon, and on the 10:00 p.m. shift, he leaves at 8:00 p.m. His commuting time is about three to four hours daily.]

Whenever he is late returning from work, Juana becomes very anxious. She is clearly dependent on him to provide a secure place for her and to provide the daily needs. She knows that violence is a possibility because her brother was killed by a drunken man. Ever since then, she has suffered from fainting spells. When she first heard the news about her brother, she felt that she was suffocating, and the fainting spells continue from time to time. But now she knows a remedy; she goes out into the fresh air and breathes deeply in order to stop the fainting feeling. Such violent killings are ever present acts in the region. She dreams of them and fears them, and these fears arise when her husband does not return home on time.

My two oldest daughters are married and have their own families. They live here in Santa Maria too. The two oldest daughters at home are fifteen and thirteen. The fifteen-year-old goes to school. She is in the second grade. Three of the younger children attend school. The older children went to school a year or more, but none of them went beyond the third grade. It is just too hard to keep more than three or four children in school at one time, and as soon as they could, they would find work, even temporary work, to earn something to help support the family.

- Q. *Would it be easier for your husband if the family moved to the city to be closer to his work?*
- A. *We can't afford to move from here because here we do not have to pay rent, here we can get a certain amount of food from the hill. We can get cactus fruits and firewood here that we would have to buy in the city. It would cost us a great deal more to live in the city.*

I worry a good deal about my children, how I am going to buy shoes and clothing for them and how we are going to build more rooms. We have three rooms, but now two sons want to marry and that costs money, and they have to have a room for themselves here. I would like for my younger daughter to go to school, for at least one to get a good education and prepare for a profession. But how? We can't send them to school very long because we need their earnings to help support the family.

I vacillate between being content and worrying. I go from laughter to tears and back again, laughing at something my children do or say, and then a little later I am thinking about my son that went north or that my children need clothes and I begin to cry.

We need about 700 pesos per week to live [fourteen people.] Sometimes I go to Sabinas to buy, but I prefer to buy here at my neighbor's shop because when I don't have money they will extend credit. We go to the city once or twice a year to buy clothing because it is cheaper there.

I don't have any special woman friend--my sisters-in-law and my mother-in-law are all my friends and I have a number of comadres--they are all equally my friends. I have eight comadres, four whose children are my godchildren and four who are godmothers to my children; three of them live in Jerez, three live here in Santa Maria, and one lives in Sabinas. I do not ask for loans from comadres when I need money, but I go to my mother-in-law or to the store which extends credit.

- [Q] *Yes, there are some families here that have more than others. Those that have land, especially irrigated land, and have two or more harvests per year, they have more than most of us.*
- [Q] *I think of myself as one who angers easily, one who screams at my kids. I am very emotional and easily upset, yet I think I am content more times than not. I am happiest when all my children are here together. This makes me very content to see them all well and enjoying themselves together. I worry most because the children need shoes and clothing.*

[Q] *I don't go to mass often. I would like to but usually the girls want to go and someone has to stay here to start the fire and begin making the meal so I stay home. I have never given much thought to whether I prefer to do one household chore more than another. If they are to do, I do them. We all [mother and girls] take turns doing various things so that no one has the same task day after day.*

As I told you yesterday, my recreation is listening to the soap operas. My favorite is "A Girl Named Miracle". It is about an actress who is rich and famous and beautiful and who lives a glamorous life in a large city. She has everything she wants materially but still she has problems, still she isn't always happy. Her problems are very different from mine, but still she has problems. Right now she has two men who want to marry her. One is the father of her child, and they are both attractive and one is rich but she can't make up her mind which one to choose or if she wants to marry! I like it because her life is different from ours and yet she has problems to.

The thing I would most like to do before I die is make a trip to see the Virgin of Guadalupe again. I don't know if I'll ever be able to do it, but maybe when all the children are grown up I can go. That's what I hope.

I hope my daughters and my daughters-in-law do not have as many children as I have. It is just too difficult. Prices are so high and a big family needs so many things. I would prefer that they have about five children each.

Usually I get up between 6:00 and 6:30 a.m. One of the girls takes the maize to the mill--we need six cuarterones of maize per day [a cuarteron by local usage is about one and one-half kilos.] When the electricity is off, as it is today, we have to grind the maize by hand and that adds several hours of work. The electricity is off only occasionally, however, so that is a great help.

While the girls go to the mill, I start the fire and begin to prepare whatever we have for breakfast--usually beans and chilies, a soup, sauce, etc. Those who are working are fed first and lunches are made for them. Then those of us who are staying home eat. We clear up and wash the dishes. It is often between 10:00 and 11:00 a.m. when this is done, and then we often do the laundry, the two girls and I taking turns washing for a while. We are fortunate because we have water piped into our compound and have a large tank for washing and rinsing the clothes. We wash every day because we don't have any extra clothes. How much washing there is depends on the weather, on who is working and going to school, though, also.

During the day when I am doing something like washing clothes or preparing meals, I like to listen to the soap operas on the radio. I don't always listen. Sometimes I miss a day. There are about three or four I hear regularly--each for one-half hour per day.

About noon I begin getting the main meal ready--put something on to cook for dinner so that it will be ready when people come from work. We do not eat all at the same time, but each person eats as he comes home. Sometimes two or three are eating together. Usually, we don't get through serving dinner until after 4:00 p.m. My husband eats at different hours, depending on which shift he is working. After dinner I might do some mending for an hour or so. I do not know how to sew, and I don't have a machine, nor do I know how to knit or crochet or embroider. I pay a woman to make the girls' dresses and my own. It would be cheaper to sew them ourselves, of course, but how?

When we make dinner we make enough tortillas for supper too. Our supper is a simple meal, a snack of tortillas before we go to bed, but it is often after 11:00 p.m. before I go to bed because it takes time to feed so many and clean up afterward. Then there is the maize to cook for the following morning and that has to be done each evening.

Beneath Juana's anxious worries she has more positive feelings, but she feels she will appear demented if she expresses them. She gathers her children about her and embraces them and kisses them and squeezes them altogether, which is practically impossible. Outwardly, she maintains a less effusive and more distant manner.

Maura Gonzales (twenty-eight years old, seven children,
interviewed by Gojman)

This woman who is still quite young already has seven children. She wanted only two children, but she didn't think about doing anything to prevent having more. She feels "We continue because we are in this thing from God until we come out of it." She also said that the sisters (of the church) came around saying that it wasn't good to prevent having children, that the women should not do this, and that God provides for the children who are born.

Her seven children fight a lot and she doesn't like it when they are fighting. They also seem to get sick frequently and they suffer a lot when they are sick. Her greatest happiness is when her children are healthy and when they are not fighting.

Her husband works sharecropping for his father who was left a widower and who lives with them. Her husband also sharecrops for another man when he can. She feels her husband is good to her because he doesn't hit her and he drinks only once in a while. He has never run her out of the house. She knows that other husbands do sometimes

drive their women and children out of their homes. She feels that it is because of the men that things go well in life for some people. The men command and they do what is done.

When she was an unmarried girl, she was somewhat better-off. Her father was an *ejido* member. Although her mother wasn't a particularly friendly person, and never took her anywhere, she never saw her father and mother fighting. Thus she never developed any idea of fear.

The sickness of her children has made her fear for their lives. She has dreamed that her baby girl died, and she thought this was a sign. When the baby was sick she gave her the injections that were recommended, but she didn't feel very capable of dealing with the sickness. She didn't know any home remedies and she consoled the baby, holding her and giving her a bottle full of chocolate.

Maura's resigned attitude toward the number of children she would have, we see as characteristic of Santa Marian women. Though they consciously say they wish they had fewer children for economic reasons, they do not act on such statements, and they accept what comes. Their greater attachment to the church may also make them hesitant to use modern contraceptives since some sisters in Santa Maria are actively speaking out against them.

Analysis and Conclusions

Life Histories

Similarities Between the Villages. Through these individual life histories it seems clear that several basic factors are affecting the lives of all the women, in both villages (and in the Kenyan village as well). All the women feel the need of increased cash income for two main purposes: to buy food, which families no longer produce wholly for themselves, and to pay their children's schooling expenses of fees, clothing, shoes, and supplies. These are the channels through which the women are entering into more complete participation in the cash economy.

On the other hand, almost all of these families still gain some of their income through subsistence efforts outside the cash economy--gathering firewood and edibles and some farming for food. The subsistence proportion of income is larger in Tierra Alta than in Santa Maria, but it is present in both places. Almost all the families build and own their own houses, which is another important factor in keeping down the need for cash. In Santa Maria the families have the use of the land without purchasing it, or paying rent. These benefits are important enough economically to hold some families in the rural areas --even though there may be jobs in the cities. These women say they couldn't afford to pay rent and buy all their food, which life in the city would require. (But some young people and some young couples are migrating to cities from these villages).

The increasing participation in the cash economy, and the resulting need for cash by the families, is always mentioned by the women when they speak of the desire to have fewer children. This is the point of pressure that they seem to feel most directly and consciously. A grandmother says, "Sometimes I am ashamed that my children don't have better clothes for school and cannot continue their education. We try to do the most that is possible for the children. I wish it were more. That's why I tell my daughter-in-law, 'Don't have large families!' If there are many children the whole family suffers". And a younger woman states, "With prices what they are, I don't want any more children than the three I have now".

The daily activities of all these women show that they work very hard from early in the morning to fulfill the needs of their families. It takes from two to three hours or more a day to prepare the maize, grind it, and make tortillas--their most basic food. Washing clothes by hand is probably the next biggest job in terms of time and energy. Where housework is this demanding, children have traditionally been an important source of household labor. Having children in

school increases the workload (more laundry requirements, especially) and depletes the available labor in the household. Once children enter school, the wife/mother is serving all the family (husband and children), whereas formerly she managed the household, including the work of the children. This consequence of school is also consciously felt by most of these women. Some women accept the increased work load--seeing the important benefits schooling can offer their children for the future; others, especially in Santa Maria, complain more and are not convinced that schooling is worth the increased effort. They make the effort for only one, two, or three years.

Contrasts Between the Villages. Important contrasts between the women in the two villages are clear from the life histories and the sociopsychanalytic interviews. The women in Tierra Alta have found more ways to contribute to the income of their families. They farm and market crops, raise animals, and weave palm materials for hats and mats. The new knitting industry has been taken up by the majority of women in Tierra Alta and it substantially increases the cash incomes of these families. Through an understanding of these activities and their traditions of independence and respect, we get a clear sense that the Tierra Alta women, even the very poor, feel independent, capable and active. They are livelier and more expressive than the women in Santa Maria, and this is not because they are better off materially. The study of social character reveals consistent differences in deeply rooted orientations and the level of psychological productivity between the women of the two communities. The poorest woman we interviewed in Tierra Alta commented, "I don't have any money, but what do I need? I am not dependent on anyone either." This is a woman who feels in control of her life and whose character shows a productive orientation. In contrast, a woman in Santa Maria whose husband is an *ejido* member with six hectares of land (more land than any one person holds in Tierra Alta), feels very poor and less hopeful through comparing herself to others who have more. "But with just nonirrigated land, what can we do?" She does not feel that she can improve her life by her own efforts. The women in Tierra Alta do have this confidence and hope.

In Santa Maria, the women have no opportunities for contributing to the family income; they are totally dependent on the men economically. The women here do not feel capable and active; their passivity is expressed in the life histories through less expression, shorter answers, and less interest. Almost all the Santa Maria life histories contain characteristic rhetorical questions that express resignation and lack of initiative: "And now they say that even if the son has completed primary, it isn't certain that he will find work. So all that sacrifice for what?" "The government ought to help us send our children to school and give us some food for the babies. With no help, how can we live?" These women characteristically seek help from outsiders who have power and wealth. They do not feel capable in themselves. They seek help now from the government and from the Virgin Mary, as they once could only seek it from the hacienda owner. These women are in a position where the possibility

of learning to depend on their own abilities is practically denied them, and it has been so for centuries. Now that their situation may change, their ingrained attitude of passivity and dependence may limit their ability to take advantage of new opportunities. They do not hope for their own development; they do not show an active interest in learning new skills or developing businesses that are mentioned by the women in Tierra Alta.

Here we see that the solution, the need for development in Santa Maria, is not simply economic. The women in Santa Maria, because of their attitudes, might not be able to actively take on a project such as the knitting industry which flourished so quickly in Tierra Alta. It requires some initiative and patience. The machines have to be paid off in knitted garments, which takes at least six months, and these women may not have the hope or initiative to sustain the effort. (Exactly how they would react to such a possibility is an empirical question.)

With greater material resources, the Santa Maria women still feel more helpless, less capable, and less self-confident than the women in Tierra Alta.

The life histories also show a contrast in the interests of the women in the two villages. Santa Maria women talk a good deal of listening to the soap operas on the radio and are more interested in seeking help from the Virgin. These are both passive, receptive interests. There is so little stimulation in their lives, it is understandable that they might turn in these directions. The Tierra Alta women, with more tasks outside the home, in addition to household tasks, seem to have less time for an interest in the soap operas. They are actively interested in developing new sources of income, learning new skills such as knitting and sewing and in supporting school activities and helping their children continue their education. Because they feel more independent and capable, they have less need to seek help from the Virgin.

Marital Conflict. In several of the life histories in Tierra Alta, we saw women who were facing up to their husbands or fathers in order to be free to work, or in order to limit their families when their husbands were not cooperating. This is a new struggle that seems to have been brought about by new opportunities for the women to earn cash incomes. Men who hold traditional patriarchal values feel threatened by this new capability of the women. One husband feels ashamed that his wife has had to work. He sees this as his own personal failure; he is starting to drink more and to stay away from home because his wife earns more cash than he does. The increasing ability of the women to earn cash income may give them the confidence to stand up to their husbands. If women must keep their husbands in order to survive materially, they must please and submit to them, as

the women in Santa Maria do. But if they can survive without them, they are freer to face their husbands for the sake of their own interests.

The men continue to farm and raise animals in Tierra Alta, which is their traditional agricultural role, but much of this activity is in the subsistence economy. Though it provides real income, it does not meet the increasing need for cash. This the women are newly able to do through machine knitting. In order to earn cash, the men must go away from the village and do agricultural work. This requires a great deal of traveling and energy, and usually the younger men are the ones who pursue this strenuous work. The older men tend more to stay within the village, farming small plots that they have been able to buy through their seasonal labor earlier in life. But within the village, they have almost no means of earning cash.

The men and women must adapt to this new situation, or their marriages may deteriorate or the women could be forced to give up cash income that would help the entire family. Some men are adapting to a more equal and cooperative relationship with their wives. We saw such a relationship in the case of Elena Diaz. In achieving a new type of relationship with her husband, she has had to face up to her father, who sees her participation in business as a threat to his patriarchal position. She is facing up to him, and her husband supports her.

Here we see a direct link between such personal and family relationships and the social and economic context. This struggle between the men and women in Tierra Alta has been increased by the new economic possibilities for women. The planners of the knitting project (it was supported by the government as a development project; it didn't develop solely through commercial channels) certainly did not consider such personal consequences as they planned a way for Tierra Alta people to earn cash.

In Santa Maria, there is no open struggle of this type. Because the women are economically dependent on the men, they cannot openly confront their husbands, and they must please them and submit to them in order to keep them. Santa Maria as a community also lacks the values of respect and self-affirmation that develop in both men and women in Tierra Alta.

The relationship between men and women in Santa Maria is not one of simple male dominance. The hacienda system of the past destroyed the power of patriarchal values for the peons. The male could not fulfill his duties of providing for his family and could not protect his women from the powerful landowner. The hacienda system destroyed the possibility of male dominance for the peons; during the centuries of hacienda rule, patriarchy was replaced by a set of values based on fatalism, fiestas, idealized authority, and Virgin-center Catholicism (Fromm and Maccoby 1970, p. 124). This set of values is associated

with male powerlessness. Thus, the positive patriarchal values of independence and respect are not as well established in Santa Maria. Historically, the men have been made powerless, and the women have held them in contempt, though this is veiled by conscious ideals of patriarchy that take the form of machismo.

In Santa Maria, then, the whole struggle between men and women is much more hidden and unconscious. The women cannot stand up to the men because they are economically dependent, but paradoxically the men in the syndrome of machismo inwardly feel weak, though outwardly asserting their dominance, and the women sense this unconsciously.

In Tierra Alta, the struggle is open and acknowledged. The new power of women is challenging the well-established patriarchy. This struggle can be seen as active adaptation in process. There is more possibility for the struggle in Tierra Alta to be resolved in complementary and cooperative relationships.

Motivations for Having and Not Having Children. It is important to state that people in these villages in general do not think very much about the issue of how many children to have. People do not usually say, "We're going to have so many children because..." But the conscious reasons that they do give, when asked, must be considered as well as hypotheses that might explain deeper or unconscious reasons.

In Tierra Alta the women do say, "My husband expects me to have children." If a woman doesn't have children she is not respected. This was clearly illustrated in the life histories of the childless women. Only the very rich widow did not suffer outwardly a loss of position because of her childlessness, and we do not know how she feels personally about being childless. In general, in these villages, to be childless means to live a miserable life.

In Santa Maria, the greater violence and fearfulness of the people was reflected in some interviews that did bring out a sense of needing to have more children just to make sure of the supply. (Many of the women in Santa Maria had suffered the death of a father or brother through murder, often associated with drinking). This reason might be deeply unconscious as well as consciously stated.

Another reason for having more children that the women state consciously is for economic help. But the quality of the statements in the two villages is quite different. The women in the Santa Maria talk about their children, their sons particularly, in a very utilitarian way. They want their sons to go off as laborers and bring back or send back money for them. The women in Tierra Alta are more respectful of their children, and they might say, "to help us."

We found two kinds of reasons emerging for limiting the number of children. Both of these reasons are new, and a response to modernizing conditions. Some women, the younger women, stated that they didn't want to have a lot of children because they wanted to have fun, to be freer to do things and go to Mexico City. This is a self-centered reason that benefits the woman alone.

A second modern reason for not having children which the women state is more altruistic. This reason is to benefit the children that they do have. Given their limited cash income, they want to be able to provide well for their children and especially to educate them. The people in Tierra Alta seem to place more respect and value on educating their children than the people in Santa Maria. But both of these reasons exist in both villages.

These two types of reasons for limiting families show quite different motivations among the women. Family planning programs can be built on either attitude. Some family planning campaigns only encourage rather selfish motivations and by doing so undermine the values of mature, responsible motherhood, one of the few creative tasks that many women have access to. Responsible parenthood is built on the attitude that to develop oneself at the same time means to take care of others. The new possibility is to become a better mother, aware, tender and creative but having fewer children. This demands a more mature attitude and a greater sense of solidarity with an on-going human community.

Women's Status and Fertility

Women's positions will be summarized here from the standpoint of the six aspects of status suggested by Goodenough (personal communication):

1. Autonomy over one's person.
2. Options available in matters where autonomy exists.
3. Amount of deference due from others by virtue of the social standing of the individual and family.
4. Esteem conferred by others for qualities independent of social standing.
5. Rights and duties resulting from being female.
6. The socioeconomic categories used in the research.
7. Self-perception as seen in the life-history and character-questionnaire data (added by Reining).

First, we will look at differences in women's positions at the community level, that is, differences between the two villages. Then, we will look at factors which influence relative positions within the villages.

Variation Between Communities. The two cultural styles that have developed in the two villages offer quite different positions for women. From the data in the life histories and the ethnographic descriptions, these contrasts are summarized:

1. Tierra Alta women have greater autonomy over their own persons, and they travel more within their own county and to surrounding towns and cities. They often travel in connection with their marketing activities. Santa Maria women travel much less and stay closer to home. They travel to other towns only as consumers and, since they rarely have money, they don't go very often. The older girls are greatly restricted in their movements, even around Santa Maria. Older women prefer to collect firewood themselves than to send their daughters out on the hill to do it.

2. Tierra Alta women clearly have more options available to them in terms of income-producing activities. They farm, raise animals, and market their own products. Some make baskets and hats by traditional palm-weaving methods, and today they can earn cash income with their knitting machines. Santa Maria women have no available options for earning cash income except occasional agricultural labor for which they are paid less than the men. Their only clear option is to continue in this role. They must marry in order to be supported.

For girls to acquire more education, which might lead to other types of jobs and lives off the *ejido*, their families must pay school costs and buy supplies. We have seen that the Santa Maria women seem less inclined to make this effort for very many years and are more inclined to send boys to school than girls. Tierra Alta girls have a greater chance to complete more years of schooling for two reasons. The Tierra Alta families are just as likely to send girls to school as boys. And, secondly, the whole community of Tierra Alta seems to respect this opportunity more and place more hope in it than Santa Marians do. If the Tierra Alta municipal government succeeds in its efforts to bring a secondary school program to the village there will be more grades of school available there.

3. Tierra Alta women can expect to receive greater respect and deference than women in Santa Maria. First, men and women in Tierra Alta understand that women are important contributors to family income. Secondly, the culture of the community fosters a more respectful attitude toward all people than does that of Santa Maria.

4. There are more opportunities for esteem for personal qualities in Tierra Alta because the women have more opportunities to develop themselves. A woman might be esteemed for her careful basketry, industrious farming and marketing, speedy knitting, careful sewing and crocheting, etc. These are not options for the women in Santa Maria. Personal qualities such as respect and cooperation are more highly

valued in Tierra Alta than in Santa Maria. The women have more esteem for themselves in Tierra Alta.

5. Landholding and other property rights for women are more clearly defined and recognized in Tierra Alta than in Santa Maria. Women's position, in general, is stronger in Tierra Alta vis-a-vis the men because of their economic capabilities. Because girls and young women have no means to earn subsistence or cash income in Santa Maria it is more important for mothers there to have some male children to help support the family. In Tierra Alta, both boys and girls can help support the family, so there is not as strong a preference for boys. In fact, through knitting, young girls can more easily produce cash income than boys.

6. The socioeconomic categories we used in this study were those used by the people in the communities and refer to variations within the communities. This will be discussed under (6) in the next section. In terms of material possessions on an absolute scale, we judge that people in Santa Maria own more things on the average than the people in Tierra Alta. However, though there may be more money and things in Santa Maria, income is not controlled by the women. Most of the cash income comes from the men. In Tierra Alta, because women produce and sell their own products, they have control over their own money.

7. As is clear from the life histories, the self perceptions of women in Tierra Alta are much more positive than those in Santa Maria. Tierra Alta women, because of their opportunities and the attitudes of the people around them, develop confidence in their own capabilities and an active, adaptive attitude toward improving their own situations. For the same reasons, women in Santa Maria are much more likely to develop attitudes of resignation, submission, and fatalism. These ingrained attitudes limit their hopes and, therefore, their capacity to develop their own abilities.

Thus, one of the most important influences on a woman's position among the women we studied is the cultural style and opportunities for her own development offered by the village in which she was born and raised. Other influences affect her position within those villages.

Variation Within Communities.

1. In both communities, the makeup of the household is an important influence on woman's autonomy. If any woman lives with her in-laws as a young wife, she will usually have less autonomy and less authority than she had as an older, unmarried girl in her own home. The first years of marriage, then, can often be a position of decreased autonomy for a young woman. In several cases, we see the

struggle between a young woman and her husband's parents for her own autonomy, including moving out--or waiting for them to die! If she has been "robbed," her in-laws will watch her to keep her from running away and, for a while, it is almost as if she were a prisoner in the house of her new "husband,"

2. The makeup of the household in which a woman lives and the authorities over her (husband and in-laws or parents) can limit or encourage her in taking advantage of those options available to her. A husband may not want her to do certain kinds of work, or parents may not want young girls to travel to school or trade classes.

3. Deference received varies between socioeconomic categories used by the villagers themselves. (See 6.) Respect and deference also operate within families and through the customary institution of co-parenthood. A woman can gain prestige and deference by being actively involved in raising younger siblings, by having lots of nieces and nephews, and by having many godchildren. Some childless women (as we saw in the case of Alicia Reyes) have many godchildren.

4. Women vary in terms of the types of skills and qualities they develop for which they receive esteem. (There are more possibilities for women to develop skills and crafts in Tierra Alta than in Santa Maria; see Section 4 above.) In both villages, having many godchildren is an important channel through which women receive esteem. Being asked to become a godparent indicates that a woman is already esteemed for certain personal qualities.

5. Women's rights and duties vary on the basis of such factors as marriage, widowhood, land ownership, number of children she must care for (as older sibling or as a mother), number of godchildren, and the income and attitudes of her parents, husband, and in-laws. The actual composition of the household in which she lives is a main determinant of her rights and duties as a housewife, that is, how much housework there is to do and how many women there are to share it with.

6. The socioeconomic categories used in this study are those of the people themselves within the communities. They use three words to describe categories of economic well being. *Rico* describes those who have much more income than the average. The only *rico* case we have is the brief one of the rich widow who was without children. *De respeto* (of respect) describes those who have the average or usual income in the village. In Tierra Alta these would be people who had some land and some other income. In Santa Maria, they would be the *ejido* members who had six-to-seven hectare plots, but no irrigated land. People seen as *humilde* are the very poor, those without land or regular income in Tierra Alta, and those without land or expected access to it in Santa Maria.

In both villages, it seems clear that a family is better off economically with several children than with no children. The children are an important source of subsistence labor both in the field and in the household. As young adults, they contribute to the income of the family. In Tierra Alta, this is true for girls as well as boys. In Santa Maria, only boys at present can produce cash income. Girls are an economic liability. One landless family with seven daughters was very poor and wished they had a few sons to work as laborers with their father for cash. In Santa Maria, the case of Alicia Reyes showed the economic plight of a childless couple where the husband was a full *ejido* member. Since he was aging and in ill health, he could not tend his whole plot himself, even with the help of his wife. If they had had sons to help them, they would have been better off. His option was to let some of his land be sharecropped by a landless person, but this threatened his right to the land, so he didn't want to do it. A household of just a man and his wife isn't large enough to carry on the full farming and household tasks in the *ejido*. The labor of some children--perhaps two to four--is useful and almost necessary to support the types of households that exist in both Santa Maria and Tierra Alta.

The new option of keeping children in school for many years affects the amount of labor available in these households. The women in Santa Maria seem more resigned and fatalistic and inclined not to make the extra effort to keep their children in school for many years. They want them to start earning income to help the family. In Tierra Alta, more families are making a real commitment to schooling for their children.

7. Within each village, as in any human group, there is a range of character types and self-perceptions. In each village some women are more capable, active, and expressive than others. The set of life histories has illustrated the range from resigned and depressed to actively capable. The most capable women tend to marry men with similar capacities (Fromm and Maccoby 1970, p. 148). Such couples are able to adapt to and use productively the opportunities available in their social situations for their own and their children's development. This capacity means in part that such couples are more likely to succeed economically.

Conclusions. The most significant finding of this study in Mexico, the contrast between the women in the two villages, is based on an understanding of historical/economic/cultural/and characterological development. No one of these components could be left out of our explanation if it is to be meaningful. The different histories of the villages, the different economic and social positions of the women, the different cultural values which the communities foster, and the different characters of the women all fit together in a mutually reinforcing system. This integrated understanding of the two villages is

the basis of our prediction which we make quite confidently: the women in Tierra Alta, the more remote, freeholding village, will begin to use modern contraceptives sooner than will the women of Santa Maria. We expect there to be a noticeable difference in fertility rates within five years. Tierra Alta women have more active hopes for their own development and the development of their children, especially through education. Their more productive independent characters will allow them to adapt to the new economic conditions which make children a greater economic liability than in the past. The women of Santa Maria have very few opportunities and few hopes of developing themselves and are less hopeful about possibilities for their children. Their more resigned, unproductive-receptive characters rooted in unconscious attitudes limit their abilities to adapt actively to new opportunities. They are much more likely to accept passively what comes, including the number of children they will bear. The fertility rate in Santa Maria may also decline, but much more slowly.

Thus, we found significant differences in women's positions between the two villages which we predict will affect their fertility. We did not conclude that variations in women's positions relative to one another within each village bear any simple direct relationship to the number of their children. The exception is having no children which usually, although not necessarily, leads to a deterioration in a woman's position--through fewer economic resources in the family, ridicule from in-laws, and possible resentment and abandonment by her husband. But aside from the crucial imperative for a woman to become a mother, we found no simple progression of increasing status with each additional child. The actual number of children is not a crucial factor influencing or being influenced by a woman's relative position within these villages. Much more important are other factors, especially the income and attitudes of her parents, her husband and herself.

Demographic Findings in Mexico

A newly designed computer program, DEMOG, for handling genealogical census data was the basis for demographic data collection and processing in this study; this program is described in Appendix I. Here we will discuss the output of DEMOG for the censuses of the two Mexican villages. We are presenting here the uncorrected outputs of the program to illustrate its capabilities for deriving demographic rates for small populations. But without further statistical and demographic evaluation and analysis we cannot draw conclusions based on these rates and they should be seen as tentative. (Further analysis is planned and a technical article on the use of DEMOG in this study will be published at a later date.)

The DEMOG program is designed to generate demographic rates for the present and the past from retrospective genealogical information from the present. Thus we know that the data becomes less complete and less accurate as we go back in time. With the Mexico data we have only contemporary censuses and therefore much less time depth than in the

Kenya study where a previous genealogical census was used and updated.

In Mexico we have a complete census for the community of Santa Maria, which had a total population of approximately 700 people in 1975, and for Fracción de San Juan with a population of approximately 500 in the same year. With the genealogical data which include people who have died, we have information on three generations, the last of which is the most complete. The census corpus for Santa Maria, which includes the people who have died, is 1,025 and for Fracción de San Juan is 777.

The results in which we have the greatest confidence are the rates for the most recent years. Fertility rates from the last four years are presented in Table 5. Rates were computed for 20 years into the past, but we do not have confidence in the quality of the data beyond the first several years. The great variability of the fertility rates from year to year as seen in Table 5 is to be expected when computing rates on such small numbers. The apparent drop in the 1975 Crude Birth Rates is therefore not established as significant. All the fertility rates that appear in the table are known to be lower than the actual rates because of the women in the census who have married out of the villages. Since data on their children were not collected, they are recorded as childless women and this depresses the rates. (See Appendix I for further discussion of this point.)

According to U.S. Census figures the Crude Birth Rate for Mexico as a whole for 1975 is 46 births per thousand population. The Crude Birth Rates of these two villages as computed varies around this same rate. However, if the rates were corrected for the problem of the artificially large number of childless women, this would raise them above the national rate, and this is to be expected for rural villages.

In Tables 6 and 7 partial outputs of the DEMCG program for the three most recent years are reproduced. Three points of explanation need to be made: 1) We did not collect mortality data per se. Therefore the mortality rates computed by the program on the basis of age at death are not considered complete or useful. (See Appendix I for further discussion.) 2) As stated above, the number of childless women does not represent the real situation. In fact there are very few childless women in each village. 3) There are two births attributed to women aged 85 and over. In fact these are births to women for whom accurate age data were not available. (For further discussion of this point see Appendix I.)

There is some evidence, not confirmed as significant, that the fertility rates in the two villages are and have been quite different. The Total Fertility Rates for the nineteen year period 1957-1975 are: the Fracción 4697 and Santa Maria 6592. Though the longer time period helps counteract the problem of yearly variability, the data also become less accurate as we go back in time. Although the absolute numbers cannot be accurate, the relative difference between villages could be

Table 5
Fertility Rates in the Two Villages

	<u>Fracción de San Juan*</u>	<u>Santa Maria</u>
	<u>Crude Birth Rate</u>	
1975	28	32
1974	44	52
1973	45	40
1972	17	44
	<u>Mean Parity (1975)</u>	
	<u>Age of Mo</u>	
15-19	0.33	0.15
20-24	1.16	1.21
25-29	2.00	2.67
30-34	3.44	5.05
35-39	4.09	6.45
40-44	3.64	6.73
45-49	5.36	3.78
50-54	6.00	7.13
55-59	4.25	3.00
60-64	7.00	8.25
65-69	3.59	5.00
70+	5.29	3.17
	<u>Total Fertility Rate</u>	
1972-1975	4448	5773
1973-1975	5159	5745

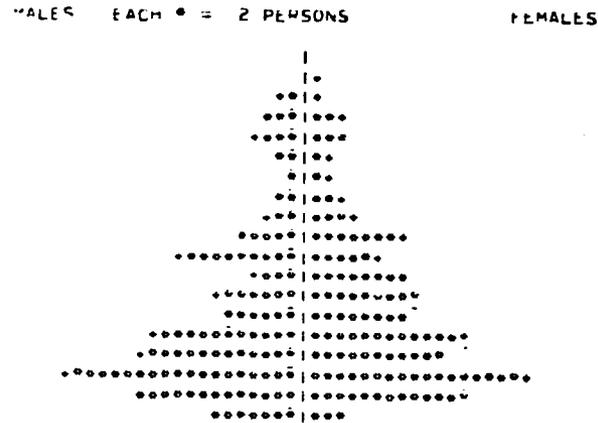
* In the municipio of Tierra Alta

real. A possible explanation is that the censuses were taken by two different interviewers. Although the same questionnaires were used, this could have caused a systematic difference. However, the higher child/woman ratio (see Tables 6 and 7) in Santa Maria in the present, where we assume the data to be more accurate, tends to support the hypothesis that the difference is real.

If the difference proves significant it would be an extremely interesting finding. Such a difference would be consistent with our understanding of the cultural and characterological differences in the two villages. In Fracción de San Juan (with the lower fertility rate) the women have a more autonomous position economically and socially, they receive more respect and are themselves more capable and hopeful than those in Santa Maria (with the higher fertility rate). We assume that modern contraceptives were not available to make a major impact on the rates for most of the period 1957-75. Therefore some traditional means of birth control either conscious or unconscious, would have to be hypothesized to explain the difference.

FOR THE YEAR 1973

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOWN	0	0	0	0	UNKNOWN	
85	0	0	0	0	85	
80	0	1	0	0	80	
75	3	1	0	0	75	
70	5	3	0	0	70	
65	7	7	0	0	65	
60	2	3	0	0	60	
55	2	3	0	0	55	
50	4	2	0	0	50	
45	5	7	0	0	45	
40	11	10	0	0	40	
35	19	11	1	0	35	
30	7	10	0	0	30	
25	13	10	4	0	25	
20	12	10	3	0	20	
15	23	23	2	0	15	
10	25	22	0	0	10	
5	37	25	0	0	5	
1	26	20	0	0	1	
0	14	7	0	0	0	
TOTALS	217	221	20	0	TOTALS	
C.O.R. =	43.662	C.O.R. =	3.063	CHILD/AD-RATIO =	666.667	



FOR THE YEAR 1974

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOWN	0	0	0	0	UNKNOWN	
85	0	0	0	0	85	
80	0	0	0	0	80	
75	3	2	0	0	75	
70	7	4	0	0	70	
65	3	5	1	0	65	
60	3	3	0	0	60	
55	3	4	0	0	55	
50	6	6	0	0	50	
45	15	10	0	0	45	
40	15	13	0	0	40	
35	9	17	0	0	35	
30	10	15	0	0	30	
25	15	14	4	0	25	
20	23	24	0	0	20	
15	28	20	0	0	15	
10	37	32	0	0	10	
5	33	27	0	0	5	
1	13	7	0	3	1	
0	13	7	0	0	0	
TOTALS	230	220	20	3	TOTALS	
C.O.R. =	43.665	C.O.R. =	6.734	CHILD/AD-RATIO =	720.721	

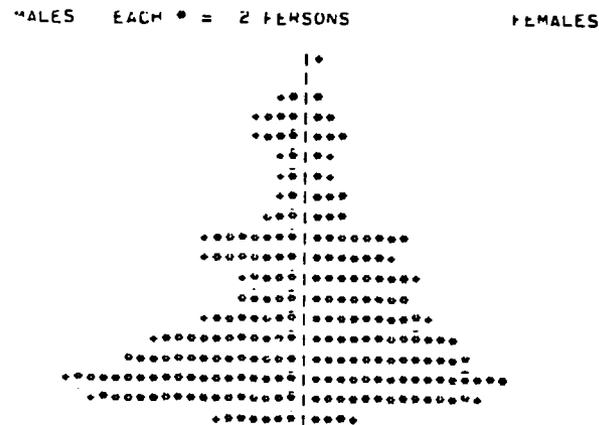


Table 6. DEMOG Output, 1973-1975, Fracción de San Juan (Municipio of Tierra Alta)

FOR THE YEAR 1975

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE UNKNOWN
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
0-4	0	1	0	0	0	45
5-9	0	1	1	0	0	50
10-14	0	0	0	0	0	55
15-19	6	4	0	0	0	60
20-24	5	2	0	0	0	65
25-29	7	7	0	0	0	70
30-34	1	2	0	0	0	75
35-39	3	4	0	0	0	80
40-44	4	3	0	0	0	85
45-49	6	11	0	0	0	90
50-54	14	14	1	0	0	95
55-59	15	11	1	0	0	100
60-64	9	10	5	0	0	105
65-69	9	10	1	0	0	110
70-74	17	14	4	0	0	115
75-79	25	21	0	0	0	120
80-84	27	27	0	0	0	125
85-89	42	35	0	0	0	130
90-94	37	20	0	3	0	135
95-99	6	7	0	1	1	140
TOTALS	235	230	13	4	1	TOTALS
CRUDE =	21.237	20.000	11.707	CHILD/ADULT RATIO =	637.931	

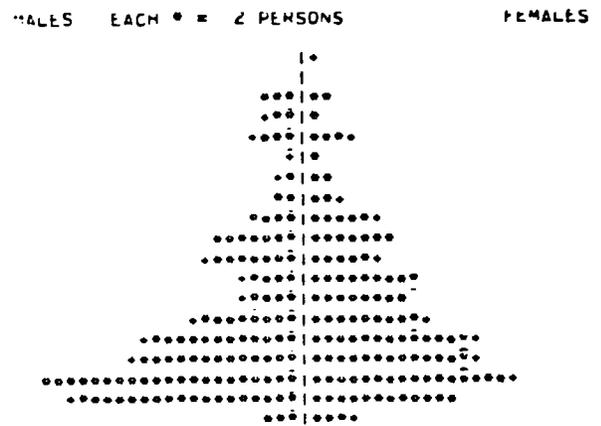
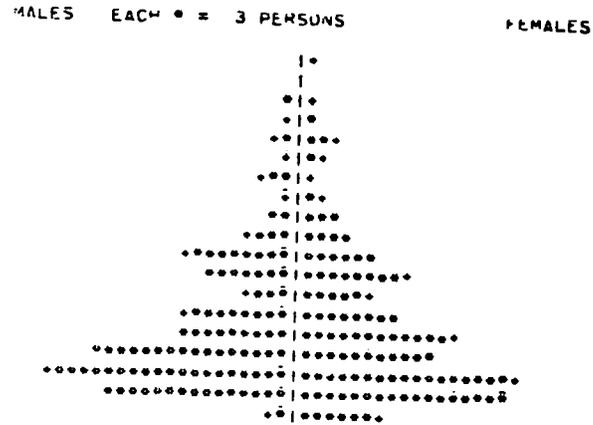


Table 6, continued

FOR THE YEAR 1973

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOWN	0	0	0	0	UNKNOWN	
85	0	1	0	0	85	
80	0	0	0	0	80	
75	0	2	0	0	75	
70	2	3	0	0	70	
65	5	7	0	0	65	
60	2	5	0	0	60	
55	2	1	0	0	55	
50	1	3	0	0	50	
45	1	7	0	0	45	
40	11	12	1	0	40	
35	25	17	3	0	35	
30	21	23	11	0	30	
25	11	17	3	0	25	
20	25	27	4	0	20	
15	27	35	7	0	15	
10	47	33	1	0	10	
5	59	72	1	0	5	
1	45	51	1	0	1	
0	5	21	0	1	0	
TOTALS	315	323	25	1	TOTALS	
CHILDREN =	37407	CHILDREN =	4777	CHILD/WOMAN RATIO =	646.156	



FOR THE YEAR 1974

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOWN	0	0	0	0	UNKNOWN	
85	0	1	0	0	85	
80	0	0	0	0	80	
75	3	0	0	0	75	
70	3	3	0	0	70	
65	4	0	0	0	65	
60	3	4	0	0	60	
55	7	1	0	0	55	
50	3	1	0	0	50	
45	0	3	0	1	45	
40	13	11	1	0	40	
35	29	17	7	0	35	
30	14	23	11	0	30	
25	17	17	5	0	25	
20	24	30	3	0	20	
15	35	35	5	0	15	
10	46	37	0	0	10	
5	51	51	0	0	5	
1	34	57	0	0	1	
0	16	18	0	1	0	
TOTALS	320	327	34	2	TOTALS	
CHILDREN =	31553	CHILDREN =	3035	CHILD/WOMAN RATIO =	803.946	

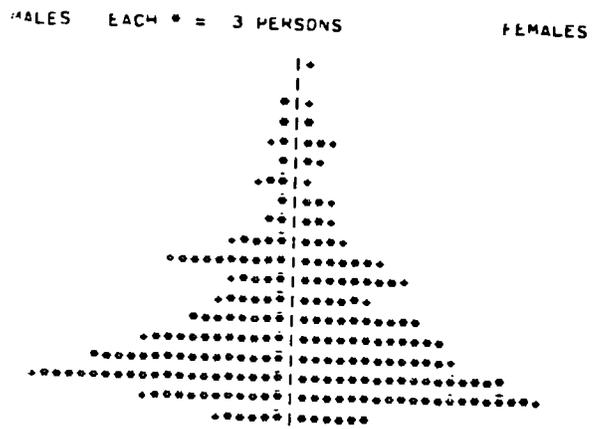


Table 7. DEMOG Output, 1973-1975, Santa Maria

FOR THE YEAR 1975

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOWN	0	0	0	0	0	UNKNOWN
85	0	1	1	0	0	85
80	0	0	0	0	0	80
75	4	2	0	0	0	75
70	2	3	0	0	0	70
65	5	3	0	0	0	65
60	2	4	0	0	0	60
55	7	2	0	0	0	55
50	2	4	0	0	0	50
45	5	4	0	0	0	45
40	10	11	1	0	0	40
35	33	24	3	0	1	35
30	13	21	4	1	0	30
25	18	17	7	0	0	25
20	25	24	7	0	0	20
15	42	33	4	1	0	15
10	44	42	0	0	0	10
5	62	54	0	0	0	5
1	43	43	0	0	3	1
0	9	13	0	0	1	0
TOTALS	327	352	27	2	5	TOTALS
C.D.F. =	32.401	C.D.F. =	10.209	CHILD/WOMAN RATIO =	533.333	

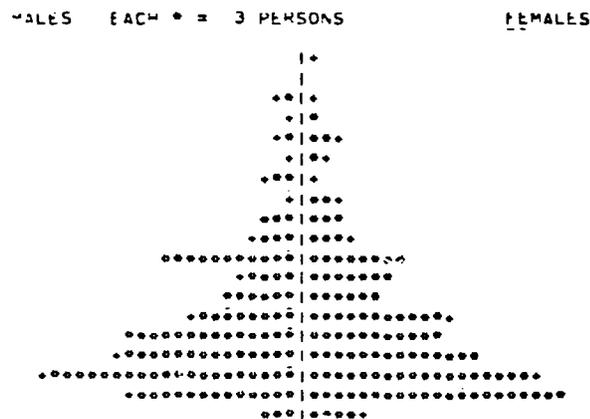


Table 7, continued

Philippines

Introduction

The two villages studied in the Philippines are on the large island of Mindanao in the southern part of the republic. They differ markedly from the villages in Kenya and Mexico described earlier in this report. Both are fishing villages, beach communities on the Gulf of Davao. One of the, Cotawan, is a traditional Muslim settlement some two hundred years old; the other, Niwang, is a Christian squatter settlement about twenty-five years old. Both villages may be considered rural, yet they lie within ten kilometers of Davao City, the third largest metropolitan area in the Philippines, after greater Manila and Quezon City.

The villages were selected for this project because they and others like them in the area have been studied carefully by others during the past five years (Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1976). This time-depth does not compare with that available for our studies in Kenya or Mexico, but the point is largely irrelevant because of the high mobility of the inhabitants of the area of interest. Only fifteen percent of the total population of Niwang was there before 1949; twenty-five percent arrived in the decade 1950-59; fully fifty-two percent arrived in the decade 1960-69, while another eight percent have arrived since 1970 (Hackenberg, B. 1975a, Table 7).

The first phase of this study was a genealogical survey of the entire area in which the two villages are located. The survey was conducted by seven Filipina assistants, all of them lower-class women with high school educations and some paramedic training. With the survey as a guide, nine women were selected as candidates for life histories; they were selected in part to obtain a spectrum of fertilities that would include biological extremes as well as mean values. The survey results were coded and analyzed in Washington using the DEMOG computer program. For the women who gave us their life histories, the numbers

of children ranged from none to fifteen; sections of these life histories are included in the narrative below. The information in the life histories was enhanced by the use of a short version of the social character questionnaire developed originally by Fromm and Maccoby (see Appendix II for an explanation of the theory of social character).

Population Trends in the
Philippines and Davao City

Governmental concern over rapid population growth arose much earlier in the Philippines than in Kenya and Mexico, and governmental programs were launched in earnest in the early 1970s. On February 19, 1969, President Fernando Marcos signed the executive order establishing the Commission on Population; an executive order issued in May 1970 commits the government to proceed with the program outlined by the Commission to adopt quantitative population goals and promote education in family planning.

To test the efficacy of its family planning programs, the government of the Philippines undertook a complete census in 1975, as it had in 1970. The results showed that in 1975 the population of the country was just under 42 million, more than twice the level of 1939. On the other hand, the annual growth rate dropped from 3.01% in 1970 to 2.66% in 1975. Further, the ratio of males to females increased from 99:100 in 1970 to 101:100 in 1975 (Census Newsletter 1976, Vol. 2, No. 4, p.1).

While the overall statistics for the Philippines give some cause for optimism, southern Mindanao, where our two villages are located, displayed a growth rate of 4.26%, the highest of any region in the country. Some of this growth represents immigration, which has contributed to the population of Mindanao since World War II and, indeed, for many years before then. Davao City, with a population of 484,000 in 1975, grew rapidly as a result of the plantation economy set up in southern Mindanao as early as 1900 and based on abaca (Manila hemp) and copra. When Davao City was chartered, in 1960, its official city limits bore very little relationship to the actual urban area. Thus, *impinging upon the port community are 13,400 farms containing 10,000 hectares of rice, 15,000 hectares of corn, and 1,000,000 producing coconut trees. Conversely, today as yesterday, many urban facilities (hotels, airport, warehouse and industrial sites) are located within the plantations while thousands of farm workers and their families reside within the city proper* (Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1969, p. 5).

After World War II, the lands owned by Japanese were taken over by the National Alien Properties Commission and redistributed to Philippine nationals, effectively destroying the plantations. Since then, highways have opened the interior to additional activities in timber and cropland and have brought new wealth to the growing Filipino elite

of Davao City. Yet this increasing wealth continues to be handled in the colonial tradition and does not contribute significantly to local or national development.

A baseline study in 1972 identified three classes of households in Davao City (Hackenberg, R. 1973, Table 11). The upper class comprising 28.5% of the population, resided in and near the central business district. Both wives and husbands are well educated, and generally both work; the woman is more likely to be in speculative employment, such as real estate, while the man might be a highly placed civil servant. The birthrate of this group was 19.72 per 1,000, according to the 1972 data. The second class identified by Hackenberg was a "pre-industrial middle class" that comprised 33.5% of the population. This group is middle-class in terms of monthly household income, not in terms of other socio-economic indicators often used elsewhere, such as modernization or employment in the modern sector of the economy. *The primary upward mobility advantage separating the middle-class from the lower-class households is the choice of a preindustrial occupation in the sales and services group. These tasks are best performed either by a self-employed single household engaged in trading or by a small business enterprise performing a semi-skilled activity such as tailoring and dressmaking* (Hackenberg, R. 1973, p. 34). This group resides in or near the central city markets and has a birthrate of 33.51 per 1,000. The third group identified comprised 38% of the population and lived in the outskirts of Davao City. The men work primarily for wages in industry and business; the women, because they live away from the center of the city, find it more difficult to engage in any kind of small-scale trading. The crude birthrate for the lower class in 1972 was 40.92 per 1,000.

A second study of the same areas, in 1974, indicated that the world petroleum crisis had had a severe impact on the middle- and lower-income sections of the population. Household income figures showed an average loss of purchasing power by all income sectors of 34% over a two-year period. The loss did not strike each class equally, but inversely: the upper class lost the most and the lower class lost the least. The poorest sector had an average household income of only two pesos (approximately twenty-eight cents) per day, a figure slightly below the absolute poverty line established by the World Bank in 1972. Since these people could not increase their wages as individuals during the crisis, more of them went out to work. The number of employed per family increased 13.2%, and the number of working wives increased 40%. Interclass comparisons for the period show that the largest increases in the employment of both wives and children occurred among the lower-class households (Hackenberg, R. 1975, pp. 7-11).

These data suggest clearly that in dire economic conditions an increase in the number of persons per family who are working helps the family to survive. Most of the lower-class women and children

who entered the labor force went into informal trade and services, which had been dominated by the middle class. The middle class, with most of its family members already employed, was less able to respond; in terms of differential monthly income, this class dropped from sight. *The undifferentiated income zone at the bottom of the city-wide distribution has expanded from 38% of the households to 76% of the entire community over the two-year period!* (Hackenberg, R. 1975, p. 9). Moreover, the middle-class birthrates in 1974 tended toward an approximation of those of the lower class households recorded in 1972. The fragility of this tradition-based middle class is clearly illustrated, despite its reappearance in 1976. While most of the population of the two villages in the present study is lower-class, some families in Niwang can be included in this aspirant middle class.

The results of a third study of the areas, in 1976, indicate that the foregoing trends were transitory. There is a limit to the number of people that the tertiary sector can absorb, and as families were able again to live on one income, many of the lower-class wives dropped out of the labor force. Differences between the incomes of lower- and middle-class households again became clear-cut, and the same was true of fertility trends in the two classes: *The middle-class birthrate has moved steadily downward, this year approximating that of the upper class for the first time in a period for which measurements are available. But the lower-class birthrate is insensitive to economic fluctuations and continues to approximate rural levels. On the strength of the middle-class decline, the birthrate of the entire city has been deflected downward, as the following data illustrate:*

Crude Birthrates, 1974-76

	<u>1974</u>	<u>1976</u>
<i>Lower Class</i>	38.78	38.75
<i>Middle Class</i>	32.22	28.61
<i>Upper Class</i>	28.73	28.15
<i>Total Population</i>	34.12	32.63

(Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1976, p. 6). There are, however, indications of a decline in fertility rates among lower-class women. They may reflect the fact that the higher employment per household among poor families in 1974 did not persist through 1976, not only because women left the labor force as the petroleum crisis eased, but also because opportunities for unskilled labor had declined as increased numbers flooded the market. Recognition of the decline, perhaps, encouraged families to restrict their size.

Middle-class families, which are shown by the data of these studies to have a relative economic advantage only because more family members work, must continue to live near the major markets in order to enable women and children to contribute to the family income. Most of the middle-class families live in squatter communities. Governmental

policies favoring squatter removal can only have the effect of destroying the present middle class while increasing the lower class with its overall greater fertility (Hackenberg, B. 1973).

The outlying lower class, with the highest fertility rates, is clearly the most appropriate target for special family planning projects. A special clinic utilizing local residents as para-professionals was set up in Lanang, a squatter settlement north of Davao. Laborers in a nearby timber processing plant invaded the area, formerly a fish pond, in 1964. This relatively homogeneous squatter group was compared in a recent study with the two villages reviewed in our project which have been settled for a longer period of time by a more diverse group of people (Hackenberg, B. 1975a). The women in Lanang are much less active economically; they are too far from market areas to run stores, and there is no fishing. Their isolation may explain the increase noted in the percentage of women married in this group during the most fertile years, twenty-five to twenty-nine. Given the traditional ideals about family size (Madigan and Almonte, 1976), and the finding of this and other studies that women who marry young produce the largest families, this development is indeed unsettling. It is encouraging to find, therefore, that the special clinic set up in Lanang to counter the tendency of women without economic opportunity to marry earlier has led to a decided increase in the use of contraceptives in the district; further, average marital births in the twenty to twenty-nine age group are rising less rapidly than in a control group (Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1976).

The two villages in our study were used as the control for Lanang. During the two years of study, Hackenberg commented that there was more discussion of birth control in Niwang and Cotawan, *but there was really very little change in either effective or over-all use of contraceptives* (Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1976, Part II, p. 6). Thus, we have provided a context for our village studies. They are located within the sphere of influence of Davao City, are old squatter settlements with a predominantly lower-class population. Fertility can be expected to be high. Our study tries to show how the roles and status of women presently affect fertility and what changes might be anticipated. Before we proceed to the life histories, it may be useful briefly to review the literature pertaining to the unique position of women in Southeast Asia and their attitudes concerning family size.

Southeast Asian Women: Attitudes and Reality

A study in northern Mindanao ascertained the attitudes of women there toward childbearing and fertility (Madigan and Almonte 1976). The analysis was based on in-depth interviewing of ninety women (again of low-, middle- and high-income levels) and concludes that those interviewed continued to reflect the values typical of a rural farm society, when *high fertility was an economically rational choice for*

most families. Yet, despite the women's responses to the interviews, fertility has in fact been declining in the areas studied. The author suggests this is due partly to increased exposure to western media. Parents are increasingly skeptical that their children will support them in their old age and are beginning to question whether it might be more rational to have fewer children and train or educate them better. The author does not categorize these attitudes by income level. What seems to emerge from both this study and those in Davao City discussed earlier is the fact that economic considerations do have an impact on attitudes and result in fertility planning. Our suggestion in this study is that investigators should focus more closely on the strategies of the poor for survival and especially on the strategies of the women. The suggestion that even the lower-class women are having fewer children (Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1976) should be explored further.

Particularly noteworthy in Southeast Asia is the role of women. A study done recently for the Agricultural Development Council on changing roles of women in rural societies shows how clearly the women of Southeast Asia differ from those in the rest of the world. A second study, of a Javanese peasant group (Stoler 1976) indicates that changes in modernization and increased scarcity adversely affect both men and women in the lowest rung of the village society. *Women at all socio-economic levels participate in productive labor; this enables them to secure their own livelihoods and therefore affords them some degree of economic independence vis-à-vis men.* However, among the poorest of the villagers, *women are clearly at an advantage; they have access not only to more kinds of employment opportunities but, more importantly, to regular sources of income.* A second authority also argues that Filipino women and men are more equal than elsewhere, and, therefore, it is the class that is determinant, rather than the sex (Castillo 1976). A third author adds a note of caution to this understanding by pointing out that a study of the Javanese rural middle class indicates that formal education, based as it is on western ideas, tends to make women more dependent economically on their husbands and to encourage larger family size because of freedom from traditional restrictions on fertility (Hull 1976). Such an increased dependency on their husbands, however, does not seem to characterize Philippine women. Indeed, the women seem very strong, especially in economic terms. On the other hand, they are continuously at work, while the men, at least in the areas we studied, seem to have considerable leisure. Hence the women tend to want more children to help them with their housework and their cash producing occupations.

The Villages

The villages we studied may be considered rural, as noted earlier, but most of the women in them go at least weekly to the markets of Davao City to shop. The women are unusually independent and pursue a variety of economic activities. In most cases they do the budgeting for their families and make a majority of the important economic decisions. The educational levels of the nine women for whom we have life histories are low by Philippine standards, but are by no means negligible. Only the two oldest did not attend school; one woman had two years of high school and now has two children in college. The families in both villages seem exceedingly mobile. As the need arises they move from town to town where they have relatives or jobs; during World War II, for example, those then in the area moved away when the Japanese invaded and again when the Americans returned. When they settle or marry, each couple tries to build a separate house on land controlled by a relative. Nuclear families are the rule among the lower classes; as household income increases, household size expands: *extended family residence units are a luxury found in upper income zones of the community* (Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1976, p. 7). Only one of the families in the life history study lived in a rented house. But rented or self-constructed, the houses are all considered squatter from the government view as title to the land is unclear, even though the Muslim village has existed for close to two centuries.

We said at the outset that the women studied have family sizes ranging from no children to fifteen. We found very little use of contraceptives among the women interviewed, although a small clinic nearby provides contraceptive information. On the other hand, another recent study shows thirty-three percent use of effective contraceptives in the two villages despite an average marital birthrate of 4.13 (Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1976, Part II, Table 9).

Cotawan

Cotawan is a Muslim fishing village of forty-two households that was settled along the beach two centuries ago. It is one of a series of small and medium-sized villages strung along Davao Gulf and elsewhere on the coast of Mindanao and settled during the past several centuries by fishermen coming out of Sulu. Many of these villages are connected by religious and family ties and are accessible to each other by boat. These connections continue to have economic value because of the smuggling that still goes on. There is no question, moreover, that this string of villages was used to supply arms to the Muslim rebels who have been in a state of civil war in Mindanao for the past decade. The Muslim villages in the Davao area are at the end of the line, however, and were less likely than some others to have been involved in gunrunning. Cotawan at any rate was left alone by the authorities.

While less than five percent of the population of the Philippines is Muslim, the majority of the citizens who profess that faith live in Mindanao. The rapid immigration of Christians to the island has led to considerable unrest and the aforementioned armed rebellion, which is intermittent and occurs primarily in the western part of the island, away from the Davao area. Thus relations between Cotawan and the Christian village of Niwang, which are separated only by a river, are characteristically distant and filled with suspicion, despite considerable intermarriage and some economic contact.

Cotawan is surrounded by nipa palm swamps and a coconut grove, which shield the village from the new inland highway. The houses are strung along the beach, with the newer ones being built nearer to the swamp. They are built on stilts, in traditional style, and the ground beneath is hard and often swept. Christians come twice daily to tap the coconut trees, remaining from colonial days, for tuba sap. The sap drips from a bamboo stake into a coconut shell and quickly ferments to yield an alcoholic beverage that the Christians enjoy. The Muslim men tend to observe their religion's prohibition against liquor, at least in the village itself.

The economy of Cotawan is based on subsistence fishing. The villagers used to catch fish just offshore, but pollution has forced them farther and farther out, although they still return home every day. They use hook and line for larger fish and nets for sardines, which run monthly and are the only regular commercially important catch. Occasionally the fishermen will land specialty fish that might bring a good price in the market, but normally they eat their catch or sell it locally. For this reason nutrition in Cotawan may be better than in Niwang, whose inhabitants sell a much larger proportion of their catches. The Muslims, in any event, cannot live on their fishing alone. Each family has a secondary source of income. Some grow their own vegetables in small garden plots. But the most important, and a still-growing, occupation is the making of nipa shingles, for roofing, from the bamboo and nipa palm leaves that grow wild in the surrounding swamps.

Until 1974, making nipa shingles was not especially profitable in Cotawan because the villagers had no outlet for them. But in that year the Department of Social Welfare set up a shed along the highway where the shingles could be sold. The only male high school graduate in the village was hired to become the accountant. Since then, the importance of nipa shingles to the village economy has increased greatly. The law does not recognize ownership in the nipa swamps, but areas in them are designated for use by different villagers. Where before making the shingles was a woman's work, today husband and children also help. Jamila (age fifty-five, six children): *When my children were young, they helped me in cleaning the house, like sweeping the floor, washing clothes and cooking. When they became bigger they helped me in making nipa shingles.*

A recent survey indicated that seventy-three percent of the village children over the age of nine are employed in fishing or in shingle-making. These figures bring to seventy-six percent the fraction of the population aged ten or over that is employed. Mean income is \$12.10 per person per month. The survey disclosed further that: *In a population of 229 there are 82 children between zero and nine years of age who are generally excluded from participation in the labor force. There is a remainder of 3.87 possible workers in each of 38 households. If the 112 people working are divided among the 38 households, there are an average of 2.95 economically active people in each. This means that there is a total of $\frac{92}{100}$ of a person still to be employed before the community has reached its absolute capacity to produce. Given their lack of education and training for any other work and their fear of the Christian world, the villagers can only keep up with soaring inflation by adding more workers to traditional occupations, which endangers any hope of future education for their children (Hackenberg, B. 1975b, pp. 5-6).*

The reality of economic pressure in Cotawan is evident in the comments of women we spoke with:

Melinda (age fifty-one, ten children):

From 1944 my husband has been fishing, and I have been making nipa shingles since 1953. Whenever my husband is in the house, he makes ban-ban [material used for nipa shingles]. He spreads the nipa roofing to dry and bundles the nipa; sometimes he helps me gather nipa stalks from the swamps and does the cutting of the nipa ribs from the stalk.

Sariba (Melinda's daughter, age twenty-three, two children):

My work making nipa shingles sometimes affects my work in the house as a wife and as a mother, because I work alone in the house. If I make nipa shingles I cannot clean the house or my work in making nipa shingles would be delayed. I have no helper in the house; my husband stays in the house during the day; on Sundays he makes nipa shingles. If I had a daughter and she was not yet married, I would suggest to her that she work in making nipa shingles; even after she is married I would suggest to her that she may work in making nipa shingles in order that she would have an income to help her husband. Our source of livelihood is making nipa shingles and fishing. But when fishing is not good, then nipa shingle making could never be sufficient to support the needs of the family.

Two of the women in our study also make money by selling vegetables:

Rosita (age sixty-seven, no children):

I like farming because there is no trouble. I am cultivating almost half a hectare. The land is owned by Mr. Pané. I planted papayas, onions, watermelon, rice, vegetables, potatoes, sugar cane, and chili pepper. Mr. Pané does not ask any share from me. My neighbors buy vegetables from me and others don't pay. I make money every day from my vegetables -- bananas, corn, and others.

Cotawan is isolated not only physically but religiously as well. Christians are supposed to be afraid of the Muslims, and although there is some intermarriage in both directions, there are no overlapping social activities, and both of the Christian women in our life-history study who married Muslims eloped to do so.

Rosita:

When I was seventeen my mother moved to Ijo. I did not go with her; I decided to stay in Sirawan and live with my uncle. Then I met Abdul. He courted me for two years. My relatives did not like Abdul because of his being a Muslim, and, according to my mother, Muslims are quarrelsome. We decided to elope. It didn't take long before his parents had us married because the Muslims believe it is wrong not to have a marriage performed. I was married when I was nineteen.

Melinda:

When I was a young woman I was courted by a Muslim who was a neighbor of ours. He was courting me for a long time and then the war broke out. Without having accepted his love our family evacuated to Pangí -- we learned later that the Japanese had already established their government in Davao and not long after that we returned to Cotawan [the family had moved from Niwang after the war had begun for safety]. One evening Zani [the suitor] and three companions came to visit me in the house. Unfortunately my father was drunk. My father scolded me and beat me hard several times. He was angry at me for entertaining Zani, who is a Muslim and whose religion is different from ours. Perhaps not satisfied with his anger he took a bolo with the intent to hack me. Frightened, I immediately rushed downstairs and ran from the house. Very near the house Zani and his companions were hiding while I had trouble with my father. They were apologetic, for if it wasn't for their visit I would not have been

beaten by my father. Zani said that if I loved him he would take me in their home. Thinking at that moment that I could not go home and my father was very angry, I decided to go with Zani and he took me to the Imam's house. The following morning the Imam brought us to the city proper to have us married before the judge. Later we were married again in a Muslim ceremony. I was fifteen at the time; Zani was sixteen.

Niwang

Across the river from Cotawan is the Christian village of Niwang, perhaps the oldest squatter settlement around Davao. Before World War II, the area was owned by a Japanese firm which used the beach area for processing and shipping the abaca fiber it grew inland on the volcanic soil. A subsidiary occupation was fishing off the pier that the company had built. After the war, all Japanese property was confiscated. The land was held by the Philippine government through the National Alien Properties Commission. Middle-class Filipinos quickly occupied the former Japanese houses on the plantation and soon were joined by their friends and relatives, so that the interior behind Niwang rapidly became a middle-income squatter settlement. The beach area was set aside by the government of Davao City as a public park and weekend resort.

As the pressure of population increased in the northern islands, squatters began to build houses on the beach. The largest single invasion came in the early 1950s when a group of 200 fishermen from Leyte arrived with their boats and families. The boat owners, as well as the hired fishermen, all took up residence along the beach, often building on the footings of ruined Japanese commercial buildings, and continued to ply their trade. Today, while some boat owners market their own catch, an active group of traders, primarily women, support themselves in the fish trade. Most of the fish are caught far out in the Davao Bay; the boats are generally gone for two or three days. As soon as the boats land, the fish are unloaded and packed and, within the hour, are on their way to the main markets of Davao City. Fishermen do get leftovers from the catch, which they may sell in the village or eat themselves. But fishing families who do not also trade remain impoverished.

While some of the boat owners and fish vendors may be considered middle-class, a majority of the beach inhabitants are subsistence fishermen or traders. The range of income and of economic activity is considerably different from that of the Muslim village. While women in Niwang almost all engage in some form of economic activity, it appears less essential in their eyes to the family subsistence.

Thus the mean household income for Niwang of ₱158. (Hackenberg, B. 1975a, Table 6) is close to the average income of employed persons in Cotawan of ₱187, but far below the mean household income of ₱551. reached because 2.9 persons per family work (Hackenberg, B. 1975b, Table I).

<u>Male</u> (percent)		<u>Female</u> (percent)	
Artisans		Artisans	
Craftsmen	11.0%	Craftsmen	10.8%
Commercial ¹	7.1	Commercial ¹	35.1
Clerical ²	1.0	Clerical ²	1.8
Casual Labor	2.3	Casual Labor	
Industrial Wage Labor ³	8.9	Industrial Wage Labor ³	
Agriculture		Agriculture	
Farming	4.8	Farming	
Fishing	38.9	Fishing	2.7
Driver	6.4	Driver	
Professional Managerial	1.1	Professional Managerial	5.4
Tailor or Dressmaker	2.1	Tailor or Dressmaker	9.0
Misc. Business ⁴	11.4	Misc. Business ⁴	26.1
Personal Service	2.5	Personal Service	9.0
Unemployed	2.7	% Spouses Employed	23.8

1. Males in this category are primarily salesmen; women are sari-sari storekeepers.
2. Government employees are included in this category.
3. No distinction has been made between skilled machine operators and unskilled laborers, but the former are in the majority.
4. This category is composed of vendors and buy and sell businessmen and women.

(Hackenberg, B. 1975a, Tables 8 & 9)

It would be a mistake to assume that occupations are stable. Carlita, now fifty-six and childless, learned dressmaking as a young girl and helped her married sister in this business for many years without pay. Her father had been a tailor, but also a market collector in a public market, a fish vendor and a farmer. Her present husband has alternately collected tuba or fished. Carlita eloped with her first husband, a fiber classifier, because she felt kept down by her sister-in-law, and desirous of money. Today she runs a small fishing boat for which her five nephews, whom she raised as her own children, provide the labor.

I do all the budgeting in the house. My husband gives me his money and then asks for money for his daily expenses for the week. He buys chewing tobacco and for other recreation he asks for more money. The most is when he goes to the cockpit. I am the one who decides on what to buy. Of course, we have to discuss the things, but I always have the final say. When we bought a fishing net and a banca, it cost us a lot of money. In all of this I was the one who made the final decision. I was insistent on buying these things, because I was convinced that they are very useful and ... was very sure we would earn money out of them. At this time I have no money, no savings.

Maria is forty-nine and the mother of fifteen children. She went to work after the eighth child to help support the family. For a time her husband was a tuba gatherer and then he turned to fishing, but even so his earnings were not enough to support the family, so Maria began to take in laundry. Later, when she had fifteen children, she began to buy and sell fish.

That work was not hard for me because some of my children were already big and they were really a big help to me. The girls do the cleaning, cooking, washing and other chores in the house, and the older boys help their father in fishing. I was happy because out of my earnings we were able to buy a bigger house. My husband has no complaints about my work because he knows that it is a big help for our family, and besides he has only a small income. I stopped selling fish in 1970. Now I am a bit old. I have to stop working as a fish vendor. At present I am being hired to clean the grounds of the Victorio Beach resort, a resort owned by priests. Two of the children help clean the resort and use their money for their school needs.

Magdalena, who is forty-eight and has two children, runs a sari-sari store (the local name for the corner market which sells such staples as canned fish or milk, washing soap, vinegar, soy sauce, plus cigarettes and coca-cola, generally chilled by a refrigerator).

In addition, she and her husband have two pump boats for fishing -- one managed by herself and one by her husband. Because they have only two children, they were able to save money to start the store, and she plans to give it to her daughter.

Florina, forty-four, with six children, is the poorest woman interviewed. She would like to own a sari-sari store. Right now they don't even have their own house.

My problem usually emerges when my children get sick and our money is only enough for our daily expenses. When we already had six children we started to experience financial difficulties, especially when the fishing was not good. I want to look for a job but I cannot because I have my obligation towards my children.

Martina, forty-four, also has six children. She and her husband own 1.5 hectares in Leyte, where they have a tenant farmer. They moved to Niwang for the fishing. For a time her husband was sick and,

We spent all our little savings. We were broke. At present, we are not hard-up economically, because our fishing is making a good income. I prepare the family budget. I hold the money and my husband will ask from the amount for his personal daily expenses.

Transportation. The nipa swamps on two sides of Cotawan and the river on the third have effectively insulated the village from the modernizing influence spreading outward from Davao City. The village is connected to the main highway, about two kilometers inland, by a dirt track which is under water at high tide and is little used. Between the swamp and the highway are the remains of a coconut plantation once owned by Chinese. The Muslims protected it from squatters just after World War II; in return, when the Chinese sold the land to an elite Philippine family, they specifically exempted the Cotawan land from the transaction, even though the Muslims did not consider that the Chinese owned the land where the village stands. Further, neither the nipa swamp nor the beach area can be privately held under Philippine law. Nonetheless, the Philippine owner plans to subdivide his land and create a marina at the mouth of the river. Two years ago a mosque then newly completed on the right-of-way was burned down by an arsonist. The owner of the land is continuing to put pressure on the 42 Muslim households to leave.

Because of the bad feeling against the owner of the subdivision, and because it is easier, the Muslims as a rule travel to and from Davao City via the Christian settlement. They cross the river by banca (a small boat rowed by village children) and take a jeepney from

there. Jeepnies are station wagons converted so that people can get off and on from the back. They are privately run, but provide a frequent, if irregular, service between Niwang and Davao City from about five a.m. until eight p.m. The trip takes about fifteen minutes one way, and a round trip costs one peso.

Several families in Niwang have their own vehicles -- mainly trucks or pickups used to carry fish -- and when they are going to town they always give people rides. In addition, along the beach are all sizes of boats, including very small bancas, outrigger canoes, and sizeable launches with inboard motors that carry two hundred people. Almost every banca has an outboard motor of perhaps three horsepower that allows it to go farther out into the Gulf for fishing or to be used for transportation.

Education. To perpetuate the Islamic tradition, Cotawan supports a madrasa, which goes through grade four, where the children can be taught the Koran. Niwang has a public elementary school that goes through grade six. In the Muslim village so far, only two students have gone beyond elementary school. In fact, few even finish the sixth grade; usually they go on only through grade two. The Muslim students have difficulty for several reasons: the teachers are Christian and seem to have an inborn dislike of them; they are few in numbers, and the other students tend to discriminate against them; they speak Visayan poorly and speak no English, which was the medium of instruction from the first grade on until the past few years. Governmental policy now is to switch to the local dialects in the first few primary grades and then to introduce Pilippino, which is based on Tagalog -- the language of the northern Philippines -- and therefore is also a foreign language to the students in Mindanao.

Because the Muslim children do not feel at ease in school they usually start playing hookey very soon and then drop out. This tendency is shown in the statistics which give the mean education of the male head of household as 3.2 years, and of the spouse as 2.3 years (Hackenberg B. 1975b, Table 1). Of the Muslim women interviewed, the elder two had not had any education themselves. But there may be a change. A new high school has been built halfway between the village and Davao making it accessible by foot to those who cannot afford the cost of transportation. Further, there is a growing recognition of the importance of education, perhaps due in part to the troubles the village is having with the government over land titles. The village has been hampered by having only one person, a woman with only third grade education, who is fluent in the three languages needed to interact with various levels of government. Two of Melinda's younger daughters have finished grade four and are *interested in continuing their studies. They want to be able to obtain a degree, but we have no money. Our earnings are not enough for subsistence and basic needs.* Jamila's youngest son is one of the two boys who are now in

high school. *I advise all my children to have a good education so they can find better jobs and be able to help their parents.*

The Christian children of Niwang have the advantage of already hearing and speaking some English. The education level of the adults certainly encourages school attendance:

	<u>Education</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Percentage who have had		
Some Elementary	74.9%	77.6%
Some High School	20.5	18.4
Some College	4.6	4.0

(Hackenberg, B. 1975a, Tables 4 and 5)

All of the Christian women in our study had gone to school, although the one with the largest number of children had stopped after grade one. One of the women actually had two years of high school and might well have continued had the war not intervened.

Water and Electricity. Clean water is a problem for the people in the Muslim village. Until two years ago the people had to go across the river and fetch water from one of the free wells there or buy water from a water truck. When the new mosque was built, a sheet-metal roof was put on it so that rainwater could be collected for use. Carrying water to households from the mosque or the wells has become a small market activity. Both Melinda and Sariba buy their water, while the other two women carry their own water from wells across the river. All of the women bathe daily in the early morning in the river itself, and all of them use the nipa swamps as a toilet. Only Sariba's family had *dug a hole and built a structure over it*. Clothes are generally washed in the river as the tide is ebbing so the fresh water runs faster.

The Christian village has many wells along the beach, all of them equipped with hand pumps. Most of the women carry the water back to the house for bathing, washing, and drinking, but some do their laundry right at the pump. The water and toilet facilities of the women interviewed reflect their economic levels. Florina, the poorest, carries water from a well and uses the nipa swamps as a toilet. Sometimes her husband helps with the carrying of water. At the other extreme, Magdalena has a well in her home and uses a flush toilet. According to Hackenberg's survey, 46%, or nearly half of the houses along the beach in Niwang and Cotawan, have no toilets and use the nipa swamp or the beach itself; 24% have some sort of pit, while 27%,

all in Niwang, have water-sealed toilets (Hackenberg, B. 1976a, p. 6).

Electricity was brought into Cotawan only in the past two years. Electric lighting is replacing the more expensive kerosene lighting in houses; there are now two street lights, and the sari-sari stores have put in refrigerators to keep drinks cold. Niwang has had electricity for some years, although not all of the 245 households are connected. Radios are ubiquitous in both villages, but generally they are battery-powered transistors.

Health Care. Modern hospitals and public health clinics are available in Davao City, but the villagers seldom use either. A small clinic along the beach, run by Davao City Public Health, is staffed two or three times a week by a nurse or a midwife. They are there primarily to give out contraceptive information, but also will treat minor illnesses or refer the patients to the regional hospital. If the villagers have any money they may go to a nearby Catholic or a Protestant hospital, rather than to the free charity hospital in town. There is one medical doctor along the main highway, but most villagers use a healer who lives in Niwang. The healer had wanted to be a doctor but could not afford the studies, so he worked as an orderly in the Protestant hospital. Now he functions rather like a paramedic, giving penicillin injections and prescribing other antibiotics. He performs a valuable function and seems to know when to refer serious cases to a doctor or the hospital.

Most of the women give birth at home. Of the Christian women studied, Martina had all her children delivered in a maternity hospital; Florina had her first child delivered at the hospital and the rest at home. While the Philippines has a registry of school trained midwives, none lives near these villages. So when the women deliver at home they use an hilot, the traditional midwife who advises mothers during their prenatal period, delivers the baby and often moves into the house for several days to take care of the baby after it is born.

Magdalena:

I delivered in the house and the hilot was Aurelia Melicio. She applied lihi on me to ward off evil. This consists of sugar cane stalk and papaya leaves; these were rubbed several times about my breast so that I would have much breast milk. I had difficulty in my delivery. I labored for five days. I was told to have my bath after fifteen days. I was not allowed to do any house work for two months.

Because the hilot comes to the house to help, most women prefer this method of delivery to the hospital. A major problem with this practice is the very high rate of umbilical tetanus caused by using an unsterilized knife to cut the umbilical cord. There is an effort now to

encourage women to get tetanus shots and to encourage the midwives to use a razor blade and throw it away when they have finished.

Local Organizations. The Muslim village is centered around the mosque and its religious teacher, the Imam. Recently he helped set up two associations which act as both a political and a social unifying force. The Cotawan Muslim Village Association was established in 1969 so that the people in the village would have an organization behind them in their official interactions with government agencies. The impetus for the organization came from the argument with the Philippine elite who own the subdivision and would like to eradicate the village. The association is open to all resident adults over twenty years old. The secretary of the association is a woman, and the president is the Imam himself. There is also a village youth association, which the Imam set up in 1974 with the help of the Catholic brothers who are doing pastoral work in the village. These brothers offer community assistance rather than religious conversion and maintain a very close and supportive relationship with the Imam. They have helped to organize a basketball team and have started to build a wooden platform out into the river to provide a boat landing and rain shelter for those waiting for a banca to cross the river. One bright young woman who is fluent in both Tagalog and English serves as an adviser to the youth association, which is also headed by the Imam. Both associations are supported by house-to-house collections.

In Niwang activities revolve around the church and the barrio religious associations. Two local women have been elected to the barrio council, and one of these has been elected in turn to the district association. These governmental groups had regular elections until martial law was declared; since that time membership has been frozen, and there have been no additional elections. The Muslims have no members in the barrio council, but they do communicate with the council and they did vote in the elections. There are also a variety of smaller organizations in the village, such as the Rosary Society, the Rural Improvement Club, and the Mothers' Club. Officers in these groups are identified as the leading women in the village.

Women's Status and Fertility

The Filipino woman cannot be liberated -- she has never been in a state of servitude. The above sections make it clear that the economic activity of women is essential to family survival for the lower class, and that frequently it provides the income that allows a family to be described as middle class. While traditionally there have been divisions of economic activity, the lines are increasingly blurred. The Muslim women have traditionally made nipa shingles; now that shingles are economically more lucrative, the men are beginning to help collect the palm leaves and even to sew. One young woman wished to go out on

the boats, and she did so until she had enough money to begin to trade in fish. Next to the Imam, the most important person in the Muslim village is the young woman with language ability. The representative to the district council is a woman. Five out of nine of the women studied eloped when their families objected to their marriages. Women, whether working or not, almost invariably handle the family finances, doling out money to the husband as needed for his activities.

Economically women play a strong role at every class within the society. Only at the lowest income levels does the small income available to the unskilled women make full-time housekeeping economically sensible. But economic activity and monetary income do not automatically translate into equal status with men. Throughout South-east Asia market activity has traditionally been left to the women while the men pursue higher status callings. Historically men attended either the court or the temple; today men prefer the civil service, teaching, or perhaps the military, all jobs with high status but often fairly low income. Increasingly women are also entering government service, as they are men's occupations at all levels of society. But, other than business activity, the lives of men and women outside the home remain segregated.

Traditional roles within the family are tenacious. Sometimes the men help their wives to carry water or clean the house in recognition that their wives work harder than they do; still, men clearly have more leisure than women. Washing and cooking seem still to be considered women's occupations, but are often done by the children if the woman is working outside the house. When asked what was the most important role of a woman, all our respondents mentioned the importance of serving the husband.

Carlita:

He wanted me to meet him every time he arrived. He wanted me to be ready to change his working clothes, give him a sponge bath and snacks. If he was not going out he would want me to stay in the house all the time. He always wanted to have a conversation with me. He wanted me to be always in the house and to pamper him every time he arrived. I wanted my husband to have some presents for me every time he came home, especially something to eat, like a Chinese dumpling or bread.

The women interviewed were all concerned that their economic activity not interfere with their duties to their husbands or children. The second most important role for women, after serving their husbands, was to teach children good character and conduct, especially toward their elders. When her work takes a woman out of the house, as it does with Magdalena, then another woman must be found to substitute. Generally the women accepted their economic role with equanimity. Even the

poorest of the women said they liked being women because they didn't have to do heavy work. It was the pain and inconvenience of menstruation and birth that they listed as the thing they didn't like about being a woman, though they like having the children.

The emphasis on woman's role in the home and the sexual segregation of most social activities relate to what appears to be the dominant value held by Philippine women: their honor. All of the women in both the Christian and Muslim villages said that the most important characteristic of a woman was defense of her honor.

Rosita:

This trait is important to a woman, and she must be careful in going with a man, because the moment the reputation becomes bad, people would naturally backbite her. Women who are prostitutes and those having indecent relations with a man have no self-respect, and they are not respected by people. Honor is wealth, especially for a woman. A woman who is known to have a clean life is admired by people. If a woman gets pregnant without a husband, she will become the topic of bad conversation. Men will no longer trust a woman who has lost her honor to a man.

Whenever a man and a woman go out together, it is assumed they are going to engage in sexual activities. Thus a "nice Filipino girl" will not go to a movie with a man unless she is engaged to him. She could go with him in a group of boys and girls, but she would not go alone with him. This attitude may be one of the reasons that many Filipino women who use the pill or IUDs do not tell their husbands.

Childless Women. All women are expected to have children, and all desire them even though all the women interviewed echoed this sentiment of Martina's: *Giving birth is a great sacrifice; months of pregnancy are inconvenient. Delivering a child is very painful and I don't like to menstruate.* All women voiced gratitude to their mothers for having borne them. Sariba expresses the need of women to continue this sacrifice: *Marriage is necessary for a woman because it is through marriage that she can compensate the sacrifices of her mother.*

Whatever the pain or sacrifice, it is clearly better to have children than to remain childless. Two of the women in our sample had no children; each was rejected by her husband for being childless. We let them speak in the following excerpts from their life histories:

Rosita, now sixty-seven years old, lives alone in Cotawan:

I have been separated from my husband for eight years. I owned a sari-sari store before I was separated from my

husband. We always discussed things to be bought, but I always had the final word because my husband always depended upon me and followed what I wanted. I ran the store and built our new house. Even his marriage to another woman was also due to my final decision, and my separation from him was my own decision.

I am worried about being childless. It is lonely to be alone with no one to help if I become sick. I have no one to talk to because I am living alone. If only I had a daughter, I would really work hard to send her to school and obtain higher education. It is a hard life if there is no one who can be asked to help, especially for a poor woman like me. If we have no money we cannot ask someone to do something. If you have children you can ask their help any time.

Rosita was born a Christian in the Muslim town of Sirawan. Her family lived in a house near the beach and ran a carenderia (food shop) selling bread and coffee. From the age of five, Rosita helped both in the store and at home. Her father was a tenant farmer on land of her uncle and sometimes fished as well. Her mother often helped on the farm, leaving both the house and the store to her. Later the family moved to Ijo to the house of her grandparents and worked their land.

In Ijo we lived in the house of my grandparents, which was in a barrio. Our house was about 2 kilometers from the sea. We were many living in the same house. The brothers and sisters of my mother and their spouses also lived together. The house was big. I had not seen my uncles and aunts quarrel with each other and we lived peacefully. My father worked in the farm and at night he went fishing.

The sister next to me died at three years old and at that time my mother became pregnant. When her pregnancy was about four months my father died of fever. I was about ten years old at that time. After my father died, my mother's work was weaving mats for sale. I helped my mother gathering tambiling materials for making mats. She also taught me how to make bags made of buri. After my father's death we did not work on the farm.

When Rosita was twelve, her mother married a Japanese who had a five-year-old child and who worked on an abaca plantation. The family followed him to three different locations as he changed jobs:

The Japanese became a drunkard and when he was drunk his behavior was bad. He was cruel to my mother and to the children. It was a troubled life for us. Every time they

sold abaca, the Japanese would invite his Japanese friends and when they became drunk his manners were bad. He would harm my mother. Because we feared him, we left the Japanese and went back to live with my grandparents. There we had a store selling tuba. When I was eighteen, my mother married a Chinese who was about seventy years old at the time and my mother over forty. They lived together for about two years and my mother ran his store in another town. They lived together for only two years and then the Chinese sold his store because his son took him back to China and my mother was given the sewing machine, bedding and other things.

Rosita was courted by both Muslims and Christians. When her uncle objected to her meeting Abdul, recounted above, she eloped.

I was married when I was nineteen. We were still newly married, and we would always talk about our future. My husband and I wanted to have three children, but we never had a child in spite of the treatment from the midwife. I think it is the will of God that I should not have a child. At first I had a carenderia while my husband worked on the abaca plantation. We moved several times during the war and finally came in 1946 to Cotawan. I opened a sari-sari store and my husband did hook fishing. We had a fishing net and three bancas made. We had a two-storey house built in the Muslim village and were doing well in our business. I had two helpers. I made all the decisions according to what I considered good, and my husband simply agreed to my decision.

In 1958 my husband thought of marrying another woman, because he wanted to have children. I did not agree, and I suggested that we separate. He did not agree to our separation. He told me about a woman in Bunawan who was separated from her husband and she had one child. After several months of his asking me to consent to his plan, I went and saw the Imam, who was agreeable with my husband's intentions, since he knew the woman because he had once treated her when she was suffering from insanity. We went to the house of the girl together with the Imam. At first the grandparents of the girl did not agree because my husband had a wife and they were afraid of the present wife (me). We went home unsuccessful. The Imam changed his feeling toward the grandparents of the girl. When the grandparents of the girl knew that the Imam felt something bad toward them, the grandparents and the girl came to see us in Cotawan to inform us that they already agreed to the marriage. They discussed the marriage,

the date of the wedding, the amount of cash to be paid, and the expense of the wedding. We lived together after their marriage. At first she was good, but later on she was always jealous. She became angry and quarreled with us when my husband and I would have a conversation. If I bought a new dress she quarreled with our husband. She got mad whenever my husband came to me. So in order that there would be no quarrel all of the time, I decided to separate from my husband. Besides, I was already very much ashamed before my neighbors. I sold my bancas and fishnets. I closed my store because I had no more helpers and I was always getting sick.

Rosita's childlessness has turned her into a lonely and pitiful old woman, when before she had been a successful businesswoman. Our marriage was not good because we never had a child of our own. If I had a child of my own, I would not be living alone in the house.

Carlita was also rejected by her first husband for being childless but she is married again and has raised five nephews and a niece as her own children. Her life is much happier than Rosita's. Of her thirteen siblings, only five are now living, three of them in Niwang.

I was born in Bago Gallera and we lived in that place until I was five years old. Bago Gallera at that time was an agricultural place. There were abaca plants, bananas, and jackfruit. The land of my parents was planted with some abaca, bananas, rice and various green leafy vegetables. I was baptized when I was about one year old. When I was a child I helped my mother in washing dishes, preparing vegetables to be cooked and kindling the firewood. Some of my brothers were helping my father in selling fish, and they also helped my father in fishing. One of my sisters was studying at Immaculate Concepcion College. When I was about five years old we moved to Niwang. Because my father was engaged already in buying and selling fish, he bought a service automobile for his business. I started my schooling when I was eight years old at the elementary school. My favorite subjects were reading, geography, language, and I was poor in other subjects. I stopped school after I finished grade five. I was sick for almost one year. After that my mother also became ill. I quit school because I felt ashamed to return to school again being I was already grown up. I had my first menstruation about this time; I was thirteen years old.

At that time, I was living in the house of my brother who was already married. My work in the house was

cooking, cleaning the house and laundering. I did not continue my studies anymore. I decided to learn dressmaking from my sister-in-law. After I learned to sew dresses, I helped my sister-in-law in making dresses in the house and she was the one receiving payments from our customers. She did not pay me for my work but she bought me dresses and my other needs. My recreation would include attending benefit dances, going to the movies, and going with my friends attending social programs. I was trying to keep myself attractive and I had several suitors, especially when I was a candidate for muse of Niwang.

I had my first sweetheart when I was sixteen years old, but my sister-in-law did not like it because I was still young. My parents did not like my sweetheart also because he had a relative who was convicted of murder. My sweetheart was my neighbor since childhood. He courted me when I was sixteen and we were together for more than one year. While he courted me, he befriended my brother who happened to be his co-worker. Because my parents opposed my marriage to him, we decided to elope. After this, our parents summoned us and agreed to our marriage. I was seventeen when I was married. My problem before marriage was the opposition of my parents to my marrying him. I asked my brother for advice and he did not oppose my getting married, which my parents did not like. We were married at the San Pedro Church, and only one brother attended. We had a simple wedding party, held at my husband's parents residence. After the wedding, we stayed in the house of my husband's brother. After a year, we built a small house near the warehouse of Niwang. My husband worked in the warehouse as a fiber classifier. My work was to attend the household chores and sew dresses.

The things I liked in being married were being independent from my parents, and having a house of my own. When we were newly married, we would recall our past experiences. We would discuss the need of building a house of good materials and we would talk of the number of children we wanted. We planned for our future saving money. After our marriage I always was sick. I had two successive (spontaneous) abortions and after these two abortions I never became pregnant again. My parents believed that our blood was incompatible. My parents had me under the care of a quack doctor to cure my illness which prevented me from being pregnant, but this was not successful. Our parents were very eager

to see their grandchildren, which is why they were concerned very much about my failure to have a child.

We wanted to have only four children, two boys and two girls. I wanted a girl for our oldest but my husband wanted a boy. Because we never had a baby there were times when my husband proposed to have illicit relations with an unmarried woman and when the woman delivered a child we would adopt the child as our own. I did not express my objections to this proposal but instead I cried. My husband understood this to mean that I was not in favor of his idea.

Because of my inability to have a child, we constantly quarreled and this resulted in his leaving me and going to Cebu. After some years, he lived with another woman and had a child with her. Later he came home and proposed that we be reconciled and live again as husband and wife. He proposed reconciliation three times and I refused. I was hurt because of what he had done to me, leaving me and living with another woman. We agreed to have our separation in a written contract or agreement which we both signed. We signed an agreement of separation promising not to disturb each other and each of us can live with another partner. My former husband got married in 1948 [not legally married but living as husband and wife] and I was married to Eduardo in 1950 [not legally married but living as husband and wife only].

I am happy now with my second husband because he is very good. At the time I met my second husband, I was living with my older sister in Biao, in 1941. This was during the Japanese occupation. He courted me after I was separated from my first husband. My father did not like me to live with another man because my first husband is still alive. My relatives did not object but they left the decision to my father. But some time later, they did not object because I had an agreement with my first husband that we would not interfere against the other.

In 1954 I was operated on to remove my ovary. I was happy in spite of the fact we did not have any children. My husband too had no complaints on the matter. Before I was operated, I was hoping very much to have a child. But after I had my operation, I lost my hope of ever having a child. Had I not been operated on I could have been suffering from cancer. The occupation of my husband now is tuba gathering and he does fishing once in a while.

Carlita is much healthier now that she has had her hysterectomy. She and her husband own a banca and a fishing net, and her five nephews, whom she raised as her own children, are the fishermen. Carlita would like her nephews to continue with their studies, but all of them have now dropped out of school. Her husband keeps a pet cock for fighting, which seems to be some measure of their strong economic position. She seems to have a happy life with her adopted family. Her rejection of her first husband's return and of her father's pressure to reunite indicates the strength of the Filipino woman.

Higher Fertility. Each of the two women in our villages with the greatest number of children wanted only five. Both were married at sixteen and continued to have children throughout their reproductive periods. Six of Maria's fifteen children have died, while three of the ten children born to Melinda also died. Both came from families of nine children. Neither seemed to feel that she had any real choice of family size. Again, we turn to excerpts from the women's life histories.

Melinda:

I was born in 1925 in Leyte. My parents could not recall the exact date I was born. My father owned a coral fishing business, and sometimes engaged in buying and selling abaca fibers. He sold his abaca to a Chinese merchant. My parents owned three hectares of agricultural land and had it cultivated by tenant farmers. We had coconut on our land as well as sweet potato. The sharing of the crops was fifty-fifty. Our residential house was near the beach, about five kilometers from our farmland. It was big enough for the family. The roof of the house was of nipa, and the lumber used for the house was of good material. There were many Chinese residents in the barrio. Most of the people were engaged in farming and fishing, while the Chinese merchants owned the stores. I was baptized before I was one year old, and began to remember things when I was five. I can remember being asked by my mother to keep watch of the farm and drive the chickens away from the corn which was drying in the sun.

My father was very tough when he was angry. He always quarrelled with my mother, even on small matters. He always used his hand on my mother, especially when he became drunk. We children might disagree with each other, but we were always afraid to have any arguments because our father would really punish us. When I was seven I was enrolled in our barrio public school. We would cut grass within the schoolyard and areas around; I really enjoyed being in school.

When I was studying, my mother used to warn me not to quarrel with other children and to respect old people and my elders. My parents always punished me for every serious fault I committed. Aside from whipping, my mother usually made me kneel before the altar until I became tired. My father was more severe than my mother in his way of punishing children. We did not have any problems with our livelihood. We did not worry about food or clothing. My father's income was enough. But I did not like him because he was cruel to the children and to my mother. My mother had a bad habit of attending gambling games. That is what my father always quarreled with her about. My father hated her being a gambling addict very much.

There was a time when my father went to our farm to get bamboo for our coral fishing. Since the place was far away, my mother was supposed to follow my father and bring some lunch during noontime. But they did not meet at the farm and my father went home. When my mother arrived home they had a bitter quarrel, and as usual my father used his hand on my mother. My father was very angry. He even beat my brother Donato severely. My brother escaped and went to our uncle. Together they later went to Davao. My mother was very sad and cried very much when my brother left our place. The year was 1934.

When my brother left I also quit school without finishing grade three. My mother lost her patience with my father's excessive cruelty and his bad character. So she and several of us children went first to live with an aunt and later decided to go to Davao. We boarded a ship with the arrangement that we would pay our fare upon arrival. When we arrived it was Donato, my brother, who paid the fare.

Melinda lived with her brother in housing the Japanese constructed for their workers, and her mother cooked rice cakes. The daughters went to work in a laundry room. After three years her father arrived, bringing with him the younger children. Her father began again in coral fishing and built the family a house with a sheet-metal roof. Even before the war broke out, the Japanese workers were sent home. Many of the people in Niwang went back to their homes. Melinda's father moved the family across the river into Cotawan. During the invasion they spent about a week in the forest, but were not troubled by the Japanese when they returned to the village. Melinda worked in a canning factory until the quarrel with her father over her Muslim suitor, Zani. Shortly after she and Zani were married, her father was killed by an unknown assailant.

We suspected that some person was envious of him because he was doing well in his fishing. My husband's work was fishing

also, We were not hard up for money. It was a quiet life, with only Zani and me in a small house.

About the end of 1944 American airplanes started bombing many areas. When the American liberation forces came to Davao, we evacuated to Sirawan, about thirty kilometers from Cotawan. Japanese soldiers and Philippine civilians were also evacuated to the mountains. I was with child when we left and was in the mountains when I delivered our first child. Life was very hard. Food was scarce, and I was very sick. My child died of fever.

When we returned to Cotawan there were many ruined houses, and only a few people had come back from the evacuation. The big warehouse owned by the Japanese was completely destroyed. In a few days many people returned and the place became lively. The fishing was good again.

When we were newly married we used to discuss about fishing. I had not wanted to have a child until after two years of marriage. When we were just married we always talked about our livelihood and the number of children we should have. I wanted to have a spacing of two years between my children. I wanted to have five children--two girls and three boys. My husband was very agreeable to my plan. I helped my husband process coconut oil and attended the household chores such as laundry and cooking and cleaning the house.

Melinda's second child died at one year, her fourth child at two; the rest of her children are still alive. Before the birth of her fifth child she began making nipa shingles.

I did not have any problems regarding the care of my children when they were small. But now that they are already grown, I am experiencing difficulty. I have problem with my children especially those who are married. I find it unbearable to see my children in hardship. I worry whenever my grandchildren become ill. Though they are already married they still come to me whenever they have no money. Though I am already old, I still continue to sacrifice making nipa shingles so I could earn money and help support our family needs and those of our children who are already married.

When I am not busy in the house I am mending clothes. I sometimes visit our neighbors for about an hour at the most. We usually talk about our present economic situation, hardship, the good and bad traits of people. When someone gets sick the neighbors are also helping each other. Helping one another is also done if someone is in the situation that

needs the help of others. We share our food to neighbors and borrow things and supplies from those who have.

If I were not a woman, I would not have been experiencing hardships in life now. Having many children would usually make a family live in hardship, especially if they do not have a good income. Among my children, Dunarda is sympathetic and has concern for me. I have sacrificed for my children when they become sick. I work very hard to earn money to buy things they have asked for, caring for them, educating them, and disciplining them.

Maria, mother of fifteen, was born on a small, rocky farm, one of ten children.

At four I could remember that in our place there were banana trees, bamboo, coconut trees. In the back yard there were cassava and some leafy green vegetables, and we raised chickens. I ran my mother's errands. I helped in cleaning the house. I learned to wash clothes. I played walking-stick, or pretended to cook or keep house. In our back yard we had a guava tree. I used to pick ripe guavas and sell them to our neighbors. We also had a sari-sari store. I was baptized when I was two months old. When I was five years old I learned to make mats. I started school at seven years. My favorite subject was arithmetic. I only finished grade one. My mother forced me to continue schooling, but I did not have any interest. Instead I preferred to accompany my mother all the time.

My first menstruation was at the age of fifteen. My mother told me to have my bath in the sea, with some cotton under my armpits, and rub oil all over my body. She also taught me a lihi [procedure to ward off bad omens]. I climbed three steps and jumped. I was instructed not to step on anything like the manure of chickens. This was done in the belief that I would not feel bad every time I menstruate.

At age fourteen I started to have suitors. I fell in love at the age of fifteen. I had problems when I was yet single. My problem was about money and dresses. So I had to work or cook something and sell it so I could have dresses. My parents did not like my marrying at an early age.

Maria's husband's family had had a fight with Maria's family over the placing of their fishing fences, but eventually the disagreement was forgotten in the courting procedures of visiting back and forth. The couple was married quietly at night because they were afraid of Japanese soldiers.

My husband's occupation was fishing. We were planning to gather firewood and sell it in the neighborhood to supplement the meager earnings of my husband from fishing, but I became pregnant. I was married in January and immediately became pregnant, in February. After we were newly married we would discuss about the number of children we hoped to have. We only wanted five. Both of us wished to have a boy for our first child. My parents were very happy when I became pregnant because they, too, wanted to see grandchildren from our marriage.

I was very happy when I had my first boy child. I delivered in the house attended by an hilot. She applied a lihi. One week after my delivery, I was asked to go down stairs and uproot a clump of grass. Then I was told to bump my head slightly on the house, this would prevent any relapse after delivery which was the belief.

One week after my delivery, I was allowed to do some household chores such as cooking, washing diapers and baby clothes. I did not encounter difficulty in the delivery of my first child.

Maria had children in 1943, 1944, 1945, and 1946 but only the first one lived. Two girls came in 1948 and 1951; the boy born in 1954 died from tetanus at the age of six. The next child, a boy born in 1955, drowned at sea at the age of twelve. The girls were born in 1957, 1958, and 1960. A boy born in 1961 died at three months. A boy was born in 1962, a girl in 1963, and another girl in 1968.

When the family first moved to Niwang, Maria's husband became a tuba gatherer, but after they had eight children he had to return to being a fisherman. At that time Maria began to take in laundry.

There were many things to consider: How to cook food for the children who are left in the house. How to clean the house before going to work. How to feed the children at the right time. It was really very difficult because my children were still young. In 1964, I had already fourteen children when I got another job: buying and selling fish. I sold them to our neighbors and at other places. That work was not hard for me because some of my children were already big and they were really a big help to me. The girls do the cleaning, the cooking, washing and other chores in the house. The older boys helped their father in fishing. Radito when he was yet single was a big help in our family because he was earning also as a tuba gatherer. He used to give me all his earnings. I was happy because out of our earnings we were able to buy a bigger house. My husband has no complaints about my work because he knows that it's a big

help for our family and besides that he has only a small income. I stopped selling fish in 1970. Now I am a bit old, I have to stop my work as a fish vendor. At present I am being hired to sweep the beach at two resorts.

It is difficult to have so many children, especially when they are very young, when they become sick, when they are at school, and when we are short of money for food, medicine, and school needs. I sacrificed in doing laundry work, selling fish, and making charcoal out of coconut shells to get money for my family. I prefer to have a job rather than to stay in the house because if I have a job I will have an income which our family urgently needs. The profits of my business are for my family. My business is very beneficial to them. I pay for medicine, dresses, food, tuitions, and other needs. I do not need any direction from my husband because he is poor in business. My husband knows that I know about business.

My children always complain when I cannot give them what they are asking for. I always worry about school and its expenses. They do not listen at once whenever my children are not feeling well. It is a headache whenever they ask for a new dress and I cannot buy it for them because of lack of money. I am also so much bothered by my grandchildren, who are always getting sick. I feel I have much trouble attending or taking care of them, especially now, when they are still small.

I consider our transfer to our new house in 1967 my happiest experience. I was very happy because before that time we had been sacrificing ourselves in a very small house.

Maria describes her husband as loving:

He used to give advice to our children, reminding them of good behavior. He used to advise them not to be lazy but to be courteous and respectful. He usually brings home something for the children, usually food. I expected him to strive hard to improve our livelihood. I wanted him to be industrious in his work, to look for ways to help me in our hardships by finding another job that would give us a better income. I wanted him to learn the habit of doing anything in the house like repairing defective parts of the house.

Throughout the life history are such comments of the difficulty of raising so many children. Nowhere is there a suggestion that fewer children would have been preferable nor even a comment reflecting that Maria knew of contraceptive methods.

Roles and Attitudes Among Philippine Women

Life histories were collected for nine women in the two villages of Cotawan and Niwang. In addition to the two childless women and the two with high fertility, the sample included two women with two children each. While Magdalena has a completed family size of two, it is likely that Sariba will have more children. She was interviewed solely because she was the only woman in Cotawan with just two children at the time of the survey. The other three women each have six children, the average family size in the village. The total fertility for ever-married women in 1976 in the thirty-five to thirty-nine age group was 6.17 (Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1976, Section II, Table 9). Rather than present repetitive life histories from the remaining five women, we have chosen in this section to analyze the histories and present those roles and attitudes which are peculiarly Filipino.

We have further tried to show what differences appear to exist between the Muslim and the Christian women. Such an effort must be approached with caution. While the Muslim community as a whole has a higher fertility rate in the Philippines than does the dominant Christian community, Beverly Hackenberg has argued that variation within the religious community is greater than between religions. She finds that urban ecology is the primary causative agent leading to a lowered birthrate among one segment of Muslims living in an integrated community within the central city while maintaining a high birthrate among the Muslims of Cotawan (Hackenberg, B. 1975b).

In the process of taking down the life histories, the field interviewer also used the same short social character questionnaire utilized in the parallel Kenyan and Mexican studies (see Appendix II). In the case of the Philippines, however, the data so collected could not be interpreted meaningfully. While the theory of social character represents an extremely useful analytical approach, an intimate knowledge of the society, its values and social structure, is necessary to make both the questionnaire and the typologies consonant with the culture. Such modification is particularly necessary in the Philippines where this method has not been used before and where the women play an exceedingly strong role in economic affairs, keep the family budget, yet maintain certain deferential forms of interpersonal relationships within the family. It was not possible within the time constraints of this project to locate personnel with sufficient understanding both of the theory and of the country to adapt the questionnaire. Therefore, the answers to the short social character questions are used here only descriptively as additional information rounding out the life histories.

All the women in our sample have worked for money at some point in their lives. All control the family budget, and all but one continue to contribute to the family income. Throughout the Philippines, and indeed all of Southeast Asia, women play an important entrepreneurial role. Traditionally, such activity was not considered particularly high status;

perhaps for that reason it was left to women. Today there is little occupational segregation though women still tend to cluster in market activities. While women's economic role does not, therefore, automatically mean a dominant voice in the family, this economic ability gives an independence to Philippine women not equalled in many countries around the world. We see much more variation in the way the women use this economic role within the family setting.

The Muslim Women

Cotawan is a poor village. Melinda, working hard to support her ten children, sells nipa shingles from morning until night. She describes her daily activities as follows:

5:00 a.m. - rise up, make coffee, buy bread; 6:30 a.m. - have breakfast, make nipa shingles, cook food for lunch; 12:00 p.m. - eat lunch, clean the table, wash the dishes; 1:00-4:00 p.m. - cut nipa stalks; 4:00 p.m. - back home, have a bath; 5:00 p.m. - hear prayers, cook food for supper; 6:00 p.m. - eat supper, clean and wash dishes; 7:00 p.m. - listen to a radio program while sewing clothes or making more nipa shingles; 8:00 p.m. - prepare bedding, rest and sleep. Since Friday is the Muslim day of worship, we go to the mosque and stay there most of the day. On Saturdays and Sundays our children, and sometimes my husband, go to the city to see a movie. I stay home.

Jamila raises vegetables and sells them. She works on the family farm both before and after lunch. Rosita was a successful owner of a sari-sari store until she left her husband, and now she also works on a farm. All of their mothers also worked, making mats or running a store, or selling food. They all recommend to their daughters that they should work to support the family. And all of the things they recommend are making and selling. While most of the women list teaching as a possible form of employment, they do not rate it very high. Perhaps that is because it takes more schooling than any of them would expect of their daughters. They would all agree with Rosita:

A woman who is married should have a small business of her own, especially if her husband has a very small income. They should only engage in business which will not have a bad effect on the family. The husband should also help decide how the profits should be used. On my part, I believe that business is not an obstacle to family life, even when there is a discussion concerning difficult problems.

All the women in the Muslim village earn money and spend it for the needs of the family. The husband also helps the woman with her work when he is not out fishing. Of the group, only Rosita seems to have played a dominant role in her own family, making most of the decisions about the use of money.

All of the women agree however that a good wife is one who serves her husband. Jamila: *My husband has no complaints against me because I am really attending him, like serving his food, clothing and anything pertaining to the family. I also have no complaint against my husband because he is really good to me. A good couple is one who always discusses marriage for the good of the family.*

All of the women stressed the importance of teaching children to respect authority. They rate their children as to whether they obey or not. Says Melinda: *Children should be whipped if they do not obey. If my anger has calmed down, I reprimand them in a low voice.* Or Jamila: *When my children got unruly or naughty, I disciplined them by advice. I used to advise them when I am not angry. I do not reprimand my children in the presence of other people. If you punish a child in front of other people, they usually become hard-headed. My children have given me a headache when they were yet small, especially when they made some foolishness. I have no more problems now because they are all married except the youngest.* Or Sariba: *My husband expects me not to be naqqinq. He wants me to take care of the children first before making nipa shinqles.*

All of the women in this small village name the same three women as leaders. The young woman who has a gift of language is described as *hospitable, friendly, intelligent, good in conversation, active, not shy, aggressive, frank, industrious.* They all admire the woman who is a nipa buyer who has a small store and is courteous, helpful. She lives comfortably. The other woman is also an officer in the workers association, and again, *hospitable, industrious,* and in charge of the collection of contributions for the organization.

The Christian Women

The women in the Christian village differ from those in the Muslim village in that they feel they have a choice about working after marriage. Three of the women, Martina, Carlita and Florina, had mothers who did not engage in entrepreneurial activities, although Florina's mother helped on the farm. Florina herself is the only one of our sample who is not presently working. It is also true that hers is the poorest family.

Sometimes we do not have money to buy rice. We always need money to be able to educate our children; without money we cannot buy clothes. All I can say about our marriage is that our life was better when our children were still small because my husband had an income sufficient for our needs. Now that our children are all big we are in financial hardship and could no longer continue to support the education of our children. I also find it hard to discipline our

children because sometimes they go against us and they would want to do what they want. I am worried that they ask for money and I cannot give it to them. It is a headache when they get sick and I cannot give them what they want--I am always hoping that my husband will persevere and work hard in order that he will earn more.

Florina herself seems overwhelmed by the problems of living. She says she does not know any of the prominent people in the village, nor who the barrio officers are. Except for going to church she seems to have no other recreation. She says she would like to work but she cannot because the children are young, even though many women in the village work with young children and say it does not have any adverse effect on them. She says that she only wanted to have two children and her husband only wanted four but they ended up with six and they have never practiced family planning.

Florina as a child seems to have been quite willful, running off to visit an aunt, cooking food when her mother was late returning home. Her complaint as a young woman is that she did not have enough dresses but she had no way to earn more. She married late, at twenty-six, and even then she eloped before later having a civil marriage. One has the impression of an impulsive, unplanned person who basically copes from day to day with life and occasionally and briefly rebels. She says she likes being a woman because she stays at home and just takes care of the house and children; sometimes she helps her elder brothers in laundering their clothes.

Martina, whose mother also did not work, considers herself basically as a housewife. She says she likes being a woman because *I stay at home and the work is light*. She does go every morning to the beach to see if there is fish that should be taken to the market. This is a supportive role to her husband. Martina has had the most education of any of the women in our sample, having attended high school and taken also a steno-typing class. Nonetheless, she was living with her uncle taking care of his children when she met her husband. She eloped with her husband because her uncle beat her up after she and her boyfriend had stayed over in Davao with a relative because she missed the bus home.

She is not clear how many children they really wanted except they did not want very many. Life got harder as they had more children and finally her husband, who had been tilling 4.5 hectares of his own land, decided to move to Niwang to take up fishing and leave the farm with tenants.

We found our new place lively. Income from fishing was enough. However, we experienced hardship when my husband became sick. He suffered pains in his eyes and he almost lost his vision. We spent all our little savings.

We were broke. After several months my husband became well. At present we are not hard up economically because our fishing is making a good income.

She has taught her daughters to help her in the house, and the sons sometimes help her with the fishing. She thinks that unmarried daughters should certainly work, but she does not really consider herself working now.

Maria, the mother of fifteen children, did not work until she had eight children, and then clearly had to go to work in order to make ends meet. She says: *My husband has no complaints about my work because he knows it is a big help for our family, and besides he has only a small income.* When she became too old for fish vending, she then took on the cleaning of the beach. But she said she never had any direction from her husband because he was poor in business. *My husband knows that I know about business.* The work that she does only takes about half the day, so again, she spends more time at home.

Carlita sees herself primarily as a housekeeper as her mother was, even though she manages a fishing boat, which is sailed by her nephews, and sells their catch. *My work in the house is cooking meals, cleaning and patching, which I like. But I do not like ironing clothes, washing clothes or carrying heavy objects.* Before she was married she had been a dress-maker and she continued to do it off and on for a while, but she said it is too tiring. Still,

A wife should have a little business to help her husband. I like being a woman. I stay in the house and just wait for my husband's return. I do not carry heavy objects and my work is light. I like being a woman because I could have a child, but I have no children. I had two miscarriages. I get scared easily. I am afraid to be in the house alone. I am afraid to travel in far places. I cannot move or carry heavy things. I am very shy, and I usually get sick.

That does not sound like a strong, entrepreneurial woman, despite the fact that:

I am the one who decides what to buy and what is needed by the family. Of course we have to discuss things but I always have the final say. When we bought the fishing net and the banca it cost us a big amount of money. In all of these, it was I who made the final decision.

These four women, then, see themselves primarily as housewives whose housework may include economically active jobs that we would put into the market sector. Only one of them, Florina, does not seem to

play the budgetary role in the family. It would seem then, that the men in these families regard the entrepreneurial activities of their wives as simply part of their normal housewifery occupation, and one that could be dispensed with if the husband's income was good enough. Perhaps one might say this was a traditional concept of women's roles.

Magdalena, on the other hand, has a concept of working in order to put her children through school and so to give them a better start in life. Her father was a fisherman who also worked on a farm, while her mother earned money from sewing, embroidery and knitting.

I remember that I was very sickly when I was five years old. I was already helping my mother in the house and in harvesting corn and rice. I used to play ball and perform in dancing acts when we had nothing to do. I stayed in the house most of the time, although sometimes I helped cut the grass on the farm. When I was yet a child I used to gather living shells from the seashore. As soon as I had gathered enough I sold some of them and the rest were brought home for our own consumption. I started school when I was seven years old and finished grade three. That was in 1940 when the Japanese came. The subject I liked most was arithmetic. I did washing, cleaning the house, and helping my mother sew clothes. I was not being paid. I used to attend benefit dances and have conversations with my brothers and sisters when we had nothing to do. My problem was that whenever I asked for money to buy new dresses they could not give it to me right away. I did not continue my studies after the war. I did not find a job that could be a source of income.

Magdalena finally left her parents in Leyte and came to Davao to live first with her cousin and then with her uncle in the main market area of Davao where she helped in his store. Magdalena did not marry until she was twenty five years old. Her uncle acted as her guardian and married her in a very special marriage ceremony. Her husband worked in the fishing business as the head of a fishing motorboat, one of a fleet owned by the largest fishing group in Niwang. So Magdalena moved to Tolomo and lived in the house of another uncle helping in his store.

When we were newly married my husband and I usually talked about our livelihood. He had wished I would have six children, three boys and three girls. On my part I wanted to have only four children, two boys and two girls. I had hoped that I would become pregnant after three years but my husband wanted to have children as soon as possible because he wanted very much to see our child. I took almost two years before I became pregnant. My daughter was already seven years old before I received my second child who is a son.

Magdalena's husband made good money in fishing, enough to allow the couple to employ a housemaid to help them with the children. The maid also freed Magdalena to work in her uncle's store. But her husband was ambitious, so about two years ago they decided to open their own sari-sari store.

Before we established our business my husband and I discussed it. It was my husband's idea that I should have a sari-sari store. We have operated the business for two years. It does not affect my role as mother much nor as a wife because I have helpers; one is my cousin, the other is my niece, and besides my children are already grown. They can help watch the store and attend the customers. The profits of the sari-sari store are all used for the expansion of the business because it is yet small. The income of my husband is the one used for family expenses. My business is as of now improving itself. My husband gives all the money to me. I am the one who budgets the money. I just consult him on how much to appropriate for food, for school expenses, for clothing, for medicine, for the pump boat, and so on. In purchasing big items we have to discuss first before we buy things like the pump-boat, a frigidaire, fish nets and some other things needed in fishing, but for small items I will be the one to decide. We have two boats for fishing, one is managed by me and one my husband.

Now that her daughter has completed school, where she studied banking and finance, Magdalena has given over the sari-sari store for her daughter to manage.

My advice to my daughter while she is not married is for her to be employed so that she will be able to save money and to buy whatever she wants. Also so that she can help her younger brother who is still studying. When my daughter is married I would not interfere as to what kind of work they wanted to be engaged in. I would only give them advice. It is really necessary that a woman should have educational qualifications. When a woman has limited education it would be very hard for her to get a high paying job.

Of all the women studied, only Magdalena listed secretarial, nursing or medicine as a preferable job for women to hold. Now that Magdalena's daughter spends much time in the sari-sari store, she goes to the beach every day to supervise the carrying of fish from the beach to Davao. She also keeps chickens. But she has time to play bingo occasionally. Clearly happy with herself, she says, *I have no objection about being a woman, because that is what God wanted me to be.*

Cash Economy. Magdalena's affluence is also evident in the fact that she shops daily in the big market in Davao. Of course she takes the fish into town to deliver them for sale, so it is easy for her to buy the coffee, salt, sugar, and fried fish daily. She is also able to buy a sack of rice once a month. Typically it is the poorest women who shop at the local stores and buy a small amount of food at a time. Florina says:

I don't usually buy at the market. Instead I make purchases from nearby stores. Even if I have sufficient money I still buy at stores here in Niwang. I buy rice, vegetables, dried fish, salted fish, sugar, soap, coffee, salt, and bread and biscuits. I seldom buy meat, and it is only during special occasions.

Maria, with fifteen children, also cannot afford frequent trips to the Davao market. She says only during fiesta times and holidays or perhaps to celebrate a birthday does she go into town. Then she may buy such things as chicken, spices, soy sauce, potatoes, monosodium glutamate, sometimes pork or beef, beer or tuba, and even coca-cola. Both Martina and Carlita shop weekly in Davao for basic food, soap, toothpaste, napkins and lotion.

The Muslim women have much the same pattern. While Melinda only shops once a month in Davao, she buys basic foods once a week across the river in Niwang, and always buys some cigarettes for herself. Rosita says she buys cigarettes every day at the closest sari-sari

store in Cotawan itself. Jamila contents herself with shopping in the Muslim village, but Sariba goes to Davao once a week, more it would seem from the excitement than from buying very much.

It is clear that these women, even though they live in a village economy that is often referred to as subsistence, could not live without money to buy food. Even their basic diet of vegetables and salted or dried fish must be purchased in the market. Luxury items like coca-cola or Chinese noodles become fiesta food for some; for others, such items are consumed daily right in Niwang itself. Every sari-sari store has a refrigerator with cold drinks, and many small eating shops sell Chinese foods.

Conclusion

We see, then, that the women in these two villages in the Philippines play an essential role in the survival of their families. All of them take care of budgeting of the household, and all of them buy basic food and staples. All but Florina earn money which is essential even in the so called subsistence villages. Nonetheless, these women have somewhat different self-perceptions of their role as wife and woman.

The one rising middle-class woman in our sample sees her economic activity as a mechanism for assuring her children a better chance in life. The Christian women also seem to be more interested in clothes and looking attractive than the Muslim women, except for Sariba, the youngest Muslim woman interviewed, who represents the new generation. Such an attitude would logically follow if the women's economic role is seen as subsidiary to that of mother. There is evidence that Sariba's husband would like her to emphasize her mothering role more. Is this the influence of the movies they both attend, or socialization through exposure and radio to the dominant culture? Does this suggest that the lower-class Muslim women with occupations which encourage high fertility may begin to emulate the lower-class Christians with somewhat lower fertility and somewhat less drudging jobs, and that the next phase might be lowered fertility, jobs with greater monetary return and upward mobile aspirations?

While there are differences concerning the type of motivation for work, all of the women agree that husbands must be served and that the wives must at least seem to consult husbands on important decisions. They accept and pass on to their children a respect for authority within the family, and are troubled when the children do not always respond. Yet they themselves recognize limits to authority: they will leave husband or father or uncle if they are beaten or mistreated by these male relatives. The women support themselves,

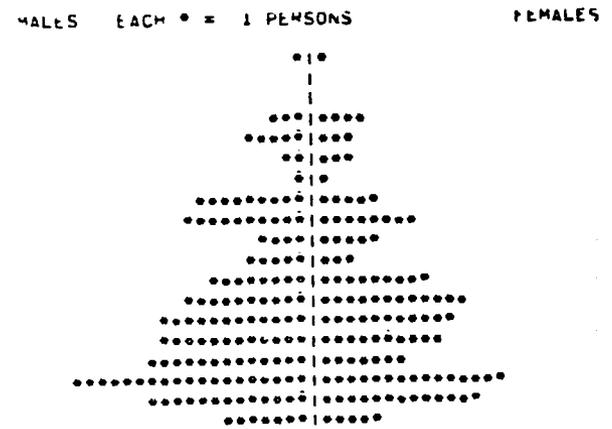
if necessary, and operate outside the family largely in single-sex structures, whether for business or pleasure. They also all agree that children should be taught to behave and that the worst thing that can happen to a woman is to lose her honor. This underscores the segregated living and activity pattern of women and men. So it is clear that, while women in the Philippines may play the strongest economic roles of any of the women studied, and while they will not stay at home if beaten by the father or husband, they nonetheless consider themselves quite different from men and continue to play a different role with regard to their family than they do outside their family.

Demographic Notes. The genealogical census for the Philippines was taken from all forty-two households in Cotawan and two-hundred and forty-five households in Niwang. Data on 2,500 persons, living and dead, were coded for DEMOG. Table 8 shows the printout from Cotawan. Because the total population of Cotawan is small, the age and sex distribution is uneven. Data from the larger village of Niwang shows a pyramid of typical form for developing countries (see Table 9). The Total Fertility Rate for 1973-1975 is 3610 in Cotawan and 4310 in Niwang, a pattern of high fertility.

DEMOG DEMO DATA REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1973

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE UNKNOWN
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOW	0	0	0	0	0	
85	1	1	0	0	0	
80	0	0	0	0	0	
75	0	0	0	0	0	
70	3	4	0	0	0	
65	5	5	0	0	0	
60	2	3	0	1	0	
55	1	1	0	0	0	
50	4	5	0	0	0	
45	10	5	1	0	0	
40	4	5	1	0	0	
35	5	5	1	0	0	
30	5	4	4	0	0	
25	10	12	4	0	0	
20	12	11	1	0	0	
15	12	10	1	0	0	
10	13	7	0	0	0	
5	15	15	0	0	0	
1	13	15	0	0	1	
0	7	0	0	0	1	
TOTALS	134	117	12	1	2	TOTALS
Child/Female =	40.143	Child/Male =	12.040	CHILD/FEMALE RATIO =	655.172	



FOR THE YEAR 1974

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE UNKNOWN
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOW	0	0	0	0	0	
85	1	1	1	0	0	
80	1	0	0	0	0	
75	1	0	0	0	0	
70	3	4	0	0	0	
65	4	5	0	0	0	
60	1	2	0	0	0	
55	2	3	0	0	0	
50	4	5	0	0	0	
45	5	5	0	0	0	
40	6	5	0	0	0	
35	5	2	0	0	0	
30	6	10	0	0	0	
25	15	5	1	0	0	
20	5	10	1	0	0	
15	12	11	0	0	0	
10	14	9	0	0	0	
5	21	16	0	0	0	
1	16	14	0	1	0	
0	1	4	0	0	0	
TOTALS	134	117	5	1	0	TOTALS
Child/Female =	19.426	Child/Male =	1.684	CHILD/FEMALE RATIO =	603.448	

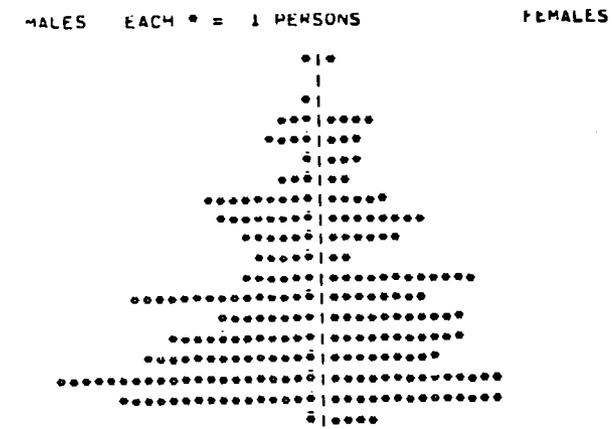


Table 8. DEMOG Output, 1973-1975, Cotawan

FOR THE YEAR 1975

AGE	POPULATION		DIPLOMAS	DEATHS		AGE UNKNOWN
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
85	0	1	0	0	0	
80	0	0	0	0	0	
75	0	0	0	0	0	
70	0	0	0	0	0	
65	0	0	0	0	0	
60	0	0	0	0	0	
55	0	0	0	0	0	
50	1	2	0	0	0	
45	7	1	1	0	0	
40	7	0	0	0	0	
35	7	0	0	0	0	
30	7	0	0	1	0	
25	11	7	1	0	0	
20	10	10	0	0	0	
15	10	10	0	0	0	
10	10	10	0	0	0	
5	10	10	0	0	1	
0	2	0	0	0	0	
TOTALS	135	122	7	0	2	TOTALS
U.S.S.R. =	27.237	U.S.S.R. =	7.762	U.S.S.R. =	620.689	

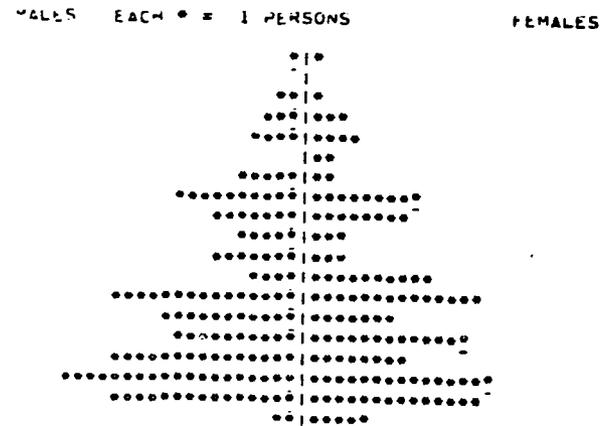


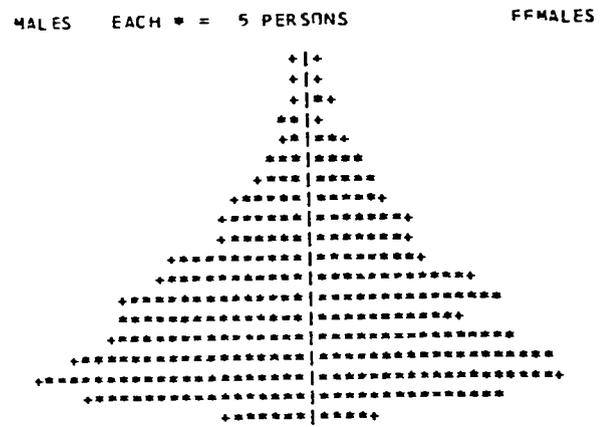
Table 8, continued

BEGIN DEMOG TASK **LIFE

FOR THE YEAR 1973

AGE	POPULATION	
	MALE	FEMALE
UNKNOWN	0	0
85	3	3
80	1	1
75	2	7
70	10	2
65	9	12
60	15	20
55	18	25
50	26	28
45	31	39
40	31	36
35	52	43
30	57	64
25	74	75
20	75	56
15	76	80
10	92	95
5	106	55
1	87	75
0	31	23
TOTALS	796	787
C.B.R. =	33.481	C.O.R. =

BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE	
1	0	0	UNKNOWN
1	2	0	85
0	0	0	80
0	0	1	75
0	1	0	70
0	0	0	65
0	1	0	60
0	0	0	55
1	0	0	50
0	0	0	45
0	2	1	40
2	0	0	35
6	1	0	30
12	0	0	25
13	0	0	20
12	1	0	15
5	0	0	10
0	0	0	5
1	0	1	1
0	2	0	0
0	2	0	
54	12	3	TOTALS
9.476	CHILD/WOMAN RATIO =	544.081	



FOR THE YEAR 1974

AGE	POPULATION	
	MALE	FEMALE
UNKNOWN	0	0
85	1	4
80	1	2
75	2	5
70	11	2
65	8	13
60	16	23
55	20	25
50	23	28
45	35	41
40	33	36
35	47	47
30	67	67
25	75	78
20	69	54
15	61	88
10	98	87
5	107	107
1	92	77
0	25	24
TOTALS	809	808
C.B.R. =	30.303	C.O.R. =

BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE	
0	0	0	UNKNOWN
4	0	0	85
0	0	0	80
0	0	1	75
0	0	0	70
0	1	2	65
0	0	0	60
1	0	0	55
0	0	0	50
0	0	1	45
6	0	0	40
3	1	0	35
7	0	0	30
13	0	0	25
12	0	0	20
3	0	0	15
0	0	0	10
0	1	0	5
0	1	3	1
0	1	3	0
49	5	10	TOTALS
9.275	CHILD/WOMAN RATIO =	530.414	

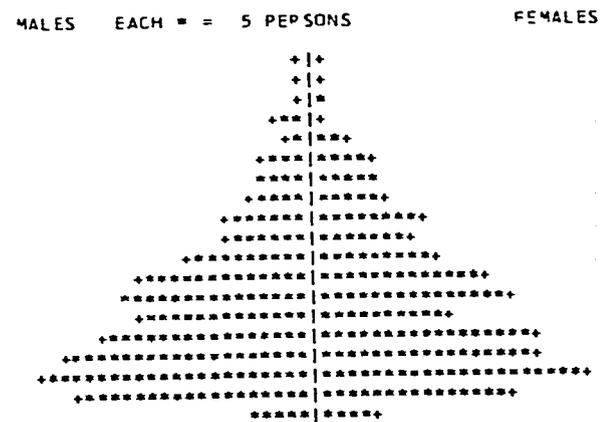


Table 9. DEMOG Output, 1973-1975, Niwang

FOR THE YEAR 1975

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOWN	0	0	1	0	0	UNKNOWN
85	1	4	2	0	0	85
80	3	4	0	0	1	80
75	4	2	0	2	0	75
70	9	4	0	1	0	70
65	7	16	0	0	1	65
60	17	19	0	0	0	60
55	22	28	0	1	0	55
50	21	28	1	0	1	50
45	32	39	0	0	0	45
40	43	37	1	0	0	40
35	61	55	5	0	0	35
30	55	65	7	0	0	30
25	71	76	8	0	1	25
20	77	62	13	0	0	20
15	74	84	5	0	1	15
10	96	94	0	0	0	10
5	113	105	0	1	0	5
1	02	76	0	3	1	1
0	21	22	0	3	1	0
TOTALS	825	820	43	11	7	TOTALS
C.b.R. =	25.532	C.D.R. =	10.942	CHILD/WOMAN RATIO =	504.785	

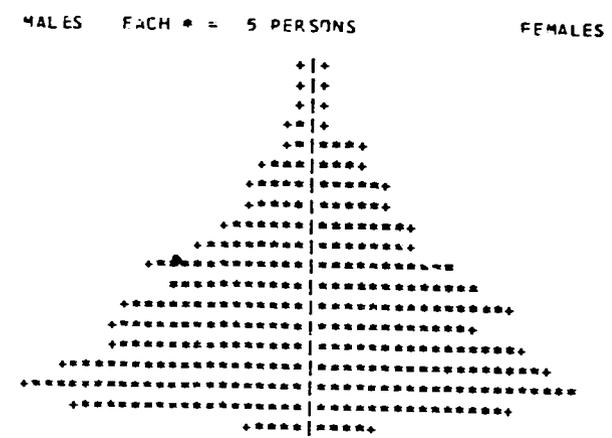


Table 9, continued

APPENDIX I.

Demographic Methodology

Genealogical Censusing

An important part of the methodological innovations utilized in this study is the collection and use of genealogical censusing, an effort to combine ethnographic and demographic methodologies for enumerating the members of a population. This method is genealogical in that data are collected--as in usual anthropological studies of human groups--which describe socially recognized biological and marital relationships, including, as appropriate, distinctions between social and biological parenthood and the variation in mating and cohabitation. Genealogies are not necessarily residential groups, but such data are closely linked. Normally, the closest relationships are recorded first. The method is a census because as complete as possible enumeration of the residents of the study communities, together with information on age and sex, was collected. Commonly it has been the case that anthropologists have concentrated on accuracy of relationship, and demographers on accuracy of enumeration. By combining the two into the technique, "genealogical censusing," an explicit effort is being made to satisfy the canons of both disciplines. The core of this methodology is to derive maximum utility from the ethnographic field data collected by participant observers combined with the conduct of a house-by-house, family-by-family survey.

For the purposes of the present study, genealogical censusing differs from censusing and it differs from many genealogies in that a very careful effort is made to get the kind of systematic coverage essential for demographic work, with particular attention paid to age at death, as well as to the age of living persons. By deriving data on more than one related family, the tests of internal consistency can be employed.

In the terminology of demography, these new data from the 1976 studies are partial surveys, to be distinguished alike from a decennial census and from vital statistics (Shryock and Siegel 1971, vol. 1, p. 12). In the terminology of anthropology, the type of data and the manner of collection are more than a "survey," but also shorter in field time and less intensive than a full-term ethnographic field study.

The fieldwork was focused on every-family/household interviews, using the World Fertility Survey (WFS) Core Questionnaire which was chosen for purposes of subsequent comparison. This questionnaire was deliberately selected to enhance the probability of successful comparison of fertility/mortality rates between the study areas and

results from each country. The WFS Core Questionnaire was expanded to elicit additional information such as household composition, family composition, farm or enterprise ownership, and physical residence. The genealogical censusing was primarily done by educated women from the country of the study site.

The WFS Core Questionnaire is designed essentially to use with adult women as respondents talking about themselves, their children, their work histories, their marital histories. The WFS Core Questionnaire was modified in a number of ways. In the first place, a 13-digit identifying number was added for data on place. In Kenya, these data included village, clan, largest descent group, Survey of Kenya land number, and household number. Also included in the Kenya data was information on previous residents, whether or not they were resident in the community in 1976. In all studies, columns were added for the 4-digit ID numbers of parents for each individual.

The KINPROGRAM and DEMOG

The genealogical census data have been processed with DEMOG, a subprogram of the KINPROGRAM, a computer program for analyzing genealogical data, for which George Collier of Stanford University holds the copyright. The DEMOG outputs demographic measures for a given census corpus. As Collier states:

DEMOG is designed to examine the corpus at various dates for which the conditions necessary for demographic analysis might be met, to enumerate the censused population at those dates, to assess mortality by construction of appropriate life tables, and to summarize fertility. DEMOG generates printed output that can be used as input for much more sophisticated demographic analysis permitted by programs such as those in Nathan Keyfitz' and Wilhelm Flieger's Population: Facts and Methods of Demography [1971] (Collier 1976:2)

The demographic measures used by the KINPROGRAM are consistent with those being used by demographers in the United States [Shryock and Siegel and Keyfitz and Flieger] in the analysis of census and vital statistics data. Collier (1976) and others have noted that many bodies of data derived by anthropologists are not sufficiently complete to be of use for demographic purposes. Here, at least, an effort has been made to derive a set of data as complete as possible.

Each genealogical census is based on numbers of individual records. The minimum information required for each individual as input to DEMOG is: a) a 4-digit unique identifier, b) date of birth, c) date of death, if relevant, d) parents and their unique identifier, whenever known, and e) sex.

These data are used to generate as output the demographic measures listed in Table 10. The formulae from which these are derived are taken from Shryock and Siegel (1971). The simple enumeration of births, deaths and population of crude birth and death rates and of child/woman ratios all express incidence within the time span of one year. Also for each year DEMOG generates a graphic display of population distribution by age and sex in the form of a "population pyramid." The age-specific birth rate, mean parity, and total fertility rates group data in five-year periods and represent comparatively simple forms of deriving these measures. The age-specific birth rate has the advantage of allowing comparison with other groups because it is unaffected by differences in age and sex composition. The total fertility rate, which is computed for a time period defined by the user, is weighted, which essentially compensates for variation in reporting age.

Table 10
Demographic Measures in DEMOG Output to KINPROGRAM

1. Simple enumeration of birth, death and population in a given <u>year</u> .		
2. Annual crude birth rate	$\frac{B}{P} \times 1,000$	(2:469)
3. Annual crude death rate	$\frac{D}{P} \times 1,000$	(2:394)
4. Annual child/woman ratio	$\frac{P_{0-4}}{P_{15-49}} \times 1,000$	(2:500)
5. Age-Specific Birth Rate (Five year age group)	$f_a = \frac{B_a}{P_a} \times 1,000$	(2:472)
6. Age-Specific Parity (Five year age group)	Mean parity by age group	
7. Total fertility rate	$\sum_{a=15-19}^a \sum_{a=45-49} f_a \times 1,000$	(2:484)
8. Life Table	Reed and Merrill	(2:443-4)

The life tables are means of expressing mortality but are more complex and more useful than age-specific mortality rates. The DEMOG output is programmed to construct a life table of the Reed-Merrill type, which basically is an abridged period life table. The current or period life table referring to the mortality experience of a population in a current or recent time period of one or more years is suited to the type of information collected through genealogical censusing. Because, however, the total time period, as built into the DEMOG, can be up to twenty years, it approaches the requirements of a generation life table, which would be based on the mortality experience of a given cohort from birth through (all) deaths. But, these data are rarely available for genealogical censuses in these areas, and the generation life table is not a realistic possibility. Therefore, the life table that is constructed in DEMOG is a current or period life table with a potential time span of twenty years. Given adequate data, one could generate a second Reed-Merrill life table based on an earlier time period of twenty years. With these increments one could theoretically construct twenty-, forty-, sixty- or eighty-year life tables, if one's data were sufficiently complete.

The period of time analyzed in any single run of DEMOG is assigned by the user. It can begin at any date and extend for a time span of from one to twenty years prior to that date. Further, DEMOG will reconstruct and give measures for a subgroup of the census corpus when certain instructions ("-CLUDE" cards) are given.

Table 11 is a list of the years and time span for each computer run for Kenya, the Philippines, and Mexico. "-CLUDE" runs were done, in the case of Kenya, for certain status categories defined by participation in the agricultural labor force. The time periods extend further back in Kenya, due to the time depth of the data collected. In cases where the year 1976 is included in the period, it is noted that, since data were gathered in mid-1976, the information is for only part of the year. Five-year spans, twenty-year spans, and the three years before the present were used.

Sample Output and Commentary

An example of the DEMOG output for 1973-75 in Kenya is appended. The enumeration for each year shows population born, living and dying, and a population pyramid. Below this listing, calculated crude birth rate, crude death rate, and child/woman ratio are indicated. Collier describes the enumeration as follows:

*In order to bring about the enumeration, DEMOG examines each individual in the census corpus to be analyzed (in this case every individual in the corpus, as none were eliminated through the use of **INCLUDE or **EXCLUDE lists.) DEMOG determines whether the individual lived at all during the year of enumeration. If living, the counter appropriate to the individual's*

Table 11. Time Periods for DEMOG Output

Kenya

1974-1976	1967-1971	1936-1955
1973-1975	1962-1966	1916-1935
1972-1975	1957-1961	1916-1955
1956-1975	1952-1956	
	1947-1951	
	1942-1946	
	1937-1941	
	1932-1936	
	1927-1931	
	1922-1926	
	1917-1921	

Partial "-CLUDE" Lists: 1973-1975
 1972-1975
 1957-1975

Mexico (each community)

1974-1976	1967-1971
1973-1975	1962-1966
1972-1975	1957-1961
1957-1975	

Philippines (each community)

1974-1976	1967-1971
1973-1975	1962-1966
1972-1975	1957-1961
1957-1975	

age and sex is incremented to accumulate the total population living by age and sex during the given year listed under "POPULATION." Correspondingly, if the individual also died during the year in question, the counter appropriate to the dying individual's age and sex is incremented to accumulate to total yearly deaths listed under "DEATHS." In the case of individuals born during the year, DEMOG determines the age of the newborn's mother and increments the appropriate counter to accumulate a total of births by age of mother listed under "BIRTHS." (1976:10)

Yearly variation in the crude birth rates and crude death rates, especially the latter, are in part a result of the small size of the sample. Also note that children are sometimes indicated as born to women in the "eighty-five years of older" category. This occurs when a birth is recorded to a mother of unknown age. These mothers of eighty-five years and older are not counted in and do not affect other demographic measures. So this is an unexpected aspect of the computer program.

DEMOG then uses the enumeration of population living and dying over each year of the selected time period to construct the life table for the male and female population. The columns headed "PP" and "DD" show the population living and dying. These are then used to construct age-specific mortality rates, the $M(X)$. These rates form the basis of the rest of the life table.

Life tables convert a regimen of mortality into a description of that regimen's impact on a hypothetical population of 100,000 individuals all born at the same time. The regimen of mortality consists of a set of age-specific death rates, usually distinguishing males from females because their death rates empirically are found to differ. When a regimen of mortality is determined empirically, this can be done in two ways. First, one can observe a population of individuals born on a given year and trace their collective fates through until the last individual is dead, using these observations to build age-specific death rates; when used to construct a life table, this regimen would result in a GENERATION LIFE TABLE. Second, one can observe a population of individuals of all different ages living and dying in a short period of time, say a year, and describe as a regimen of mortality the age-specific death rates thus observed; this regimen would result in construction of a PERIOD LIFE TABLE.

DEMOG constructs life tables by looking at the male (or female) population living and dying OVER THE ENTIRE TIME SPAN INDICATED ON A **DATE CARD. When this time span is as short as one year, the resulting regimen of mortality that is observed could be used to build a period life table. When this time span is as long as twenty years (the DEMOG maximum), the result is a life

table which is something of a hybrid between a period and a generation life table in that it traces the fates of cohorts of individuals over fairly long periods that are not usually entire life spans. (Collier 1976:11)

The life tables from Kenya, Mexico, and the Philippines are of limited utility for interpretation, in large part because of the small size of the communities. Death rates are variable from year to year and life expectancies are inflated as a result of incomplete mortality data. Any life table is based on a hypothetical or actual cohort of 100,000 people. Kikuyu, now the largest single group of people in Kenya, at approximately two million, never has had and may never have an age cohort as large as 100,000. It does not have a system of vital statistics which would enable one to make a reasonably accurate registration of births. In working with a village population of approximately 2000, one encounters then a very large gap between the size of the population customarily used in constructing life tables, and that in fact available for this particular census corpus. This problem, which lies at the heart of the adaptation of demographic technique to ethnographic or anthropologically studied populations, was recently addressed by Weiss (1976). Apart from the problems of high variability on the basis of a small sample, there is the additional problem that deaths are frequently recorded at a rate lower than records of births. And if one is to have an accurate picture of a population, mortality rate and the data on deaths are as necessary as data on residents and births.

The World Fertility Survey Core Questionnaire (WFS) as used here, is not specifically designed to furnish complete mortality data. The WFS has a separate module for collecting mortality data which was not used because fertility was the focus of this study, and the field time was fully committed to other requirements. Thus, the high life expectancies and limited deaths in the samples are an "artifact" which results from the specific research methodology.

Following the life tables, DEMOG aggregates the year-by-year data on births by age of mother and on women living in order to calculate age-specific birth rates and the total fertility rate for the study period (Collier 1976:12). Then, an enumeration of women aged 15-49 is made for the study period, showing the number of women having one or more children by 5-year age intervals of mother and mean parity for women of each age interval.

Each female in the corpus who attains fifteen years by the close of the study period and who lives at least into the first year of the study period is counted in this enumeration. DEMOG uses the data on mothering inherent in the array supplied by KININPT to count the number of offspring attained by each woman at the close of the study period or at her death if she died during the study period.

*The table generated by **FERTILITY cross-classifies these women by their age at the close of the study period (or at death if dying during the study period) and by the number of offspring at that time. Row averages show the mean age of mothers having exactly a certain number of offspring. Column averages show the average parity of women in each age cohort over fifteen years (Collier 1976:12-13).*

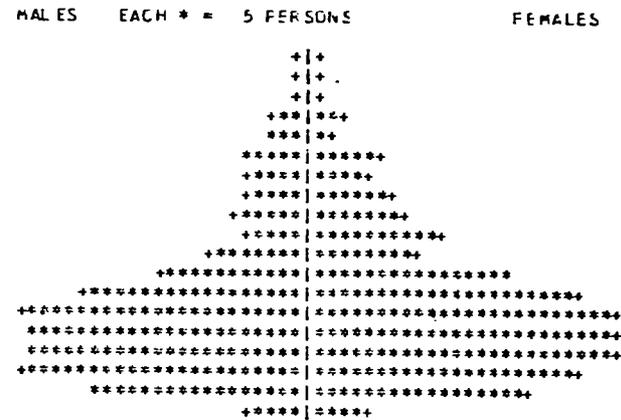
The number of childless women and the overall fertility rates are affected by the way data have been grouped for DEMOG. Women are included in each census corpus as children of their mothers even if they have moved out of a community (as is frequent when women go to live with their husbands). Thus, these women are shown as childless members of the community when they are actually living elsewhere, probably with children. The choice was made to include these women so that an estimate of the mothers' fertility could be as complete as possible. It is thus very likely that the number of childless women is inflated and overall fertility (crude birth rates, age-specific birth rates, and mean parity) is deflated in each of the communities surveyed.

Special "-CLUDE" lists can be constructed to exclude daughters of the village who have moved elsewhere, without altering the computation of their mothers' fertility. This task will be conducted in a subsequent effort.

BEGIN DEMOG TASK **LIFE

FOR THE YEAR 1973

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOWN	0	0	3	0	0	UNKNOWN
85	3	2	4	0	1	85
80	2	1	0	0	0	80
75	3	2	0	0	0	75
70	11	12	0	1	0	70
65	15	7	0	0	0	65
60	25	26	1	0	0	60
55	21	23	0	1	0	55
50	21	31	2	0	0	50
45	26	36	1	0	0	45
40	22	51	2	0	0	40
35	39	42	4	0	0	35
30	55	60	5	0	0	30
25	86	100	8	0	0	25
20	114	124	10	0	0	20
15	110	122	2	0	0	15
10	110	121	0	0	0	10
5	113	106	0	0	0	5
1	85	65	0	0	1	1
0	21	21	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	690	1000	42	2	2	TOTALS
C.B.R. =	20.548	C.D.R. =	2.107	CHILD/MAN RATIO =	382.979	



FOR THE YEAR 1974

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOWN	0	0	2	0	0	UNKNOWN
85	3	2	4	0	0	85
80	2	1	0	0	0	80
75	3	2	0	0	0	75
70	11	12	0	0	0	70
65	15	12	0	1	0	65
60	24	24	1	0	0	60
55	17	23	0	2	0	55
50	26	34	1	0	0	50
45	22	47	3	0	0	45
40	28	40	0	0	1	40
35	43	57	3	0	0	35
30	61	60	4	0	0	30
25	92	113	14	0	0	25
20	117	125	13	0	0	20
15	111	116	2	0	0	15
10	117	127	0	0	0	10
5	107	105	0	1	0	5
1	85	66	0	0	1	1
0	23	24	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	911	1020	47	4	2	TOTALS
C.B.R. =	23.184	C.D.R. =	2.051	CHILD/MAN RATIO =	377.163	

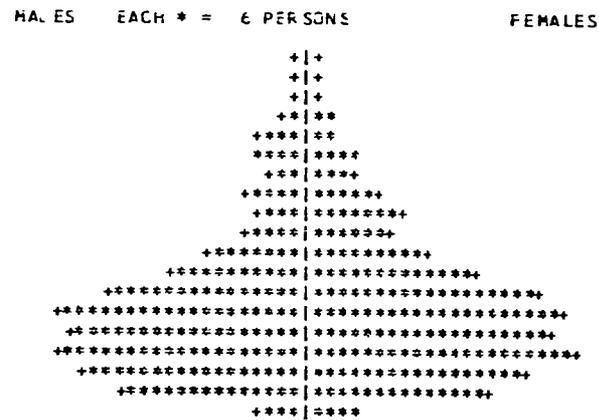


Table 12. DEMOG Output for the Period 1973-1975, Kenya

FOR THE YEAR 1975

AGE	POPULATION		BIRTHS	DEATHS		AGE
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
UNKNOWN	0	0	1	0	0	UNKNOWN
85	3	3	5	0	0	85
80	2	0	0	0	0	80
75	4	7	0	0	0	75
70	13	8	0	1	1	70
65	21	20	0	0	0	65
60	19	22	0	1	0	60
55	17	24	0	1	0	55
50	28	32	0	0	0	50
45	29	50	1	0	0	45
40	22	35	2	0	0	40
35	44	65	5	0	0	35
30	65	80	5	1	0	30
25	107	128	9	0	0	25
20	109	116	8	0	0	20
15	112	121	2	0	0	15
10	119	109	0	0	0	10
5	104	114	0	0	0	5
1	69	67	0	0	1	1
0	19	15	0	1	0	0
TOTALS	926	1047	38	5	2	TOTALS
C.E.R. =	18.753	C.D.R. =	3.548	CHILD/MCMAN RATIO =	355.482	

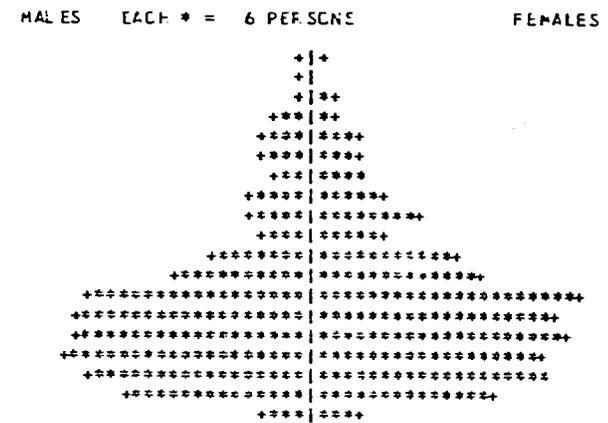


Table 12, continued

REED-MERRELL LIFE TABLES USING OBSERVED AND INTERPOLATED M(X) FOR MALE POPULATION LIVING AND DYING FROM 1973 TO 1975

AGES	PP	DL	OBSERVED M(X)	L(X)	J(X)	C(X)	LL(X)	T(X)	E(X)
0	63	1	0.01473	100000	1489	0.014090	98958	7135670	71.359
1-4	259	0	0.000000	98511	0	0.000000	394044	7036912	71.433
5-9	324	1	0.002000	98511	1009	0.010023	466781	6642860	67.433
10-14	346	0	0.000000	97001	0	0.000000	495007	6154987	65.443
15-19	333	0	0.000000	97001	0	0.000000	485007	5669079	58.443
20-24	340	0	0.000000	97001	0	0.000000	455007	5164071	53.443
25-29	287	0	0.000000	97001	0	0.000000	465007	4699063	48.443
30-34	185	1	0.005400	97001	2589	0.026690	476524	4214050	43.443
35-39	126	0	0.000000	94412	0	0.000000	472061	3735521	39.566
40-44	72	0	0.000000	94412	0	0.000000	472061	3263400	34.566
45-49	75	0	0.000000	94412	0	0.000000	472061	2791399	29.566
50-54	75	0	0.000000	94412	0	0.000000	472061	2319356	24.566
55-59	55	4	0.007272	94412	25126	0.006923	399240	1847277	19.566
60-64	68	1	0.014700	65264	4641	0.071092	314816	1448037	22.181
65-69	55	1	0.018182	60643	5288	0.087201	239993	1133220	18.687
70-74	35	2	0.037143	55355	13652	0.201972	242042	643227	15.233
75-79	10	0	0.000000	41462	0	0.000000	267210	601186	14.500
80-84	6	0	0.000000	41462	0	0.000000	207310	393075	9.500
85+	9	0	0.000000	41462	41462	1.000000	186579	163565	4.500

CUBIC SPLINE INTERPOLATING FUNCTION TO SMOOTH MORTALITY DATA COULD NOT BE FITTED TO THE DATA BECAUSE OF ITS INCOMPLETENESS. SECOND REED-MERRELL LIFE TABLE IS THEREFORE BYPASSED.

Table 12, continued

REED-MERRELL LIFE TABLES USING OBSERVED AND INTERPOLATED M(X) FOR FEMALE POPULATION LIVING AND DYING FROM 1973 TO 1975

AGES	PP	GD	OBSERVED M(X)	l(x)	D(x)	Q(x)	LL(x)	T(x)	C(x)
0	64	0	C.CCCCCC	100000	0	0.000000	100000	6176311	81.763
1-4	262	3	C.C1145C	100000	4288	0.042876	391425	8076311	80.763
5-9	327	0	C.CCCCCC	55712	0	0.000000	478562	7684886	80.292
10-14	357	0	C.CCCCCC	55712	0	0.000000	478562	7206324	75.292
15-19	359	0	C.CCCCCC	55712	0	0.000000	478562	6727762	70.291
20-24	368	0	C.CCCCCC	55712	0	0.000000	478562	6249200	65.291
25-29	347	0	C.CCCCCC	55712	0	0.000000	478562	5770638	60.291
30-34	240	0	C.CCCCCC	55712	0	0.000000	478562	5292076	55.291
35-39	168	0	C.CCCCCC	55712	0	0.000000	478562	4813514	50.291
40-44	126	1	C.CC7937	55712	3730	0.030966	465236	4334952	45.291
45-49	136	0	C.CCC000	51983	0	0.000000	459914	3865714	42.027
50-54	97	0	C.CCC000	51983	0	0.000000	459914	3405800	37.027
55-59	70	0	C.CCC000	51983	0	0.000000	459914	2945886	32.027
60-64	72	0	C.CCC000	51983	0	0.000000	459914	2485972	27.026
65-69	39	0	C.CCC000	51983	0	0.000000	459914	2026058	22.026
70-74	32	1	C.C3125C	51983	13565	0.145490	426457	1566144	17.026
75-79	11	0	C.CCC000	78600	0	0.000000	393001	1139686	14.500
80-84	2	0	C.CCC000	78600	0	0.000000	393001	746895	9.500
85+	6	1	C.121000	78600	78600	1.000000	355701	355684	4.500

QUIC SPLINE INTERPOLATING FUNCTION TO SMOOTH MORTALITY DATA COULD NOT BE FITTED TO THE DATA BECAUSE OF ITS INCOMPLETENESS.

SECOND REED-MERRELL LIFE TABLE IS THEREFORE BYPASSED.

Table 12, continued

AGE SPECIFIC BIRTH RATES OBSERVED IN PERIOD FROM 1973 TO 1975
 AGE OF MOTHER OBSERVED BIRTH RATE

0	0.00
1-4	0.00
5-9	0.00
10-14	0.00
15-19	16.71
20-24	84.24
25-29	89.34
30-34	58.23
35-39	71.43
40-44	31.75
45-49	36.76
50-54	30.63
55-59	0.00
60-64	27.78
65-69	0.00
70-74	0.00
75-79	0.00
80-84	0.00
85+	1625.00
UNKNOWN	0.00

TOTAL FERTILITY RATE BASED ON AGE-SPECIFIC RATES FOR COHORTS AGE 15 TO 49: T.F.R. = 1542.61

Table 12, continued

BEGIN DEMOG TASK **FERTILITY

WOMEN ATTAINING AGE 15 OR MORE AFTER 1973
 CROSS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR AGE IN 1975 OR AT DEATH IF DEAD BEFORE 1975
 AND BY THE TOTAL NUMBER OF THEIR OFFSPRING AT THAT AGE

NUMBER OF OFFSPRING	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70 AND OVER	UNKNOWN	MEAN AGE
0	115	101	87	52	38	18	15	4	6	1	1	0	0	26.70
1	5	7	7	3	3	2	0	2	0	1	2	3	C	35.74
2	0	6	8	3	2	2	2	1	0	2	0	2	C	36.61
3	0	2	5	3	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	C	38.63
4	0	2	10	1	3	2	2	0	1	2	1	3	C	40.48
5	0	0	6	4	2	2	2	4	2	0	2	3	0	45.93
6	1	0	4	5	5	3	2	3	1	1	1	1	0	40.96
7	0	0	1	3	3	1	3	4	1	3	3	0	0	46.27
8	0	1	0	4	6	1	10	2	2	3	2	3	0	47.65
9	0	0	0	1	2	3	4	5	0	2	1	1	0	51.11
10	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	3	1	3	1	C	56.21
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	2	1	1	C	56.90
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	0	1	0	C	54.11
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	C	57.80
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	C	58.00
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	C	53.50
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	C	C.CC
17 OR MORE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	C	C.CC
MEAN PARITY	0.09	0.34	1.05	1.67	2.48	2.69	5.52	6.63	7.00	6.73	6.85	5.11	0.00	

FOR THESE SAME WOMEN
 AGE SPECIFIC BIRTH RATES OBSERVED IN PERIOD FROM 1973 TO 1975
 AGE OF MOTHER OBSERVED BIRTH RATE

0	C.CC
1-4	C.CC
5-9	C.CC
10-14	C.CC
15-19	C.CC
20-24	C.CC
25-29	C.CC
30-34	C.CC
35-39	C.CC
40-44	C.CC
45-49	C.CC
50-54	C.CC
55-59	C.CC
60-64	C.CC
65-69	C.CC
70-74	C.CC
75-79	C.CC
80-84	C.CC
85+	C.CC
UNKNOWN	C.CC

TOTAL FERTILITY RATE BASED ON AGE-SPECIFIC RATES FOR COHORTS AGE 15 TO 49: T.F.R. = 0.00

Table 12, continued

APPENDIX II

The Theory of Social Character

The theory of social character was developed originally by Erich Fromm as a means of understanding the interrelations and interactions between a person's emotional attitudes rooted in his character and the socioeconomic conditions under which he lives. The theory was first applied to peasant society in a long and careful study in Mexico in the 1960's: Social Character in a Mexican Village (Fromm and Maccoby 1970). We decided that the theory might be useful in this study in interpreting the life histories and in understanding the relationships between the lives and choices of individual women and their changing social and economic conditions.

Fromm and Maccoby describe the main premises of the theory as follows:

The concept of the social character is based on the premise that not only is the energy of the individual structured in terms of Freud's dynamic character concept, but that there is a character structure common to most members of groups or classes within a given society. It is this common character structure which Fromm has called "social character." The concept of social character does not refer to the complete or highly individualized, in fact, unique character structure as it exists in an individual, but to a "character matrix," a syndrome of character traits which has developed as an adaptation to the economic, social and cultural conditions common to that group. There are, of course, deviants in a group whose character is entirely different from that of the majority. But the common character traits are so important because the fact that they are common to most members has the result that group behavior--action, thought, and feeling--is motivated by those traits which are shared. The leaders in any given group will often be those whose individual character is a particularly intense and complete manifestation of the social character--if not of the whole society at least of a powerful class within it.

There are examples in which the social character of a group is relatively easy to observe. In primitive societies, for instance, we find not rarely that the whole group partakes of the same social character. In some cases this social character is peaceful, friendly, cooperative, and unaggressive. In other cases it is aggressive, destructive, sadistic, suspicious. In more developed societies we usually find that various classes have a different social character, depending on their different role in the social structure

The concept of social character explains how psychic energy in general is transformed into the specific form of psychic energy which every society needs to employ for its own functioning. In order to appreciate this fact one must consider that there is no "society" in general but that there exist only specific social structures; that each society and class demands different kinds of functions from its members. The mode of production varies from society to society and from class to class. A serf, a free peasant, an industrial worker in the 19th century and one in an automated society, an independent entrepreneur of the 19th century and an industrial manager of the 20th century have different functions to fulfill. Furthermore, the different social context demands that they relate themselves in different ways to equals, superiors, and inferiors. To give specific examples: the industrial worker has to be disciplined and punctual; the 19th-century bourgeois had to be parsimonious, individualistic, and self-reliant; today, members of all classes, except the poor, have to work in teams, and they must wish to spend and to consume new products. It is socially necessary that in exercising these functions, man must invest much of his psychic energy. If he were forced to act, only the least skilled work could be done. If, on the other hand, he exercised his functions only when he considered it necessary for his survival or well-being, he might sometime decide that he preferred to act in ways different from the socially prescribed ones. This would not be a sufficient basis for the proper functioning of a society. The demands of his social role must become "second nature," i.e., a person must want to do what he has to do. Society must produce not only tools and machines but also the type of personality that employs energy voluntarily for the performance of a social role. This process of transforming general psychic energy into specific psychosocial energy is mediated by social character....

The formation of the social character is mediated by the influence of the "total culture": the methods of raising children, of education in terms of schooling, literature, art, religion, customs; in short, the whole cultural fabric guarantees its stability. In fact, one possible definition of culture would be that culture is the totality of all those arrangements which produce and stabilize the social character. The social character often lags behind new social and economic developments because rooted in tradition and custom it is more stable than economic and political changes. This lag is often harmful to classes and whole societies which cannot adapt themselves to the requirements of new circumstances because their traditional character makes the adaptive behavior difficult to achieve (Fromm and Maccoby 1970, pp.16-19).

The Method

The method used in our study was that developed by Fromm and Maccoby in their Mexican study. It comprises a series of open-ended questions that require psychoanalytic interpretation:

The differences between this type of questionnaire, which may be called the "interpretative questionnaire," and most other questionnaires used in social research is not primarily that which exists between open and preformulated questionnaires, but it is the different use made of the answers. In the conventional questionnaire, the answers are taken as raw material or coded according to behavioral categories, and the task is to analyze them statistically, either simply in terms of the frequency of each single answer or, in a more sophisticated way, by factor analysis, which shows clusters of answers found together with significant frequency. The main effort is directed toward the choice of an adequate sample of relevant questions and toward the most fruitful statistical elaboration. All these steps have to be taken in the interpretative questionnaire also, but they seem relatively simple in comparison with that element characteristic of the interpretative questionnaires only and that is the interpretation of the answers with regard to their unconscious or unintended meaning. The task of interpretation is, like any other psychoanalytic interpretation, difficult, and takes a great deal of time. It requires knowledge of psychoanalytic theory and therapy (including the experience of one's own analysis), a clinical psychoanalytic experience, and, as in everything else, skill and talent. Psychoanalytic interpretation--of associations and dreams as well as of answers to a questionnaire--is an art like the practice of medicine, in which certain theoretical principles are applied to empirical data (Ibid., p. 26).

In Mexico Sonia Gojman de Millan, a psychoanalyst, revised the full social character questionnaire developed by Fromm and Maccoby, (1970 pp. 239-243). She gave the interviews in Spanish and interpreted the cases with supervision from Michael Maccoby.

In Kenya and the Philippines we experimented with a shorter form of the social character questionnaire which was developed for this study under the supervision of Maccoby. This shorter questionnaire appears at the end of this section. In Kenya and the Philippines the questions were asked and recorded by field workers without training in the theory and they worked through interpreters. Thus the data from these countries were available in Washington only in translation. This means that character data for Kenya and the Philippines are of much poorer quality than the data from Mexico.

It was a question whether such data could be interpreted meaningfully. In Kenya we found that the data did suggest the basic outlines of two different character types. In the Philippines we found the data to be inconclusive. In trying to explain this difference, we realized again the necessity of understanding thoroughly both the social structure and the characterological aspects of the data in order to interpret it clearly. In Kenya, Priscilla Reining, with extensive anthropological field experience in East Africa, lived in the village studied for five months and personally supervised a careful translation of the questionnaire into Kikuyu. Later she was in Washington to work directly with those who were interpreting the character data. Also there was more transferability of Fromm and Maccoby's understandings of agricultural villages in Mexico to an agricultural village in Kenya than to the squatter fishing villages of the Philippines. Because of time and staff constraints on the field work in the Philippines we had no participant observer actually residing in the villages studied. Further, no one trained in the theory of social character was available to work in the Philippines. As a result the necessary combination of cultural and characterological understandings was not brought together.

Social Character Questions Selected for this Project

1. What do you do? What do you like most about your work? What do you like least?
2. If you had the opportunity and the time to do anything you would like, what would you like to do? Why?
3. Describe your mother (or mother substitute).
Describe your father (or father substitute).
4. Would you ever act against your mother's wishes? In what cases have you ever done so?
Would you ever act against your father's wishes? In what cases have you ever done so?
5. Describe your own character.
6. What do you feel are the best ways of punishing children if they misbehave? Do you think children should fear their parents? How important do you think it is for a child to learn to respect authority? Why?
7. Do your children ever make you suffer? How?
8. What do you sacrifice because of your children?
9. Describe each of your children.

10. On what occasions do you feel happiest with your children? (Pursue the answer to understand what the pleasure consists of.)
11. What do you believe love is? What do you mean by love? Give your opinion in your own words and without limitations.
12. In what manner does the father express his love for children? And the mother?
13. Which of the following are the three most important qualities or virtues for a woman? For a man?

Discipline	Charity	Joy of life
Love	Punctuality	Independence
Defense of honor	Respect for elders	Willingness to
Patriotism	Obedience	sacrifice
Cleanliness	Honesty	Sincerity
Concern for the beautiful	Concern for the religious	Consideration for others

Are there any others you would like to mention?

14. What are your three earliest memories?
15. What experience in your life has been the happiest?
16. Name three persons present or past that you admire most. Why?
17. What do you consider the worst crime a person can commit? Why?
18. Who would you go to for help and advice when you are in trouble morally and financially? Why?
19. What do you enjoy most about being a woman? What do you enjoy least?
20. Dreams. (a recent dream, a repetitive dream, and one about your work.)
21. When you were first married, did you want children? How many? Why?
22. What are the advantages and disadvantages of large families? of small families?

Character Types

Our study involved four main character types, as described by Fromm and Maccoby:

TYPES OF CHARACTER: THE NONPRODUCTIVE ORIENTATIONS

The Receptive Orientation

In the receptive orientation a person feels "the source of all good" to be outside, and he believes that the only way to get what he wants-- be it something material, be it affection, love, knowledge, pleasure-- is to receive it from that outside source. As far as the acquisition of material things is concerned, the receptive character, in extreme cases, finds it difficult to work at all, and expects things to be given to him as rewards for his being so "good"--or perhaps because he is "ill" or "in need." In less extreme cases he prefers to work under or for somebody, and tends to feel that what he gets is given to him because of the boss's "goodness" rather than as the result of his own work, and as something to which he has a right. In this orientation the problem of love is almost exclusively that of "being loved" and not that of loving. Such people tend to be indiscriminate in the choice of their love objects, because being loved by anybody is such an overwhelming experience for them that they "fall for" anybody who gives them love or what looks like love. They are exceedingly sensitive to any withdrawal or rebuff they experience on the part of the loved person. Their orientation is the same in the sphere of thinking: if intelligent, they make the best listeners, since their orientation is one of receiving, not of producing ideas; left to themselves, they feel paralyzed.

The Exploitative Orientation

The exploitative orientation, like the receptive, has as its basic premise the feeling that the source of all good is outside, that whatever one wants to get must be sought there, and that one cannot produce anything oneself. The difference between the two, however, is that the exploitative type does not expect to receive things from others passively, but to take them away from others by force or cunning. This orientation extends to all spheres of activity.

In the realm of love and affection these people tend to grab and steal. They feel attracted only to people whom they can take away from somebody else. Attractiveness to them is conditioned by a person's attachment to somebody else; they tend not to fall in love with an unattached person.

We find the same attitude with regard to thinking and intellectual pursuits. Such people will tend not to produce ideas but to steal them.

The same statement holds true with regard to their orientation to material things. Things which they can take away from others always seem better to them than anything they can produce themselves. They use and exploit anybody and anything from whom or from which they can squeeze something. Their motto is: "Stolen fruits are sweetest." Because they want to use and exploit people, they "love" those who, explicitly or implicitly, are promising objects of exploitation, and get "fed up" with persons whom they have squeezed out. An extreme example is the kleptomaniac who enjoys things only if he can steal them, although he has the money to buy them.

The Hoarding Orientation

While the receptive and exploitative types are similar inasmuch as both expect to get things from the outside world, the hoarding orientation is essentially different. This orientation makes people have little faith in anything new they might get from the outside world; their security is based upon hoarding and saving, while spending is felt to be a threat. They have surrounded themselves, as it were, by a protective wall, and their main aim is to bring as much as possible into this fortified position and to let as little as possible out of it. Their miserliness refers to money and material things as well as to feelings and thoughts. Love is essentially a possession; they do not give love but try to get it by possessing the "beloved." People with a hoarding orientation often show a particular kind of faithfulness toward people and even toward memories. It is a sentimentality which makes the past appear as more real than the present; they hold on to it and indulge in the memories of bygone feelings and experiences.

The character orientations which have been described so far are by no means as separate from each other as it may appear from this sketch. Each of them may be dominant in a person, yet blended with others. However, clinical data show that there are greater affinities between some orientations than among others. A great deal more research is necessary to arrive at reliable

information about these affinities. The blending between the nonproductive orientations and the productive orientation will be discussed later on.

THE PRODUCTIVE ORIENTATION

Man is not only a rational and social animal; he can also be defined as a producing animal, capable of transforming the materials which he finds at hand, using his reason and imagination. Not only can he produce, he must produce in order to live. Material production, however, is but the most frequent expression of or symbol for productiveness as an aspect of character. The productive orientation of personality refers to a fundamental attitude, a mode of relatedness in all realms of human experience. It covers physical, mental, emotional, and sensory responses to others, to oneself, and to things. Productiveness is man's ability to use his powers and to realize the potentialities inherent in him. Saying he uses his powers implies that he must be free and not dependent on someone who controls his powers. It implies, furthermore, that he is guided by reason, since he can make use of his powers only if he knows what they are, how to use them, and what to use them for. Productiveness means that he experiences himself as the embodiment of his powers and as the "actor"; that he feels himself as the subject of his powers, that he is not alienated from his powers, i.e., that they are not masked from him and transferred to an idolized object, person, or institution.

Another way of describing productiveness (and like any other experience, it cannot be defined but rather it must be described in such a way that others who share the experience know what one is talking about) is to say that the productive person animates that which he touches. He gives soul to that which surrounds him. The productive person gives birth to his own faculties and gives life to persons and to things.

By his own productive approach, he calls forth a productive response in others unless they are so unproductive that they cannot be touched. One might say that the productive person sensitizes both himself and others, and is sensitive to himself and to the world around him.

This sensitivity exists in the realms of thinking and feeling. What matters in the productive attitude is not its particular object, which may be people, nature, or things, but rather the whole approach. The productive orientation is rooted in the love of life (biophilia). It is being, not having.

Generally the word "productiveness" is associated with creativeness particularly artistic creativeness. The real artist, indeed,

is the most convincing example of productiveness. But on the other hand, not all artists are productive; a conventional painting, e.g., may exhibit nothing more than the technical skill to reproduce the likeness of a person (or fashionable images) in photographic fashion on a canvass, and a modern "expressionistic" painting may express emotions with clever technical proficiency. On the other hand, a person can experience, see, feel, and think productively without having the gift to create something visible or communicable. Productiveness is an attitude which every human being is capable of, unless he is mentally and emotionally crippled (Ibid., pp. 69-71).

Each of these character orientations may be combined with a more or a less productive attitude. The level of productiveness influences whether the positive or negative aspect of a character type develops. Fromm and Maccoby list the positive and negative aspects of the character types:

RECEPTIVE ORIENTATION (Accepting)

<i>Positive Aspect</i>	<i>Negative Aspect</i>
<i>accepting</i>	<i>passive, without initiative</i>
<i>responsive</i>	<i>opinionless, characterless</i>
<i>devoted</i>	<i>submissive</i>
<i>modest</i>	<i>without pride</i>
<i>charming</i>	<i>parasitical</i>
<i>adaptable</i>	<i>unprincipled</i>
<i>socially adjusted</i>	<i>servile, without self-confidence</i>
<i>idealistic</i>	<i>unrealistic</i>
<i>sensitive</i>	<i>cowardly</i>
<i>polite</i>	<i>spineless</i>
<i>optimistic</i>	<i>wishful thinking</i>
<i>trusting</i>	<i>gullible</i>
<i>tender</i>	<i>sentimental</i>

EXPLOITIVE ORIENTATION (Taking)

<i>Positive Aspect</i>	<i>Negative Aspect</i>
<i>active</i>	<i>exploitative</i>
<i>able to take initiative</i>	<i>aggressive</i>
<i>able to make claims</i>	<i>egocentric</i>
<i>proud</i>	<i>conceited</i>
<i>impulsive</i>	<i>rash</i>
<i>self-confident</i>	<i>arrogant</i>
<i>captivating</i>	<i>seducing</i>

HOARDING ORIENTATION (Preserving)

<i>Positive Aspect</i>	<i>Negative Aspect</i>
<i>practical</i>	<i>unimaginative</i>
<i>economical</i>	<i>stingy</i>
<i>careful</i>	<i>suspicious</i>
<i>reserved</i>	<i>cold</i>
<i>patient</i>	<i>lethargic</i>
<i>cautious</i>	<i>anxious</i>
<i>steadfast, tenacious</i>	<i>stubborn</i>
<i>imperturbable</i>	<i>indolent</i>
<i>composed under stress</i>	<i>inert</i>
<i>orderly</i>	<i>pedantic</i>
<i>methodical</i>	<i>obsessional</i>
<i>loyal</i>	<i>possessive</i>

(Ibid., p. 79)

Men and Women Farmers in Mexico and Kenya

Fromm and Maccoby found in the village they studied in Mexico that the best adaptation to freeholding peasant farming for the men was the productive-hoarding type. Peasants of the receptive type tended to be less productive characterologically and less successful economically in the social conditions of that village. They found also that the few villagers who were mainly of the entrepreneurial character were very important socially because they were the richest and most powerful men in the community.

Fromm and Maccoby found that the characters of the wives of these farmers did not break down into these two main types (productive hoarding and unproductive receptive). Instead, the social character of the women was of one main type, "a syndrome of submissive hoarding and responsible traits. Its positive (productive) aspect has the quality of maternal love and traditionalism as well as greater independence. Its negative (unproductive) aspect has the quality of passiveness, obstinacy, and a type of mother centeredness which . . . although it does not imply irresponsibility toward children, implies rejection of men" (Ibid., p. 147). These character differences between men and women stem from the different social conditions of the men and the women. A woman in that village is mainly confined to the home; her duties include washing and sweeping, which take more time than cooking, and she is expected to manage the household on as little money as possible, so she must hoard what money her husband gives her. She may even have to beg her husband submissively for money. The cultural tradition stresses

female submissiveness, dependence, and inferiority (Ibid., p. 146).

In the villages we studied in Mexico we found women of two main character types, one type in each village: productive hoarding in Tierra Alta and less productive receptive in Santa Maria. The different economic roles of the women and the different value systems of the two villages are explained in the text of the study.

In Kenya, however, within one village, we found that the character of the women did polarize into two main groups: the women in the commercial farming group were productive hoarding while the women in the agricultural laboring group were receptive and less productive. This contrast can be understood by the roles offered to the women in the Kikuyu village. There, the women actually do most of the farming--the cultivating as well as much of the farm management. The women also are the main agricultural laborers working for wages because cultivation traditionally has been the women's role in this culture. Thus we find in Kenya among the women, the same major character orientations found among the men in Mexico because they are performing similar economic roles. However, there would still be significant character differences between Mexican men and Kenyan women rooted in their different sexes and different cultures.

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