TRAIT DISPOSITIONS AND SITUATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF BEHAVIOR AMONG GUSII CHILDREN OF SOUTHWESTERN KENYA

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By

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PREFACE

This field study was done among the Gusii, a Bantu-speaking group numbering about half a million in the highlands of southwestern Kenya. The investigator spent 16 months (September 1966-January 1968) doing field work. The social unit chosen for study was "Nyansongo," the same group of neighboring families which the LeVines chose as their primary social unit in 1956.

A group of contiguous neighboring families who were members of a large work group in 1956 is the community which the LeVines chose to call Nyansongo (LeVine and LeVine, 1966:5). By and large, such communities are unnamed in Gusiiland. One end of Nyansongo is located 8 miles from Kisii Township, the district headquarters, and the other is a quarter of a mile from a market and a chief's camp. Now composed of 38 homesteads, Nyansongo lies on the slopes of the main road to Kericho. Except for one portion on the northeast end of the community, it is only "one homestead deep" on either side of the road and is a mile and a quarter long.

In addition to the data collected for this particular study, basic data were systematically collected on the entire community of Nyansongo. These data are a part of an ongoing file of panel communities of the Child Development Research Unit. These data were collected during a series of informal interviews with all the adults and many of the adolescent children of Nyansongo. They include census and genealogies, cross-referenced to maps,

residence histories, initiation year, marriage histories, job histories, women's fertility histories, educational histories including baptism school, religious affiliations, church attendance, distance of in-marrying and out-marrying females from husband's home at the time of marriage, visiting patterns of matrilineally related kin, crop surveys, animals owned, land-holding, land-lending and -borrowing, estimates of income from cash crops, patterns of procuring water and firewood, marketing patterns, sleeping and eating arrangements, daily routines of people of different sex and age groups, and ethnosociological categories.

CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND OVERVIEW

Many early studies concerned with culture and personality were intensive case studies of a single society. Other investigations employing the cross-cultural method, which utilizes data collected by anthropologists concerning the culture of various peoples throughout the world, were used to test hypotheses at the level of culture and society, concerning evolution and integration. During the last twenty years, studies of culture and personality have increasingly employed the cross-cultural method, and, at the same time, the theoretical orientation of the cross-cultural method has shifted to studies testing hypotheses concerning the way in which elements of culture can be integrated by underlying psychological processes. Ethnographic material has been drawn upon to test psychological principles to ensure that they relate to human behavior in general and to increase the range of variation of certain variables.

One work in which a general model for the way in which personality may serve to integrate culture was set forth in Whiting and Child (1953). A basic assumption of the model is that the customs of a society, which may be thought to refer to the behavior of a typical individual in a given society, are truly comparable to the habits of an individual.

The model is schematized as follows:

MAINTENANCE SYSTEMS → CHILD-TRAINING PRACTICES → PERSONALITY VARIABLES → PROJECTIVE SYSTEMS

(from Whiting and Child, 1953:310)

The hypothesis implies that maintenance systems determine child-rearing practices which determine personality, a hypothetical intervening variable, which is reflected in projective systems.

The Whiting and Child study; Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957); and the study of Values in Five Communities, which was conceived by Clyde Kluckhohn in the 1940s are ancestral to the Six Cultures Study. The aim of the Six Cultures study which began in the 1950s was to do an intracultural replicative study testing hypotheses concerning the relation between different patterns of child-rearing and subsequent differences in personality by using material collected in a standard manner in six parts of the world where families have divergent ways of life and theories and methods of training young children. In the Six Cultures study, it was assumed that the relationships between variables which hold at the macro-level, for the cultural case, should also hold at the micro-level, corresponding to intracultural variations. In other words, customs can be back-translated into habits. Requisite, then, to the replication of the culture and personality cross-cultural model within a society is variation in the independent variable or variables. The strength of an intracultural study lies in the possibility of obtaining more direct indices of variables than are possible in a cross-cultural study.

The present study was initially formulated as an intracultural study to test some hypotheses based on cross-cultural findings. The cross-cultural findings relate various kinds of child-training to the type of household inhabited by the child and some of these findings have been further supported by findings in the United States (e.g., D'Andrade, 1962; Kuckenberg, 1963). In the intracultural study, the same relationships have been predicted for individual cases rather than for whole societies. Household composition has been taken as the independent variable to be related to each of three dependent variables in different areas of child-training and child development. These dependent variables are sex identification, independence, and aggression.

First, variation in the independent variable was assessed. In Nyansongo,[1] the community of the field study, there are both nuclear and mother-child households. Further, the father may be engaged in work outside the community. In a nuclear household, husband, wife, and children reside together. There are three basic variations among mother-child households:

1) Mother-child monogamous. Husband has his own hut and visits his wife some nights.

2) Mother-child polygynous.

   a) Husband rotates between or among his wives' houses.

   b) Husband visits various wives' houses some nights and has his own hut.

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[1] Nyansongo is a Gusii community in Southwestern Kenya. See Preface for a brief description of it.

The three hypotheses of the field study are as follows:

1) In mother-child households as opposed to nuclear households, there is low male saliency resulting in greater feminine identification. (Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony, 1958; Whiting, 1959a, b; and Burton and Whiting, 1961)

2) In mother-child households, there is less early encouragement of independence than there is in nuclear households. (Whiting, 1959b) Also in mother-child households, the wife depends less on assistance from her husband and wants to keep her children home so they can help her. (Murdock and Whiting, 1951; Minturn and Lambert, 1964).

3) There is a strong association between the severity of aggression training and household structure. (Whiting, 1959b). Nuclear households are less severe in punishing aggression than mother-child households. The outstanding finding here, however, is that extended family households, where many people live close together, cannot tolerate the expression of aggression which is more disruptive in a large group (e.g., similarly, regimentation is necessary in the army and in boarding schools); bureaucratic and authoritarian practices increase with increased family size in the United States regardless of social class. (Elder and Bowerman, 1963)

Of the three hypotheses studied in the field, the first two, those dealing with the areas of sex identification and independence, have been developed in this dissertation. The hypothesis concerning aggression was not developed because it is not clear that the differences between mother-child households and nuclear households are significant. Whiting (1959b) reported a strong association between the severity of aggression training and household type; 92 per cent of the societies which have extended families have severe aggression training, while only 25 per cent of the societies which have nuclear families have severe aggression training. It seems necessary to see the entire range of household structures as yielding the strong association. On the other hand,

if, as Whiting suggested in his analysis of Zuni (ms. cited in Whiting, 1961), the expression of aggression cannot be tolerated in circumstances where so many people are living in such crowded quarters, then in the community of the field study, there is neither large enough nor constant enough individual variation in the number of people in a household to make a difference.

The hypothesized relationships between household composition and sex identification and those between household composition and independence may be schematized in the following manner in terms of some of the units of the Whiting and Child (1953:310) formulation of a causal sequence.

MAINTENANCE SYSTEMS	→ CHILD-TRAINING PRACTICES	→ PERSONALITY VARIABLES
Sex Identification:		
Mother-Child Households	Low male saliency	Greater identification with the mother (feminine), especially cross-sex identification
Nuclear Households	High male saliency	Greater identification with the father (masculine)
Independence:		
Mother-Child Households	Less encouragement of independence	Less independent
Nuclear Households	More encouragement of independence	More independent

Direct measures of personality variables are not included in most ethnographies. In this intracultural study, some examples of the relationship between household composition and reported behavior of children, observed behavior of children, and test behavior of children are examined. That is, the direct effect of social relationships upon the child are examined.

In Chapter 2 of the dissertation, the ethnographic background of the Gusii is discussed: the location and habitat; population; language; economy including pattern of subsistence, division of labor, agricultural cycle; political organization; social organization including descent groups, settlement pattern and community organization, family and household, marriage, kinship terminology; and religion, witchcraft and sorcery.

Chapter 3 describes background of Nyansongo children's lives, including a general summary of their early lives and their formal education which indicates a great recent increase in school attendance. It treats Nyansongan childhood, particularly elaborating upon the various chores which figure so importantly in the children's young lives (especially cattle herding and caretaking) and the discipline pertaining to chores.

Chapter 4 presents the procedures used and the results obtained in testing the relationships among the measures of the independent variable; of household composition, and between the independent measures and measures of the dependent variables, sex identification and independence. The results described are

quite clearly non-significant and a discussion of why these results were obtained is in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 5 contains an exploratory examination of proximity or spatial distances between children. Sex and situation emerge as important variables affecting proximity. One situation, that of caretaking, is shown as relatively more important than sex in determining proximity variations.

Chapter 6, the concluding chapter, discusses the two different viewpoints from which Gusii child behavior has been examined in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively, (1) traditional trait and state personality psychology and (2) the more exploratory examination which involves seeking to understand the determinants of proximity with respect to systematically sampled current behavior on the local scene. The lack of significant findings in Chapter 4 is then discussed both in terms of the particular problems of the present field study and in terms of a basic theoretical issue in psychology today: that of the fallacy of trait dispositions. The concept of trait dispositions is fundamental to the two cross-cultural hypotheses, yet empirical support for stable, highly generalized trait dispositions remains undemonstrated. In conclusion a more productive approach to the analysis and prediction of behavior is one which emphasizes observable and specific stimulus conditions and what a person does in situations rather than inferences about what attributes he has more globally.

CHAPTER 2

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

According to traditional history the Gusii[1] came from the north near Mount Elgon through the Kano Plain alongside Lake Victoria. They are presently located in the green fertile highlands of the Kisii District in Southwestern Kenya and they are thought to have arrived there in about the middle of the eighteenth century. As for those whose families now constitute Nyansongo,[2] the people of our field study, they later began to occupy part of an area which was formerly a no-man's land between BoGusii and Masailand. The earliest Gusii settler came to what is now Nyansongo in 1925.

Location and Habitat

Once a part of the South Nyanza District, the home of the Gusii now forms a district unit in Nyanza Province. Lying just to the east of the Kavirondo Gulf of Lake Victoria and about 50 miles south of the Equator, the Kisii District varies between

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[1]Prefixes before -gusii:
omo (sing.), aba (pl.): people
bo: place, land
eke: customs, language
Usually, the typical Bantu prefixing will be disregarded.

[2]See preface for a brief description of the community of Nyansongo.

4500 and 7000 feet in altitude. Over much of the district more than 80 inches of rain falls annually, primarily during two seasons which seem to have increased in length in recent years: the short rains occur in part of September, October, and November and the long rains occur in March, April, May and part of June. Characterized by deep valleys and short water courses, elongated ridges and rounded hills, the land area is about 832 square miles including 75 square miles added recently by the Boundary Commission.

Population

In 1967, the Gusii numbered over 500,000, most of whom resided in the district proper. The population density in the area surrounding Nyansongo is approximately 800 per square mile. Figure 1 is a population pyramid of Nyansongo as it looked in January 1968. There is a total of 289 people in Nyansongo as against 208 in 1957 (LeVine and LeVine, 1966:5). Since 1957, five widows and their children and five nuclear families[1] have migrated from Nyansongo.

Language

The Gusii are Bantu-speaking Negroes as are the majority of peoples in Kenya, but their isolation from other Bantu-speakers

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[1]Two of the husbands in these families are now polygynously married; two of the husbands are brothers and were accompanied by their widowed mother, who is not included in the count of five migrant widows.

Figure 1

Age and Sex Composition of Nyansongo
(January 1968)

Age	Males		Females
75-79	1	- | -	2
70-74	2	-	0
65-69	0	-	2
60-64	1	- | --	3
55-59	2	- | --	3
50-54	1	- | -	1
45-49	3	-- | ---	6
40-44	6	--- | -	2
35-39	8	---- | ---	6
30-34	7	---- | ------	12
25-29	8	---- | ---	6
20-24	9	----- | -------	13
15-19	11	------ | ------	11
10-14	21	---------- | ---------	18
5- 9	31	---------- | ----------	24
0- 4	38	---------- | ----------	31
Total	149		140

Note: Unmarried children whose parents reside in Nyansongo are counted as a part of Nyansongo's population even though they may have resided, e.g., with their grandparents in January 1968. Unless, e.g., a married woman's sister or a maternal grandchild seems to have truly been abandoned (there are two such cases), that child, conversely, though he may have resided in Nyansongo in January 1968, is not counted as a part of Nyansongo's population.

A divorced woman and her child or children residing with her mother is considered a part of Nyansongo's population.

If a man has some kind of regular relationship with a woman in Nyansongo, but he resides elsewhere primarily, owns land elsewhere, or does not own land in Nyansongo, he is not counted as part of the population of Nyansongo.

even those most closely related to them, the Ragoli, Kuria, Zanaki, Nata, and Sonjo,[1] is striking. They are surrounded by three Nilotic-speaking groups: the Southern Nilotic Kipsigis to the east and northeast, the Eastern Nilotic Masai to the southeast, and the Western Nilotic Luo to the north, west and southwest. In Nyansongo, in addition to speaking Gusii, most of the men and an occasional woman can communicate in a crude up-country version of Swahili. Virtually no English is spoken in the community, though it is the official language of the country and is used in Kenya's schools.

Previous Investigation

Extensive previous anthropological field work was done among the Gusii by Philip and Iona Mayer during 1946-49 and by Robert and Barbara LeVine during 1956-57.

Economy

Animal Husbandry, Crops, and Division of Labor

In the face of population pressure, a growing cash economy, and government discouragement of uncultivated grazing areas, the Gusii have become predominantly agricultural.[2] Cattle

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[1] These six peoples form Group 40 of Guthrie's Bantu Zone E (1948:42-43).

[2] An earlier factor favoring agriculture was the abolition of the ebisarate (sing., egesarate, traditional cattle villages) by the British in 1912 (LeVine and LeVine, 1966:13).

keeping,[1] while still valued and practiced, may be seen increasingly as a function of the imminence of a son's marriage. Cattle are needed as bridewealth (see p. 49f.). In Nyansongo, maize[2] has overtaken eleusine (finger millet) as the major crop, though eleusine (eleusine corocana) and sorghum (sorghum vulgare) are both still important crops. Also commonly grown are sweet potatoes, various legumes, and bananas.

The women do most of the routine agricultural work involved in the growing of subsistence crops, using short-handled hoes in planting and cultivation. Some families rotate crops but none use fertilizers nor let the land lie fallow. Thus we have essentially sedentary agriculture with emphasis on cereal grains as opposed to vegetable gardens and groves of fruit trees, yet the methods generally associated with semi-intensive or with shifting cultivation are employed--the soils of BoGusii are very rich. Men or women supervise the cattle herding which is performed primarily by preadolescent boys. Women milk the cows.

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[1]Grade cattle were introduced in BoGusii in 1963 but there are none in Nyansongo. An occasional sheep or goat is also kept by a few families.

[2]A major varietal change came in November/December 1962 when 426 bags of Kitale Synthetic II planting material were exchanged for local Kisii maize (Ucheodu, 1968a). We do not have information at present as to what extent Synthetic II maize variety is grown by Nyansongans. This type of maize is to be distinguished from hybrid maize in that the same seeds may be replanted.

Commonly men engage in short term contract labor employment or work outside of their home communities for extended periods. It is rare for women to do any wage labor.

The major cash crops[1] in Nyansongo are coffee[2] and the more recently introduced pyrethrum,[3] both marketed through tribally owned cooperative societies. In 1965, Nyansongans began cultivating pyrethrum from which a poison used in insecticides is derived. Pyrethrum is more profitable than coffee. It is also less problematical with respect to growth establishment in terms of time and monetary investment, processing, and ease of production adjustment in response to price changes. It is not in competition with maize at critical periods of land preparation and sowing. Though tea[4] is a major source of cash income in Highland Kisii, the first tea was planted recently by one Nyansongan homesteader in May 1967. Along with the increased growing of cash crops is the increased participation of men in work on the land. For the Gusii, food crops still have priority over other crops.

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[1]A few families grow passion fruits. Sweet bananas and sugar cane are supplementary cash crops which are not grown very extensively in Nyansongo and seem to be grown primarily for consumption.

[2]The first coffee was planted in Kisii by Gusii farmers in 1935.

[3]The first pyrethrum was introduced in Kisii in 1952.

[4]The first tea was planted in Kisii in 1957.

Agricultural Cycle

In Gusiiland there are two main crop cycles a year. These cycles begin with the two rainy seasons. The long rains occur earlier, and maize is planted earlier, in the Kisii District than elsewhere in Kenya. Crops are planted just before or during the rains and may be harvested before the next rains. Since two crops a year of maize can be grown, and maize is grown so extensively these days, the period of "food anxiety" before the harvest prior to the short rains that LeVine and LeVine (1966:12) reported is no longer a very noticeable phenomenon. Male and female initiation rites traditionally occurred after the harvest, between October and December. For Nyansongans, the rites were mainly in December. With two agricultural cycles and the growing of cash crops, there is seemingly a concomitant flexibility as to the time when initiation occurs. At any rate, at the time of the field investigation it was said that there were initiations in August and September, and in late January, the author witnessed the return home of a group of newly circumcised boys (they were not Nyansongans but they were from Nyaribari Cheche, which is the same location which Nyansongo is in).

Recent settlement, especially in areas such as Nyansongo, and rich soils have contributed to residential stability and continuous cropping. Below is outlined a general sketch of the agricultural cycle (Uchendu, 1968b). There does, however, seem to be a good deal of individual variation among Nyansongans as

to when they do what and though maize is planted twice a year, it is not clear whether it is ever planted twice within one year on the same piece of land.

December through January	Land preparation for the long rains' crops. Dry planting of finger millet.
February through March	Planting long rains' crops: millet, sorghum, maize (which takes about 210 days to mature), sweet potatoes, cabbages, beans (which take about 3 or 4 months to mature), cassava, and other vegetables.
	Pruning tea in the highlands.
	Harvesting short rains' crops: maize, sweet potatoes, beans, all planted in August through September.
April through May	Planting tea, coffee, banana, sugar cane, pyrethrum, passion fruit.
	Weeding long rains' crops planted in February through March (see above).
June	Weeding coffee and banana plantations.
July through August	Picking fly crop of coffee.
August through September[1]	Harvesting maize, millet, sweet potatoes planted in February and March (before the long rains).
	Mulching coffee.
	Planting the short rains' crops: maize, beans, sweet potatoes; these are light in yield partly because of a shorter growing season. The amount of food crops which are planted depends on the outcome of the first rains' crops. Low yield and thus the planting of increased acreage during the second rains may be compelled by a dry spell, an overabundance of rain, or sowing too early or too late.

[1]Note: LeVine and LeVine (1966:13) in discussing the agricultural cycle state that the harvest is in October (cf. for comparison).

October	Weeding short rains' crops planted in August.
January through December	Picking tea leaves and pyrethrum flowers.

Political Organization

The Gusii are an acephalous tribal society. Traditionally Gusii society was not stratified either by rank or by wealth and the age organization was rudimentary. Descent provided the main political framework and descent groups were the basis of territorial organization. The hierarchy of segmentary descent groups ranges from the national unit down to the nuclear lineage consisting of one man with his legitimate sons. All orders of lineages have patrilineal descent as their mode of recruitment and refer to an eponymous ancestor, the ultimate of these being MoGusii, the founder of the nation. The hierarchy of units is as follows:

Nation
Tribe
Clan
Subclan
Clan-House
Minor Lineage
Family

The Gusii had seven uncentralized so-called tribal units. With the partial exception of the Getutu (alternate Swahili name is Kitutu) tribe, which developed a limited form of hereditary chieftainship in the nineteenth century, there were no permanent positions of leadership with fixed or substantial decision-making power and no formal councils. Political integration was at the

eamate (clan)[1] level--sometimes it was even at the community level --and there were no permanent governmental offices. As clans and their component local lineages grew in size over time, segments of equal size tended to break away from one another and view each other as enemies. Autonomy and unity of these segments were thus stressed.

In the authority system of each clan and community, elders and wealthy individuals had more power than anyone else. These local leaders performed a major role in the settlements of disputes. The traditional Gusii homestead,[2] however, was an internally self-governing unit. The homestead head, who could invoke the supernatural sanctions of the ancestor spirits, handled all disputes and rule violations within the homestead unless he chose to call in an outside authority. Cases of conflict involving members of more than one homestead were brought to the attention of the abagaaka begesaku (lineage elders) and the abatureti (hut elders) who were wealthy judicial leaders who provided the houses and participated in the meetings of the elders. This group of

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[1]The form for writing a Gusii term and its meaning is generally as follows: 1) native term in the singular form (native term in the plural form, English gloss) or 2) native term in the plural form (native term in the singular form, English gloss of plural). Singular is abbreviated sing. and plural is pl. Sometimes the term is used predominantly in the singular or predominantly in the plural. In such cases only the major form is given.

[2]A traditional Gusii homestead is a social and territorial entity; the members of this residential unit are the man who is homestead head, his wives, his unmarried children and his married sons and their wives and children.

homestead heads and other elders was vaguely defined. Its membership would depend on the nature of the case being heard, i.e., to whom the decision was relevant. For example, potential heirship helps to define the group that comes into action to defend any menaced land right. In the past, lineage elders sat as a court, but they never had specialized agencies to enforce their decisions. There were prestigious arbitrators, freeing victorious litigants to resort to self-help. Cases of conflict involving individuals in different local areas within the clan were more likely to result in armed conflict than those within local communities. Sometimes, in these cases however, a trial would be conducted by the lineage elders from the different areas concerned.

In 1907, the British abolished the warfare which occurred among the seven Gusii tribes and the blood-feuding which was carried on between the subclans and smaller lineage segments. Following the doctrine of Indirect Rule as enunciated by Luggard, they introduced new central authorities into the traditionally chiefless Gusii society. The Provincial Commissioner appointed chiefs who were given power to enforce legal decisions and subheadmen who had specialized political roles which operated within the system of British colonial administration.

In the 1930s native courts called African Tribunal Courts were established. These courts with appeal to European officers were for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Though a specialized judiciary was an innovation, much of the procedure of these courts

was and still is indigenous. The courts, however, denied the jurisdiction of the homestead head and deprived the chiefs of their formal judicial powers.

Though changing the meaning of political authority, the British administration made use of existing political units; however, it stressed the tribe as an administrative unit rather than the clan. The chiefs were given charge of locations which coincided more or less with indigenous tribal areas and the sublocations were placed under subheadmen usually consisting of one or more complete clan or subclan areas. Thus the old forces of group cohesion could continue to operate in a modified way even in the case of the larger political units.

By 1957, the time of the LeVines' field study, in an effort to reduce clan parochialism, the subheadmen were usually assigned to multiclan territories. By 1967, there were further changes which might be construed to have implications for the fostering of tribalism.[1] Kenya, though presently more unified in a sense at what is now the national level, is more divided at the tribal level. Kisii, once a part of South Nyanza District, which included other tribes, is now a unitribal district divided into two divisions for administrative purposes: North Kisii with headquarters at Nyamira and South Kisii with headquarters at Kisii Township. The district, excluding Borabu Location, is divided

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[1]Tribalism here refers to the Gusii people as a whole, e.g., as opposed to the Luo or the Masai.

into four agricultural divisions called Area Councils: Nyamira, Kitutu, Keumbu, and Kuja. Also, there is an Urban Council in Kisii Headquarters.

The locations which had been named after and rather closely corresponded to the seven Gusii tribes have been redivided into 12 locations. Each location has a chief and each sublocation within it has a subchief, who like the chief earns a regular salary. The subchief collects taxes and helps settle domestic and local disputes. The chiefs and subchiefs are essentially employed by the District Commissioner, though they are officially employed by the Office of the President. The prospective subchief undergoes a series of interviews and must be recommended by the chief. After two years probation, the office of subchief is permanent.

Below are the original British administrative locations and their redivisions as seen in 1967.

Division	British Administrative Locations	Locations in 1967
North Kisii	1. Kitutu[1]	1. Central Kititu (7 sublocations) 2. West Kitutu (6 sublocations) 3. East Kitutu (6 sublocations)
	2. North Mugirango	4. North Mugirango (6 sublocations) 5. West Mugirango (7 sublocations)

[1]Getutu is the proper Gusii word.

Division	British Administrative Locations	Locations in 1967
		6. Borabu[1] (2 sublocations)
South Kisii	3. Wanjare[2]	7. Wanjare (5 sublocations)
	4. Majoge[3]	8. Majoge (6 sublocations)
	5. Bassi	9. Bassi (6 sublocations)
	6. South Mugirango	10. South Mugirango (5 sublocations)
	7. Nyaribari[4]	11. Nyaribari Chache[5] (4 sublocations)
		12. Nyaribari Masaba (5 sublocations)

Sometime after the African Tribunal Courts were established, the role of the omotureti (pl. abatureti, hut elder) was and still is recognized in the contemporary judicial system, but the hut elder does not have the power he once had. He is supposed to be elected by people of a given territory, but there is some question

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[1]Cognate of oborabu meaning "empty bush"; this is the Sotik Settlement Area which was white settler land prior to independence.

[2]Nchari is the proper Gusii word.

[3]Machoge is the proper Gusii word.

[4]It is of note, however, that all of Nyaribari (both Masaba and Chache) is represented by one member of parliament.

[5]Nyansongo is in one of these sublocations: Bosigisa-Bomobea.

at present as to whether or not he is simply appointed by the chief in consultation with the subchief under whose authority he will be working. Whichever is the case, popular opinion is most likely taken into account. The hut elder does not earn a regular salary, though he will be paid between 5 shillings and 20 shillings by the people who have a dispute for him to settle. He hears minor cases along with the hut elders of adjacent areas. Usually the lineage elders sit jointly with the hut elders and often influence their decisions. Property damage cases figure prominently in this local judicial arrangement. Since land registration, the amount of once prominent litigation over land has fallen off considerably. With the confirmation of a Tribunal Court, hut elders can award damages of small amounts and can order short prison sentences. Each week there is a public meeting with the chief at which the hut elders report their findings. The chief decides where the case should go from there.

The District Commissioner and his administrative hierarchy, the resident magistrate who is the supreme judicial authority and handles interracial as well as more serious African criminal cases, the Kenya police, and the African District Council which is presided over by the District Commissioner and represented by chiefs and elected men, are above the chiefs, the tribal police, and the African Tribunal Courts in the political hierarchy.

Under the District Commissioner are several district officers. The most important of these is the D. O. 1 who is in

charge of Gusiiland. He deals mainly with the location chiefs.

In colonial times, aside from the Council, the branches of district government were staffed at the top levels by British officials. Since Independence, December 12, 1963, all these positions have been Africanized, though the top levels are rarely staffed by Gusii. At the time of the field study, it appeared that the local chiefs had less importance than they once had though they still have considerable autonomy in the governing of their respective locations. The cause of this apparent loss of a central role in the judicial process, which people had still accorded to the chiefs in spite of the establishment of African Tribunal Courts, is that Gusiiland has been raised to the status of a district and thus there now does exist a ruling council over all of Gusiiland. Another factor may be individual to the location in which Nyansongo lies. The wealthy, powerful, and charismatic polygynist chief who had been in office for more than 35 years was replaced at the time of independence. He was very important to Nyansongans in particular because Nyansongo lies between his home and his official headquarters, he was responsible for resettling these people in Nyansongo, and he is closely related to one group of them.

Social Organization

Descent Groups

The hierarchy of patrilineal groups which organize Gusii society, relating family to nation has already been presented (see p. 16). All of these groups have one generic name, egesaku (pl. ebisaku). Throughout the system descent is traced through the male line to a common ancestor, residence is patrilocal, and recruitment for men is by descent in the male line and for women is by marriage. Only men are full members of the system. Membership in the lineage involves patrimonial rights over land and inheritance, defense obligations, and ritual duties to the spirits. The only way of detaching a person from one lineage and incorporating him (or her) in another is through a bridewealth transaction. Incorporation by adoption is restricted to children drawn from outside the lineage framework.

The following discussion will begin with the smallest unit, the nuclear lineage, which is the structural basis for all the other units of the hierarchy. Then the discussion will proceed from the largest unit, the nation, which is at the top of the hierarchy, on down to the minor lineage.

The nuclear unit of the Gusii system of descent groups is the polygynous family homestead. The family may be viewed in two ways: as an enyomba (pl. chinyomba) and as an egesaku (pl. ebisaku). The enyomba is the mother-child unit consisting of full-siblings and their mother and is an independent unit for some

purposes such as property holding. Every child belongs by birth to an enyomba, a group of uterine kin. Every enyomba in turn belongs to an egesaku, a nuclear lineage springing from a particular man, and is thus a group of agnatic kin. Vested in this group are the marriage portion and the inheritance of the sons. Egesaku and enyomba are much more than terms of family relationship. Relations between descent groups throughout the hierarchy that organizes Gusii society are conceptualized by the use of the family idiom. In the wider context, egesaku is the lineage of the founding ancestor of any order and its subdivisions or segments are chinyomba:

> A Gusii may refer to his clan, for instance, either as a lineage (egesaku) or as a house (enyomba), but it will be found that, when he uses the latter term, he has in mind the relations of the group to the lineage of next higher order. (Mayer, 1949:5)

The conception of egesaku is inseparable from the idea of segmentation. It is important to stress at the outset that the apparent stability, particularly of the higher orders of the social framework, is only relative. Among the Gusii there is awareness of segmentation of the higher orders, e.g., that three of the seven tribes were formed in comparatively recent times[1] and that an eighth one disintegrated, and that new clans are formed involving a lapse of exogamic rule. The growth of the egesaku leading to fission is proper and desirable. A new segment becomes coordinate with its former parent.

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[1]Nyaribari split from Getutu; North and South Mugirango were formed out of a single tribe.

Ideally the lineage and the local group ought to coincide, yet lineage groups of all sizes are constantly shifting and dispersing. So there arises the situation of the abamenyi (sing. omomenyi, dwellers or strangers on land other than that which they belong to by descent) which is in contrast to that of the abanto banka (home people). Since lineage ties are supposed to be indestructible and non-transferable, divergence from the ideal leads to a conflict of loyalties. Social mechanisms similar for every kind of descent group exist for dealing with abamenyi. A split-off lineage fragment is repelled from an alien place and attracted back to its true place; in short, the abamenyi are made or encouraged to go home. Or it may be that there is absorption of the split-off lineage fragment through concealment and fiction, which may include voluntary adoption of a common rule of exogamy. Concealment and fiction are necessary for severing and reforming a lineage, and ultimately the bond is regarded as genuine.

Egesaku implies common property interests whereas abako, the affinal relationship, implies opposed property interests. The term abako is loosely extended to whole clans where one is permitted to marry. The patrimony of abako groups is fair game. Abanyamwando oito, "our people of one inheritance," may denote different kinds of groups according to context. The conception of potential heirship has its counterpart at higher levels of lineage hierarchy, and, starting with the descendents of the house from which it sprang, has a possibility of indefinite extension to

all the superordinate lineages; but it is to be underlined that at these higher levels it is a group political relation between lineage and lineage and not a relation between individuals in different lineages.

The various units of the Gusii system are considered below:

Nation

There is no specific vernacular term for this unit. The national ancestor MoGusii is usually about 8 to 10 generations from Ego. The nation is the maximal lineage of the Gusii, the only permanent one. Descent is traced in a manner typical of a group differentiated into segments. From MoGusii down to the nuclear lineage it is traced partly by way of intermediate ancestors who themselves are speculative or legendary figures.

Tribe

There is no specific vernacular term for this unit. Each tribe (Bassi, Getutu, Machoge, North Mugirango, South Mugirango, Nchari, and Nyaribari) occupied its own territory which in turn was divided into clan territories. A Gusii reciting the names of his direct patrilineal ancestors takes about 6 or 7 steps to reach the one who represents the founder of what is here called a tribe.[1] For some tribes there is also a totem ancestor, whose supposed

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[1]Nyaribari, considered a tribe, is viewed as the "ultimate" clan by the Nyansongans. Nyaribari, however, unlike most of the other tribes, has only one rather than two true clans.

descendents must practice avoidances in respect of a particular animal. The totem ancestor may appear as son or as father of the tribal ancestor. The tribe has a latent rather than active political identity. Traditionally clans of the same tribe would exchange criminal compensation, but outside the tribe such exchange was rare. On the other hand, internecine fighting was the rule and a clan might even seek allies from a different tribe. The main identity of the tribe was realized primarily in defense against an outside threat.

Clan

The eamate (clan) is the maximal structural field of both exogamy and classificatory kinship. In this group, not only marriage but sexual intercourse is forbidden. On the average it takes about five generations from a mature Ego to reach the eponymous founder of the clan. Traditionally the clan was organized for war and was the group with the strongest emphasis on territorial integrity. The boundaries of the clan were always clear-cut and political despite a certain amount of interspersal of lineage segments within it. Each clan had its amatongo (clusters of lineage-oriented settlements), which were a number of ridges separated from neighboring clans by belts of uninhabited bush. A close association between clan membership and clan land is still true of the oldest settled areas of the Gusii lowlands. No criminal compensation could pass between clan members. Clansmen are termed abaamate (sing. omomate). There are two types of clans:

1) Descended clans--the founder of such clans is a direct agnatic descendent of the tribal founder.

2) Adopted clans--some other kind of genealogical link attaches such clans to a tribe.

Each tribe consists of both types of clans. Though outnumbering the descended clans, the total population of the adopted clans within a tribe is less. Further, adopted clans are not normally divided into subclans (which are discussed below), though a few have two branches--one in each of two different tribes. These groups may or may not have the same name. Indeed, extra-tribal bonds of exogamy invariably indicate that the clan is adopted rather than descended. Branches of adopted clans observe a common rule of exogamy and are more or less equivalent to subclans. Some adoptive clans have their own distinctive totems. Except in Getutu[1] tribe, adopted clans claim full membership in their tribal egesaku through a genealogical fiction or a myth of adoption.

Bori (real kin) are distinguished from the majority of Ego's clansmen by several terms. With bori as distinct from abaamate, the use of classificatory terms generally reflects genealogical relatedness. Several terms for bori shall now be considered:

1) ababiare. This term is cognate with okobiara (to bear or beget). These are kin traceable[2] through one's mother or

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[1]See Mayer (1949:14) for a detailed discussion of the special nature of the Getutu tribe.

[2]Traceable refers to the third or fourth ascending generation (Mayer, 1949:9) and the second or third degree of collaterality (I. Mayer, 1965:16). Basically, four generations are considered by I. Mayer to be the range within which kin ties are demonstrable.

through the mother of either parent and set the boundaries for an individual's personal field of exogamy. The term ababiare includes all of those considered to be Ego's cognatic kinsmen, but as there are other special terms of agnatic kinsmen those special terms would be used to refer to them. Sometimes ababiare is translated as people born there, i.e., the rightful owners of the land, people born of the lineage, and simply kinsmen.

The following groups of agnatic kin who know their exact relationships to each other share with the eamate (clan) the distinction of being the only orders of descent groups indicated by specific vernacular terms.

2) abanyamatiti (people who shave ritually together). People will say that those of one grandfather shave together. Actually, this lineage group is drawn from several related homesteads whose male members are descendents, properly speaking, of one great-great-grandfather and recognize themselves as a single mourning group. Generally, however, three or at most four generations are present as a mourning unit at a funeral. The group includes those wives of the agnates composing this group who have completed the final marriage ceremony, which serves to shift their primary allegiance to their husbands' groups. Daughters or sisters of the deceased regardless of marital status are excluded. If a man has been murdered, it is the mourning group of the slain which is said to be entitled to receive compensation for his death and it is the mourning group of the slayer which is nominally responsible for the payment.

3) riiga (pl. amaiga). This term is actually a generalized word for lineage segment, though in practice it seems to be used only for lineages between the level of the clan and the family. People will say that four generations make a riiga (five including children). Descent in the riiga is not traced back further than it is for the abanyamatiti. The riiga, however, is more inclusive and is usually thought of as containing two or more mourning groups. The riiga is a minor order of lineage which is a transition point; in the riiga interest shifts from precise kinship categorization to ascertaining merely that one descent group includes another as a segment. Demonstration of kinship selects and discriminates categories, while tracing common descent amalgamates and unifies groups. The riiga is the maximum limit to which true genealogical demonstration is practicable between agnates.

> . . . the fission process which results in the individuation of a new riiga is the loss or drop-away of inner demonstrability. (I. Mayer, 1966:370)

The riiga members take an interest in each other's family events and may be expected to attend each other's domestic ceremonies without an invitation. Dyadic jural and ritual obligations with respect to debts, credits, and loans of cattle, women, and land; and with respect to inheritance, levirate, care of orphans, funeral mourning, and sacrifice cease in all cases at the boundary of the riiga.

4) enyomba (Clan-House). (See below.)

Subclan

There is no specific vernacular term for this unit. The native term is the general one of enyomba. Subclans act as separate political units in most respects but can best be described as clans in the making. Like clans, subclans are territorially defined and those of one clan may engage in organized warfare against each other. Subclans of one clan, however, may not intermarry and no criminal compensation can pass between the members of one subclan and those of another. Usually a clan does not comprise more than three or four subclans.

Clan-House

There is no specific term for this unit. The native term is the general one of enyomba. In its narrow context it is a major segment of the clan or subclan and this embraces two or more amaiga. The clan-house is a political unit of a sort; it is likely to be the nucleus of a future subclan. When, for example, land rights are threatened, such a seemingly functionless lineage shows itself as a political group united by bonds of the same kind though not of the same intensity as those of the clan itself.

Minor Lineage (or riiga)

(See p. 31.)

Settlement Pattern and Community Organization

The houses of the Gusii are usually situated in clusters, which are loose, varied in arrangement, and scattered. In areas as densely populated as Nyansongo, the clusters are too close together to be considered dispersed. A fair degree of isolation may still be attained by a round-about entry-way. Uchendu (1968b) has pointed out that the natural topography of ridges and valleys conditions the location of homesteads and the shape of the farms. A basic pattern, then, may be a strip of farm which runs from the top of a ridge to the bottom of a valley (or as is common in Nyansongo, from the top of a ridge down to the road or from the bottom of a valley up to the road), with the structures located in approximately the middle of the strip.

Local group organization consists of the following: local communities, neighborhoods, and homesteads. Each local community is made up of neighborhoods, each neighborhood of homesteads. Before migrations to the areas of new settlement in the highlands, such as Nyansongo, exogamous patrilineal clans were territorial units within which lineage groups tended to be localized, forming communities. As a result of these migrations, however, clans are no longer territorially unified, though local communities still remain homogeneous with respect to clan membership.[1] Each clan

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[1]People still talk in territorial terms, e.g., "He's from Bomobea," rather than "He's an omobea."

has a place of original residence plus one or more places several miles away where people of the same clan reside. Thus families in a community reside in close proximity to the members of the same lineage, subclan, and clan, but not near all other members of any of these descent groups. Especially in the areas of newer settlement, lineages have become more fragmented.

Nyansongo consists of members of four patrilineal lineages of one exogamous clan called Nyaribari. All of these lineages have many other members living in similar communities elsewhere in Nyaribari Location (see page 20 for a discussion of locations) and thus correspond to what Murdock terms sibs.[1] Two of these lineages belong to Bonyamasicho subclan, Mwa Masemo and Mwombate; these small lineage fragments have remote genealogical relationships to each other. The other two lineage groups belong to Bomobea subclan, Mwa Moimara and Mwa Kebarori. The males of the oldest generation of Moimara trace their ancestry to two wives of a common great-grandfather, Moimara. The males of the oldest generation of Kebarori trace their ancestry to three wives of a common great-grandfather, the son of Kebarori.

The local community, Nyansongo 1966, was simply defined as Nyansongo 1957, Approximately Nine and One Half Years Later. LeVine (1964:65-66) defined a local community as a group of

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[1]Sibs are lineages whose core membership normally comprises residents of more than one community as opposed to those confined to a single community (Murdock, 1967:157).

families occupying a continuous area with natural boundaries and forming the maximal risaga or risaga rinene, a group lacking formal authority or leadership which recognizes the reciprocal obligation to contribute labor on specific family projects in return for beer. This cooperative territorial group is supposed to be a more or less permanent unit. Further LeVine states that members of the same large risaga also hold initiation ceremonies jointly and refrain from working in the fields for one day of each other's funerals. Each local community consists of a few neighborhoods rather vaguely defined spatially and also defined in terms of the small risaga or risaga riike within which the work-beer relationship is more frequently called into action for lesser tasks. There are usually three or four smaller units which comprise the larger risaga.[1] In 1957, the three neighborhoods roughly corresponded to three descent group fragments: Mwa Moimara, Mwa Kebarori, and the two lineage fragments of Bonyamasicho subclan. Finally, the basic independently functioning domestic unit of each neighborhood is the omochie (pl. emechie, homestead). Ideally, the homestead is also an egesaku or patrilineage in the sense of the genealogical and residential unity of a man and his

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[1]According to Mayer (1951:6), there are also risaga composed of only women and girls. Such female groups are composed of egesangio (pl. abasangio) groups. An egesangio is a routine working party of women or girls who help each other in the morning tasks such as weeding on a basis of strict rotation. Abasangio are temporary, voluntary, and liable to dissolve when the work cycle is complete or when the season's work is over. When this work party meets in the afternoon, it is called egebosano.

male descendents, his sons. The man and his sons will continue to live in the homestead throughout their lives and the sons' sons will live there too. The omochie is a small[1] extended family consisting of a head or elder, his several wives, his unmarried children, his married sons and their wives and children, their land, and their cattle. For each wife and each initiated son, regardless of whether or not he is married, there should be a separate house. Formerly, the elder, to whom great deference was shown and with whom lay the only traditionally truly ascribed authority, had great control over the economic and judicial affairs as patriarch of the homestead. The concept of omochie of a given elder may also continue to exist after his death, though the dissolution of the omochie is expected to follow eventually as an inevitable part of lineage segmentation at the level of the polygynous extended family.

With respect to the defining criteria for the units of community organization, there seem to have been some changes, especially in the concepts of risaga and omochie. Some people do not belong to risaga groups at all. People from different clans may belong to the same risaga group, thus modifying further the ideal of the identity of the lineage with a residence group and confirming the risaga group as more fundamentally territorial. The families of children initiated together do not necessarily

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[1] A small extended family contains the families of procreation of only one individual (Murdock, 1967:155).

correspond to those belonging to a risaga group and often boys or girls both of different clans and of different risaga groups are concurrently initiated. One informant after having named the members of his risaga, which corresponded to the small risaga or that of one neighborhood as described by LeVine (1964:66), expressed confusion about the terms risaga riike and risaga rinene. He said the risaga for which he had listed the members was a fixed group and, simply, for a given calling of the group into action, not everyone necessarily worked. Finally whether because of change, area variations, or difficulty in obtaining a clear report, there do not seem to be any risaga groups in some areas of BoGusii. A secondary school student from South Mugirango Location reported that 1) he did not know the concept risaga and 2) a person may work for someone else in return for beer but he need not be involved in any reciprocal obligations or even be known to the person for whom he works.

Part of what may be changing the notion of risaga is the emergence at the time of Uhuru or Independence in December 1963 of a type of Harambee[1] or self-help group which is an agricultural cooperative called ekiombe (unity). Using money they have pooled and placed in a bank in the town of Kisii, the members of the ekiombe rent land, grow a cash crop--usually pyrethrum or tea--contribute labor regularly as a group called together on specified

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[1]The motto of Mzei Jomo Kenyatta's independence government is "harambee," a Swahili word meaning "let us all pull together."

days at specified times[1] by a bell or traditional Gusii drums, and share in the profits. At Christmas time, they may jointly buy a cow for feasting. Many of these groups build nursery schools, which have consequently sprung up over much of BoGusii (see Chapter 3, pp. 80-82). During the field study several Nyansongans were a part of an ekiombe. This group had built the Tekera Nursery School, which "preschool" children attend to sing, dance, and learn some letters. Several other Nyansongans had started a different ekiombe cum nursery school at about the same time but it had failed to continue because of corruption and bad tempers.

Today, the concept of omochie or homestead also appears to be changing. In Nyansongo and the surrounding area, the registration of land titles has been completed thus quelling an infamous outlet for litigious behavior. Registration began in 1965 after a land survey to mark boundaries was completed. The term omochie is now becoming synonymous with occupancy of a plot of land and actual land ownership. Gone are the communal pastures which often formed partial boundaries between homesteads. Indeed gone is most of the pasture land and much grazing occurs on roadside strips. However, sharing of pasture land and other fields as well does continue between some homesteads. The 18 homesteads of Nyansongo 1957 have been divided into 45 registered plots of land and are now considered to be 38 homesteads. Seven plots of

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[1]The members are fined if they do not come.

land are unoccupied;[1] one of these is a second plot for a resident of Nyansongo and three of these plots, which are contiguous and situated along one edge of Nyansongo, are owned by a man from another subclan, Botondo, and have, in effect, ceased to be a part of Nyansongo. One polygynist keeps his wives on two separate plots of land and these are considered separate homesteads. As of January 1968, only two of the 38 homesteads were extended family homesteads[2] in the sense of containing a homestead head and one or more of his married sons.

The average land holding in Nyansongo proper is 3.5 acres; the size of a homestead's land in Nyansongo ranges from .8 of an acre to 12.7 acres. Six men own additional parcels of land of up to 3 acres outside of Nyansongo; four of these are brothers who share one small plot.

With regard to the fission of homesteads, it must also be noted that during the period after the LeVines' work and preceding the field work of the present study, Nyansongo went through a rather dramatic phase in its demographic cycle of the "dying of the old men." When a homestead head with married sons dies, major decisions for the homestead group are made by the oldest son.

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[1] It is questionable as to whether one of these plots is occupied or not; there is a house on it.

[2] There is an additional extended family homestead with a leviratic husband; however, the land is in the widow's name and the homestead is usually referred to as hers, though occasionally it is referred to as her dead husband's and, even less often, as her leviratic husband's.

Division of the land at least among the polygynous units[1] proceeds apace and can result in the formation of separate homesteads within a few years (LeVine, 1964:72). With regard to the cause of apparent change in the concept of omochie, the distinction between the effect of land registration and the effect of the deaths of homestead heads with married sons residing in the homestead cannot be safely made.

One case, however, which indicates the behavioral implications of land registration with respect to the concept of omochie is that of an old, respected, traditional polygynist with three married sons. The old man had allotted land to each of his sons but the oldest now lives on a separately registered though adjacent plot to that of his father. The old man says that now, since land registration, his son has his own omochie and is no longer ruled by his father. In the old days, the father would have continued to rule his son even though his son may have had many wives and children.

Family and Household

The traditionally explicit ideal of the Gusii is polygynous marriage. Preferably there are four wives, or in any case, an even number which are linked in successive pairs within which bridewealth loans are contracted and which are inheritance units

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[1]Each polygynous unit consists of one wife, her married sons, and their dependents.

(Mayer, 1950). Today some men express reservations about polygyny either because of the influence of the chief missions in the area, the Roman Catholic and the Seventh-Day Adventist; or, more commonly, because it is impractical both economically and spatially, for herds have been reduced and land is short. In Nyansongo, as of January 1968, 27 of the married men were currently monogamists and 6 were currently polygynists, each polygynist having two wives and one polygynist having in addition to his two wives a leviratic relationship outside Nyansongo. Of these 6 men, only one had married children at the time he first became a polygynist. A total of 8 additional men had been polygynists[1] at some time during their lives and one of the present polygynists had at one time had three wives concurrently; he was the only living Nyansongan man to have had more than two wives at once (another had had at one time a leviratic wife in addition to his two wives, as did one of the current polygynists, mentioned above). Including widows, there were 20 plural wives and 36 monogamous wives.[2] There were 184 children 16 years of age or under in Nyansongo. Seventy-eight or about 42 per cent of these children had polygynous parents. The polygynous count includes children of widows if the co-wives of

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[1]The category includes men with two or more wives or with one or more wives and a leviratic relationship.

[2]In addition, two divorced women were staying with their mothers and one unwed mother was staying with her mother. One of the monogamous wives had left Nyansongo, perhaps permanently, in August 1967, and another left in November, 1967; both, however, have been retained in the census.

the widows were present or had been present at any time during the children's lives.

The basic residential unit in Nyansongo is the mother-child household. A married woman, her unmarried daughters, and her uninitiated sons live in a single dwelling. The woman's husband may sleep in the house with her part of the time, most of the time, or essentially all of the time. His sleeping arrangements may include one or more of the following: the houses of other wives, his own hut, the children's house, or outside the community, where he may be working for long periods of time.

The house as a whole and the household as a social unit is called enyomba (pl. chinyomba, see also pp. 24-25). There have been some changes in the houses of the Gusii since 1957. Most houses are now square instead of round, though they still have conical, concentrically thatched roofs, mud and wattle walls, and floors formed essentially by the ground but coated with dried mud and dung. An enyomba now consists generally of three rather than two rooms:

1) enyomba, the wife's room where she cooks and performs other domestic chores.
2) eero, the room in which the husband entertains guests.
3) a new addition, a separate room for sleeping (though some children may sleep in the enyomba as well).

The husband is in charge of building the house and thatching the roof and he may have a work-beer party or risaga (see p. 35) in order to accomplish the task. The wife, perhaps aided by other

women, may smear mud on the walls and, when all is dry, puts on the final coat of cow dung plaster. In Nyansongo, there are now two tin-roofed houses both belonging to polygynists. A couple of Nyansongo families have separate cooking houses and about half of the families have pit latrines.

In the patrilineal inheritance system of the Gusii, in which there is relatively equal distribution of property with the oldest son getting somewhat more, mother-son units figure importantly in the allocation and inheritance of property. The property which belongs to a woman in usufruct is reserved primarily for the marriages of her sons. A son may make legitimate claims to inheritance based on which fields were cultivated by his mother and how many head of cattle, sheep, and goats are associated with her household, acquired through the marriages of her daughters and her own effort. If a man dies without sons, his brothers inherit his land and cattle; if he has no brother either, then the property is inherited by those lineage members who stand in closest relation to him.

In the omochie, the widowed mother of the homestead may also be a resident. If she is, she will have her own house and one or more of her granddaughters or uninitiated[1] grandsons may

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[1]Both Gusii males and females undergo initiation rites. The males are circumcised between the ages of approximately 10 and 12. Circumcision is followed by a period of seclusion either alone or with two or three other initiates in a small hut. During this period hazing by other boys is practiced. After seclusion, there is mandatory partial segregation from the family, particularly

sleep with her. Sometimes an initiated granddaughter will sleep in the grandmother's house on those nights that her father is sleeping in her mother's house.

A homestead head builds a small hut or esaiga[1] for his sons as they approach adolescence. Generally boys reside in these houses and a particular esaiga is considered to belong to the first son who has been or will be secluded in it. A boy's father or sisters (i.e., especially initiated girls during the time their father is sleeping in the enyomba with their mother) may sleep in the house also. The homestead head, on the other hand, may have his own esaiga and his sons, initiated or not, may reside in it with him. Eventually, however, the initiate or bachelor has his own esaiga, though his brothers may also live in it, and when the time comes, the young man will bring his bride to his esaiga.[2]

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the mother. The initiate continues to reside in the same homestead but may no longer sleep in the house with his mother. Usually he takes his meals in the hut in which he sleeps and he must wash his own clothes.

Gusii females undergo clitoridectomy when they are approximately 8 or 9 years old. Clitoridectomy is followed by a period of seclusion in the mother's house. During that time, the girl's father may not enter the house. Some mothers think it is preferable to have their daughters sleep in another house after clitoridectomy. More common is to arrange for the daughter to sleep elsewhere only on the nights that the father is sleeping in the mother's house.

[1] Esaiga (pl. chisaiga) is the name used to refer to a small hut which has one rather than two doors and usually has one room; generally no cooking is done in this type of house, which lacks the special three-stoned triangular hearth.

[2] A man's brothers may continue to reside in the esaiga with the married couple.

By the time the bride gives birth, her husband is supposed to have provided her with a full-sized house.

Table 1 presents the homestead composition of Nyansongo showing the distribution of various different types of household composition contained within homesteads.

Marriage

The marriage system in Nyansongo is characterized by patrilocal residence, rules of clan exogamy and rules forbidding unions between any first or second cousin, bridewealth, and the levirate.

Premarital sexual activity, which is largely intracommunity in the early years, is not approved by older people for either boys or girls. The situation is such that discretion can be used to minimize discovery and such sexual activity occurs frequently. Most girls have had premarital intercourse, though fear of pregnancy and loss of reputation is considerable. Especially devastating is an incest scandal. As a girl reaches the age of marriage,[1] however, her parents punish her for staying out too late or straying too far from home.

Residence is patrilocal. At marriage the wife must go and live at the homestead of her husband and his parents, where she is granted economic rights and a legitimate social position. She becomes a member of her husband's clan and her jural and ritual

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[1] LeVine and LeVine (1966:41) reported the average age of marriage for girls as 15; it seems to be a year or two older at present.

Table 1

Distribution of Household Types Within Homesteads

Homestead Numbers	Kinds of Household Types by Homestead								
	1. Mo-Ch	1a. Incip Mo-Ch	2. Hu Esaiga	2a. Hu Esaiga w. Ch	3. Males' Esaiga	3a. Ch's Esaiga	4. Nuc	4a. Incip Nuc	5. GrMo-Ch
1-2	1								
3	2								
4-5	1				1				
6	2				1				
7	1								1
8	1		1						
9-10	1			1					
11	1		1		1				
12	2		1		1				
13[a]	1					1			
14[a]	1				1				
15								1	
16-21							1		
22						1	1		
23					1		2		

24-27								1			1	
28-29						1		1			1	
30								2			1	
31								1	1		1	
32			1					1				
33	2			1		1		2				
34	2					1	1	1				
35						1						
36						1					1	
37						1		1			1	
38				1					1			

[a]Husband rotates.

Notes on Household Types:

1. Mo-Ch = Mother-Child, a mother and children (includes current father-absent households which, if the father were present, might be nuclear).
1a. Incip Mo-Ch = Incipient Mother-Child, a woman living alone who does not yet have children.
2. Hu Esaiga = Husband's Esaiga, a married man in a hut.
2a. Hu Esaiga w. Ch = Husband's Esaiga with Children, a married man and children in a hut.
3. Males' Esaiga = one or more unmarried males in a hut.
3a. Ch's Esaiga = Child's Esaiga, children in a hut.
4. Nuc = Nuclear, a husband, wife and children.
4a. Incip Nuc = Incipient Nuclear, a husband and wife who do not yet have children.
5. GrMo-Ch = Grandmother-Child, a grandmother and children.

interests and activities are entirely merged with his. Now, as in the past, most young Nyansongo men express a preference to remain on their fathers' land after marriage. The land shortage, however, is becoming serious. These men will soon be left with a choice of obtaining permanent employment or pioneering new land if they can find it. At present, there is some opportunity to buy land near Nyansongo where the old ex-chief of Nyaribari Location is selling off his land at a rapid rate.

Of the 57 married women[1] residing in Nyansongo, 16 have female relatives also residing in Nyansongo to whom they can trace exact relationship. Most of the women's parents reside within five miles of Nyansongo and many women frequently exchange visits with their relatives, particularly their mothers and their sisters.

No one may marry into his own _eamate_ (clan) or into any family in which Ego or his own near kin already have a close cognatic or affinal tie. Kinship demonstration in the dominant line, i.e., the patrilineal line, is easier, more regular, and more inclusive but the basic rule is not to bring the "blood" back for four generations (I. Mayer, 1966:378). One of the tasks of the _esigani_ (marriage intermediary), who is chosen by the prospective groom and is a friend or distant kinsman of his, is to look out

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[1]Twenty plural wives, 36 monogamously married wives and one woman who is "married" to a Nyansongan widow. The Gusii practice a form of woman-woman marriage which might be summarized as an alternative to the levirate after menopause, in the event that the dead husband had no male heir.

for demonstrable kin within four generations, for such kin are prohibited spouses. Physiological as well as sociological connections are considered in the matter of deciding whether there is "blood" or whether there is marriage eligibility. For example, Ego must not marry his FaMoSiDaDa but he might marry this girl's half sister, i.e., the daughter of his FaMoSiDaHu by another wife. Children by levirs and concubines may also be acceptable where "blood" children are not. A restriction which overrides the acceptability for marriage with a person who is not of one blood with Ego is that of ensoni, restraint between persons of adjacent generations: they cannot marry because the generations forbid.

There is a tendency for a man to seek a wife where he or one of his kinsmen already has some affinal tie, but the connection should not be too close. It is forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, for a man to engage in sororal polygyny, or for a man to marry any demonstrable agnatic kinswoman within four generations of a current wife. Further, a man is forbidden to marry any of his wife's non-agnatic kinswomen within four generations if they are considered to be of one "blood" with her. Conservative elders, however, prefer that no two members of one riiga (see p. 31) be married to any two of another riiga (I. Mayer, 1966:379).

The prevailing mode of obtaining a wife is the payment of brideprice or bridewealth. For the Gusii this payment involves the transfer of a substantial consideration in the form of cattle

and goats from the groom's father to the father of the bride, who must be satisfied by the quality and number of the animals. The bridewealth cattle give the husband custody and establish his legal paternity over all of his wife's children as well as establishing his exclusive sexual rights over his wife. These rights are relinquished by the husband's clan only upon return of the bridewealth. Technically the children of a woman for whom no brideprice has been paid have no clan.

If the husband dies a levirate or onche enyomba (house replacement) occurs. A real or classificatory brother[1] inherits the sexual rights and the custody of the children and continues to produce children in the name of the dead husband. The rights over a woman pass in perpetuity to her husband's lineage. Sometimes, however, even a man of another clan may be the replacement, though this is frowned upon especially by the clan of such a man. If a man is impotent or sterile, he is reproductively dead and the levirate may occur, though in this case it cannot occur with a true brother. Though the LeVines (1966) stated that the responsibilities of the leviratic husband are purely sexual and procreative, it was found in the present field study that the widow receives from the levir some contribution to her social and economic welfare. For example, he is said to build her house, build fences on her land, and clear her fields. Upon reaching menopause, however,

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[1]Second best is replacement by a "grandfather" or a "grandson" in the clan (I. Mayer, 1965:41).

the basic function of the relationship is over and a woman may say that the onche enyomba has been discontinued. Sexual intercourse between the man and the woman stops; though after menopause a married couple also may cease to have intercourse. If the leviratic husband has a true wife, the widow will no longer cook for him. Less frequently, a form of the sororate occurs; a dead or barren woman's sister may replace her. The woman is called a riiga woman. This arrangement is especially convenient for the bride's family if they have spent the bridewealth of their married daughter who produced too few or no children.

The traditional form of marriage culminates in the final wedding ceremony or enyangi (this term is also used for other types of ceremonies) which requires complete payment of the bridewealth and is described in detail by Mayer (1950); the woman married in this fashion will wear ebitinge (anklets) made of goat hide covered with metal bands which are spaced apart. Between the metal bands the hide is painted red. In Nyansongo and the surrounding area no women past menopause are wearing ebitinge; the traditional form of marriage has been discontinued.

Upon examination, there appears to be much variation in the details of the procedure involved in the marriages of Nyansongans. The most crucial feature to consider is the payment of bridewealth. Now that pasture is scarce and cattle raiding is prohibited, many young men cannot afford to marry. There are two possibilities. The first is that a man may pay whatever he can,

incurring a debt which often is never paid. This is the case for many of the middle-aged Nyansongans. The second is that a man may elope, paying nothing but often promising to pay as soon as he can, thus legitimizing the marriage. In cases of elopement, bride-wealth when and if paid is usually reduced. When a couple elopes, the young woman simply leaves her home in secret and begins living at the young man's house where she is accepted by the family as if she were his legal wife. A woman may return to her natal home to bear her first child and may remain there for many months. The daughter who has eloped and then comes back to her natal home usually stays at the behest of her family, returning to the home of her "husband" only upon the payment of bridewealth.

Kinship Terminology

The following analysis of Gusii kinship terminology including the notational system is modelled after Romney and D'Andrade (1964) and Romney (1965). The formal portion of the analysis will be restricted to five generations, that is, to Ego's kinsmen in his own generation, and to his kinsmen in the generations of his parents, grandparents, children, and grandchildren.

The basic symbols to be used in the analysis are as follows:

m represents male
f represents female
a represents a person of either sex
= represents a marriage bond, an "a" on one side of a marriage bond implies an "a" of the opposite sex on the other side
o represents sibling link
+ represents parent link

- represents child link
() represents an expansion

superscripts represent number of expansions
subscripts represent sex correspondences

// represents the reciprocal of the expression contained between the slashes; this is achieved by rewriting the expression in the reverse order and changing all the pluses to minuses and vice versa. Either of the two expressions may be written between the slashes and be taken to represent both expressions.

The first symbol in a string refers to Ego. The string a + m o f, for example, refers to a person's father's sister, and the string f - m = f refers to a woman's son's wife. The string |m o m = f| refers to both a man's brother's wife and a woman's husband's brother.

Below are listed the consanguineal reference kinship terms of the Gusii. In the first column is the kin term itself, in the second column are the kin types which have been written out in a simplified form[1] and which constitute what Romney has termed the range of that term, and in the third column the range of the term has been reduced to a single notational expression where possible.

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[1]We have reduced the number of kin types by applying Romney's Rule 1, Rule of minimum difference within range, i.e., where two kin types within a range are identical except for a difference in sex markers in the same position, the two kin types may be written as one with an "a" in the contrasting position (Romney, 1965:130).

List of Consanguineal Reference Terms

Term and Simplified Expressions	Collapsed or Partially Collapsed Range
1. magokoro	
1. a + a + f	a + a + (a o) (m =) f
2. a + a + a o f	
3. a + a + m = f	
4. a + a + a o m = f	
2. esokoro	
1. a + a + m	a + a + (a o) (f =) m
2. a + a + a o m	
3. a + a + f = m	
4. a + a + a o f = m	
3. omochokoro	
1. a - a - a	a (o a) - a - (a =) a
2. a o a - a - a	
3. a - a - a = a	
4. a o a - a - a = a	
4. baba	
1. a + f	(f =) a + f
2. f = m + f	
5. tata	
1. a + m	(f =) a + m
2. f = m + m	
6. makamoke	
1. a + a o f	1. $a + a\ (+ a)^j\ o\ (a -)^j$
2. a + a + a o a - f	2. $a + m\ (+ a)^j\ o\ (a -)^j\ m = f$
3. a + m = f[1]	3. a + f = f
4. a + m o m = f	4. a + f + f o a - m = f
5. a + m + a o a - m = f	5. a + f + m o f - m = f
6. a + f + f o a - m = f	
7. a + f + m o f - m = f	j = 0,1

[1]This term applies to father's wife but not to Ego's mother.

(List of Consanguineal Reference Terms--continued)

Term and Simplified Expressions	Collapsed or Partially Collapsed Range
7. tatamoke[1]	
1. a + m o m	1. a + m $(+ a)^j$ o $(a -)^j$ m
2. a + a + a o a - m	2. a + a o f = m
3. a + f + f o a - m	3. a + m + a o a - f = m
4. a + f + m o f - a	4. a + f + f o a - (f =) m
5. a + a o f = m	5. a + f + m o f - (f =) m
6. a + m + a o a - f = m	
7. a + f + f o a - f = m	j = 0,1
8. a + f + m o f - f = m	
8. mame	
1. a + f o m	a + f $(+ m)^j$ o $(m -)^j$ m (= f)
2. a + f + m o m - m	
3. a + f o m = f	j = 0,1
4. a + f + m o m - m = f	
9. omoiseke one or omosubati one[2]	
1. a - f[3]	a - f
10. momura one	
1. a - m[4]	a - m

---

[1]There is courtesy application of this term by a man to his wife's tatamoke; especially m = f + m o m and m = f + m + m o m - m.

[2]The term omosubati one is usually used if the girl has been initiated and is almost always used if she is married.

[3]This term is sometimes extended to a o m - f if the brother is close to Ego.

[4]This term is sometimes extended to a o m - m if the brother is close to Ego.

(List of Consanguineal Reference Terms--continued)

Term and Simplified Expressions	Collapsed or Partially Collapsed Range
11. omoigwa	
1. m o f - a	m (+ m)^{j} o (m -)^{j} f - a (= a)
2. m + m o m - f - a	
3. m o f - a = a	j = 0, 1
4. m + m o m - f - a + a	
12. omwana one	
1. a o m - a	1. a o m - (a =) a
2. f o f - a	2. f o f - a (a =) a
3. f + a o a - a - a	3. a - m = f
4. m + a o a - m - a	4. f + a o a - a - (a =) a
5. m + f o a - f - a	5. m + a o a - m - (a =) a
6. m + m o f - f - a	6. m + f o a - f - (a =) a
7. a - m = f	7. m + m o f - f - (a =) a
8. a o m - a + a	
9. f o f - a = a	
10. f + a o a - a - a = a	
11. m + a o a - m - a = a	
12. m + f o a - f - a = a	
13. m + m o f - f - a = a	
13. omoiseke ominto[1] or mosubati ominto[2]	
1. a o f[3]	a o f
14. momura ominto	
1. a o m	1. a o m
2. a + a o a - a	2. a (+ a)^{j} o (a -)^{j} (a =) a
3. a + a + a o a - a - a	
4. a + a o a - a + a	j = 1, 2
5. a + a + a o a - a - a = a	

[1]This term is more commonly applied to a small girl.

[2]This term must be applied to a married woman, though it may also be applied to an unmarried woman and even to an uninitiated girl.

[3]This term is sometimes applied to close female orthocousins, i.e., MoSiDa, FaBrDa.

Figure 2 illustrates further the labelling of various kin types by consanguineal reference terms. The numbers on the figure correspond to the numbering of the list of terms in the text above.

Figure 3 illustrates an analysis of the consanguineal reference terms of the Gusii. The terms are arranged to show the overall structure of the system. Each kin term is shown together with its reduced kernel and the expansion rules for that kernel. Sometimes added to the kernel on the chart are simple expansions which appear in brackets. The kernel of a term together with the rules of expansion generate the full range of that term, that is, all the kin types which may be called by that term. The arabic numerals on Figure 3 as well as those on Figure 2 correspond to the numbering of the list of terms in the text above. Thus the text and the two figures represent the same data.

The expansion rules for the kernels are delineated and the distinctive variables of the kinship system are developed below:

Expansion Rules

In order to put the expansion rules into notation, the following symbols must be added:

$\longrightarrow$ expansion or transformation; the expression to the left of this symbol may be expanded or transformed into the expression on the right.

$a_{\cdot}$ "a" or the element preceding the dot is the terminal element in the expression which is to be transformed.

$\cdot\pm$ the sign following the dot is the first sign in the expression to be transformed.

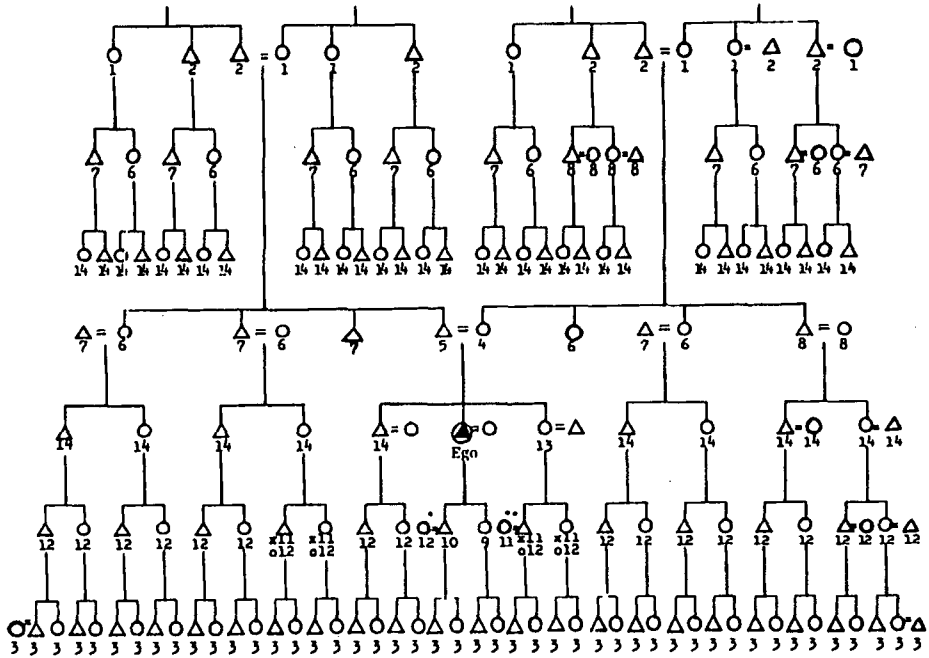

Figure 2

Genealogical Chart of Gusii Kinship Terminology
(Consanguineal Reference)

The terms are consanguineals and affinals who are merged with consanguineals are also included.
△stands for male ○stands for female

*Ego is terminologically merged with his/her spouse by the spouse's kin: the following spouse pairs are consistent throughout the system: 1 with 2, 3 with 3, 4 with 5, 6 with 7, 8 with 8, 11 with 11, 12 with 12, 13 with 13, 14 with 14; in addition, the marriage partner of 10 is referred to as 12.

**x: male speakers use term 11; o: female speakers use term 12.

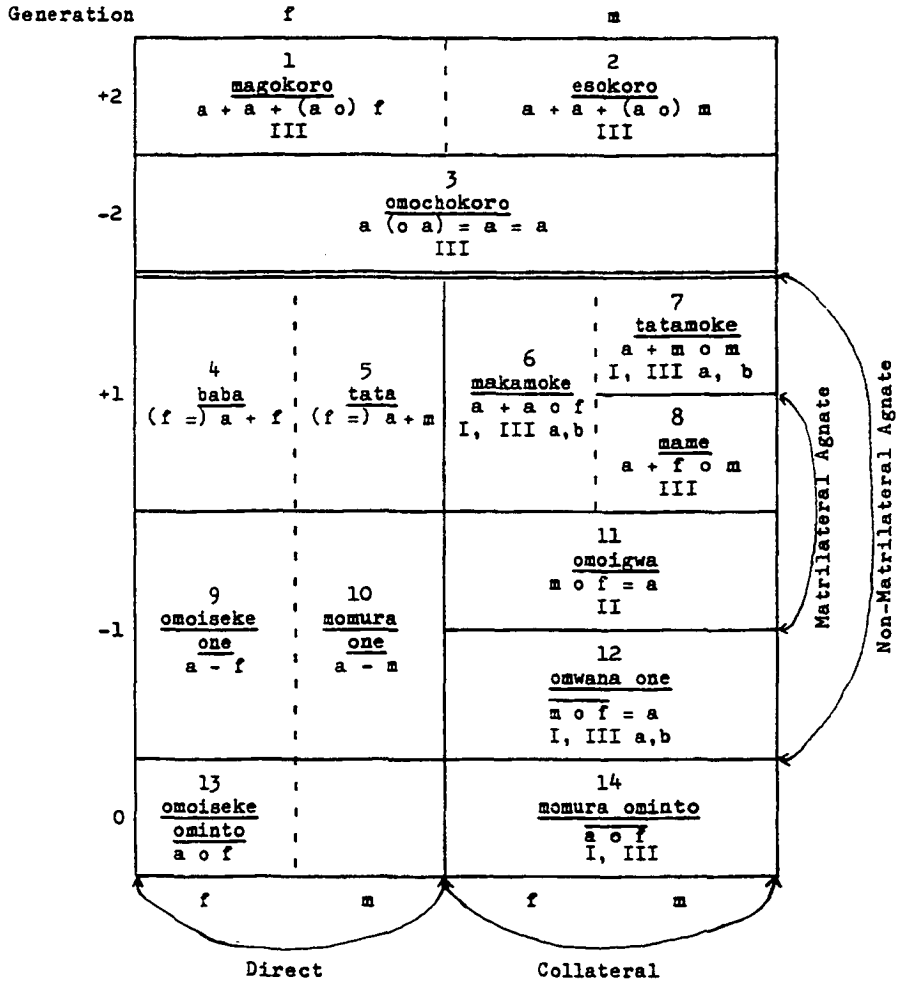

Figure 3

Componential Analysis of Gusii Kinship Terminology
(Consanguineal Reference)

0 Ego's own generation
+1 parent generation
+2 grandparent generation
-1 child generation
-2 grandchild generation

—— not, i.e., negation of, for example $\bar{f}$ would be equivalent to m.
Arabic numerals: term numbers, cross-referenced to the text (pp. 54-56) and to Figure 2 (p. 58).
Roman numerals: expansion rule number (see expansion rule delineation in the text below).

Two expansion rules are incorporated directly on Figure 3 with the presentation of the kernels. These rules were placed on the figure because it these cases the immediate use of bracket notation is easy and clear. The rules included on the figure concerning those portions of various expressions which are additional to the kernels of the terms are stated as follows:

1. Pertains to terms 1, 2, 3: Collateral expansion such that for all of the grandparent generation there are two terms distinguished by the sex of relative and for all the grandchild generation there is one term:

$$/a + a + a_i/ \longrightarrow /a + a + a \circ a_i/$$

2. Pertains to terms 4 and 5: Affinal merging expansion; a woman becomes a member of her husband's lineage upon marriage and here she can be seen to be merged into the group with respect to terminology:

$$m + a \longrightarrow f = m + a$$

The following rules of expansion are cross-referenced to Figure 3. A rule whose number appears in the space with a kernel is applied to that kernel. The rules fall into two groups, those which pertain only to matrilateral agnates and those which pertain to all other relatives.

Rule I: Collateral expansion (excludes matrilateral agnates):

$$/a + \overline{f \circ m_i}/ \longrightarrow /a + a + a \circ a_i/$$

$$/\overline{a \circ f_i}/ \longrightarrow /a\ (+a)^j \circ (a\ -)^j\ a_i/$$

$$j = 1,2$$

Rule II: Collateral expansion (for matrilateral agnates):

$$/a + f \circ m/ \longrightarrow /a + f + m \circ m - m/$$

Rule III: Affinal expansion (excludes matrilateral agnates)

This rule contains three parts. The first part is the basic portion of the rule. It is to be applied first. Then, where applicable, utilize first a) and then b).

Basic portion:

$a_i . \longrightarrow a = a_i$

Do not apply this rule to a + f + m o m - a.

a) .+ m o ⟶ a o
.+ a o ⟶ m o

b) + m o ⟶ + m
o m ⟶ - m

Distinctive Variables of Consanguineal Reference Terms

Generation.--Though characterized by unilineal descent, generation is always distinguished and lines are merged freely in the Gusii terminological system. There is an absence of unilineal bias such as Crow-Omaha skewing (Lounsbury, 1964:351-95) reflected in the kinship terminology. The concern with wide range kindred as opposed to common descent is quite evident in 0 generation, where all cousins and brothers are labelled by one term. Further, nsoni rules, rules of sexual restraint between generations, are powerful.

Sex of relative.--Sex of relative is always distinguished for true consanguineals in ascending generations. It is also distinguished between true consanguineal lineals in 0 and -1 generations.

Collaterality.--With the exception of "brother," there are specific lineal terms for all members of the nuclear family. A true contrast between collateral and direct occurs in +1 and -1 generations. In 0 generation, the contrast between collateral and direct exists for females but not for males; in traditional parlance, the Gusii have Eskimo cousin terminology for females and Hawaiian cousin terminology for males.

Matrilateral agnates.--Ego's matrilateral agnates in the first generation are set apart terminologically. Among the Gusii a mother's brother must give an emesuto gift to his sister's son. This gift of a heifer is claimed by the eldest son from the particular mother's brother who married with Ego's mother's bridewealth. The special term for the mother's brother, mame, is also extended to the mother's brother's wife and the mother's agnatic male cousins and their spouses. The reciprocal of mother's brother is sister's child. The special relation is between the mother's brother and his sister's son, but the non-distinction of sex of relative in descending generations is an overriding principle; thus the special term omoigwa pertains to a man's sister's children and it is also extended to his father's brother's daughter's children. Omoigwa is a reciprocal of mame. The mother's brother/sister's son tie, though significant from the social and economic point of view is in no way a lineage tie, which further clarifies the limited range of these terms. In traditional parlance, the Gusii have bifurcate merging avuncular terminology and lineal aunt terminology.

Further Discussion Concerning the Extension of Terms

The terms shown in the analysis are generation specific. Terms distinguish generations as far as grandparent and grandchild. The great-grandparent and great-grandchild terms are not differentiated from words that mean ancestor, ancestress, or descendent. That is, terms for the third ascending generation sokororia (a + a + a + m) and magokororia (a + a + a + f) and omochokororia (a - a - a - a) can be used in a general way to mean any remote ancestor or descendent. These terms are reserved for true lineals. If such lineals are living, however, the usual way to address or refer to them is tatamoke (a + m o m) or makamoke (a + a o f) respectively for male and female great-grandparents, and omwana one (a - a) for great-grandchildren. They are thus assimilated to the first ascending or descending generations because of the importance of nsoni, the rules of restraint between adjacent generations.

Affinal Reference Terms

It can be seen in the listing and analysis of consanguineal terms that often Ego is merged with his/her spouse by the spouse's kin; Ego is placed under the identical term if the relative is a matrilateral agnate or under the corresponding term in the different gender if the relative is any but a matrilateral agnate. Conversely, Ego calls his spouse's kin by the same terms as his spouse does. There are, however, terms which pertain only to affinals. The list follows.

List of Affinal Reference Terms

	Term[1]	Simplified Expressions	Collapsed Range
1.	korera	1. a - a = a + a	a - a = a + a
2.	semo	1. m = f o f = m	m = f o f = m
3.	tatabiara	1. m = f + m 2. m - f = m	/m = f + m/
4.	makobiara	1. m = f + f 2. m = f + m o f 3. f - f = m^2 4. f o m - f = m^2	/m = f + (m o) f/
5.	moyokone	1. m = f o m 2. m o f = m	/m = f o m/
6.	kamati	1. f = m o f 2. f o m = f	/f = m o f/
7.	moibori	1. f = m = f	f = m = :
8.	omosacha	f = m	f = m
9.	omokungu	m = f	m = f

---

[1]Terms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 apply also to the collaterals (of the same sex and generation as that of the referent here stated, through two or three collateral degrees) (I. Mayer, 1965:62).

[2]The investigator does not have the information as to whether the term makobiara holds for -1 generation; the assumption of symmetry has been made on the basis of the reciprocity that characterizes Gustii affinal terms. Thus the assignment of the kin types in expressions 3 and 4 to the term makobiara must be regarded as tentative.

Figure 4 illustrates further the labelling of kin types by affinal reference terms. The numbers on the figure correspond to the numbering of the list of terms in the text above.

Figure 5 illustrates the general terminological structure of affinal terms. The use of abbreviations for various types of affinal linkage is modelled after Friedrich (1964:145-46). The Arabic numerals on the figure correspond to those of the list of affinal reference terms in the text above and to those in Figure 4.

Discussion of Affinal
Reference Terms

All of one's affines are designated abako. The term abako may also be extended to whole clans where Ego is permitted to marry. With the exception of korera, the affinal terms discriminate the sex of relative.

Five of the affinal terms may be viewed as cattle link terms (I. Mayer, 1965):

mokoyone	"I gave cattle for his sister or he for mine."
kamati	"She was married with the cattle from my marriage or I with the cattle from hers." Ekamate is a special relationships between sisters-in-law when the bridewealth paid for one of them is actually used to pay the bridewealth of the other. These two women, for example, may borrow freely from each other's granaries.
tatabiara	"I gave cattle for his daughter or he for mine."
korera	"My son gave cattle for his/her daughter or his/her son for mine."
semo	"I gave cattle to his wife's father or he to mine."

	...m	...f	Generation	Degree
CAC	1 korera a - a = a + a		0	Tertiary
ACA	2 semo m = f o f = m		0	
/A↑C/	3 tatabiara /m = f + m/	4 makobiara /m = f + (m o) f/	±1	Secondary
/AC/	5 moyokone /m = f o m/	6 kamati /f = m o f/	0	
AA		7 moibori f = m = f	0	Primary/ Secondary
A	8 omosacha f = m	9 omokungu m = f	0	Primary

Figure 5

Componential Analysis of Gusii Affinal Reference Terminology

Key:

Primary: A spouses are primary affines linked directly to the speaker.

Primary/Secondary: AA involves linkage through a primary affine.

Secondary: involves linkage through one connecting relative or category of relatives.

AC blood relatives of one's affines

CA affines of one's blood relatives

Tertiary: involves linkage through two connecting relatives.

ACA affines of a consanguine of a spouse (i.e., the spouse's sibling's spouse)

CAC consanguines of affines of one's consanguines (in this case, co-parents-in-law)

...a represents sex of relative

↑ ascending generation, +1; reciprocal equals descending generation, -1.

Religion, Witchcraft, and Sorcery

The non-native religion most popular in Kisii District is Seventh-Day Adventist (SDA). Nominally most Nyansongans, however, are Roman Catholic, including the Bonymasicho neighborhood which in 1957 tended to be nominally Seventh-Day Adventist. Whether the Bonyamsicho people profess to be Catholic or not, they at least say that they are not SDA. Upon Seventh-Day Adventists various restrictions are imposed. One of these restrictions is abstinence from alcoholic beverages and the impracticality of such abstinence seems to have had an effect. Probably the Nyansongans could have born up under the inconsistency, but perhaps the people from the missions were unable to do so. Further, the Roman Catholic church, Amasago, is not only nearby, but it is also loosely affiliated with Amasago School, the school most frequently attended by Nyansongans.

A number of children have been baptized in infancy as Roman Catholics. Also some older children and adults have been baptized. If an individual is not baptized in infancy, he must attend a baptismal school in order to qualify. Even a few elderly women have been baptized. Though sometimes polygynously married, these women are past menopause and have ceased having sexual relations with their husbands. Thus in some sense the marriage is over and they are legitimate candidates for baptism. The amount of church attendance is exaggerated, "rarely if ever"

often being a good substitute for a statement of "regular." Only one man in Nyansongo is officially a member of the Roman Catholic church and there are no altars in the homes.

Throughout Gusiiland as a whole, however, it seems that it is the SDA missions which have burgeoned, spread in popularity, and are possibly even having some effect on various beliefs and practices. Church weddings have increased (including Roman Catholic church weddings). Many Gusii will not work on Saturday, the SDA sabbath. Many do not drink. Nyasae (God), the word used by African Christians of western Kenya, is often heard. Nonetheless, throughout Gusiiland, as well as in the relatively traditional community of Nyansongo, it seems that the beliefs and practices of the religion of the forefathers are unwavering. For the most part, the changes which have occurred are additions rather than revisions or syncretisms.

Traditional religion of Nyansongo consists largely of a cult of dead ancestors and the major category of supernatural beings are ebirecha (sing., ekerecha, ancestor spirits). There is no priestly hierarchy, no organized cosmology, no ancestral shrines, and no prayers or devotional practices. The ritual observances involve commemorative sacrifices to the father and the grandfather. A son's duty is to make customary sacrifices to his own dead father. Simultaneously with the death of his father, he takes on his father's duty of sacrificing to his father (this is assuming, of course, that the death of Ego's grandfather occurred

prior to the death of his father). Also certain mortuary rites must be observed and the main roles here fall to the agnatic kin of the deceased in his own generation.

In the most general sense, all dead Gusii are included among the amorphous ebirecha. These unpersonalized, morally good, ancestor spirits which are represented as "grandfathers" are viewed as making demands on rather than protecting or bringing good fortune to the living. These demands must be obeyed with fear and deference in order to avert disaster. Appeasement of the ebirecha for certain moral crimes or for ritual neglect with regard to funerary rites or commemorative sacrifices is practiced only in times of stress. The observances are purely pragmatic and thus unnecessary when all is well.

The omoragori (pl. aboragori, diviner) is an intermediary between men and the supernatural, primarily oriented toward ancestor spirits but also capable of dealing with witchcraft. The function of the omoragori is to diagnose the cause of the sign of impending misfortune or the misfortune itself and to prescribe the type of propitiation and remedies needed. Diviners may be men or women, but are usually older women. They learn their skill through apprenticeship to older diviners. A wife's barrenness is a frequent reason for a visit to the omoragori.

Though distinguished from ancestor spirits by being morally bad, abarogi (sing. omorogi,[1] witches) have similar effects on

[1]For a detailed treatment of witchcraft and sorcery, see LeVine (1963).

people. A witch can be a person of either sex but is more likely to be a woman. The witch has an incorrigible, conscious tendency to kill or disable others by magical means and is believed to run naked at night carrying firepots in which herbs and grasses are burning. Usually a parent teaches a child the art of witchcraft. On the other hand, it is not uncommon for a mother-in-law to teach it to her daughter-in-law. No one admits to being a witch and relative to the amount of talk about witchcraft, overt accusations are rare.

During the present field study, there existed a strange case of overlapping of roles. One Nyansongan woman who was reputed to be a witch was also a diviner.

LeVine presented the three alternative paths of action open to a man who accepts a diagnosis of witchcraft:

> 1) to enact a litigation against the suspected witch, persuading the chief to order the local elders to try her for witchcraft;
>
> 2) to hire a professional sorcerer (omonyamosira)[1] to kill the witch by magic;
>
> d) to hire a witch-smeller (omoriori)[2] to ferret out the witchcraft articles buried in his house. (LeVine, 1963:233)

LeVine stated that litigation is an unsatisfactory course of action for witch-killing has been outlawed since the time of

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[1]Sorcerors are always men, often trained by Luo and frequently summoned secretly.

[2]The witch-smeller known to LeVine is male and learned his practice from his father; the practice of a witch-smeller is public.

British administration and the elders can do no more than condemn a witch they deem to be guilty. In July 1967, there was a rather nebulous meeting revolving around the death of a newborn. There is no information to indicate that the chief knew anything about this meeting. Among those present at the meeting were the omotureti (the local official elder), the accused witch, and several older men of the lineage segment to which the accused witch belonged. During the meeting, there was a great deal of concern over seemingly irrelevant details and there was a great deal of bickering about paying elders to judge the case. The conclusion was that whoever was doing the bewitching must stop, and, as there was no proper witness for this case, the witch could not be accurately designated. It seems that neither an omonyamosira nor an omoriori were brought into the case subsequently. The "trial" though vague seemed effective. Within a month, the suspect woman fell very ill. First she went to stay with her parents. Then she left for her maternal aunt's home which is about 16 miles from Nyansongo. As of January 1968, it still did not appear that she would return though she had left all but her youngest child behind in Nyansongo.

In addition to the types of supernatural specialists mentioned above, omoragori, omonymosira, and omoriori (and omorogi too); there are others such as rainmakers, hail stoppers, magical detectives and various part-time experts who know rituals for removing various types of curses and protecting against specific misfortunes.

Chapter 3

TRAINING, EDUCATION, AND WORK ACTIVITIES OF CHILDREN

Setting

Gusii thatched huts are scattered on the slopes of lush green hillsides. The yards of the houses are well-defined aprons of hard-packed dirt. Sometimes two houses will share a yard, but more frequently each has its own. Often the yards are surrounded by flowering shrubs. Winding paths usually overgrown by a rampant tangle of thorn bushes mark boundaries between homesteads. Unobtrusive, sometimes intricate, gateways or openings in the bush provide entry to a homestead's land.

The Ideal

And what are the Gusii children to grow toward? One young Gusii man attending the Kisii Secondary School describes his view of the ideal omomura (pl. abamura, initiated male) and the ideal omoiseke (pl. abaiseke, initiated female) as follows:

> An Ideal Omomura:
> An ideal omomura should have his own house and should not all the time be staying in his mother's house. He should be as polite and gentle as possible. He should attend as few of the night parties as possible. Such an omomura if in school should abstain from girls as they may interfere with his education and therefore he should avoid early marriage. He should respect all elders and above all his parents. He

should also respect his elder brothers and sisters and should not be brutal to his younger brothers and sisters. He should help the members of his family whenever he can. Obedience to his parents is most requisite. He should be neat, smart, and tidy. An ideal omomura should avoid roaming, idleness, and frequent market visits. He is expected to stay home most of the time.

An Ideal Omoiseke:

A girl would like to relieve her mother of most of her domestic work. This will automatically help her to avoid useless walks around the community. She should help her mother in gardening. She should never have a serious engagement with any boy if she happens to be attending school as this occupation will need total self-dedication. She should avoid guitar parties as in these are found many sorts of corruption. She therefore must avoid early marriage. She more than a boy must obey her parents and particularly her father. In this juncture, she must never elope but have a sound marriage with a good return of dowry[1] to her parents. She should have regard for all members of the family.

General Summary of Early Life

Here only a very brief summary of early socialization among the Gusii will be given; the main discussion is to be concentrated on children between five and eight years of age about whom we have collected various kinds of data. Socialization among the Gusii has been described in detail in LeVine and LeVine (1966).

Both men and women consider it ideal for a woman to have a child bi-annually and, given that contingency, to have as many children as possible. Birth is to take place in the mother-in-law's house. During the present field study many women expressed a desire to give birth in their own mothers' houses. Indeed in

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[1] When he says dowry it means brideprice.

these days of elopement (see Chapter 2, p. 52), a young woman's parents may put pressure on her to come home to them and refuse to return until some brideprice has been paid for her. For a woman's first birth, attendance should include the mother-in-law, the wives of the husband's brothers and those of his paternal uncles, and often also includes a large crowd of older women. For subsequent births, only two or three women are present. No formal post-partum taboo is observed.

The infant is a mosamba mwaye until he receives his ekerecha name, the name of a dead person. Traditionally the name is suppose to be given when the child is three days old. An infant up to one month of age is called omwana ekengwerere. Then he is omwana (pl. abana, child). Sex of the omwana is usually distinguished in reference, especially as the child gets older. Until circumcision, a boy is an omoisia (pl. abaisia, young boy) and a girl is an egesagane (pl. ebisagane, young girl).

Almost immediately after the infant is born, his mother goes back to her work in the fields for she is overburdened by her agricultural and domestic load. An infant sleeps in his naked mother's arms at night. Boys and girls are treated alike in infancy and during much of the day the infant is left in the care of an omoreri (pl. abareri, child nurse). The infant is fastened to the back of the omoreri by a carrying cloth. He is seldom left alone and is almost constantly in body contact with someone, though he is rarely held in the arms of his caretaker nor in such

a way that he may face the caretaker. Mothers generally nurse their children on demand though individuals vary in the extent to which they allow their chores to delay them in feeding their crying children. Despite the fact that a good deal of caretaking and training of children is done by the omoreri, the mother is considered to have almost solitary responsibility for her children. There seems, however, to have been an increase in the amount of father participation over that reported in 1957. A Gusii husband tends to report his participation in infant care as greater than his wife reports it to be.

To aid the child in sitting, mothers generally say they dig a hole in the floor and prop the child up in it. As for standing, this is something that children learn by themselves. There is no emphasis on early walking as an accomplishment. Usually it is the omoreri who guides the infant in walking in the cold dew of the morning. Repeatedly in the present study, this same explanation was offered:

> [The dew] by cooling the "hot blood" of the child's feet makes them firm and is supposed to reduce his fear of walking. The nurse sets the child on his feet in the grass and says "Ta, ta," encouraging him to walk toward her. (LeVine and LeVine, 1966:128).

In addition to the information about sitting, standing, and walking, information about talking was elicited. Almost invariably mothers said that children do not need to be encouraged to talk. They do it by themselves.

Weaning begins when the mother is pregnant and it is usually done early in the pregnancy. Children are accustomed to eating solid foods long before weaning begins. LeVine and LeVine (1966: 131) reported 19 months as the median age of weaning and that it took most of the mothers one or two months to train their children. There is a general belief that increasing severity in the process increases the speed and ease with which the goal can be accomplished. Except for those occasional cases in which a child is sent to his maternal grandmother's house during the weaning period, the child continues to sleep in bed with his mother, during as well as after weaning; this must cause considerable frustration.

For toilet training, LeVine and LeVine (1966:136) reported the median age as 25 months and that it took most of the mothers about a month to train their children. Training begins with the mother's instruction or her instruction that the child imitate what older children do. At the time when the mother feels that the child should have learned, she canes him, at first only for daytime infractions, later for nighttime infractions also.

Soon after the birth of his younger sibling, the child is given small tasks and errands to do; these are the beginnings of his responsibility training.

Formal Education

One striking change in Nyansongo is the rise in school attendance. LeVine and LeVine (1966:105) reported three boys as attending school in 1956. Amasago, the school that they were attending, was and still is located a quarter of a mile away from one end of Nyansongo. In 1956, it had eight grades or standards, as they are called. As of 1965, the number of standards in elementary school had been reduced to seven. Upon completion of the seven standards, Kenya Preliminary Examinations are taken; these are qualifying examinations for entry into secondary school. In addition in 1966, a Harambee (Swahili word for "let us all pull together") or self-help secondary school was started. The plan for a new secondary school is to add a form each year. That means that in 1969, if all has gone according to schedule, the school should be a complete secondary school with all four forms. English which formerly was not introduced until Standard 5 is now introduced in Standard 1. The current annual fee for Standards 1-4 is 52 shillings ($7.28, U. S.) and for Standards 5-7 is 82 shillings ($11.48, U. S.). For secondary school the cost is a rather prohibitive 700 shillings ($98.00, U. S.).

Table 2 shows by age and sex the number of Nyansongan children attending school during 1967 relative to the number not attending school. This includes children attending schools other than the particular school previously discussed, though almost all

Table 2

Nyansongo Children Attending Elementary and Secondary School
By Age and Sex During All or More Than Half of 1967

		Age of Child											Total
		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16+	
BOYS	In School	0	2	1	1	1	2	4	1[a]	2	1	8[b]	23
	Out of School	5	7	3	6	2	2	1	1	3	2	6	38
GIRLS	In School	0	0	1	2	1	3	1	1	0	0	2	11
	Out of School	6	4	6	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	3	30

Age = 1967 - Year of Birth

Note: Included in this table are all Nyansongo residents who presently are unmarried and have never been previously married. Also included are two children who are staying with their mother's parents while attending school.

[a]This boy is technically a visitor. He stays with his maternal grandmother to be nearer the school he is attending. He has lived with her for some time.

[b]One of these boys is married; he stopped attending school at the end of 1967.

of the children attend this school. Table 2 indicates a considerable increase in the number of children in school since 1956.

The distribution of children attending school by age and standard (Table 3) shows that children tend to start school late. The prognosis for a real shift in future literacy of Nyansongo remains uncertain: attendance is often irregular, children frequently drop out, and as yet there are few in secondary school.

Another recent development in education in Gusiiland are nursery schools which are springing up everywhere. Supposedly a child goes to nursery school before entering Standard 1, though the age range in nursery school is even more dramatic than that found in Standard 1. One function of nursery school seems to be as a good place for an omoreri (pl. abareri, child nurse) to take her charge for the morning. The scene at nursery school is unstructured and primarily social. The annual fee is 12 shillings ($1.68, U. S.). Among most Nyansongan children, attendance is even more irregular and the drop-out rate is higher than in elementary school. Many children are reported to go to the nursery school, yet upon further investigation, it turns out that they have indeed attended but only for two weeks. On the other hand, it is possible for a child to attend more than one year. Attending nursery school may have important implications for widening the narrow range of friendship and association which is characteristic for Gusii children.

Table 3

Nyansongo Children Attending School by Standard or Form and Age
During All or More Than Half of 1967

		Age of Child											Total
		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16+	
Secondary:	F2											1	1
	F1										1	1	2
Elementary:	S7											5	5
	S6											1	1
	S5												
	S4				1			2	1			2	6
	S3						1						1
	S2						1	1	1	1			4
	S1		2	2	2	2	3	2		1			14
Total			2	2	3	2	5	5	2	2	1	10	34

Age = 1967 - Year of Birth
F = Form
S = Standard

Situated near one edge of Nyansongo is a nursery school, completed near the end of 1965. An educated man, now a government official who works and lives in Nairobi and owns a large farm in Borabu Location, asked his father to donate a small plot where young children could go to school. The family of this man are members of an adopted clan (see Chapter 2, p. 29) in Nyaribari which borders one side of Nyansongo. The man's father agreed. The man also asked the heads of two Nyansongan homesteads which lie down the hill between the main road and the plot designated for the school to give up some of their land so that there could be a road connecting the main road and the school. He then chose seven people including three Nyansongans to be in charge of the school. The chosen organizers of the school went around to inform the people of the ekiombe in the area (see Chapter 2, pp. 37-38) about the prospect. They collected 1 shilling (14¢, U. S.) from each of the male members and 50¢ (7¢, U. S.) from each of the female members. The members of the ekiombe participated in building the school two days a week until it was completed.

School attendance has important implications for the scheduling and availability of children to do chores around the homestead. The concept of regular assigned chores may be accentuated by school attendance. On the other hand, those children who are selected to attend school may be excused from doing some chores if they have siblings who are home all day.

Childhood, Especially Work Activities

Gusii mothers restrict the interaction of their children with other children especially those who fight. With the exception of older uncircumcised boys, children associate almost exclusively with their siblings, half-siblings, and closely related patrilineal kin. There are no organized children's groups and children rarely gather in sizeable groups. The general picture is one of periods of relative inactivity interspersed between tasks ordered by parents, i.e., almost exclusively by mothers.

All over the world chores are assigned to children. It can be seen that young Gusii children are no exception, many children performing several chores. Mothers feel that chores are important and Nyansongo children start doing them early. They do a variety of them and spend a good deal of time doing them, at the very least much time goes by between the receipt of a command and the completion of a task. Ten of the 16 chores shown on the list in Table 4 are performed by more than half of the children in the sample.

The performance of Gusii children can be viewed in broader perspective. In a cross-cultural study, Barry, Bacon, and Child (1957) found that societies combining animal husbandry and agriculture, as the Gusii do, score highest in pressure toward responsibility for both girls and boys. In such societies, more work is required of adults and more tasks can be assigned to children.

Table 4

Rank Order of Chores by Number of Children Who Perform Them

Both Boys and Girls			Boys Only			Girls Only		
Chore	Rank	No. Who Perform	Chore	Rank	No. Who Perform	Chore	Rank	No. Who Perform
Errands	1	42	Errands	1	23	Tending Fire	1	20
Fetching Water	2	39	Fetching Water	2	20	Errands	3	19
Tending Fire	3	37	Tending Fire	4	17	Collecting Firewood	3	19
Collecting Firewood	4	36	Collecting Firewood	4	17	Fetching Water	3	19
Childcare	5	35	Childcare	4	17	Childcare	5	18
Picking Pyrethrum	6	31	Herding Cattle	6	16	Picking Pyrethrum	6	15
Washing Utensils	7	27	Picking Pyrethrum	6	16	Washing Utensils	7-1/2	13

Weeding	8	25	Weeding	8-1/2	14	Shelling Maize	7-1/2	13
Sweeping	9-1/2	23	Washing Utensils	8-1/2	14	Sweeping	9	12
Shelling Maize	9-1/2	23	Splitting Wood	10	13	Weeding	10	11
Herding Cattle	11	19	Sweeping	11	11	Collecting Vegetables	11-1/2	9
Washing Clothes	12	18	Shelling Maize	12	10	Washing Clothes	11-1/2	9
Splitting Wood	13	17	Washing	13	9	Cooking	13	6
Collecting Vegetables	14	14	Digging	14	7	Splitting Wood	14-1/2	4
Cooking	15-1/2	11	Collecting Vegetables	15-1/2	5	Digging	14-1/2	4
Digging	15-1/2	11	Cooking	15-1/2	5	Cattle Herding	16	3

Examples of tasks requiring a relatively great amount of responsibility are the care of large animals, the care of younger siblings, and cooking. Gusii children were found to perform the greatest number of chores among the Six Cultures.

Comparing societies on the earliness of pressure to do chores is difficult because one should control for the availability of work suitable for young children.

The age at which help with agriculture begins varies with the distance of the fields from the house and with the particular crops being cultivated. Weeding can be done as early as the child can carry the hoe or cutting implement to the field and wield it when he gets there. Weeding is easiest in areas where the hoe is the tool used and maize is the staple. The hoe requires less physical dexterity than some tools. Maize is an easier plant to work with than, for example, sorghum or especially eleusine.[1] This has to do with the fact that maize is relatively less fragile, less easily trampled, there is a larger distance between the rows, and there is greater ease with which the plants can be identified and thus distinguished from weeds. In Nyansongo the optimum conditions exist for the early participation of children in agriculture. The fields surround the houses, maize (though it has been present and important for some time) has recently become the leading staple, and the hoe is the agricultural implement utilized.

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[1]In fact, at present the weeding of eleusine is performed exclusively by women.

Related to the proximity of the gardens and the fields to the dwellings is the situation in which the mother does much of the agricultural work alone or with neighboring women. This kind of situation leads a mother to train her young children to help her. Such is the case for Gusii mothers. The work load of the woman is further intensified by mother-child household composition, i.e., there are no adults in the house to help her with child care. This intensification of work load particularly pertains to those mothers who do not even live in courtyard groups with other related women. Gusii mothers have heavy agricultural duties, live in "isolated" mother-child households, and, in addition, milk the cows. It is not surprising, then, that in the Six Cultures Study, they were found to use children as baby sitters earlier and more frequently than other mothers.

The age at which responsibility for the care of large animals begins may vary with whether animals are tethered, pastured in fenced areas, or herded, in which case children are used as fences to protect the crops from the cattle. The latter condition is the most difficult. Bravely, the child must beat and drive the cattle to control them if they are not docile. To handle the cattle without damage to the animals, to himself, or to the environment, he must be alert and skilled. Younger siblings who tag along to help him herd must be obedient and compliant toward him. In Nyansongo the demands of herding cattle are even further intensified. Since there is less pastureland than there used to be, the

cattle from some homesteads are grazed primarily on the narrow strip of land along the roadside which belongs to the government (on the other hand, tethering cattle for a good part of the day is more frequent now as well).

Chore Performance

Thirty-three mothers were systematically interviewed about many aspects of the chore behavior of their children who were born between 1959 and 1962 and who were between five and eight years of age at the time of the study. Data were gathered on a total of 43 children, 23 boys and 20 girls. Table 4 (pp. 84-85) shows each chore rank-ordered by the number of children who do it. Performance of the chore here indicates a simple presence or absence, i.e., whether the child does it or not. The chore simply must be a task which the mother considers currently a part of the child's work activity. The check list of chores is based on some 300 observation hours of daily routines in Nyansongo. The chores chosen were chores frequently performed by Gusii that were in addition within the possible range of behaviors for the sample children. The question asked was "does X child do Y chore?" It is important to note, however, that being a herder or a caretaker depends at least on whether there is an appropriate herd or infant around to care for. Some children, though presently neither herding nor caretaking, had done so in the past.

In the following discussion of the list of 16 chores, caretaking and herding are considered separately at the end of it.

With the exceptions of splitting wood and herding, which are primarily boys' chores, chore behavior shows little evidence of being sex-typed among young Gusii children.

Errands

Probably in all societies, as soon as children can walk securely, they are asked to fetch and carry small objects. A Gusii child may fetch a bowl or a pan or a stick of wood within the house or the yard. He may bring drinking water to adults working in the nearby fields or carry dishes of food from one house to another within the homestead. He may carry messages between co-wives. He may be sent to fetch a glowing splinter from the fire to light the pipe of his mother or the cigarette of his father, or to bring a chair out for a guest to sit on. He may go to a nearby house to borrow utensils for a beer party. Doing errands contains the germ of doing other chores such as fetching water and collecting firewood. The labor of the Gusii child is commanded frequently not only by his parents but also by his older siblings for their own purposes. As a child grows older he will be sent further. He may be dispatched around the neighborhood or to the market.

The category of errands is tremendously varied, from the trivial to the important, from the near to the far. Many may be of the "hand me that _____" type. So without a detailed investigation, it is hard to know what is an individual's idea of what "counts" as an errand. All but one of the children in our sample

is said to run errands and more than half of them are said to run them at least twice a day.[1]

Fetching Water

In Nyansongo, keeping the house supplied with water is a daily job. There is no massive storage of water and little, if any, use is made of catch basins or barrels when it is raining. Location with respect to water supply varies considerably in Nyansongo, though five different sources are used and the particular one that is used depends primarily on its proximity to the household. The river may be only a few hundred feet down the hill. On the other hand, to go from some homesteads to the water source may involve passing more than one other homestead or crossing the road. More than half of the sample children who carry water are expected to do it at least once a day. Young boys and girls accompany their mothers or siblings to the river, the size of the container they use and the amount of water they carry increasing as they mature. The water is usually put in a metal bowl which is carried on the head. All but six of the children who carry water in the sample were reported by their mothers to have done so alone, though it is most common to see two or three children going together to get water.

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[1]Chore frequencies mentioned are referring to the upper 50 per cent in frequency, unless otherwise noted.

Tending Fire

All cooking in Nyansongo is done in the house over a wood fire, which also provides warmth. The fire should be kept going all day. The mother builds it in the morning and children may be required to stoke it, blow on it, and add wood to it during the day. For more than half of the sample children who do tend fire, it is at least a daily chore. Twenty-seven of the 37 children who tend fire are considered to need help in doing it.

Collecting Firewood

Children gather firewood in the fields usually on their own land and carry it to the house. Half of the sample children who do this chore either do it on their own initiative or know it is their job as opposed to doing it directly on request or to being told sometime that day that they must do it.

These four jobs--errands, tending fire, collecting water, and collecting firewood--are performed by 85 per cent or more of the sample children. These jobs begin early in a child's life and are characterized by a wide range in the amount of work that it is possible to do and still genuinely contribute. Also these are jobs which must be done frequently.and little damage can be done[1] by not doing them well.

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[1]Note, however, that most children in the sample require the help of an older child to tend fire; such help amounts to supervision.

Picking Pyrethrum

Picking pyrethrum is a relatively new task in Nyansongo since pyrethrum was only introduced into the community in 1965. For all but a few of the older children, this task requires that adults be around: money is at stake. Pyrethrum flowers are somewhat similar to daisies in appearance. When they are fully open, they are picked, then carried to the yard to be spread out and dried on a large, circular, woven tray. Pyrethrum is picked usually on two to four days a month and picking it may often be a family affair, consisting of many or all of the household members, including the husband.

Washing Utensils

Washing utensils is usually done in the yard. Washing is done without soap, though ashes may be used as a cleaning abrasive. Among the utensils, there is very little flatware since eating is done with the fingers. Primarily the inventory includes a few tin bowls, tin cups, and some pots. Before pots are washed, it is a common pastime for children to dig and scratch out with their fingers from the bottom of the pot the dry crusty porridge which has a special name in this form, amagoko. This is the Gusii version of "licking the bowl." The dishes are washed in water in one karay (Swahili word for a large, fairly shallow tin bowl) which serves as a dishpan and the water is thrown away after the dishes are washed in it; little or no rinsing is done. Half of the

children who do this chore are reported to do it from one to three times a day.

Weeding

In general, the children in the sample who weed tend to be the older ones and further it is the older children among these who are the ones who weed frequently. Weeding here refers to the weeding of maize and is done with a hoe. Weeding and digging are chores subject to seasonal fluctuation.

Sweeping

Sweeping is less common than dishwashing which is another, previously mentioned, maintenance chore. Sweeping here refers to the sweeping of the yard or the house. This is done with a bunch of slender, leafy branches. It seems that the yard is swept more frequently than the house and is more likely to be done by children. The variation in the frequency with which a given child sweeps which ranges from two times per month to three times per day may be most closely related to individual variation in the mother's tidiness. Things tend to be swept out of the yard rather than picked up. Usually those yards surrounded by flowering bushes are better swept.

Shelling Maize

Maize shelling is usually done seated in the yard. There are almost always at least two people involved in the task; often

one or more siblings are helping their mother. Almost two-thirds of those sample children who shell maize do it once a week. It can be a hard task for small children. The kernels of the dry maize can be very difficult to dislodge. Frequently a second cob of maize is used to press against the stubborn kernels and thus to aid in shelling.

An important task of the past was the grinding of maize, sorghum, and especially eleusine to be used to make gruel or thick dry porridge. The ability to grind eleusine well was once a coveted quality in a wife. Also if an uncircumcised girl could grind well, it was a good indication that she was grown up enough to be initiated. A woman used to spend many hours every week grinding flour and consistently used her children to help her, but now there are power mills and it is relatively rare to see grain ground at home.

Washing Clothes

Washing clothes is usually done at the river though it may be done in a karay in the yard. The place at the river where it is done may or may not coincide with that from which water is collected. The sample children who perform this chore are an equal number of boys and girls. Washing clothes is probably women's work in most societies. Among the Gusii, however, after a boy is circumcised, his mother is no longer allowed to wash his clothes. It is customary for him to wash his own clothes until he marries. A married man may also wash his own clothes.

Splitting Wood

The larger pieces of firewood which have been gathered need to be split or cut up. This is done in the yard and requires quite a bit of strength and coordination. Splitting is a chore primarily for boys, at least in the age range between five and eight. Thirteen of the 17 children who perform this chore are boys. The girls who do this chore are among the oldest and sturdiest in the sample. Range in the frequency for this chore is mainly distributed in two clusters: over half of the sample does it once or twice a week, and more than a quarter of the sample does it once a day.

Collecting Vegetables

Less than a third of the sample of children perform this chore. All but one child (who does it more often) do it once or twice a week. On the whole, it is the older children who collect vegetables from a patch, which is usually near the house. The vegetables are primarily beans or leafy vegetables. Care must be taken not to trample on plants or pull out the wrong vegetable. In particular, with leafy vegetables, there is danger of pulling out too much of the plant or collecting too much dirt with it.

Cooking

The children who cook are among the oldest in the sample. Of the 11 sample children who cook 6 are girls and 5 are boys. One chore which is necessary but not sufficient as a prerequisite

is tending fire. The foods children cook most are erongori (gruel) and obokima (dry porridge, also the generic word for food). These are cooked over a wood fire situated between three hearthstones on the floor of the mother's house. It is not clear how watchful a cook must be or how much he must stir what he is cooking. For the child, at least, the problem may be more one of "heat and serve."

Digging

Weeding is a necessary but not sufficient prerequisite for digging. Digging is also done with a hoe. The purpose of digging is to break up the ground for planting or to turn the soil. One should get a very different picture of the amount of digging done at different times of the year, though with maize being planted twice a year along with various other crops, the need may be more constant throughout the year than one might think. Digging requires more strength than weeding. Most children who dig are said to need help. Generally what is meant by help, in this case, is that the child gets tired and cannot finish what he is doing. The range in frequency is from once a week to two times a day. Five of the 11 children who dig are reported as doing it two or three times a week.

Caretaking and Herding

Caretaking and herding are distinguished from other chores by the fact that they are social roles and have role labels. A

child nurse or caretaker is an omoreri (pl. abareri) and a herder is an omorisia (pl. abarisia). A child is not called an omoreri unless he is the official caretaker. Children of this age range are not caretaking very much if they are not abareri. On the other hand, a boy may not be in charge of cattle and is still called an omorisia. Furthermore he may spend a great deal of time herding even though he is not, as it were, responsible.

Unlike the other chores, caretaking and herding are characterized by much less sense of beginning and end or of a certain amount to be accomplished. Other activities such as play or even some chores can occur during the ongoing activities of caretaking or herding. A role and its role labels can be seen as having considerable effects on behavior. They may convey relatively stable expectations and contingencies that serve to stabilize the behavior of the individual who plays the role. The roles of caretaking and herding may be seen to loom larger in importance in the face of the derogatory quality of the life stage labels of the age. An omoisia, uncircumcised boy, and an egesagane, uncircumcised girl, are at the beck and call of everyone around. To use either term in address, even when it is appropriate, is usually done with anger and is considered an insult.

Each mother of a sample child was asked which chore of those performed by the child she considered the most important. The rank order of important chores presented in Table 5 shows the relative importance of caretaking and herding.

Table 5

Most Important Chore as Reported by Child's Mother

Girls		Boys	
Caretaking	12	Cattle Herding	8
Fetching Water	3	Caretaking	6
Washing Utensils	2	Fetching Water	4
Tending Fire	1	Tending Fire	1
Picking Pyrethrum	1	Cutting Firewood	1
Errands	1	Digging	1
		Weeding	1
		Errands	1

Most Nyansongo mothers use children, usually siblings and, somewhat less commonly, half-siblings or patrilateral cousins, between the ages of five and eight to take over the care of their infants. For a first or second born, a mother sometimes uses her own younger sister as a caretaker or she may care for the child herself. The omoreri is usually a relatively constant companion of his little charge from the age of about two months until the baby becomes a toddler and can walk securely. At present, demographic considerations are the primary determinants of who is to be the child nurse. Ideally, the ordinal position of the caretaker is two away from the infant for the practical reasons of a minimal size differential and the belief in more intense sibling rivalry between siblings who are adjacent in birth order. The

official caretaker, whether boy or girl, must be uninitiated, which means that an eligible girl can not be more than 9 years old, while an eligible boy can not be more than 12 years old.

In many societies to be a child nurse, especially when unsupervised, may be little more than to serve as a baby carriage, in which case the infant is simply strapped or fastened to his caretaker's back and is supposed to remain in place until an adult unties the infant. The caretaker may play games with the baby bobbing on his back, stopping occasionally to distract, soothe, pat, or otherwise entertain his charge.

Gusii children were found to be high on responsibility involved in caretaking with respect to the other five of the Six Cultures. A child may assume daily responsibility for his charge. The responsibility involved may include lifting the infant onto his back and taking him off without anyone's help, feeding, bathing, dressing, and cleaning up the feces. These things may be done by the child alone at the homestead while his mother works in a nearby garden or goes to market. In addition to the various possible responsibilities involved in the role of child nurse, the distance the infant may be taken from home without adult supervision and the time spent with the infant may vary with the sex, age, and size of the omoreri and with the age and vigor of the infant. To a certain extent these variations have to do simply with the individual mother.

Seventeen boys and 18 girls are reported as caretaking in Nyansongo. Twenty-seven of these children were official abareri of an infant as opposed to simply doing some caretaking for that infant. In addition, three boys and one girl had been caretakers in the past and therefore were not included among those currently caretaking. One child who is an omoreri takes care of his mother's sister's child at his mother's sister's home. At present he lives there for the purpose of serving as a caretaker. His mother says that she does not know anything about the nature of his role as a caretaker and so he cannot be considered in the analysis below. For 30 of the 34 children, caretaking is a daily task, though the amount of the day spent caretaking varies considerably.

Shown in Table 6 is the variation in the responsibilities taken by caretakers in Nyansongo, not including playing with the child which all children who caretake do.

A generalization often made is that boys work away from their mothers more frequently than girls do (Whiting, B. and Harpending, ms), yet in the context of caretaking, Gusii boys are more often considered to need supervision than girls are. Table 7 shows supervision necessary while caretaking: the number of boys and girls respectively who need to have either their mothers or an adult (not necessarily the mother) present, or who need not have any adult present.

Table 6

Responsibilities of Caretakers

Number of Duties	Girls	Freq.	Boys	Freq.	Total	Freq.
6	9	9	3	3	12	12
5: all but 4	6		5		11	
5: all but 3	0		2		2	
5: all but 5	0		1		1	
Total		6		8		14
4: all but 2,4	1		0		1	
4: all but 4,5	1		0		1	
Total		2		0		2
3: all but 2,3,4	1		2		3	
3: all but 4,5,6	0		1		1	
3: all but 1,2,4	0		1		1	
Total		1		4		5
2: all but 2,4,5,6	0	0	1	1	1	1
Grand Total		18		16		34

Duties: 1 = carry or hold the child
2 = put child on caretaker's back and take off child by himself
3 = feed child
4 = bathe child
5 = dress the child
6 = clean up child's feces

Table 7

Supervision While Caretaking

	Girls	Boys
Mother Present	2	4
Adult Present	3	8
No Adult Present	13	4

The omorisia is not as important these days as he once was. In 1957, the situation was as follows:

> Most families in Nyansongo keep a herd of three to six cows although the family herd may be increased temporarily to as many as 15 cows, when bridewealth is paid for a daughter. Such bridewealth cattle must be used quickly for another marriage, payment of debts, or sold for cash, because the grazing lands of Nyansongo are not adequate to support such herds. (LeVine and LeVine, 1966:16)

The sample children of the present study belong to 28 homesteads. Sixteen of these homesteads had cattle at some time during the entire field study. The number of cattle fluctuated. For these 16 homesteads, the median of the maximum number of cattle is 3-3/4. The number of cattle was reduced to none for the majority of the time for 3 of the 16 homesteads. The largest number of cattle which any man owned at any time during the study was 12.

Sixteen boys and three girls in the sample were reported to currently engage in herding regularly. Four boys and one girl herded cattle belonging to another homestead. In addition two

girls and one boy had done some herding in the past, but were not doing any currently. Nine children, eight boys and one girl (who has no brothers) were said to be in charge of the cattle all or at least some of the time when they herded. The youngest boy in Nyansongo with full responsibility for the cattle is six years old. Those who are not responsible just tag along, but often they can be of some real help and do "herd" regularly.

Gangs of boys used to roughhouse and play games such as football while herding. This is not so common now. With fewer animals, no communal pastures, and much grazing along the roadside, herding has tended to become a more sober and solitary activity.

Techniques of Discipline

It is an important feature of cultural and social phenomena that the predicted and therefore expected actions become the correct and good actions. The focus here is on the mother's report of disobedience with respect to chores which she generally delegates. Each mother was asked what she would do if her child failed to do the chore which she had designated as most important for him to do. The mother's response to such a question was expected to be a punishment which is relatively severe for that child. By asking this question about a specific behavior, the inquiry has been standardized and given a focus. Table 8 shows the distribution of different methods of punishment for a

child who does not do the chore which his mother considers is most important for him to do.

Table 8

Methods of Punishment for Not Doing Most Important Chore

	Boys	Girls
Beat	13	9
Beat and Force	0	1
Beat and Scold	0	1
Threaten to Beat and to Run After with Stick	2 0	2 1
Nothing	7	4
Insist	0	1
Scold	1	1
Total Sample	23	20

The severity of the punishment was not found to relate to the particular task which was important. Then the mother was asked what she would do if the child not only failed to do the chore his mother considered most important for him to do but in addition abused her. The responses to this question and a comparison of the methods of punishment by individual for the two situations are shown in Tables 9 and 10.

Table 9

Methods of Punishment for Not Doing Most Important Chore and Simultaneously Abusing Mother

	Girls	Boys
Beat	8	7
Beat and Refuse Food	6	6
Beat and Force	1	0
Beat and Pinch	0	1
Beat and Scold	0	1
Nothing	2	2
Chase from House	1	0
Threaten to Chase from House	0	1
Refuse Food	1	2
Refuse Food and Report to Father	0	1
Threaten to Beat	1	0
Chase with a Stick	0	1
Scold	0	1
Total	20	23

Table 10

Comparison of Severity of Punishment for Not Doing with That for Not Doing and Abusing

	Girls	Boys
More Severe	16	17
Same	1	5
Less	2	1
Uncertain	1	0
Total	20	23

Physical punishment can be seen to be reported as a major technique of discipline accounting for 56 per cent of the cases of simple disobedience and 70 per cent of the cases of disobedience plus abuse. One may consider that it is obvious that both not doing a chore and abusing the mother is a more serious offence than simply not doing the chore and that it deserves more severe punishment. Clearly a comparison of the two situations supports such an assumption. The comparison was made however because:

> There is a widespread belief that effective training by physical punishment presupposes an appropriate response on the part of the child: "Caning is for a child who controls himself." As one mother said, "Some children are so bad, and you leave them alone." Nyansongo parents disapprove of continuing the use of physical punishment on a child who does not respond to it: "After all, I don't want to kill him!" (LeVine and LeVine, 1966:149)

In addition, it was frequently observed during the present field study that a child, when asked by his mother to do something, would not respond. He might then be asked again. The mother's response to such non-response on the part of the child would also be nil, leaving the observer wondering if the request or command had ever in fact been made. With respect to discipline, as well as other kinds of behavior, reports and observations must be distinguished and the situation or circumstances of disobedience must be considered.

Chapter 4

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION, SEX IDENTIFICATION AND INDEPENDENCE: PROCEDURES AND RESULTS

Within-culture variation will be used to demonstrate whether household composition affects the child's sexual identification or his degree of independence.[1] The hypotheses to be tested may be stated as follows:

1) In mother-child households as opposed to nuclear households, there is low male saliency resulting in great feminine identification. (Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony, 1958; Whiting, 1959a,b; and Burton and Whiting, 1961)

2) In mother-child households, there is less early encouragement of independence than there is in nuclear households. (Whiting, 1959a,b)[2] Also in mother-child households, the wife depends less on assistance from her husband and wants to keep her children home so they can help her. (Murdock and Whiting, 1951; Minturn and Lambert, 1964)

At the outset, it is well to be aware that the processes of socialization are difficult to study. Their dramatic effects are often the culmination of long and complicated learning histories.

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[1] See Chapter 1 for a full statement of the problem of the dissertation.

[2] Also in mother-child households there is less indulgence of dependency (Whiting, 1961).

Before discussing the measures of the variables and testing the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variables, the sample and the procedures by which the data were gathered will be described. Later, as each measure is considered, reference will be made back to the general procedure or procedures by which the data for that measure were gathered. Much of the specific data that were gathered in the course of a general procedure are not relevant to the present analysis and so will not be treated. A discussion of the results obtained from testing the hypotheses appears in Chapter 6, the concluding portion of the dissertation.

General Procedures

Child Testing Sessions I and II

Each child born between 1959 and 1962 whose mother was residing in Nyansongo on the land of his father (or surrogate father) was tested on two different occasions by a bilingual, female, Gusii experimenter with whom the children were thoroughly familiar. Only the child and the experimenter were present during the testing sessions. There are 43 children in the sample, 20 girls and 23 boys. One girl who was an eligible sample member was not included because she had gone to be a caretaker for the child of one of her mother's relatives. Each of the test sessions was preceded first by careful rehearsal of the steps involved and the handling of the equipment in each session, and then by five

pretests with non-sample children of the appropriate ages. The investigator was present during the pretests. The verbally administered sessions consisted of simple brief tasks, the first including a short interview. For the child tasks and interview, clearly labelled score sheets and answer sheets arranged in order of sequence were stuffed in individual envelopes for each session. A minimal amount of translation into the native language was required. The directions for the tasks and the questions were translated and back-translated independently by two people and then discussed by the investigator, the translator, and the back-translator. The testing for both sessions was done in five different chisaiga (sing. esaiga, huts; see Chapter 2, p. 44) in Nyansongo except for the few cases where the experimenter had to go outside of Nyansongo and test a child who had gone to visit at a relative's home. The child and the child's mother were thus maximally at ease with respect to the child's whereabouts during the testing session as the child was either in his own homestead, one nearby, or that of a close relative. The huts in Nyansongo were rented and it was arranged so that the experimenter and the child were not interrupted during the session. The sessions for the children were referred to as "play."

Hurricane lanterns were used to improve the natural light which came in through the door and small window of the hut. The experimenter sat at a table facing the child. A cushion was provided to place on top of the child's chair if he or the chair were

too low for him to comfortably reach the table. The chairs and tables belonged to Nyansongans. Occasionally it was necessary to carry needed furniture from elsewhere in the homestead or nearby.

Standardized Mother Interviews I and II

The mothers of all the children who were tested were interviewed twice. There are 31 mothers in the sample. All interviews were conducted by a bilingual, female, Gusii field assistant either in one of six rented chisaiga in Nyansongo or less frequently in the home of the subject or a relative of the subject's. Also present at the interview were the investigator and sometimes the mother's nursing child. The subjects' answers to the questions were recorded by the investigator after on-the-spot translation by the interviewer. The interview questions were sometimes repeated or rephrased for subjects who did not indicate a clear understanding. When necessary, additional queries were used to check the completeness or clarity of the subjects' statements.

Most questions were simple and concrete, directly referring to the child or children who were both in the sample and offspring of the woman being questioned. Several questions used information learned as part of previous questions partially in an effort to "personalize" the interview, while still retaining standardization. The interviewer was supplied the necessary information for those questions by the investigator as needed.

Standardized Father Interview

The fathers of all the children who were tested were interviewed. There are 25 fathers, 1 stepfather, and 2 leviratic husbands of the mothers of these children, that is, a total of 28 men in the sample. Present at the interview were the subject, the investigator, and a bilingual, male, Gusii field assistant.

The interview was conducted in a fashion similar to that of the mother interview discussed above. In fact, there is a considerable amount of overlap in the questions that were asked. The father interview also included a job history to provide information with respect to father absence, a history of polygyny during each sample child's lifetime, and a history of sleeping arrangements of the man with respect to his wife or wives during each sample child's lifetime.

Observational Data on Children's Activities

The sample for the observational data is 36 children, 18 boys and 18 girls. All 36 of these children are included in the sample of children in Testing Sessions I and II. The original sample for the collection of these data was 39 but because of their frequent absence during the period of observation, 3 children were dropped from the sample.

Twenty observations were made on each of the 36 children. The total number of observations is 720. Ruth and Robert Monroe of Pitzer College designed the observation protocols, which were

modified by the investigator (see Appendix A for sample protocol, observation schedule, directions given the observers, and some discussion of desirable changes in the protocol).

The observations were made by two male secondary school students. Except for one day off an attempt was made to observe each child each day during a three-week period. There were two main restricting conditions for acceptable observations: it could not be raining and the child had to be in reasonably good health. If the observer was in doubt about the subject's health, he inquired. The observations were spot observations; that is, observers were taught to take a mental snapshot the instant that they caught sight of the subject for whom they were looking. The subject's awareness of being observed was minimal. The concern, therefore, was not with episodes, but with an unobtrusive instantaneous view, noting various aspects of the scene. After recording the scene, the observer then asked a few questions where necessary to clarify what he saw and to be able to fill in information about the few unobservables which are part of the protocols.

The portions of the observation protocols which are relevant to the analysis in this chapter and that in Chapters 5 and 6 are as follows:

> Physical Distance: the distance in feet of the child from the nearest door of his mother's house. If the child is anywhere in his mother's house or at the doorway, the distance is counted as zero.
>
> Setting Distance: the distance a child is from his mother's house in terms of categories other than straight

physical distance: i.e., in the house, in the yard, less than 50 feet from the house, in the house or in the yard of a close relative, anywhere on own lot, an adjacent lot, on a lot or on the road farther than the adjacent lot, or still farther away than farther than the adjacent lot.

Composition of the Scene: who is in the scene with the child. For each individual in the scene, the distance in feet between him and the subject is recorded. If the subject is touching someone, the distance is counted as 0.

Activity: what is the child doing. Is he, for example, playing, caretaking, eating, herding cattle, etc.

Under Direction: has he been directed to do what he is doing.

Caretaking: the child is always asked whether or not he is responsible for the care of another child.

The observations for each child were systematically distributed between morning and afternoon, and between the two observers. Insofar as possible the times also were varied within mornings and within afternoons.

Each day the observers were scheduled to do three reliability observations which were also distributed as systematically as possible across children, observers, and between mornings and afternoons. A reliability observation is one for which both observers simultaneously fill out protocols for the same child. For physical distance from the nearest door to the mother's house, the estimates were within 4 feet of each other 81 per cent of the time for those distances under 80 feet and never differed by more than 10 feet (see below for those 80 feet and over). There was always agreement on setting distance. With regard to the composition of the scene there was disagreement with respect to 4 persons;

a small number relative to the total number of 176 persons observed and agreed upon in the reliability observations. There was less than 4 per cent disagreement about any element of the child's activity and also less than 4 per cent disagreement about whether the child was directed to do what he was doing. One of these disagreements about direction was as follows: The mother of the infant had come back from the fields and was nursing her child; in question was the responsibility of the omoreri. Was she still responsible for the child or had she, for the time being, been relieved of her duties?

When an observation was made, if the child were 80 feet or more from his mother's house, the observer made a diagram on the back of the protocol to remind himself of the location of the child. All those distances were then measured at the end of the three-week observation period using wooden sticks as stakes and a hundred-foot tape measure. No measurements of greater than 1500 feet, which was considered the end of the scale, were made. Only twice in the 720 observations was a child actually seen more than 1500 feet from his home, though there were occasions when he was at a relative's home more than a mile away. In such cases a report was made and his distance from home was considered to be at the end of the scale. If, however, a child were visiting at a relative's home overnight, the observation was considered lost and no "distance" report was made. Simply, another observation was made at another time. For each "distance" report that was

recorded for a given child, a make-up, "activity only," observation was later made on that child. Information from these "activity only" observations was needed for a complete set of protocols on activity and scene composition, though the child's distance record was calculated from the original 20 observations, which, for some children, may have included distance reports.

Each day at the end of the morning observation session and again at the end of the afternoon session, the investigator checked over the protocols for inconsistencies, ambiguities, or incomplete portions. While the observations were still thus fresh in the minds of the observers, protocols could be improved.

The Independent Variable: The Construct of Exclusive Mother-Child/Father Absence (Household Composition and Other Related Structural Measures)

Background

Throughout the world, there are four major kinds of household types (Whiting, 1959b:5). These are 1) nuclear, 2) mother-child, 3) polygynous, and 4) extended. At the outset, it is very important to distinguish household type from family type. The cross-cultural findings are relevant to variations in household type, which has to do with residence. Polygynous families, for example, may or may not have polygynous households. If the man and his wives and children reside in one dwelling, the household is polygynous. If each wife together with her children resides in a separate dwelling, then each household is a mother-child household.

In Nyansongo, there are nuclear and mother-child households. The nuclear household consists of a monogamous family of one man, one woman, and their children living under one roof. Around the world, the mother-child household is part of polygynous family structure. It is a major type in tropical areas, where considerations of heating and building materials do not prohibit separate dwellings for each wife. The husband also usually has a separate dwelling. In the cross-cultural hypotheses which relate mother-child households to greater feminine identification and less early encouragement of independence, household composition has been used as a structural index of the degree to which the mother-child relationship involves mutual intimacy, intensity, or exclusiveness and the degree to which the mother is alone with respect to child-rearing (i.e., the father does not participate) and with respect to economic assistance from other adults. In single culture studies, paternal absence has been stressed as the aspect of household composition importantly affecting the formation of a child's sex identification and, to a lesser extent, his degree of independence.

It is with the above considerations in mind that six measures of the independent variable of household composition were chosen.

Measures

The present study is of young children, so it does not confront the large time gap involved in predicting the effects of earlier years on later years. Such predictions about the effects of earlier years on later years assume stability from childhood to adulthood without much, if any, attention to intervening history, and further they assume that one can find out what the situation was in childhood. Reflection on history, especially that long past, is affected to an unknown degree by deliberate as well as unwitting distortions in the recall and reporting process. The past of a young child is short and it is desirable to consider his history; but it is also desirable to consider current conditions as possible predictors of behavior, particularly if it is realized that the modifications of behavior produced by various conditions may be only temporary. Three of the measures of the independent variable have time depth and three are of conditions current to the matching of those conditions against dependent variables.

The information for the following measures was gathered during the father interviews and the systematic collection of basic data, which included household sleeping arrangements and marriage histories.

1. History of Marriage During the Child's Lifetime

In Nyansongo, a man may or may not have his own hut but regardless of whether he does or not, if he has more than one wife, he at least rotates between houses. Usually he claims that he divides his time equally. Since co-wives, while usually living close to one another, do not reside together, the polygynist has responsibility for two or more families in separate dwellings. So it would seem, then, that polygyny, compared to monogamy, should contribute to the relative exclusiveness of the mother-child household. Indeed when a man does not have a separate dwelling, it is his marital status alone which determines whether or not a given household is mother-child as opposed to nuclear. During the lifetime of each sample child, different patterns of marriage form occurred. A typology of these is as follows:

O[1]	father dead at birth or early infancy and no replacement during the child's lifetime.
PP	father polygynous throughout the child's life.
PM	father polygynous when the child was born but became monogamous (through death or divorce) and is presently monogamous.
MP	father monogamous when the child was born but became polygynous and is presently polygynous.
(MP)M	father monogamous when the child was born but became polygynous, then became monogamous again and is presently monogamous.
MM	father monogamous throughout the child's life.

[1]Such a situation would yield an extreme with regard to a mother-child household and mother-child exclusiveness.

The paradigm of the above typology is incomplete. The type (PM)P never occurs in the sample. The mother-child exclusiveness should be greater in the type PP than in the type MM. These two situations may be seen as distinct without difficulty, and in both cases the current coincides with the historical. The three intervening types on the "continuum" may not represent degrees of increasing exclusiveness. The amount of time a man has been polygynous is probably at least as important as the part of the sequence in which the polygyny occurred. There may also be certain critical periods with respect to the age of the child which are more important than the amount of time per se. For example, if the first two years are the most important, an MP sequence in which the father marries a second wife when the child is three years old may be closer to the MM situation than a PM sequence in which that father's second wife leaves him when the child is at the age of three. MM is considered low mother-child exclusive and all other types are considered high mother-child exclusive. Alternatively the following divisions are also considered: 1) all currently monogamous families (low mother-child exclusive) as compared to currently polygynous and father-long-deceased families (high mother-child exclusive); and 2) all initially monogamous families (low mother-child exclusive) as compared to initially polygynous and father-long-deceased families (high mother-child exclusive).

2. History of Father Absence
During the First Four Years

At various times in their lives, it is common for Nyansongo men to work outside of the community with few or infrequent visits to their homes. There is never any question, however, as to their return. Their land and their homes are in Nyansongo.[1]

Father absence is inextricably involved in the constitution of an individual household type. That is, a nuclear household cannot remain so in the face of father absence and a mother-child household with a man in residence nearby becomes even more exclusive when he is working away. In most of the literature dealing with father absence (e.g., Bach, 1946; Pintler and Sears, 1946;[2] P. Sears, 1951; Lynn and Sawry, 1959; D'Andrade, 1962, and Kuckenberg, 1963) which deals primarily with European and American samples, it is the fact of father absence and only that fact which produces the mother-child household.

Father absence has been considered to be important in the first few years of life, particularly with respect to the development of strong feminine identification. Burton and Whiting (1961) indicate that the first years are crucial. Kuckenberg (1963) used the first three years of life to define her maximal father absent

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[1] In the sample, there is one unusual case of a leviratic husband who visits infrequently these days; his land and his two wives are in another community.

[2] References to Robert Sears will be written simply Sears; references to his wife, Pauline Sears, will be written P. Sears.

group. D'Andrade (1962) included among mother-child households those in which the father was absent the first two or more years of a child's life and those in which the father was present the first year or more of life and then absent the remainder of the child's life. It is important to note that sex-typing of persons occurs at about two to three years; at this time the child also begins to learn that only one person can be father and only one person can be mother.

For the present measure of father absence, the first four years of the child's life were examined. For each child, the portion of each of the four years that the father was present in Nyansongo, or that the mother had taken the sample child to reside where the father was working, was calculated. Then the amount of time the father was present during all four years was summed. All other things being relatively equal, an attempt was made to consider the father's frequency of visiting. Thus two rank orders of father presence, one for boys and one for girls, were derived. The top of each rank order is the child whose father was absent most. Variation in father absence, however, is complex and would appear to be rather unreliable especially with respect to the precise age of the child. Nonetheless, at some gross level one can feel relatively confident about the differences in amount of absence; clearly there are the very present and the very absent. Above the sample median in rank is considered high mother-child exclusive and below the sample median in rank is considered low mother-child exclusive.

3. History of Residing in a Separate Hut (Esaiga)

Regardless of whether a Nyansongan man is monogamous or polygynous, he may reside in a separate hut visiting his wife or wives on some nights. For a monogamous man, the alternative to living in an esaiga is to live in the same dwelling with his wife and children. If a man does live in an esaiga, then his wife and children essentially live in a mother-child household. For a polygynous man, the structural implications of an esaiga are not so clear, for if he merely rotates between wives' houses and has no house of his own, each wife still in a sense lives in a mother-child household and, further, the polygynist has two families between which to divide his time. If the polygynous man also has a separate hut, the "mother-childness" of his wives' households further increases. For present purposes, the distinctions made are simply whether a man had resided in an esaiga during most or all of the sample child's life (high mother-child exclusive), a substantial part of the child's life (medium mother-child exclusive), or during little or none of the child's life (low mother-child exclusive).

4. Current Absence of Father

The measure of current father absence is derived from recording at the time of eliciting the data on the dependent variable whether the father was working or living away or not, that is, was he absent (high mother-child exclusive) or present (low

mother-child exclusive). Further the "intermediate" possibility is considered, that of the father's holding a regular day job as opposed to having no particular regular commitment to keep him away from the homestead.

5. Current Sleeping Arrangements of the Father with Respect to the Mother

This measure is a scale of structural distance of the father from the mother;[1] the position on the scale was recorded at the time of eliciting the data on the dependent variable. This measure is relevant only for those men currently present in Nyansongo, including those with day jobs. At the top of the scale are the men who reside in separate dwellings from their wives. They are most distant. Next on the scale are the rotating polygynists. These men reside in the same dwellings as their wives, but each man has more than one wife with whom he dwells. The net result of such an arrangement may be an equal or greater distance from each wife than that of the man who lives in an esaiga, but from a purely structural point of view the rotating polygynist would seem to be closer to his wives. Next on the scale are those who always reside in the same dwelling with the same wife. For these men, further distinctions were made between

[1]The most extreme case of structural distance from the father was that where the mother was absent. Among the children of this woman were two siblings in the sample. The mother had left Nyansongo, taking some of her children with her, because she was believed to be a witch. Note, however, when the children returned to Nyansongo, the reverse implications which this structural distance has for mother-child exclusiveness.

the man who slept in a different room from his wife, the one who slept in the same room, and the one who slept in the same bed. The scale of structural distance from the greatest distance between man and wife to the least may be summarized as follows:

Esaiga
Rotating Polygynist
Same House Always
different room
same room
same bed

6. Current Sleeping Arrangements of the Child with Respect to His Mother

Already attended to is the degree to which a given Nyansongo household is a mother-child household as reflected in the extent to which the father is not a part of this household whether it is by virtue of being a part of more than one nuclear family, working away, or sleeping apart from his wife and his children. Equally, it may be considered that how close a particular child is to his mother contributes to mother-child exclusiveness: to what extent do the mother and child share the same sleeping space? The sleeping arrangements of the child with respect to the mother can be scaled from the closest to the most distant. When sleeping arrangements are run against independence, concern will be not only with the distance from the mother but also with the distance from an adult, particularly a female adult and so this consideration is incorporated into the scale.

The scale of sleeping arrangements is as follows from most to least exclusive:

Same Bed with Mother
Same Room with Mother
Same House with Mother
Different House from Mother
    same house with grandmother
    same hut with father
    hut with no adults

The Independent Variable as It Relates to Father Saliency and Father Participation: Relation of Structure to Behavior

The cross-cultural hypotheses relating mother-child households to feminine sex identification and less early encouragement of independence make the tacit assumption that the father will be less salient and will participate less in family life both with respect to the child and to the mother. In other words, variation in structure is taken to represent variation in behavior. Therefore before introducing the measures of the dependent variable of this study, the results of using the six structural measures (described above) of exclusiveness of the mother-child unit to predict two behavioral measures, father saliency and father participation, will be determined. The measures of father saliency and father participation are both based on the observational data on children's activities. Only those children whose fathers were currently present in Nyansongo were scored.

Father Saliency

This measure is simply derived from the number of times the father is present in the scene with the child, based on the 20 activity observations for each of 36 children. Also the number of times the mother is present is considered separately. For fathers, those who are above the sample median in number of times present are considered low mother-child exclusive and those below the sample median are considered high mother-child exclusive. For mothers, the converse is true. The sample median for mothers and that for fathers is calculated separately for each sex.

Father Participation

Nyansongan children are directed to do chores or are being commanded in one way or another frequently. The measure of father participation is based on the number of times the child has been or was being directed to do something by his father. Also considered separately is the number of times the child is under the direction of his mother. For fathers, those who are above the sample median in number of times they were directing the child are considered low mother-child exclusive and those below the sample median are considered high mother-child exclusive. For mothers, the converse is true. The sample median for mothers and that for fathers is calculated separately for each sex.

Results of Relating Structural Variables to Behavioral Variables

Five of the six structural measures were run separately for boys and girls against father presence in the scene, mother presence in the scene, father direction, and mother direction for the 36 children for whom there are observational data. No runs of the structural variable 4, Current Father Absence, were made and, obviously, sample children whose fathers were currently absent or dead were not included in any of the runs. The sample was thus reduced for boys from the 18 on whom there are observational data, to 17; and for girls from the 18 on whom there are observational data, to 12. The results are summarized in Table 11.

Of the 20 tests made of the five structural measures against the behavioral measure of presence in the scene, only one is significant. In accord with the prediction, the boys' fathers who are above the median in amount of absence during the first four years of their lives are below the median on presence in the scene. This correlation is significant at the .004 level using Fisher's Exact Test.

Of the 20 tests made of the five structural measures against the behavioral measure of directing the child, none was significant.

Table 11

Structural Measures vs. Behavioral Measures of Mother-Child Exclusiveness/Father Absence

Structural Measure of Independent Variable		Behavioral Measure of Independent Variable			
		Father Saliency	Mother Saliency	Father Direction	Mother Direction
1. Marriage History	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
2. Father Absence, First Four Years	Boys	p = .004[a]	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
3. History Esaiga	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
5. Current Sleeping Father	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
6. Current Sleeping Child	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

[a]Fisher Exact Test (two-tailed)

n.s. = non-significant

Dependent Variable I: Identification

Theoretical Background I: A Brief General Discussion

A child adopts many of his parents' behavior patterns and attributes and those of other social models as well. These may be practiced in fantasy or overt behavior. Identification, a concept introduced by Freud into the psychological literature, has often been the mechanism called forth to explain how children develop these attributes and behavior patterns. From the psychoanalytic viewpoint, the direction and the extent of a child's imitation of the same-sex and opposite-sex parent is largely determined by the nature of the child's early experiences with the members of his family. Freud's ideas about identification appeared in several of his writings. One of the more prominent formulations appeared in Freud (1940) crediting much of the dynamics of the identification process to factors at work in the resolution of the Oedipus complex. Bronfenbrenner (1960) in his review of Freud's discussions of the concept of identification has noted, however, that the concept has had different meanings at various times in Freud's thinking. Also there are recent elaborations upon these various meanings.

According to Bronfenbrenner's analysis identification refers to 1) behavior, 2) a motive, 3) a belief, and 4) a process:

1) behavior, as when one person acts like another.

In a study by Dollard and Miller (1950), the matched responses of one person to another are the behavioral results of the process of identification. These are brought about by the reinforcement of imitative behavior which may be response matched, goal matched, or cue matched.

In recent social learning formulations, the functional equivalence of the concepts of identification and imitation has been stated (e.g., Hill, 1960; Bandura and Walters, 1963; Bandura, 1968; Gewirtz and Stingle, 1968; Mischel, 1968). Both identification and imitation are said to refer to the tendency for a person to produce the actions, attitudes, or emotional responses exhibited by real-life or symbolized models. On the other hand, referring to "incidental imitation"--actions or characteristics of a model such as mannerisms, gestures, and irrelevant generalizations--a recent comprehensive text in social psychology is still concerned with preserving the distinction between the concepts of imitation and identification. Jones and Gerard (1967) considered imitation as the reproduction of specific responses in specific situations and identification as a general process which refers to the incorporation of personal qualities that are not necessarily reflected in behavior:

> . . . there is some question whether 'incidental' imitation can be equated with the more fundamental process of identification. Are the effects of two relatively brief interaction episodes comparable to the effects of more sustained and more complex relationships? (Jones and Gerard, 1967:109)

2) a motive in the form of a need to act or be like another, particularly the tendency to emulate idealized standards and behaviors of the parents.

Kohlberg (1966) saw a child's desires to be masculine or feminine as leading to a desire to imitate a model with the attributes of one of these categories which subsequently leads to a deep emotional attachment to that model.

3) a belief that some of the attributes of a model belong to the self; further, a child will behave to some extent as if the events that occur to the model are occurring to him and thus he will share them vicariously.

Kagan (1958, 1964) subscribed to this view: every time a child successfully imitates a behavior or adopts an attitude of the person with whom he is identifying, he perceives an increased similarity to that person.

4) a process whereby the attributes of another are internalized by the one.

Parsons and Bales (1955) talked about this internalization with respect to roles. A human being learns not only his own roles but those of the persons who interact with him. Whiting's concept of cognizance (1959a,b, 1960) is "knowing" the role of the parent, but he regards cognizance as an important precondition of identification.

Freud distinguished two main types of identification mechanisms. One is anaclitic identification which arises out of loss or withdrawal of the love object which is based on the intense dependency of a child on his mother, which begins in early

development. The other is identification with the aggressor, which is identification in response to fear with those persons who are actively punitive or potentially so. For girls, identification is mainly anaclitic, while for boys anaclitic identification with the mother is supplemented later by identification with the aggressor in the form of the potentially harmful, castrating father during the resolution of the Oedipus complex.

Most studies influenced by the Freudian identificatory mechanisms have dealt primarily with anaclitic identification rather than with identification with the aggressor. To Fenichel (1945) identification is a process brought about by a loss of self-love rather than of the love object. This loss can result from the loss of a love object or from threat or invidious comparison with an object. Essentially similar to Freud's distinction between two identification mechanisms is that between "developmental" and "defensive" identification. This distinction was made by Lair (1949) and further elaborated on by Mowrer (1950). Mowrer emphasized developmental identification which occurs because the caretaking adult, usually the mother, mediates the young child's biological and social rewards and therefore her behavior and attributes take on secondary reward value. Whiting and Child (1953) and Sears (1957) also emphasized anaclitic identification regarding a nurturant interaction between a caretaking adult and child as a necessary precondition of identification, thus relating identification to the dependency drive. Examples of other evidence

of an association between nurturant parental characteristics as secondary reinforcements with respect to children's imitative behavior is found in P. Sears (1953), Payne and Mussen (1956), Bandura and Walters (1959), Bandura and Huston (1961), Henker (1964), and Mischel and Grusec (1966).

Two theories of identification have been proposed which also emphasize some of the defensive features of aggressive identification. One of these is the status-envy theory (Whiting, 1959a, 1960; Burton and Whiting, 1961) which refers to the process of imitation as motivated not by anxiety reduction (Freud, 1923) but by envy of another person's ability to control valued resources. A resource is defined as anything material or non-material which someone wants and over which someone else has control. There is no culture in which resources are equally or completely available to all. If there were, there would be no identification. Rivalry develops around resources rather than solely around competition for the mother's sexual and affectional attention.

Bandura and Walters (1963) contrasted the status-envy theory to the other theory which emphasizes the social power of the model (Maccoby, 1959; Mussen and Distler, 1959), stating that Whiting's theory assumes that the consumer rather than the controller of the resources will be the primary model for the child's imitative role-playing. It is very clear, however, in the 1960 formulation that status envy is of both the resource mediator and the consumer. At times both are one and the same person. It is

true, nonetheless, that Whiting implied that status envy of the consumer takes precedence over status envy[1] of the resource mediator, though the child should envy both statuses because both involve control over resources he lacks. By the time of the cross-cultural study (Burton and Whiting, 1961) which Bandura and Walters (1963) did not cite, the theory considers the consumer as the primary model for children's imitative role playing. In the particular hypothesis presented in the 1961 paper, it is the father who becomes the noticeable consumer by the time the child is a toddler. It seems clear that this theory is equally amenable to interpretation as a social power theory of identification. The father is also an important controller of resources, e.g., power and prestige. Both Whiting and Maccoby stress the importance of the child's learning to predict the actions of adults. The degree of cognizance of the adult role is presumably a function of the amount of interaction between the child and the adult. The child, though perceiving the adult as powerful or enviable, is for the most part restricted from playing adult roles, though both theories describe covert practices of these roles.

Bandura, Ross, and Ross (1963) made a comparative study of the secondary reinforcement, status envy, and social power theories of identification, which are to some extent in disagreement with

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[1]Status in this case refers to the degree to which the mediator has control over the resources relative to the child's control.

each other. The study confirmed the social power theory of identification particularly with respect to the power to nurture. The child subject identifies with the dispenser of rewards to "the extent that the imitative behavior elicited in this experiment may be considered an elementary prototype of identification within a nuclear family group. . ." (Bandura and Walters, 1963:98). But there is a caution:

> . . . although children adopted many of the characteristics of the model who possessed rewarding power, they also reproduced some of the elements of the model who occupied the subordinate role. Consequently, the children were not simply junior-size replicas of one or the other model rather, they exhibited a relatively novel pattern of behavior representing an amalgam of elements from both models. Thus, within one family even same-sex siblings may exhibit quite different patterns of behavior, owing to their having selected for imitation different elements of their father's and mother's response repertories.(Bandura and Walters, 1963:99)

Theories of identification usually emphasize identification which is early and remains rather fixed with respect to significant figures in the family group. To an increasingly large extent, the present tendency seems to be to see sex differences as results of learned behavior patterns. The social-psychological role theories have, above all, gained increased importance for this discussion. Through, particularly in the work of Parsons and Bales (1955), Maccoby (1959), and Whiting (1959a, 1960), reciprocal role learning has been elaborated upon, it has not been considered a mediator of the process of identification. In addition to showing situational effects of the actual experimental situation on identity, D'Andrade (ms. a) gave some evidence that the measures he used to

predict the child's identity exert influence on the child and his mother as well, not through early identification but through the processes of reciprocal role learning and the perception of sex-role advantages and disadvantages. He showed, for example, that vicissitudes in husband-wife role relationships may influence a woman to describe herself as more masculine than normal women do (D'Andrade, ms. a:17).

Theoretical Background II:
Cross-Sex Identification

Identification has been discussed generally. Now the particular question about sex identification which is most relevant to this study is at hand. That is, what are the determinants of cross-sex identification, or perhaps more accurately stated, of identification with the parent of the opposite sex (since variations in the strength of the individual parents' sex-typed behaviors have not been attended to).

Many studies have concerned themselves with the effects of father absence on the development of sex-role identification during the pre-school and middle-childhood years. The focus of these studies is on boys. Those of Bach (1946), Pintler, Phillips, and Sears (1946), and P. Sears (1951), indicated that boys from father-absent households were more like girls than those from intact families, especially with respect to the exhibition of less aggression in fantasy and overt behavior. Further in her study, Stolz (1954) found that boys whose fathers were absent for the initial

years and then returned showed conflict over sexual identification. Lynn and Sawrey (1959), in their study comparing families of sailors with other families of the same social class, found that for boys intermittent father absence also produced conflict over identification which was manifested through compensatory or overly masculine behavior.

The cross-cultural work of Whiting (1959a, 1960) and Burton and Whiting (1961) (see below) which was stimulated by the father-absence literature in turn stimulated some further studies of father absence. Considering father absence as an antecedent to cross-sex identification most comparable to the mother-child households in various parts of the world, D'Andrade (1962) and Kuckenberg (1963) each carried out a study which focused on measures of cross-sex identity resulting from early "feminizing" conditions.

The first cross-cultural research on identification is the study of initiation rites by Whiting, Kluckhohn and Anthony (1958). In this study exclusive mother-infant sleeping arrangements and a long post-partum sex taboo were found to be strongly associated with the rites initiating boys into manhood. Exclusive mother-infant sleeping arrangements were defined as the mother and child sleeping together, usually in the same bed, and the father sleeping apart from them either in a separate dwelling or a different part of the house. Initiation rites involve isolation of the young men, hazing, tests of manliness, and circumcision. Whiting, Kluckhohn and Anthony favored the interpretation that initiation

rites were a counteraction to strong feminine identification serving to resolve the Oedipal conflict.

Following this formulation were two papers which both invoked the status-envy theory of identification, one modifying the hypothesis predicting the conditions under which initiation rites would occur (Burton and Whiting, 1961) and an earlier paper (Whiting, 1959a) predicting the conditions under which identification between a child and his father would be strongest.

In the earlier paper, incorporating the Freudian idea that conscience arises through the child's identification with the father, Whiting (1959a) examined cross-cultural data to test the hypothesis that identification between father and child would be strongest in those societies where the father was a regular member of the household. Reasoning that the child would identify with the father to the extent that he saw him as a rival for the love and attention of the mother, he rank-ordered household types from those with the greatest to those with the least rivalry. The order is monogamous nuclear, monogamous extended, polygynous, and polygynous mother-child. Using patient sense of responsibility for illness as his index of conscience, the hypothesis was confirmed. Conversely, he stated that in a polygynous mother-child household where the mother has primary and exclusive responsibility for the care and training of the child, identification with the mother is expected to be stronger than in a nuclear family where these functions are to some degree at least shared with the

father, or in extended families where it is more widely distributed among many adults of both sexes.

In the later paper (Burton and Whiting, 1961) an initiation hypothesis was presented as follows:

> In societies with maximum conflict in sex identity, e.g., where a boy initially sleeps exclusively with his mother and where the domestic unit is patrilocal and hence controlled by men, there will be initiation rites at puberty which function to resolve this conflict in identity. (Burton and Whiting, 1961:90)

In short, certain cultural practices prove "feminizing" to young males. Exclusive sleeping is defined as the father sleeping apart from the mother and is assumed to be characteristic, if not the criterial feature of, mother-child households. It is assumed that the infant sleeps near the mother either actually in the same bed or right near it. Initiation rites were here defined as elaborate ceremonies with genital operations. The conflict is caused by first maximally identifying with the mother (primary identification) because of household composition and then maximally identifying with the father (secondary identification) because of residence pattern.

How do the Nyansongo data fit with respect to these variables? The Gusii infant sleeps in bed with his mother, in some cases excluding the father. There is, however, no formal postpartum sex taboo which would presumably enforce a period of uninterrupted mother-child exclusive sleeping arrangements. The Gusii are patrilocal and prestige and power are vested in men.

There are then, at times, the two conditions postulated to cause cross-sex identification. The Gusii have male initiation rites which are the predicted effect of maximal cross-sex identification. Initiation rites are an attempted cultural resolution of the conflict. There is no specific predicted resolution for girls. For children in the age range of the sample used in this study, there has not as yet been resolution of the conflict, yet adult males should already be seen as enviable, for the children are well beyond the yard child stage at which secondary identification is proposed to have begun (Burton and Whiting, 1961:89).

Interconnected variations occur in the extent to which a household is a mother-child household, i.e., whether the marriage is monogamous, where the man sleeps with respect to his wife, how much of the time the father is present in the community, and where the child sleeps with respect to his mother.

With various aspects of the concept of identification in mind, the purpose remains, then, to test the relation found cross-culturally between mother-child households or sleeping arrangements and cross-sex identification, to provide a link in the chain of inference.

Measures

Many behaviors might be considered as measures of identification. The selection of measures was made on the basis of simplicity, variety, and interpretability as arising from sex

identification. A minimal amount of translation into the native language was involved. The two questions asked and the two tests administered are simple and brief. In addition, two of the measures, the two tests, had been used previously. Several psychological tests have been constructed for measuring masculinity-femininity (M-F dimensions). Most M-F tests are of questionnaire type, but non-verbal and projective tests exist too. Common to most of them is that the construction is based on items shown to have good ability to discriminate between sex groups.

In all of the measures used in this study, the assumption made is that there are differences in the relative strength of identification with one parent as compared to the other.

1. Preference for Sex-Typed Roles (e.g., Mussen and Distler, 1959; D'Andrade, 1962)

The data were collected as part of Child Session II (see Appendix B for sample score sheet). The children were asked to make paired-comparisons between six roles: old man, old woman, father, mother, boy, and girl. For each of the 15 possible pairs, the child was asked: "Which would you rather be: A _____ or a _____?" Only three of the 15 pairs constitute pure sex choices. In each of the other six pairs in which two opposite sex roles were involved, there was also an age component and it was not possible to distinguish whether the component of age or sex had dictated the choice. Thus a child could receive a score of 0, 1,

2, 3 based on the number of times he made a cross-sex choice. No child in the sample made all three possible cross-sex choices.

2. Imitation of Same-Sex vs. Opposite-Sex Parent's Choices (Modified Version of Hartup [1964])

The data were collected as part of Child Session I (see Appendix C for a sample score sheet). The experiment is modelled after Hartup's experiment in which choices between responses are portrayed by doll models in doll play situations. Hartup's "wooden dolls" was modified by Ruth Munroe. In her version, it is illustrated to the child that the father chooses one of the two identical items and that the mother chooses the other; then which does the child choose?

In more detail, the procedure is as follows: the child is shown three wooden dolls: a mother doll, a father doll, and, if the subject were a boy, a boy doll, or, if the subject were a girl, a girl doll. The child is told who each doll is and then asked to pick up, in turn, the dolls designated mother, father, and boy (or girl) respectively. There are five pairs of exactly similar objects: two dogs, two cars, two colored cards, two blocks, and two small cards with black dots scattered on them. For each of the five pairs, the experimenter refers alternately to the mother's choice first and then to the father's choice first. Simultaneously, the first parent doll is picked up in one hand and one of the paired objects is held in the other. The child is told that the

mother (or father) prefers (e.g., wants to take home, wants to buy, thinks prettier) this object while the father (or mother) prefers the remaining object of the pair, at which point the remaining parent and the remaining object are held up together. The subject is then asked, as each parent and the object with which he had been paired are lifted again, whether the subject prefers the mother or the father doll's choice. The subject is given one point for each same-sex choice he makes. The range of scores possible is from 0 to 5.

No subject in the sample made a score of 0 and only one girl had a score of only 1.

3. Child's Perception of Principal Disciplinarian (Controller of the Resource of Power)

The data were collected during Child Session I. The child was asked whether he was punished more by his father or his mother. In defensive identification the primary incentive for a boy to identify with his father is the fear of punishment. He is motivated to identify partly to reduce the threat inherent in his own relative powerlessness and partly to produce the kinds of behavior that will gain him acceptance and protection. Identification is greater with the parent controlling the resource of power. This is particularly consonant with the findings of Mussen and Distler (1959).

4. Child's Perception of Parent Whom He Most Fears to Anger (Controller of Resource of Nurturance and/or Power)

The data were collected during Child Session I. The child was asked whether he was more afraid of making his father or his mother angry. In anaclitic identification, fear of the loss of love of an object (usually the mother) is the primary incentive for a child to identify with his mother. Various studies cited above (e.g., Whiting and Child, 1953; Sears, 1957) provide some evidence that nurturance can foster imitation.

Results of Relating the Independent Variable, Mother-Child Exclusiveness/ Father Absence, to Sex Identification

To review, the eight measures of the independent variable are as follows:

1. History of Marriage During the Child's Lifetime
2. History of Father Absence During the First Four Years
3. History of Residing in a Separate Hut (Esaiga)
4. Current Absence of Father
5. Current Sleeping Arrangements of the Father with Respect to the Mother
6. Current Sleeping Arrangements of the Child with Respect to His Mother
7. Father Saliency (and Mother Saliency)
8. Father Direction (and Mother Direction)

As before, when the structural measures of the independent variable were run against the behavioral measures (see Table 11, p. 128), separate consideration has been made of the number of times the mother is present and the number of times the child is under the direction of the mother.

The eight measures were run separately for boys and girls against the four measures of identification:

1. Preference for Sex-Typed Roles
2. Imitation of Same-Sex vs. Opposite-Sex Parent's Choices
3. Child's Perception of Principal Disciplinarian
4. Child's Perception of Parent Whom He Most Fears to Anger

The sample size fluctuated for different runs for logical reasons. For the independent variable, the sample size is the full 43, 23 boys and 20 girls, for the following measures: 1, Marriage History; 2, Father Absence During the First Four Years; 4, Current Absence of Father; 6, Current Sleeping of Child. For 3, History of Residing in an Esaiga, one boy and one girl were dropped from the sample. The girl's father had died early in her infancy and the boy's legal father had died before he was born; his leviratic father was very rarely present at any time in his childhood and the leviratic relations had been discontinued altogether in 1964. For 5, Current Sleeping Arrangements of the Father with Respect to the Mother, the same boy and girl discussed above were also excluded from the sample. In addition, one boy whose father had died less than a year and a half prior to the Child Testing Sessions was excluded. All children with currently absent fathers were excluded. Finally, the sample size for father (and mother) saliency and for father (and mother) direction was limited to those children for whom there are activity observation data and whose fathers were alive and currently present in Nyansongo.

Table 12

Summary of the Relation of Mother-Child Exclusiveness/Father Absence to Sex Identification

		Sex Role Preference	Imitation of Parent Choice	Disciplinarian	Parent Feared to Anger
1. Marriage History	Boys	n.s.(23)	n.s.(23)	n.s.(20)	n.s.(21)
	Girls	n.s.(20)	n.s.(20)	n.s.(19)	n.s.(18)
2. Father Absence, First Four Years	Boys	n.s.(23)	n.s.(23)	n.s.(20)	n.s.(21)
	Girls	n.s.(20)	n.s.(20)	n.s.(19)	n.s.(18)
3. History Esaiga	Boys	n.s.(22)	n.s.(22)	n.s.(20)	n.s.(21)
	Girls	n.s.(19)	n.s.(19)	n.s.(19)	n.s.(18)
4. Current Absence of Father	Boys	n.s.(23)	n.s.(23)	n.s.(20)	n.s.(21)
	Girls	n.s.(20)	n.s.(20)	n.s.(19)	n.s.(18)
5. Current Sleeping of Father	Boys	n.s.(21)	n.s.(21)	n.s.(20)	n.s.(21)
	Girls	n.s.(13)	n.s.(13)	n.s.(13)	n.s.(13)

For the dependent variable, the sample size is the fu
for 1, Role Preference, and 2, Imitation of Parent Choice. F
the measures 3, Principal Disciplinarian, and 4, Parent Most
Feared to Anger, three children whose fathers were dead and fo
whom there had been no leviratic replacement were excluded. I
addition for Measure 3, one boy was dropped because he stated
that his sister disciplined him most. For Measure 4, another g
was dropped because she stated that she was most afraid of makin
her brother angry.

A greater degree of mother-child exclusiveness/father absence should predict the following with regard to the identification measures:

Measures 1 and 2: Boys--more cross-sex preferences and choices
Girls--more same-sex preferences and choices

Measures 3 and 4: Boys--more cross-sex parent perceptions of power and control
Girls--more same-sex parent perceptions of power and control

The results are summarized in Table 12.

Of the 80 runs made, none were significant even when the trends according to the respective predictions for boys and girls were combined, thus enlarging the sample. A look only at the extreme opposite ends of the various scales of the independent variable also revealed neither strong nor consistent results.

6. Current Sleeping of Child	Boys	n.s.(23)	n.s.(23)	n.s.(20)	n.s.(21)
	Girls	n.s.(20)	n.s.(20)	n.s.(19)	n.s.(18)
7. Father Saliency	Boys	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(16)	n.s.(17)
	Girls	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)
(Mother Saliency)	Boys	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(16)	n.s.(17)
	Girls	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)
8. Father Direction	Boys	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(16)	n.s.(17)
	Girls	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)
(Mother Direction)	Boys	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(16)	n.s.(17)
	Girls	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)

n.s. = not significant

Number in parentheses = sample size for that run

Dependent Variable II: Independence

Theoretical Background: A Brief General Discussion

A human infant comes into the world almost totally helpless and remains relatively incapable of caring for himself for a number of years. He must therefore rely upon others. In most societies, the infant relies upon his mother, who initially, at least, is his primary caretaker. Dependency, in the psychological literature, has been used to refer to such behaviors as seeking proximity and physical contact, attention, help when not appearing to need it, praise, and approval; and it has been used to refer to resisting separation, that is, attachment behavior. These behaviors do not refer to the child's state of helplessness but rather to a class of behavior of the child that is usually considered to be derived from this state. The development of independence has been studied on the assumption that independence emerges from dependency (such a view is especially clear in L. Murphy, 1962), yet the relationship between measures of independence and dependency are unclear (Hartup, 1963). Independence, as considered separately from dependence, has received relatively little attention in the literature.

There are some theoretical viewpoints regarding dependency that will be considered briefly before the discussion of independence. Two of these are essentially instinct theories:

Psychoanalytic View

Freud's theory of attachment postulates biological predispositions in the infant to satisfy his basic needs as interconnected with biological predispositions to relate to human objects in the environment. The first anaclitic love object is the caretaker with whom an erotic attachment arises out of original dependency, formed for self-preservation. Freud has argued that the attachment of a human young to a human mother is also one of the principal factors causing the human being to become socialized, to internalize the values of his society, and to feel concern for others. Freud and many of his followers also emphasize the later problems of object choice (maturity to select an appropriate sexual object) and fixations in terms of this early relationship.

Ethological View

Bowlby (1958, 1960) has presented a view of attachment, almost exclusively dealing with that between mother and child, based on the findings of modern ethology. For Bowlby, attachment pertains primarily to the self-preservative rather than the sexual instinct which Freud stresses. Attachment behavior is characterized by continuity between man and the lower animals and by environmental stability within the environment of adaptation in which it evolved, and is activated by separation and threat.

Primate behavior, then, has some important implications for human beings. In primates, after an initial period of constant

contact with the mother's body, the infant begins to spend more time away from the mother, at first only a few feet away, then moving in an ever-widening circle. The intensity and frequency of attachment behavior gradually decreases while the time spent with age-mates gradually increases. One of the most important systems which competes more and more with attachment as the animal gets older is exploration.

A third viewpoint regarding dependency contrasts with the two instinct theories:

Social Learning View

Focusing on individual differences, social learning theory (e.g., Sears, Maccoby, Levin, 1957; Gewirtz, 1961; Sears, 1963; Bandura and Walters, 1963; and Bijou and Baer, 1965) emphasizes the contingency between the child's response and some form of reinforcement, which may vary in frequency and scheduling. The child's attachment to the mother (or another caretaker) is based upon her satisfaction of his needs. Through this satisfaction, the mother provides positive reinforcement, and maternal stimuli themselves are discriminated and acquire reinforcing power through their contiguity with primary reinforcement. Further, in general, dependent responses of an infant such as crying or clinging to the mother are prosocial in nature and are more likely to be reinforced than many other classes of responses. The result of more reinforcement should be a higher frequency of such responses.

Independence, which is presumably to some degree equivalent to non-dependency,[1] is most relevant to the present study. Although independence training in North America is usually initiated in early childhood, this training is primarily focused on the mastery of developmental tasks beginning with clothing, feeding, and occupying oneself. It is of note that Winterbottom (1953), in her study relating independence training to N-achievement, found a significant factor was not whether the parents were alleviated from the child's "self-caretaking" tasks when the child was at an early age but whether the mother expected her child to know his way around the city at an early age. The concern with early independence training was basically a concern with the child's moving out on his own to acquire skills and explore possibilities.

Bandura and Walters (1963) make explicit a distinction for types of dependency not unlike Winterbottom's implicit distinction for types of independence. The two types of dependency are task-oriented dependent responses and person-oriented dependent responses. They point out that there are marked changes in task-oriented responses from dependent to independent but that person-oriented responses, such as proximity-seeking and physical contact on the one hand and the seeking of approval and help on the other, are expected and reinforced throughout all stages of life though

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[1] One must proceed with caution in considering this relationship, e.g., low overall infant indulgence (including low indulgence of dependency) may be associated with later rather than early encouragement of independence.

there are major changes respectively in the object and the variety of objects toward which the dependency is expressed. Also some changes in the form of person-oriented dependency do occur but these are largely attributable to the acquisition of instrumental skills (Bandura and Walters, 1963:138).

Whiting, Child, and Lambert et al. (1966) have divided dependence and independence into eight systems of behavior. This multiple division stemmed from an earlier distinction between two aspects of independence training. This distinction was derived from the findings of the cross-cultural study by Whiting and Child (1953) and the two aspects are as follows:

1. Freedom of the child in acting on his own initiative independently of adult surveillance.

2. The responsibility of the child for taking an adult role in the household economy.

Whiting, Child and Lambert et al. (1966:9) assumed that all but the first system (that is, succorance, which is the kind of dependence most characteristic of infancy though occurring at all ages) represent or supplement succorance at later ages. For the present study, the two systems which essentially correspond to the two aspects of independence as described in 1953 are considered most important. Self-reliance is seen as best fitting the present basic notion of independence; it is defined as follows:

> In any situation self-reliance consists of tendencies toward self-initiation of a response sequence and toward maximum reliance upon one's own responses in reaching the goal. (Avoidance of other people is not implied or even relevant here; only reliance upon self for planning and carrying out behavior is involved.) (Whiting, Child, and Lambert et al., 1966:10)

Another of these systems, responsibility, can be seen as an important area within which self-reliance may be exhibited; responsibility is defined as follows:

> In any situation in which performance of a task is required, expected, or preferred as a part of one's social role, responsibility consists of tendencies to perform the task. (Whiting, Child, and Lambert et al., 1966:10)

In one sense, however, doing chores may be construed to interfere with self-reliance defined as freedom from influence, control, or determination by another.

The theory and the variables are not as clearly discussed in the cross-cultural research which has implications for the area of independence as they are in the research on sex identification.

Whiting (1959b) reported that in mother-child households, i.e., societies in which the mother-child household is the predominant type, independence training is begun later than in other types of households. In mother-child households, the median age for independence training is 4-1/2, while in nuclear households, where there is the most pressure for early training for independence, the median age for beginning training is 2 years and 9 months. Extended and polygynous households fall between these two extremes, the beginning age of independence training being 3-1/2 years for each. Whiting (1959b) did not elaborate upon his definition of independence training, which appears to be teaching the child to do small tasks for himself rather than ask for help. In the present study, differences which variations in household

composition make with respect to the time of onset of independence training as defined above were not assessed. It can only be assumed that if training in doing tasks without help were begun late among the Gusii, then it developed quickly, for young Nyansongan children do a large number of different chores by the time they are between 5 and 8 years old and they do them frequently as well (see Chapter 3). It may, however, be true that these children do household chores early but are late in doing "self-caretaking" chores such as feeding and clothing themselves.

Whiting's argument regarding age differences at which independence training is begun is that in a nuclear household, one woman has to care for two kinds of people, her husband and her children between whom there is a battle for the mother's attention. In the mother-child household, the father never comes home at all and the mother is more available for her children. A Freudian interpretation of the finding would be that emotional ties created in mother-child households or where there are exclusive sleeping arrangements are ones of mutual dependency and result in the desire (for economic reasons also, as discussed below) of the mother to keep her children near home.

Murdock and Whiting (1951) and Whiting (1961) found that in societies where the mother has greater involvement in economic or ritual activities, she has less time for her children and she depends less on assistance from her husband. Nyansongo mothers have domestic and agricultural duties that take up their time and

they need the help of their children. Therefore they need them to be home and available:

> Since the Nyansongo household consists of a woman and her children, with a father who is often absent, the mothers have less help in caring for their children than the mothers of some other samples. Each Gusii married woman manages her own household, within a polygynous family. She has a hut to house herself and her children, special fields on which she raises food for herself and them, and the responsibility of running a separate domestic and economic unit. The husband contributes relatively little to the labor force at home, and many husbands are away working on plantations, police posts, and urban areas. She cooperates to some extent with her co-wives and other women, but this cooperation is limited by suspicion and jealousy among co-wives and the general lack of community cohesion. The result is that the married woman is independently responsible for a great deal of agricultural and domestic work, from which she can gain relief only by having her children help her. . . . (Minturn and Lambert, 1964:243)

Nyansongo mothers expect their children to contribute much help in the running of the household; referring to the Nyansongo mothers of the Six Cultures Study:

> Mothers in our African sample begin to train responsible behavior earlier than other mothers. They begin to send their children on errands when they are 2 years old. However, they do not expect the process of responsibility training to be complete until initiation. . . . Between the ages of 2 and 8 children learn to do most adult tasks. They are excluded only from those jobs which would greatly tax their strength. Boys between the ages of 8 and the time they are initiated are usually not introduced to new responsibilities, but spend their time herding cattle and helping in the fields, as they did in younger years. (Minturn and Lambert, 1964:133)

While the Gusii mothers are lowest in rank in the proportion of time they care for babies, which would lend support to the Whiting and Murdock (1951) and the Whiting (1961) finding that there is low initial indulgence of dependency, the mothers

supervise the caretakers and "keep an eye" on older children while they tend to domestic chores. Such supervision by Gusii mothers corroborates Whiting's (1959b) finding of little early encouragement of independence. Whiting was specifically concerned, however, with self-caretaking tasks rather than with chores.

Minturn and Lambert (1964:113) describe Gusii mothers as follows:

> Apparently the African mothers make heavy use of other children in the care of their babies, but make less use than other cultures do of other children in the care of the child when he has reached a reasonable age. Other adults are sometimes available to take some responsibility for the child from the African mothers, but the fathers, who are so often absent, still cannot help. It appears, then that in Africa the mother takes over greater care of her offspring when he gets old enough to help in the economy; the increased care includes carefully overseeing her children in their care of the baby, as well as in their active work in heavy chores. This indicates that the low position of the African mothers on the responsibility for babies factor is perhaps deceptive; the children are caring for babies but the mothers are closely supervising the child caretakers, with little assistance from their husbands, co-wives, or in-laws.

Also:

> Older children are often left with no one to look after them directly but are kept close to home and within earshot of their mothers. (Minturn and Lambert, 1964:244)

In the Six Cultures Study (Minturn and Lambert, 1964), it was found, however, that Gusii mothers encourage self-reliance and become impatient with excessive dependency. A mother may cane her child for asking for help on a task he can do himself.

How then do Nyansongo data fit with respect to predictions made about independence? There are variations in the extent to

which a household is a mother-child household, which have already been noted. Here the main concern is with the implications of structural variables for the degree to which the mother is alone with respect to economic assistance as well as child-rearing assistance from other adults. The degree to which the mother lacks adult assistance may, in turn, determine her need to have her children's help, her need to have them near home, and her mutual intimacy with them. There are, however, no Gusii households which correspond to the pure case which Whiting (1959b) describes of the mother-child household in societies where the men live in a club-house and presumably never come home. A Nyansongan man, when he is not working away, sleeps in the house with his wife or with each of his wives in turn, either some or all of the time. If a man has his own hut, it is on his own homestead, where his wife or wives almost always live also. He usually eats each day in the house or houses of his wife or wives though not necessarily at the same time or in the same part of the house as his family does. In Nyansongo, children are assigned early in life a variety of chores and they are supposed to be near home partially so as to be available to do these chores. Children are encouraged to be self-reliant in chore behavior but they are not encouraged to roam.

With various aspects of the notion of independence in mind, it remains, then, to test the relation found between mother-child households or sleeping arrangements and 1) little encouragement of independence in the form of exploration of "moving away from the

nest" and acquiring new skills and 2) great encouragement of self-reliance within the realm of responsibility behavior.

Measures

For independence, there are four behavioral measures of distance from home and essentially three report measures of self-reliance in chore behavior. Presumably the most self-reliant way of doing a chore is for the child to do it on his own initiative, without help, and without adult supervision, for in this manner the chore most challenges his ability to organize and plan a sequence of behavior.

Four Distance Measures

1. Distance from Home Based on All 20 Observations
    a. Median distance in feet from the nearest door to the mother's house
    b. Total setting distance from the nearest door to the mother's house
2. Distance from Home Based on Observations of the Child During Free Time (i.e., When the Child Is Not Doing a Chore or Under the Direction of an Adult or Child Older Than He Is)
    a. Median distance in feet from the nearest door to the mother's house
    b. Mean setting distance from the nearest door to the mother's house

The data collected for these measures are from Observational Data on Children's Activities on each of 36 children. There are two basic types of distance measures: one is based on the distance in feet from the nearest door to the mother's house

and the other is based on setting distance from the nearest door to the mother's house. Setting distance attempts to control a bit for the increase in the number of human attachment figures as the child grows older, i.e., he is considered to be less on his own if he is at his grandmother's house than if he is out in the fields on his own lot, even though the physical distance between his mother's house and his grandmother's house may be greater.

Setting distance from the mother's house is scaled as follows:

H/Y	House or Yard
Cl	Close, less than 50 feet away from the nearest door (but not in the yard)
RH/Y	House or Yard of Close Relative
SL	Same Lot (Own Lot)
AL	Adjacent Lot
FAL	Farther Than Adjacent Lot
FFAL	Farther Than Farther Than Adjacent Lot

Median of the distance in feet and the total setting distance score were computed for all observations for each child. Median of the distance in feet and the mean of the setting distance were computed for the observations when the child was free. The measures of distance when the child was free should be better measures of independence. Where the child is when he is free is where he chooses to be. There is, however, something to be said for being away from home no matter what the circumstance of getting there is. For in being away from home, there is still opportunity, even if not encouragement, to explore while on the way to the place. Also there is freedom from surveillance and thus an increment in the

freedom of activity. For all four measures, the children were rank-ordered from the highest median or mean distance to the lowest. Rank-ordering allowed the possibility of looking at the extremes for stronger tendencies. In a simplified form, above the sample median is high on independence and below the sample median is low on independence.

Distance was chosen as a measure of independence partly because of ethological theory as modified by the experential factors of mother-child exclusiveness. It is a measure which attempts to reflect the level of the strength of attachment or independence: the distance from the mother the child goes, the degree of strangeness of environment that is tolerated without the mother (the measure of setting distance particularly attempts to pick this up), and the length of time the child can be separated from his attachment figure or, at least, the security of his home. Home is like a nest. It is a central and familiar location. Among Nyansongans, mothers do not usually take their children with them when they leave the house. There is a higher probability that the mother will be near home than in other spaces and there is a higher probability for the child that he will be near his mother if he is near home. Even if the mother goes away often, it is home to which she returns to prepare food, to nurse her infant, to rest. To go away from home is to learn the terrain, to solve the problem of finding one's way, to have the possibility of exploring and manipulating new objects. In Nyansongo, there are no books, no toys, no

television, no chemistry sets. Staying home is not particularly stimulating. The house itself is small and dark and mothers discourage vigorous activity in and about the house. Variety and knowledge about the world come from moving around which brings exposure to new situations.

Measures of Self-Reliance in Chore Behavior

1. Total Percentage of Chores Child Does on Own Initiative, Without Help, and Without Adults

2. High Frequency[1] Chores
   (for boys: Fetching Water, Tending Fire, Collecting Firewood, Caring for Pyrethrum, Weeding, Washing Utensils)
   (for girls: Tending Fire, Collecting Firewood, Fetching Water, Caring for Pyrethrum, Washing Utensils, Shelling Maize)

   a. Percentage on Own Initiative--calculated from:
      0 = never on own initiative
      1 = sometimes on own initiative
      1-1/2 = sometimes on own initiative and mother usually tells child he will have to do the chore sometime that day (as opposed to his knowing that he is supposed to do it by being told immediately before he is to do it)
      2 = usually does it on his own initiative or does it because he knows it is his job or his turn to do it

   b. Percentage Without Help--calculated from:
      0 = with help; 1 = without help

   c. Percentage Without Adult Presence Required--calculated from:
      0 = with adults around
      1 = without adults around

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[1]The frequency of a chore is measured here by the number of children in the sample who perform the chore regardless of how often they do it.

d. Total Percentage of a, b, c above

e. Total Percentage of b, c above

3. Low Frequency Chores
(for boys: Splitting Wood, Sweeping, Shelling Maize, Washing Clothes, Digging, Collecting Vegetables, Cooking)
(for girls: Sweeping, Weeding, Collecting Vegetables, Washing Clothes, Cooking, Splitting Wood, Digging)

a - e, same as above

On the basis of some 300 hours of intensive observation of daily routines, a check list of chores was constructed. The number and frequency of chores a child does tells something about a child's responsibility or his expected responsibility, i.e., they are goals set out by his status position. Particularly of interest are the various aspects of chore behavior which may tell something about self-reliance within the realm of responsibility, the degree to which the child himself plans and carries out the behavior:

1) does chore on his own initiative

2) does chore without help

3) does chore without adult presence required

The data for these measures were collected during Mother Interview, Session II, and each datum is thus a mother's report of her own child's chore behavior. Errands were not included in the analysis because these are so varied in distance, difficulty, content, and as to whether there must be an adult on the receiving and on the returning (as well as the sending) ends of them.

A total percentage of "independence" in chores was taken to see if there were an overall effect stronger than that found in the separate consideration of the individual variables: initiative, help, and adult presence. Also a percentage of "independence" based on the variables of help and adult presence was taken in the event that the mischievous child who needed to be told and reminded to do chores (i.e., who did not do chores on his own initiative) was not lacking in self-reliance but rather in obedience.

High frequency chores were separated from low frequency chores primarily for two reasons: First, the proportions upon which the percentages were based were more closely comparable, i.e., the number of opportunities in which to be self-reliant or not were more nearly equal; and, second, the independence of a child is being more fairly judged within the sphere of his own competency, i.e., if the chore is common among children his age it is likely that his need for help or supervision is less "genuine"--it is not as likely to be new to him or beyond his motor control, at least in the form in which he does it.

Results of Relating the Independent Variable, Mother-Child Exclusiveness/ Father Absence, to Independence

The eight measures:

1. History of Marriage During the Child's Lifetime
2. History of Father Absence During the First Four Years
3. History of Residing in a Separate Hut (Esaiga)

4. Current Absence of Father
5. Current Sleeping Arrangements of the Father with Respect to the Mother
6. Current Sleeping Arrangements of the Child with Respect to His Mother
7. Father Saliency (and Mother Saliency)
8. Father Direction (and Mother Direction)

were run separately for boys and girls against the 15 measures of independence:

1-4. Distance Measures

1. Median Distance in Feet from Home (All Observations)
2. Total Setting Distance from Home (All Observations)
3. Median Distance in Feet from Home (Free-Time Observations)
4. Mean Setting Distance from Home (Free-Time Observations)

5-15. Self-Reliance in Doing Chores Measures

5. Total Percentage of All Chores Child Does on Own Initiative, Without Help and Without Adults

6-10. High Frequency Chores
- 6. Percentage on Own Initiative
- 7. Percentage Without Help
- 8. Percentage Without Adult Presence
- 9. Total Percentage 6, 7, 8
- 10. Total Percentage 7, 8

11-15. Low Frequency Chores
- 11. Percentage on Own Initiative
- 12. Percentage Without Help
- 13. Percentage Without Adult Presence
- 14. Total Percentage 11, 12, 13
- 15. Total Percentage 12, 13

The fluctuations in sample size for the various measures of the independent variable have already been described (see p. 145).

For the dependent variable, the sample is the full 43 for all the measures based on mothers' reports of their children's chore behavior. Thus the sample size for each independent variable remains constant for all runs of that variable against chore behavior. For the distance measures (all observations), the sample size is 36, 18 boys and 18 girls, the number of children for whom there are activity observations. For the distance measures (free time), the sample size is 34, one boy never being free and another being free only once.

A lesser degree of mother-child exclusiveness/father absence should predict the following with regard to the four distance measures as measures of independence:

Measures 1-4:

> Both sexes should be farther from home; the outcomes of the predictions for boys should be stronger however than those for girls and the outcomes of the predictions for free time should be stronger than those for all observations.

A greater degree of mother-child exclusiveness/father absence should predict the following with regard to the chore behavior measures as measures of independence:

Measures 5-15:

> Both sexes should exhibit greater self-reliance; the outcomes should be stronger for girls.
>
> For the independent measure, child sleeping arrangements, greater self-reliance in chore behavior would be expected the farther, rather than the nearer, the child slept from his mother.
>
> For the independent measure, Mother Saliency, the less the mother was in the scene with the child, the greater his self-reliance in chore behavior would be expected to be.

The results are summarized in Tables 13, 14, and 15.

Of the 80 runs made for distance measures shown in Table 13, only three could be construed as significant in any way.[1] In testing the relation between marriage history and distance from home, if only the extremes of the scale (MM vs. PP and Father Absent) are considered, the result is significant at the .05 level for the median distance in feet from home (all observations) for girls. (Not being a test involving the full sample, this result does not appear in Table 13.)

In the tests of the relation between parent saliency and distance from home, whereas the degree of father saliency makes no difference (and the main interest was in testing for this difference), mother saliency is significantly related to the median distance (all observations) which boys are from home at the .006 level and for both sexes at the .04 level (there is a strong but non-significant trend for girls alone). Mother saliency is significantly related to total setting distance from home (all observations) for both sexes at the .04 level. (The significant results for both sexes are not shown in Table 13.)

It was considered desirable to examine mother saliency relative to father saliency; but since father saliency made no difference nor even tended to make a difference with regard to distance, the relationship between the relative saliency of the

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[1]Some strong trends are also shown in Table 13.

Table 13

Summary of the Relation of Mother-Child Exclusiveness/Father Absence to Independence, as Measured by Distance from Home

		All Observations		Free-Time Observations	
		Median Distance in Feet	Total Setting Distance	Median Distance in Feet	Mean Setting Distance
1. Marriage History	Boys	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)	n.s.(16)	n.s.(16)
	Girls	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)
2. Father Absence, First Four Years	Boys	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)	n.s.(16)	n.s.(16)
	Girls	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)
3. History Esaiga	Boys	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)	n.s.(16)	n.s.(16)
	Girls	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)
4. Current Absence of Father	Boys	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)	n.s.(16)	n.s.(16)
	Girls	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)
5. Current Sleeping of Father	Boys	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(16)	n.s.(16)
	Girls	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)

6. Current Sleeping of Child	Boys	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)	n.s.(16)	n.s.(16)
	Girls	n.s.(18)	n.s.(18)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)
7. Father Saliency	Boys	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(15)	n.s.(15)
	Girls	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)
(Mother Saliency)	Boys	p = .006[a] (17)	p = .088[a] (17)	p = .06[a] (15)	n.s.(15)
	Girls	p = .09[a] (13)	n.s.(13)	p = .06[a] (12)	n.s.(12)
8. Father Direction	Boys	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(15)	n.s.(15)
	Girls	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)
(Mother Direction)	Boys	n.s.(17)	n.s.(17)	n.s.(15)	n.s.(15)
	Girls	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)	n.s.(12)

[a]The Fisher Exact Test is the test of significance used (two-tailed).

n.s. = non-significant

Number in parentheses = sample size for that run

Table 14

Summary of the Relation of Mother-Child Exclusiveness/Father Absence to Independence as Measured by Percentage of Self-Reliance in Chores (Initiative, No Help, No Adults): General and High Frequency

		All Chores	High Frequency Chores					
		Total %	Total %	Total % w/o Init.	% Init.	% w/o Help	% w/o Adults	
1. Marriage History	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(23)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(20)
2. Father Absence, First Four Years	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(23)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(20)
3. History Esaiga	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(22)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(19)
4. Current Absence of Father	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(23)
	Girls	n.s.	$p = .05$[a]	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(20)
5. Current Sleeping of Father	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(21)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(14)

6. Current Sleeping of Child	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(23)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(20)
7. Father Saliency	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(17)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(12)
(Mother Saliency)	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(17)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(12)
8. Father Direction	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(17)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(12)
(Mother Direction)	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(17)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(12)

[a]The Fisher Exact Test is the test of significance used (two-tailed).

n.s. = non-significant

Number in parentheses = sample size for all six runs of the independent variable.

Table 15

Summary of the Relation of Mother-Child Exclusiveness/Father Absence to Independence as Measured by Percentage of Self-Reliance in Chores (Initiative, No Help, No Adults): Low Frequency

		Total %	Total % w/o Init.	% Init.	% w/o Help	% w/o Adults	
1. Marriage History	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(23)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(20)
2. Father Absence, First Four Years	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(23)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(20)
3. History Esaiga	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(22)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(19)
4. Current Absence of Father	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(23)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(20)
5. Current Sleeping of Father	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(21)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(14)

6. Current Sleeping of Child	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(23)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(20)
7. Father Saliency	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	p = .012[a]	(17)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(12)
(Mother Saliency)	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(17)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(12)
8. Father Direction	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(17)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(12)
(Mother Direction)	Boys	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	(17)
	Girls	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	p = .02[a]	n.s.	(12)

[a]The Fisher Exact Test is the test of significance used (two-tailed).

n.s. = non-significant

Number in parentheses = sample size for all five runs of the independent variable.

two parents became irrelevant. Taken by themselves, the significant relationships of mother saliency and distance from home (all observations) and of mother saliency and setting distance (all observations) amount in part to circular reasoning. Distance from home was chosen as a measure of independence partly on the assumption that there is a higher probability that the mother will be near home than in other spaces, though it is well to bear in mind that she can be near home and yet not be in the scene with the child.

Of the 120 runs made for general and high frequency chore behavior shown in Table 14, only one is significant. Current absence of father is related at the .05 level to total percentage of self-reliance in high frequency chores for girls.

Also for girls there is a tendency at the extremes of the possibilities of current child sleeping arrangements (i.e., in bed with the mother vs. in another house without adults) for those sleeping far away from the mother to 1) take proportionately more initiative in doing chores and 2) do proportionately more chores without help.

Of the 100 runs made for low frequency chore behavior shown in Table 15, only two are significant.

Again, however, looking only at the extremes of current child sleeping arrangements, there is a strong tendency for those girls who sleep far away from their mothers to need less help in doing low frequency chores than those who sleep near their mothers.

This relationship just misses being significant because of the small size of the sample involved in using only extremes.

One of the two significant findings is for boys and is at the .012 level. High father presence in the scene (saliency) is related to high percentage of low frequency chores boys do without adult supervision. The other significant finding is for girls and is at the .02 level. High mother direction is related to high percentage of chores girls do without help.

Summary of Results

In summary, the results of running the structural independent measures against the behavioral independent measures, of running all the independent measures against test and self-report measures of sex identification, and finally of running all the independent measures against the behavioral and report measures of independence are dramatically unimpressive and will be discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

PROXIMITY VARIATIONS: SEX AND SITUATION

Anthropologists have long been interested in describing aspects of the use of space such as settlement patterns and have pointed out that they are connected with social structure. Thus far, however, the way man perceives and uses space and its relation to behavior in various situations has as yet received little systematic attention. In addition to providing opportunities for rigorous and reliable measurement of clearly defined observable phenomena, a great many spatial acts function almost totally out-of-awareness and therefore are not subject to the kind of control and distortion that conscious words are. To look at spatial relations, then, is one means of getting away from overdependence upon voluntary verbal self-description by questionnaire or interview. Further, one of the problems of studying naturally occurring events, that of low frequency, is obviated in the study of people's spatial relations--one can make a statement about proximity for any scene.

Background: A Brief General Discussion

Hall (1955, 1959, 1963a, 1963b, 1966, 1968) has been a leading proponent of the study of spatial interaction as a phenomenon which varies from culture to culture, involving a series of

highly patterned systems constituting a form of nonverbal communication. These systems, once learned, are largely out of conscious awareness. He has defined this study as "proxemics": "the study of how man unconsciously structures microspace--the distance between men in the conduct of daily transactions, the organization of space in his houses and buildings, and ultimately the layout of his towns" (1963:1003).

Hall (1955) illustrated the difficulties that arise when two systems of proxemic behavior clash. In 1959, while discussing the application of a linguistic model to the study of spatial relations based on his observation of the whole of culture as communication, Hall stated that Primary Message Systems are rooted in biology: in the laying claim to and defending of territory, the behavioral complex of activities and their derivatives which the ethologists call territoriality. He pointed out that in formal space patterns in various cultures, directions may take precedence over each other, divisions of space may be equal or unequal, the stress may be on the edge of space or within areas. American space, for example, is highly personalized and begins with a place. He discussed space communication and stated that there are normal conversation distances but that variations in distance and conversational topic mutually affect each other. Shifts in the voice are associated with a specific range of distances. He delineated three zones of interaction, each of which has a near and a far phase: intimate, casual-personal, and social consultative.

In 1963(a), he pointed out again the relationship between distance and situation but that the covariations cannot as yet be described. Though proxemics is less specialized and more iconic than language, e.g., a feeling of "closeness" is often accompanied by physical closeness, it is not as iconic as the cross-culturally naive person might think. In this paper, Hall presented a system for the notation of structuring space to enable the investigator to focus on segments of behavior by which one can distinguish the behavior of different groups. Proxemic behavior, he stated, has eight dimensions each rooted in physiology and each a closed behavior system which can be observed, recorded, and analyzed in its own right. The dimensions are as follows: postural identifiers, sociofugal-sociopetal orientation, kinesthetic factors, touch code, retinal combinations, thermal code, olfactory code, and voice loudness scale--the latter modified by norms for distance, relationship between parties involved, situation, or subject being discussed. Developing out of Hall's 1963(a) paper is the work of Watson and Graves (1966), who systematically tested, under controlled conditions, Hall's impressionistic observations on Arab and American proxemic differences. Sixteen Arab and 16 American male college students did differ significantly on all five dimensions of proxemic behavior which were quantified in the study, the Arabs interacting with each other more closely and more directly than Americans as Hall had hypothesized.

In 1963(b) again considering the phylogenetic base of proxemics, Hall stated that in addition to territoriality, different species of animals have limits placed on how close they can come to their fellows[1] as well as how far they can stray before losing contact with the group. In this paper, he pointed out that the job of the anthropologists is to isolate significant variables at work and to discover what spatial cues cause people to differentiate between "happy" and "gloomy" spaces, and how space molds behavior in different contexts. He divided the study of proxemics into three categories: 1) fixed features, which include internal, culturally-specific fixed-feature space and external, environmentally fixed-feature space; 2) semi-fixed features, e.g., furniture; and 3) dynamic features, the way in which communications with others are influenced by varying the spatial features of the situation. There are also cultural variations as to what belongs to each of these three categories.

In 1966, Hall drew together his previous writings and particularly elaborated upon various cultural differences in the use of space, discussing e.g., Americans, English, Germans, French, Japanese, and Arabs.

In 1968, in a further discussion of the relationship between distance and conversation, Hall stated that content of conversation is linked not only to distance and situation but also

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[1]Also dominant animals require greater personal space.

to the relationship of participants, their emotions, and activities. He presented a chart showing the interplay between distant and immediate receptors in proxemic perception. He discussed various research methods and strategies of gathering data, among them observation, particularly with a camera; experiments involving the manipulation of objects in space; structured and unstructured interviews beginning with home, household, activities and named areas in the house including topics of privacy, boundaries, the rights of propinquity, and the place of a particular home in its social and geographical setting. Absent from all of Hall's work is the presentation of empirical data.

Some of the antecedents, descendents, and relatives of Hall's work will now be discussed.

Territory is space in the geographic sense. Systematic territorial studies began with a study of birds by Howard (1920). The concept has been applied to human behavior by W. F. Whyte (1943) in his work on adolescent gangs and by Barker and Wright (1955), Barker and Barker (1962), Wright (1967), and Barker (1968) in their work on behavior settings. Festinger, Schachter, and Back (1950) did a study on MIT student housing. The students came to reside within each of two communities of apartment buildings in Westgate (garden-type apartments with units arranged around courts) and Westgate West. For Westgate, the study showed a positive relationship between cohesiveness (the measure of the amount of presumed contact) and homogeneity of attitude. Those people who were

physically isolated from possible chance contact by virtue of the location of their apartments tended to be deviates rather than conformers with respect to their court's view on the tenants' organization issue. The more isolated people also tended to give and to receive fewer in-court choices (as those persons within the community with whom there was most contact) than people who were more centrally located.

Related to territory is spatial orientation or finding "one's way around." Hallowell (1955) points out that man, in order to be spatially oriented beyond the field of immediate perception, must be aware of himself and his own position in some spatial schema. The crucial determinants for this orientation are of a different order for man than for animals.

> The cultural patterns of different societies offer different means by which spatial perceptions are developed, refined, and ordered. The spatial concepts of different societies also vary with respect to the degree of abstraction attained. There is also inter- and intra-societal variation in the utilization of different degrees of refinement of spatial perception in connection with different life activities. The variability is correlated with the fact that one set of conditions may demand very little in the way of spatial discriminations of a certain order (e.g., measurement), but considerable refinement in other respects (e.g., directional orientation). (Hallowell, 1955:202)

Other studies have to do with personal rather than geographic space. Personal space may be defined as the distance an organism customarily places between itself and other organisms, or more properly for man, the area immediately surrounding the individual in which the majority of his interactions with others take

place. It is assumed, moreover, that personal distance is itself an aspect of social interaction. It is a form of territory but moves about with the individual and expands and contracts under varying conditions (Katz, 1937). Hediger (1950, 1955, 1961) has discussed the attributes of personal space in non-humans. He distinguished flight distance, the points at which an animal flees from his predator; social distance, the average distance maintained between members of the same species; and individual distance, the particular individual boundaries (in non-contact animals) beyond which even fellow species' members will be rejected in various ways.

Various studies of crowding and confinement in animals have been made. Particularly important among these is the work of Calhoun (e.g., 1956, 1961, 1962) who showed clearly that population density reaches a point where individual distance can no longer be held inviolate. This situation can have serious pathological consequences in the physiological, social, and behavioral spheres.

Personal space has also been studied among humans, particularly the relationship between conversation and seating arrangements. Steinzor (1950) showed that interaction is more likely to occur between people who can see one another. Hearn (1957), Strodbeck and Hook (1961), Hare and Bales (1963), and Sommer (1959, 1961, 1962, 1965) have also done studies on this topic. Sommer's work includes distances most effective in eliciting conversational

interaction, influence of distances on leadership, and the effect of distance on interactions of patients. Sommer (1959) did a study which included observation and experiment. He made exploratory but systematic observations of the way people who were already interacting were arranged. In one experimental condition, he asked people to interact under the most natural conditions possible and observed how they arranged themselves. In the second experimental situation, he had a set of conditions in which a confederate was seated in a position (the sex relative to that of the subject and the position of the confederate were varied) and the subject was asked to interact with him. The study showed that there was no simple relation between communication and distance. It qualified Steinzor's (1950) finding by pointing out that the angle between participants in a conversation is also important. It also showed that schizophrenics have a different concept of personal distance. The optimal seating arrangements for interaction were close versus distant (i.e., a person communicated with his nearest neighbors) and in corner positions versus face to face or side by side. He also found that females sat "closer" to female decoys than they did to male decoys; this was also "closer" than males would sit to decoys of either sex. In connection with this finding, La Barre (comment on Hall, 1968) said, referring to United States university faculty parties:

> . . . men tend to sit farther apart and to move about more restlessly, e.g. in argument; women sit more closely and tend to keep one place. However, in an intellectually

> non-pretentious "fun" party, the above descriptions must be modified even though the very same people are involved. (comment on Hall, 1968:102)

Sommer (1962) found that under one set of conditions, i.e., in a large lounge, the distance for comfortable conversations was 5-1/2 feet. Further, he suggested that the larger the room, the closer together people will sit in it.

Winick and Holt (1961) suggested that seating arrangements are one dimension of group activity that can be productively observed and utilized, both as a means of therapy and as a subject for research. In a description of group therapy illustrated by various clinical examples, they discussed choosing a chair and its positions and the therapist's chair and positions with respect to him. They recommended providing each patient with a definite place early in the group sessions but that later it is useful to have chairs against the wall and let patients choose and arrange them. Patients, they observed, move into a circle when they wish to express anxiety. Further, they proposed that the preference for individual chairs as opposed to a sofa seems to reflect the human being's need to be able to experience his own body border as well as his need for an almost literal life space.

Campbell, Kruskal and Wallace (1966) constructed an index of "aggregation," voluntary clustering, computed as the departure from randomness which they examined as a tentative index of interracial attitudes between Negroes and whites. Control analyses examining the effect of class size, proportion of Negroes and

proportion of vacant seats do not indicate artifacts in these respects.

A group's seating arrangement can function to regulate interaction and leadership emergence in small groups (e.g., Howells and Becker, 1962;and Ward, 1968). Ward (1968) found that in initially unacquainted five-man discussion groups, in which seats were arranged in circular form with several empty seats inserted into the circle, individuals facing the largest number of members did the most talking and were the most likely to be judged as leaders by the other group members.

Hall (1959) had pointed out that how accurate a spatial memory is has never been completely tested. There has been a recent study, which while not testing spatial memory, did show a relation between space and memory. Cole and Gay (ms.) found that among 10-14 year old Kpelle children of Liberia, greater recall of objects was obtained by using "concrete" spatial cues in the form of associating objects with chairs.

Little (1965) has done some work on interaction as related to acquaintance and setting. Subjects arranged actresses, line-drawings, and silhouettes. He found that interaction distances in arranged dyads as perceived by the subject were markedly influenced by the degree of acquaintance of the two members, who were labelled friends, acquaintances, or strangers. The setting in which the meeting took place in turn influenced for female subjects, but less so for male subjects, the perceived interaction

distance between dyad members. For males, the interaction distance for strangers varied significantly with setting but not for friends and acquaintances. For females, there was significant variation for acquaintances as well as for strangers. There was closer interaction in open-air settings. This corroborates Sommer's (1962) suggestion that people will sit closer in a large lounge than they will in a living room in someone's home. A basic assumption of Little's (1965) study is that the depicted interaction distances and their variations under different conditions are proportionate to those the observer himself would use. Reconstructed interaction distances were noted to be systematically related to Hall's zones and phases.

The emphasis in much of the work done on proxemics has been the effect of space on activity or interaction. Little attention has been given to how activity or context affects space. The observational work that has been done on proxemic behavior has involved conversations while seated. Diebold (comment on Hall, 1968) suggested that proxemic behavior is context specific and that extensive and intensive field observations are in order. Sarles (comment on Hall, 1968) recommended that a fruitful approach to the study of proxemics might well attempt to build in context as a variable. On the whole, the work which has been done is not directly relevant to the sociospatial relations examined in this study, though sex differences (an important feature of this study) with regard to perception or behavior were noted in Sommers (1962), Little (1965), and La Barre (comment on Hall, 1968).

The major findings to be reported in this chapter have come from a detailed look at variations in proximity among children. Proximity has been discussed above as one aspect of social interaction, one way of identifying a person in his social environment which is part of describing the person's environment and the nature of his interaction in it. In looking at social interaction, some initial questions are the following: Who is around and how close are they? Are there consistent individual differences in variations in proximity? And if so, what generalizations can be made concerning the conditions producing these variations?

General Procedure for Collecting the Data

The data for this portion of the study is the Observational Data on Children's Activities (see Chapter 4, pp. 111-115 and Appendix A). In review, the sample for the observational data is 36 children, 18 boys and 18 girls born between 1959 and 1962. At the time of the study they were between five and eight years of age. All 36 of these children are included in the sample of children in Testing Sessions I and II (see Chapter 4, pp. 108-109). Twenty observations were made on each of the 36 children. The total number of observations is 720. Ruth and Robert Munroe of Pitzer College designed the observation protocols and the investigator modified them. The observations were made by two male secondary school students. Except for one day off an attempt was made to observe each child each day during a three-week period.

The observations were spot observations; that is, observers were taught to take a mental snapshot the instant that they caught sight of the subject for whom they were looking. After recording the scene, the observer then asked a few questions where necessary to clarify what he saw and to be able to fill in information about the few unobservables which were part of the protocols. The portions of the observation protocols which are relevant to the analysis in this chapter are as follows:

> Composition of the Scene: who is in the scene with the child. For each individual in the scene, the distance in feet between him and the subject is recorded. If the subject is touching someone, the distance is counted as 0.
>
> Activity: what is the child doing. Is he, for example, playing, caretaking, eating, herding cattle, etc.
>
> Under Direction: has he been directed to do what he is doing.
>
> Caretaking: the child is always asked whether or not he is responsible for the care of another child.

Measures and Sex Differences

Two different ways of measuring socio-spatial relationships by measuring the subject's proximity to others were used. The techniques of observation were carefully standardized and the scale points were as unambiguous as possible.

Distance from Most Frequent Companion

For each subject, it was determined which other person appeared most frequently in his set of 20 observations. For

example, a young boy, Omundi, is often with his sister, Kwamboka. She appearr in 14 of the 20 observations made of Omundi. Omundi's mother, however, appears in only 10 of the observations, while his other siblings, friends, and neighbors appear even fewer times. Thus his sister Kwamboka is his most frequent companion. There is a wide range of variation in the number of times the most frequent companion is observed in the same scene with a given subject. This range is between 5 and 17. After determining who was the most frequent companion for each subject, the median distance between the subject and his most frequent companion was computed and each subject was given that distance as his score. The results of a comparison between boys and girls using this measure is shown in Table 16. Each number on the table represents the median distance between one subject and his most frequent companion. The sex difference is strong, the boys being farther away from their most frequent companions than the girls.

Distance from Nearest Person

The second measure of proximity is quite distinct from the first. For each subject, the distance from the nearest person in each and every one of his twenty observations was recorded, and a median of those twenty distances was computed. Each subject was given that median distance as his score. The results of a sign test done on a series of paired-comparisons between boys and girls using this measure are shown in Table 17. Both boys and girls were

Table 16

Median Distance in Feet Between Child and His Most Frequent Companion: Comparison of Boys and Girls

	Boys	Girls
Distant	7-1/2	8-1/2
	7	
	6-1/2	
	6	
	6	
	5-1/2	5
	5	
	4-1/2	
	4	
	4	4
	4	
	4	
	4	
	4	
Close	3-1/2	
	3	3
		3
		3
		3
		3
		3
		3
		2-1/2
		2-1/2
	2	2
	2	2
		1
		0
		0
		0
Total	18	18

$X^2 = 11.15$; $p = < .001$

Table 17

Sign Test Based on Boy-Girl Paired Comparisons of Median Distance Between the Child and the Person Nearest to Him in Each of 20 Observations

(Boys and Girls Respectively Rank-Ordered by Age)

Sign	Boys	Girls
+	4.25	2.50
+	3.17	1.41
+	3.16	3.00
+	7.00	2.00
+	6.17	5.83
+	3.25	2.75
+	6.50	2.75
-	2.34	2.75
-	2.10	3.25
+	3.50	1.50
+	2.11	1.75
+	8.50	1.00
-	1.50	2.14
+	3.20	2.00
+	4.10	2.07
+	4.00	2.50
+	2.75	2.30
+	2.25	1.33

15 positive (+) cases, 3 negative (-) cases
$p = <.005$

Mean for boys: 3.88; mean for girls: 2.88

$t = .05$ (two-tailed test) (from Hays, 1963:321)

rank-ordered by age--thus, the oldest of the boys is paired with the oldest of the girls and so on. Again, the sex difference is strong; the boys are farther away from the people nearest to them than the girls are. The results of the sign test are significant at the .005 level.

Discussion of the Differences and Further Analysis and Discussion

It can be seen clearly from the two distance measures, Distance from Most Frequent Companion and Distance from Nearest Person, that sex is an important factor correlated with variations in proximity.

These sex differences can be viewed as part of response dispositions or traits that are relatively stable and general. There is, however, a great deal of experimental evidence which shows that individuals show less cross-situational consistency in behavior than has been assumed (see in particular Mischel, 1968, for a comprehensive review of this evidence). Suppose, then, that specific situations are considered as antecedents of these observed sex-typed behaviors.

The possibility that these sex differences arise because boys and girls are typically in different contexts or situations can be entertained. It has already been noted that Gusii mothers feel it is important for their children to do chores (Chapter 3). The children are free and on their own in less than 35 per cent

of the activity observations. They spend a great deal of time doing chores, being commanded, or engaged in organized eating. It has been shown that girls are closer to those nearest them than boys are. Now the prediction is to be made that when girls are engaged in directed activities, they are even closer to those nearest them than they are during free time.

It is expected, however, that when boys are engaged in directed activities, they are farther from those nearest them. This expectation is based on the fact that boys are engaged in different tasks, such as herding. In Table 18, it can be seen that when girls are not free, they are, as predicted, consistently closer to the person nearest them. The outcome of the sign test for girls is $p = <.005$. Boys, on the other hand, show only a slight tendency to be farther from the person nearest them when they are not free than when they are free, but the difference is not significant. What are the girls doing with high frequency? In more than one-third of the observations, they are caretaking, which may involve carrying or closely attending to a child. What are the boys doing? Why is the prediction for boys only slightly directional? Boys are herding in less than 17 per cent of the observations. Furthermore, boys are also caretaking almost as much as they herding. Also, organized eating which has been included as time which is not free, presumably has the same effect on both sexes, which is to bring a child close to others. Siblings of both sexes sit together and eat from one or two bowls.

Table 18

Sign Test Based on Intra-Individual Comparisons of Median Distances Between the Child and the Person Nearest to Him in Free and Directed Time

Girls			Boys		
Sign	Free	Not Free	Not Free	Free	Sign
+	4.00	1.00	10.50	3.25	+
+	3.50	2.50	8.00	3.62	+
+	3.50	2.50	6.17	3.33	+
+	3.00	2.64	6.00	2.07	+
+	3.00	2.50	5.75	3.87	+
+	3.00	2.00	4.50	3.00	+
+	3.00	1.17	3.33	6.00	-
+	3.00	.50	3.00	2.75	+
+	2.83	1.62	2.83	5.00	-
+	2.75	2.33	2.75	4.00	-
+	2.66	2.25	2.33	2.00	+
+	2.38	.31	1.90	3.50	-
+	2.30	1.50	1.83	2.83	-
-	2.25	3.17	1.50	3.40	-
+	2.00	1.25	1.50	1.50	0
+	2.00	.74			
+	1.25	.22			
Total = 17 cases 16 positive 1 negative p = <.005			Total = 15 cases 8 positive 6 negative (1 neutral)		

Free Time = time during which the child is not doing something he has been directed to do.
Directed Time = e.g., doing a task, in the process of being commanded (to do something by an older person), and also organized eating.

Note: Of the original 36 cases, four were lost, for the following reasons: for one girl and one boy, medians were half-way between being a certain number of feet from a person and being alone; one boy was never free; and one boy was free only once, and comparisons are made only when they can be based on at least two observations in each category.

For the moment, sex differences can be set aside for concentration on more specific situations than simply free and not free. Is the behavior with respect to proximity different in different situations? Caretaking in Nyansongo is a role which is believed to increase proximity between the caretaker and person nearest him, usually the baby he is caring for. Herding is a role that should increase distance between the herder and the person nearest him. Proximity during free time should fall between that during caretaking and that during herding. Table 19 shows a comparison of the distributions of the distances between the child and the person nearest to him for all observations across children in the three different contexts: caretaking, free time, and herding. The means of the distributions are in the rank order expected. The Pitman test of significance (Siegel, 1956:155) can be used to ascertain if the three non-normal distributions of caretaking, free time, and herding are significantly different from each other. In order to use this test, it is necessary to cut the distribution off at some reasonable, though rather arbitrary, point. Twenty feet is the cut-off point used. Still the major portion of each of the highly skewed distributions is being considered. Using the Pitman test, the results of the comparison between caretaking and free time are significant at the .001 level. In addition, shown in Table 20 are the results of a sign test done on a series of

Table 19

Comparison of Distributions of Distances Between Child and Person Nearest to Him for All Observations in Three Different Contexts

	Caretaking	Free Time		Herding
	(Both Sexes)	(Both Sexes)	(Boys Only)	(Both Sexes, but only 3 Obs. of Girls)
Mean of Distribution:	1.77	3.38	3.65	5.51
Distance (Feet)	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency
0	79	5	4	1
1	39	49	23	3
2	33	54	24	9
3	9	53	24	6
4	6	38	19	4
5	0	8	2	2
6	3	16	10	2
7	0	3	2	2
8	1	5	4	2
9	2	3	3	4
10	2	6	5	0
11	0	0	0	0
12	2	0	0	0
13	0	1	1	1
14	0	0	0	0
15	0	2	1	0
16	1	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0
18	1	2	2	0
19	0	0	0	0
20	2	1	1	3
Total Frequency of Distribution	180	243	125	39

Pitman test of significance applied to ascertain if distributions are significantly different (Siegel, 1956).
The cut-off point for the distributions was set at 20 feet.

Caretaking/Free Time: $t = 5.47$; $p = <.001$.
Free Time/Herding: $t = 8.09$; $p = <.001$.

Table 20

Sign Test Based on Intra-Individual Comparisons of Median Distances Between the Child and the Person Nearest to Him When Engaged in Caretaking and During Free Time

Sign	Caretaking	Free
Girls:		
+	0	1
+	0	2
+	0	3
+	0	3
+	0	3
+	0	4
+	1	3
+	1	3
+	1	3.5
+	1	4
+	2	2.50
+	2	3
+	2	3
0	2.25	2.25
+	1.50	2.00
14 cases:	13 positive (1 neutral)	
Boys:		
+	0	2
+	0	2.5
+	0	2.5
+	0	3
+	1	3
+	1	3.5
+	1.5	4
+	1.25	1.50
-	9.5	6
9 cases:	8 positive, 1 negative p = <.04	
Total: 23 cases:	21 pos., 1 neg. (1 neut.) p = <.005	

Notes:

Medians have been fractionated only in the cases where necessary to determine the outcome for an apparent tie.

Distance restricted to a maximum of 20 feet in the calculation of these medians.

intra-individual paired-comparisons of median distances between the child and the person nearest to him while caretaking, and between the child and the person nearest to him during free time. The intra-individual differences are significant for males and for females. For both sexes taken together, the results of the sign test are significant at the .005 level.

In Table 19, the Pitman test is also used to compare the distributions of free time for boys only with the distribution of herding. Again, the results are significant at the .001 level.

It is of interest to note that with respect to herding, interperson distance is high and that, in addition, in about one-third of the cases the child was alone. Since the child is not in the scene with anyone, those observations in which he was alone would not appear in the table even if the distributions had not been truncated.

Thus far the analysis of proximity has shown basically two things:

1) sex affects proximity

2) situation affects proximity

The next question is, if the situation is held constant, do sex differences persist? In Table 21, boys' and girls' distributions during free time are compared. In free time, the most vaguely defined of the three contexts, sex differences do exist. Boys are farther away from the nearest person than girls are. The Pitman test yields a p of less than .001.

Table 21

Comparison of the Distribution of Free-Time Distances Between Boys and the Person Nearest to Them with That Between Girls and the Person Nearest to Them

	Boys	Girls
Mean of Distribution:	3.65	2.89
Distance (Feet)	Frequency	Frequency
0	4	1
1	23	27
2	24	30
3	24	29
4	19	16
5	2	6
6	10	6
7	2	1
8	4	1
9	3	0
10	5	1
11	0	0
12	0	0
13	1	0
14	0	0
15	1	1
16	0	0
17	0	0
18	2	0
19	0	0
20	1	0
Total Frequency of Distribution	125	119

$t = 4.75$; $p = <.001$ (Pitman test in Siegel, 1956:155).

Distribution cut-off point set at 20 feet.

In Table 22, a comparison between the distribution of distances for boys and that for girls while caretaking is shown. In this comparison, the sex differences disappear. The two distributions are not significantly different. The effect of role on behavior, as exemplified by caretaking, can be powerful enough to wipe out sex differences.

Two difficult questions remain. The first is, what is the effect of herding with respect to sex differences? This query illustrates a basic problem of natural observations; it is not possible to get all the combinations of interest. It is not possible to parcel out the relative strength of sex and situation for herding because there are not enough observations of girls herding in order to compare their distribution of distances with that of boys to see whether the two distributions look the same.

The second question is, why do sex differences persist in free time? Is free time too vague to call a situation? Is there some general pervasive difference between the sexes, or is it a generalization of the degree of proximity which the boy or girl maintains when doing various tasks?

In summary, then, sex differences with respect to degree of proximity and variations in degree of proximity which are associated with different contexts have been shown. Finally, some evidence has been presented of the role of caretaking as relatively more important than sex in determining these variations.

Table 22

Comparison of the Distribution of Distances While Caretaking Between Boys and the Person Nearest to Them and That Between Girls and the Person Nearest to Them

	Boys	Girls
Mean of Distribution:	1.71	1.81
Distance (Feet)	Frequency	Frequency
0	23	56
1	12	27
2	10	23
3	4	5
4	3	3
5	0	0
6	1	2
7	0	0
8	0	1
9	0	2
10	0	2
11	0	0
12	1	1
13	0	0
14	0	0
15	0	0
16	0	1
17	0	0
18	1	0
19	0	0
20	0	2
Total Frequency of Distribution	55	125

t = .1855 (Pitman test in Siegel, 1956:155).

The two distributions are not significantly different.

Distribution cut-off point set at 20 feet.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined data from two points of view. One of these points of view is that of traditional trait and state personality psychology particularly as it developed from what might be called the traditional Yale school, which is a Hullian modification of Freudian psychology and which concerns itself basically with the psychodynamic meanings of the problems of behavior. From this viewpoint, aspects of two big problems were examined: sex and age, taking on of appropriate sex roles and becoming adults through the respective development of sexual identification and independence as each varies with different antecedents.

The second viewpoint is to understand some simple measures with respect to current behavior on the local scene. From a systematic sampling of overt behaviors in a natural context, sex differences in proximity were assessed and situational differences were also analyzed. Further, sex differences were examined in terms of situational differences.

The examination of the two cross-cultural hypotheses from the point of view of traditional personality psychology failed to demonstrate significant relationships. The exploratory examination of proximity, however, showed some strong regularities in behavior.

Problems of the Study

There are several problems of this study and of the Gusii case in particular which may have contributed to an inadequate testing of the two cross-cultural hypotheses relating household composition to aspects of child development.

The ages of the children in the sample may be inappropriate, e.g., too early for the conflict of sex identification to be strong and too late to examine early encouragement (or the lack of it) of independence.

The picture of mother-child exclusiveness among the Gusii is clouded by factors which may have varied effects on sex identification and independence. These effects are difficult to assess. The Gusii child nurse, who spends a great deal of time caring for and in body contact with the infant, is an important figure in the infant's life.[1] Also, there is a pattern which varies greatly from individual to individual of "child absence." A child may go to visit a relative, his maternal grandparents or his mother's married sister, either with his mother, with a sibling, or alone. He may visit overnight or for a year. Such visiting raises some questions, e.g., does this make him more independent (he may be away from home and from his mother, as well as his father)? With whom is he and who are the socializing agents there? Is his

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[1] Freudian anaclitic identification develops from the child's dependent love relationship with his caretaker, who is usually the mother.

mother's sister's husband present? Is his maternal grandfather present?

The Gusii men who do not live in their wives' houses also do not live in men's clubhouses. Gusii husbands visit their wives in the wives' houses and there is no formal post-partum sex taboo. Thus their residential separation from their families is not as sharp as it is in some societies and may be a poor functional equivalent of father absence. In addition, among the Gusii, there is considerable complexity of variation: household composition varies for fathers who are present. In addition, histories of father absence are complex for those currently present as well as those currently absent. When variation is complex and the sample is small, a relationship must be very strong for it to show up. The complexity of variation in the microcosm which has been used for this intracultural study is great and it could be said that the Gusii of Nyansongo do not provide an optimal or even a good case.

Minturn and Lambert (1964:255-57) have raised several issues which arise when hypotheses to be tested are shifted from a societal to an individual-differences level. Particularly of note is the following:

> Technically speaking, when we move from the societal level to the individual level, we encounter the increased error in assessment that arises from shifting from a generally more reliable average or mode, to the single score which characterizes an individual. This decreases the chances of any differences reaching significance either in our predicted direction or otherwise. The choice of a fair test of our hypotheses is thereby reduced. (Minturn and Lambert, 1964:256)

Some of the weaknesses of the Gusii case could possibly be remedied in such a way as to obviate the need to study another society altogether. The unit from which the sample of children for this study was drawn is a Primary Social Unit (PSU) (Whiting, Child, and Lambert et al., 1966:148). Something which approximates a PSU has probably been the most common unit for ethnographic studies. In the Six Cultures Study, in order to make comparisons between societies, the problem of selecting comparable social units was particularly important. A general guide to the selection of a PSU as presented in the Socialization Manual of the Six Cultures Study is as follows:

> . . . the primary social unit is a small group of families setting themselves off from the large society by some social factor in such a way that (a) they conceive of themselves as some sort of unit (i.e., have group identification), (b) they have frequent mutual interaction, and (c) they possess temporal and/or spatial stability. (Whiting, Child, and Lambert et al., 1966:148)

It is maintained in the Manual that it is essential that the total membership of the PSU be studied.

The purpose of the PSU they stated as follows:

1. The P. S. U. provides both antecedent and consequent variables from the same universe.
2. The P. S. U. is a social grouping which corresponds to a "culture" cut down to manageable size.
3. The P. S. U. is a group of interacting individuals. The interaction of its members is analogous to the interacting aspects of the individual's personality structure, i.e., a number of interacting psychological factors. (Whiting, Child, and Lambert et al., 1966:148-49)

Clearly, among the advantages of the PSU are the background

knowledge available to the anthropologist which may enable him, for example, to have some internal checks on the information most directly relevant to his study; and the familiarity and rapport necessary to gather some of that information such that it is maximally accurate and is collected with a minimum of stress. In addition, the PSU minimizes the physical distance the anthropologist may have to travel to reach the members of his otherwise possibly highly dispersed sample. For some studies, schools provide an excellent way around this problem.

It is equally apparent, however, that when testing a hypothesis and confronted by a complexity of variation and an unevenness of distribution in the values of the variables,[1] if it is desirable both to preserve the size of the sample and observe certain possible relationships under conditions which are minimally confused by interaction with other conditions, pairs matched for minimal differences must be selected. On the other hand, for anthropologists there is conflict between 1) sampling in the above suggested manner so as to make the conditions "clean" and the distributions even and thereby be better able to assess the proposed determinants and 2) finding variations in high frequency, naturally occurring (and possibly relatively simple as well) phenomena for which it is possible to seek to locate the determinants. In a

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[1]This is particularly true when considering current conditions as opposed to a description of the variable in question with historical depth; yet more reliable and valid inferential data can be obtained concerning concurrent events.

sense then, the anthropologist is caught between choosing a more experimental approach or one characterized by concern with natural context and occurrence which may presuppose a great flexibility of design to be appropriate to what is on the ground.

In general each run of the various measures has been restricted to one measure of the independent variable against one measure of the dependent variable. An exception to using single pairs of measures was the combination of different aspects of what was considered to be self-reliance in chore behavior and in addition, the separation of the sexes throughout, as sex differences are pervasive in a multitude of behaviors (Oetzel, 1962); but basically, the data were not analyzed in order to illuminate any higher order interactions of variables. It cannot be assumed that any one single item is a perfect measure of a variable but also no consistent tendencies were found to warrant combining different measures. There are, however, "moderator" variables, complex interactions among several variables that influence correlations obtained between any two variables, which do not presuppose the existence of any consistent tendencies. For example:

> . . . correlations between two response patterns may be found for males, but not for females, or may even be positive for one sex but negative for the other. Thus, if the correlations between two response patterns are examined for both sexes combined, the different relations that might be obtained if each sex were taken into account separately could become obscured. Similarly, relations between two measures might be positive for children with high IQ but negative for those with low IQ. In other words, there are complex interactions so that the relations between any two variables depend on several other variables. (Mischel, 1968:33)

Mischel then went on to state:

> This strategy of searching for interaction holds some promise. Since the interactions are obtained post hoc rather than predicted, however, considerable interpretative caution must be observed. Otherwise the analysis of the same data for many interactions provides many additional chances to obtain seemingly statistically significant results that actually monopolize on chance. That is, more "significant" associations occur by chance when more correlations are computed. (Mischel, 1968:33)

Basic Theoretical Issue

The other line of explanation of the lack of significant results in testing the cross-cultural hypotheses concerning sex identification and independence is a basic theoretical question in psychology today: that of the fallacy of trait dispositions. In a recent copiously documented book, Mischel (1968) supported what he calls social behavior theory, which emphasizes observable specific stimulus conditions rather than broad intrapsychic dynamics or dispositions, and emphasizes what a person does in situations rather than inferences about what attributes he has more globally. Personality constructs, he maintained, add little or nothing to the analysis and prediction of behavior.

Though Mischel stressed the fundamental unity between the experimenter's activities and those of the personality assessor and therapist, it is well to bear in mind that his primary concern was to choose a position consonant with procedures having the greatest relative efficacy in assessment of personality and therapy. Even if an individual's early history has had an effect (assuming

that one is able to reconstruct these events), the stimuli to change current behavior or symptoms do not involve early events and for the purpose of behavior modification, the relevant causes are the current conditions which control and maintain the current behavior. Nevertheless, social behavior theory does have broad important implications for all areas of the study of human behavior.

In anthropology there has been a similar shift away from the consideration of gross, broad ethnographic descriptions and global functional relationships and themes, toward attention to the specificity of context and flow charts of cultural rules. In linguistics, the growth of sociolinguistics is a somewhat parallel development.

Hartshorne and May (1928) showed that honesty or moral behavior of children is not strongly consistent across situations and measures. Since their study there has been voluminous, primarily unintended, empirical evidence that the stable, highly generalized predispositions proposed by trait and state theorists are unsupported. Yet these constructs about trait generality are retained in the face of persistently low correlations. There seem to be basically three reasons for such tenacity.

First, most psychological constructs have such broad and ambiguous semantic meanings and such diverse behavioral referents that they are virtually impossible to disconfirm definitively. A reasonable-sized correlation occurs just often enough to stimulate

the researcher to look at a somewhat different behavior as the important index of the same variable or perhaps to doubt his ability to measure his variable properly. But he does not question his concept. Indeed a great deal of effort has been expended to try to improve techniques of scale construction in the hope of increasing the predictive efficacy of tests. One study which compared different scale construction strategies concluded:

> . . . procedures of item grouping are probably not a cause of the relatively low coefficients typically reported in the psychometric literature, and therefore the guilty culprit might well be the inventory items themselves. . . . (Hase and Goldberg:1967 as quoted in Mischel, 1968:108)

Second, Mischel (1968) pointed out that the reason psychological constructs are broad is inextricably bound to the amount of information that can be processed by a human being at any one time. A large number of studies show very low correlations between specific behaviors across persons where the frequencies of these behaviors are actually counted. However, when raters are asked to intuitively rate their friends on how frequently their friends display these same behaviors, high correlations are obtained. People must categorize and in so doing they summarize complex, lengthy, or diverse behavior sequences into broad terms. Thus the belief in global response patterns as evidence for underlying structure is perpetuated. He stressed that the individual's phenomenology and constructions (which additionally he cited as among the most stable of human behaviors) irrespective of whether or not he is a "scientist," or it might here be added, an

"ethnoscientist," do not necessarily parallel, respectively, his or the "people's" other behaviors nor do they necessarily determine them.

D'Andrade (1965) has aptly shown that the correlations between traits have to do with underlying semantic dimensions, with unities in vocabulary, not in the way people behave. In those cases where there are high correlations between different behaviors, there is a semantic relationship, i.e., it is probably the same behavior which occurs often and is sometimes called by one name and sometimes called by another (D'Andrade, ms. b).

Third, D'Andrade (ms. b) said that the fact that human beings do have high frequency behaviors has contributed to the notion of behavioral consistency. Failure to distinguish replicability from generality has been the cause of confusion. Generality is defined as co-occurring behaviors bound to a psychological trait. Replicability is defined as high frequency behaviors or an individual's behavioral repetitiveness, at least in the constricted number of settings in which any other single individual usually sees him. Thus behavior may be predictable without being general: one behavior need not co-vary with other particular behaviors and the high frequency behaviors for one individual are not necessarily those for another.

Further, D'Andrade (ms. b) showed how the sharing of a construct (semantic element) plus the high frequency of an individual's behavior (replicability element) work together in leading to a

false idea of the generality of behavior. Suppose that negative attention-getting is a high frequency behavior for one child but he does not frequently perform other "dependent" behaviors such as asking for reassurance or clinging to adults. Nevertheless, it can be seen that child does a great deal of negative attention-getting and he will be called "dependent," though this is the only one of the cluster of so-called dependency behaviors that he does. The semantic trick of jumping up to the next higher taxonomic level to talk about the child's behavior is used. It would be more accurate to say "isn't he a negative attention-getter." Another child who often clings to his mother will be called "dependent" also and thus two children will be called dependent though in each case the labelling is based on different high frequency behaviors for each child. Nevertheless through semantic labelling, people come to feel that all the "dependent" behaviors co-vary with each other and, indeed, for some children the behaviors may cluster.

The theoretical issue of the fallacy of trait dispositions is relevant to the cross-cultural hypotheses which have been tested in this study. Both hypotheses implicitly deal with relatively global and historical aspects of the child-rearing process and are also concerned with the subtle relationship variable of "mother-child exclusiveness": generally, the correlations between these broad parental child-rearing conditions and the child's later behavior have been very low (e.g., Sears, Rau, and Alpert, 1965).

The various measures made in this study of the constructs of sexual identification and independence should show internal consistency. Actually, the results of research on the correlates of individual differences, whether they are considered part of the same construct or not, are usually only modestly associated when diverse behaviors are sampled by the different measures. Associations tend to be of high magnitude chiefly when behaviors are measured by redundant means.

The present study illustrates well the common irony of the "inconsistent construct." In fact, none of the measures of sex identification significantly intercorrelated with each other. None of the self-reliance measures run on the one hand within subject across all chores, or on the other hand, within chore across all subjects, showed any significant intercorrelations. There were, however, strong correspondences between various measures of distance--mean, median, and various scales of setting distance. These are measures of essentially the same thing; the strong relationships are not independent outcomes.

It should be underlined that the problem with the measures of sex identification is not that they do not discriminate between the sexes. They do. For example, 13 of the 23 boys and 15 of the 20 girls made no cross-sex choice on the sex role preference test. Of the 10 boys who made cross-sex choices, only 4 of them made more than 1. Of the 5 girls who made cross-sex choices, only 1 made more than 1 such choice. No child made all three possible

cross-sex choices. It may be that these measures show something about "identification" but they do not shed much light on "problems in identifying."

The research paradigm of the cross-cultural hypotheses intended to predict personality development has not proved productive in this study, so the investigation has turned to something more molecular and more practical. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with complex, hidden intervening variables; but when predictions are neither strong nor consistent, a more direct approach would seem in order. One goal is to establish a causal nexus between observables. In this study, a beginning has been made. Strong sex differences in proximity have been shown using two distinct measures of distance: median distance to the nearest person and median distance to the most frequent companion. Significant variations associated with the different contexts of caretaking, herding, and free time have been shown. Finally, some evidence of the neutralization of sex differences by situation has been shown, i.e., boys and girls are similar with respect to proximity while playing the role of caretaker.

APPENDIX A

CHILD ACTIVITY OBSERVATIONS

Sample Protocol

Observation Schedule

Some Comments About Procedure
for Behavior Observations

Suggested Revisions to Improve
Observation Protocols

SAMPLE PROTOCOL

NAME _____ DATE _____
HOMESTEAD NO. _____ TIME _____

1. WHAT IS CHILD HOLDING? RIGHT HAND _____
   LEFT HAND _____
   BOTH HANDS _____
2. DESCRIBE WHAT CHILD IS DOING WITH HANDS (AND OBJECTS IN HANDS)
   _____
3. WHERE IS CHILD? FARTHER THAN ADJOINING LOT _____
   ADJOINING LOT _____
   OWN LOT _____
   HOUSE OR YARD--NOT OWN--SAME LOT _____
   OWN YARD _____
   OWN HOUSE _____
4. DISTANCE OF CHILD FROM OWN DOOR
   OWN HOUSE _____
   OWN YARD AREA _____
   NOT IN OWN YARD, UP TO 50 FEET FROM NEAREST HOUSE DOOR _____
   50-100 FEET FROM NEAREST HOUSE DOOR _____
   OVER 100 FEET FROM NEAREST HOUSE DOOR _____
5. WHO IS CHILD WITH? 1) _____ 2) _____
   3) _____ 4) _____
6. ARE PEOPLE LISTED IN 5 DOING SOMETHING <u>WITH</u> CHILD? DESCRIBE.
   _____
7. IF MOTHER NOT LISTED ABOVE, WHERE IS SHE (IN FEET)? _____
   WHAT IS SHE DOING? _____
8. MOTHER IN CHILD'S SIGHT? YES/NO
9. WHO IS THE CLOSEST ADULT? _____
   DISTANCE FROM CHILD (IN FEET) _____
   ACTIVITY _____
10. IS THE CHILD A CARETAKER FOR A YOUNGER SIBLING? YES/NO
    IF SO, WHO? _____
    WHERE IS YOUNGER CHILD? _____
    ASK: WAS CHILD DIRECTED TO DO WHAT HE IS DOING BY ANYONE? YES/NO
    WHO? _____

OBSERVER _____

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

	Week Days	Observer A	Observer B
Morning	1,5,9,13	Group 1	Group 2
Afternoon	1,5,9,13	Group 3	Group 4
Morning	2,6,10,14	Group 4	Group 3
Afternoon	2,6,10,14	Group 2	Group 1
Morning	3,7,11	Group 2	Group 1
Afternoon	3,7,11	Group 4	Group 3
Morning	4,8,12	Group 3	Group 4
Afternoon	4,8,12	Group 1	Group 2

	Saturdays	Observer A	Observer B
Morning	1	Group 2	Group 1
Afternoon	1	Group 4	Group 3
Morning	2	Group 3	Group 4
Afternoon	2	Group 1	Group 2
Morning	3	Group 2	Group 1
Afternoon	3	Group 4	Group 3

	Sundays	Observer A	Observer B
Morning	1	Group 3	Group 4
Afternoon	1	Group 1	Group 2
Morning	2	Group 2	Group 1
Afternoon	2	Group 4	Group 3
Morning	3	Group 3	Group 4
Afternoon	3	Group 1	Group 2

SOME COMMENTS ABOUT PROCEDURE
FOR BEHAVIOR OBSERVATIONS

(for the observers, August 1967)

1. Each day you will each be given a sheet which says which Groups you are to observe in the morning and which Groups you are to observe in the afternoon. The sheet will also indicate who is to do morning reliability observations and upon which children and who is to do the afternoon reliability observation and upon which child.

2. Bring copies of Observation Sample Groups[1] each day without fail.

3. Find the child if it is at all reasonable; otherwise get a report from an adult as to where he is, what he is doing, if he was sent to do what he is doing, how long he has been gone, with whom he went, when he will be back.

   If the child is away visiting, find out where he has gone, with whom, to visit whom, when he will be back.

4. Try to make your observations, ask your questions, and then move away to do most of your writing. You will find this way, you will not have to interact with the people very much and it will save you a lot of time.

   Ask the questions: Where is the mother?

   Is the child taking care of at the moment another child? (note: he may not be doing much, but he may be officially in charge of another child).

   Ask, whether you think you can guess or not, each time whether the child has been directed to do what he is doing.

   When you ask the questions ask an adult or the most grown person around; only ask the child as a last resort.

5. If the child is not moving about in or near the house (especially if he is lying down), ask if he is sick: ask an adult this question.

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[1]Each observer was given sheets containing the Sample Observation Groups; the sample is divided into four groups on the basis of contiguity; one group appears on each of four sheets. All the names of the children are listed, along with their homestead numbers and the names of their parents.

6. If the child is in the house, say or ask whatever is proper to say or ask in ekegusii in order to enter the house and enter it quickly. Do not wait until the child comes out of the house. You must go to where the child is immediately upon ascertaining where he is.

7. It is very important for us to know distances precisely. Of course the closer the child is to home, the more important it is to make a fine distinction in feet. I have been thinking about the problem of measuring distance; for large distances, the best way is to estimate the distance to the nearest house or landmark and draw a picture of where the child is in relation to that house or landmark (specifying on whose land it is etc.). We can then later measure the distance more precisely to the child's house. In short, carefully describe where the child is.

8. On the part of the protocol following 'who is the child with' definitely include in same room or within 10 feet. Note in parentheses how far away these people are from the child (in feet). Also note in parentheses the distance in feet of anyone else you consider is with or in the same scene with the child.

9. Remember we are interested in what the child is doing the very instant that the observation is made; for example, if the child is playing ball and the ball is not in his hand (i.e., he may have just thrown it) when you make the observation, then he has nothing in his hand, even though you can see by his position that it just left his hand. You may comment on the total play situation but be sure to distinguish it from what you actually see at the instant you observe.

10. Observations will be from about 8:30-11:30 a.m. and about 1:30-4:30 p.m.; there will be review and discussion of the protocols which have just been filled in, following each observation period.

11. Try to vary the order in which you observe the children in each group as much as possible; in this way you will have some early, middle, and late observations both for the morning and for the afternoon for each child.

SUGGESTED REVISIONS TO IMPROVE OBSERVATION PROTOCOLS

(when numbers are used they refer to changes in items with the same numbers already on the protocols)

A.

Body position of child: Sitting
Standing
Walking
Running
Climbing
Other

---

re: 3. Where is child? own house
own yard
House or yard--not own--same lot
own lot
adjoining lot
house or yard, adjoining lot
farther than adjoining lot
house or yard, farther than adjoining lot
farther than farther than adjoining lot
house or yard, farther than farther than adjoining lot

---

re: 4. Distance of child in feet from:
(answer all three of the following)
1. nearest door of mother's house
2. nearest door of house where child resides (if different from 1)
3. nearest house door (if different from 1 and 2)

---

re: 6. Instead of 'are people listed in 5 doing something <u>with</u> child' note the following:

Is child talking? Yes/No to whom? _____
Is anyone talking to child? Yes/No Who? _____
Is child looking at anyone? Yes/No at whom? _____
Is anyone looking at child? Yes/No Who? _____

(one distinction which is very hard to make and which makes No. 6 as it stands a weak question is that between parallel activity and cooperative or joint activity, i.e., are two people merely doing the same thing at the same time or are they doing it "together"?)

B.
After No. 7 also ask:

If Father Not Listed Above, Where is He (In Feet)?
What Is He Doing?
Is He In Child's Sight? Yes/No

---

re: 10. Substitute word 'child' for word 'sibling'

---

re: 10. Add to 'Ask: Was Child Directed To Do What He Is Doing By Anyone? Yes/No'; revise it as follows:

When was the child directed to do what he was doing? (rough estimate only, e.g. a few minutes ago, early this morning, etc.--this is an experiment and may be very unsuccessful);

try: just a little while ago ____
that morning ____
that afternoon ____
other _____

APPENDIX B

SEX IDENTIFICATION MEASURE 1: PREFERENCE FOR SEX-TYPED ROLES

Which would you rather be?

*1. boy ___
girl ___

2. old man ___
father ___

3. mother ___
girl ___

*4. old woman ___
old man ___

*5. father ___
mother ___

6. girl ___
old woman ___

7. boy ___
old man ___

8. father ___
old woman ___

9. mother ___
old man ___

10. old woman ___
boy ___

11. old man ___
girl ___

12. boy ___
mother ___

13. girl ___
father ___

14. motner ___
old woman ___

15. father ___
boy ___

*These are the pairs that constitute pure sex choices.

APPENDIX C

SEX IDENTIFICATION MEASURE 2:
IMITATION OF SAME-SEX VS. OPPOSITE-SEX PARENT'S CHOICES
(Modified Version of Hartup, 1964)

Equipment: wooden dolls: a mother, a father
a boy (for male subjects)
a girl (for female subjects)

pairs of objects exactly alike: cars, dogs, red cards, green blocks, cards with black dots scattered on them

---

Score Sheet (LEFT and RIGHT refer to position with respect to the subject)

1. Father says he wants to buy this car (LEFT)
   Mother says she wants to buy this car (RIGHT)

   Child: ___ FATHER ___ MOTHER

2. Mother wants to take this dog home (LEFT)
   Father wants to take this dog home (RIGHT)

   Child: ___ MOTHER ___ FATHER

3. Mother says this color is prettier (RIGHT)
   Father says this color is prettier (LEFT)

   Child: ___ MOTHER ___ FATHER

4. Father says this block is higher (RIGHT)
   Mother says this block is higher (LEFT)

   Child: ___ FATHER ___ MOTHER

5. Mother says this card has more dots (LEFT)
   Father says this card has more dots (RIGHT)

   Child: ___ MOTHER ___ FATHER

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