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"You Best Read It to Me My Dear": Methodological Issues with Marginally Literate Subjects

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Abstract

An analysis of case examples from a study of women's experience of menopause in a Newfoundland fishing village, demonstrates the problems inherent in using questionnaires among marginally literate or illiterate populations. Evidence demonstrates that not only are the questions misunderstood by the respondents but also that questionnaires by themselves may inadvertently generate their own peculiar form of native menopause lore. Special consideration is given to describing the methodological problems of anthropological fieldwork in a small community.

Introduction

From October 1977 to December 1978, I conducted an anthropological study of women's experience of middle aging in a southwest coast Newfoundland fishing village called Grey Rock Harbour¹. During the study both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used. Fieldwork is the hallmark research method of the cultural anthropologist. As a participant observer, I joined in the daily lives of the village women. Grey Rock Harbour women lead extremely active social lives and so did I.

As is the fashion of local women, my afternoons were spent visiting and my evenings were spent attending the numerous village-wide social activities that are an important part of women's lives. So that my data would be comparable to data collected from other studies of the climacteric, ethnographic observations were supplemented by questionnaires that had been designed for cross-cultural use. Although I had not assumed that the women would be able to read or write, I did assume that they would have no difficulty responding orally to open-ended questions and questions with multiple choice answer options. Additionally, I assumed that there would be a minimal problem with language and communication since I was dealing with an English speaking population.

The original intention of my study was to compare women's experience of menopause in my Newfoundland sample to Neugarten, Wood and Loomis's (1963) sample of United States' middle-class women. Besides collecting a large amount of demographic and life history data specifically relevant to the Newfoundland women (Davis, 1983a), I planned to administer slightly modified versions of the Datan, Antonovsky, and Maoz (1981) Socio-cultural Patterns and Involutional Crises Interview Schedule [SPIC] and the Neugarten, Wood, and Loomis (1963) Attitudes Towards Menopause Checklist CATMI. The primary goal of the study was to collect cross-culturally comparable quantitative data. More qualitative information

based on ethnographic observation was to be used to supplement and interpret quantitative findings. In actuality when the fieldwork was finished, I had little faith in the validity and reliability of my quantifiable results².

Since I have already written extensively on outport society (Davis, 1982; 1983a; 1983b; 1984; 1986b; 1989), and on how culture (as an effector of women's experience of middle aging and menopause) acts in ways that are not readily amenable to quantitative measurement (Davis, 1983a; 1985; 1986a; 1986c), I will not focus on these issues here. In this paper I would like to use my own fieldwork experiences to discuss the problems which any researcher can expect to encounter when attempting to combine qualitative and quantitative research methods. In the analysis that follows Grey Rock Harbour is presented as a prototype of a small, traditional and marginally literate population that, with some justification, is suspicious of the intentions of strangers³.

I will explain how combining fieldwork with questionnaires brought both the assets and liabilities of each method into fore. Case examples are used to illustrate the problems that reliance on questionnaire surveys among marginally literate or illiterate populations may incur. First, I will discuss how people that have not been exposed to academic research or researchers may fail to adequately understand the nature of the research process and thus consciously or unconsciously thwart the effectiveness of a particular

study. This is especially true when that research seeks information on topics (such as menses and menopause) that are conversational taboos or to make public highly personal or intimate aspects of life. Second, statements from informants illustrate how the menopause experiences of women are inadequately tapped by questionnaires from other researcher's or the informant's point of view. Finally, special consideration is given to describing the process by which the questionnaires came to generate their own peculiar native menopause lore.

Problems of Access to Data

According to Margaret Lock (1986), low response rates (10-15%) to menopause surveys among Japanese women are due in part to the fact that Japanese women receive so many mail surveys that the responsibility of filling them out becomes quite onerous. Apathy, not illiteracy is a problem in Japan. Newfoundland women are not likely to respond to surveys either. But they are hardly apathetic. A Newfoundland survey can generate a great deal of excitement not to mention misunderstanding. Since marginal literacy or illiteracy poses limitations on the nature of data collection in this population, data must be gathered through telephone or personal interviews. Although exposed every five years to census takers (who locals suspect are government spies checking for welfare, fishing or tax fraud), Harbour folk

are not used to academic researchers or familiar with their purposes and methods. While I was in Grey Rock Harbour, two survey attempts met with disastrous results. I doubt that either interviewer had any idea about the nature of the villager's suspicious reactions to their inquiries. Both of these examples illustrate the strategic importance of long terms residence and participant observation in the community of study.

Case I - The Black Stranger

Strangers are rare in Grey Rock Harbour. As soon as one is sighted, village women telephone each other trying to figure out why the stranger is there. In early spring a stranger stopped at the local post office to ask if there was a place to eat nearby. The postal clerk directed him to an adjacent village and asked what had brought him to this place. The stranger responded that he had come to ask husbands and wives some questions about the reading habits of their children. While the stranger was sent to a neighboring village for his meal, curious locals began to speculate about the purposes of his visit. The stranger was Black, drove a big black car and wore a long black coat. To me he was a very urbane sophisticated Black gentlemen. To The Harbour folk he was "The Black Stranger" [the devil incarnate]⁴. Gossip and speculation about this unusual character spread like wildfire through the village. Everyone wanted to know what the Black Stranger was up to? Was he a government spy, a proselytizing Jehovah's witness, a new social worker, or even another anthropologist? Why did he want to see husbands with their wives? Why was he so concerned about children?

By looking out their windows most people have a panoramic view of the village. That afternoon I was a part of the community of observers who watched, hidden behind drawn curtains, as the Black man knocked on one door after another to no avail⁵. Not one person was home. As soon as the stranger would leave, lookouts would use the telephones to warn the women in the

house he was heading towards next⁶. Finally on the far side of the village, a curious woman, whose husband was at home, let the Black Stranger into her kitchen. After asking a series of questions about what kinds of reading material they kept for the children in the house he tried to sell them a very expensive children's book collection. When he asked why no one was home, our brave respondent replied that everyone worked at the fishing or fish plant all day and all night and were never at home. If he wanted to find people at home he would have to return in August⁷.

At this time I really began to appreciate the decision I had made to sacrifice large sample size to in-depth research with a smaller population⁸. By taking the time to establish rapport with my informants, I gained welcomed entrance into every village household. The Black Stranger was particularly frightening, but any well dressed stranger knocking on doors could have received similar treatment. Harbour folk have a long tradition of being suspicious of the motives of outsiders. The importance of long-term participant observation as a research strategy was further brought home to me through a series of events which were actually shaped by my own presence in the village. Case II describes the lack of interviewing success encountered by a telephone interviewer.

Case II - The Phantom Caller

Soon after the Black Stranger episode, a neighboring woman was called for a telephone interview. According to the woman, a female interviewer had asked a number of questions about her health and then wanted to know how many children she had and what kinds of birth control she used. She immediately

called me and asked what was going on and what she was supposed to have done. The birth control interview was the major topic of joking and talking among the 68 women who attended church darts that night. Because I was also conducting my interviews at that time, the women asked me if I knew anything about this and also asked me for advice on what they were supposed to say if they were called. I reiterated the same informed consent spiel I had been using for my own interviews. I responded that this individual was in no way associated with me. I told them that it was their choice to participate or not. The interviewer had the responsibility of informing them who she was, why she was calling and for what purpose the information they gave would be used. Most importantly, they had the right to refuse to participate or not to answer any question that they did not feel comfortable answering. The next day about 20 women were called. Most of them refused to participate saying they already had their own interviewer. One woman even said, "I told her [the telephone interviewer] a bunch of lies so's you'd be the only one who got it right." The women felt that this kind of information ought to be saved for me and me alone, since I cared enough to live there to get it.

Each of these examples illustrate how difficult it can be to do interviewing in a place like Grey Rock Harbour. A history of exploitation and oppression often leave people in economically and socially marginal settings, like Grey Rock Harbour, with good reason to be suspicious and fearful of outsiders (Sider 1986). I lived in the village for nine months before I started interviewing. People liked me and trusted me. They found my interview questions to be offensive but were willing to participate in my study because we had become friends.

Communication Problems in Questionnaire Research

The problems of doing survey questionnaire research in settings like Grey Rock Harbour do not stop once you get your foot in the door. Not only was I trespassing on the intimate domain, my questions were perceived as confusing if not outright "stunned" [stupid] by my informants. One of the major limitations of survey questions or directed response studies is the assumption that all populations have the skills and desire to do well on the tests and that the researcher and the respondent share similar frames of reference. Additional factors which I found to undermine the validity and utility of my own quantitative measures include the assumptions that respondents can rank responses along linear continua (Likert scales) and that the questionnaire items contain sufficient contextual information. When interviewing I took notes on women's responses to the questions I was asking. In some cases these comments were extensive. In retrospect it seems to have been a wise decision. Based on my notes, the next two examples illustrate the problems which can arise when informants, many of whom have had no formal schooling, lack basic test taking skills.

Because I knew the village women would have literacy problems, I was fully prepared to read questions to them and to explain words and phrases with which they may not be familiar. However, I was not prepared for the amount of explaining I would have to do in order to make the

question relevant. Nor, had I anticipated the extent to which the multiple choice answer format was incompatible with local conversational styles. The following cases illustrate the problem that Harbour women tended to have with multiple choice answers and psychometric measures. Case III challenges the assumption that amounts of worry can be ranked along a linear continuum. There is a section on the Datan, Antonovsky, and Maoz (1981) interview schedule which is used to assess topics (such as husband's health, your own health, finances, growing old etc.) and degrees of worry they evoke (1. especially worried, 2. quite worried, 3. not so worried, 4. almost not at all worried, or 0. not relevant). The purpose of Datan's questions is to elicit responses which will show if and how the nature of life stressors may change over the life cycle. What this question does not foresee is that in Grey Rock Harbour worry is a hypercognitized emotion--a complex concept of affect expressed through complicated conversational rules (Davis 1983a, 1984, 1986a, 1986b, 1989). The simplistic rankings demanded of this woman were out-of-sync with local "worry talk" and our conversation illustrates her attempt to come to terms with the interview situation. Although this woman represents an extreme case, the verbal exchange generated by this supposedly straightforward question illustrates the problem she had both in understanding the nature of the inquiry and in

ranking the categories of worry. In this and the following examples "I" (interviewer) refers to myself and "S" (subject) to the Harbour woman.

Case III

- I: To what extent do you have worries and problems about your work about the house? Are you 1. especially worried, 2. quite worried, 3. not so worried, 4. almost not at all worried or 0. not relevant?
- S: Which do you mean dear? Worry or problems? You can have one without the other you know. Mabel over in Crow Cove....
- I: This is about you. (Repeat question and answer items 1-4,0.)
- S: Well my dear, why you ask that is beyond me, but I do tells you, I do worry some awful. To tell the truth, I worry more than most, always have... [I] got it from my own mother, her nerves you see...
- I: What about worry over your work in the house?
- S: Tell me again what I'm supposed to say?
- I: (Repeat question and answer items 1-4, 0.)
- S: I used to find it worrisome when my mother-in-law was living with us. She wouldn't let me alone... [she] said I never knew how to do anything right. Is that what you mean?
- I: Is it a worry for you now - at your present age?
- S: What does that 1 mean again?
- I: Especially worried.
- S: And the others?
- I: (Repeat question and answer items 1-4,0.)
- S: What's the difference between "quite" and "not so" worried?
- I: The "quite" means you're more worried than the "almost not at all" does.
- S: That's not how we mean it, my dear. I'd say "quite" was the four, not the "almost not at all."
- I: That's not the question. Here "quite" means more "than not at all." Do you worry about housework now?
- S: No, I shan't be so silly as to get all worked up over that. Give me naught. That's how we say zero.
- I: That means it's not relevant.
- S: What does relevant mean?
- I: Here, it would mean you don't do housework, like if I asked you about your husband and you didn't have one.

- S: This test is some stunned [dumb].I have a husband.
I: I know, but do you worry about your work in the house?
S: I find doing the dishes four times a day [to be] a bother.
I: I think worry here is supposed to mean stress, or anxiety.
S: What?
I: Like does it get on your nerves?
S: Well then dear, you understand it better than I, you check what you sees fit.
I: You tell me what you think first.
S: Either you worry or you don't. Some days it grates on my nerves. Some days it doesn't.
I: Housework?
S: No that'd be foolish, unless mother's trying to help and its spring cleaning time. I worries that she's too old but you can't hold her back. Poor dear's had one hard life.
I: (Repeat the question and answer items 1-4,0.)
S: What did Betty tell you on this one?
I: This one's for you. I need your answer.
S: It's hard to say, I want to do well on this test but I must be some stunned because I'd never thought about it like this.
I: It's not a test. In this case you're the expert, you have all the right answers. I'm just here to learn from you.
S: Well my dear, if that's how you see it, I'll take the five.
I: There's no five. (Repeat answers for items 1-4,0.)
S: O.K. It's probably a lie but I'll take the four.
I: Thanks, ready for the next question?

Not only was my informant constrained by the ranking system, she was considerably frustrated by her inability to express the numerous ramifications of the local meaning of worry within the confines of the question.

Another example shows how informants rarely felt qualified to agree or disagree with abstract statements where they felt that sufficient information was lacking. The respondent below feels unable to make a

judgment about an item of the ATM because she feels that the statement is too removed from individual experience and that not enough information is contained in the statement to merit conclusive judgment.

Case IV

- I: Agree or disagree. Going through the menopause (the change] really does not change a woman in any important way.
- S: You mean does "the change" change a woman?
- I: Yes.
- S: Why do you think it's called "the change?" We say "change from women into child." That means there's no more babies.
- I: Is that important?
- S: Depends, I wasn't for me. I was glad to see the end of it.
- I: Agree or disagree. (Repeat the question.)
- S: Well it was important for Emmie she was always hoping for a little boy.
- I: Do you think this is generally true for women in the Harbour? (Repeat question.)
- S: Well, there's Victoria who took to nerves on the change, and Annie uses the vaseline you know.
- I: Yes, but is it important for women in general?
- S: My dear, I can only speak for myself. I would not be fair to speak for others.
- I: (Repeat question.)
- S: This is some silly. You don't know and you don't care til it happens to you. But then you're too young to know that, my dear.
- I: Yes, but when you talk about the change with your friends you must come to some kind of conclusion.
- S: Well, my dear, you talk to my friends, I can only speak for myself.
- I: Well, answer the best you can, I've got to check something. (Repeat question.)
- S: O.K., the first one...agree is it?

Although she knew about these changes, my informant was unwilling to judge whether or not they were important changes or important for

women in general. This is a typical response in small village settings and makes the results of all paper and pencil tests suspect, unless they have also been verified by less formal questioning and ethnographic observation.

Other issues raised by my research experience concern the reliability, validity and cultural appropriateness of standardized assessment strategies. The combination multiple choice and open-ended questions on the survey along with my prolonged association with informants, daily participation in gossip networks and firsthand observation of behavior in context, provided excellent opportunities to cross check or validate much of my data.

Ethnographic Validation

A major problem with my questionnaire was the lack of agreement between parts of the questionnaire (Davis 1983a). Women were highly inconsistent in their responses and would constantly change their answers from one section of the interview schedule to another. Some women would consciously change or reassess their answers during the interview. For example, if I asked a woman if she had ever experience a hot flash, she would immediately say "no", consider her answer for a while and then say, "To tell the truth I tells a lie, I got 'um after my third husband drowned, but they t'weren't nothing to mark". Other women were less likely to point out

incongruities in their answers. For example a woman would agree with the ATM statement that the change does not change you in any important way. But when she was asked the open-ended version of this question in another section of the interview she would respond, "My dear, I haven't been the same since ... no one ever is." Likewise, a woman who told me, "I sailed right through it--I can't understand where all this racket you hear about the change comes from. We [Newfoundlander] must be coming up a weaker race" is reputed by village gossips to have had the one of the most difficult times on 'the change' in modern memory. When I confronted her with this discrepancy (at a later date) she told me, "Well yes, my dear, but I didn't know you so well then." An excellent source of information was my landlady, the subject of my first interview. When I came back from an interview she would ask, "Now what did Evelyn tell you?" I told her that my interviews were confidential, but my landlady would go on to tell me her view of how Evelyn should have answered the questions. This was a good source for cross-checking the data and shows the importance of participation observation or ethnographic validation (Davis 1985).

The Drawbacks

Being a part of village life was not always helpful. In order to gain the respect, confidence and cooperation of local women, I tried to live up

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to local standards of female comportment and behavior. My behavior in the field reflected on the reputations of the families with which I lived. As fictive kin, I was included in all their family celebrations and outings and became constrained to a considerable extent by local mores (Davis 1986c). This in turn had an effect on the process of participant observation and the interview process. I was in the position of asking women intimate questions about themselves and their bodies that were not considered to be an appropriate topic of conversation, especially between non-related women of different generations. In deference to my education, women were generally willing to answer any questions I asked. At the completion of several interviews, I was told that I had just obtained information that had never been passed on to another living soul. However when it came to questions about sex and sexuality, my insider status gave me much greater potential to offend than a stranger, who could be easily refused or misled, would have had. Questions about sexual behavior were a particularly sensitive topic and are considered inappropriate for one acquaintance to ask another. Datan, Antonovsky, and Maoz (1981) were interested in how climacteric status may affect sexual behavior. Initially, I included Datan's sexuality questions in my interview schedule and decided to drop them after several incidents like the following:

Case V

- I: As you know, there are couples who don't get along in sexual relations, although in other areas they get along very well. How was this for you over the years--were you very satisfied, satisfied, or not satisfied by sexual relations over the years?
- S: What!
- I: (Repeat question.)
- S: Well, well; well, well, well ... such a question!
- I: Can you answer it?
- S: Are you going to ask anyone else or just me?
- I: It's on the list. I'm supposed to ask everyone.
- S: I'll tell you my dear. For me it's best now it ever was but you'd better not ask anyone else.
- I: Why?
- S: They'll run you out of town.
- I: Oh. Is there some way to reword it?
- S: I've never heard a bad word about you all this time, but all it takes is one dirty little thing like this....

In local parlance in the context of sexuality "satisfaction" or "satisfied" means "orgasm". Sex is considered to be a very personal matter and is not even a topic of conversation among married women⁸. While sex is a constant topic of discussion and joking, one never inquires about personal aspects of other's sex lives in the direct fashion of the Datan question. Asking about orgasms is considered particularly lewd and unseemly⁹. I had substantially fewer problems with women I was less intimately acquainted with when it came to sections on sexuality. For the most part I simply reworded the questions and fit them into a more open discussion format. I did learn the most about sexual practices in general and

Davis: "You Best Read It to Me My Dear": Methodological Issues with Marg orgasms in particular from talking to women who were drinking or from joking with women after viewing X-rated films¹⁰.

Generating a Tradition: "The heroic menopause"

It is easier to detect and analyze the parts of the research process than it is to see its implications as a whole. In this section, I will consider the extent to which my questionnaires and ethnographic methods actually helped to shape women's conceptualizations of menopause in Grey Rock Harbour. My very focus on menopause gave the topic a saliency it would not ordinarily have had in village life. For one thing it gave the "mid change of life" its own term¹¹. My interviews forced women to think about their reproductive experiences in a new way. Women often answered interview queries with a statement to the effect that 'I never thought of it before'. The questions I was asking the women, in turn, raised new questions about their own experiences and became popular topics of village-wide gossip and discussion. The fact that an educated outsider would devote one and one-half years to study their experience of middle aging and then another two years to writing a book about it has fostered the belief that they, as well as me, are "experts on the menopause." As such, locals are called from relatives and friends in other villages to give advice on menopause.

To a certain extent the "Grey Rock Harbour menopause" is both an artifact of my methods of data gathering as well as locally derived phenomena. I have already commented on how the suspicion that this was a morality or intelligence test in disguise influenced women's responses to the questionnaires (Davis 1986a). However, I also suspect that the entire interview format itself is partially responsible for the extent to which attitudes towards menopause were negative and related to the local ethos of hardship and stoicism.

In order to make each woman comfortable with the interview situation¹², I opened each interview by requesting the informant to tell me about her life. The life history is a well developed form of expressive oral lore in Grey Rock Harbour. In a tales-for-posterity-fashion, it chronicles the hardships and adventures each woman has experienced. Based on personal experience a series of stories are used to portray the woman as having wit and ingenuity as well as physical endurance and emotional strength. When well told, these stories elicit laughter, tears, and a profound sense of admiration. I followed these life histories with the questions from the Datan et al. SPIC (1981), which is designed to gather data on mood, self-esteem, status of women, changing life styles, marital, and intergenerational relations as well as reproductive histories. The life histories often set a tone for the dramatization of local lifeways which was reinforced by the fact that I often

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combined the menopause interviews with fishermen's wives "blood" and
"nerves" interviews (Davis 1983a). As I combined these topical issues with
menopause so did the Harbour women. Menopause became associated with
a lifetime of worry and hardship, and a negative and heroic image of
menopause may have been inadvertently created through collaboration of
researcher and researched.

Moreover, as part of my informed consent spiel, I had told my
informants that hopefully the more we knew about women's experience of
menopause in different cultural settings, the more we would be able to
understand it and help women who were having troubles at this time of life.
As the Grey Rock Harbour women came to understand it, they were to be
used as a role models for what they considered to be weak, spoiled and
pampered U.S. women¹³. This elicited a judgmental aspect to their
ruminations on menopause that I had not anticipated. The core lesson these
women felt they had to pass on to their more affluent counterparts on the
mainland was the value of hard work and stoic endurance. Menopause was
to be put up with and not given into. Most importantly menopausal women
were not to become burdens to others.

Through my study, I had created concern over a process that was
once considered normal and not worthy of much comment. These women
are now sensitized to the climacteric as never before. Given their own

proclivities they never would have wanted to become an example or lesson to others.

Afterwards

In this paper, I have tried to show some of the strategic issues which underlie researcher-informant relations. Research problems do not end once you get your foot in the door (which itself is no easy task). Nor does the completion of data collection, analysis, and publication bring the impact of the research process to an end. I am just beginning to realize the effects of my own study¹⁴.

Methodological problems plague every study of menopause and every so-called scientific endeavor be it anthropological, endocrinological, epidemiological, etc. Problems of analysis are compounded when we cross cultures or enter into societies different from our own. Mail or impersonal surveys raise few of the ethical concerns that community study and anthropological fieldwork does. Why then, despite all the limitations, strategic and ethical is it still worthwhile?

Although the interest in menopause research originates in clinically constructed models, it is important to remember that menopause is a normal, universally experienced life event. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods have their methodological and benefits. A good cross-

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cultural study should include both methods (Kaufert, Lock, McKinlay, Beyene, Davis, Coop, Eliasson, Gongnalons-Nicolet, Goodman, and Holte, 1986). It is imperative that we continue to develop and design research instruments that are sensitive to the problems of data gathering among the marginally literate or illiterate so that we have data that is comparable across a diverse range of socio-cultural settings. However, it is also important to recognize that the meaning of women's experience of this process is inseparable from the more culture-bound socio-cultural matrix in which they live out their daily lives. Although the impact of any study can be profound for the individuals of the small community and the small community itself, such studies are worthwhile. Small communities are not simple, however they do provide a useful and holistic setting, against which the complex interactions of socio-cultural factors as they affect women's experience of middle aging may be studied. This article provides no easy solutions for evaluating the comparative merits of qualitative versus quantitative research strategies. What I hope to show is how prolonged residence in the small community setting was instrumental in understanding, on the local scene, the complex interrelationships among biological, psychological, and socio-cultural factors as they effect menopause in the natural setting.

Notes

1. Grey Rock Harbour is a fictitious name. Research was funded by the National Institute of Child Health and Development. Since the problems presented for Grey Rock Harbour are representative of problems of conducting research in similar types of communities I have not present a detailed ethnography of the village. Those interested in more detail are referred to Davis 1983a. For an up-to-date methodological discussion of my return to do further research in Grey Rock Harbour, see Davis, 1993.
2. The presentation and discussion of these findings were relegated to the Appendix section of my book (see Appendix A in Davis, 1983a).
3. The problems I will recount and discuss are familiar to any anthropologist or social scientist who has worked in a small community setting.
4. In Grey Rock Harbour misbehaving children are admonished to "be good or the Black Stranger will come and take you away."
5. No one, except a stranger knocks on a door in Grey Rock Harbour. Kitchens are public space. Every house is entered through bridge [porch] and kitchen. You simply go into the kitchen and sit or call for the person you want to see.
6. All messages are rapidly and efficiently circulated through the telephone networks. For example, if an organizational meeting is to be postponed, people will call each other until everyone receives the relevant information.
7. Although she became somewhat of a local celebrity for "having the nerve to let him in", this woman did not in any way want to be blamed for forcing this man on her neighbors.
8. I had originally intended to get a sample of 150 women from several villages (Davis, 1983a; 1986c).
9. Teenagers in contrast are extremely graphic in describing their sexual adventures.

10. One of the villagers shows films against a white wall in his home. The films shown are mainly cheap Japanese films designed for a Third World market or pornographic films. Locals view nudity as comical and find films, which show peoples "bare bums" to be hilarious.
11. The terms "the change" can refer to any number of age-graded female complaints including the following: menarche; any stage of the menstrual cycle; menstrual cycle complaints and irregularities; vaginal secretions or discharge; ovulation; pregnancy, labor and childbirth; post-partum bleeding or mood change; menopause; post-menopausal mood changes; and problems attributed to the aging reproductive organs.
12. Some interviews were completed in an afternoon, others took a number of days to complete.
13. I learned this from (non-interview) causal conversations with friends.
14. For a contemporary account of the long-term effects of this study see Davis, 1993.

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