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Social Implications of Adult Literacy: A Study Among Migrant Wohen in Peru

Heli Ennis de Sagasti

Social Implications of Adult Literacy: A Study Among Migrant Wohen in Peru

Abstract

INTRODUCTION

Before, I was a 'little ignorant'. I didn't know what was happening. I didn't care what was happening around me ... But now, now I at least know something. Now I am a person who knows. I am another person!
Agripina

Today we are witnessing an unprecedented drive for education throughout the world. Efforts to increa$e the incidence of literacy among adults form an important part of this drive, particularly in "underdeveloped" countries. But ·what happens to an adult in such settings, once he becomes literate, no one really knows. Prior research provides no evidence and few clues as to the personal and social implications of newly acquired adult literacy. This is the central problem toward which the present study is addressed.

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SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF ADULT LITERACY:

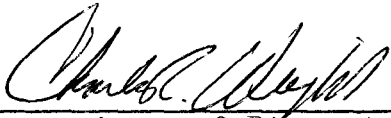A STUDY AMONG MIGRANT WOMEN IN PERU

Heli Ennis de Sagasti

A DISSERTATION

in

COMMUNICATIONS

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and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial
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of Philosophy.

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Finally, without those women on whose lives and experiences this Dissertation is based, the following pages would not have been possible.

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PREFACE

The campaign for adult literacy has been one of
the universally central aspects of planned change in the
last few decades. Communication is a relatively new field
which has given rise to many valuable theoretical achieve-
ments, but they are only beginning to be applied. What
the present dissertation proposes and illustrates, is that
literacy planning can benefit a great deal from the de-
velopments in communications, and also that the study of
adult literacy will enrich communication research and
theory.

INTRODUCTION

> Before, I was a 'little ignorant'. I didn't
> know what was happening. I didn't care what
> was happening around me . . . But now, now I
> at least know something. Now I am a person
> who knows. I am another person!
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Today we are witnessing an unprecedented drive for
education throughout the world. Efforts to increase the in-
cidence of literacy among adults form an important part of
this drive, particularly in "underdeveloped" countries.
But what happens to an adult in such settings, once he be-
comes literate, no one really knows. Prior research pro-
vides no evidence and few clues as to the personal and so-
cial implications of newly acquired adult literacy. This
is the central problem toward which the present study is
addressed.

Our setting is Lima, Peru. The people under study
are ninety-three female domestic servants, recent migrants
from the countryside. They are the kinds of people who are
often the targets for programs in adult education and who
avail themselves of these opportunities for self-improve-
ment. We are concerned with understanding the impact of

literacy on this particular population, at this time and place, in order ultimately to throw light on the nature of newly acquired adult literacy as a social communication phenomenon and in order to gain some insights into the possible personal and social implications of this phenomenon.

Our formulation of the problem falls within the framework of communications research. It is our hope that the research findings will contribute both to an extension of communication theory and research and to existing knowledge about adult literacy in underdeveloped countries.

Although considerable research has been done on the general topic of literacy (some of which will be reviewed below), much less is known about adult literacy, and the problem of newly acquired adult literacy as posed here is new. Since so little is known about the topic, we chose to use the strategy and tactics of exploratory research. We shall explore in depth the social implications of becoming literate as experienced and reported by the respondents themselves. Our findings come primarily from 116 intensive qualitative interviews with these women, who are at various stages of becoming literate; other sources of evidence, including interviews with fifteen expert key informants, supplement these basic data, gathered during 1970 and 1971.

The impact of newly acquired literacy on the life of the adult is examined within the context of his sociocultural environment, considering in particular his place in the

social system and his interaction with certain key groups within the society. Finally, the analysis considers certain implications of new literacy which go beyond the particular adult concerned and extend to other individuals, groups, and the social system as a whole.

To better understand the place and significance of the findings to be discussed in the chapters that follow, it may be useful to view them within the broader perspective of the drive for adult literacy in the world as a whole, in Latin America, and finally, in Peru.

Historical Background

The World Effort for Literacy

Of particular significance in the present context is the attempt to raise literacy after World War II. A few sentences will sketch in the background of this movement.

As a component factor in human communication processes, writing goes back thousands of years. Those who read or wrote in both ancient and medieval worlds were a select group, however, distinguished by status and power. A series of social changes in Western society led to wider distribution of reading and writing skills, but with much of the world's population still excluded. In general terms, underdeveloped countries have lagged behind developed countries of the Western world, lower classes behind middle and upper classes, and in underdeveloped nations women are less

likely to be literate than men, and rural residents less likely than urban residents. In many countries the differences in literacy levels is also significant between races.

But with reading and writing playing a major role in modern economic and social life, and democracy the ideal of much of the world, recent years have seen an emphasis on literacy as the right of all rather than the perogative of the more powerful few. Large-scale attempts to raise the literacy of adults in underdeveloped countries are one result.

Up to the first half of the twentieth century most of the large-scale efforts at reducing illiteracy were made by volunteer organizations, missions, and churches.[1] Since 1950, however, an increasing number of governmental and intergovernmental organizations, as well as public and private bodies of various kinds, have become involved in teaching adults in underdeveloped countries to read and write. Today, many groups who have traditionally been illiterate are now becoming literate.

Any discussion of literacy campaigns must acknowledge the work done by UNESCO. In 1962, the United Nations General Assembly called on UNESCO to review the problem of illiteracy and to make recommendations for international action to combat it. In 1963, a document entitled the World Campaign for

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[1]David Harman, "Illiteracy: An Overview," Harvard Educational Review, XL, 2 (May, 1970), 231.

<u>Universal Literacy</u> was presented, proposing a ten-year pro-
gram designed to eradicate illiteracy in two-thirds of the
illiterate adult populations of the world--about 330 million
people between the ages of fifteen and fifty. UNESCO has
thus emphasized that illiteracy can not be eliminated
through the education of children alone, but must include
the simultaneous education of illiterate adults.[2]

In 1964, this assault on illiteracy was reviewed in
the face of increasing evidence that mass literacy campaigns
were having poor results; there were difficulties in enrol-
ling adults, attrition rates were high, and finally, the
newly created literates often quickly regressed into illit-
eracy.[3] A more selective, intensive strategy termed "func-
·tional literacy" was adopted by UNESCO and many of its mem-
ber nations. This strategy places emphasis on the relation-
ship of literacy to development goals, and in particular
economic development goals.

Although the strategy may have undergone changes
over the years, the onslaught on adult illiteracy by UNESCO
and other organizations continues. The result: in the last

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[2]The education of adult in underdeveloped countries
has also sometimes been argued in cost-benefit terms, as in
Mark Blaug, "Literacy and Economic Development," <u>The School
Review</u>, LXXIV (Winter, 1966), 303-418.

[3]See for example, the Conclusions the Committee on
Plan Projects of the Government of India, <u>Report on Social
Education</u> (New Delhi: Government Printing Office, 1963),
p. 29.

few decades millions of adults in underdeveloped countries throughout the world have learned to read and write.[4]

Adult Literacy in Latin America

Narrowing the focus, this sub-section will take a brief look at literacy campaigns in Latin America. Here organized attacks on adult literacy date back in all except one case (Paraguay) about twenty-five years. The development of these campaigns coincides to a large extent with the general world mobilization under the auspices of UNESCO.[5]

The stated objectives of the campaigns are various, but in general relate to the complete development of the individual adult, the elevation of his cultural level, his participation in processes of national development, and his incorporation into society and its processes of production.[6] In other words, it is believed that the implications of adult-literacy are broader than simply the development of individual reading and writing skills. Furthermore, it is assumed that they will extend beyond the individual, to prove to be functional for the society itself.

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[4]For example, between 1950 and 1970, the estimated number of literate adults in the world increased from 879 million to 1,525 million. Harman, "Illiteracy: An Overview," p. 229.

[5]CREFAL, Estudio de la Situacion en Cuanto a la Alfabetizacion en America Latina, Informe (Michoacán, Mexico, 1968), p. 20.

[6]Ibid., pp. 21-24.

The extent to which the actual strategies maximize the attainment of stated objectives is considered by some to be questionable.[7] The nature of the strategies in terms of target populations, the relation of literacy campaigns to development plans, the mass or selective nature of campaigns, the pedagogical approaches utilized, personnel involved, and technical-administrative structure of campaigns, varies from country to country and sometimes within countries, especially since diverse organizations are frequently involved.

In general, it is the Ministries of Education in Latin America that are responsible for literacy activities. But in practice there is direct involvement by several public and private, national, international, and foreign organizations. For example, in most countries there is some kind of involvement by such bodies as the Organization of American States; United States government agencies interested in education and social and economic development in Latin America (for example, the Bureau of Latin American Affairs, the Peace Corps, the Agency for International Development, the Alliance for Progress); the organizations which are neither national nor private but involve public and private bodies of all kinds (such as Centro Regional de la Educacion para la America Latina); government and religious agencies.

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[7]Ibid., p. 24.

Adult Literacy in Peru

In Peru, efforts to eradicate adult illiteracy were
begun in 1944, but systematic organized efforts began about
1956. In the beginning of 1957 adult literacy was made part
of the national system of education, and came under the direc-
tion of the Department of Primary and Adult Education in the
Ministry of Public Education. There are, however, several
private and semi-private organizations actively involved in
campaigns.[8] (See Appendix A for a comparison between Peru
and other Latin American nations.)

The stated goals of the programs for literacy in Peru
are that adults acquire skills of reading, writing, and
arithmetic, some elements of basic knowledge, and participate
in the process of economic and social development and "in the
national unity." The strategy has traditionally been dual:
on one hand being directed toward all illiterates in the
country, on the other being carried out in a progressive
form and in accord with certain national priorities, related
to areas with a high percentage of illiterates, access to
services, and a presence of development programs in the com-
munity.[9]

The official program has adopted two phonetic meth-
ods of teaching basic skills--the "Psychophonetic" and
"Proesco." The most widely used, however, is that of "Normal

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[8]Ibid., p. 144.

[9]Ibid., pp. 144-145.

Words." Radio and television are generally used in conjunction with monitors.[10]

A large percentage of the population of Peru speaks the indigenous Indian languages, the most popular of which are Quechua and Aimara, and it is individuals for whom these are the mother tongues who are most frequently illiterate. Although attempts have been made to teach these illiterates to read and write in their native language, for several reasons literacy training has up to now been generally conducted in Spanish.

Teachers' qualifications have been various, ranging from Secondary and Primary school teachers, to those with little or no formal preparation for teaching.[11]

In general, the campaign for adult literacy in Peru has proceeded somewhat irregularly with the actual number of newly literate adults created averaging around 12,000 annually over the last ten years.[12] (See Appendix B for a table of yearly comparisons.)

What has been described has been the approach to adult literacy that has existed in Peru until very recently. Projected educational reforms, however, are likely to intro-

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[10]Ibid., pp. 147-148.

[11]Ibid., p. 146.

[12]Instituto Nacional de Planificación, la erradicacion del analfabetismo plantea la utilización de medios modernos de comunicación, Boletin, XCII, (December 15, 1969), 5.

duce changes.[13]

Conceptualization of Literacy

No universally accepted definition of literacy
exists. Historically it has been defined in countless
ways--usually emphasizing one or both of two main vari-
ables--either component skills (that is, whether literacy
implies the ability to read, the ability to read and write,
or the ability to read and write and do arithmetic--the
second and third being the most used), or the level of pro-
ficiency or grade level reached in these components of
"literacy skills." Generally both variables have been taken
into account. These two factors have been further compli-
cated by the question of age in the actual reporting of
figures for literacy or illiteracy. The age when illiteracy
is considered to begin has been variously considered by dif-
ferent countries as anywhere between five and fifteen.[14]

But today literacy has frequently come to be thought
of in much broader terms than those of component skills.
Literacy skills have come to be seen as the means to an
end--usually both individual and social. In particular,

[13]Such changes are outlined in the Peruvian govern-
ment publication, Reforma de la Educación Peruana (Lima,
1970). Changes planned include basic education in the
mother-tongue of the individual concerned and an emphasis on
the education of the Indian rural population.

[14]Raj Narain, Education for Literacy (Allahabad,
India: Garga Brothers, 1958), p. 12.

there are three "definitions" or "approaches" to adult
literacy which are popular in discussion and planning in
this area at the present time: "rudimentary" or "basic
literacy"; "functional literacy"; and "cultural action for
freedom" or "conscientization."

"Rudimentary literacy" was the emphasis in the early
years of the World Campaign conducted by UNESCO, and to a
lesser or greater degree still remains the emphasis in many
underdeveloped countries throughout the world. Essentially
this stresses minimal reading and writing skill, usually
involving a course of around six or twelve months. It is
considered as roughly equivalent to the standards which a
child reaches after three or four years of primary school-
ing.[15]

"Functional literacy" came to be the "new approach"
to illiteracy--the "selective, intensive strategy" which
UNESCO adopted in September, 1964, after a review of the
earlier campaign results. It is a much more complex and
broader concept than rudimentary literacy. This approach
emphasizes more than just reading and writing and arith-
metic skills, but also the acquisition of knowledge in
sanitation, nutrition, industrial and agricultural sciences,
and so on. It is work-oriented rather than culture oriented.

UNESCO defines functional literacy as:

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[15]Blaug, "Literacy and Economic Development," p.
410.

> . . . a person is literate when he has acquired the essential knowledge and skills which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for the effective functioning in his group and community and whose attainments in reading, writing and arithmetic make it possible for him to continue to use those skills toward his own and the community's development and for active participation in the life of his country. In quantitative terms, the standard of literacy may be equated to the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic achieved after a set number of years of elementary schooling.[16]

While this approach to literacy may be operationally defined in terms of a set number of years of schooling--schooling which is both more varied and longer than that under which rudimentary literacy was defined, it has essentially made literacy a relative concept, to be evaluated in terms of the socio-cultural, political, and economic context of the individual concerned. The question remains, however, as to what _are_ those activities in any particular instance in which literacy is required for an individual's effective functioning as a member of certain groups, a certain community, a certain country, and the extent to which he will want to use, and will have the opportunity to use, those literacy skills toward the ends of personal and community development and participation in national affairs.

Some educators have viewed literacy as of necessity involving some "pre-literacy" elements, which must be built

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[16]Adam Curle, World Campaign for Universal Literacy: Comment and Proposal (Harvard University: Center for Studies in Education and Development, 1964), p. 12.

into the actual literacy training.[17] Most important in the

present context is the work of Paulo Freire, whose approach

to literacy has had considerable influence on the programs

in Brazil (until the coup d'état of 1964), Chile, and more

recently, Peru. Freire defines literacy as "cultural ac-

tion for freedom," and "conscientization" as an essential

aspect of the process.[18]

The literacy process for Freire and those who share

his views, becomes a way out of "margination" and "domina-

tion" in which the illiterate adult exists, by providing

not simply the necessary skills for encoding and decoding

in the written or printed mode, but also the ability to look

critically at the socio-cultural reality. The newly liter-

ate individual becomes aware of his right and ability not

so much to function within his group, community, and nation--

as in the case of "functional literacy"--but to act upon them

and to transform them. Development or change then occurs

when the newly literate engages in positive action, taught

to do so through the literacy process. His literacy does not

enable him so much to take advantage of existing opportuni-

ties, as to create opportunities where they do not exist,

or where they have been traditionally denied to him.

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[17]Harman, "Literacy: An Overview," p. 234.

[18]See for example, Paulo Freire, "The Adult Literacy
Process as Cultural Action for Freedom," Harvard Educational
Review, XL, 2 (May, 1970), 205-225.

These three discussed major conceptualizations of literacy emphasize the increasing emphasis on literacy training as a means to an end. Literacy is to have implications not only for the individual concerned, but for the larger social system, in which, it is assumed, he will use what he has learned.

While the three approaches may be quite distinct and distinguishable in theory, in practice they may exist side by side or in combination. They also share a common ground: each involves the development of reading and writing skills. Although the degree of relative emphasis on these skills may vary in comparison to some other information or processes, these basic literacy skills still form an integral part of both process and desired consequences.

*   *   *   *

In sum, literacy has emerged from being the arena of the politically and socially powerful few to where today the ideals of democracy and social and economic development prescribe it as the right of all--or the right of all who are potentially able to play a role in these processes. As a result, literacy campaigns are introducing literacy to those categories of individuals who have traditionally tended to be illiterate. The new literacy of these individuals is furthermore conceived of as being a dynamic force, both in their lives, and through them, in the larger social

system. The question of whether indeed adult literacy does have significant social implications then becomes compelling, and the need for empirical investigation, imperative.

Study of Literacy in the Context of Underdevelopment

Those social science studies which are oriented towards the significance or implications of literacy within the context of underdevelopment, fall into two broad groups according to the approach: those conducted on the "global" or aggregate level, which take countries as the unit of analysis, and those on the "individual level," which consider the individual as the unit of analysis. The former group of studies is large and most of them seek to show correlations between literacy and economic development. However, some of these studies demonstrate that literacy is not necessarily the quick path to development, and the relationship between the level of literacy and economic growth is not a simple matter. Thus some have concluded that the global approach to literacy yields little beyond vague generalizations.[19]

Studies on the individual level have generally been concerned with the effects of literacy on the individual's socio-economic status, certain attitudes and behavior which those researchers who are oriented towards problems of planned socio-economic development, regard as significant. Vari-

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[19]Blaug, "Literacy and Economic Development," p. 407.

ables considered are mainly those believed to be involved in "modernization." Some frequently used concepts are empathy, cosmopoliteness, political knowledge, innovativeness, achievement motivation, opinion leadership, and mass media behavior. Except in a very few cases, studies seek to establish correlations between their definitions of literacy (as opposed to illiteracy) and one or more of these variables.

Such studies as those of Wright in Guatemala,[20] Rogers in Colombia,[21] and Jain's analysis of data gathered by the National Institute of Community Development in India,[22] have shown that literacy is positively related to socio-economic status. Mendez and Waisanen also found functional literacy significantly linked to occupation and income.[23]

Defining empathy in terms of the ability of an individual to project himself into the role of another person,

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[20]Peter Craig Wright,"Literacy and Custom in a Ladino Peasant Community" (unpublished Ed.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1967).

[21]Everett M. Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 87.

[22]Ibid., p. 91.

[23]Alfredo D. Mendez and Frederick B. Waisanen, "Some Correlates of Functional Literacy" (paper presented at the Ninth Congress of the Inter-American Society of Psychologists, Miami Beach, Fla., 1964).

Lerner in Syria[24] and Turkey,[25] Rogers in Colombia,[26] and Jain in India,[27] showed a strong relationship between literacy and empathy. Herzog in Brazil, however, found no differences in empathy between enrollees and non-enrollees in literacy courses, and no difference in the before and after measures among enrollees.[28]

Wright et al.,[29] Rogers,[30] Jain,[31] and Lerner in the study in Turkey,[32] and Schuman et al., in Pakistan,[33] found a positive relationship between literacy and cosmopoliteness, defined as the degree to which an individual is

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[24]Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe, Ill.,: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 64.

[25]Daniel Lerner, "Literacy and Initiative in Village Development," Rural Development Research Report (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT-CIS Mimeo Report, 1964).

[26]Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, pp. 85-86.

[27]Ibid., p. 91.

[28]William A. Herzog, Jr., "The Effect of Literacy Training on Modernization Variables" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967).

[29]Peter Craig Wright, Thomas A. Rich, and Edmund E. Allen, The Impact of a Literacy Program in a Guatemalan Ladino Peasant Community (University of South Florida, Submitted to AID, Washington, D. C., 1967), p. 17.

[30]Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, pp. 87-88.

[31]Ibid., p. 91.

[32]Lerner, "Literacy and Initiative in Village Development."

[33]Howard Schuman, Alex Inkeles, and David H. Smith, "Some Social Psychological Effects and Noneffects of Literacy in a New Nation," Economic Development and Cultural Change, XVI (1967), 9.

oriented outside his social system. Others however have noted that the relationship between literacy and urbanization in general may be due to the greater functional utility of literacy in the city.[34]

Rogers found a significant positive relationship between literacy and political knowledge (defined as the degree to which an individual comprehends facts essential to his functioning as an active and effective citizen) in four of his five Colombian villages.[35] Jain found the correlation positive in the Indian communities.[36] Neither Deutschmann in Colombia,[37] nor Herzog in Brazil,[38] however, found a relationship to exist.

Whereas Jain,[39] Lerner,[40] Rahim,[41] Wright et al.,[42]

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[34]Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 87.

[35]Ibid., p. 88.

[36]Ibid., p. 91.

[37]Paul J. Deutschmann, "The Mass Media in an Underdeveloped Village," Journalism Quarterly, XL (1963), 32-33.

[38]William A. Herzog, "The Effects of Literacy Training on Modernization Variables" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967).

[39]Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 91.

[40]Lerner, "Literacy and Initiative in Village Development."

[41]S. A. Rahim, Diffusion and Adoption of Agricultural Practices: A Study of Patterns of Communication, Diffusion and Adoption of Improved Agricultural Practices in a Village in East Pakistan (Comilla: Pakistan Academy for Village Development, 1961).

[42]Wright et al., The Impact of a Literacy Program in a Guatemalan Ladino Peasant Community, p. 17.

and Goldsen and Ralis in Thailand,[43] found literates more

innovative than illiterates (innovativeness being defined

in terms of the tendency to adopt new ideas relatively

sooner than one's peers), Rogers found that the relation-

ship was significant in only half of his Colombian vil-

lages.[44]

With the measurement of achievement motivation, or

"the desire for excellence," Jain,[45] and Rogers in three

out of five Colombian villages,[46] found significant positive

correlations. Herzog again found no positive correlations

in his before-and-after study.[47]

Jain's data analysis found positive correlations to

exist between opinion leadership and literacy.[48] Rogers

found this positive relationship to be significant in two

out of five of his Colombian villages. In comparing opin-

ion leaders of both traditional and modern villages, he

found that they are more likely to be literate than their

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[43]Rose K. Goldsen and Max Ralis, Factors Related to Acceptance of Innovations in Bang Chan, Thailand (New York: Cornell University, Department of Far Eastern Studies Data Paper 25, 1957).

[44]Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 86.

[45]Ibid., p. 91.

[46]Ibid., p. 87.

[47]Herzog, "The Effect of Literacy Training on Modernization Variables."

[48]Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 91.

followers, although not 100 per cent of opinion leaders are literate.[49]

Links have also been found between literacy and fewer children, lower infant mortality, fewer illegitimate children, understanding the causes of illness, and the rate of illness itself.[50] The study which reported these findings--in Guatemala, also found that literates tend to show greater sense of community than illiterates, see the national government as "more oriented toward social welfare and help for the campesino," bathe more often, brush their teeth more often, and have a more varied diet.[51]

Rogers in Colombia found a positive association between literacy and mass media exposure both on the aggregate and the individual level of analysis. He found that literacy was more highly correlated with newspaper exposure than with nonprint media exposure, and more with radio than TV or movie exposure. He suggests the presence of a "centripetal effect," which he defines as "the tendency for an individual exposed to one mass medium, also to be exposed to other media."[52]

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[49]Ibid., pp. 88-89.

[50]Wright,"Literacy and Custom in a Ladino Peasant Community."

[51]Wright, et al., The Impact of a Literacy Program in a Guatemalan Ladino Peasant Community, pp. 15-17.

[52]Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, pp. 81-83.

Lerner in Syria[53] and Turkey,[54] Rahim in a village in East Pakistan,[55] Wright, Rich, and Allen in a village in Guatemala,[56] and Jain in India,[57] found similar positive correlations between literacy and mass media exposure. Herzog, however, again found that there were no significant differences in the mass media exposure of those who enrolled for literacy classes and those who did not, and again found no differences among those enrolled in the before-and-after measures taken.[58]

Deutschmann, in a Colombian village, found that literates show more exposure opportunity (that is, in terms of what is accessible to them) to radio, movies, newspapers, and books. But what was particularly interesting in his findings was the considerable exposure opportunity of illiterates to books and newspapers. In the actual possession of books, he found virtually no differences between literates and illiterates.[59] He suggests that one explana-

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[53]Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, p. 58.

[54]Lerner, "Literacy and Initiative in Village Development."

[55]Rahim, Diffusion and Adoption of Agricultural Practices.

[56]Wright, et al., The Impact of a Literacy Program in a Guatemalan Ladino Peasant Community, pp. 15-17.

[57]Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 91.

[58]Herzog, "The Effect of Literacy Training on Modernization Variables."

[59]Deutschmann, "The Mass Media in an Underdeveloped Village," p. 30.

tion for this, and for his other finding that illiterates did not have lower political knowledge than literates, could be that illiterates gain exposure to print media through literate family and friends.[60] Deutschmann was not able to test his hunch about oral reading, but Rogers did test it in Colombia, and found that 19 per cent of the illiterates had newspapers read to them, and 6 per cent had magazines read.[61]

Wright, Rich, and Allen found that literates have better memory of radio programs than illiterates, and are more often interested in news and information than in music and entertainment.[62]

Rhoads and Piper, focusing on those who had recently become literate, found that they tended to regard everything in print as absolute truth.[63]

Doob, in conducting two exploratory studies in Northern Nigeria in 1959, worked with a very limited number of subjects, but found that the literates reflected greater alertness concerning various aspects of the outside world than the illiterates, that they remembered better, and per-

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[60]Ibid., p. 34.

[61]Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 84.

[62]Wright, et al., The Impact of a Literacy Program in a Guatemalan Ladino Peasant Community, pp. 15-17.

[63]William G. Rhoads and Anison C. Piper, Use of Radiophonic Teaching in Fundamental Education (Williamstown, Mass.: Williams College, Roper Public Opinion Research Center, 1963).

formed better in some tests of mental activity.[64]

This review of studies on literacy in the context of underdevelopment reveals several important deficiencies. In the first place, the number of such studies is fairly limited. Secondly, studies that do exist tend to be limited in scope: the major part of the research has focused on certain concepts defined as significant because they are believed to be related to economic development or "modernization" as defined by the Western more industrialized nations. These concepts have furthermore been assumed to be relevant and equally applicable in a wide variety of socio-cultural contexts in underdeveloped countries, and to sum up the literacy question. This has resulted in a rather early emphasis on quantification and a closure of the problem.

Thirdly, again with a few exceptions, the studies conducted on the individual (as well as global level) are correlational in nature: they do not demonstrate whether the relationships are a consequence of individuals with these behavioral tendencies, attitudes or socio-economic status, seeking or having access to literacy training, or whether the literacy training received has produced the higher levels of these variables. With the exception of such studies as those of Herzog, Rhoads and Piper, and Doob, research has

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[64]Leonard W. Doob, _Communication in Africa: A Search for Boundaries_ (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 175-179.

dealt with literacy as a whole, rather than literacy developed in individuals as adults.

Finally, the particular socio-cultural context in which literacy occurs, in which it is or is not used, and which to a large extent defines the functions or dysfunctions of literacy, has received little attention in the social science studies of the implications of literacy in underdeveloped countries.

Research which explicitly considers the communication implications of literacy, has been subject to the same tendencies. Most of the studies are limited in their conceptualizations of the problem and the answers they can provide. Some, however, have indicated that literacy as a communication phenomenon might have interesting social implications in underdeveloped countries. The "hunch" of Deutschmann that Rogers followed up, finding that literates tend to share print media information with illiterates, is not only a significant finding in itself, but draws attention to an important factor which research in this area has not paid a great deal of attention to--interpersonal relationships. Research which concentrates solely on illiterate-literate differences or relationships between literacy and some dependent variable, cannot take such interpersonal interaction into account.

In sum, it is apparent that literacy, and especially newly developed adult literacy as an empirical focus, has been slow in developing. Studies of literacy in underde-

veloped countries in general can tell us little about what
actually happens when an adult in one of these nations learns
to read and write. Literacy as a communication phenomenon
has also been explored in only a very limited form. However,
the few studies which have focused on newly literate adults,
and those which have indicated some of the communication
implications of literacy which might prove significant if
studied further, have pointed to a fruitful area of research.
It is this new field of the social implications of newly de-
veloped adult literacy, approached within a communication
framework, that the present study has focused on.

<div align="center">Preview of Chapters</div>

Chapter I will discuss the general orientation of
the study and the way the research and information analysis
was carried out.

Chapter II focuses on illiteracy and the commence-
ment of the process of adult literacy in the socio-cultural
context. It discusses why the respondents remained illiter-
ate in their home community and why they began literacy
training in the host community, considering social and non-
social factors in the individual's environment as well as
various personal drives, all of which contributed to the
initiation and continuation of the efforts to become literate.
This chapter provides a bridge between adult illiteracy and
the onset of literacy and prepares the way for the discussion

of the impact of new literacy.

Chapter III deals with the effect of new literacy on the adult's interpersonal communication behavior. The focus is on the lexical mode of communication—both written and spoken. It views such communication within the framework of significant social relationships. As throughout this work, we shall seek understanding through use of detailed personal accounts rather than through statistical analyses; we aim to explain, as well as identify, the particular processes involved.

In Chapter IV we examine the impact of new literacy on mass communication behavior, exploring the uses of the mass media in terms of the respondents' needs or predispositions. Our treatment covers three topics: the illiterate as an audience member of print media; new literacy and the use of the print media; new literacy and the use of the broadcast media.

Chapter V enlarges the perspective: it takes a look at some implications of new literacy for others besides the particular individuals involved. Specifically, we consider the ways the respondents "share" their new literacy and ways in which they actively promote literacy for those illiterates with whom they interact, and the implications of such behavior for the individual and for society.

Chapter VI focuses on the implications of newly developed adult literacy for the respondents as domestic

servants (occupational role performance and occupation change); as women (marital aspirations and aspirations for children); as migrants (adaptation and assimilation into the new urban environment, and residential stability). Thus, both the short-term impact of adult literacy and possible long-term impact will be looked at in terms of some of the key characteristics of the respondent population.

Chapter VII summarizes the findings of the earlier chapters and draws implications for further research and for social policy.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL ORIENTATION AND RESEARCH DESIGN

In the present chapter, we discuss first the general orientation from which both problem formulation and methodology were derived; then we describe the actual design of the study. We conclude with some observations on how the current approach differs from prior work in this area.

General Orientation

Literacy, although variously conceptualized in the literature, fundamentally and universally involves, as a minimum, the acquisition of skills of reading and writing. In communication terms this means that whereas an illiterate is not able to encode or decode messages in the "visual lexical" or written mode, when he or she becomes literate, this ability is acquired.

To the extent that access to such messages in the written (or printed) mode was not available prior to literacy, but does become available afterwards, the newly literate adult potentially becomes able not only to receive and send such messages, but to engage in social interaction on the basis of them. It is on such features that the communi-

cation approach to adult literacy focuses.

Although literacy involves the development of personal skills, its significance is determined, in part at least, by the particular socio-cultural context surrounding the individual. His or her attitudes, ideas, and behavior are relative to other people.   The individual adult has certain social roles and social relationships with significant groups such as family, friends, work-mates, and so on, which serve in various ways to determine, mediate, or extend the effects--or non-effects, of literacy. Finally, both the adult and his or her social group are integrated into the more embracing social structure and process, for which literacy of such individuals and other similar individuals can potentially become a factor in social change.

In the studies reviewed in the previous section, the communication relationships of literacy in general or adult literacy in particular, were limited to print media, and to the decoding process. Certainly print media are important in our present age--even in many areas in underdeveloped countries. But to confine the consequences of adult literacy to the reception of printed mass media messages alone is not only limiting, and ignores interrelationships with other media, but may not be as central to the implications of literacy as we in the more developed industrialized nations where print media is so widely distributed, tend to assume. On the other hand, encoding of messages in the

written form, and decoding of non-print "private" messages in the written form, may have considerable implications for the individual, his group, his community, and perhaps the larger social system.

Access to print itself may have consequences for other forms of communication through displacement, supplementation or facilitation effects.

A communication approach which is interested in a balanced, undistorted definition of the problem of adult literacy, should not then just consider one particular a priori defined aspect of human communication, assuming it to be the critical one in literacy. It should also deal with other dimensions and interrelationships.

The present problem-formulation, deriving from such reasoning, has viewed the communication relationships of literacy along a much broader range than has been the custom up to now. This study has not only used a different approach to the problem, and brought in new dimensions or concepts, but it has refrained from using many of the pre-suppositions and concepts prevailing in other studies. This has not been solely dictated by the differences in problem definition and approach. There has also been a general conviction that the whole area has been "closed" prematurely. Those concepts historically associated with "the common behavioral system" of urban, industrialized, literate, and participant socie-ties of Western Europe and North America may indeed be rele-

vant, but they may not be the most relevant or have complete explanatory power in a particular socio-cultural context of underdevelopment.

In this study, we have taken a broader approach, viewing the impact of literacy through the eyes of the people involved, and using their accounts to guide our re-conceptualization of the problem in a way that seems relevant to their experience of literacy within the context of underdevelopment.

Finally, basic to both problem formulation and actual methodology used, is the conviction that the socio-cultural context in the underdeveloped country in which research takes place, must be considered. It can not simply be assumed that methods from developed countries will be the most appropriate or yield maximum information in the context of underdevelopment.

Research Design

The research design of the study was guided by the above general orientation. It develops and illustrates a broad social communication approach to the problem of the social implications of adult literacy, with the general aim of making it culturally relevant in terms of concepts and methods used, and appropriate to the newness of the problem. As previously specified, the project focuses on the social implications of becoming literate as an adult

for female domestic servants in Lima, Peru.

Overall Design

The approach was inductive and incremental. The nature of the research problem dictated that exploratory research was advisable, as well as a greater flexibility and innovativeness than might otherwise be required. The research was essentially conducted in three stages, and tended toward the use of a combination of methods, or the supplementation of one basic method with another.

The first stage involved observation and discussion in the field situation, together, of course, with reading of prior research and relevant literature. The second stage of the research involved a pilot study using fifty qualitative interviews together with some structured questions built into them. The third stage developed from the first and second stages, together with further reading and discussion: a larger study was designed which not only expanded the population but refined the dimensions of the problem. This larger study consisted of intensive interviews with the target population, using both open-ended and formally defined questions, together with re-interviews with those earlier interviewed (in the pilot study), interviews with expert informants, field observation, and collection of aggregate data.

The respondents under study were all comparable in

terms of certain demographic characteristics and their

motivations in terms of literacy, but differed in their

level of literacy. (See Figure 1 for a visual representa-

tion of the entire research process.)

Definitions

Prior to a more detailed discussion of the research

design, it is necessary to operationally define the key

terms of the study. Since the concern here is with literacy

as a communication skill, or specifically, the ability to

communicate in the lexical-visual mode, the reading-writing

components will be emphasized. Literacy as an operative

communication skill, as defined in the study, was considered

to occur when the individual could read a newspaper and

write an informal letter, sufficiently well to receive or

convey meaning. It was found that the respondents of the

study could, in general, fulfill these criteria after two

years of daily literacy training, and thus this was ac-

cepted as the lower boundary of "literacy."[1]

Obviously there are intermediate stages between il-

literacy and literacy defined in these terms. Respondents

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[1]A combination of self-report and official teacher
evaluation was used. It is difficult to devise a completely
satisfactory measure of functional literacy. In the present
study the idea of using some kind of test of the level of
literacy skills was abandoned as it was felt that there would
be little advantage in it and possibly some disadvantages,
such as distortion of results because of differential stress
of respondents in the interview situation, and because such
a test might threaten the informal interaction with respon-
dents which was important to the detailed data needed.
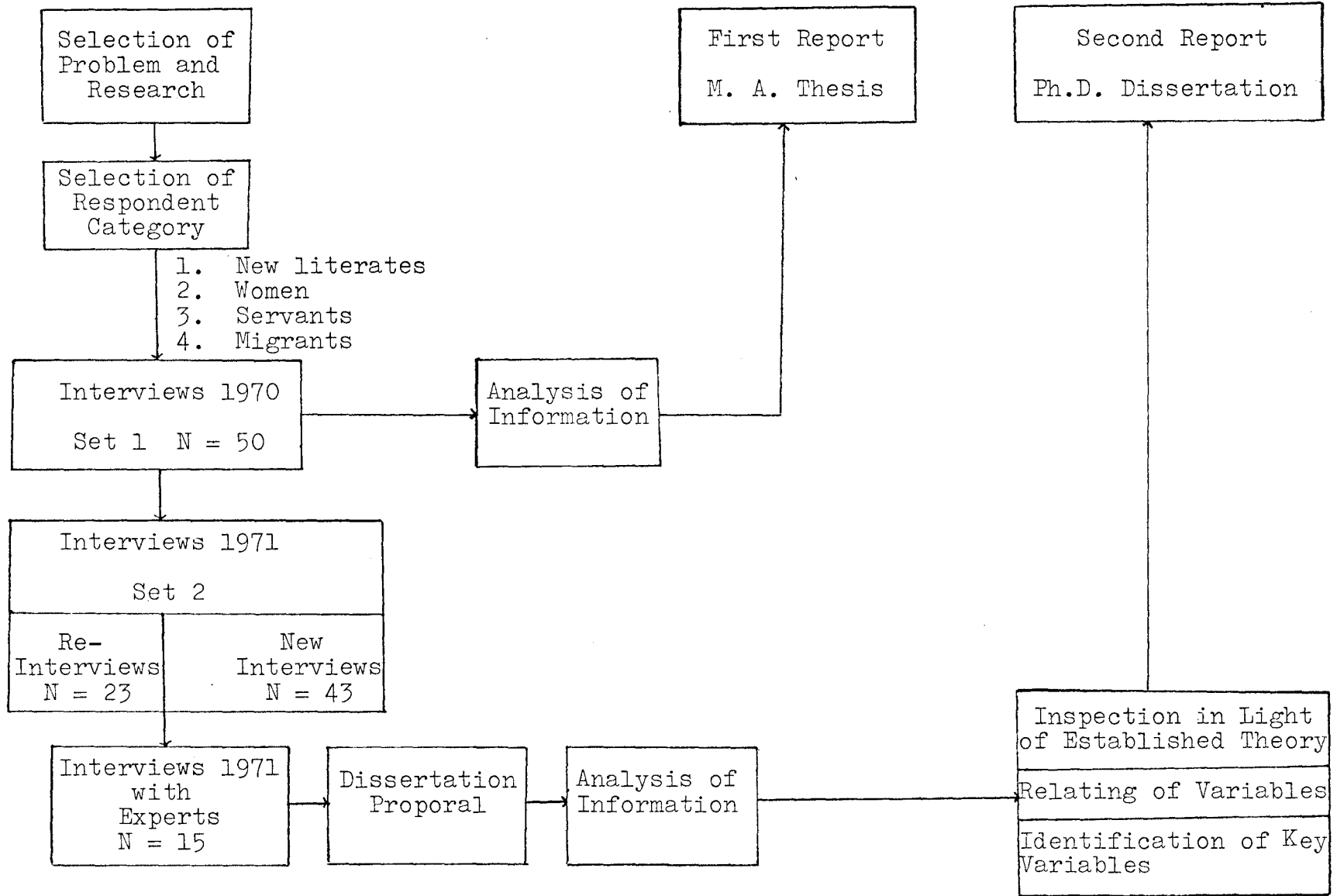
Fig. 1.--The Research Design

with one to two years of education were defined as at this in-between stage. Their actual reading and writing skills were evaluated in each case, using both self-report and an official evaluation.

An adult, in accordance with UNESCO, is considered to be anyone who is fifteen years or older.

For purposes of the current study, a New Literate is an individual who has recently had two to five years of literacy training as an adult, and who is able to read a newspaper and write an informal letter.

An Illiterate refers to a respondent who has had less than one year of education as a child and no formal education as an adult, and neither as a child or as an adult has ever had even a rudimentary reading or writing ability.

A Semi-Literate for the purposes of the discussion will refer to one who has had between one and two years of literacy training as an adult, and whose component skills in reading and/or writing lie between that of the New Literate and the Illiterate.

At times these categories of respondents will be discussed separately, comparatively, or be combined in various stated ways. Sometimes a finer differentiation will be made within Semi-Literates and New Literates according to levels of skills.

Respondents and Informants

The research design, as stated, involved intensive interviews with New Literates, Semi-Literates, and Illiterates who were comparable along certain demographic dimensions and in their literacy-motivation. It also involved focused interviews with key informants about these respondents or about factors related to their culture, background, life-style, future possibilities, or similar relevant dimensions. These informants will be referred to as the "experts," while the target population will be called the "respondents."

In the process of attempting to locate possible populations of newly literate adults in Peru, it was discovered that women were frequently the participants in literacy programs--a finding not surprising in light of the lower literacy levels of women as compared to men that exist in Peru--as well as in many other underdeveloped countries of the world.[2] Furthermore, it was discovered that a very large proportion of these women were domestic servants by occupation, and that these domestic servants were Indian

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[2]See for example, UNESCO, El Analfabetismo y los Derechos Humanos (Paris, 1968), p. 9. This publication states that in many countries, in the population between the ages of 15 and 45, there are twice as many illiterate women as men.

migrants from the predominantly rural Highland areas.[3]
There were, at the time of the study, about 200,000 such
migrant-servants in Lima alone.[4] The respondents of the
study were selected from this population.

Respondents were aged from 15 to 40, with the
average age of 22. As stated, because of the peculiar oc-
cupational structure, they were all internal migrants: they
had lived in the city from one to twenty-two years, with
the average time of residence being 4.7 years. The back-
ground and socio-cultural characteristics of the respondents
will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

The first group of fifty interviews (the "pilot
study") were conducted with newly literate female servants
who had had from two to four years of literacy training,
and who could be defined as New Literates according to the
above definition. These respondents were still in a learn-

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[3]Experts interviewed estimated about 95 per cent
of domestic servants to be migrants, but there is reason to
believe that the actual proportion is higher: Indian mi-
grants after a number of years in Lima tend to call them-
selves "Limeñans" because of the higher status implications
involved. In the present study only one respondent said
she was not a migrant, but official records showed that she
was.

[4]Estimates as to the exact number tend to vary, so
this is not necessarily an accurate figure. Domestic serv-
ice is in fact the most popular occupation for females in
the Lima-Metropolitan area, 29 per cent of women in the
labour force being employed as servants. See Población
Económicamente Activa en Lima Metropolitana, Centro de
Investigaciones Sociales por Muestreo(Servicio del Empleo
y Recursos Humanos; Lima, Peru, 1967), esp. pp. 24-25.

ing environment which concentrated on the teaching of dress-
making and allotted some time to the practice of basic
literacy skills.

The second group of eighty-one interviews were con-
ducted a year later. Half of the original respondents were
re-interviewed in order to observe any changes that might
have occurred during the intervening year, to check on re-
sponse bias, and to probe additional dimensions as well as
focus on certain earlier ones which had proven to be sig-
nificant in the intervening data analysis. This stage of
the study also added three other sets of interviewees.
Twenty-five demographically matched Semi-Literates and
eighteen demographically and motivationally comparable Il-
literates were also interviewed. (The Illiterates were
"motivationally comparable" in terms of literacy in the sense
that those who had enrolled for adult literacy training were
selected: this was done to control for psychological and
personality factors.

In addition, this research stage included fifteen
local experts who were formally interviewed. (Others were
also informally talked to.) They were defined as "experts"
because they possessed specialized knowledge and experience
in terms of the problem, or the respondents, or both. They
included adult literacy program directors, teachers, social
workers, family coordinators, and doctors, as well as per-
sonnel from employment services specializing in domestic

help. The experts were interviewed last.

Interviews

The interview schedule used with the New Literates,
Semi-Literates, and Illiterates employed primarily open-
ended questions, leaving it to the respondents to specify
the relevant variables within certain broad areas, insofar
as this was possible. Some structured questions were in-
cluded as life-style, social contacts, demographic char-
acteristics, and certain related behavioral patterns such
as broadcast media use, which while not the central interest
of the study themselves, were needed to interpret and relate
the main variables. When literacy was directly involved,
reading was distinguished from writing whenever relevant
and possible.

Interviews with New Literates and Semi-Literates
dealt with illiteracy as well as literacy. In this sense
the information obtained from them could at times be used
to supplement or extend the data obtained from Illiterates,
of whom there were fewer in number because of the difficul-
ties of finding such motivationally and demographically
comparable respondents. The illiterate responses also
served as a check on the possible response-bias or memory-
bias that might be operative with the other two categories
of respondents.[5]

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[5]On the whole, there was little evidence of response-
bias or memory-bias.

Attitudes and behavior (and appearance) of respondents was observed and recorded in each interview, with all three types of respondents.

All the interviews were conducted entirely in Spanish and tape-recorded, except in the case of a few interviews with experts where it was felt that the presence of a tape-recorder might be a hinderance. All tape-recorded interviews were simultaneously translated from Spanish to English by a professional simultaneous interpreter, familiar also with the mother tongue of the respondents. The tapes were all subsequently transcribed.

Information Analysis

The information analysis procedure for all except the expert interviews was the same: the verbatim material of the interviews was analyzed and coded on the basis of explicit rules and procedures applied in the same way to the same sections of all interviews. Categories were set up on the basis of a preliminary reading, and were exhaustive of the material. Although frequencies are not always reported in the discussion in the following chapters, each statement is based on such calculations.

At times information from interviews was supplemented or checked with records of social workers, family coordinators, and other literacy program officials, when these were made available to the researcher. These records also

supplied background material on the respondents which is sometimes used in the discussion of the results obtained from interviews.[6]

The interviews conducted with Experts were also simultaneously interpreted and transcribed. These were used to aid in the general discussion, and to check on the information and interpretations obtained from the respondent interviews. In addition, some general facts and figures collected from official local sources were used to place the study in perspective and to make predictions. These include information on migration and migrants in general, education and projected reforms, human resources and employment, laws relating to servants.

Main Differences With General Research Tradition in Literacy

There are several major differences between the present study and most of the past social science research on literacy which have already been mentioned: the focus on adult literacy rather than literacy in general, and the communication framework within which literacy is interpreted are the main ones. There are, however, certain other points of divergence which will be discussed in more detail in this section.

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[6]Information included data about parents and employers, salary, time at job, employment and living conditions, marital and romantic status, learning problems, and so on.

While the study was carefully designed and systematically carried out, it is oriented towards a detailed, qualitative interpretation of the phenomenon of literacy. It is argued that while quantification is certainly needed, it is necessary to preserve some kind of balance between detail and measurement. Furthermore, quantification should not be embarked upon too early--a certain degree of openness is necessary to avoid premature closure of a problem, especially a relatively new problem such as adult literacy. At this stage of our knowledge about the social implications of such adult literacy in the context of underdevelopment, a more exploratory type of qualitative research which would help identify and define relevant concepts and build hypotheses, as well as enrich our understanding of the problem in general, was appropriate and necessary.

The present study also differs from most other research known to the investigator in that it considers literacy as a variable existing on a continuum between illiteracy and functional literacy, rather than a dichotomous trait consisting of illiteracy and literacy. In the real world of underdevelopment, literacy _is_ a continuum. These stages of literacy are not simply a function of the stage of proficiency reached by individuals, but a function of regression: literates--and especially newly literate adults of the lower socio-economic classes, frequently regress to a semi-literate state because of disuse of literacy skills.

A dichotomous conceptualization of literacy not only blinds
us to this rather frequently occurring in-between stage or
stages of literacy, but to the interrelationships and inter-
dependencies between literates and illiterates, at the var-
ious stages of skills.

Wherever possible, the study has also made an oper-
ational distinction between reading and writing skills.
There were two reasons for attempting to distinguish between
these component factors of literacy. In the first place it
serves to clarify the nature of the relationship between
literacy and some other factor. Secondly, it was obvious
that in the minds of the respondents reading and writing
were separate. Not only was "literacy" too complex a phe-
nomenon for some to grasp but the component factors were
differentially responded to and had different meanings and
gratifications in different situations.

Finally, the emphasis on the social situation of
the individual was stressed in the problem formulation and
methods used. In social psychology and in some communica-
tion theory and research, the importance of the group on
perceptions, opinions, and attitudes of its members has been
increasingly acknowledged. In order to understand any in-
dividual adult's reaction to literacy, the gratifications
it affords or does not afford, the uses he makes or does not
make of his new skills, it is necessary to take into account
not only the ecological setting, and the culture of the

individual, but also his primary and secondary group rela-
tions, his social roles and statuses. The individual's
family, friendship groups, and so on influence his opinions,
attitudes, and behavior patterns: they may prevent change in
these, encourage change, or may influence the individual to
change groups in certain circumstances, and under certain
external or internal stimuli. Literacy is also ultimately
defined and interpreted in this framework. Its meaning
arises out of the social interaction that an individual has
with significant others. To understand changes which do or
do not occur as a result of literacy, either on the individ-
ual, group, or social system level, it is necessary to under-
stand and specify the conditions condusive or detrimental to
change. Thus the ideal frame for analyzing individual liter-
acy becomes the totality of internal and external factors--
of which literacy is one, and their relationships. While
this ideal framework is not absolutely achievable, the study
has attempted to consider the major factors involved.

CHAPTER II

ILLITERACY AND LITERACY IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

There in the Sierra it is not like here (in
the city) . . . it is quite different. In the
Sierra you live and work in the fields and in
the mountains and you are quite happy. There
life is not like it is in the city. That is,
there are large towns, but you don't go to
them because it is very hard work to go . . .
So you build your own house, and then you have
this house and then for six months or so you
work hard and you put the food away, and then
you work more easily for the other six, and
then that's the way you spend your time
there . . .

<div align="right">

Teresa

</div>

In the Sierra they say, 'Why should women learn
to read?' They say, 'There is no reason for it.
There is no need for it. She shouldn't finish
First Grade. She has to pasture her animals.
That is what she has to do.'

<div align="right">

Felícitas

</div>

. . . here (in Lima) for anything you need to
know how to read and write . . . for factory
work or to be an employee in a laundry you need
to read and write. They need people who know
how to read and write.

<div align="right">

Flora

</div>

It can't be the same to know how to read and
write in the country and here (in Lima). It
can never be the same because here if you don't
know how to read and write you can do nothing.
We can't even talk nicely.

<div align="right">

Isabel

</div>

The respondents of the present study were migrants: they had come from the Highlands of Peru to the capital of Lima. In terms of literacy levels, they had moved from an area where about 41 per cent of the population of fifteen years of age or older is literate to one where about 79 per cent of the same age is literate.[1] This chapter deals with both illiteracy and the initiation and process of adult literacy and relates each to the socio-cultural context. On one level then the discussion focuses on the respondents' motivation for literacy, and looks at the role that their change of environment played in it. On another level, it focuses on the function of illiteracy and literacy in different socio-cultural contexts, and on throwing light on why such differences in literacy levels exist. The first section of the chapter will deal with the illiteracy of the respondents in the context of the Highland home community. The second discusses their migration and entrance into urban life. The third section considers the literacy process; why literacy should become more imperative in the urban environment; the actual reasons that played a role in the initiation of the process in the case of the respondents; and the role of the social stimulus situation during the process.

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[1] _Censo Nacional_ (Peru, 1961).

Illiteracy in the Sierra

"La Mancha India" or "The Indian Sleeve" as the
Sierra is sometimes called in Peru, comprises the depart-
ments of Cusco, Puno, Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Ancash, and
Apurimac—a little less than a third of the total popula-
tion of Peru. It is from this area that almost all the re-
spondents of the study came.

Life in the Sierra

Considerable differences exist between the predomi-
nantly Indian area and the coastal region of Peru in which
Lima is located. The Indian Sierra is more traditional in
culture. It is primarily rural, only about 26 per cent of
the population living in urban areas; the majority of the
people are subsistence-agriculture oriented, and experience
little social mobility.[2] The Sierra communities tend to
have considerable internal solidarity, but not very much
communication with each other or with the coastal cities.
There is limited access to mass communications for the in-
habitants of the Sierra. For example, in 1966, only 0.4 per
cent of television receivers were located in the Sierra, out
of the total number of receivers in Peru.[3]

The dominant language of social interaction in the

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[2]Julio Cotler, "La Mecánica de la Dominación Interna
y el Cambio Social en el Perú," Perú Problema, ed. by Jose
Matos Mar et al. (Lima, Peru: Moncloa-Campodónico, 1969),
p. 145.

[3]Ibid., p. 146.

Sierra is Quechua or one of the other Indian languages, about 87 per cent of the populations of five years or older communicating in one of these languages.[4]

All these factors, and particularly the communication and status barriers that exist between the Sierra and more modern coastal regions, have contributed to the preservation of much of the indigenous culture in the former.

The Highland communities from which the respondents originally came are then traditional "peasant" communities. In these change occurs slowly; each generation transmitting to the next one most of the social codes which govern behavior and define social roles. There is comparatively simple division of labor, and a limited differentiation of social roles. Social roles tend to be total and include many aspects of the individual's behavior and activities. Interaction is mainly with other members of the community, frequently in some way related. Immediate families and often large kind of groups, and small cliques defined most of the group memberships of the respondents in the earlier part of their lives.

In 70 per cent of the cases, the parents of the present respondents were farmers, the remaining third being cobblers, chauffeurs, small shopkeepers, and so on. In almost all cases, both parents were illiterate. In only one

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[4]_Ibid._, p. 153.

case did the mother know how to read and write. Most
parents spoke Quechua or Aimara, sometimes together with
Spanish.

A couple of respondents describe in their own words
life as they knew it in the Sierra:

> There in the Sierra it is not like here (in the
> city) . . . it is quite different. In the Sierra
> you live and work in the fields and in the moun-
> tains and you are quite happy. There life is not
> like it is in the city. That is, there are large
> towns, but you don't go to them because it is very
> hard work to go . . . So you build your own house,
> and then you have this house and then for six
> months or so you work hard and you put the food
> away, and then you work more easily for the other
> six, and then that's the way you spend your time
> there . . .

Another woman describes the social "pauperization" of the
Sierra, with the more qualified and more able moving away
from this traditional environment, to the more modern one
of the cities:

> In the Highlands the young boys and girls, they
> always come to the city, and there is no-one left.
> The only ones who remain are the ones who don't
> know how to read and write. There isn't a doctor
> there either, nor a dentist. There isn't anything
> much . . . There are no newspapers there, and the
> train only comes every 15 days, and then sometimes
> the letters come . . .

Barriers to Literacy

But the high levels of illiteracy in the "Indian
Sleeve" are more than a "left-over" effect of migration;
many of those who migrate to the cities—like the respon-
dents themselves, came as illiterate adults. This section

will then look at the kinds of barriers to literacy that the women of the study emphasized from their own experience, and the social functions that these have in the Sierra environment.

The barriers to literacy that the respondents spoke of fell into three main categories: educational facilities, poverty, and social norms. These factors are, of course, frequently interrelated, although they will be dealt with in turn.

Inadequate Educational Facilities

In general, educational facilities are less adequate in the Sierra than in coastal areas, and especially coastal cities. While schools do exist--frequently of the one-room, one-teacher type--these tend to be in the more densely populated areas, to which respondents did not always have access. As the respondent quoted below illustrates, poverty is intimately related to this: (Conditions may, of course, have improved in the intervening years.)

> I couldn't study there because my mother went off
> with another man . . . and my father was left alone.
> And the house burned and everything with it. And we
> were very small and then we had our house burned on
> top of all that and then we remained poor. My
> father didn't have the money to put us in school and
> then in the neighbourhood there wasn't a school
> there. The school was very far and you had to go
> there as a boarder and you had to pay there in order
> to study.

When children are sent to a school in another village, it is usually the boys and not the girls who go. Another

representative respondent recalls:

> There was no school in my village . . . there are
> other villages somewhat near where there are
> schools, and my brothers went there to study . . .
> My mother didn't let me go to school because we
> had to work there with the animals, and they
> didn't let us girls go to school.

When there _are_ schools within travelling distance,

lack of continuity in teaching sometimes hinders learning:

> Over there in the Sierra they don't teach well . . .
> because sometimes the teacher, she doesn't go. And
> they stay two months, three months—never more than
> three months, and that way you miss school and you
> don't learn. All the time my father is criticizing
> them. Last year, for example, for only three months
> there was a teacher all the time . . .

Finally, when there are schools and teachers, at

times respondents felt that the instruction itself was de-

ficient:

> There is a school there. They go into the class-
> room but they don't learn you in it. It is not
> like here. They don't show you well, and they
> merely give you a paper and then they don't say
> anything. And you can't learn. They don't tell
> you how to do it or only once they tell you, and
> they don't repeat it. And I didn't understand the
> first time because perhaps I am a little slow . . .
> and then time passed and the only thing I learned
> when they were teaching to read and write was to
> write my name and 'mama' and 'papa.' That's all
> I knew . . .

While some such criticism of teaching might be discounted

as rationalizations of one's own inability to learn, quota-

tions like the one of the respondent above—who, incidental-

ly, had become one of the brightest students in an adult

literacy program—and interviews with experts tend to give

support to such statements.

Poverty

The relationship of poverty to inability to attend school has already been noted. But poverty is a much more pervasive factor in illiteracy. Respondents spoke of lack of money to even buy such small items as books or pencils, and of the pressures of poverty that required that they help in the house and the fields, allowing them no time to attend school. When there is almost no money in the first place, a sudden problem such as a crop failure, an illness or death in the family, frequently curtails one of the children's education.

Over and over the respondents said, "We were poor, and we all had to work. There was no money to go to school." A couple of quotations from representative respondents illustrate:

> My father and my mother didn't want me to go to school. We were very poor and there were nine of us brothers and sisters. They couldn't have us all taught. 'Let her be like that,' they decided. 'No you can't study,' they said, 'you've got work to do. You've got to sow the fields and look after the animals.' And they said things like that . . .

> My father couldn't send me because my mother was sick and my father had to work to have her cured, and we had brothers who were already finishing their primary and my father continued sending them, but I couldn't go. But my older sister who was in Lima, she said, 'Come to Lima to work here. You can go on working and then you can go to school.'

Group Norms

While literacy levels are lower in general in the
Highlands than on the Coast, they are even lower in the
case of women: females in the Sierra are less likely to
learn to read and write than males.[5] Some of the earlier
quotations have already indicated the preference given to
the education of males, when other barriers exist. But in-
terviews indicate that the illiteracy of females is a norm
which is strongly preserved by group pressures all over the
Sierra departments. The norm seems to be that females either
do not study at all or study up to the point where they can
write their name, but no further; functional literacy is not
for women:

> Over there in the Sierra they said to the girls that
> we shouldn't go to school. We should only go so
> that we learn to write our name. And after that,
> no. Men, yes. Males, yes--they are the ones who
> have to go to school. But females no.

In all, two-thirds of the respondents reported hear-
ing explicit reference to the fact that literacy was less
important for women than for men. Ninety per cent of the
time it was in the Sierra.

On the one hand, it is argued that women do not need
literacy. The traditional role of the Sierra woman is to
work in the house, the fields, or to look after the animals.
These roles they assume early in life; it is sometimes said

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[5]Reforma de la Educación Peruana, p. 157.

that "the Indian woman is a little housewife by the age of

seven." To help her mother, or take the place of her

mother if the parent is ill or dead remains the young girl's

role until she has a home of her own (usually in her early

teens). Quotations from four representative respondents

describe such anti-education arguments in terms of the

Sierra woman's traditional roles:

> In the Sierra they say, 'Why should women learn to
> read?' They say, 'There is no reason for it. There
> is no need for it. She shouldn't finish First Grade.
> She has to pasture her animals. That is what she has
> to do.'

> Sometimes in the Sierra you hear this—they say, 'Why
> should women study?' Women are no good. Women don't
> study. Men have to study because they have to go
> into the army.' Yes, they say it is not very impor-
> tant for a woman because a woman is not the same as
> a man. 'A woman!' they say, 'Where is she going?
> She is not even going to serve her country!'

> My father always said: 'Study is for men and boys,'
> he said, 'not for females. It is for men, not for
> women. Women have to work in the fields.'

> My grandmother and my mother, they told me, 'Since
> they have animals, women should watch the animals.
> Why should they study?'

The generally held view is that literacy for women

is not only an unnecessary waste of time and money, and

useless to her, but would actually become threatening to the

traditional values and behavior patterns. In the first

place, the educated woman would not want to work. A re-

spondent illustrates this argument:

> My father, when I was little, he said that for
> girls it isn't important that they should learn
> (to read and write). Because they don't do any-

thing if they learn. Women when they learn, they don't want to do any work. That's what they said in the Sierra . . .

But not only will women not want to work if they study, but their reading and writing ability would become threatening to family life:

> Sometimes in my countryside my father said, and also many other people spoke that way, that learning to read and write was not for women. My father said, 'What! You think you are going to go to learn to read and write! When you are grown up you are going to send letters to lovers and things like that.' And he said that one should stay at home and bring up children.

Over and over respondents from widely scattered areas in the Sierra quote the same warning: "If women learn to read and write they are going to send letters to their lovers." Most frequently, it is their own immediate family--especially fathers, from whom they have heard this. But occasionally it is also the leaders in the community:

> In my countryside they say that women shouldn't learn to read and write . . . They were the Lieutenant and the Judges--all those, and they said that there have been women who became students and they had lovers and they wrote notes and for that reason only they wanted to write and read.

In this way one generation transmits to the next one the social code which governs females' behavior in regard to education, and changes are slow in coming. Two other respondents illustrate:

> I wasn't sent to school because my grandmother and my mother--they didn't send them to school either. And my mother didn't send me to school because she didn't realize that education is very necessary . . .

> My father didn't have much money . . . and we
> have many brothers and sisters. And my father
> said, 'Your mother says that when they were
> young they didn't study. Why should you learn
> to read and write?'

Not only children, but also newcomers to a community where these norms exist are quickly socialized to accept them. A respondent describes a conversation she remembered overhearing between her mother--who had just moved to a new Sierra community, and the neighbours:

> . . . we moved, and in that new place there was no
> school nearby. And I was with my mother there and
> I remember she was talking with some people from
> there who had come to visit us. My mother said:
> 'Well, there is no school near here. Where shall
> I put my children to study?' And they said, 'No.
> No. No. It is not important for females to study.'

What the interviews emphasize is that illiteracy is very much related to the socio-cultural context, in which it performs an important function. Opportunities for education are in general far less in the Sierra than in a city or even in the coastal region. But lack of opportunity for the female respondents of the study was not simply related to lack of educational facilities or poverty, but to the social norms of the traditional Sierra society. While poverty and the inadequacies of education affect all, the norms prescribe that the males study but that the females do not. Thus, whereas every effort is made to give the males education, even in the face of difficulties, social pressures are exerted on the females so that they adhere to the norm of female illiteracy. Over and over the study has found

what Moore and Tumin have called "reinforcement of the as-
sumption that deviation from the norms is statistically
insignificant."[6]

Illiteracy performs a structural function in so-
ciety through preservation of traditional values, ideas,
and behavior patterns--and differences in status and power
that exist between male and female.

The Move to the Capital

In the last thirty or so years, there has been a
tremendous increase in the urban population of Peru. For
example, between the years of 1940 and 1965, the urban pop-
ulation (defined as residents in centers of 2,000 inhabi-
tants or more) grew from 25 per cent of the total population
of Peru to 42 per cent, increasing at an annual rate of three
times that of the rural population. This differential has
been attributed to the rural-urban migratory currents.[7] The
general flow of migration is from the rural Sierra areas to
the coast, with Lima, the capital, as the principal focus.
In the last thirty years, Lima has more than tripled her
population, about half of this increment being due to first

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[6]W. Moore and M. Tumin, "Some Social Functions of
Ignorance," American Sociological Review, XIV, 6 (December,
1949), 787-795.

[7]Servicio del Empleo y Recursos Humanos, Diagnóstico
y Programación de los Recursos Humanos, Población del Perú,
March, 1965.

generation Indian migrants, seeking improvement in their

conditions.[8] The respondents of the present study are part

of this Sierra-Lima migration.

This section will look at their reasons for migra-

tion and process of migration as well as the nature of their

entrance into Lima-city life. In particular, the focus will

be on the role which education plays in this process.

Migration

The major decision to migrate in the case of the

respondents was determined by economic considerations. This

is in keeping with the dominant migration motivation of the

Sierra Indian migrants in general.[9] Fifty-five of the women

named this as the sole reason for migration. For about one-

sixth economic motivations were combined with a desire to

see the city, and for an equal number with a desire for edu-

cation. In all, education as a motivating factor in migra-

tion--either alone or in combination with some other reason--

was important with only 20 per cent of the respondents.

Occasionally, the move to the city was also insti-

gated by a desire to see relatives who had moved there ear-

lier (usually brothers, sisters, aunts, or cousins) and in

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[8]Julio Cotler, "La Mecánica de la Dominación Interna
y del Cambio Social en el Perú," p. 178.

[9]See for example, Héctor Martinez, "Internal Migra-
tion in Peru," Internal Migration in Latin America (Geneva:
World Council of Churches, 1969), pp. 51-72, especially pp.
52, 60, 61, 64.

a few cases by unwillingness to assume the traditional role of the Indian Sierra woman--working in the house or fields.

Economic considerations stressed both the "push" and the "pull" dimensions of the process. Some spoke of the sheer poverty of their home environment, with parents simply unable to feed and clothe them. Sometimes they were sent to relatives in the city who would hopefully support them or find ways for them to be self-supporting. Many who came at an age where they could earn their own living, migrated with the purpose of earning something to send back to their destitute family in the Sierra. (It is frequently the female children who are most expendable in the rural areas.) The primary "pull" factor was the belief that the city would not only offer them a greater choice of jobs, and that there were more jobs to go around, but that these occupations were relatively better paid than in other areas.

Education, in the 20 per cent of cases that it became important in the migration process, was related to the factors earlier discussed in regard to Sierra illiteracy: the inadequate educational facilities, poverty, and the social norms which operated against education for women.

One woman describes the problems of poverty that stimulated migration in her particular case, and with several others:

> . . . there wasn't enough money. We don't earn any-
> thing there. We work only in the fields and there
> wasn't enough money, not even for notebooks. We have

no way to get money either. There is a school, but
we can't go. If the father doesn't work, you have
nothing. You can't even buy notebooks or a pencil.

Two others who had not been able to study in their

home community because of inhibiting social norms explain

their migration:

I came (to Lima) because I wanted to come to study.
Because over there I had no chance . . . My family
said, 'No. No. No.' they said. 'Women don't study,'
they said. And that is why I came.

My (male) cousins--they knew how to read. They
could read a newspaper and letters, and I didn't
know anything. And I said to my father, 'Why
don't you put me in school?' And he said, 'No.
No. Women don't study.' So I said, 'Well, in that
case I am going to Lima. There I can study.' 'They
are not going to receive you in school there either,'
he said. But I came. My parents didn't know. Not
even my grandmother. I escaped. I wanted to learn--
that's why.

In the case of the preceding respondent, it is inter-

esting that her father tried to convince her that the female-

illiteracy norms were universal rather than local. Again,

while she was not the only one who was so motivated to study,

and took such extreme measures--against all parental advice--

to pursue her ambition, such a pattern was rare. The major-

ity of the respondents had been effectively socialized into

the norms of their traditional society, and while they might

have been aware of greater educational opportunities that

existed in the city, these did not usually play a part in

the migration.

In 92 per cent of cases, the process of migration

was direct: they came straight from their home community to

Lima. In all but one case there was what might be called a "reduction of risk-taking" in the sense that they had relatives already living in the capital, or had jobs waiting for them. Eighty per cent of the women had some member of their extended family in Lima--usually a brother, sister, aunt, uncle, or cousin. With 87 per cent of respondents, the actual process of migration was facilitated by a relative or relatives--usually an aunt, who either travelled with them from the countryside, or made a trip back to the countryside (from where they themselves had migrated at some earlier stage in most cases) and brought the girl or young woman with her when she returned. Less frequently the respondents came together with another member of their family who also planned to stay in Lima.

Twenty per cent of the women--whether they had a relative already living in Lima or not, or came with one-- arrived with a job as a domestic servant waiting for them, having been contracted by their future employer (sometimes through mediating individuals, at times directly) while still living in the Sierra.[10]

Entrance into City Life

The coastal area of Peru, unlike the Sierra, is market-oriented, and the center of industry and finance.

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[10]Such an arrangement sometimes works to the financial advantage of the employer, but also provides reassurance of some kind to the relatives of the girl.

Again, whereas the Sierra is primarily rural, the coast is primarily urban—69 per cent of the population living in urban areas.[11] It has much greater social mobility, and considerable internal communication, both intra and extra-regional: most of the newspapers are published and distributed in the coast, and most of the radio and television stations are in the coast.[12] The dominant language of social interaction is Spanish, and the dominant race Mestizo.

The indigenous culture has been virtually eradicated in this coastal area by the early Spanish conquerors, and by the influx of Western values, and ideas that came with industrialization and the spread of modern means of mass communication, resulting in a variant of the Western-colonial culture, sometimes termed "Criollo culture."[13]

About 80 per cent of the coastal population of fifteen years and older is literate.[14]

In Lima, the capital of Peru, these general coastal characteristics of modernization, industrialization, and Westernization are most accentuated. In broad general terms, it can be said that the respondents of the study came from

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[11]Cotler, "La Mecánica de la Dominación," p. 145.

[12]Ibid., p. 146.

[13]Ozzie Simmons, "The Criolle Outlook in the Mestizo Culture of Coastal Peru," American Anthropologist, LVII (1955), 107-117.

[14]Cotler, "La Mecánica de la Dominación," pp. 145-146.

an area that was underdeveloped, traditional, and indigenous, to one that was developed, modern, and Westernized.

These migrant women studied, like migrants in general, had moved to this urban center in the hope that they could participate in the advantages of its modern life. They are frequently disappointed. Hoping for occupations which have higher status and greater independence than their traditional roles, they discover instead that modern industrial occupations require skilled, literate, workers. As illiterates without any relevant job experience in almost all cases, they are unprepared to fulfill the requirements of the industrial society which they have entered.

While the male counterparts of the respondents of the study can usually enter construction, or the armed forces, virtually the only occupation to which illiterate women from the Sierra have access is domestic service.[15] This helps to explain the nature of this occupation at the present time--almost solely filled by Indian migrants, whereas only a few decades ago it was the ex-slave population who were servants.

The irony of the situation of the Indian migrant

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[15]D. Chaplin, "A Discussion of Major Issues Arising in the Recruitment of Industrial Labor in Peru," Labor and Politics in Peru, ed. by James Payne (Yale University Press, 1965). Currently some also become "ambulantes" or street vendors, sometimes managing if they know numbers and can do elementary arithmetic. Domestic service has, however, traditionally been the most popular choice of occupation.

women of the study is that while they had migrated from the traditional Sierra where economic and educational opportunities were few, to a modern city where these were at least theoretically greater, there was relatively little they could do to take advantage of them. Choice of occupation, for example, is constrained by the fact that they are female, Indian--and illiterate: they become domestic servants-- housekeepers, nursemaids, cooks, maids, and laundry-women.[16]

Some of the respondents describe the process of becoming a servant:

> I started to work in a house because of my brothers and sisters who didn't have anybody to look out for them, so I had to look out for them . . . I had to work for my brothers and sisters . . .

Another, who was contracted as a servant while still in her home community, tells of disappointment and frustration of original aspirations and expectations:

> Well, my father didn't want me to come here to work. He said, 'Stay here. Stay here. You are going to study. Don't worry.' But I didn't like it. And then a lady from here (Lima) came and said, 'Oh, over there (in Lima) you are going to be far better off . . .'And then she brought me to be a nursemaid only. And now I cook, and I do the cleaning, and I look after the babies, and I wash diapers . . .

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[16]The Ley del Trabajador Doméstico (Lima, 1971) defines a domestic servant as "Workers of domestic service are those who dedicate themselves in a constant and continuous form to labors of cleaning, cooking, help and so on, jobs associated with the care of a residence or dwelling and the furtherance of the life of a home that does not bring in money or business for the owner or for the members of the family." (Supreme Decree of April 30, 1957, Article No. 1)

Yet another respondent, who like most had become a servant after looking for work in the city, explains how as an illiterate her choices were limited:

> I didn't know anything . . . and people who don't know how to read and write can only work in a house then. That's it. They can't do anything else . . .

However, working as a domestic servant does sometimes allow the opportunity for education, sometimes because of more flexible hours, and sometimes simply because it provides room and board, and a small income:

> Because my family is poor, I started working in a house so that I could pay my studies and support myself while I was studying.

> Because of my need, I had to work in a house. My parents didn't help me to go to school. They weren't willing to pay for it. So now, when I work, the mistress gives me time free to go to school, and she also gives me food and housing.

This then is the hope of many such women who become servants: to find a job which allows them to work part time (usually at a salary cut of about 50 per cent) so that they can study. An employment agency for domestic service--which, incidentally, tends to cater to those who have been in the urban environment for a longer period of time, have had previous jobs, and therefore references--has 95 per cent of applicants ask for jobs "with school," in spite of the salary cut.

Most of the respondents, when they first came to the city, had, however, had no previous job experience that was relevant, and no references. Almost all therefore required

the help of some other non-official person in finding their

first job as a servant. In over half of the cases, it was

a relative who helped; about a quarter were employed in

their home community; the rest were helped by countrymen or

friends. Such individuals generally take them to the pros-

pective employer, and usually offer some kind of personal

guarantee.

This does not mean that relatives are always in

agreement with letting their family member work as a ser-

vant, no matter how unable or unwilling they might be to

support her:

> Well, when I had just come from the country my
> cousin said, 'What are you going to work at while
> you study?' And she put me to work in a house.
> But another cousin didn't want me to be a servant.
> And then still another cousin said, 'Yes, but she'll
> have to. There is no other way.' And then I came
> here and I stayed working in this house.

As this quotation also indicates, it would seem that fre-

quently respondents simply submitted to the will of their

relatives, and had very little say themselves in their be-

coming servants.

Sometimes respondents underwent a period of "appren-

ticeship" for domestic service, either in the home of a

relative or of someone of a lower socio-economic status who

employed her at a minimal salary, or no salary, in return

for instruction.[17] Once a regular domestic servant, she

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[17]Members of the lower classes are in this way some-
times able to afford a servant and have the associated sta-
tus.

usually lived at the place of work, room and board being
part of the occupational conditions. Salaries are low, and
furthermore subject to various cuts (education, inexperience,
having a child, and breakages being among these).

The live-in servants of the study seemed on the
whole to live under better conditions than those of their
occupational group who lived as migrants in the city. By
comparison with living conditions of servants in most Euro-
pean countries and even some Latin American ones, the
Peruvian servants' quarters and comforts were often infer-
ior. Respondents in the study who had children tended to
live out because of the difficulties of finding a job that
would allow them to have a child with them. They did not
usually live with the fathers of the children, and most of
them were unmarried.[18] The conditions under which these
women and their children lived were often incredibly poor,
and in all probability inferior to how they would have lived
in the Sierra. (See Appendix C for more detail on salaries,
living conditions, laws relating to domestic servants)

As servants, the respondents' social contacts were
limited because of long work hours, restrictions placed on
visitors and sometimes on visiting, by employers, and be-
cause of their low status as servants. (According to some
expert interviews, among females a servant is roughly

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[18]Illegitimate children among the respondents, and
among this sector of the population in general, are quite
common.

equivalent to a ditch digger among males--and the lowest
rung on the occupational ladder.) Illiteracy also limits
physical mobility in the city, and lack of fluency in
Spanish limits communication with Spanish speakers. Be-
cause they are illiterate, they are currently furthermore
denied political participation, proof of rudimentary liter-
acy being a prerequisite to the possession of an Electoral
Card. Because of lack of an Electoral Card, their partici-
pation as consumers is also limited, because this card is
required for purchase on credit and many other economic
transactions.

In sum, while the respondents had migrated to the
modern urban environment with considerable expectations,
their participation in this new milieu is considerably
limited. They begin their urban life on the very lowest
status level, because many opportunities are denied to them,
and while physically existing in it, are far from integrated
into it. Illiteracy is a major constraining factor. This
will become even clearer in later discussions.

Adult Literacy in the City

It was earlier noted that a desire for education was
significant in the migration process with only 20 per cent
of the respondents. While it is true that interest in learn-
ing may have existed earlier, but had not been related to the
move to the urban modern area, interviews with respondents

indicate that in the majority of cases, living in the new
environment itself played a part in motivation towards
adult literacy. This section discusses the differences in
the need for literacy that the respondents perceived to exist
between the Sierrá and Lima; the actual nature of the re-
spondents' own entrance into the formal educational environ-
ment, especially in terms of outside personal influences,
and personal incentives; and the nature of the social stimu-
lus situation during the literacy process.

The Urban Literacy Need

Ninety per cent of the respondents of the study saw
literacy as much more needed in a city like Lima than in
the Sierra. Whereas in the traditional environment literacy
would have been a luxury for them, in the modern one it was
a necessity. A couple of quotations, typical of respondents,
illustrate:

> In the Highlands study is not so needed almost as it
> is here. Here you need it more because here it is
> more advanced in Lima, and you need your studies and
> you need to know to read and write.

> Here (in Lima) you need it much more. When you know
> how to read and write it is better for you in the
> city but in the Highlands you don't know and it
> doesn't matter because there in the Highlands life
> is quite different . . .

The peculiar stimulus factors for literacy which,
while absent in the rural Sierra, were present in the modern
environment were several: respondents referred to the gen-
eral areas of employment, social norms, physical mobility,

self-defense, oral communication interaction, mass media, and private communication through letters. They will be discussed in order of their relative frequency of mention, keeping in mind that they are sometimes interrelated and that at times respondents mentioned more than one. Representative quotations illustrate.

1. <u>Literacy is needed for employment in urban-Lima but not in the rural-Sierra</u>. For women's traditional Sierra roles--housework, herding animals or working in the fields--literacy is not needed. In urban-Lima, however, literacy becomes important for employment in three ways: (1) to aid in finding work as a servant; (2) in occupational role-performance as a servant; (3) to acquire work other than domestic service. Four respondents give their ideas on the subject:

> . . . Here in Lima schooling is very much meeded. In the Highlands not much, because you don't do much with it. You just work in the fields and that kind of thing.

> It is more important in Lima . . . because in order to be able to find work you need to know how to read and write, because if you don't they don't receive you at the job . . .

> In the Highlands it doesn't matter if you don't know how to read and write but here it is more difficult if you don't know because the mistress sends you to buy at the store with the list and you can't read it . . . Well, also for other things in the job it is important.

> . . . here (in Lima) for anything you need to know how to read and write . . . for factory work or to be an employee in a laundry you need to read and write. They need people who know how to read and write.

2. _Literacy is needed in order to be normative in the urban-Lima whereas illiteracy is the norm in the rural-Sierra_. As discussed in the earlier part of the chapter, the norm in the rural-Sierra is that women are illiterate (and also many men) whereas in the city women are more frequently literate, or studying to become literate:

> There in my countryside all the people I know don't know how to read and write. There if you don't know how to read and write you can manage without knowing but here you can't manage.

> In the countryside it is different. Completely different. When you don't know how to read, you don't know how to read: that is all. And other people are the same. But since I came here I felt I wanted to read . . .

Two other respondents remember how they became aware of their own deviation from the urban norm of literacy:

> I saw the other girls coming to school to study. And I was the only one who didn't know how to read or write. All the others knew . . .

> When I didn't know how to read . . . I was like a fool. I felt foolish because I felt strange because the others knew how to read.

3. _Literacy is needed for physical mobility in urban-Lima but not in the rural-Sierra_. Whereas in the Sierra there is usually less travel, generally within a familiar area, there are no street signs, or few, and rarely do transport signs or schedules require reading; in the city not being able to read limits physical mobility. Two respondents describe the differences from their own point of view:

> There in my countryside . . . if you don't know how
> to read and write you can manage without knowing
> how to . . . but here (in Lima) you can't manage.
> For example, when I go out here then I need to read
> the signs and the names of the streets and buses
> and things to find my way. And well, over there
> there aren't any . . .

> In the Highlands reading is not so important. The
> only place it is needed is here . . . Well, for
> example, if a person doesn't know how to read and
> you want to go anyplace, and then they give us an
> address and we don't know how to read, we can't
> read it and we have to ask. And some people we ask
> don't know either and they give us a wrong address,
> and we turn up some other place. This has happened
> to me. But in the Highlands the villages are small--
> they are not as big as the capital of Lima which is
> very large. And here there are all kinds of dif-
> ferent neighbourhoods . . . and they are very far
> away . . . In the Highlands the places are small:
> you can't get lost so easily . . .

Limited physical mobility places constraints on social interaction, as another respondent explains:

> If you don't know how to read here in the city, you
> can't find your friends or your cousins here. You
> don't go any place because you can't find anything.

4. <u>Literacy is needed to be able to defend oneself in the urban-Lima more than in the rural-Sierra</u>. It is true that respondents were at times especially afraid and distrustful of urban residents, having been warned about such dangers of city life by their families in the Sierra. However, some spoke of actual instances they or others had experienced, and it is a generally known fact that ignorant and gullible migrants--and especially migrant women--are frequently taken advantage of by grafters. Sometimes these are native Limeñans, but at other times they are also their

own countrymen, migrants like themselves. For some re-
spondents, therefore, the additional ability that literacy
provided for self-defense became a major differentiating
factor between literacy-need in the Sierra and in the city
of Lima:

> Well, it is not the same (to be illiterate) in the
> city and the country. Because when you live here
> and don't know how to read, you can't manage: here
> you have to know how to read and write bacause it
> is necessary for not letting yourself be deceived
> by anybody.

5. <u>Literacy is required for effective oral communi-
cation interaction in the urban-Lima but not so much in the
rural-Sierra.</u> This is to a large extent (but not complete-
ly) related to the language differences between the two
areas. For the respondents, the first language was usually
the one spoken most frequently in the Sierra--Quechua,
Aimara, or one of the other Indian languages. In Lima, how-
ever, the code of common verbal intercourse is Spanish, and
most, when they arrived, spoke this with great difficulty,
if at all:

> Over there they don't need to know how to read and
> write. Everybody just talks Quechua in the High-
> lands. But here you can't talk Quechua, you have
> to talk Spanish and <u>you need to know to read and
> to talk Spanish well</u> . . .

A quotation from another respondent also shows the
relationship perceived between literacy training (usually
conducted in Spanish) and being able to speak Spanish, as
well as giving some indication of the negative attitude

towards the lower-status mother tongue:

> It can't be the same to know how to read and write
> in the country and here (in Lima). It can never
> be the same because here if you don't know how to
> read and write you can do nothing. We can't even
> talk nicely.

6. Literacy is needed in order to have direct access to print media in the urban-Lima more than in the rural-Sierra. This factor, which is related to differences in distribution of the print media was actually relatively infrequently mentioned. A respondent illustrates:

> There (in the Sierra) it is also useful to know
> how to read and write. Either here (in Lima) or
> there it is important, but here it is more impor-
> tant because here you read more. Over there the
> only times anyone has newspapers are when some
> teachers get newspapers. There there is almost
> nothing to read, whereas here there is always
> something to read.

7. Literacy is needed more in the urban-Lima for writing and reading letters than it is in the rural-Sierra. Respondents as migrants who almost always had left behind parents, sisters, and brothers were aware of the need of literacy for maintaining contact. In the Sierra, when letters do arrive, it is also probably easier to find someone to read them—or to write them when needed. A respondent describes this literacy-need:

> In Lima it is more important (to be literate) . . .
> a person needs to read and write because news comes
> and letters come. And in the Highlands there are
> no newspapers, no letters, nothing. But here it is
> important that a person know to read and write.

The fact that there are "no letters" in the Highlands would, in most cases, be an overstatement, but the general difference applies.

These above discussed differences in the social and non-social external literacy stimuli existing in the rural-Sierra and urban-Lima situations do not necessarily give a comprehensive description. But they do indicate the kinds of factors and differential literacy needs which were important to the respondents, who had experienced both situations, and furthermore had experienced both as illiterates at some stage of their lives.

As a result of such differences in the need for literacy, it was only after they arrived in Lima and had experienced the feeling of being illiterate in this modern urban environment that some began to want to study:

> In the Highlands the families say, 'Why should women learn to read? There is no reason for it. There is no need for it. . .' And I didn't think when I was there. Only when I got to Lima I realized I needed it.

Even a woman needs literacy in the city. Migration has therefore played an important role in the literacy of many of the respondents.

Other Individuals as Stimuli for Literacy

The earlier part of the chapter illustrated how other individuals sometimes become directly significant in terms of illiteracy: respondents referred to the fact that

most people in the Sierra that they knew were illiterate and spoke of conversations they had overheard or direct influence attempts that they had experienced which became stimuli for illiteracy. In almost all cases, respondents were also conscious of instances where other individuals had become important stimuli for literacy. Eighty-nine per cent of the women of the study reported such explicit attempts to influence them to become literate, and almost all the remaining 11 per cent had been influenced by others through modelling behavior, invited comparisons, and so on. Whereas almost all individual-stimuli for illiteracy had occurred in the Sierra, nearly all influences for literacy took place in the urban environment.

Whereas the majority of influences for illiteracy had come from illiterates, or those barely literate, most (but not all) of the influences for literacy came from literates. Again, whereas the majority of those who had stressed that women should not study had been males (usually fathers or brothers, with the mother sometimes opposing them) on the other hand, most of these who made influence attempts for literacy were females, although males--usually brothers and uncles--were also sometimes very actively involved.

Approximately an equal number of relatives as employers had influenced the respondents to learn to read and write. Friends and co-workers figured less frequently in explicitly verbalized influence attempts, but were often

important in inviting comparison, or simply in terms of modelling behavior, which in many cases became a very effective spur to learning even when no other verbal influences existed. In fact, in all cases where respondents said that no one had tried to influence them directly, they mentioned a situation in the urban environment in which they had been influenced by their friends or co-workers or just occupational group members (usually identifiable without any personal acquaintance because of the uniform worn) whom they had seen reading, going to classes, or carrying books:

> I came to live here and then I saw that my friends were coming to study and nobody told me to come to school. I myself wanted to learn.

> The other girls--I saw them going with their books. And they said, 'We go to study there at that school.' So I came too.

Another respondent remembered a conversation on the subject with her nieces, in which they had made her feel ignorant:

> Nobody told me I should learn. They said, 'You don't know but I do know'--like that. My nieces said that here in Lima. When they were in second grade or something like that, they said, 'You don't know nothing, and I know more.' And I said, 'Well, when I don't know what can I do about it?' I said words like that, but I wanted to learn.

Sometimes the members of several different groups combine to exert pressure on the illiterate to study:

> Well, my friends and my family they encouraged me. They knew I needed to learn how to read because it is necessary . . . My friends who work with me at the place where I work, they knew how to read. They knew already and they told me that I should study.

Another respondent also describes such a case of various influences:

> I knew some friends who studied and they advised me to come to study. Then the mistress of my house told me also that I could study because I worked in her house and she told me, 'You won't be an employee all your life. You will get married, and have a husband and you should know something . . .'

But while female employers are frequently mentioned as important individual-stimuli for literacy, they do not always take the initiative (and are, in fact, probably much less likely not to) and sometimes even try to dissuade their servant from studying or simply do not allow her to do so. Sometimes in such cases relatives and even occupational group members go to the employer to attempt to persuade her to change her mind:

> My mother and father they are ill, and then my brother, he had to study in the Highlands, but I no. I just stayed that way without knowing anything, only looking after the animals. Now my brother is no longer studying. Now he is here and he is in the navy . . . And he talks to me most, and he told me I should learn to read and write. And he begged the mistress to let me study so that I might get to be better and have a career a little--a profession maybe even--a short one. 'So that you may be able to defend yourself in life,' my brother said.

Sometimes those who persuaded the respondents explicitly referred to the need for women as well as men to study:

> My aunt and my uncle too, they said, 'You should learn the way the men are learning.' My mistress also said, 'You should learn.'

Sometimes the illiterate is subjected to cross pressures, occasionally even within her own family:

> My brothers said to me, 'What are you going to
> study for? You are too old now (she was 25 at
> the time) . . .' But my aunt and uncle brought
> me and my uncle said, 'She is not going to be
> like that—illiterate like her brothers and sisters there in the Highlands. She has got to go
> and learn.'

Although external stimuli give rise to individual incentive, or combine with personal motives which, in turn, leads to the commencement of adult literacy training, this is not always the case. In fact, about as many respondents began literacy training only because of external individual-stimuli, with no relationship to any expressed personal incentives, as did from personal incentives.

Personal incentives alone were almost never involved. In cases where others provided the only stimulus for literacy, it was usually the employer (52 per cent)—the girl not wanting or daring to oppose her, or a relative (40 per cent)—usually an aunt, uncle or brother, who enrolled her. A respondent describes such a situation:

> Well, my brother who had finished high school,
> forced me to study. I didn't want to. And since
> the first time I came to Lima, he forced me to
> study. If I was not going to study I should return to my countryside, to Ancash, he said . . .
> He got me all my documents and my birth certificate
> from my countryside. And then, in that first house
> where I worked, they didn't really want me to go to
> school. The mistress said, 'You can look for another job.' She couldn't give me schooling, she
> said. After all it was my father's and my mother's
> place to give me schooling, she said. And since I
> had got accustomed to working in that house, I

felt sad and I didn't want to leave them, and some
time passed . . . And then my brother got very
angry, and then I had to go . . . Yes, he forced
me to study. And then I began and then I liked it.
But I hadn't any interest at first. I was only
interested in knowing Lima.

As with the respondent quoted above, personal in-
centive to continue learning sometimes follows after learn-
ing to read and write has commenced. In such cases, at-
titudes toward literacy change after behavior has changed.
This is in accord with a body of research in social psy-
chology which has found that in the presence of enforced
behavior that is discrepent with certain attitudes held,
such attitudes sometimes undergo change. The attitude
change in such instances is frequently explained in terms
of dissonance theory.[18]

In the present study, there is good reason to be-
lieve that as many as half the respondents held negative
attitudes toward literacy, or literacy for women, when
first coerced to begin literacy training. Attitude change
seems frequently to have followed behavior change: in all
cases such women later held very positive attitudes toward
literacy.

One particularly vivid story which illustrates such
an attitude change after the respondent was actually trick-
ed into enrolling in a literacy class by a friend, is

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[18]See for example, Arthur R. Cohen, Attitude Change
and Social Influence (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1964), pp.
81-99.

quoted at length:

> Well, I wasn't interested in studying at all. Most
> of all what I was interested in was to work and earn
> my money, and I didn't want to study. And I have a
> friend from the North whom I have had from the time
> I came to Lima. She works in the house of the mother-
> in-law of my mistress, and she is very good. And she
> said, 'Look, I will show you Lima. I will take you to
> your family. You tell me where they are, you give me
> address and I will take you because I know those
> places.' And she took me, and she took me everywhere.
> And she encouraged me to come to school--the school
> which is in the Parish of M----every Wednesday only
> from three in the afternoon to six. And she took me
> there. She practically forced me. I didn't <u>want</u> to
> go. I was scared of school, and she said, 'No, let's
> go.' And she took me. She deceived me in a way, and
> then it turned out that I was already registered!
> (laughter) And then I studied there until the Second
> Grade, every Wednesday only, and it's not the same as
> studying every day. And this friend said too it
> wasn't the same. And in Second Grade I studied half
> a year only, because the mistress she moved and I
> went with her . . . And then last year I said, 'I am
> going to study, Señora,' I said. Because I under-
> stood better. It was much too late that I realized
> that study is for one's good. It is something for
> show anyway for anywhere I want to go. And then I
> regretted very much not having studied as a child.
> If I had studied then, well, I would have been in
> University now like my brother is . . . Sometimes
> I think, why haven't I studied earlier? It would
> have been much better, because I wouldn't be working
> this way in a house. And then I began to study again.
> And my friend, when she found out, said, 'Well!' she
> said. 'What a miracle! Now you have accepted it. Now
> you want it!' she said. 'And before I used to have to
> force you. If you were a dog I would have pulled you
> by your leash!' she said.

Individual-stimuli from others are then very impor-

tant in terms of commencement of the literacy process, either

together with, or giving rise to personal incentives as well,

or operating alone to bring the illiterate to the stage where

she becomes enrolled, begins to learn, and later on changes

her attitude toward literacy.[19]

Personal Incentives for Literacy

Most of the respondents of the study had then experienced both influence attempts for literacy and those against literacy. When adult literacy training was actually started in the literacy-oriented modern urban environment, 43 per cent of respondents were themselves motivated to learn, and exercised some personal volition in the matter. When other people only were not mentioned, the responses to the question "What made you want to learn to read and write?" fell under the broad categories of: a desire for knowledge, occupational considerations, the pressures of group norms, desire for social status, desire for improvement of oral communication ability, the wish to read and write letters, a sense of responsibility to children, literacy demands of every day activities, desire for further education, and convenience. Most respondents mentioned only one reason, though this does not mean that other factors were not necessarily involved. Each of these incentives for literacy will be discussed in the order of relative frequency of occurrence, together with representative

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[19]It should be remembered, however, that the respondents in the study tend to represent those who have themselves become motivated to learn and have continued, more than those who were coerced to begin but drop out because of lack of personal incentive.

quotations.[20]

1. <u>Desire for knowledge</u>. Twenty-one per cent of respondents said they had wanted to learn to read and write because they wished to "know something." They emphasized reading and writing skills as having value in themselves, irrespective of any instrumental use to which they might be put:

> I wanted to learn. I wanted to read in order to feel I knew at least something . . .

2. <u>Occupational considerations</u>. Eighteen per cent of the respondents had been motivated by a desire to improve their occupational chances. Some felt that being literate would either make it easier for them to find good jobs as servants, or help them in their role performance as domestic employees:

> Well, sometimes there were books to cook by, and the mistress said, 'These are cooking books.' And I looked at the pictures--how the food was so pretty, but I didn't know how to cook it and that was one of the reasons I said, 'I must learn to read.'

Other respondents felt literacy would aid in occupation change:

> I wanted to learn to read and write because I wanted to go ahead. I wanted to get a better position . . .

_____

[20]Some reasons such as responsibility to children, and the associated one of convenience, simply do not become relevant for all respondents, since only about 10 per cent had children. Had all the women been mothers, these incentives would in all likelihood have occurred much more frequently.

A few had a specific career in mind:

> At the age of 14 I came here to Lima, and then,
> until the age of 18 I studied sewing. Then I
> decided that I had to study because in order to
> be a real dressmaker with public authorization I
> have to have complete public schooling.

3. Pressures of group norms. Fourteen per cent of

the respondents were motivated because as illiterates they

became aware of deviating from the norms of their group:

> Well, I was going to buy things--to do the shop-
> ping, and I didn't know where the man had sent
> me with the paper. I didn't know how to read, and
> I asked my friend, 'Please can you read there what
> it says on this list?' And the friend said, 'Oh,
> but you don't know how to read yourself! Such a
> big girl and you don't know how to read!' And I
> got ashamed and I asked the mistress to give me
> schooling.

4. Desire for social status. Ten per cent saw

reading and writing ability as conveying social status, be-

cause of constituting socially valued skills, or because

literacy was believed to lead to social mobility:

> I have to study because I want to be something. I
> want to read and write at least . . .

Another respondent--

> Well, at least if you studied you'd be somebody,
> something, because if you don't study you can't
> be nobody . . .

5. Desire for improvement of oral communication

ability. Nine per cent were motivated by the relationship

they believed to exist between learning to read and write

(in Spanish) and their ability to adequately encode or de-

code Spanish language messages in oral communication inter-
action:

> Well, I suffered very much because the mistress
> she tells me things to do and I didn't understand
> her . . . I told the mistress, 'I want to read and
> write. I understand very few words in Spanish.'

6. <u>Desire to read and write letters</u>. Nine per cent
of respondents also referred to the desire to read and write
letters to family members in the Sierra as having become
important in their motivation for literacy:

> I want to read and write in order to communicate
> with my relatives--my parents, with my brothers
> and sisters when they are far away. I want to
> know about them, and I can't if I can't read and
> write.

7. <u>Responsibility to children</u>. Having children
became important with another 9 per cent of respondents as
a stimulus for literacy. They became concerned that their
inability to read and write might stand in their children's
way, and prevent them from having all the opportunities they
themselves had been denied:

> Well, I didn't know <u>anything</u> . . . When I had my
> child and I went there to have it, I suddenly
> realized I didn't know anything . . . And then I
> saw a few people who didn't know how to read and
> write and they can't correct their children, and
> then I decided. I thought I'd prefer to study so
> that when my child is bigger then the child may
> study and learn. That's what I thought.

Another said:

> I needed to study quite a lot. I have a little
> daughter and she asked me if I knew how to read
> and write, and I said, 'I don't know.' And then

I came this year . . . I have to learn because of
my children--to be able to teach them. They come
from school and I don't know when they ask me some-
thing. I don't know what to answer when they ask
me. That's why I came to study.

8. <u>Literacy demands of everyday activities</u>. Five
per cent of the respondents mentioned the everyday small
chores of participant urban life that demand reading and
writing skills, as having motivated them:

I saw it was necessary for me to know how to read
and write. They wanted me to sign those regis-
tration forms for my daughter and then her examina-
tion certificates I had to sign too, and then I saw
I needed it.

9. <u>Desire for further education</u>. Three per cent
of the respondents, when they began their literacy train-
ing, did not see it as a goal in itself but as an essential
stepping stone to further learning:

I wanted to learn and in order to know things--
all kinds of things, first you have to know how
to read, so I came here to learn.

10. <u>Convenience</u>. It is unrealistic to think that
the only personal incentives are ones associated with the
desire to learn. The education process itself may offer
"fringe benefits." For example, in such instances when
institutionalized adult education also provides day-care
facilities for mothers of young children, this may itself
become a motivation. Interviews with experts such as
teachers, family coordinators, and directors of adult edu-

cation centers, tend to support the common sense reasoning
that such motivations are significant probably much more
frequently than they are readily admitted to (3 per cent).
A respondent who did indicate such a motivation is quoted:

> I registered because I wanted to study and I didn't
> get work either. With a child you can't. And in
> the school I leave the baby all day in the nursery--
> until six. I work half day and then I study half
> day.

What is interesting in the pattern of personal liter-
acy motives mentioned by respondents is that <u>they tend most</u>
<u>frequently to be related to some immediate value or use of</u>
<u>reading and writing skill rather than to some distant goal</u>.
From the answers to this question and from the interviews
in general, it did not appear that very many respondents
first began literacy training with the idea that it would
help them get a better job. On the other hand, it is clear
that literacy skills in themselves were perceived as convey-
ing higher social status, and in general were valued as a
form of knowledge. Again, it is interesting that the desire
to conform to group norms was mentioned in terms of personal
motivation as frequently as it was. In general, the pattern
of personal incentives show a frequent relating of literacy
to urban environmental factors--ones which would not have
been usually significant in the Sierra.

Initiation of adult literacy within the urban en-
vironment would seem to be very much associated with the
general social stimulus situation. It is a function of both

external and internal stimuli in most cases. Other in-
dividuals--especially significant group members, play an
important part in the process.

The Social Stimulus Situation during
the Adult Literacy Process

It is sometimes implied that once the adult liter-
acy process has been initiated, it simply becomes a ques-
tion of the ability to learn. But the high attrition rates
of many literacy campaigns are a function of more than poor
learning ability or IQ. It is argued here that because the
adult's learning to read and write involves many problems
that are not important in a child's learning, and because
the adult has greater freedom to yield to such difficulties
and terminate the learning process, the external social stim-
ulus situation becomes very significant during this time.
The present section then considers the degree to which var-
ious significant others are supportive or not supportive to
the respondents during the time they are learning.

In the first place, a few remarks will be made in
support of the argument that a supportive social situation
would be important because of difficulties of adult educa-
tion. In the present study, some of the critical problems
were manual dexterity in learning to write (related to
working with coarse implements in the fields during the
early part of the respondents' lives); physical strain and
illness (sometimes incurred as a result of malnutrition and

having to continue working long and tiring hours as a ser-
vant while studying); and role-conflict, especially between
the respondents' role as servant and their role as a stu-
dent, and sometimes between their roles of mother and stu-
dent. There were also certain psychological problems, fre-
quently associated with their low self-image and their dis-
trust of their own abilities to learn: they often felt,
for example, that the years they had not studied were "like
a wall" between them and learning. Sometimes they become
disturbed because of feeling they have gone against the norms
of their family and the traditional role of a woman as they
had been taught it in the Sierra.

Those involved in the education of respondents in the
present study and those like them, stated that a continued
incentive to learn and a general ego involvement in the learn-
ing process was especially critical in the first years of
education when drop-out rates are highest. Supportive at-
titudes of others, especially with those adults who had begun
the literacy process with no personal incentives of their
own, would be important for the respondents. Family and
friendship group members and employers will be discussed in
turn in terms of their degree of supportiveness.

Family Group

The family members with whom the respondents have
most contact and communication interaction are the more

modernized ones who live in the urban areas—migrants like

themselves. In several cases in fact (among Semi-Literates),

their parents in the Sierra did not even know they were

studying, or had not indicated their attitudes towards such

study. The majority of the women concerned stated that

those relatives with whom they were in touch were, on the

whole, supportive or else neutral. At times, however, the

family was divided in its reactions as the following quota-

tion from a respondent illustrates:

> My family, they congratulate me. They are pleased.
> They say, 'I congratulate you that you are going
> to learn to read. Now you will be able to find out
> about anything—any paper, and you will be able to
> act by yourself too. You don't have to have other
> people to find out for you what you are writing or
> reading about.' 'When you receive a letter,' my
> brother says, 'when you receive a letter from father,
> you yourself can read it by yourself. You yourself
> can find out what it says there when you know how to
> read,' he says. 'We won't have to find out about it
> for you.' But my cousins and some friends, they say,
> 'That doesn't really matter—learning to read and
> write. It is not important. It is not of interest
> to learn to read and write,' they say. 'You work.
> They offer to pay more if you don't study. Why don't
> you work?' But I realize that it is not so. I pre-
> fer to earn little but to learn to read and write,
> in order to communicate with my relatives . . .

Friendship Group

The friends of the respondents are usually also

servants and Indian migrants like themselves. Frequently

they are also fellow-students, or friends they had made

within the learning environment. Respondents indicated that

in general the influences of their friends were supportive.

Only in a very few cases had they encountered any contrary
or neutral ones. Two Semi-Literates describe the reactions
of their friends to their learning:

> My friends congratulate me and say, 'You are for-
> tunate.' They say that I should learn. That I
> should better myself so that I needn't suffer any
> more as a domestic.

> Well, in the place where I work there are three of
> us girls working as servants. One of them, she is
> going to High School and another is in Fourth Grade.
> 'Learn. Learn.' they say. 'At least you will know
> how to read. It is much better.'

Although many friends are literates (frequently
also newly literate) or semi-literate, some also have friends
who are illiterate, and even these occasionally encourage
them:

> I have one friend who says, 'Study,' and she told me
> to study, to learn, to pay attention. She doesn't
> know herself. No, she doesn't know how to read any-
> thing. And she says, 'Look at me. I don't know how
> to read,' she says. 'You at least learn so that some-
> day you may get yourself a better job . . . You are
> still young. You can learn.'

Employers

The employers are an interesting group in the pres-
ent context in that they have perhaps the most to gain di-
rectly and immediately from both the illiteracy and literacy
of their servants. If the servants are kept illiterate they
can find no other kind of job in all probability, and if they
are kept from meeting other servants or such contact is at
least minimized, there is less chance of them becoming dis-
satisfied with their current jobs and asking for better

conditions or else leaving. But a learning environment where most other students are frequently also servants tends to encourage comparisons and potentially becomes threatening to the employer.

However, many employers also realize that a servant who can read and write is able to perform better in her occupational role. At times this has become a factor in their either encouraging the servant to begin literacy training, or in permitting her to go when she herself requests it. Respondents, as they state, have frequently made conscious and determined attempts to locate employers who will allow them time off to go to school, so that the degree of supportiveness which they encounter from this group during the learning process is in no way representative of the attitudes of such individuals in general.

One respondent sums up what she sees as the general attitude of employers, her view being shared by many of her peers, and also by some experts who were interviewed:

> . . . now there are many employees who don't know how to read and many do. Many mistresses treat them (the illiterate employees) the way they should be treated, but many mistresses, they see that the girls can't defend themselves and sometimes they abuse the situation--they deceive them. But there are many mistresses who also favor the employees. They help them since they themselves give them time so they can study, so they cooperate with them. But there are very few like that. Most of them . . . There are many mistresses who perhaps treat the employees badly. They let them go (to study) against their will. They prefer the employee not to know anything--to be ignorant, provided they do their work . . .

Sometimes when employers themselves have encouraged the servant to study, but more frequently when permission has been granted unwillingly because they have not wanted to lose the servant, or because they could not get one in the first place who did not make schooling a condition of employment, employers can be very unsupportive during the literacy process. Four Semi-Literates illustrate:

> 'Don't go,' my mistress says. And then I weep, and then she finally lets me come to class . . .

> The lady of the house where I work, she didn't want me to study because she says, 'You don't have time. You've got other things that are your concern. You can't learn . . .' That is why I miss lessons often. Last week, for example, I missed all week . . . I tell her that I want to learn, but she says, 'But you can't. Your work doesn't allow you to,' she says.

> It so happened that because I asked for schooling, they got angry with me, and they are still angry with me. And I have got the problem that I am going to have to leave that house, because I prefer to leave the job rather than leave my schooling . . . They are very angry with me and I get nervous. I get so upset that I can't study . . .

> They say, 'Oh, you are going to spend so much on the light bill. Do you help me to pay the light bill? That's what you go to school for? . . . You should study in school. Why do you study here at home?'

Some employers, on the other hand, are very supportive, occasionally even helping the servant to learn, or encouraging her to learn:

> The mistress wants me to learn to read very well. She wants me to be something, yes . . . She always says to me, 'You've got to go to school.' She always encourages me . . .

In general, the attitudes of those group members

with whom the respondents have contact during the literacy
process are supportive, or at least not unsupportive to
learning. It would seem, however, that whereas the em-
ployers are frequently the most active in initiating the
literacy process in the first place, it is also the em-
ployer-group who is most frequently unsupportive during it,
even though the conscious search for suitable employers by
the respondents ensured that such influences were minimized.
On the whole, in the urban environment, some employers, al-
most all friends, and a large majority of relatives provide
a supportive atmosphere during the difficult process of be-
coming literate as an adult.

Summary and Implications

The foregoing discussion has placed both the il-
literacy and adult literacy or developing adult literacy of
the respondents within the socio-cultural context. It has
been found that the respondents' opportunities for education
in the rural-Sierra were limited not only by such factors as
educational facilities and poverty, but by the social norms
of the traditional society which prescribed that males
study but females do not. Their migration to the modern
urban environment, however, did not result in their auto-
matic participation in its opportunities. Expectations were
not always fulfilled, and domestic service--the lowest rung
on the female occupational ladder--was virtually the only

job open to them. Whereas educational aspirations had been
a motivating factor in migration for only a few respondents,
many discovered there was a much greater need for literacy
in the modern than the traditional milieu. Again, whereas
as illiterates they had been normative in their home com-
munities, they became deviants from the norm in the new one.
Pressures were exerted by various significant group members
to bring them into accord with the norms of literacy. Some
of the significant influences were explicitly verbalized,
but at other times modelling behavior of peers was effec-
tive. About half the time, in fact, the initiation of the
literacy process occurred as a result of influences of
others, with apparently no personal incentives involved. In
the cases when respondents did initially possess interest,
motives were frequently related to immediate short term
benefits of literacy and to factors peculiar to the modern
urban environment. Occupation-change incentives accounted
for a relatively small portion of the literacy-motivation
(9 per cent). Finally, the actual literacy process itself
requires a considerable ego-involvement or support to con-
tinue because of the tremendous problems involved. The re-
spondents' social environment seems, on the whole, to pro-
vide such supportive influences.

In the first place, what the findings indicate is
that the respondents' decision to learn to read and write
was an outcome of both social and non-social factors from

the external field of stimulation and of internal impulses
or influences such as motives, attitudes, and ego-involve-
ments. To have considered personal incentives alone in
this study would have been meaningless. On the one hand,
very frequently beginning to learn was simply an act of sub-
mission to the pressures of certain significant others. On
the other hand, the change of environment through migration
had itself played a significant role both in the kinds of
social influences they were subjected to and their own moti-
vations. It is doubtful whether most of the respondents
would have become literate had they stayed in the Sierra.

Finally, the study has indicated that illiteracy
performs an important structural function in society in
preserving traditional values, ideas, and behavior patterns,
especially those that relate to differences in status and
power between male and female. The variation in literacy
levels that exist between the Sierra and the coast--and
especially Lima, also would imply that illiteracy serves
to preserve such differences between the primarily Indian
Sierra resident and the primarily Mestizo coastal resident.
The gaps between the status and power of the Peruvian In-
dian and the Mestizo have been well documented in literature.[21]

[21]See for example, F. Bourricaud, Changements a Puno:
Étude de Sociologie Andine (Institute des Hautes Études de
l'Amerique Latine, 1965); Julio Cotler, "La Mecánica de la
Dominacion Interna y del Cambio Social en el Peru, Peru
Problema, ed. by Jose Matos Mar et al. (Lima, Peru: Moncloa-
Campodonico, 1969), pp. 145-188.

Indian migration to cities such as Lima and the partaking
of the urban educational opportunities then poses an inter-
esting question. What, for example, are the social impli-
cations of adult literacy for Indian migrant women?

CHAPTER III

NEW LITERACY AND INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION

> Before (when illiterate) I found I had a lack
> of words. I felt smaller. I was afraid of
> meeting people I hadn't met much--even friends
> and relatives, because I was short of words.
> Now I feel . . . a little more rich in words.
> No, I'm not afraid anymore to meet people.
> Now I go and look for them--my friends and
> relatives, in order to get more orientation,
> to talk about things . . . I like to talk
> about what is happening now--our work, about
> the labour law . . . about these other new
> laws, and so on.
>
> Dolores
>
> Before I used to be quiet, but now I can have
> conversation.
>
> Justina

As indicated in the preceding chapter, respondents
frequently felt that in their new urban environment they
needed literacy for interpersonal communication. Moreover,
the hope that literacy would facilitate this aspect of
their lives became one of the incentives for their beginning
to learn to read and write as adults. In the present chap-
ter, we shall be looking at the actual nature of literacy's
impact on interpersonal communication behavior of the mi-
grant respondents of the study. From the wide array of

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methods in which meaning is transmitted between individ-
uals in human society, the lexical mode is emphasized: it
was the form of communication focused on by interviewees
themselves. Following a brief introductory discussion on
interpersonal communication, the chapter will deal with the
framework of significant social relationships which forms
the setting of patterned communication events, and then
the ways in which newly developed adult literacy has an ef-
fect on written and spoken interpersonal communication.

Communication is basic to human social interaction.
The various social roles and statuses of an individual mem-
ber of a society--for example, as a member of an occupation-
al group, a family, of a friendship group, or as a member of
the economic and political structure, all involve him or her
in acts of lexical communication (as well as acts of non-
lexical communication) in which either spoken or written
message transmission between individuals is involved. Fre-
quently effectiveness in carrying out such roles and the
kinds of roles which the individual can fill in the first
place, depend on his or her competence in the domain of
interpersonal communication.

Again, communication in the lexical mode fulfills
various psychological functions for the individual: for
example, the need to express, to escape from the loneliness
of silence and to make sound, to inform or persuade other
people, to confront the world, to control others or to be

controlled in turn, to confess, to have rapport or companionship or at times to reject intimate or impersonal contact, and the need for individualization or awareness of self, and so on. In other words, communication with other people is fundamental to the individual as an individual and as a member of society.

In the present study it was clear that interpersonal communication was very important for respondents. Not only did interviews indicate interpersonal communication as a stimulus for literacy, but it was also evident that the respondents believed that their literacy had actually had an effect on such transmission of messages, both written and spoken. The problems mentioned by Illiterates in regard to their not being able to read or write most often referred to interpersonal communication events. The most frequently referred to advantage of literacy as designated by Semi-Literates and New Literates was the facilitation of interpersonal lexical communication--over three-fourths of the respondents described an event in which either written or spoken messages were involved. Finally, respondents most frequently described the way in which literacy made them "feel different" in terms of social ease or effectiveness in certain areas of their lives, which they had achieved as a result of literacy's effect on such communication.

It is therefore relevant to consider how and why

respondents associate literacy with this aspect of their lives, especially since no known studies on literacy in the context of underdevelopment have emphasized the interpersonal communication dimension of learning to read and write.

Social Relationships: The Setting of Interpersonal Communication Events

Human societies are based on social interaction, and communication through lexical messages is an important part of this interaction. As already stated, the respondents in the present study had migrated from a traditional society to a modern or associational one. Social relationships in the society of their origin tend toward being long-lasting, inclusive, and intimate, with an intrinsic significance rather than being instrumental, and there are few sub-groups other than the family. In the modern society of the metropolis to which they have migrated, they find instead that social relationships tend to be transitory, superficial, and impersonal, with interaction often being confined to a specific end or goal which they bring closer to realization. This section will look at the social relationships which are significant in the lives of the women of the study in order to lay the setting in which patterned interpersonal communication takes place, and in terms of which to discuss the advent of literacy and its implications for such communication.

Family Group

In all but three cases, the parents of the respond-
ents (if alive) were living in their home environment--
the traditional Highland area. In most instances, there
were also brothers and sisters still living there. The
face-to-face interaction with these was limited to the
travel of either one. In the case of the respondents, this
usually occurred during work vacations (when they usually
returned to visit their parents), a sudden crisis or change
(such as the recent Land Reform during which several re-
turned home to help their illiterate parents), or emer-
gencies (illness and death in particular).

All but one of the respondents had relatives living
in the urban environment. Although about one-sixth were
mothers, only two were married and living with their husbands.
The majority who had children were single.[1] Half the women
had siblings--brothers or sisters or half-brothers or half-
sisters, and two-thirds had cousins, aunts or uncles living
in Lima. Over one-third had both siblings and more distant
relatives. Re-interviews with New Literates after a period
of a year showed that the number of such relatives living
in the city increases rapidly: two-thirds had had at least

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[1]Trial marriage or "watanakuy" is frequently prac-
ticed among the Indian population of Peru. Traditionally this
is a carefully regulated event with parents and godparents as
well as the couple involved in the arrangement. Children born
under conditions are not considered "illegitimate." There
seems to be little stigma in general attached to having chil-
dren out of wedlock among the respondents although there is
great concern that the fathers acknowledge them or "sign for
them."

one new relative migrate to the urban area during the year.

In general, close contact is maintained with urban based relatives. Since the recent law in Peru,[2] servants now have one day off a week. Over a half of the respondents said they always visit relatives in Lima and metropolitan Lima on this day. Others said they visited their relatives less frequently. Only a small number said they never did so. Often such relatives live in the "New Towns" or migrant dominated settlements, and it is not unusual to find that many extended family members have settled in the same general area, preserving the close physical proximity and family ties that are important in the rural area of their origin. At other times, relatives are also live-in household servants in the same or other houses.

In some cases, the relatives come to visit the respondents at their places of work and residence. In comparison to approximately half of the respondents who went to see their relatives on each day off, only 13 per cent had relatives visit them as frequently, and in most cases, they rarely came--perhaps only when there was some special reason like urgent news, or sometimes on their birthday or Saint's day. Twenty-six per cent said that their relatives never visit them at their jobs. Frequently such visits are

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[2]The Supreme Decree 002-TR of May 10, 1970, passed by the present Military Government of Peru decreed that household servants must be allowed twenty-four consecutive hours rest per week. Apparently this is generally abided by by employers.

discouraged or forbidden by employers.[3]

In sum, it appears that relationships with extended family members living in the urban and fringe-urban areas tend to be preserved if possible. It is also clear that they play an important part in the lives of the respondents. There is a strong sense of family solidarity and considerable loyalty to family members, although there were not infrequent instances where respondents had been taken advantage of by some relative--especially while they were illiterate. At times also some family members did not care to associate with them because of their low status as servants.[4]

Friendship Group

Respondents frequently state that they have few friends. While quite a few appear to have boyfriends and some have "enamorados" or "compromisos"--in the latter case, co-habitation usually being involved--the majority say they have no male friends. The female friends that they have are usually in some way related to them, or else also household servants in the same or other households. Such friendship-

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[3]Some of the reasons for employers' dislike of visiting relatives (and friends) are fear of theft, disease, and the disruptive influences that such visits might encourage.

[4]This is especially the case when relatives themselves have acquired servants, in which instance the presence of a relative-servant becomes threatening both to their own relationship with their employee and their frequently newly acquired status.

formation may be the result of both opportunity and inter-

personal choice. Studies of conditions under which friend-

ships tend to form between two individuals show that simi-

larities in values or attributes are related to friendship

formation.[5] However, the respondents also have limited

opportunity to meet non-servants who would consider choosing

them as friends, both because of their peculiar life-style

and because of their low social status.

While working as servants in the same house often

tends to lead to friendship-formation, this is not neces-

sarily so. Differences in status also exist between ser-

vants, and this sometimes creates differences which are per-

ceived as being too great to allow a close relationship.

Contacts with servants of other houses are frequently not

encouraged by employers, and sometimes actively discouraged

or forbidden. A major reason for such behavior is the com-

parison of salaries, and working conditions which might

ensue.[6]

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[5]See for example, Peter M. Blau, "Pattern of Choice
in Interpersonal Relations," American Sociological Review,
XXVII (1962), 41-56.

[6]Observation and interviews with informants indi-
cate that in the formal literacy training situation salar-
ies and working conditions are indeed popular topics of con-
versation, and together with their studies, probably the
most popular. Case records also show that respondents some-
times became dissatisfied with their jobs and changed them
as a result of such communication interaction and compari-
son.

Secondary Groups

The most important secondary group relationship in the lives of the migrant-servant respondents is the one with their employers, and in particular, the mistress of the household. This is an interesting relationship in many ways, and a difficult one for the respondents. In the first place, it involves living in close proximity and daily contact—something which in the traditional society of their origin meant a relationship involving standards of respect, loyalty, affection or love, rather than the relatively impersonal instrumental relationship which the servant-master and servant-mistress relationship usually is.[7] Secondly—and relevant in the present context—the employers are usually Mestizo or at least non-Indian, whereas the servants are almost always Indian, the language of common intercourse being Spanish.

Another secondary-group relationship of the respondents, and the next-most frequently referred to by them in terms of interpersonal communication, is the narrowly contractual relation of buyer and seller in the market exchange transaction, which comes to be important for them more fre-

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[7]The overall impression from interviews with respondents, with informants, and from observation in the field, is that servant-employer relationships vary considerably in both the degree of impersonality or intimacy involved, inclusiveness, and the general treatment accorded the servant. This relationship will be treated in more detail in Chapter VI.

quently in the course of performance of their duties as a servant than in their own right. Again the common language of communication in this essentially instrumental relationship is usually Spanish, an understanding of which is relevant to considerations of price, quantity, quality, and nature of goods being purchased.

In general, both the number and range of social relationships of the respondents is limited, at least prior to literacy training. Most of the intimate interaction appears to occur with fellow-migrants rather than natives of the modern urban environment.

New Literacy and Its Facilitation of Interpersonal Communication

This section will discuss briefly the ways in which the development of adult literacy facilitates interpersonal communication. Such facilitation is defined in a broad sense: it refers to any increase in the number or range of significant social relationships which can potentially become the setting of communication interaction, any increase in the frequency of communication interaction that can be participated in, and the facilitation of the actual communication (both in terms of message encoding and decoding) which occurs in any existing social relationship. Because adult literacy usually takes place within a formal institutionalized setting which itself may have implications for private communication, it is important for conceptual clarity

to distinguish between the effects of the learning situation and those of what is learned within it.

The Institutionalization of Literacy Training:
Its Role in Interpersonal Communication

The very fact of attendance at classes in a formal environment comes to have implications for interpersonal communication of the respondents, whether they learn anything or not. Because such institutions for adult education in the present socio-cultural context frequently involve individuals with similar values and attributes, they often provide the setting for friendship formation. The large majority of the respondents _had_ formed friendships during their literacy training. In many cases they said that the only friends they had were fellow-students or ex-fellow students (almost always female domestic servants and Indian migrants like themselves).

But institutionalized education also involves various secondary group relationships: teacher-student, director-student, sometimes social worker-student, family coordinator-student, nurse-student, doctor-student, and so on. In a large number of cases such role relationships were entirely new to respondents. Frequently they found the treatment they received in such relationships from generally Mestizo individuals, entirely different from the treatment they were accorded in their occupational relationships or had ever previously been accorded by Mestizos with whom

they had had contact.

The learning situation not only leads to new social relationships being formed but to opportunities for social contact, not only with these but with others. Because of the very tightly regulated lives of many servants, they sometimes find that the only opportunities they have to meet relatives or friends in certain cases is when they go to class. It is not at all unusual to find relatives waiting outside to have a few words with students when they come to class or leave. In one case at least, the respondent met there on a fairly regular basis with another servant "because she can't come to my job and I can't go to hers"--an illiterate who could not attend classes but whom she tried to teach to read and write in a few minutes they could spend together.

In brief, then, institutionalized education in and of itself has an effect in terms of interpersonal communication, especially in terms of range and frequency of contacts. Such consequences of the institutionalization of education should be distinguished from those that are a function of what is learned.

Learning to Read and Write: Its Role in Interpersonal Communication

This section will relate the acquisition of reading and writing skills as an adult to the communication events that take place in the above described social settings.

The concern is with both written and spoken communication.
The respondent-designated ways in which learning to read
and write facilitated their interpersonal communication
were classified under five headings, each of which will be
discussed in turn. At times, the relationship between
literacy and encoding or decoding of spoken or written
messages is more complex or indirect than at other times.
Representative quotations from respondents illustrate each
sub-section.

Literacy and Letter Reading and Writing

Learning to read and write potentially makes pos-
sible interpersonal sending and receiving of messages in the
written form. Letters--and in particular, family letters--
were especially important for the respondents and were men-
tioned throughout the interviews.

The desire to read or write letters   one of the
motivations for initiating adult literacy in the first
place, as seen in Chapter II. Not being able to write
letters was mentioned by two-thirds of the interviewees as
the chief problem of not being able to write, and a fourth
mentioned the inability to read letters as the chief prob-
lem of their lack of reading ability. In general, not
being able to engage in communication through personal let-
ters was the single most frequently mentioned problem of
illiteracy. This was at least in part a function of the

respondents' migrant status and the close ties with those still living in the home environment.

An Illiterate describes the problem of not being able to write to her family in the Highlands:

> My mistress promised to write but so far she hasn't sent one letter and my family doesn't know I am here in Lima. They don't know because I don't know how to write and I can't tell them. I told my father I wanted to learn to read and write when I was in my home, but he didn't want me to. Now they are in my countryside and I am here and I can't tell them. I also want them to send my birth certificate because I don't have it here, and I can't tell them.[8]

A New Literate remembers how she used to feel on getting a letter when she was illiterate:

> Before when I knew nothing, I remember . . . for example, I got a paper or a letter and I didn't even know what they were saying there. And it may be from my family. If it is good or it is bad, I didn't know, because I didn't know what they were telling me there. But now I know because I read very well . . .

Sometimes the introduction of reading and writing ability displaces what might be called "relayed verbal messages," but in no case in the present study did it displace any technologically mediated communication such as telephoning or telegraphing. These "relayed verbal messages" are messages conveyed by travelling relatives, friends, visiting countrymen, and occasionally, long-distance car or truck drivers, providing the connecting link between relatives in the Highlands and respondents in the metropolitan

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[8]The birth certificate is required to be able to obtain credit for study in all accredited educational institutions.

area. Needless to say, such communication is rather un-
satisfactory: limited in its capacity, frequently subject
to distortion, and subject to delay.

In most cases, however, the ability to read and
write letters replaces the use of literate scribes or read-
ers, at least at the respondent end of the communication:
they frequently remain at the Highland end, most parents of
respondents being illiterate, and generally utilizing
younger relatives or neighbours who do know how to read and
write, or some more or less official literate mediator.

Ninety-three per cent of Illiterates in the study
said they asked other people to read their letters for them
and 88 per cent said they asked others to write letters for
them. Semi-Literates and New Literates also most frequently
said that when they were illiterate they had usually com-
municated with their relatives in the Highlands by asking
someone else to write or read letters for them.

Representative quotations from two Illiterates il-
lustrate such literate-mediated written interpersonal com-
munication:

> Since I can't read or I can't write myself, I ask
> others:'Please do me the favor of writing my letter.'
> Or I ask them to read it to me . . . I ask my family--
> my aunt, my uncle, my cousins--all my cousins, my
> brother too. And the mistress, she writes. I tell
> the mistress the words and the mistress makes the
> letters. And my companions too--the girls who work
> with me, they know how to read and write already
> and so I ask them. They know where I live and they
> put the address of the place on the letter and they
> send it for me. And when my family writes to me it
> is read for me by the girl who works with me.

> Well, I can't write, so I ask somebody to write my
> letters for me. The Miss where I worked--I dic-
> tated to her. Sometimes I pay other people so
> they will write for me. A neighbour or like that--
> I pay them so they will write--a person I can trust.
> Some of them are students but they know more than
> me.

Generally, however, the letter-reading or letter-writing service for the respondents seems to be done free, the above woman being one of the few who paid in monetary terms. Trust in the person who mediates such communication was emphasized (as above) by several respondents. Not always the same person is used for reading letters as for writing, or for writing as for addressing or posting. Letter-mediators are most frequently other family members living in the urban area. Less frequently they were employers (usually the mistress or her daughter), co-workers or friends or neighbours. The kinds of letters for which help was sought were almost always family letters.

But reliance on others for letter writing or letter reading is far from satisfactory. Respondents spoke of the agony of having to wait days, and occasionally weeks, to find out what a letter they had received said, not even knowing who it came from or whether it was urgent news. Again there is the problem of "constantly having to be bothering other people"--as one respondent put it. Again, literates are not always willing to read or write as another respondent explains:

I have many problems because I can't read or write.
I can't even read a letter they send me from my
family. I have to show it to another person. A
friend of mine--her daughters have completed High
School and they read the letters. And to write
also I ask them. But sometimes they are in a bad
mood and they say, 'Oh go away. I am busy.' And
then I weep and I think, oh I wish I knew how to
read and how to write myself.

Respondents also told of instances when they had been
"deceived" by letter readers or writers: the message was
changed around or certain things were omitted or added,[9] or
the letter had not been posted and postage had been kept.
There is also the problem of lack of privacy--"of having to
tell someone everything you want to tell your mother."

Again, not all respondents were able to find suit-
able others to write for them when they were illiterate.
Some said they did not know anyone they could trust. Others
said they were, or had been, ashamed to ask. Still others
simply did not know anyone who would comply. Sometimes,
in desperation, complete strangers in the street were asked
to read a letter, although this is far from ideal. At times
when there is no-one to write letters, there is also no way
to send or receive verbally relayed messages, and relatives
and even the parents of the younger respondents are some-
times not communicated with for months and occasionally, for
years.

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[9]Some told of instances when their employers had not
told them the truth, perhaps for fear they would leave. In
other instances, employers would use certain information they
had found out by reading or writing letters to insult the re-
spondents when they were annoyed with them.

New Literates in the study were all at a stage where they could write their own letters, and did so. Almost all had relatives (whether illiterate or not) to whom they wrote, and most also received letters.[10] Semi-Literates showed a transition stage between the situation of the Illiterate and the New Literate. All were able to read their own letters at least to some extent. Writing ability sufficient for even personal letter writing (especially to transfer thoughts to written words, copying of set letters being much easier) usually lags behind: while many already wrote their own letters, usually with errors, in some cases they copied letters that others wrote for them, or had known individuals either help them while writing or check their letters afterwards.

Letter writing for oneself considerably facilitates communication with family members in the Highlands and it is in terms of this relationship that letters are most important. A New Literate describes the difference that literacy has made in her communication with her family in the home environment:

> It is very useful to read and write . . . because
> before I wasn't able to do it myself. I couldn't

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[10]There was an interesting case of one respondent, particularly isolated from social contacts and with no relatives or friends to write to or receive letters from, who described how she wrote letters to herself—asking after her health, wishing herself happy birthday, and so on. Sometimes she had her young son read them to see if they were well written.

even send a letter to my father. Now I can at
least send him a message. I can send him money.
Sometimes I send telegrams when I need something,
or am sick. All that.

To be able to perform this interpersonal communi-
cation act for themselves is tremendously gratifying for
most respondents, saving them the humiliation, frustration,
repercussions of private information divulged, worry or
fear of deception, that they had encountered as illiterates
who had to rely on others for the reading and writing of
their letters.

In sum, literacy facilitates interpersonal communi-
cation through letters. In the case of the respondents
this enabled them to read and write to family and friends
in the home community, which became important in maintain-
ing ties with those who had remained behind. This has sev-
eral important implications. The transmission of informa-
tion about urban life at times serves to motivate others
to migrate. Frequently it also happens that some family
members go ahead to "break the trail" for others. The re-
spondents themselves (see Chapter II) had their migration
almost always facilitated by relatives. Now they are some-
times the ones to find jobs, for example, for brothers and
sisters in the Sierra, and write to them when this has been
accomplished so that they can migrate.

The reading and writing of letters may also play a
part in the respondents' own temporary or permanent return

to the home community. Receipt of information about prob-
lems at home apparently frequently initiates return. Again,
the maintenance of ties (or their severance) with family or
friends left behind plays a role in the adaptation of the
migrant respondents in the host community. Both this and
return of respondents will be discussed in more detail in
Chapter VI.

Again, communication through letters (or telegrams)
also may play a role in the continued economic assistance
of rurally based family members by those in the city (and,
occasionally, the reverse).

Finally, on a more general level, transmission of
messages through letters between the urban based respon-
dents and relatives or friends left behind in the Sierra,
ensures the flow of information and influence between rural
and urban areas, traditional and modern societies. In this
sense, the respondents, and those like them, play a part in
diminishing differences that exist between the two.

Literacy and Other Written Communication

Literacy also facilitates other forms of written
communication apart from letters. For example, literacy
enabled respondents to read and sign receipts--particularly
important in their occupational role when goods were de-
livered to the house where they worked. Again, when they
were paid they could sign for their salary. In many such

instances, a comparison is involved between spoken and written communication or printed communication. Such a situation is also frequently encountered by respondents when people ask them to sign petitions or when subjected to other persuasive communication: attempts to deceive unsuspecting, and especially illiterate migrants, seem to be quite frequent, and are certainly very much feared by respondents. An interviewee illustrates:

> Sometimes when you don't know how to read you might be deceived . . . Now I know they can't deceive me because I understand the characters and they can't tell me different words which I don't understand and they can't deceive me that way . . . For example, they may pay me my salary where I work, or any place they may deceive me . . .

Another respondent who used to sign everything that was given to her to sign--knowing how to write her name and nothing else--now no longer does so:

> I have advantages from learning to read because people brought papers to sign and then the mistress told me that I had to read them in order to sign them so that I would know what they said. And now I read first and then I sign.

Literacy also facilitates the kind of interpersonal communication involved in financial transactions. Quotations from another interview describe some of these transactions and the role of written communication:

> Well, now I can go to the bank for example, to deposit some things, and write a note to be signed. I couldn't do that before (when illiterate), because my signature was needed. And then I also bought some electrical things, then I would sign the monthly payments. And it's all an advantage.

> And to buy also the piece of land between the two
> of us—my brother and myself—I had to sign . . .

Such facilitation of written communication (and the comparison of written and spoken, since in most cases a document has to be read to be signed) of course has implications for economic involvement.

Literacy also facilitates message writing (for example, with telephone calls) and message reading (for example, shopping lists) which are important again in role performance as domestic servants. Literacy in many such instances serves as an aid to memory, helping to recall spoken communication by transposing it to written form. A respondent explains in her own words:

> . . . for example, there is a telephone message to
> the mistress, and you can't keep them all in your
> memory. You have to write them down. It's a
> great advantage . . .

Thus, in many ways literacy facilitates other forms of written communication, such facilitation having implications for the respondents' role performance as domestic servants and for their involvement in the urban society.

Literacy and Linguistic Competence

At a minimum, for communication to take place at all, sender and receiver have to share a common code. In the case of communication in the lexical mode, this involves the sharing of a grammar and lexicon. The respondents were frequently members of Indian language communities, the par-

ents in most cases speaking Quechua, Aimara, or one of the less common Indian languages, this being their first language and the language of the home environment. The language of the metropolis to which they had migrated--and of official transactions, most mass communication messages, and of education in general in Peru, has, however, traditionally been Spanish. The extent to which the respondents of the study actually spoke Spanish prior to literacy training was, in part, determined by their area of origin (Spanish being used more in some areas than others) and the length of time lived and general degree of participation in an environment--such as Lima--where Spanish was the accepted language of social interaction. In almost all cases, respondents said that when they first came to the metropolis they had difficulty speaking Spanish.

Since, as mentioned, education in Peru has been traditionally carried out in Spanish, for individuals whose mother tongue is an indigenous Indian language--as in the case of the respondents of the study, fundamental education or literacy involves not simply the introduction of new uses for indigenous forms of speech, but the introduction of both new forms of speech and new uses for it.

Almost all of the New Literates said that learning to read and write had helped them communicate with native members of the Spanish speaking language community with whom they came into contact. Abour half of the Semi-Literates

said that they still experienced some difficulty in speaking with native-speakers of Spanish, but that it was less than before the onset of literacy training.

Literacy in Spanish then has an impact on the respondents' mastery of grammar, lexicon, and pronunciation in the Spanish language. Interviews included references to factors related to all three. While grammar and lexicon were probably more important to those who had begun literacy-training with a very low degree of competence, pronunciation was more relevant to those who had had a higher degree of initial competence in Spanish. Learning the alphabet and learning to distinguish between the letters "i" and "e" and between "o" and "u" is particularly important in terms of correct pronunciation since it is with these sounds that those whose mother tongue is Quechua--as it was for most of the respondents--have most difficulty in Spanish.

Quotations from interviews with two respondents illustrate the ways in which literacy makes a difference in linguistic competence in Spanish:

Now I know the words already. I can understand better when they speak. And when I speak they can also understand me. Before (when illiterate) I couldn't speak well because in the Highlands there where I came from they speak only Quechua and here they speak Spanish. But now that I know how to read and write I have improved. I don't make mistakes so much. I can talk to people at least now.

Well, a person who doesn't know how to read and write can't pronounce the words. And when you do know then you can pronounce them correctly . . . A person who knows how to read and write makes herself understood better. And it makes it easier to talk to people.

The result of this facilitated communication is felt
in any interaction with individuals where the common code is
Spanish. Not only is this the case with non-Indians in
Lima, but frequently the common code between Indian migrants
is also Spanish, especially when they come from different
areas and there are linguistic differences in the Indian
languages that they speak. The respondents say that now
they feel that they can go anywhere without being afraid or
ashamed:

> I notice the difference since I began to learn to
> read and write. Well, now I can go any place. I
> can orient myself anyplace . . . I feel more cer-
> tain, more sure of myself . . . I can understand
> more things, I can understand what they tell me--
> what it is all about. But before I didn't under-
> stand. People talked to me, but I didn't under-
> stand them. But now, yes. Sometimes everything
> they tell me. They are words I understand already.
> Now I can go anyplace. It is not difficult for me
> anymore.

Increased linguistic competence then leads to increase in
confidence and a subsequent increase in the desire for, and
frequency of communication interaction:

> Before (when illiterate) I found I had a lack of
> words. I felt smaller. I was afraid of meeting
> people I hadn't met much--even friends or rela-
> tives, because I was short of words. Now I feel
> . . . a little more rich in words. No, I'm not
> afraid any more to meet people. Now I go and look
> for them--my friends and relatives, in order to get
> more orientation, to talk about things . . . I like
> to talk about what is happening now--our work, about
> the labour law . . . about these other new laws, and
> so on.

Some find that now they can even have a non-role centered
communication interaction with their employers:

Before I used to be quiet, but now I can have con-
versation. Even with the mistress. Yes, but be-
fore (when illiterate) I used to be afraid of
speaking, because I said, maybe I am speaking
wrong.

The respondents were especially conscious of the
implications of their increased Spanish language compe-
tence for their role as domestic servants: it is here that
most of the Spanish communication takes place in their lives,
and where understanding, in particular, is crucial to role
performance. This will be discussed more in Chapter VI.

But increased linguistic competence in Spanish is
not only seen as important in role performance, but is a
matter of pride in and of itself. The general attitude
toward their own language seems to be depreciatory: the re-
spondents seem to feel that to speak Quechua is to "speak
poorly" or to "speak in a funny way." Speaking Quechua has
been traditionally associated with lower social status, and
the respondents seem to have internalized the stigma that
this carries. Conversely, to be able to speak Spanish,
and to speak it correctly, was seen as a matter of prestige.

Finally, facilitated communication in Spanish had
implications for the frequency and effectivenss of inter-
personal communication in general, especially with the nor-
mative individuals of the urban environment, which, in turn,
has implications for adaptation and assimilation of the
migrant respondents.

Literacy, Print Media Use, and the Basis for
Social Interaction

Respondents at times said that literacy, and, in particular, being able to read print media, sets the stage for what to talk about in a private communication situation. In this context, again the background of the women of the study becomes relevant. The general impression is that while speech does play an important part in social interaction in the Highlands, the kinds of speech events and the range of topics that are talked about tend to be limited. In the modern urban environment, some respondents found that they simply did not know what to converse about. Again, since not everything can be said to anyone in any situation, they were unsure as to what was an appropriate topic (or code, or message) in any given situation.

"Now I talk about what I read," said one New Literate who had described her problems of not knowning what to talk about. And another explained how she finds she can now enter into the conversation:

    There were things they said before and I didn't
    realize what they were talking about. And I
    couldn't read the papers or anything. But now
    when I sometimes have time I can read the paper
    and know what it is all about.

In this way the use of mass communication, and specifically, print media, has implications for interpersonal private communication. Studies among other popula-

tions have also found belief in print-facilitation of inter-
personal communication.[11] It is the knowledge that the in-
formation that the mass media provide is available to a
large and heterogeneous "public" that allows its use in a
wide range of social interaction situations. Thus, when
literacy facilitates access to such mass media information,
it, in turn, facilitates interpersonal communication.

Occasionally respondents say that such mass media
facilitation of communication becomes relevant in extended
family relationships, but more frequently it becomes sig-
nificant with non-related individuals of their own socio-
economic status. With close friends, especially when these
are occupational group members, also studying (as they
very often are) conversation is not so much structured by
public information of the mass media, as by their common
interests of work and study, although at times the mass
media are relevant. In the work situation, when the rela-
tionship that exists between mistress and servant is on the
less formal end of the continuum, respondents sometimes
asked their employer about news in the mass media or topics
they had read about--either seeking more information or
interpretation of existing information.

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[11]See for example, Bernard Berelson, "What 'Missing
the Newspaper' Means," The Process and Effects of Mass Com-
munication, ed. by Wilbur Schramm (Urbana: The University
of Illinois Press, 1961), p. 42, and Leo Bogart, "Adult Talk
about Newspaper Comics," AJS, LXI (1955), 26-30.

Literacy, Physical Mobility, and Communication Interaction

Learning to read facilitates physical mobility in the urban environment, which, in turn, facilitates face-to-face communication with individuals living at some distance. Physical mobility problems were a motivating stimulus for adult literacy in the first place, a frequently mentioned problem of illiteracy in general, and a source of gratification of literacy.

Respondents told of the difficulties they experienced trying to navigate in a strange place without being able to read street signs, bus or car signs, or addresses which they might have been given. To be able to move about at all as an illiterate involves the constant asking of help from literates, and putting oneself completely in their hands. At times the respondents had been instilled with distrust of urban strangers by their relatives in the Highlands or had heard of unpleasant experiences in the city, and were afraid to ask for help or to trust the information given them by others.

Under such conditions, mobility becomes a problem. Illiterates in the study, and Semi-Literates and New Literates speaking of their past experiences or the experience of their illiterate friends, said that when there is no-one to accompany, illiteracy sometimes simply results in not going out. Since the living conditions of the majority of the respondents placed severe constraints on others visiting

them, inability to navigate in the city limited communication interaction.

Again, reliance on other people is not always the most satisfactory arrangement for the illiterate. The following respondent's description of her illiterate cousin's experiences and her own relationship to her, illustrates this in detail:

> My cousin doesn't know how to read. I want her to learn so that she can go out on her own, because sometimes I have no time to go and pick her up and take her out, and so that she herself can notice things, can realize things, can orient herself, and so that she might know how to take a car and so on. I used to give her a piece of paper which I had made on a typewriter with my other cousin whose niece had a typewriter, and on this typewriter I made a piece of paper which anytime that she goes on a car she can show this paper with the address where she wants to get off . . . When she goes out with me I send her home to her work at six o'clock, because later, no, because even with that address they may not take her there. There are evil drivers too who may take her way off and deceive her and say, 'This is the place,' and take her where it isn't. . . . But now I don't take her out. I go other places with my friends. Sometimes they invite me and I am ashamed to take her all the time constantly . . . So I haven't seen her for two Sundays (their day off) but I phoned her and she says she hasn't gone out . . . Sometimes when I phone her to come over to be with me she says, 'Yes, I'll come,' and then she doesn't come. She stays probably instead of going out. It is difficult for her to travel. . . .

The mastery of reading, even when rudimentary, helps to overcome these constraints on mobility and permits greater frequency of face-to-face communication interaction. This is particularly relevant for the respondents in terms of their communication with relatives and friends in other parts of

the city (most of whom do not have telephones) as well as
with secondary group individuals:

> Before when I didn't know how to read I couldn't go
> out into the street easily, because I felt strange.
> Now I go out. You need to be able to read so that
> you can take buses and cars, to read the names of
> the streets, and to go anywhere. Now I go to see
> my aunt, my cousins, my friends. . .

Facilitated physical mobility may also have an effect on oc-
cupational role performance as another respondent explains:

> The Senora has more confidence in one now that I
> can read. For example, she tells me, 'You go to
> this address,' and she gives me the address, and
> I can go, because I know how to read . . . She
> doesn't tell the other girl to go because she doesn't
> know how to read.

Literacy then facilitates physical mobility in the
urban environment, and through it the frequency of communi-
cation interaction. In these terms, literacy may not only
have implications for face-to-face communication with urban
relatives, friends, and secondary group individuals, but
also for communication with, or the maintenance of ties with
relatives and friends in the home community: if an illiter-
ate is reliant on others for mediation of messages either
in written or spoken form, she has to be able to have con-
tact with the mediators. Again, while literacy if suffi-
ciently advanced allows the reading and writing of one's own
letters, frequently letters are sent by hand through travel-
ling relatives or countrymen rather than through the mails,
especially if going to the more isolated areas. This re-
quires delivery of letters to the travelling and physical

mobility again comes to play a role in communication.

Summary and Implications

All the above discussed ways that literacy facili-
tates interpersonal communication--through letter reading
and writing, other forms of written communication, increas-
ing linguistic competence, creating a base for social inter-
action, and allowing independent physical mobility in the
urban environment--together with the general effect of what
might be called "increased knowledge," interact to have a
"compound effect" on the interpersonal communication of the
respondents. The end result is that they have increased
contacts with significant others, they can communicate
better, and, moreover, want to communicate more and with a
wider range of individuals. They describe themselves as
less ashamed, less afraid, more at ease socially, more self-
confident in general, and more talkative as a result of
their newly acquired literacy.

These implications of literacy for interpersonal
oral communication are confirmed by observation in the
field. They are also evident in the interviewing situation
itself--a social situation which is in a way a controlled
experiment, with the situation and form of interaction the
same and with respondents comparable along several dimen-
sions, literacy as the independent variable, and private
communication ability as the dependent variable. The dif-

ferences between respondents were remarkable: with increasing literacy there was an increase in the comprehension of questions, the length of the answers, the eagerness to communicate, and the fluency of communication. There was also a literacy-related overall increase in the general ability to orient to the situation.

In sum, the study showed newly developed adult literacy to facilitate interpersonal communication of the respondents. It facilitated both written and spoken encoding and decoding of messages. Literacy had an effect in terms of range, frequency, nature, and effectiveness of social interaction with significant others.

Although these implications of literacy for interpersonal communication are due to several operative processes, one major effect is a function of the fact that respondents become literate in a language other than their mother tongue, which is also the language of official transactions, the common code of the urban environment where they now live, and the language of high social status. This has something to say for the planning of literacy campaigns. Educators and various organizations involved in adult education have frequently stressed that every pupil should

begin education in his or her mother tongue.[12] But in

situations such as the present one, it is likely that the

individuals concerned may not wish to be educated in their

mother tongue for fear of being disadvantaged socially and

economically.[13] The choice of language is obviously a

sociological and political decision as well as a pedagogi-

cal one.

The findings of the present study also have impli-

cations for research as well as for policy. Studies of

literacy have generally ignored any relationship between

literacy and interpersonal communication. The newly liter-

ate adults of the present study indicate that it is the

facilitation of private communication that is a frequent

motivating force for literacy and a major gratification and

effect. Again, while the link between literacy and in-

creased mass media exposure or facilitated mass communica-

tion may be more significant for development oriented re-

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[12]Literacy in their mother tongue for the Peruvian
Indian population--to which the respondents belong--has also
been stressed by the official document, Reforma de la
Educación Peruana: Informe General (Lima, 1970), esp. pp.
170-172. The "Ley General de Educacion" was approved,
March 21, 1972. The present Military Government of Peru is,
however, stressing reevaluation of the Indian languages.

[13]One experimental project in Peru (information per-
sonally reported to the researcher) found, for example, that
their Quechua-speaking school was stormed by angry mothers
who protested that their children were being unfairly dis-
criminated against and denied opportunity for improvement by
being taught in their own tongue instead of Spanish.

searchers, facilitated spoken or written communication may not only be more important for the individuals concerned, but may very well have further ramifications in terms of such important dependent variables as socialization, adaptation of migrants, migration and return, productivity in the occupational situation, class relationships, and the diminishing of differentials between rural and urban areas.

On another level, facilitated interpersonal communication through literacy has personal or psychological implications, some of which have been suggested by the present chapter: companionship; the ability to control and inform others instead of being controlled or informed; the power to defend oneself and to reject contact as well as accept it; escape from the loneliness and isolation of a new urban life-style; at least partial escape from deprivation and feelings of uncertainty, insecurity, fear and frustration; and finally, an awareness of self.

CHAPTER IV

NEW LITERACY AND MASS COMMUNICATION

Sometimes I read a little piece of the news-
paper, only that . . . The employer has a
little dog, so I have to put papers on the
floor so the dog doesn't make it dirty, and
then I put out the plate of food for the
dog . . . and then those papers I can take
and read for a few minutes. That's the only
thing I read . . . old newspapers . . . the
ones I put the food of the dog on. Those
are the newspapers the mistress gives me.

                              Eduvigis

I like to read all kinds of things . . .
Sometimes it is better when you learn things.
I like to learn, so I read . . . all about re-
ligion, and then, about the home--about hygiene
and cleanliness. All that. And, how do you
call it . . . something about family life, how
to bring up your family. That kind of thing is
useful . . . Then you know something at least.

                              Norma

My brother gave me a radio, so that I know the
hour--what time it is, he said.

                              Aurelia

The previous chapter observed that on the individ-

ual level communication is essential to survival, both

psychologically and as a member of society with social re-

lations with its other members. In modern communities such

as the one to which the respondents of the present study

had migrated, a great deal of communication content is transmitted through the mass media as well as through inter-personal channels. While the respondents, because of their position in society, may be excluded from or limited in direct communication with certain individuals or groups, the mass media direct messages to anyone who wants to and has the capacity to receive them.[1] Such mass media messages, directed to large heterogeneous publics, expose individuals to a common culture, provide them with a common body of information about the environment, a common interpretation of events in that environment, and common stimuli for entertainment.[2] Thus the respondents' use of the mass media in their host community has considerable implications for psychological participation in the new environment. Such psychological participation could, in turn, have implications for social participation. We shall, therefore, examine the impact that the respondents' new literacy has or does not have on mass communications behavior. In doing so, we shall not limit ourselves to descriptive facts about

[1]For a more thorough explication of the significance of the "publication" activities of the mass media, see for example, George Bergner, "Mass Media and Human Communication Theory," Human Communication Theory, ed. by Frank E. X. Dance (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), esp. pp. 42-45, 52-56.

[2]Charles R. Wright, Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 16-23.

media use, but shall focus on the processes involved and, in general, attempt to supply detail about them. Our emphasis is on the respondents _using_ the mass media, in accordance with certain predispositions and needs, rather than on the mass media acting on them as targets.

Learning to read potentially allows the reading of print media. But the significance of the new reading ability depends in part on the extent to which such reading of print does actually take place after literacy, its nature, and the function it performs in the life of the individual. At least two other factors are also involved: the extent and nature of print media exposure existing prior to literacy, and the relationship of print use or non-use to the use of other forms of mass communication. This does not, of course, mean that one form, or the use of one form of mass communication is equivalent to another, but that there are commonalities. Furthermore, it is suggested that the introduction of literacy might have an effect on the use of non-print as well as print media. Since several studies have found a correlation to exist (see Introduction), at least the possibility should be considered.

The discussion that follows is based on the perspective offered by these guiding propositions. The chapter deals, in turn, with the illiterate as an audience member of print media, newly developed adult literacy, and the nature of print media use, and newly developed adult literacy and

the use of the broadcast media.

Before going on to the main discussion, it is per-
haps necessary to discuss briefly the present "uses" ap-
proach to mass communication. Compared to the "effects"
approach to mass communication, this is a fairly new strat-
egy although it does have a history of successful applica-
tions.[3] In a sense, this de-emphasizes the effects--and
especially, the direct effects of mass communication, by
stressing not what media do to people, but what people do
with the media, and by placing the intervening variable of
human needs between the media and their effects on the aud-
ience. Katz, in arguing for such an approach to mass com-
munication behavior, states that "even the most potent of
the mass media content cannot ordinarily influence an in-
dividual who has 'no use' for it in the social and psycho-
logical context in which he lives." The "uses" approach as-
sumes that people's values, their interests, their associa-
tions, their social roles, are pre-potent, and that people
selectively "fashion" what they see and hear to these in-
terests.[4] Waples, as early as 1940, suggested that there

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[3]For a review of some of these applications, see for
example, Denis McQuail, Towards a Sociology of Mass Communi-
cations (London: Collier-MacMillan Ltd., 1969), pp. 71-75, or
Walter Weiss, "Effects of Mass Media of Communication," Hand-
book of Social Psychology, ed. by Lindzey and Aronson, V
(Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969),
esp. 117-120.

[4]E. Katz, "Mass Communication Research and the Study
of Culture," Studies in Public Communication, II (1959), 2-3.

were two orienting questions that should be considered in the study of reading effects--"who is the reader and what does he do and want and get?" being the first, and "what and how does the publication contribute to his wants?" being the second.[5] The present orientation is in agreement with these and similar views.

The Illiterate as an Audience Member
of Print Media

Do illiterates use print media even though they are not able to read? The findings of the current study indicate that at times they do. There are two ways in which such use occurs: directly and through the mediation of literates. The study also found that illiterates sometimes possess print media.

Direct Use of Print Media by Illiterates

Five times as many illiterates said they independently used print media, compared to those who said they did not do so. This does not appear so incongruous when it is remembered that much of print media has a pictorial element as well as a lexical one. What illiterates use independently then is primarily--but not exclusively--this pictorial aspect. In other words, they look at the pictures or photographs even when they cannot read what is said in print. Children, it has

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[5]D. Waples, B. Berelson, and F. R. Bradshaw, What Reading Does to People (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), p. 83.

been found, begin their own independent use of print media
first through such pictorial-print media as magazines and
comics,[6] and young readers are first introduced to such
print media as newspapers through the pictorial features.[7]
Although the respondents of the present study are adults,
their experience with print, and their ability to obtain
meaning from it, is not dissimilar to the much younger read-
ers of such other studies. However, the functions of such
use for adults may be rather different.

The illiterate respondents of the study frequently
used photo-novels (comic-style magazines employing stylized
photographs, and a minimum of print, with melodramatic,
romantic plots), comics, and also newspapers, magazines,
and occasionally, books.

What are some of the functions of such print media
use? One is obviously entertainment, relaxation or solace.
"I like it," or "I enjoy looking at the pictures," or "I
was curious to see what it was" are the kinds of comments
frequently encountered.

But do illiterates also feel there are other func-
tions of such limited print use? Some of the respondents

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[6]Wilbur Schramm, "Beginnings of Media Use among
Children," Mass Communications, ed. by Wilbur Schramm (Urbana:
University of Illinois Press, 1960), p. 457.

[7]Wilbur Schramm and David M. White, "Age, Education,
and Economic Status as Factors in Newspaper Reading," Mass
Communications, ed. by Wilbur Schramm (Urbana: University
of Illinois Press, 1960), p. 439.

felt there were, while others stressed that their ability

to use print was too limiting. Referring to photo-novels,

one woman said:

> I don't understand what they are saying. I only
> know that they are novels and that they are talk-
> ing. But I don't understand them.

while another, referring to the same type of print media,

said:

> Well, I look at the novels. Even if I don't know
> how to read I look at the novels for the pictures.
> I understand a little of what is happening . . .

Such use may also become the basis for social inter-

action. Another respondent, again referring to photo-novels,

explained: "I learn about love from them." Even the super-

hero type of comics were occasionally seen as a source of

advice on how to behave. The mass media thus come to play a

role in social interaction, because they not only provide

certain items of knowledge and definitions of social situa-

tions, but also the knowledge that such knowledge or defini-

tions are publicly held. The respondents, as young women,

and furthermore, as individuals who have moved from a tradi-

tional environment to a very different modern one, have

particular need of such information.

Another function of print use by illiterates involves

the acquisition of a particular kind of information--about

reading. They use print to learn to read outside a formal

learning environment, and sometimes with no literate to help.

One woman described how she was teaching herself to read by

watching her young child struggling between the various al-
ternatives which go to make up the correct choice of a let-
ter, and the subsequent identification of a word:

> The mistress, she lent me or gave me books. When-
> ever I had time she gave me books to look at . . .
> The letters and words--just by looking and watching
> my little girl spelling out and learning the letters.
> That is how I learn--from my daughter.

The functions of print media used by illiterates are
more meaningful if understood in the framework not only of
needs, but of access to alternative sources of such need
fulfillment. Opportunities for interpersonal communication
were discussed in the preceding chapter and access to other
sources will be discussed in more detail in the later parts
of this chapter. This will show that no only do the women
of the study have some critical needs because of their migra-
tion from the Sierra to Lima, where they are confronted with
new ideas, attitudes, and behavior patterns, and not only
are they quite isolated from primary group contacts--espe-
cially as illiterates, but their access to other mass media
of communication is also very limited.

Thus, in the presence of considerable need and the
absence of adequate functional alternatives, print is turned
to by illiterates even though its capacity to supply their
needs is definitely limited by their lack of reading skills.

Literate-Mediated Use of Print
Media by Illiterates

Having literates read print media to them then be-
comes one of the ways that illiterates can overcome some of
the constraints inherent in their direct use of print. But
there are two pre-requisites to this mediated use of print
media: knowing literates who are willing to read, and access
to print materials for either the literate or the illiterate.
In the case of the respondents of the present study, both
these factors imposed limitations. Nevertheless, over two-
thirds said that they ask literates to read to them.[8]

It was most frequently a relative--often consider-
ably younger than the illiterate, who was asked to read,
even though almost all respondents saw their relatives less
frequently than once a week. The relative was usually a
brother, sister, cousin, nephew, uncle or aunt:

> My brother reads magazines and newspapers to me.
> I say to him, 'Come, tell me, what does it say
> here?' Then, for example, when there is some
> news about some accident or the earthquake (of
> May, 1970) especially then there was news about
> where it was and how many people had died and so
> on. And then he reads and I sit there by his side
> and I listen.

At other times the reader is a co-worker or a friend.
Another respondent describes such a situation:

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[8]Considering only newspapers and magazines--which
were also the most popular print media in the literate-medi-
ated use of print in the present study, Everett Rogers,
Modernization Among Peasants, p. 84, found that in his Colom-
bian villages 19 per cent of illiterates had newspapers read
and 6 per cent had magazines read to them.

> Sometimes I ask my friends to read a newspaper:
> 'Please read to me,' I say. And when they are
> reading I say, 'Please tell me what it says
> there,' when I want to find out what it says some-
> where--what radio programmes appear and so on . . .

Sometimes it is the mistress or her daughter who of-
fers to read to the illiterate servant, or at times is asked
for news, or is asked to read, by the illiterate:

> I ask the daughter of the mistress: 'What is hap-
> pening in the Highlands? Read to me what is hap-
> pening there to the roads.' And sometimes there
> are landslides in my countryside and I ask her to
> read to me what has happened there . . . And they
> tell me.

The literate-mediators of print may have a consider-
able level of formal education. This is usually the case
with employers, and sometimes with relatives, but very rarely
with friends. At other times, however, the person who is
asked to read is barely literate herself, having had perhaps
one or two grades of formal education.[10] A quotation from
an interview with an Illiterate illustrates:

> A girl who works there in the house with me--my
> friend, she is in First Grade but she has stopped
> studying. She is not going to school this year.
> Sometimes I say to her: 'What does it say here,'
> I say, 'in the newspaper?' And she tells me.

Whereas direct use of print media by illiterate re-
spondents was most likely to involve comics or photo-novels,
literate-mediated use usually involved a newspaper or a
magazine. The main focus of interest seems to be news of

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[10]Interviews with Semi-Literates in the study con-
firm this, many of them already reading print media to il-
literates. This is discussed in Chapter V.

their place of origin, and acquisition of information about the home environment the main gratification of mediated print use. Respondents also used literate-mediation of print to find out about their more immediate environment. Again, illiterates sometimes used print in this way to learn to read, literates frequently actively encouraging such activity.

Although literate-mediated use of print media by the illiterate may result in greater isomorphism in meaning in terms of what is being implied by the media and what is inferred, it not only has the constraints of knowing willing literates and having access to the print materials, but also constrains the illiterate's power to select within that which is available.

The Ownership of Print Media by Illiterates

In considering the ownership of print media by the Illiterates in the present study, at least two factors should be taken into account: their illiterate parents (except in a few cases), and their migration from areas where print media was scarce. Furthermore, their economic status also placed severe restrictions on purchase. Thus the respondents are probably less likely than most other urban residents to possess print media.

In spite of these constraints, over half of the illiterate women of the study said they owned some kind of

print materials. Semi-Literates and New Literates, even though they were not explicitly asked, sometimes commented that they owned print media when they were still illiterate.

The Illiterates had come to possess print in one of three main ways: they purchased it, it was passed on to them by someone else either as a permanent possession or as a loan, or it was purchased for them.

Deutschmann found that illiterate adults themselves purchase print materials.[11] This also occurred occasionally in the present study in spite of the lack of money. As one woman, who was fond of looking at photo-novels, said: "I buy them, and when I don't have money, I borrow them." Borrowing then becomes one way around the problem. The respondents were often lent or given books by friends, relatives or employers. Their employers are particularly important in this context: they give them print materials they no longer need, or the servant retrieves what is thrown away. One woman describes how she came to own books in this way even though she could not read them:

> I liked to have books and I didn't know how to read so I couldn't read them. But I asked a Miss where I worked and she gave me a book which was a Catechism. And I didn't know how to read it, but I kept it and kept it and kept it. I had a lot of books they threw away, and which were no good for them any more—novels, and things like that. And I kept them and kept them. And that's how I have a <u>heap</u> of books.

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[11]Deutschmann, "The Mass Media in an Underdeveloped Village," pp. 30, 34.

When the quoted respondent was asked why she kept the books when she couldn't read them, she answered: "Because I thought someday I would go to school."

Other Illiterates collected knitting and dressmaking booklets, cook books, novels, magazines, and even newspapers that their employers discarded.

But sometimes it is also a relative who gives print materials to the illiterate. This may be an older or younger brother who is studying, or a more educated and more modernized extended family member who is interested in encouraging literacy motivation. This was the case with the cousins mentioned by the illiterate quoted below, who actually had some University education and who had for some time been trying to influence her to study:

> Yes, I had books because my cousins they had their books and they said, 'Look! Look at these pictures if you want to.' And then I started to look at the pictures. I just looked because I didn't know what it said underneath . . . I wanted to know, but I couldn't.

Finally, the third way that illiterates came to possess print media was if it was bought for them at some time when they had been registered for school, usually as a child. Because all who had learned to read and write to any degree prior to their adult literacy enrollment were not included in the present study's respondent population, such an occurrence was rare. In reality, it would probably occur more frequently with those who are functionally illiterate as

adults. One woman, telling of this "complete book" as she proudly called the book that had been bought for her years ago, said she liked to open it from time to time to look at the pictures because "they were pictures for beginning to learn."

In sum, illiterates do "use" and own print media, even though such use and ownership of print media is severely limited. Direct, independent use, while limited primarily to the pictorial element, is still perceived by illiterates as functioning in entertainment and informational capacities. Literate-mediated use when this is possible is much more satisfactory in terms of the meaning inferred or the amount of information obtained, but is again subject to various constraints. However, limited or not, the study indicates that illiterates in the respondent population were at least "on the fringes" of the audience of print media, even before they could read. This factor should therefore be taken into account in evaluating the implications of literacy for print media use.

New Literacy and the Use of the Print Media

Keeping in mind the foregoing discussion of the nature and extent of Illiterates' print media use, this section will focus on individuals who are demographically comparable on many points (also female, aged between 15 and 40, Indian migrants to the capital, servants by occupation) but

who have reached a stage of semi-literacy or functional
literacy in adulthood. Here we shall be considering what
print media, and about what subjects these respondents read,
the uses to which they put print media reading, the credi-
bility of what is read, and constraining factors that exist
in their use of print.

Reading Habits

The question of what is read by respondents will deal
with the general pattern of print media use that exists under
current conditions. In response to the question "What kinds
of things do you generally read?" our seventy-five Semi-
Literate and New Literate respondents cited 171 examples.
These responses were classified into six types of print
media with the following results: newspapers accounted for
28 per cent of the materials read; educational books for 26
per cent; womens' magazines, 20 per cent; comics, 11 per
cent; photo-novels, 9 per cent; and religious materials, 6
per cent.

Newly literate respondents, while differing from our
Semi-Literates in educational level and the generally cor-
related factor of degree of reading skill, are fairly simi-
lar to them in terms of economic level, age, family size,
and, of course, sex--some of the other factors generally

found by studies to be related to mass media use.[12] The

two groups differed little in the general pattern of read-

ing habits, the relative frequency of mention of the var-

ious print media being very similar (see Table 1, p. 149).

The greatest relative difference in reading between Semi-

Literates and New Literates was in the reading of comics.

which accounted for 15 per cent of the print reading of

New Literates but only 7 per cent of the print reading of

Semi-Literates. The Semi-Literates, on the other hand, read

newspapers and educational books (and to a lesser degree

women's magazines) with slightly greater relative frequency

(see Table 1).

A more detailed examination of the New Literates at

their different levels of education (two to five years) again

showed little difference in the pattern of their print read-

ing habits.

The overall conclusion in terms of reading habits--

that even though reading ability improves, there is little

indication of change in the pattern of what respondents

read, at least in the short run, is also supported by re-

interviews that were conducted with New Literates after a

period of one year. These New Literates who in all cases

felt that their reading ability had improved during the in-

tervening year, but whose life-style had remained much the

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[12]For a summary of such studies, see for example,
Weiss, "Effects of Mass Media of Communication," esp. pp.
120-123.

TABLE 1

READING HABITS[*]

Respondent Group	News-papers	Education-al Books	Womens' Magazines	Comics	Photo-Novels	Religious Materials	Total Responses
Semi-Literates	35%	26%	19%	7%	7%	6%	100% (N = 54)
New Literates	28%	28%	15%	15%	9%	5%	100% (N = 117)
Combined Semi-Literates and New Literates	28%	26%	20%	11%	9%	6%	100% (N = 171)

[*]Question asked: "What kinds of things do you generally read?" The respondents were encouraged to cite as many items as they could. The average answer included materials from 2.3 of the above six types of print media.

same, showed very few changes in what they read. When

changes had occurred, these were most frequently a function

of opportunity rather than of choice alone: someone had

given them a book; their employer had stopped buying comics

for her children which formerly were passed on to them;

their brother had made them stop reading photo-novels, and

so on. In a few instances, however, change in the pattern

of print media use does occur as a result of increased knowl-

edge or interest. A respondent illustrates:

> I am now reading some new books. Also magazines
> and newspapers. I didn't read newspapers last year
> because . . . well, I almost was not interested.
> But now that I know more I am interested about
> things that happen in the Provinces and things that
> have happened here in Lima. Last year I almost
> didn't read but now I like to read all kinds of
> things.

On the whole, however, the study did not indicate

a sudden intellectual awakening or thrust for knowledge and

the widening of one's horizons at a particular stage of

literacy. Rather, the impression was that to a great extent

these factors also exist in illiteracy among those motivated

to become literate (the only illiterate respondents included

in the study) with a gradual increase only occurring with

literacy. Respondents also showed considerable variation

along this dimension. This, in part at least, could be ex-

plained by the fact that a large proportion were not per-

sonally motivated to learn when they began literacy train-

ing (see Chapter II) but only became interested later.

More significant perhaps even than the relative
frequency of the use of the different types of print media
is the finding that the range of reading of individual re-
spondents was in almost all cases severely limited. The
majority read one or two types of print materials only (ac-
cording to the above categories)--usually educational books
or newspapers or both. The average reading per person was
2.3 of the types of print media classifications of the
study. This applied to both New Literates and Semi-Liter-
ates.

There are also several points that should be men-
tioned in regard to some of these categories of print media.
In the first place, newspaper reading is frequently not a
regular daily occurrence, but a sporadic event, often
occurring on the day off (usually a Sunday). A study of
mass media use in Santiago, Chile, also found newspaper
reading to frequently be not a daily occurrence, and the
Sunday newspaper to sometimes be the only one read.[13]
Whether in the present instance this is related to choice
or time factors is difficult to say, but the general im-
pression is that it is a function of the latter more than
the former.

Again, it is clear that with the respondents news-

[13]Roy E. Carter, Jr. and Orlando Sepúlveda, "Some
Patterns of Mass Media Use in Santiago de Chile," Journal-
ism Quarterly, XLI (Spring, 1964), 219.

paper reading sometimes only involves the headlines or "the

big print on the front page." This appears to variously be

a function of problems of eyesight, lack of time, and de-

ficient reading ability with Semi-Literates.

Again, not always current newspapers are the ones

read. A quotation from a particularly pathetic respondent

(but who took her situation with a sense of humor) illus-

trates:

> Sometimes I read a little piece of the newspaper,
> only that . . . The employer has a little dog, so
> I have to put papers on the floor so the dog doesn't
> make it dirty, and then I put out the plate of food
> for the dog . . . and then those papers I can take
> and read for a few minutes. That's the only thing I
> read . . . old newspapers . . . the ones I put the
> food of the dog on. Those are the newspapers the
> mistress gives me.

The educational books mentioned are sometimes read-

ing class books of their particular current grade level, but

quite frequently of higher grades of Primary School and even

of High School, and occasionally, University. At times also

they are books called "encyclopaedias." These do not refer

to encyclopaedias in the usual Western sense of the word,

but are elementary general-knowledge type of books, designed

for newly literate and partially literate adults.

The comic style romances called "photo-novels" (from

the Spanish "fotonovelas") have already been mentioned in

conjunction with illiterate use of print media.[14]   It was

interesting that some respondents said that they had looked

at these when illiterate but once they learned to read, they

had lost interest. At other times, however, respondents

would say that these constituted one of the chief pleasures

of reading for them--that now they could also read what it

said in the printed part of these novels, whereas formerly

they could only look at the pictures. In other words, it

is difficult to say whether illiterate use of print pre-

disposes respondents to use such print when they learn to

read, as it seems to vary from respondent to respondent. It

would require a more detailed focus on such factors to be

able to define the conditions under which different patterns

occur.

The respondents were also asked what topics they

liked to read about. Most frequently mentioned were: cur-

rent events, social norms and behavior, history (usually of

Peru), religion, and romance--all referred to about equally

frequently. Also occasionally preferred were science, ad-

vertising, fashions, business, and geography.

It is probably the same kind of print media which was
found to be popular among the younger generation in the study
by Erich Fromm and Michael Maccoby, Social Character in a
Mexican Village (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.,
1970), pp. 45-46. In this study, these photo-novels were
actually the preferred kind of reading for all ages. The low
literacy levels in the village, however, would suggest that
this might have been related to such preference.

At times, the theme of the respondents was one of wanting to read "everything" or "about anything." Sometimes this was a dominant interest in the practice of reading skills which motivated, rather than interest in the content of what was read. With other respondents, an eagerness and a felt need existed for a wide array of information, or for both information and entertainment and little experience existed as to where to gratify those needs. At still other times, the respondents were very conscious of their limited choice, and could not project themselves into a situation where they were actually free to choose what they wanted to read about. Respondents, however, did show evidence of discrimination or selection both within types of printed materials when a range of these was available, and within a single type in terms of subject matter.

Uses of Print Reading

Certain functions which print media reading performs for Illiterates in the respondent population have already been touched on; but these responses are necessarily limited for illiterates cannot reflect the full range of print uses likely to occur following literacy. New Literates and Semi-Literates supplied much more information on print media use and attendant gratifications--the topic to which we now turn our attention. The various uses to which our respondents put their reading of printed media are dis-

cussed in the order of their relative frequency of mention below.

1. <u>To improve reading skills</u>. The respondents (especially the Semi-Literates) frequently expressed a felt need for the improvement of their reading skills. It was clear that a high value was placed on reading competence. For many such respondents the reading of print provided an opportunity to practice reading, through such practice to improve skills and thereby to derive satisfaction and gratification. Two respondents illustrate:

> Reading you learn more and practicing you read better. That is why I read . . .

> I am really doing all I can to read more quickly and more better. I read everything I can so I will improve. By reading more you improve, so I like to read.

This most frequently occurring use of the public print media for the improvement of reading skills is not one which is often likely to occur among adult populations in developed nations but is important to be considered with respondents such as those of the current investigation.[15]

2. <u>To facilitate social interaction</u>. A second frequently mentioned use to which media reading is put is to facilitate social interaction. Facilitation occurs in var-

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[15]Respondents also sometimes used reading of non-print materials such as letters and notes to improve reading skills. The general impression obtained from interviews is, however, that this use occurs most frequently with the print media.

ious ways, one of which has already been mentioned in the previous chapter--by providing topics of conversation which would be appropriate in a wide range of social interaction situations. Respondents sometimes used print consciously for this purpose.

Reading print media was also used to improve oral communication through improvement of lexicon and grammar:

> I read so that I can talk and converse and express myself better when I speak. There are many words for talking better in books that one doesn't really know. That is why I am interested in reading.

Respondents also frequently read print media to learn about social norms and behavior patterns. While fiction is most often used for this purpose, it is sometimes also non-fiction, such as books on manners and public behavior. Such a use of print is, of course, very much a function of the social background of the respondents, and, in particular, their recent entry into a new and very different social environment for which most appeared to have had very little prior preparation. An interviewee's words illustrate this use of print media reading:

> I like to read magazines to learn about behavior in the classroom, and also how to behave in public, and how people should behave everywhere. I read in order to be more educated, to have better manners with people.

Researchers working with adults in more developed countries have also found print reading used for the purpose of facilitating social interaction. Berelson discovered

that people read newspapers so that they may appear inform-
ed in social gatherings,[16] and Bogard discussed adults' use
of comics in conversation.[17]

    3. <u>To acquire information about the environment</u>.
To acquire news about events in their immediate and wider
environment--especially in the latter case, the home en-
vironment of the Sierra--was an important motive for print
media use with some of the respondents in the present
study.[18] The kinds of information they were predisposed
to seek was usually directly relevant to their lives, and
especially their roles of family member, servant, and stu-
dent. A respondent illustrates such a use of print:

> I like to read La Prensa (a major Peruvian news-
> paper)--anything that appears there. All kinds
> of things about whatever happens. And sometimes
> there is news from the Ministry (of Education)
> and that kind of thing I like to read so I know.
> Sometimes too about schools and things like that
> appear . . .

    The acquisition of information about the environment
is a frequently reported function of mass media behavior in
general, and print media use specifically. Berelson, for
example, in the above referred to study of newspaper read-
ing, found that it performed a similar function for many

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[16]Berelson, "What 'Missing the Newspaper' Means,"
p. 42.

[17]Bogart, "Adult Talk about Newspaper Comics,"
pp. 26-30.

[18]There is no evidence of respondents' interests
extending further than their own country.

of the New York readers.[19] Waples and Berelson and Brad-

shaw, in their early discussion of readers' predispositions,

relate such a need for information about events in the en-

vironment to a need for a sense of physical and social

security.[20]

4. <u>To provide increase of self-esteem</u>. Another use

of reading print media is to increase self-esteem. The

belief that they know how to read when many of their peers

do not, that they are able to read a publication classed as

difficult or advanced, that they are able to understand what

they are reading, or that they acquire knowledge through

reading, leads to gratification through improvement of

self-image. Print itself seems to carry high prestige and

the use of it appears to be associated with a higher social

status. Such a use of print is difficult to illustrate from

the verbal content of the respondents' answers; it is more

evident in their behavior during the interview. The follow-

ing two respondents showed such a self-esteem related use

of print:

> I take out the paper to read it, but what I like
> most is to read books. I have got one I bought
> the year before last and another book I bought
> the year '70 (one year earlier) which was Third
> Grade. It <u>wasn't</u> First Grade (her current grade
> level). It was <u>Third</u> Grade(said with pride).

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[19]Berelson, "What 'Missing the Newspaper' Means,"
pp. 40-41.

[20]Waples <u>et al</u>., <u>What Reading Does to People</u>, p. 98.

> I like to read (print media) in order to have a
> good command of reading. Now I am reading, and
> reading, and getting to be <u>somebody</u>.

Another two respondents illustrate the function of under-

standing and acquired knowledge in self-esteem:

> Now I think I am cleverer than others because
> they don't know, but I know how to read. Now
> you can learn and read and understand what it
> really says there.

> What I like most is to read about stories which
> appear from before--about the warriors--those
> things. The school supplement (of the newspaper)
> on Tuesdays speaks of past history--that I like.
> It is something which I have never known before,
> and then one reads and gets to know more and more.

Such an intrapersonal prestige motivation for read-

ing is also suggested by Waples, Berelson, and Bradshaw.[21]

5. <u>To acquire practical knowledge for daily living</u>.

Waples and his co-authors also suggest that the practical ap-

plication of knowledge, especially in vocational and hobby

type reading, would become one of the motivations for such

activity.[22] In the present study, respondents also read

print media for recipes, dress or knitting patterns or sug-

gestions, radio programs, and also for broader application

in their lives, as the following quotations from two re-

spondents demonstrate:

> I like to read to know about life. What I like to
> do is to practice reading and writing so that I can
> be a mother and so I can teach my younger brothers
> and sisters many things.

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[21]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 95.

[22]<u>Ibid</u>.

I like to read all kinds of things . . . Sometimes
it is better when you learn things. I like to
learn, so I read . . . all about religion, and then,
about the home--about hygiene and cleanliness. All
that. And, how do you call it . . . something about
family life, how to bring up your family. That kind
of thing is useful . . . Then you know something at
least.

6. <u>For relaxation or entertainment</u>. Relaxation
or entertainment use of print media is not very frequently
mentioned. It occurs more often among the New Literates
than Semi-Literates, probably because of the strain of read-
ing for most Semi-Literates, which strain is less with the
New Literates. Two respondents illustrate such uses of
print media which some, however, did experience:

I read just for entertainment--just to find it
light.

I read because I like to read . . . I like it,
I find it fun.

Again, this was a possible motivation for print
media use suggested by the discussion by Waples and others.[23]
While the Waples <u>et al</u>. book considers that such entertain-
ment or respite can occur through both the reading of light
fiction (comics, pulp magazines, detective stories) non-
fiction (if it is a change in focus from one's daily activi-
ties) and through literature of high artistic merit, the re-
spondents of the present study seemed to seek entertainment
primarily from comics and pulp magazines. The data indicate
that their access to literature of high artistic merit (ex-

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[23]<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 95-97.

cept for the Bible) is limited. Occasionally, however, it
was not only comics or photo-novels which provided respond-
ents with entertainment, but also newspaper accounts of
"police news" or "accidents."[24] Such use of newspaper
stories, as well as of overtly entertainment content, is
also seen in Berelson's study.[24]

In sum, uses to which respondents put print media
reading appear to be indeed determined by their needs, which,
in turn, are related to their personality and social situa-
tion. In general, respondents' answers place emphasis on
the usually immediate, instrumental uses to which print
media can be put in daily activities and social life, as
well as on the practice and perfection of highly valued read-
ing skills. Most of the uses of mass media commonly found in
prior research also occur in the present study, together with
the not so commonly found reference to practice and self-
esteem. Major exceptions are the lack of references to
ritualistic or compulsive uses of print media, such as in
Berelson's study of New Yorkers for example.[26] Unlike
Berelson's respondents, the women of the Peruvian study,
because of the relative recency of the reading of print media,
had probably not had time to develop such habits. It is also

[24]Respondents in some cases had probably not been
socialized to consider such content as purely informational,
and showed no inhibitions in expressing their enjoyment.

[25]Berelson, "What 'Missing the Newspaper' Means,"
pp. 41-42.

[26]Ibid., pp. 45-47.

likely that the nature of their occupational role, its associated lack of independence or freedom, also precluded any personal structuring of their time or the necessity to do so.

The Credibility of What is Read

Another dimension of mass communication behavior sometimes considered is the credibility of what is read. This dimension is significant in the present instance because of the findings of Rhoads and Piper which have indicated that newly literate individuals tend to regard everything seen in print as absolute truth.[27]

The respondents in the present study were asked: "Do you think that what you read in print tells the truth?" In the case of Illiterates, this was made relevant to them by asking: "Do you think that what appears in print tells the truth?" Taken as a whole, the answers to these questions indicated that the respondents did not believe everything in print. However, they were more likely to believe than not to believe that everything was true (59 per cent to 41 per cent).

Illiterates perceive print media to be absolutely truthful more frequently than do Semi-Literates and New Literates. The Illiterates tended to believe what was read

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[27]Rhoads and Piper, Use of Radiophonic Teaching in Fundamental Education.

to them, or what they were lead to believe existed in print.
New Literates, in comparison, were about as likely to dis-
believe the truthfulness of what they read, as to believe
it. Semi-Literates were in between the other two groups
in terms of credibility (see Table 2, p. 164).

The Illiterates were also surprisingly confident
in their views. Whereas 29 per cent of Semi-Literates and
11 per cent of the New Literates were unsure as to whether
what they read was true or not, in comparison, 93 per cent
of Illiterates had firm opinions on the subject. When
those who had expressed their complete trust of what was in
print were challenged and asked if they really believed
"everything," none of the Illiterates wavered or modified
their statements.

What these results indicate is that increasing
literacy is associated with decreasing tendency to regard
what is in print as absolute truth. Re-interviews with New
Literates after a period of a year, during which time their
level of literacy had increased, showed again a decrease in
the perceived credibility of print. Thirty-three per cent
of re-interviewees who had earlier expressed complete be-
lief in the truth-value of print, now no longer did so.
There were no changes in the opposite direction. The re-
mainder of the respondents did not change their views.

However, what is meant by print-media also enters
into the evaluation of results. In order to take this

TABLE 2

CREDIBILITY OF PRINT MEDIA[*]

Respondent Group	Complete Credibility	Incomplete Credibility	Total (N = 64)
Illiterates	86%	14%	100% (N = 14)
Semi-Literates	60%	40%	100% (N = 10)
New Literates	50%	50%	100% (N = 40)

[*]Question asked: "Do you think that what you read in print tells the truth?" (Semi-Literates and New Literates)

"Do you think that what appears in print tells the truth?" (Illiterates)

factor into account, Illiterate, Semi-Literate, and New
Literate respondents were compared in terms of their belief
in the credibility of newspaper stories, this particular
print medium being selected because most respondents were
exposed to it. The general trend of diminishing credibil-
ity with increasing literacy still held.

Such findings indicate that while newly literate
adults do certainly not believe everything they read in
print, there is a high level of perceived truth-value in the
early stages of literacy which seems to "wear off" with time.
But rather than be a function of the "magic of the printed
word" when it is first recognized, it would appear instead
to be a left-over effect of illiteracy (or lack of education)
which diminishes with time.

Rhoads and Piper, in a study of newly literate in-
dividuals in Central America, found that new print readers
regard everything in print as absolute truth. Their study
was conducted under religious auspices, however, and Rogers
has suggested that this sponsorship and the focus on Bibli-
cal materials may have lent extra credence to print in gen-
eral.[28] Some, but not all, of the respondents of the present
study were educated under similar conditions.[29] They did not,

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[28]Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 95.

[29]They were also, like the respondents of the Rhoads
and Piper study, educated under a program sponsored by the
Roman Catholic Church, which frequently used Biblical mater-
ials in instruction.

however, express complete belief in the truth-value of print, but were at times highly dubious of it. When compared to those who had received literacy training in a secular institution, they were no more likely to believe printed matter, and, in fact, slightly less likely than the former. This finding, however, may have been due to our respondents' generally higher education.

Although respondents did not always believe everything they read in newspapers, magazines, books, photo-novels, or comics, they did, in almost all cases, place complete credibility in religious materials, no matter what their level of literacy-education, probably a result of their deep religious beliefs. It follows, then, that had either the questions asked, or the respondents' reading, been limited to only religious materials, the findings of this study would have agreed with those of Rhoads and Piper--that newly literate adults tend to regard everything (religious) in print as absolute truth.

In all, 41 per cent of the respondents of the Peruvian study qualified their acceptance of the truth-value of print. The qualifications usually were expressed in terms of the type of print media, or content, or both. Some representative quotations from interviews with respondents illustrate the differences of opinion expressed.

A respondent shows complete belief:

> Yes, I believe it must be true what they say in the newspapers and books and other things with print. They wouldn't go around lying would they?

Two other respondents qualify their belief in terms of the type of print media or the subject matter:

> Some things I don't believe, but what is says in the newspapers and books--like that, well, I believe. Yes, it is true, because since it is all written it is, of course, so that we may learn. And they are teaching us by that. But the newspapers don't speak: we have to speak. And it is all written there so that we may understand what they have to tell us.

> Well . . . sometimes yes, I believe. Some things yes, some things, no. Well, science, history books--like that I believe . . . but other things--murders, that I don't believe.

Two other respondents question the truth-value of print media:

> It seems to me that it isn't true. Because I think, is it true or is it just for being careful? And you have to learn by the newspapers so that you are careful, or you have to really learn about it from other printed things. And also people say, 'Is it true or is it not true?'

> Sometimes they exaggerate, and they talk and they lie. They _do_ lie. In the newspapers, sometimes I believe it is true, sometimes I don't believe it is true . . . Sometimes they lie . . . For example, one thing which happened, they exaggerated I remember . . . Instead of saying exactly what it is they say more than what it is . . .

In sum, newly literate adults, even when trained under religious auspices, do not always regard everything in print as absolute truth. The present study indicates that the print media do, however, have a higher credibility for those at the early stages of literacy than those at

later stages. It also indicates that such high credence of print is a function of illiteracy rather than of the newness of reading. In other words, high credibility of print should be considered as associated with illiteracy rather than literacy.

Constraining Factors in the Reading of Print Media

Earlier in the chapter it was observed that the majority of respondents did not use a wide range of print media. This is at least partially a function of the several constraints which exist in terms of the print media use of respondents. The main ones are: limited access to print materials, limited free time, and reading ability. The interviews with respondents indicate that lack of interest in reading is not as major a deterrent as these. This section discusses these major constraints which exist on the reading of print media in general, together with what the respondents are able to do about them.

The Existing Constraints.

Respondents not only receive low salaries, but interviews indicate that a large number are helping support family members (frequently those in the Sierra) or have their own children dependent on them for support. This leaves them very little money for the purchase of reading materials. While most respondents have purchased the oc-

casional photo-novel, religious book, educational book,
newspaper or comic, such purchase is very constrained by lack
of funds.

There is also the problem of lack of spare time.
Although a few respondents read for three to four hours a day
(in one case, for example, every night from ten to one, get-
ting up before six the next morning) they are exceptional.
Far more respondents read for only five or so minutes a day.
The average reading time (including reading-study time if
outside a learning environment) for the respondents was
estimated at forty-four minutes a day, with the New Literates
reading on the average more than the Semi-Literates--forty-
nine minutes as compared to thirty-two minutes.

Most frequently reading is done in the evening, after
work as a servant is over, although respondents were general-
ly too tired to read by the time they were free--frequently
around ten or eleven at night, and occasionally later.

Limited reading skills also impose constraints on
reading, of course, especially when materials suited to the
respondents' ability and of adult interests are not always
accessible to them, although there are such special reading
materials for newly literate adults published in Peru. Since
the printed materials on hand, however, sometimes require a
higher degree of literacy or vocabulary, or background knowl-
edge, than the newly literate adults possess, they are con-
strained in terms of the content they select within these

materials, and in the degree of understanding or amount of information they can acquire within a given length of time.

Finally, there is no serious lack of interest which might limit the respondents' reading. Semi-Literates and New Literates were asked whether they would want to read more. Ninety per cent of them said they would if they were free to do so. The 10 per cent who did not want to read more gave three reasons: reading "tired the eyes"; they felt that what they already read was sufficient for them; they did not enjoy reading enough to want to read more.

Those who said that they would like to increase their reading varied in their degree of enthusiasm and it is likely that some of these would not greatly increase their amount of reading if actually given a chance to do so. The kinds of materials that they expressed further interest in reading were, on the whole, very similar to what is read at the current time. This finding is, one would assume, at least in part related to the respondents' limited exposure to, and experience with, a wider range of print materials. Lack of interest, then, does not appear to be as major a constraint as some others.

Counteracting Existing Constraints

Theoretically, libraries would provide one way of counteracting limitations of access to print materials. However, some adult education centers do not have library facilities attached. Furthermore, the respondents do not use public

libraries except in the case of one woman whose employer
brought her books from a library. The reasons why librar-
ies are not used are probably much more complex than re-
vealed by interviews with respondents. What interviews did
demonstrate, however, was that in the majority of cases
respondents were not aware of the way that libraries could
help to supply their print media needs. A large number did
not even know what a library was,[29] and the majority did not
know where one was located. Those who did know had usually
acquired such information from overheard conversations, and
occasionally, from the mass media. When asked why they did
not use such facilities, most replied in terms of lack of
time. A respondent illustrates:

> A library? Yes, that is where they put the books,
> where any kind of books are. But I have never been
> there . . . I would like to go in order to look for
> what we need, because at home we don't have things
> to read. Yes, if I had time I would like to go but
> we don't have time when we work. We don't have time.

Another had actually made an effort to find a library after
finding out what it was, but had also been deterred by time
shortage:

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[29]Not knowing what a library was, was not just a
question of lack of familiarity with the word "library."
It was discovered early in the interviews that respondents
were confusing the Spanish word for library, "biblioteca,"
with the word for Bible, "Biblia," thinking that they were
in some way related. Respondents were, therefore, first
asked if they knew what a library was and asked to describe
it. If they did not know, a library was explained. Only
then was the question of library use asked.

> I overheard a conversation . . . Other girls who
> study, I heard them say, 'I am going to a library
> to see about something. I have to study.' Every-
> body is studying and I hear them say all the time,
> 'I am going to the library to look for something
> I have been told to look up.' . . . I found out
> where a library was because I asked where it was.
> Some people I met, I asked, 'Where is it?' And
> they said, 'In this place.' And then I came and
> saw it, and then I decided I would go to the
> library some time. But I haven't had time . . .

Lack of time is probably a genuine excuse usually
since most domestic servants work from early morning till
late at night with carefully regulated time off for classes
if they are still studying, and only one day free a week--
frequently a Sunday when many library facilities are closed.

Although the respondents did not increase their ac-
cess to print materials through library use, they did engage
in informal borrowing. More than twice as many New Literates
and Semi-Literates obtain or borrow print media from employ-
ers, friends, or relatives as do not do so. Most receive
old newspapers, magazines, comics, or novels from their
employers or their children, and sometimes borrow books from
them, as well as borrowing materials from other domestic
servants, and occasionally, from relatives. (At other times,
however, either employers or relatives may decide that some
type of print media is "not good for her" or wasting her
time, and either not give them to her when asked to do so,
or even take them from her.)

A respondent describes informal borrowing:

> Sometimes the children's books are right there and
> these are the books they don't need any more. They
> (her employers, the parents of the children) say,
> 'If you want to read them, take them.' And then I
> take them and leave them in their place again . . .
> Sometimes novels, for example, Corin Tellado (a
> popular photo-novel) nothing else, from some friend.
> We work together in the same street, and since she
> has a collection of novels, sometimes I ask her to
> lend them to me.

There is little that the respondents can do to counteract the limitations of insufficient leisure time. Occasionally they use time they would normally budget for sleep (if employers do not demand lights out at a certain hour), snatch odd moments from work (if they are not forbidden to read during the day, or are able to hide their reading), rush to finish their duties (if they are allowed to be free when there is nothing else to do), or read during vacations. A couple of quotations from respondents illustrate:

> Any time I have a chance, I read. But since I work
> I cannot just sit down to read, so whenever I am
> not working I read a little. I rush to do my chores
> so I can read.

> The New Testament and the Old Testament, which I
> have here—I keep them stored away as if they were
> gold, so that, when I have more time, at the vaca-
> tion, that is, I take books and I read. And you
> learn from these books.

Other than practice and study to improve their reading ability—within the bounds of the other existing constraints—respondents sometimes sought help from others. This was particularly the case with the Semi-Literates. Usually such helpers were friends who read better than the

respondents did; less frequently helpers were relatives or employers. There was sometimes a gradual transition, persons who had previously read to illiterate respondents later became their "teachers," until they no longer needed help. Occasionally the relationship would continue with each person reading aloud to the other for entertainment or companionship, especially when both were servants.

Implications of the Introduction of Literacy
for Print Media Use

Summing up the implications of newly developed and developing literacy for print media use: the study indicates that although most of these newly literate respondents now read print media, and are more exposed to it than comparative illiterates, media use is still quite limited. If greater exposure to print media is to occur, it seems likely that certain external conditions will have to change. Among these are occupational conditions and limited access to sources of print media distribution. The print media use that does occur is determined by the respondents' particular needs, and especially their position as migrants in a new modern urban environment.

New Literacy and the Use of the Broadcast Media

It is important to examine the implications of new adult literacy for the use of the broadcast media for at least two main reasons. First, prior studies on both the

national and individual level have found correlation be-
tween literacy and the use of both print media and non-
print media (see Introduction). Thus, it is relevant to
find out whether, and to what extent, literacy acquired as
an adult also brings about such increased media exposure.
Second, it is important to consider just how exposed to
various kinds of mass communication the respondents were
prior to literacy, in order to be better able to evaluate
the significance of print mass media reading. We shall,
therefore, examine the relative frequency of respondents'
use of broadcast media, constraints on use, program selec-
tion, and implications of the introduction of literacy for
such broadcast media use in general.

Relative Frequency of Broadcast Media Use

Eight out of every ten respondents in the study said
they used either radio or television or both at the time the
interviews were conducted. One-fifth used neither. In all
three groups--Illiterates, Semi-Literates, and New Literates--
at least three-quarters had some kind of broadcast media ex-
posure (see Table 3, p. 176). Conversely, in all three
groups, a considerable number of respondents had no exposure
to the broadcast media, even once a week. This, it is to be
remembered, was in a large modern city and not in a remote
village. Furthermore, as the preceding chapter indicated,
such limited use of the mass media frequently was joined by

TABLE 3

BROADCAST MEDIA USE[*]

Respondent Group	Radio Only	Television Only	Radio and Television	No Broadcast Media Use	Total Responses
Illiterates	50%	12%	19%	19%	100% (N = 16)
Semi-Literates	25%	25%	25%	25%	100% (N = 24)
New Literates	43%	17%	26%	14%	100% (N = 23)
Combined Illiterates, Semi-Literates, and New Literates	38%	19%	24%	19%	100% (N = 63)

[*]Question asked: "Do you listen to the radio?" or "Do you watch television?"

quite limited interpersonal communication, especially for
Illiterates.

Respondents were exposed to radio more than to
television, the ratio being about three to two. As Table
3 shows, there were, however, differences between respond-
ents when considered according to literacy level. Whereas
in all 69 per cent of Illiterates used radio compared to 31
per cent who used television, 50 per cent Semi-Literates
used radio and 50 per cent used television, and 69 per cent
New Literates listened to radio with 43 per cent watching
television. What seems to occur then, is an initial drop
in radio listening at the onset of literacy together with
a rise in television watching. With further increase in
literacy, however (and an associated greater use of print
media as the preceding section demonstrated), television
watching drops and radio listening rises, to where the
pattern is not very different from that existing in illiter-
acy, although television watching remains slightly higher.

The data also show only a slight increase in the
tendency to use both media with the advent of some literacy:
19 per cent Illiterates used both radio and television com-
pared to 25 per cent Semi-Literates and 26 per cent New
Literates. Combining Semi-Literates and New Literates (all
those who could read at all) in the data analysis, and com-
paring them to Illiterates, shows a general but small in-
crease in the use of both media with the introduction of

literacy: 26 per cent of those who had had literacy train-
ing used both media (and, of course, print in most cases)
whereas 19 per cent of the Illiterates used both. (see
Table 4, p. 179). There was also an increase in television
use (either alone or together with radio), and a general
decrease in radio use (either alone or together with tele-
vision), television rising from 31 per cent to 47 per cent,
and radio dropping from 69 per cent to 50 per cent.

Despite the fact that eight out of ten respondents
say they use radio and/or television, other evidence sug-
gests that the respondents' use of the broadcast media is
quite limited. Limitations exist not only in terms of who
uses the broadcast media and who does not, but how much, and
how they listen and watch. The next section will look at
some of these factors.

Constraining Factors in the Use
of the Broadcast Media

In all, six out of every ten respondents listened
to the radio. Of these, about half listened to sets they
personally owned, about two-fifths heard the radio at their
employers' sets, and the rest heard radio receivers of
friends or relatives. However, the actual proportion of
respondents who own radios is much lower than half, since
the majority who did not listen to the radio at all did not
own one.

Whereas two-fifths of the respondents had some tele-

TABLE 4

BROADCAST MEDIA USE[*]

Respondent Group	Radio Only	Television Only	Radio and Television	No Broadcast Media Use	Total (N = 63)
Illiterates	50%	12%	19%	19%	100% (N = 16)
Semi-Literates and New Literates	34%	21%	26%	19%	100% (N = 47)

[*]Question asked: "Do you listen to the radio?" or "Do you watch television?"

vision exposure, only one person owned a television set.
The rest who saw television did so at the homes of employ-
ers, relatives, and occasionally friends.[30]

In most cases, radio, and especially television
use, is very infrequent, and occurs only for a few minutes
at a time, although there are exceptions such as respondents
who have a radio in the kitchen, where, working as a cook,
they listen to it almost the entire day. The majority, how-
ever, did little radio listening or television watching.
Radio use was usually in the early morning on first getting
up or in the late evening when respondents had finished work.
With television, watching occurred usually sometime in the
earlier evening or on weekends or vacations.[31] With many
of those who did not own a radio and the majority of "tele-
vision watchers" exposure to these media occurred only in
passing when they happened to be within range of a set that
someone else was using.

Lack of access was the most frequent reason given
by those who did not listen to the radio at all. Other rea-
sons were that they did not have time, the employer did not
permit listening, and, occasionally, that they did not like

[30]Only a very occasional respondent reported having
seen television in a public place. Although there are tele-
vision sets in Lima in places like bars, schools, hotel
lobbies, store windows, and community centers, the respond-
ents' access to most such places was relatively limited.

[31]Television hours in Lima at the current time are
from about 11 in the morning until midnight.

it. Those who did not watch television again mentioned
lack of access, lack of time, that they did not like it,
and certain physical symptoms such as dizziness and a head-
ache which they attributed to television watching. Dislike
of television was more frequently mentioned than dislike of
radio. All respondents indicated that they had seen tele-
vision at least in passing, at some stage in their lives.
Some had seen it only once.

Although this dimension was not specifically probed,
respondents sometimes mentioned that they had stopped
listening to the radio or watching television either "for
study" or "for reading." Most frequently they explained
this in terms of lack of time--having to give up one for
the other, but occasionally also in terms of having lost
interest in the broadcast medium. At times such termina-
tion and more frequently, minimization of broadcast media
use was enforced by the employer, at the onset of literacy
training.

Program Selection

Programmes attended to by respondents were very
often not selected by free choice, even within constraints
of time and access. Since much of radio listening and tele-
vision watching was done either "by invitation" or "by
chance" when they happened to be within range, they fre-
quently had no say in program selection or at the best
limited influence in the matter.

What respondents listened to on the radio in the
order of frequency of mention were: music, the time, radio-
novels, news. In regard to music listening, they sometimes
explicitly mentioned that they preferred the popular West-
ern-style music to the regional music from the Highlands
which is sometimes played over Lima radio stations. Finding
out the time of day was a dominant motivation for radio
listening. Some respondents, in fact, called their radio
"my clock-radio" not because it was a clock radio in the
conventional sense, but because it let them know the hour
of day. This is particularly important to the respondents
attending classes at a certain hour, and because the whole
idea of being somewhere at an exact time is very difficult
for them to grašp in many instances.[32] A respondent il-
lustrates such a use of radio:

> My brother gave me a radio, so that I know the hour--
> what time it is, he said. And I didn't even know the
> time before. And I didn't know how to count up to
> even two either . . . The mistress didn't want to buy
> me a clock so I told my brother, 'The mistress doesn't
> want to buy me a clock.' Because sometimes I came
> late to school . . . Then my brother took his account
> and gave me a radio. Now when the radio speaks I know
> the time. The radio speaks and it says, 'It is one-
> thirty,' or 'It is one,' and then I come running some-
> times. And before I didn't know . . . I really don't
> listen to anything else because I am not very good
> yet--how do you call it--in speaking. I don't always
> understand.

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[32]This is more a result of their generally rural
earlier life and its de-emphasis of time as a whole than of
"Spanish time." Lack of a time sense is a constant com-
plaint of the teachers and employers of the respondents and
those like them.

As the above-quoted respondent indicates, diffi-
culty in understanding the spoken language can also become
a deterrent to radio listening--and also to television
watching, since most programs are in Spanish, whereas the
mother-tongue for the women of the study (as mentioned in
Chapter II) is one of the Indian languages. While this
difficulty does not seem to stop respondents from listen-
ing to the radio in general, it does seem to limit what is
listened to, and may also be a factor in "not liking"
radio or television with some.

Television programs watched were almost never
selected freely by personal choice, but almost always by
their employers or relatives (who may, in some instances,
consider the respondents' preference). By far, most fre-
quently watched were soap-operas, especially the two popu-
lar in recent years in Peru (and in much of Latin America)--
"Simplemente Maria" and "Nino."[33] Next in order of fre-
quency of viewing were: films, song and dance shows, ad-
venture, news, and cartoons.

[33]"Simplemente Maria" is a "rags-to-riches" type
of story about a migrant girl, very much like the respond-
ents. This program will be mentioned again in Chapter VI.
The other program--"Nino" which succeeded "Simplemente
Maria" in popularity, is set in a lower class neighbour-
hood, and is interesting in that it has Spanish lessons
as part of the plot-structure and is, in general, very
much oriented toward the teaching of social norms and be-
havior.

Implications of New Literacy for
Broadcast Media Use

In sum, radio and television use by respondents is
severely limited in most cases. Lack of access to receivers,
shortage of time, were again major constraints to media use.
Such findings help us to place the introduction of literacy,
and through it, greater ability to use print effectively, in
better perspective. With about one-fifth of the newly lit-
erate (including Semi-Literate) respondents, print became
the only form of mass communication to which they had any
kind of regular access. For a much larger number, the use
of broadcast media is extremely limited: print comes to play
an almost equally significant role in terms of potentially
integrating them into the ongoing social process and pro-
viding them with a base for social interaction.

The possible impact of newly acquired reading abil-
ity on radio and television use itself appears complex.
The data show an initial drop in radio use and a rise in
television use at the onset of literacy, followed by a later
levelling off to a pattern of use not very dissimilar from
that of Illiterates. Overall, when Semi-Literates were
combined with New Literates and compared to Illiterates,
there was a general drop in radio use and a rise in tele-
vision use, and a slight increase in the general tendency
to use both broadcast media. Taking into account the more
detailed information about broadcast and print media use,

as well as what is known about the general life-style of
respondents, it would seem that there are several factors
involved. Initially, radio is probably "given up" for
reading since it is usually the most flexible element in
the respondents' time budget and tends to take more time
and be more flexible than television viewing. It is also
likely that print media provide a functional alternative
for radio's informational role. However, as observed in
the preceding discussion, print media are not very frequent-
ly used for entertainment, especially at the early stages
of literacy. Television, however, tends to be oriented
toward such use and it is likely that the respondents also
use it most frequently to supply such needs. Print media
at the beginning of literacy is likely not to provide a
functional alternative. Later one, when reading print be-
comes less of a laborious process, it comes to be used more
for relaxation or entertainment, and therefore gradually
displaces television viewing.

Why television viewing actually seems to increase
at the onset of literacy is difficult to say. One reason
might be that employers tend to have different attitudes
toward a servant who is studying and invite her to view
television more frequently. Others might be increase in
respondents' own interest or ability to understand. Finally,
the increase in radio listening among New Literates back to
its original level among Illiterates--with television viewing

still remaining more frequent, and more reading now taking place--might be a function of either more time becoming available (in cases where reading quickly improves and respondents also become more efficient at their jobs, which will be discussed in Chapter VI) or increased interest, or both.

Summary and Implications

This chapter has discussed the implications of literacy in terms of mass communication. It has looked at the literacy-facilitated reading of print media in the light of both pre-literacy and post-literacy exposure to print media and both pre-literacy and post-literacy exposure to the broadcast media. While illiterates did have some limited exposure to print media through both direct and literate-mediated use, both Illiterates and those at various stages of literacy had, on the whole, very limited exposure to the broadcast media.

In the context of these findings, the rather constrained print reading of literate respondents is set in perspective. It comes to be significant not so much because literacy provides respondents with access to print media which they did not have before, but first, because it leads to more effective independent use of print media, and second, because the overall use of other forms of mass communication, such as radio and television, both before and after literacy, is limited.

On the whole, there seems to be more that the respondents can do about exposure to print media once they become literate, than they can do about exposure to radio or television, which perhaps is one reason why literacy does not have a greater impact on broadcast media use. But while occupation and economic status remain constant, in spite of any increased interest in mass media use, reading will remain fairly limited, and radio and television will show little increased use. Rather than the "centripetal" effect which some have suggested to be associated with literacy,[34] there seem to be some grounds to argue for a "displacement" effect, especially in the case of radio.

This chapter's discussion would indicate, in general, that some of the assumptions commonly made in terms of literacy do not necessarily always apply. Literacy does not always give adults an exposure to print media which they absolutely did not have before. Again, the reading of the print media does not follow automatically to any great degree: constraints of access and time, among others, must be taken into account. Furthermore, New Literates do not believe everything they read, and the higher credibility of print for very recent literates appears to be as-

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[34]See for example, Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, p. 83 and Daniel Lerner, "Toward a Communication Theory of Modernization," Communications and Political Development, ed. by Lucien W. Pye (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 341.

sociated with earlier beliefs accompanying illiteracy
rather than with the advent of literacy. Finally, reading
of the print media does not necessarily lead to a signifi-
cantly greater exposure to radio and television where other
environmental conditions do not also change, as, at least
in the short run, they sometimes do not.

CHAPTER V

THE MULTIPLYING EFFECTS OF NEW LITERACY

I have an older sister who doesn't know how
to read, and sometimes, when there are some
things in the paper, I read to her. I teach
her too because she cannot study . . . Also
a girl who worked with me before--she didn't
know how to read and write--I made her let-
ters for her . . . But she was learning be-
cause I was teaching her . . . I like people
to learn. A person who doesn't know how to
read and write, you are sorry for them . . .

Ernestina

I tell my friends to learn. 'Learn to read
and write,' I say. 'It is something you are
going to need in life' . . .

Antonia

Up to now the discussion of the impact of new lit-

eracy has focused primarily on direct or indirect effects

on the adult who becomes literate. This chapter will take

a step toward indicating some of the ways that newly de-

veloped adult literacy in underdeveloped countries has im-

plications for those with whom the individuals concerned

come into contact. The key argument is that such literacy

is not just an individual experience, but a social exper-

ience, the effects of which are multiplicative. The first

section will describe ways in which new literacy is "shared"

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with illiterates, dealing, in turn, with print media read-
ing, letter reading and writing, and other literate-il-
literate sharing of reading and writing ability. The second
section focuses on new literacy and the promotion of liter-
acy. The final part of the chapter will discuss the impli-
cations of the preceding two sections for the newly literate
adult's social relationship, and for the flow of information
and influence in the social system.

Shared Use of New Literacy

The use of new literacy in interpersonal and mass
communication behavior has been discussed earlier. The
findings of the Peruvian study, however, revealed that the
newly literate respondents not only use their reading and
writing skills for their own benefit, but also for the bene-
fit of illiterates. Here, then, we shall be looking at some
of the ways in which such sharing of literacy occurs.

New Literate-Illiterate Print
Media Use

Chapter IV has shown the indirect use made of print
by the Illiterates and its direct use by New Literates and
Semi-Literates. Interviews with the latter two groups--
those with some reading ability--showed that they were them-
selves frequently becoming mediators of print media informa-
tion for illiterates that they knew.

Almost half of the New Literates said that illiter-

ate family members, friends, co-workers, and countrymen were asking them to read print media. A respondent describes such a situation:

> Sometimes when I am looking at some magazines and there are some novels that have photographs, or she (an illiterate older aunt) sees a newspaper and she says, 'What would it say here for people who know how to read?' Then I read the papers or magazines. I read them to her . . .

Often the request is motivated by more than curiosity. It is a desire for information on the part of the illiterate and a realization of the opportunity, and perhaps the duty to share it on the part of the newly literate individual:

> Well, they listen because they want to know a little more, just like I want to learn more . . . I tell them because I understand a little more of what it says there (in the newspaper).

Although frequently the illiterate listener is older or of the same age as the reader, occasionally respondents also read to younger brothers or sisters. Sometimes the women of the study also read print to employers who were ill, or to the employers' children for whom they were nurse-maids:

> I read aloud for other people. For my friends or for the child of the mistress, I read. The child of the mistress mostly--the little daughter . . . I like to read, and sometimes also . . . the child doesn't know how to read, and she asks me to read to her. I sit beside her--she likes me to . . . And in order to understand what it says there she likes me to read.

Even the Semi-Literates in the study--whose reading

skills as yet were fairly limited--were being asked to read print by illiterates. One-fourth of these respondents with only one to two years of literacy training said they had been asked. Thus even a very small degree of literacy comes to be shared with illiterates.

It is relevant to ask who selects what is to be read--the mediating literate or the illiterate. The interviews show that there is no general answer. The illiterate may ask for news about a particular event which she heard of initially through some other channel, such as radio or interpersonal communication, especially an event of great interest, such as an earthquake near one's place of origin, an accident, or something involving known individuals. The illiterate may ask for information about a particular subject which she has learned to expect in a particular kind of print media--radio programs, horoscopes, and accidents were among those referred to in the study. Or again, the illiterate may see a photograph which arouses her interest, and ask for the caption associated with it to be read. In all these cases, it is the illiterate who is most active in selection of the particular subject matter. Other illiterates, or the same illiterates under other circumstances or at other times, simply ask the newly literate adult to read them "something" or "something interesting" or just ask them to read in order to have them demonstrate their reading skills--perhaps to read whatever she happens to be

reading at the moment. At still other times, the newly literate adult volunteers to read about a particular event or subject to the illiterate. In these cases, it is the literate who is more active in the selection of information. In empirical reality, the process is quite often an interaction.

Not only are New Literates frequently asked to read print media, but they are asked what they have read about in print media, especially an event of universal interest. An adjunct study on communication behavior in a disaster situation was conducted with the same New Literate respondents a few months after the May, 1970 Peruvian earthquake. This revealed that many of the New Literates had not only read about the earthquake to illiterates, but frequently illiterates had asked them what they themselves had read since they knew that they had access to an additional source of information, and there was a general demand for news. At this time, there were even instances when what seems to be a sex-barrier in such situations was broken--the women were evenly occasionally asked for information, or to read, by men who could not read themselves--usually those considerably older.

Finally, it should be added that literates not only read print to illiterates but sometimes newly literate adults read to each other, either for entertainment, to increase reading skills, or for various other reasons such as

convenience.

New Literate-Illiterate Letter Reading
and Letter Writing

Chapter III explored the implications of new literacy in terms of interpersonal communication, and in this context, for the independent reading and writing of letters. As emphasized then, letters--and in particular, family letters to those left behind in the home community--are an important form of communication for the respondents, and for them a highly significant effect of learning to read and write. But literacy not only enables the adults to read and write their own letters, but to read and write letters for illiterates.

The most frequent single type of material that New Literates mentioned having been requested to read was, in fact, not print media, but letters. In all, 71 per cent of New Literates said they also read letters for illiterates, and almost 50 per cent said they wrote letters for illiterates. Even the limited reading and writing skills of Semi-Literates were being cooperatively used in this form: 41 per cent of Semi-Literates reported reading letters and 18 per cent reported writing letters for illiterates.

In almost all cases, personal letters were involved, mostly family letters, occasionally love-letters or letters to female friends. Those individuals for whom the respondents either read or wrote were most frequently friends

(usually female co-workers or servants in other households), often relatives, and sometimes neighbours, friends of friends, or simply acquaintances. This predominance of letter reading and writing for friends is probably a result of the present life-style of the respondents, in which they might be somewhat more accessible to occupational group members, and to friends who live in the same house or nearby, than they are to relatives.

Some read or wrote letters for several illiterates:

> I read letters for my uncle and aunt and the girl who works with me . . . Sometimes they say, 'Juana, can you read this?' And then, O.K., I read to them . . . letters, or sometimes telegrams which they get . . . I have other girl friends too who don't know how to read, nor do they write, and they come to me. Sometimes they say, 'Juana, can you please read this letter?' 'O.K.,' I say. Since they have confidence in me, since they trust me, then I read to them . . .

Another respondent describes how she reads and writes letters for her cousin, also a domestic servant:

> I have a cousin who doesn't know how to read . . . She is in another job, and I haven't been able to get her a job with schooling and the mistress doesn't want to give her schooling . . . And I make her letters for her and I read them to her aloud so she knows what her family says in them. And I read letters for her and I write them for her. The letters come at my address, so when the letter comes then I phone her and I say, 'Your letter is here.' And sometimes she asks me to go and see her at her job, or sometimes she comes. . . . She doesn't work near. She works way off . . . And when she wants to answer the letter, I write the letter for her, and whatever she tells me, whatever she thinks, what she wants to say, she tells it to me and I write it. After that I read it again so she can understand, so she can hear and see it is whatever she told me, that I have put there . . .

As the above quotations illustrate, the letter
reader or writer's role is a very special one: exposed to
a great deal of private information, she must be someone
who is trusted. The actual amount of input the respondents
put into the writing of letters varies. In the case of the
Semi-Literate respondent quoted above who wrote for her
cousin, the letter writer's input appears to be limited.
In other instances, however, letters are not dictated, and
not checked afterwards to make sure they are correct. Some-
times the respondents composed the actual letter on the
basis of a general idea, as with the below woman:

> Sometimes I write letters for my friends--some-
> times to their parents up there in the Highlands,
> and sometimes they have some brothers and sisters,
> and some friends. Sometimes they are single
> mothers and they need money for their children,
> and please, they say, write that the father should
> send them money, that the child is ill and needs
> the doctor's attention. And what she earns isn't
> enough because the child is sickly and needs the
> help from the father . . . They say, 'Please write
> for me.' And I go, when I have time, I go to my
> room and then I write for them.

Another respondent describes the writing of a love
letter for a female friend of hers:

> My friend . . . she dictated to me and then I wrote
> for her . . . 'I am going to write to my boyfriend.
> I am going to meet him there. So please write for
> me,' she said, 'and give him my greetings.' Things
> like that.

The official or semi-official letter reader and
writer, which according to informants does exist in some
of the small villages in the Sierra (frequently "the corner

store Chinaman"), apparently is not so frequently used in
the city. Because letters are a vital form of communica-
tion for the many migrants in Lima, and because word-of-
mouth communication systems (see Chapter III for "relayed
messages") are often inadequate, illiterates seek the help
of literates they know. The newly literate adults of the
study who had so recently themselves been in the position
of the petitioner, dependent on the good-will and good in-
tentions of the literate, apparently enjoy their new role
and feel pride in it. Some of those who as yet did not
read or write well enough, in fact expressed the hope that
someday they too could serve in this function:

> I don't know how to write well enough yet, but I
> would like to learn in order to write letters for
> people . . . to be able to . . .

Other Situations in Which New Literacy
Is Shared With Illiterates

The newly literate respondents of the study not
only shared their reading and writing ability with illiter-
ates through   the form of reading of print media and the
reading and writing of letters, but also through various
other ways where reading or writing ability was at a prem-
ium. Some of these help-giving situations are described
and illustrated by quotations from interviews with respond-
ents.

- To help find work:

The job where she (her niece who is illiterate) is
now they don't want to give her schooling. She is

20 years old and she doesn't know anything. And
she says, 'But I can't get a job with schooling.'
. . . So I am trying to get a job where she can
work and study.

I have a friend who doesn't know yet how to read.
She buys a newspaper and she comes to me and says,
'What does it say here?' She wants to find out,
because sometimes she can't find a job. So I read
her the ads where they need maids, and I say,
'Come with me.' She doesn't know where the streets
are and she can't read the names, so I take her . . .

- To navigate physically in the city (see also the
  above quotation):

At the beginning I used to take her (her illiter-
ate relative) out constantly because she doesn't
know how to take transportation. She doesn't know
how to read anything. So, yes, she needed me to
help her to find her way. And now then she knows
how to take the cars, and I am teaching her to
understand and recognize the numbers and the char-
acters too, but it is not the same as being in
school of course . . .

- To make purchases:

I have a cousin who does not know how to read or
to write. Sometimes she asks me questions to go
out shopping. She asks too, 'These things I have
bought, are they good to buy?' And then I say,
'Yes, it's good.' And sometimes I say, 'No,
don't buy that, that's no good.' She always con-
sults me, because I can read about it . . .

- To help in personal matters that require reading
  and/or writing ability:

. . . my sister and her husband (illiterates) they
didn't have their papers in order and we fixed
these papers. The house--they were going to take
it away from them and they had four children, and
since I knew a little more, I went to the lawyer
in order to fix it so that they can have it in
order. And now we have it all fixed and the house
is in their name and they are living there.

Although the above illustrations by no means repre-

sent a complete range of the situations in which newly

literate adults help illiterates, they indicate the most
frequent ways that our respondents shared their reading
and writing ability. By such ways new literacy becomes
more than an individual skill and affects illiterates with
whom the newly literate adult interacts.

New Literacy and the Promotion
of Group Literacy

Newly literate adults share not only their literacy
skills with the illiterates with whom they come into con-
tact, they also shared their belief in the power of liter-
acy. While they were willing to help the illiterate in
most cases, they believed that the illiterate would be better
off if he or she could read and write for themselves and not
have to depend on others. The respondents said that they
would influence illiterates to learn to read and write, and
most frequently they actually had influenced others. Often
they also taught illiterates themselves. At times both
influence attempts and teaching by newly literate adults
took place in the above described help-giving or "literacy-
sharing" situations.

New Literacy and Attitudes
toward Illiteracy

New Literates and Semi-Literates believed that lit-
eracy had created a profound change in their lives and had
been a significant factor in personal development. Almost
without exception, the respondents agreed that literacy had

made them "feel different." Interviewees explained that it had given them a feeling of at least possessing some kind of knowledge, a sense of general competence, of social ease, of being able to act independently, and of having some kind of power to modify their own future. Literacy had made them feel better human beings, and more socially equal human beings. Some quotations from interviews illustrate the newly literate adults' attitudes towards their past illiteracy--and their present new literacy:

> Before I was a little ignorant. I didn't know what was happening. I didn't care what was happening around me . . . But now, now I at least know something. Now I am a person who knows. I am another person.

> Before when I didn't know how to read it was very different. I was like a fool . . . I felt foolish . . . But now, now it is completely different . . . <u>Now, I think I am cleverer than the others</u> . . .

> Now I feel different . . . I feel <u>superior</u> . . . better . . . and I feel a person who at least knows something.

> It is not like it was before. Well, it is different in things. When you don't know nothing you talk and you think just for thinking and talking, but now, more or less you know a little more . . . it is easy to think. You don't get nervous or anything because you are relaxed now . . . Before I was thinking, thinking, thinking. I had my child, and I was thinking, how am I going to bring my child up. How am I going to manage, I thought. But now I am relaxed. Now I think that I work, that I can buy his little clothes and look after his health. I think it is different, I feel different now . . . I feel better now because I used to feel like a fool before, but now it is much better.

I feel . . . how do you say . . . completely dif-
ferent, because formerly, I didn't know how to
read, when I was younger, I didn't know what
things were about. And I said to myself, I wonder
what is in this? I would like to find out about
these things . . . what they say in these char-
acters here. But when I learned to read . . . I read
and I felt safer, because sometimes in the magazines,
in the books I read, it says that one should be like
this . . . and . . . well, sometimes I think that
that's the way one should be. You should behave
well, you should behave correctly . . . I feel more
relaxed, more contented.

Before when I didn't know how to read and write . . .
I was like a fool . . . Like a dummy--like that.
You can't talk to people. You can't talk easily . . .
Now I am more contented, more happy.

Before I felt sad. Because I didn't understand: I
didn't know how to read. Sometimes when they gave
me advice, well the advice didn't remain in my head.
And now, somebody gives me advice--especially good
advice, now it remains in my head. And they used to
advise me badly and I understood, but when they ad-
vised me well, I didn't pay any attention because I
didn't know it was good. My father sometimes talked
to me and I didn't answer and I was insolent to my
father. Poor me, poor father. And I felt sad when
they said sometimes to me, 'You don't know how to
read!' And I listened to people read, and my sis-
ters I heard them read, and my brothers, they stud-
ied, and I listened to them talking but I didn't
know anything, and I couldn't learn. Now I am more
contented because now I am already learning, so I
am happy.

Such attitudes towards their own literacy, past il-
literacy, and the difference that they perceive learning to
read and write as having made are significant in the re-
spondents' concern in influencing and helping illiterate
friends and relatives to also become literate.

New Literacy and the Promotion of Literacy

Respondents were asked what they would tell friends of theirs who didn't know how to read and write. Almost all answers fell into three categories in the following order of frequency: I would advise her to go and study; I would advise her to go and I would help her; I would teach her to read and write myself.

It is, of course, obvious that the kinds of answers the respondents might give to the above question in an interview situation might not necessarily reflect their actual behavior toward illiterates. However, what provided confidence in the interview material is that the large majority of the respondents described actual instances and quoted conversations that they had actually already had on the subject of literacy.

A large number of respondents described instances where they had advised friends or relatives to learn to read and write. For example, the Semi-Literate below describes how she tried to persuade her illiterate cousin to learn:

> My cousin--she came this year (to Lima) I brought
> her . . . so we can be together, since she is the
> legitimate niece of my mother's. She is the
> youngest . . . She doesn't know how to read and
> nor does she know how to write. I am trying to
> see that next year she won't be left without
> schooling. I want to put her to school but she
> doesn't want to go. She says that in school they
> are going to beat her. And I told her, 'But in
> this school they don't beat anybody. They are
> very patient and they teach you. They have more
> patience in school to teach.' And she says she
> doesn't want to go into school. Out of fear.

Well, it is just the same as I was before! She
is just like that. But I know that in the school
they teach you, and you learn . . . and I try to
convince her.

Several encountered arguments against adult educa-

tion, when they were trying to influence their friends to

learn. Two respondents describe their counterarguments:

My friend--she didn't know how to read. I said,
'Aren't you interested?' She didn't want to study.
'I am big enough. Why should I study, I am quite
big. I am earning good money. Why should I study?'
she said . . . I said, 'No, don't worry. Even a lady
who is older--she is full of white hairs--she stud-
ies. Why can't you do the same?' I said to her.
And she started to study also . . .

I tell them they should learn, because it is al-
ways good to learn. Sometimes they think because
of their age, they can't learn. But sometimes it
doesn't really matter. 'Well, I mean, look at me,'
I say, 'I am learning too, and I am an older woman.'
That is the way I tell them . . . For example, I
have a friend whose child is in school with my lit-
tle daughter. She is a lady who works (as a domes-
tic servant) and she says she has no time to learn.
And the mistress where she works is ill. But when
talking to her, I say, 'Talk to the mistress. You
have to manage to have time. Ask permission from
the lady. Talk to the lady.' And that is the way
I talk to her.

Sometimes advice is accompanied by actual help:

several respondents said they had taught or tried to teach

their illiterate friends and family members to read:

I advise them to learn. I have told them, 'It is
important to know those things. Learn to read.
Let's read,' I say. And so I teach them what I
know. To the family--to any member of the family
who doesn't know I say that.

Even when own reading ability is limited, sometimes it is

still used to teach illiterates, as in the case of the Semi-

Literate quoted below:

> The friends I have who don't know how to read and
> write, I teach them what I can--what I know. I
> tell them also to study the way I study so that
> they might learn to read and write . . . Well, I
> tell them also they should ask somebody who knows
> better than me, I tell them I don't know enough.

A New Literate describes how she teaches her younger
sister (also a domestic servant who had been unable to find
a job that allows her schooling), and teaches a friend:

> My sister . . . 'Teach me to read,' she says to me.
> 'Show me what it says here. And teach me to write.'
> At first she was interested in learning religion,
> and then she doesn't even know how to read. I say
> to her, 'First you'll have to practice. Practice
> more.' (Question: And when did you teach her?)
> Last year, on my day off. Or at my job. Whenever
> she got out she came there. And then, my friend
> in her house--I taught her too. 'I can't. I can't.
> You write,' she says. I write for her. She says,
> 'Write me something.' 'You're going to learn,' I
> said. 'You're going to learn.'

At times the illiterates who are taught or influenced to
learn to read and write are the ones who rely on the newly
literate adult for help. Thus, the letter-writing situa-
tion or the print media reading situation sometimes leads
to influence for literacy taking place. Two respondents
illustrate:

> A girl who worked with me . . . She used to work,
> she doesn't any more. And I wrote her letters for
> her . . . Family letters for her mother who is in
> Huancayo. She didn't know (how to write.), so I
> wrote her letter . . . I was also teaching her my-
> self, the little I knew. She was learning. But she
> went back to her countryside, and I don't know now.

> I have an older sister who doesn't know how to read,
> and sometimes when there are some things in the
> paper I read to her. I teach her too because she

cannot study--she is married and she has children.
But the children are in school and she has to know
at least a little . . . Also a girl who worked with
me before--she didn't know how to read and write. . .
I made her letters for her . . . But she was learning
because I was teaching her. We had a book that I was
learning from, and so with that book I taught her.
She liked it and she learned even to write her let-
ters, but then she left because her mother was sick
and she had to go to her countryside. (Question:
Why did you teach her?) So she would also learn.
I like people to learn. A person who doesn't know
how to read and write, you are sorry for them.

The reason the respondents gave for advising others
to learn to read and write very much reflected the benefits
that they perceived literacy to have had for them or to
have for them at some future time. The dominant themes
are listed below in the relative order of frequency of oc-
currence, together with representative quotations from
interviews with respondents.

- Literacy raises the information level:

I tell them to learn. I say, 'Why don't you study
so you can learn to read?' (Question: Why do you
advise them?) Why? So they can learn. Because
when you don't know, you are like a fool. You don't
know anything.

I tell them to study. For example, the lady who
brought me to Lima, she doesn't know how to read
well, and I told her to study. And she said she
can't because she has her babies. (Question:
Do you think that everybody should learn to read and
write?) Yes, to know at least to sign their names.
If not, we are like little animals. We are ignorant.

- Literacy facilitates upward mobility:

I say to them (illiterates) 'Take advantage of the
opportunity to study.' In order that they may
learn to know something at least. For example, if
they are young--they may be 12, 14, 13, 15 years
old, they may study so that later on it may be

useful for them. But with time they may study
and get a profession or something like that.
(Question: And people who are over 15?) Yes, they
may study too, because it is never too late to
study and improve yourself.

I tell them that they should learn to read and
write . . . to improve--in order to spend their
life improving themselves.

Well because she (her illiterate friend) should
learn to read and write, so that she could write
to her family, for example . . . And in order to
work in other things. Or to be able to work
better--better than you can now. Now you can only
work in a home.

- To facilitate word-of-mouth communication:

I would help her (an illiterate) because some-
times it is always useful to be good to others.
When others don't know, to find a way to help them
since you have gone through that. When you real-
ize how it is . . . and how it is when you don't
know in order to be able to answer people . . . in
order to handle yourself better, to educate your-
self . . . I would help her . . . I would advise
her so that it would help her in the way it helps
me a lot--how to communicate with my family a lot.
And it is quite a help because when you don't know
(how to read), then you don't know how to get
about.

- To facilitate interpersonal written communication:

I'd say, 'Yes, yes, go.' (to learn to read and write)
It's better because it teaches you . . . at least you
can read a letter, write a letter, and you don't have
to bother other people. And sometimes you are to be
ashamed when you don't know how to read. I have a
friend. She is thirty-three. She doesn't know how
to read. She doesn't know how to write . . . I teach
her a little. 'Look, this is what they teach me at
school--this book.' And so I tell her, 'It's useful
in life to be able at least to read and write a good
letter. Even if not much, but at least a little.'
And she says, 'But you're really good.' And she says
a lot of things like that to me (laughter). Well,
it's not that I'm good, it's just that she doesn't
have an Electoral Card now. She's nobody. She's
nothing. And . . . sometimes it makes me feel sorry
for her. I feel sorry for people like that.

- To facilitate socialization of children:

She should also study, because she should know how
to read and write in order to . . . at least for a
woman--a woman needs it very much because sometimes
when you get married and she becomes the mother of
a family and she doesn't know anything . . . She
needs it for her children. Her children ask her
things, and the mother doesn't know how to answer
them.

- To facilitate physical mobility:

I say, 'Study please. You will know at least to
write your name and your address.' That's what I
tell them. (Question: Do you think it is important
to learn to read and write?) Yes, for taking care
and things like that. Well, to know your way. To
know names and addresses . . . Also for many other
things.

- To facilitate self-defense:

I tell my friends to learn. 'Learn to read and
write,' I say. 'It is something you are going to
need in life.' Because a person who doesn't know
how to read and write, you are sorry for them.
Because when you go out to buy anything or in any-
thing you do, they might deceive you.

- To facilitate access to the print media:

I would advise them that they should register in
school at least to learn how to read because if
they don't know how to read it is very sad, not
to know. You don't know what it says in a book
or what comes in the newspaper. But when you
know to read, then you can read everything. You
already know something at least. It is important,
yes.

Summary and Implications

The discussion of the present chapter has em-

phasized once again that no human behavior occurs in iso-

lation: it takes place in a society which has other members.

In the case of newly developed literacy in the Peruvian

study, what is significant is that the society in question has a large percentage of illiterate members. Many of those with whom newly literate respondents came into contact were unable to read and write, and thus their literacy came to affect these other individuals.

One of the reasons why the respondents' literacy had implications for others as well as themselves was because in the urban modern society in which they now lived, literacy was needed. Thus, they used their reading and writing ability to help illiterate friends and relatives--and occasionally even strangers--to participate psychologically and socially in this environment. Often they also helped illiterates to maintain contact with their home community since most of those helped were migrants like the respondents themselves. This has implications for the adaptation and assimilation of those with whom the New Literates shared their literacy.

Again, because the newly literate adults of the study believed so strongly in what their literacy has already done and will do for them in the future, their attitude toward illiterates is not just one of superiority, but also one of pity and sympathy. Frequently, they influence such illiterates to learn to read and write, and at times they even take a more active role, teaching them themselves. Sometimes even when literacy is limited as yet, it is passed on to others. According to these re-

spondents, both influence and teaching attempts are sometimes successful. Often such influence and active literacy promotion occurs in a situation of literacy based help-giving behavior such as print media reading or letter reading or writing.

What this implies for the newly literate adult is that whereas she was quite recently herself dependent on literates, now illiterates are frequently dependent on her. Now it is she who is in the position of help-giver, and frequently advisor and instructor, moving from a position of dependence to independence and influence, often actively promoting the cause of conformity to the urban norm of literacy in a sub-society of migrants, and attempting to raise the general level of her group.

Not only does this sharing of literacy and active literacy-promotion role of the newly literate adult have implications for her self-image and her social relation-ships, but also for the general flow of information and influence. New literacy results in the literate sharing mass media information with the illiterate. This involves two stages of information flow: from the print media to the literate and then from the literate to the illiterate. Although the concept of the "two-step flow of communications'

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[1]See for an explication of this hypothesis, Elihu Katz, "The Two-step Flow of Communication: An Up-to-date Report on an Hypothesis," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI (1957), 61-78.

is usually operationalized differently, such reading of
print by literates to illiterates is in a sense allied
to it, in that it involves the movement of information from
the mass media to individuals who have greater direct ex-
posure to the mass media, and the movement of information
from these persons through interpersonal channels to in-
dividuals who have less direct exposure to the media, and
who depend on these mediating individuals for their informa-
tion.

It could, in fact, be argued that it is in such
situations in underdeveloped countries where this hypothe-
sis (or a modification of it to a multi-step flow) is most
applicable, with the time-span and information loss between
first and second stages being, in the case of literate
mediated print reading, much less than in most situations.
In underdeveloped countries, furthermore, such a flow of
information may also be more significant: in modernized
Western nations most of the people are exposed to so much
of the media so much of the time that it is perhaps only
in the case of events of major news value that the relay
function of the mediating individual becomes particularly
important in terms of information flow.[2]

Finally, in terms of literacy itself, what the

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[2]A study which argues this is R. J. Hill, "News
Diffusion: A Test of the Regularity Hypothesis," Journalism
Quarterly (Summer, 1964), pp. 336-342.

findings of this chapter indicate is that new literacy in the present situation has a multiplying effect. Not only does one individual's literacy affect those with whom she works, lives, or comes into contact, but it tends to work toward the promotion of new literacy in these other individuals.

CHAPTER VI

OCCUPATION, THE FAMILY, AND MIGRATION--THE SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM IMPACT OF NEW LITERACY

I have been thinking, thinking, to be something else--no longer in a house. It's not the same as other jobs, because you don't have any time for your own things . . . But it depends how my studies go ahead. If I do go ahead in my studies, well then I can be something else--I can be <u>something</u> . . .

<div align="right">Victoria</div>

I would like my children to study from a very early age and then I think that my children wouldn't suffer like I have suffered. They <u>have</u> to study and go on studying as far as they can get, and as far as we can possibly give them schooling. They have to study even if I have nothing left I want my children to study. I don't want them to be the way I am. I want my children to study more. I have clearly seen that the only one in the family who has fallen behind is me . . . and I don't want my children to be like me. I want my children, if God is willing, to get further ahead than I am. Because if you know how to read well and have some profession it's worth much more than knowing just to read. You can get much better work and not poor work like mine.

<div align="right">Ophilia</div>

Women should study. Yes, they <u>should study</u>. I don't know why they (her parents) said that they shouldn't. Perhaps they grew up in the old times when they didn't study and they don't want their daughters to study. I think

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that may be it. But it is just the same for women
as for men . . . I want my children all to study
and have professions. The girls should have a
profession just like men. Yes, just like men.

Maria

In this chapter, we consider the implications of
new acquired literacy for the respondents' roles as ser-
vants, as women, and as migrants. We look at both the
short-term impact of new literacy and the possible long-
term impact. We examine first the effect of literacy on
occupational role performance as domestic servants and on
the prospects for occupational change. Then we deal with
new literacy's impact on marital aspirations and on the
respondents' hopes for their children. Finally, we dis-
cuss the impact of literacy on the adaptation and assimila-
tion of the migrants into their new urban environment, on
residential stability or return to the home community.

Occupation

We have stressed the importance of existing con-
textual factors in determining the implications of newly
developed adult literacy for the individual. For our re-
spondents their occupation as servants was a dominant and
almost inclusive--or at least inclusively influential
role--in their lives. Thus, it is relevant to consider
whether either occupation or the conditions of the existing
one are likely to change as a result of adult literacy.

Such occupational change would be significant in its own
right and in terms of its possible impact on interpersonal
and mass communication behavior.

New Literacy and Role Performance
As a Servant

Both New Literates and Semi-Literates felt that
their adult literacy had had an impact on their role per-
formance as a domestic servant, although there were in-
dividual differences as to the nature and extent of impact.
The New Literates were slightly more likely to be aware of
such improvement than Semi-Literates: whereas 95 per cent
of New Literates said that they were able to carry out
their duties as a domestic better after literacy training,
80 per cent of Semi-Literates were aware of improvement.

Some of the ways new literacy improves role per-
formance have already been touched on in the study. Here
they are summarized:

- In facilitating oral communication with their
  Spanish-speaking employers:

Learning to read and write has helped me quite a
lot in my work. Because before I didn't know
anything, I didn't understand anything. The mis-
tress used to scream at me because I didn't under-
stand what she meant, but now I understand her.
Before I didn't understand anything and the mis-
tress said, would I please do this or that, and
I didn't understand what she meant. Now I under-
stand what she wants done. I understand what she
means . . . Now I get along better with people be-
cause I understand better. I am not like I was
before . . .

- In writing down messages and receiving deliveries:

Sometimes they bring packages or messages or they
telephone and you have to write it down, or they
leave something and you have to sign . . . Yes, now
I can do that, but I couldn't before.

- In making and reading shopping lists and doing the
  actual purchases or errands (physical mobility and
  language facility also enter into this):

Now they don't treat me as they used to before
when I didn't know how to read, then they always
screamed at me . . . 'When I send you out shop-
ping you forget everything!' That's what they
told me . . . Because when we know how to read we
don't forget, and if we think we might forget, we
write on a little paper . . . Now when they send
me to shop, I make a list . . . Before the mistress
scolded me but now she is pleased because I make a
list.

- In reading recipes and other work instructions:

It helps to do the cooking. I can get the
recipes, and when I find a recipe then I can
understand it. Before I couldn't use them.

- In efficiency in planning and carrying out duties:

Now I can solve some of my problems . . . To know
what I have to do and to be able to do all the
things. And I am much more responsible in my work
now . . .

- In knowledge and understanding of the occupational
  role:

Knowing how to read it helps you in your work. In
every job you always have to know how to carry out
your work, how to talk to people--all those things
that you need to know also to work in a house.

- In developing a general sense of responsibility
  and a willingness to work (sometimes in order to
  keep a job which allows schooling and is near a
  school):

Now I have got more sense of responsibility, more
education and I also have got more gaiety, more
joy in my work . . . When I didn't know how to

read, no, I didn't feel like working. Not at all.
I wanted to be playing, or if not, then sleeping—
that was all I liked. And now, no. Now I know I
have got to do my work quickly and finish because
I have got to go and read . . .

Even if such ways that learning to read and write

has improved role performance as a servant seem minor, to

the respondents they are important. In part, the signifi-

cance is a result of the subsequent better treatment they

are accorded by their employers. The respondents sometimes

also feel they are not as helpless and do not have to sub-

mit to mistreatment as they did before. One servant il-

lustrates:

Now I know how to read and write the mistresses,
they aren't so abusive to me. They won't scream
at me and insult me because I can defend myself
exactly like all those who know how to read and
write. I can look at the newspapers, and I can
look at where they say about work, and get myself
another job, yes.

The extent to which such work conditions for domes-

tic servants might in general continue to improve as a re-

sult of the large numbers of servants becoming literate

as adults, and the resultant improvement in role perform-

ance, is a complex question. In part, it would be a func-

tion not only of role performance but also of facilitated

contact with other occupational group members and compari-

son of work conditions which occurs in some institutions

of adult education. This might eventually lead to, or at

least give added impulse, to a general organized coopera-

tion between servants, and unionized protection of their

rights.   Again, another important factor is whether liter-
acy (and at times, further education) would result in domes-
tics changing their occupations, with perhaps a new wave of
illiterate Indian migrants coming to take their place (other
conditions such as economic opportunities, educational op-
portunities, and social norms remaining the same in the
Sierra) or in an ever-increasing shortage of domestic serv-
ants, thus giving them greater bargaining power.

New Literacy and Occupation Change

Improvement in occupational role-performance occurs
in the short term, upon even the achievement of a rudimen-
tary literacy, although there is further improvement with
increase in literacy skills.   Change of occupation, however,
is more of a long-term question.   Two key factors are oc-
cupational aspirations and economic opportunities.

Aspirations

Domestic service has very low occupational status.
Apart from such status considerations, the respondents
throughout the interviews referred to problems or negative
aspects of their occupations.   Some of the main ones refer-
red to were: long hours; lack of freedom or independence;
physical strain of the work; denial of permission to attend
classes or withdrawal of permission once granted; restric-
tions on the use of electric light for reading; lack of, or
inadequate food; physical abuse such as rape and beatings;

verbal abuse; low salaries. On the other hand, respond-
ents' expectations did not seem to be high: a "good mistress"
seemed to be defined as one who did not mistreat them regu-
larly, and who took care of their basic material needs.
They rarely questioned that they, as relatively ignorant
Indian Sierra women, should serve the more powerful and
wealthy Mestizo master and mistress.

There are several ways that a domestic servant can
experience occupational mobility. One of the most immed-
iate effects of literacy in these terms, according to in-
formants interviewed, is a move to a more upper class area
of the city, or to "a family which has more culture" as one
respondent put it. Whether this involves an increase in
salary or not, it seems to raise the perceived status of
the occupation for the servants. Another change within the
occupation itself is to change from a general maid to a
cook or a nursemaid or laundry woman. Again, a change in
perceived occupational status is involved, and usually an
increase in salary.

Finally, there is the possibility of change from
working as a domestic servant to another occupation. When
the respondents were asked whether they would like to con-
tinue working as a servant or work at something else, the
large majority said that they would like to change occupa-
tions. Differences existed between Illiterates, Semi-
Literates, and New Literates: an increase in the level of

literacy being associated with an increasing desire for
occupational change. (See Table 5)

TABLE 5

ASPIRATIONS FOR OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE[*]

Respondent Group	Want to Change Occupation	Want to Remain as Servants	Total
Illiterates	73%	27%	100% (N = 15)
Semi-Literates	84%	16%	100% (N = 19)
New Literates	95%	5%	100% (N = 21)

[*]Question asked: Would you like to continue as a domestic
servant or work at something else?

The present study then shows literacy to be posi-
tively related to achievement motivation as measured by
aspirations for a better occupation. This is in agreement
with what has generally been believed and what other stud-
ies have also found (see Introduction). The findings of
the present study are important, however, for two reasons.
First, they show such achievement motivation to be associ-
ated with literacy developed as an adult. Second, because
the study selected Illiterates matched motivationally, and
Semi-Literates matched motivationally with New Literates,
the results indicate such achievement motivation to be as-

sociated with literacy education itself rather than with the
adult literacy process simply selecting out those individ-
uals who are more achievement motivated in general.

Almost all the respondents believed that literacy
would help them change to the occupation of their choice.
Among occupations mentioned, dressmaking accounted for 45
per cent of the choices; factory work for 13 per cent;
small businesses for 11 per cent; sales for 9 per cent;
nursing for 8 per cent; office-secretarial for 5 per cent;
hairdressing for 4 per cent; teaching for 4 per cent;
laundry work for 1 per cent.

Three respondents illustrate occupational ambi-
tions in their own words:

> I have been thinking, thinking, to be something
> else--no longer in a house. It's not the same
> as other jobs, because you don't have any time
> for your own things . . . But it depends how my
> studies go ahead. If I do go ahead in my stud-
> ies, well then I can be something else--I can be
> something . . . Well, now that I am a working
> girl I would go on studying until I will be some-
> body. And then I would collect a little money to
> set up a business . . . There are some bars--they
> have little tables there and they sell Coca Cola
> and things like that . . .

> I would like to work at something else. If God
> is willing, and I learn to read well, then I say
> in that case I would go into some kind of private
> job but not domestic work, but to work like a
> worker in a factory. My cousin she offered to
> find me work already, in the factory of -----, but
> I was a little scared because I didn't know how to
> read very well yet. I knew how to read, but I
> didn't read smoothly. What I needed to learn was
> to read smoothly.

> You can't really have a career. I would like to do
> sewing and things like that. That's all I would
> like . . . You can't do anything else . . .

Of the above listed occupational choices, it was

dressmaking, factory work (frequently the kind of factory

being specified), small businesses such as having one's

own vegetable and fruit stall in a market place or on the

street, and sales which were the most frequently mentioned

by respondents in the study. These are the kinds of oc-

cupations for which literacy is a necessity--and in the

case of dressmaking--primary schooling and some occupation-

al training. While these may seem low on the occupational

scale, they are higher than domestic service. This is

partly a function of the fact that they involve, in vari-

ous degrees, "independent work" or a "private job" as the

above quotations from interviews emphasize, it is this at-

tribute which is frequently most important for respondents.

Again, some emphasize the fact that they want to work in a

job that has higher status or is "more decent" than domes-

tic service:

> You need to work to be able to live . . . I would
> like to have a business--selling. Or perhaps to
> work in a store. To sell things--something decent.
> I want a decent job, not to work in a house. I
> want something decent, something better . . . .
> Because in the house you have to stand so much.
> And then they scream at you. 'These things are
> badly done.' And they scream at you and treat
> you badly. And you are very poor and you are not
> treated well. The master and the mistress they
> scream at you just because they have everything.

In fact, it is only in terms of occupational status

that the desired job represents an increase in many cases.
Many of the occupations do not necessarily involve a rise
in salary. The income for such occupations as factory work
or sales, for example, is frequently lower than the top
salaries for domestic service (full-time work with no
schooling and no children living with them). Furthermore,
these jobs do not include room and board. The status con-
siderations and considerations of independence in most
cases, however, outweighed such economic factors for the
respondents--as they do for many members of the labour mar-
ket in Peru.

Careers such as nursing, teaching of handicrafts
or sewing, or secretarial, were relatively infrequently
mentioned, most often by respondents with more years of edu-
cation, and usually stated as occupational aspirations that
were conditional. They were generally modified by such
phrases as "if luck is with me," "if God allows," "if I can
continue to study," or "if I can find some friend to help
me." The general impression from interviews with respond-
ents is that there are few who feel that they have a great
measure of control over their future.

Most of the respondents did not believe that they
could experience a great deal of social or occupational
mobility. Some stressed the disadvantages of their late
educational start. Others said that they believed they
could progress to a certain extent, but not to any signifi-

cant extent. Still others felt that they should set their sights realistically and not let their aspirations exceed possibilities.[1] There were a few exceptions--respondents who felt that learning to read and write opened to them tremendous possibilities and that they could do anything. While the numbers were too small to arrive at any definitive conclusions, it appeared that these were more frequently Illiterates about to begin their studies, and less often Semi-Literates, with even fewer New Literates. Interviews with informants suggest that respondents occasionally arrive with extravagent dreams, thinking that literacy can solve all their problems and open to them endless possibilities. In the majority of cases, however, respondents' occupational aspirations were not very great although they did in almost all cases aspire to a higher status occupation than domestic service.

In spite of hopes of changing their jobs, respondents sometimes noted that they had to continue in their present occupation until they had finished studying, be-

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[1]The extent of the respondents' identification with the key character of a television program, "Simplemente Maria," provided some insight into this question of extent of social and occupational aspirations. Most had either seen or heard talk, or themselves discussed this extremely popular soap opera. The key character, Maria, was an indigenous rural migrant like them, who worked as a servant in the city, and learned to read and write as an adult, subsequently experiencing considerable mobility. Only one-sixth of the women of the study believed they could achieve the success of Maria, and many simply laughed at the very thought.

cause of the possibilities for education that domestic
service allowed:

> Until we finish studying, we have to work like
> that--in a house. There is no other way . . . and
> with other kinds of work you can't really go and
> do things like that.

Many respondents see their occupation as a servant as an
interim job which allows them to study for something bet-
ter--an occupation which has higher status if not a higher
income.

Opportunities

Motivation for occupational change is not suffi-
cient, of course, for actual change. Jobs must be avail-
able. The large majority of the respondents aspired to
jobs which they were either already qualified to fill, or
would be in the next few years. They believed that at
least to this extent they could significantly affect their
own lives and that their present social system provides
such opportunities for self-enhancement.

At the present time, however, there is a high level
of unemployment and sub-employment in Lima. ("Sub-employ-
ment" refers to all those working less than thirty-five
hours per week while wanting to work more, or earning a
monthly salary less than the minimum salary established by
law). Sub-employment is particularly high among the migrant
population to which respondents belong (for example, in 1970

sub-employment among migrants was 42.2 per cent, among

natives, 36.2 per cent).[2]   Factory work and sales jobs

are not abundant, and while the number of such jobs has

increased in recent years, demand for them is steadily in-

creasing, especially as migration of unskilled workers to

the urban area continues. Furthermore, jobs tend to cater

selectively to native Limeñans rather than Indian migrants.[3]

Our respondents also lack job experience, having only

worked as domestic servants in almost all cases. Not only

respondents' lack of experience, but the very fact of

having worked as a servant in their previous job might

stand against them, according to interviews with informants.

For the respondents who hope to start a "small

business" an initial outlay of capital is required, which

in most cases they do not have. A couple of the women

were, however, planning to enter such a business together

with a brother, sister, or other relative, combining re-

sources.

Dressmaking as an independent operation depends on

the ability of the individual concerned as well as several

other factors. The number of women--and especially serv-

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[2]Servicio del Empleo y Recursos Humanos, Informe
Sobre la Situación Occupacional del Peru (Lima, 1970),
pp. 2-15.

[3]Julio Cotler, "La Mecánica de la Dominación Interna
y del Cambio Social en el Perú," Peru Problema, ed. by José
Matos Mar et al. (Peru: Moncloa-Campodónico, 1969), p. 178.

ants--who are currently studying dressmaking and hoping
to make an income in this field seems incredible for a
city the size of Lima.[4] While no actual figures are avail-
able, this phenomenon is generally acknowledged, and it
would seem that those who want to make dressmaking a
career will be faced with severe competition.

Interviews with experts indicate that some newly
literate adults comparable demographically to respondents
do sometimes continue on studying, changing their occupa-
tion even to handicrafts teachers, secretaries, and nurses,
but this is rare: the majority continue working as serv-
ants.[5] It is also likely that some change to other
service occupations, if they cannot achieve the occupation
of their choice.

The Family

The preceding section has been focusing on the
respondents' occupational role. In this part of the chap-
ter, we shall look at their present and possible future
role as a wife and as a mother. Specifically, this section
will deal with the respondents' marital aspirations and

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[4]For a large proportion of the respondents, and
for many other young women in Lima, it would seem that
the ambition to become a dressmaker was at least partially
a function of the television program, "Simplemente Maria"
(see Footnote 1). Maria took this job after becoming lit-
erate, and experienced phenomenal success.

[5]In the absence of records, this must remain im-
pressionistic.

their aspirations for their children.

New Literacy and Marital Aspirations

Ninety-four per cent of the women of the study were single at the time the interviews were conducted. The average age was 22, with a range from 15 to 40--in other words, most were at an age where they might think of marriage. Both the respondents' attitudes towards the entire question of getting married and their preferences in potential marriage partners showed that their approach toward matrimony was essentially practical.[6]

When asked whether they wanted to get married, the respondents gave slightly more negative than positive answers[7] (29 per cent as compared to 23 per cent), with some conditional (17 per cent), and the largest number unwilling to commit themselves (31 per cent). Those who had had some literacy training--Semi-Literates and New Literates--were more likely to want to marry than the illiterate

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[6]Some respondents felt that all marriage was likely to offer them was an extra load of housework (in addition to their occupational one)--and that without pay--and probably their husbands would beat them as well. Preferences in husbands strongly stressed that he have a steady job and bring home his salary instead of spending it at the local bar with his friends. Character qualities such as faithfulness and honesty were next in importance. Any mention of love was absent except perhaps with one woman who referred to the need for "an understanding" between them.

[7]There is considerable likelihood that response bias is present. As one family coordinator said, "Oh, they say they don't want to get married, but if they get a chance, they'll get married alright."

respondents.[8] (See Table 6, p. 228)

Education, and especially literacy, was both a factor in wanting to get married and not wanting to get married: New Literates and Semi-Literates quite frequently qualified their desire to change their marital status with "now that I know how to read" or "now that I know something" or "since I have got myself some education." Those who had as yet no significant degree of reading or writing skills would give similar reasons for not wishing to get married yet or say "perhaps after I have learned to read and write a little." Another major reason for not marrying was the desire to obtain first possessions of their own. The respondents, in general, seemed to feel that marriage was more likely to risk their security or chances of self-improvement rather than enhance them.[9] Education, on the other hand, was perceived by almost all as a definite positive step in the direction of personal, social, and economic development. It was because of these views toward marriage and toward education that for many respondents it became a choice between the two: marriage and self-improvement.

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[8]There were no significant differences in age between the three groups of respondents.

[9]Informants say that the attitudes of husbands of married respondents and those demographically similar is divided in regard to wives' education. While some see it as leading to neglect of their duties in the home--their "role in life"--other husbands saw it as a potential help to them in their work, especially if they are engaged in some kind of independent enterprise.

TABLE 6

MARITAL ASPIRATIONS*

Respondent Group	Marriage	No Marriage	Conditional	Uncertain	Total
Illiterates	18%	36%	18%	28%	100% (N = 11)
Semi-Literates and New Literates	27%	22%	16%	35%	100% (N = 37)

*Question asked: "Would you like to get married?"

New Literacy and the Second Generation

Sixteen per cent of the respondents already had children. The interviews did not specifically probe the impact of literacy on the socialization of, or care of children. Field observation, interviews with informants (especially those with family coordinators, social workers), and the overall impression from interviews, indicated that literacy training had had an effect. But the exact extent to which care and socialization of children undergoes change, and its specific cause--whether an effect of directly relevant instruction received in the learning environment or an indirect result of literacy, or a function of both--cannot be stated with any degree of certainty.[10]

When those respondents who as yet did not have children were asked if someday they wanted them, most said that they did.[11] When both those who already had children, and those respondents who said they would like to have children one day, were asked what they wanted to give such offspring, the answers suggested a literacy effect. Illiterates were most concerned with basic material needs

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[10]Some adult education courses in Lima do have child-care training for student mothers from this sector of the population.

[11]A few respondents added that they wanted to limit the number of such children because of their economic level. However, most of the womens' views on birth control were primitive.

such as food, clothing, and a home, and less likely to
aspire for education or a profession for their children.
New Literates, on the other hand, aré most concerned with
education or a profession (the respondents frequently
being aware of the relationship between the two) and less
with basic material needs. Semi-Literates were between
the two other groups. (See Table 7, p. 232).

It is doubtful whether the above differences in as-
pirations for children are solely a function of existing
level of need: the respondents are comparable in terms of
occupation and salaries show no significant differences.
There may be variation in the ability to budget their
limited resources which may itself be positively related
to education, but it is likely that even if such differ-
ences are involved that they do not completely account for
the results obtained in interviews.

Actual level of educational aspirations for chil-
dren vary from functional literacy to "full Primary" to
University. Almost all the respondents who mentioned an
occupation said they wanted their children to be profes-
sionals. The numbers of those who did not want a Univer-
sity education demanding profession were so small that
they did not allow any comparison between the different
groups of respondents. In almost all cases where educa-
tion was specifically mentioned, it was a University edu-
cation.

TABLE 7

ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN[*]

Respondent Group	Basic Material Needs	Spiritual Needs	Education	Profession	Total
Illiterates	39%	11%	28%	22%	100% (N = 18)
Semi-Literates	11%	4%	57%	28%	100% (N = 28)
New Literates	7%	0%	64%	29%	100% (N = 14)

[*]Question asked: "What kind of life would you like your children to have?"

A very repetitive theme in interviews with the re-
spondent-domestic servants was "I want my children to be
better than I am."   Sometimes the women added "because I
don't want them to suffer like I have," or "I want them to
be somebody, not like me." Two representative quotations
from interviews illustrate:

> For my children I would like that they be much
> more better than me--that they study something
> . . . that they could have some profession . . .
> well, for example, if they could be doctors,
> engineers . . .

> Well, if his father and I both knew (how to read
> and write) we could help them that they study and
> they be teachers, and other careers too. Any
> career, any profession. There are lots of trades
> and profession. Once they knew how to read and
> write they may be able to choose whatever they
> want to be . . .

The respondents often associate better opportunities
for their children with education beginning in childhood
rather than as adults. None wanted their children to begin
to study as late as they did.

> I would like my children to study from a very early
> age and then I think that my children wouldn't suf-
> fer like I have suffered. They have to study and
> go on studying as far as they get, and as far as
> we can possibly give them schooling. They have to
> study even if I have nothing left I want my chil-
> dren to study. I don't want them to be the way I
> am. I want my children to study more. I have
> clearly seen that the only one in the family who
> has fallen behind is me . . . and I don't want my
> children to be like me. I want my children, if God
> is willing, to get further ahead than I am. Because
> if you know how to read well and have some profes-
> sion it's worth much more than knowing just to read.
> You can get much better work and not poor work like
> mine.

Like the above quoted young woman, many respondents stressed that they would be willing to make any sacrifice to have their children study so that they could rise above the respondents' own socio-economic level. Sometimes interviewees specifically mentioned not wanting children to be household servants. Much less frequently respondents were willing to have children work as servants to help finance their studies—as they themselves had done. But the ultimate goal was always something better.

The most frequently desired occupation for children is teaching. Medicine is almost as popular, but some feel that they could not afford the number of years of education that a medical profession requires. Other career aspirations mentioned were engineering, the army, nursing, secretarial, banking, law, and the priesthood. The minority of respondents who mentioned skilled trades wanted their children to be mechanics, technicians, and so on.

It was noticed that at times the preference for a certain occupation came as a result of having a relative, acquaintance, or occasionally employer, belonging to it:

> I would like that the same thing wouldn't happen to my children as happened to me. I would always like them to study, to continue, to go on, and to finish their studies, not to be like me. And that they be honest, and that they finish their schooling. Whatever they want to learn I would like them to learn . . . I would like one to be a school teacher and the other to be an engineer . . . My cousins are school teachers . . . I would like my children to be like they are because I realize they are happier.

They have a job which is much more better, and more
secure. And then when they are grown up they will
be young gentlemen or young ladies and they will
live happily.

Significantly, the women of the study do not differ-

entiate between male and female children in terms of aspir-

ations for them: respondents want daughters as well as sons

to have a University education and profession:

For my little daughter I would like a life of peace-
fulness . . . to be alone, quiet, and to study until
she finishes her Secondary School, and then, if God
grants me life, I would like her to study to get some
profession, so that she may be something more relaxed
like a teacher or a physician. No, a doctor is too
long: I am alone and I cannot give her that. But
something like teaching.

Even when challenged, respondents insisted that their

female children should be given equal opportunity as male

children. Such lack of differentiation according to sex

is directly against what many of them had heard in their

homes, and over two-thirds had heard at some stage or other

in their own lives. (See discussion in Chapter II on the

Sierra norms on education.) Many said they had initially

agreed with the idea that education was less important for

women than for men:

A man I knew--a gentleman, he said that women
shouldn't study because it is no use. Man only
should study. That was in my countryside. And
well, I was very silly, and I was young, so I
didn't know and I thought it was true.

Now, however, all the respondents said that they be-

lieved literacy to be just as important for women as for men,

and frequently they generalized to education as a whole.

There were no differences between those who had themselves
been socialized to believe differently and those who had
not, in terms of enthusiastic espousal of female education:

> Women should study. Yes, they should study. I don't
> know why they (her parents) said that they shouldn't.
> Perhaps they grew up in the old times when they didn't
> study and they don't want their daughters to study. I
> think that may be it. But it is just the same for
> women as for men . . . . I want my children all to study
> and have professions. The girls should have a profes-
> sion just like men. Yes, just like men.

Finally, respondents favored education in the city
for their children. It was felt that in an urban milieu
they would have far better opportunities than in the rural
traditional Sierra. This becomes a major reason for want-
ing to stay in the host environment and will be discussed
more in this context in the following section.

In sum, respondents--and especially newly literate
respondents--attached tremendous importance to education
as a means of social mobility for their children. Aspira-
tions were high, frequently specifying university educa-
tion and/or a profession. No differentiation was made be-
tween the level of aspiration for female and male offspring.
Servants want their children to "be better" than themselves
are: to have all the opportunities that they themselves were
denied, including education beginning in childhood and in an
urban environment. Thus, perhaps it is in the second gener-
ation that literacy will have its greatest effects with women
who become literate as adults. Although such women may feel
that their own potential opportunities even after literacy

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are limited, it is through their children that they hope
to realize their aspirations.

Migration

The women of the present study are part of a criti-
cal economic and social problem that exists in Lima (and
many other cities around the world): they are part of the
ever-increasing flow of internal migrants, many of whom re-
main poorly adapted and poorly assimilated into their new
host environment. It is with this dimension that we shall
deal with in the present section--together with another
interesting question--that of return to the home environ-
ment. In both cases, the implications of literacy will be
looked at.

New Literacy and Adaptation
and Assimilation

As earlier emphasized (Chapter II), the respond-
ents had come from a traditional society with an indigenous
Indian culture to live in a very different modern urban en-
vironment with a "criollo" culture. In order for them to be-
come adequately functioning members of their new society
and assimilated into it, there are at least three things
which it is required that they be able to do: (1) to know
what is expected of them both in terms of behavior and
values; (2) to be able to meet the role requirements; (3) to
have the desire to practice the behavior and pursue the ap-

propriate means. Essentially the process of socialization
enables individuals to do this by providing them with knowl-
edge, ability, and motivation.[12] However, in general, the
socialization that an individual undergoes in childhood
cannot be fully adequate for the tasks demanded of him in
later years.[13] The inadequacies of early socialization for
the later roles the individual will be expected to play are,
in general, much greater in a complex and changing society
(such as Lima) as compared to a relatively simple, stable
society where roles, statuses, and reference figures usual-
ly have much greater continuity (as is generally the case
in the respondents' home environment). If such early
socialization is inadequate for those who have undergone
such socialization within the complex environment itself,
it is much more likely to be inadequate for those like the
respondents who have undergone childhood socialization in
the more simple Sierra socio-culture and transferred later
to the modern urban one.

Interviews with both respondents themselves and
with informants indicated that the women of the study when
they first came to Lima found many new values, roles, and

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[12]Orville G. Brim and Stanton Wheeler, Socialization
After Childhood: Two Essays (New York: John Wiley and Sons,
Inc., 1966), p. 25.

[13]Orville G. Brim, "Adult Socialization," Interna-
tional Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, XIV, ed. by
David L. Sills and Associates (United States: The Macmillan
Company and The Free Press), 555.

behavior modes in this environment. Migrant-respondents discovered their repertory of adaptive devices which stem from early socialization experiences, to be maladaptive or inadequate in the new socio-culture. Furthermore, it appears that in many cases the respondents came with no clear anticipation of the main situations and roles--let alone of economic circumstances--which they would encounter in the host society to which they migrated. One example of the respondents' difficulties is in the work situation: servants frequently do not know how to act with their employers, sometimes fluctuating between over-familiarity and extreme formality and unable to strike an appropriate attitude. In sum, the respondents needed further socialization in order to become adequately functioning members in the host society.

If the implications of new adult literacy for respondents' socialization are to be considered, it must first be agreed that adult socialization is, in fact, possible. In one of the few discussions on this question, it has been concluded that whereas both biological capacities of the individual and the effects of earlier learning do set certain limitations, large and important changes do take place in later life. The degree to which later life socialization will be effective then becomes a consequence of the interaction of the two factors with the technology achieved by a society and its socialization methods.[14]

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[14]Brim and Wheeler, Socialization After Childhood, p. 32.

Traditionally, it has been agreed that the process of socialization occurs through contacts with other persons. In this present instance, it would require contacts with normative individuals of the urban society. As described in Chapter III, contacts of domestic servants are, in general, very limited, and the more intimate primary group interaction, when it does take place, occurs mainly with relatives and with friends who are in both cases almost always migrants like themselves and therefore not as likely to be normative in the host environment. The respondents' contacts most likely to be with normative individuals is with employers, this interaction being constrained by appropriate role behavior and by social and distance. On the other hand, newly developed adult literacy, to the extent that it facilitates such contacts, and especially to the extent that it facilitates contacts with normative individuals, will have implications for the respondents' urban socialization. As the discussion in Chapter III indicated, new literacy does facilitate interpersonal communication with such normative individuals as employers, and other secondary group members.

Furthermore, although most of the respondents had felt "strange" or "ashamed" or "bad" with native Limeñans when they first came as illiterates to the city, the majority said that now they felt well with natives of Lima. No doubt time itself has a beneficial effect in most instances. However, respondents almost unanimously agreed that literacy

had helped them in this regard. To a large extent, they attributed this increment in social ease to their literacy-facilitated oral communication.

But the implications of literacy for socialization through interpersonal communication are two-sided: whereas it facilitated communication with normative individuals in the host society, it also facilitated communication with both relatives in the home environment and relatives in the city, who were likely to exert contrary influences on respondents' motivations and their adaptive behavior.

Mass communication directed through television, radio, motion pictures, and print media has become an important aspect of modern societies and cultures. Charles R. Wright has classified the major activities of mass communication as: surveillance, correlation, entertainment, and transmission of culture. The latter activity--the transmission of culture--"focuses on the communication of information, values, and social norms from one generation to another or from members of a group to newcomers."[15] In this sense then, the process of socialization for the respondent-newcomers to the modern-urban society of the present study can potentially also occur through vicarious participation in the new socioculture through the means of mass communication. As discussed in Chapter IV, newly developed adult

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[15]Charles R. Wright, Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 16.

literacy does result in more adequate use of the print media, and probably the broadcast media as well. New adult literacy, therefore, has implications for the further socialization of respondents because of its facilitation of mass communication as well as interpersonal communication.

Finally, the learning situation itself--apart from anything which the respondents formally learn, may have implications for adult socialization, and for the development of adaptive devices. Students such as the women of the study have increased contacts with normative individuals such as teachers--some of whom they come to model their own behavior on.[16] Also, basing such conclusions on interviews with respondents and with informants, and observation, motivation for and teaching of appropriate behavior, norms, and values, frequently takes place explicitly.

Finally, new literacy has implications for the adaptation of the respondent migrants in their new environment in that it provides them with an "coping skill"--one that enables them to meet the new role requirements (some of which have been discussed in the first section of the present chapter), as well as enabling these newcomers to conform to the new socioculture's norm of literacy.

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[16]Basing conclusions on interviews with informants in the learning environment such as social workers, teachers themselves, adult education directors, and other personnel, it appears that those respondents at earlier stages of literacy use those at later stages as models of behavior, dress, values, and so on.

In sum, new literacy has implications for the further socialization of the respondent-migrants through its facilitation of interpersonal and mass communication, and through appropriate learning that accompanies literacy in formal education. Further, it facilitates adaptation, enabling them to acquire the coping skill of literacy itself which allows them to meet the role requirements and be literacy-normative. Basing such conclusions on field observation and interviews with informants who are active in the literacy training environment, there are definite observable changes in the behavior of respondents as they progress in literacy. For example, when most of them begin they are frequently boisterous and rough in their behavior toward each other, pushing, using their fists, spitting, and so on, and dirty and rural in their dress. However, as they progress in the educational process they begin to dress in accord with modern urban fashions, leave their rough Sierra ways and begin to behave in accord with the host society's norms of appropriate female behavior. They become poised, more communicative, and, in general, able to make friends and get along with people in the city.[17]

Thus, adult literacy has implications for the knowledge, ability, and motivation of respondents, enabling them to potentially become adequately functioning members of

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[17]Part of this is probably attributable to other factors of urban residence as well.

their present society. Field observation and interviews
with informants indicate that the positive implications of
such new literacy outweigh any negative ones which might
accrue because of literacy-facilitated communication with
primary group members in the home environment. However,
although they may become more adapted and able to cope,
this does not necessarily mean that the migrant respondents
will become fully assimilated into the new society, either
economically and/or socially.[18] Individual characteristics
such as necessary adaptive devices and coping skills, and
adequate short-term and long-term goals, are unfortunately
not enough. Even if the respondents do eventually experience
significant social mobility--and it is not at all sure that
they will--we cannot make any automatic assumptions that
this will be a sufficient condition for assimilation, al-
though it may be a necessary one.[19] The result may be that
the respondents become integrated into the urban-migrant
community--a subsociety in itself. The way the larger

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[18]One possible measure of absorption or assimila-
tion of the women of the study might also be their choice
of future marital partner: three times as many said they
would marry a man from the Sierra rather than a man from Lima.

[19]Other studies of the social mobility or social
assimilation of migrants in other sociocultures bear out
such conclusions. For a synthesis and interpretation of
many studies of migrants in these terms, see for example,
Marc Fried, "Deprivation and Migration: Dilemmas of Causal
Interpretation," Behavior in New Environments; Adaptation
of Migrant Populations, ed. by Eugene B. Brody (Beverly
Hills: Sage Publications, 1970), esp. pp. 35-38.

society is organized may slow down or even completely impede their further progression. For example, it is possible that in the new socioculture the Indian migrant women may encounter prejudice, rejection, and discrimination. There is indication that they do.[20] Prejudice and lack of economic opportunity would create barriers to the respondents' assimilation.

In sum, the respondents' potential to become adequately functioning members and assimilated into the new society to which they have migrated depends ultimately not only on any achievement of their own, but on the social structure of the host society.[21]

New Literacy and Residential Stability

Residential stability is itself sometimes considered a kind of adjustment or adaptation of migrants in a new environment. Rural migrants' identification with the urban locality, their satisfaction in the host community, and their intention to reside in it permanently, have been con-

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[20]See the discussion in the earlier part of this chapter and in Chapter II.

[21]At the time of the study, there were concerted efforts being made by the government of Peru to alter the social structure and provide greater opportunities for those traditionally discriminated against.

sidered as measures of adaptation.[22]

The majority of the respondents of the present study said that of the two--life in Lima and life in the Sierra-- they preferred the former. Those with literacy training (Semi-Literates and New Literates) were more likely to express satisfaction with city life, state that they were accustomed in the host society, and, in general, preferred it, than were Illiterates (72 per cent to 39 per cent). Economic opportunities of their new environment were dominant reasons for preference, but only slightly more than education-related factors (41 per cent as compared to 36 per cent). Where education was significant in the choice of the host community, respondents spoke of the opportunities of concurrent work and study; the existence of positive attitudes towards education; the greater opportunities the urban environment offered to both their children and themselves for education at any level: A respondent illustrates:

> I prefer it here in Lima, because you can say that in Lima life is much better. You can educate everyone. However poor you may be you can still educate your children. There are quite a lot of facilities to educate them. Well, there are some too in the countryside, but there isn't work and if the father is poor and the mother is poor, they (the children) have got to do work, to help their parents.

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[22]See for example, Harry K. Schwarzkeller and James S. Brown, "Social Class Origins and the Economic, Social and Psychological Adjustment of Kentucky Mountain Migrants: A Case Study," Behavior in New Environments, ed. by Eugene B. Brody (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1970), pp. 115-144, esp. p. 130.

The presence or absence of significant others--especially family members, was an important reason both for preferring life in the city and life in the country, although much more so in the latter case. Here it was by far most frequently mentioned. Occasionally respondents felt lonely, friendless, and strange in their new environment. One woman illustrates:

> Well . . . here . . . it is not like with our mother. It's not like when we are together with our brothers and sisters, but what can we do about it? . . . Yes, I feel a stranger. And, of course, as I said, it is not the same living with strangers as with your own family. You miss your family you know--your mother and your brothers and sisters. Life is more relaxed, it is much easier, but it is with strangers--with people we don't know.

Even in such instances as the above woman, respondents sometimes still intended to stay permanently in the host community. The reason, of course, is that preference is not necessarily the same thing as residence plans. Sometimes considerations of future benefits outweigh present satisfactions. When this was the case, it was often educational considerations that were concerned.

The majority of the migrant-respondents said that they did not intend to return to the Sierra: 70 per cent of Illiterates and 77 per cent of New Literates and Semi-Literates said they had no intention of returning home. However, most of those who intended to stay in Lima did not want to break ties with their place of origin completely:

almost all intend to keep in contact in some way and ap-
proximately a third modified their statement of intention
to stay permanently, with a statement of intention to spend
all their vacations in the home community.

Even those respondents who plan to return to the
Sierra said in almost all instances that this will occur
after they finish their education.[23]

Whereas the most frequent motivation for migration
in the first place was economic, education figuring in the
process at all only 20 per cent of the time (see Chapter II),
education becomes the most frequent short-term incentive to
stay. Frequently, it also has long-term implications. Re-
spondents at times plan to pursue some kind of studies which
will last several years (especially on a part-time basis).
But education also sometimes has second generation implica-
tions. Mothers of young children said that they intended
to stay in the city because of the greater educational op-
portunities which existed there for children. Those who did
not as yet have a family often said that if they did have
one they would stay in the city for the same reason. Again,
some who intend to go back themselves state that even if they

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[23]Fifteen per cent of the respondents were unsure as
to what they intended to do after they finished their stud-
ies, the majority being involved in a conflict situation and
torn between their sense of duty to their family (who often
wanted them to return) or their own longing for their family,
and the opportunities that the city promised them.

themselves do return, they plan to send any sons and daughters to the city to be educated. This is associated with the considerable ambitions that the respondents have for their children which were discussed earlier in the present chapter.

Education as a reason for permanent residence in the host community--both in the case of the respondents themselves and for their children--is mentioned because of its greater accessability in the city, its higher quality, and the comparably greater ease of learning in the city. Access to education is defined in terms of larger number of schools, higher grade levels, or the existence of institutions of higher learning (in the case of children), and opportunities for concurrent work and study. Some pointed out that it was easier to learn in the city than in the Sierra from where they came--either for children or for themselves--because of the social norms favoring education and because Spanish is both the accepted language of social interaction and that of institutionalized education.

Quotations from interviews with two respondents illustrate education-related motivations for permanent residence in the host community:

> I want to stay in Lima. Up there (in the Sierra) the studies are not good. They teach little and then there is also no opportunity for work. You don't find opportunities for work . . .

> I intend to live here until I finish my schooling. And then, if the children want to study, they have to live here too. Why should we go there? . . .

In ---- they study too, but up to Primary fourth
grade only they go there (a larger center in the
Sierra near where the respondent came from). And
then, here also the schooling is better . . . I
have only two boys and one girl. I would like them
to be teachers or military men--things like that.
The girl--I don't want her to work in a house. I
want her to study and work in a big company . . .
I intend to stay in Lima for my children.

To the extent that educational ambitions for chil-

dren are at least in part a function of new literacy--and

the study has provided some evidence that they are (see

earlier discussion in this chapter)--the newly developed

adult literacy of the women has rather long-term implica-

tions in terms of the non-return of the migrant-respondents

to their rural-Sierra home communities, as well as in some

cases, in terms of the migration of the children of those

who do return. Again, the educational opportunities of

their new environment have implications for the sense of

satisfaction that the respondents have in their new environ-

ment, and their preference of it over the old, which is, in

turn, again related to their adaptation in the city.

Summary and Implications

A discussion of the new literacy and the respond-

ents' role performance as domestic servants concluded that

literacy had had beneficial effects and suggested that al-

though the question is complex, improved role performance

of domestic servants may eventually lead to change in the

nature of domestic service as an occupation. New adult

literacy sometimes leads to mobility within the occupation
of domestic service itself. It was also found that liter-
acy was associated with achievement motivation as measured
by motivations for occupational change. On the whole, the
respondents' career goals were limited to those they would
be qualified to achieve in the immediate and not so distant
future. They did not necessarily involve a rise in net in-
come, although respondents did in all cases designate oc-
cupations with higher status and greater independence. Ex-
isting economic opportunities in the respondents' current
society, however, cast doubts on whether aspirations will
necessarily lead to goal achievement. It seems likely that
the aspirations--limited as they are--still exceed achieve-
ment potential. If this is indeed so, it suggests that
frustration may result. Such frustration, if great enough,
may, in turn, lead to strain within the social system and
eventually to social change.

The second part of the present chapter has shown
literacy to play a role in marital aspirations: the respond-
ents frequently feel that it is a choice between the two--
literacy and self-improvement or marriage. Once literate,
they were more likely to feel they had achieved something
and want to get married.

Unlike the respondents' aspirations for themselves,
aspirations for children were, in general, very high--many
literate servants want their children to rise above their

own socio-economic status. Tremendous importance was attached to education usually leading to a profession, as a means of social mobility. No differentiation was made between goals for male and female offspring. Frequently, respondents specified education beginning in childhood, and taking place in the urban environment, which factors they perceived to be associated with greater opportunity. A literacy effect was suggested by the data: literacy was positively correlated with an emphasis on education and/or a profession, rather than on basic material needs.

Such findings as the above have considerable significance for understanding the effects of adult literacy. In the first place, they suggest that literacy of women such as the respondents of the present study might in fact have its greatest effects in the social mobility of the children of the newly literate adults rather than of the adults themselves--assuming that opportunities exist and that the social system does not discriminate against the children. Again, it implies that literacy or education, in general, is not likely to remain a differentiating factor between the sexes in the next generation as it did in the respondents' own: daughters of the respondents will not be denied the right to education as their mothers were. Such education of females among this sector of the population might in the long run lead to changes in the family structure itself and the role of the woman. Finally, the

specification of education in the urban environment has implications for the residential stability of the migrant-respondents.

The third section of the chapter did, in fact, look at the residential stability of the respondents and their adaptation and assimilation in the host community. While it was concluded that literacy was likely to have some negative as well as positive implications for adaptation of the women of the study, observation and interviews with informants indicated that pro-adaptation effects of literacy-education were dominant. The positive impact of new literacy on the adaptation of the respondents operated through facilitated interpersonal communication, facilitated mass communication, incidental learning within the formal educational situation, and through the additional ability to cope in the urban environment that literacy provides. But individual characteristics giving potential to become adequately functioning members of the host society do not necessarily lead to automatic assimilation into that larger society. The existence of discrimination, prejudice, and rejection in the host community may mean that there has to be a change in the society itself before such assimilation can take place.

Literacy education was also found to be an important factor in residential stability. First, literacy leads to greater satisfaction with the host community and a prefer-

ence of it over the home environment. Second, the greater
urban educational opportunities play a significant part in
*the decision to stay--sometimes even when the home commun-
ity is actually preferred.* Respondents indicated that they
would not only stay for their own sake but for their chil-
dren. Thus, literacy comes to again have second generation
implications, this time for the dimension of migration.

In sum, new literacy appears to play a significant
role in the short-term in occupational role, the family life
of respondents, and their position as migrants. But literacy
also has long-term implications and it may, in fact, be in
terms of the second generation--the children of the women of
the study, that literacy will come to have its greatest ef-
fect. It is because of their aspirations for their children
as well as for themselves that the respondents plan to stay
in the urban environment, believing that opportunities exist
for fulfillment. But whereas the respondent servants were
at the bottom of the social ladder, and did not have aspir-
ations of climbing much further, they hope that their chil-
dren will. In fact, they want the children to belong to
the professional middle class, speak Spanish--the language
of social prestige, and live in the urban environment where
opportunities exist.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH
AND POLICY

The present study has focused on the social implications of adult literacy from a communication point of view. The conceptualization of the problem has been broad, and the preceding chapters have discussed in detail a wide range of findings. Here we shall summarize the main conclusions and apply them to research and policy. Since each part of the information analysis and presentation has concluded with a section which has summarized and drawn implications, this chapter will deal with only some main points.

Summary of the Chapters

Chapter I described the way the study was carried out. In doing so, it not only discussed the actual methods and procedures used, but the general orientation from which problem formulation and methods were derived. It was argued that the whole area of adult literacy had been prematurely "closed" and that there was a need for a definition of the problem that did not simply adopt existing pre-

suppositions about literacy and apply them to newly liter-
ate adults. What was proposed was a communication orien-
tation and an in-depth exploratory approach to the problem
which emphasized the socio-cultural context of literacy
and relied on the meaning and effects of literacy as de-
fined by the individuals concerned.

The research design that was derived developed from
the premise that it should be culturally relevant as well
as relevant to the problem in hand. The overall design
was inductive and incremental and reasonably flexible in
structure. Although several methods were used in combina-
tion, the basic method and the one on which most of the
preceding discussion was based, was that of tape-recorded
intensive interviews with respondents in Peru, who were
comparable along several demographic characteristics: they
were adult females, Indian, internal migrants, currently
employed as domestic servants in the capital, Lima. In
terms of literacy level, they were at different stages and
were classified into three main groups for the purpose of
the discussion: Illiterates (motivated to become literate);
Semi-Literates; and New Literates.

Chapter II places illiteracy and the commencement
of adult literacy within the socio-cultural context. Thus
it not only provided a transition from illiteracy to liter-
acy, but also lay the basis for the later discussion of the
impact of newly developed adult literacy, arguing that each

must be understood in the situation in which it occurs.
Specifically, we described the respondents' traditional
background in the Sierra society, their hopes and the
actual process of migration to the capital, the limited
nature of their entrance into urban life, and, finally,
the initiation and continuation of adult literacy in the
host environment. We found that it was not only the general
lack of opportunity for education in their home environment
which had played a part in the respondents' illiteracy, but
the social norms which specifically discriminated against
them as women. In the new modern urban society to which
they had migrated, however, the need for literacy was much
greater. Furthermore, whereas, as illiterate women they
had been normative in the Sierra, in the capital literacy
was the norm, and many comparable others were studying.
Whereas in the Sierra they had encountered influences for
illiteracy, here almost all experienced direct influences
for literacy. In fact, although personal incentives for
literacy did exist and were related to the urban literacy-
need situation, about half of the respondents began literacy
study only because of pressure from others. Significant
others tended to remain supportive throughout the rather
difficult process of learning to read and write as an adult.

In these terms, both the illiteracy and the literacy
of the respondents of the study becomes comprehensible, as
well as the differences that exist in the literacy levels

in the Sierra and the capital. Illiteracy has then
played a role in maintaining social differences both be-
tween the male Indian and the female Indian, and between
the Sierra Indian and the coastal Mestizo. In sum, the
migration of the respondents, even if it occurred for pri-
marily economic reasons, had played a significant part in
their learning to read and write.

The impact of newly developed adult literacy on
interpersonal communication was considered in Chapter III.
Interviews with respondents emphasized the importance that
interpersonal communication had for them and the associa-
tion they perceived to exist between it and literacy. The
discussion in this section did basically two things: on
the one hand, it analyzed and illustrated the direct or
indirect impact of literacy on the written or spoken com-
munication of the respondents, differentiating the impact
of the institutionalized education from that of the acquisi-
tion of reading and writing skills. On the other hand, it
looked at the possible effects of these perceived conse-
quences of literacy on the social relationships in which
the patterned communication behavior occurred.

While the respondents' interaction with other peo-
ple is severely limited because of their peculiar life-
style, literacy facilitates interpersonal communication,
both written and spoken. It was found to facilitate com-
munication through personal letters, through other forms

of written communication, through increasing linguistic
competence in Spanish (the language of formal education
but not the mother-tongue of the respondents), through
creating a base for social interaction via print media in-
formation, and through permitting independent physical
mobility, and thus increased contacts with others in the
urban environment. The end result was that not only did
respondents have increased contact with significant others,
but they found they could communicate better, and moreover,
wanted to communicate more and with a wider range of indi-
viduals. In general, they felt more at ease socially. This
increased ease, and the effect of literacy on oral communi-
cation ability was also observed in the interview situation
itself, there being considerable differences between those
respondents at different levels of literacy. Such inter-
personal implications of adult literacy are important in
terms of interaction of the respondents with their family
members both in the host community and the home community,
with their friends, and with employers.

In Chapter IV we analyzed the nature and extent of
the effect of new literacy on mass communication behavior.
It was found that the illiterates were frequently also ex-
posed to the print mass media, either directly (such use of
print being primarily limited to the pictorial elements) or
through the mediation of literates who read print media to
them. Illiterates were also found to personally possess

print media.

While new literacy potentially allows the inde-
pendent reading of print media, sometimes other factors
impose constraints. Although both Semi-Literates and New
Literates in the study read print media, such communica-
tion behavior was limited both in terms of range of media
read and the actual time spent reading. This limited read-
ing was, however, used in terms of the respondents' particu-
lar needs, and was especially related to their position as
migrants in a new and unfamiliar modern environment. It
was found that increasing literacy seemed to be associated
with a decreasing tendency to regard everything in print as
absolute truth.

Radio and television use of respondents was severely
limited in most cases, and there would appear to be little
that they could do to counteract such limitations under
their present conditions. Such findings of limited broad-
case media use serve to give greater significance to the
facilitation of print media use that results from adult
literacy. There was very slight evidence for literacy
leading to increased exposure to non-print media, and also
some indication of at least a temporary "displacement" ef-
fect. In general, this chapter served to suggest that many
of the assumptions generally made about the implications of
literacy for mass media use do not necessarily always apply.
For the respondents of the present study, literacy's as-

sociation with mass communication does not appear to be as vital as its association with interpersonal communication.

Chapter V turned from the implications of literacy for the individual concerned to those that might also apply to others—and specifically—to the illiterates with whom the newly literate adult interacts. It was found that those respondents who are literate share the reading and writing skills with those who cannot read and write. Even limited literacy was already being used to read print media to illiterates, to read and write letters for illiterates, and to help them in other kinds of situations where they could not cope on their own. Newly literates did not only share their literacy skills but also their belief in the power of literacy: they believed in and practiced persuading illiterates to become literate, often even teaching them themselves. Frequently, those influenced or taught were the ones who were relying on the literate for literacy-based help or a "share" of their reading and writing skills. Such shared use and literacy-promotion activity has implications both for the newly literate adult concerned and for the illiterate. In the former case, it plays a part in the literate adult's relationship to others and her position as an influential in the group, and in the latter it helps to ameliorate some of the problems or limitations of illiteracy and motivate toward literacy. Such behavior also has implications for the flow of information and influence in general, and for the overall effects of

new literacy which in these terms become multiplicative, including others besides the individual involved and leading to a kind of chain reaction for literacy.

Finally, Chapter VI discussed the implications of new literacy in terms of some of the key factors in the respondents' lives--occupation, family, and migration. It was found that respondents see literacy as improving their occupational role performance as a domestic servant. Most however want to change occupations--not just within domestic service itself, but to an occupation which would give them greater independence and higher status, if not a higher income. It was found that achievement motivation (measured in terms of occupational aspirations) was associated with literacy education itself rather than the educational process simply selecting out those individuals who were more achievement motivated to begin with (although the latter does not necessarily exclude the former). However, respondents' aspirations for themselves were not very high, and, in general, limited to the kinds of occupations they would be qualified to fill in the immediate or near future rather than oriented to professions which would require a great deal of further education. The nature of the actual opportunities in their present social context suggest, however, that even these aspirations may exceed possibilities.

Respondents' attitudes toward marriage were essentially practical. Perhaps because of this literacy comes to play a relatively influential role: education, and especially literacy, were found to be a factor both in wanting to get married and in not wanting to get married. The women of the study frequently seemed to feel that it was a choice between the two: marriage and self-improvement through education. Aspirations for children suggested a literacy effect, with increase in literacy being positively associated with increased hope for a University education and a profession for their children. In general, respondents' aspirations for their children--unlike for themselves--were high. They wanted them to have all the opportunities that they themselves did not have, and attach tremendous importance to education as a means of social mobility--education beginning in childhood, within the urban environment, and not differentiating between male and female.

Literacy was also found to have both negative and positive implications for those personal characteristics which allow the migrant-respondents to become adapted and adequately functioning members of their new society. Observation and interviews with informants indicated that the positive outweigh the negative consequences. These operate through literacy effects on socialization through facilitated interpersonal communication, mass communication, general learning in the educational environment, and through

the provision of the coping skill of literacy itself. However, assimilation into the society in which the respondents' now live also depend on the way that society itself is organized.

New literacy is also associated with residential stability, leading to greater satisfaction within the host community and a preference of it over the home environment. The relatively greater urban educational opportunities also play a significant role in the decision to stay, even sometimes when the home community is actually preferred. This also has second generation implications since respondents want their children to participate in these educational opportunities of their present society. Thus literacy, along dimensions of employment, the family, and migration, has both short-term and long-term implications.

In sum, the present study has indicated that those respondents who have learned to read and write as adults see their literacy as playing a significant role in their lives. For them it has facilitated their position as migrants in a new environment, has made their lives more satisfactory through improving their interaction with significant others--both in the home community and in the host community--has allowed them to cope and increase their participation in the new socio-culture, and has changed their position from one of utter dependence on literates to one where others are now dependent on them and where they see

themselves as in a position of influence. Literacy has
also given them hope that at least to some extent they
are able to affect their own future, and even more so, the
future of their children. For those who have heretofore
had very little position and power, and who are at the bot-
tom of the urban occupational scale, servants to the more
powerful, literacy has held out new hope. The extent to
which such hopes and aspirations will be fulfilled, and
education will indeed become the means of social mobility,
remains to be seen.

Implications for Research

Literacy viewed as a social communication pheno-
menon, broadly defined, and explored in depth, has led the
present study into looking at some dimensions which have
been relatively unexplored in this area. It has also taken
a different approach to some other dimensions which have
traditionally been associated with literacy or with adult
literacy. This section will suggest some of the implica-
tions for research that derive from the findings discussed
in the preceding pages.

Implications for Literacy Motivation
-Research into the motivations for adult literacy should
   consider the possibility that in some instances person-
   al incentives may not have existed at the onset of
   literacy training: the adult concerned has simply

yielded to pressures from significant others who were
in a position to influence or coerce him to begin.
-To think in terms of attitudes or motivations for
literacy being either positive or neutral may well be
misleading. In some instances, there may also be
negative attitudes, and negative pressures operative,
as in the present study where social norms prescribed
illiteracy for women.

Interpersonal Implications

-While the implications of literacy for interpersonal
communication have been virtually ignored by most
studies on literacy, in the case of newly developed
adult literacy at least, the present study indicates
that these may, in fact, constitute the core of the
literacy experience for the individual concerned. It
would be of interest to have comparative findings among
other migrant and other non-migrant populations as well
as among those who have received adult literacy train-
ing in their native language and those who have not.
Again, the present study has only begun to look at the
implications of such facilitated interpersonal com-
munication for the newly literate adult's social re-
lationships, for adaptation and assimilation into a
new socio-culture (in the case of migrants), and for
self-image. These constitute promising areas for
further research.

-The shared use of newly developed literacy skills with illiterates has interesting implications for research into literate-illiterate influence. A relational approach might be rewarding. Again, it has implications for considering the household the unit of literacy in certain instances. However, research among other populations (such as, for example, the "New Towns" or primarily migrant settlements of metropolitan Lima) would be better able to supply answers to this question. Such a study might also look at family situations where one or both parents were illiterate, and where a younger member of the family, or the adult female member of the family, became literate, to see what effects this might have on traditional statuses and roles.

Implications for Mass Communication Behavior

-Even in an urban environment where the mass media are widely distributed, it does not necessarily follow that adult literacy will immediately lead to significantly increased exposure where other conditions such as occupation and life-style do not alter in the short-term. A long-term study of the mass communication behavior of newly literate adults under several different conditions would be able to indicate the extent to which adult literacy could have an effect.

-The exposure of illiterates to the print mass media,
even though limited in nature, should not be ignored
entirely in research on mass communication behavior.
To exclude illiterates altogether in a study of print
use in an underdeveloped country which has a high
percentage of illiteracy would not give the complete
picture. Again, to exclude the print media in a study
of the mass communication behavior of illiterate adults,
would be misleading. Finally, further study of the
print media use of illiterates would be of value.

-The credibility of print media is an interesting ques-
tion which the present study has again only begun to
explore. What our findings have done is to cast into
doubt the finding that new literates believe everything
they read in print. But we have also opened up the
question of illiterates' attitudes to print, which be-
comes especially significant when it is remembered that
illiterates are at times exposed to information which
they attribute to the print media, especially through
literate reading of print to them or through receiving
information from literates which the latter report to
have read in the print media. Again, further research
is indicated.

-The reported sharing of print media information by newly
literate adults and the corroborating evidence of il-
literates that they had been exposed to print media

through the mediation of literates, has implications for research on the diffusion of information.

Implications for Occupation

-The respondents of the present study reported positive effects of adult literacy on role performance. It would be of interest and value to have further research with members of other occupational groups as well as with the present one. In the latter instance, interviews could be conducted with employers to evaluate the extent to which their perceptions are in agreement with those of their employees.

-While it was indicated that new literacy had effects on occupational aspirations, the present investigator was unable to obtain data on actual occupational change. There is need for research in this area. Such research should also consider whether, if occupation does change, it involves only a rise in status or increased independence, or whether a rise in income is also involved: the present study has suggested that status and independence may play a greater role in occupational aspirations than income, and that these factors are not necessarily positively correlated.

Implications for Policy

Given that the findings discussed in the preceding pages hold for this population, or for other populations as

well, certain implications can be made for the planning of
adult literacy. Some of these are suggested in this sec-
tion, which is divided up into discussion of implications
for motivation, for strategy, and for effects or evalua-
tion--some of the key questions in the planning of literacy
campaigns.

Implications for Motivation

-Problems of motivation for adult literacy and of at-
trition of those who begin literacy training, might at
least, in part, be a function of the negative pressures
to which adults are sometimes subjected. This might
especially be the case with women in traditional areas
where the norms are likely to discriminate against them
in terms of literacy. This implies that a campaign in
such a situation would have to direct its literacy
propaganda not only at the target population of illiter-
ates, but also at certain others who are likely to be
significant in the lives of those illiterates, and whose
influences are likely to operate against literacy.
-Given the premise that migration from a rural more tradi-
tional area to an urban more modern one involves a move
from a situation in which the functional utility of
literacy is lower and not encouraged for social pres-
sures, to one where the functional utility of literacy
is higher and is encouraged by social pressures, rural

migrants constitute an optimal target population for adult literacy: they are not only less likely to be literate but likely to be already personally motivated and/or pressured to learn, thus providing optimal conditions for the initiation of adult literacy. They would also be likely to be subjected to supportive influences during the literacy process if it takes place in the modern urban environment, thus minimizing the problems of attrition.

-While economic aspirations constitute one of the factors involved in literacy motivation, the present study has indicated that these are not the only motivation, and not even the dominant incentive for beginning to learn as an adult. This indicates that in a situation where motivation is a problem, either initially or during the literacy process, other advantages of literacy, and especially those which are likely to have more immediate utility, should be stressed as well. One example of such advantages would be those which relate to the facilitation of interpersonal communication.

Implications for Strategy

-Frequently one of the planned effects of literacy campaigns involves increased exposure of newly literate adults to the mass media of communication, and, in particular to the print media. Consideration should be given

to the fact that illiterates are also exposed some-
times to print media, either through direct use or
through literate-mediated use. Again, consideration
should be given to the possibility that post-literacy
use of print may be limited due to constraints on ac-
cess, available time, and so on. Therefore, if the
post-literacy use of the print media is to be maximized
in the short-term, particularly when other factors such
as socio-economic conditions are not likely to change
immediately, raising the literacy level should be close-
ly related to making available print media to the newly
literate adults. Library facilities which cater to the
appropriate level of reading skill, and to the interests
and/or planned for reading content of the target popu-
lation, would facilitate such print media use.

-In a situation where newly developed adult literacy is
valued and perceived as advantageous, it serves to pro-
mote literacy in illiterates with whom the new literate
interacts, through influence, and instruction of these
illiterates outside the formal learning environment.
This fact has implications for the planning of literacy
campaigns, and especially for the initial decision of
the nature and size of the target population in any
given area. To get the most value for investments made,
it might, for example, be wise to initially focus on a
small sector of the population which is both motivated

and likely to be influential, rather than aim the literacy campaign toward the entire population of illiterates. The second phase would encounter the rest of the population of illiterates more prepared for literacy-training owing to the intervening influences of the newly literate adults of the first phase. Thus this would help to decrease problems of motivation and attrition.

-In a situation where the language of higher social status, and/or public communication, is a language other than the mother tongue of the target population of illiterates in a particular literacy effort, decisions as to the language in which the literacy campaign is to be conducted should take into account the possible implications for motivation and effects of literacy as well as for pedagogical aspects. While literacy in a language other than the mother tongue of the illiterate adults would accentuate the difficulties of the illiterate adults would accentuate the difficulties of learning, it might increase motivation and the advantages of learning in terms of social and occupational mobility. Conversely, to induce literacy in the native language of the illiterates might serve to minimize the difficulties of learning, but might decrease motivation for literacy and serve to potentially disadvantage the individuals concerned in terms of socio-

economic mobility and social participation in the
larger society.

-Given the findings of the present study that literacy
training of adults gives rise to increased achievement
motivation in terms of occupational aspirations, plan-
ning for literacy should be closely related to the plan-
ning of economic opportunities whether the literacy edu-
cation involves occupational training or not. If this
is done there is less risk of aspirations exceeding
achievement possibilities and of frustration resulting.

-A decision to invest scarce resources on adult literacy
should consider that while raising the literacy level
may indeed give rise to increased achievement motiva-
tion as measured by occupational aspirations, it does
not necessarily follow that desired occupations involve
a higher income than the pre-literacy occupations, al-
though they may involve higher status. Thus, an in-
crease in per capita income may not necessarily be
achieved by raising the literacy level of certain pop-
ulations, such as, for example, the newly literate
adults of the present study.

-Since illiteracy is frequently positively correlated
with low per capita income, illiterate adults are likely
to need some means of support while receiving basic edu-
cation. In this sense, occupations such as domestic
service--especially in the case of urban females--serve
a useful purpose: they potentially provide part-time

work with reasonably flexible hours, a very small
income but with room and board included, which allows
adults to pursue an education. However, employers
tend not to favor such an arrangement, thus, it is
only likely to continue as long as the demand for serv-
ants exceeds the supply. Not only is such a situation
precarious and denies many illiterate domestics an
education, but it increases the difficulties of those
domestics who are studying. Thus, domestic service as
an occupation provides a suitable target for national
level planning in Peru, more so because it is one of the
major--if not the major--occupations that is open to il-
literate females. For example, if the present laws
which make compulsory the education of those under 18
years of age who have not finished their primary school-
ing (Code of Minors: Law 13968 of May, 1962, Article
24)--which law is quoted in the recently published hand-
book on domestic service (Ley del Trabajador Domestico)--
were extended to include those in older age brackets,
and employers were made responsible for seeing that
their servants complied with this law, it is likely that
the number of illiterate domestic servants able to ob-
tain an education would be increased.

-It appears economic opportunities, and to a lesser ex-
tent, the educational opportunities of the urban en-
vironment constitute main motivations for migration to

the cities. Furthermore, these are also the main
motivations for staying in the urban environment, not
only for migrants themselves, but also because of mi-
grants' aspirations for their children. Thus, both
educational opportunities and economic opportunities
in the home communities would have to be considerably
increased to either stem the out-migration or to pro-
mote a reverse flow.

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Implications for Effects or Evaluation
of Adult Literacy
</div>

-In a situation where some members of a community become
literate and others with whom they interact remain il-
literate, the latter are likely to benefit from the
literacy of the former through shared use of reading
and writing skills. Thus, many of the effects of liter-
acy on the newly literate adults involved might actual-
ly extend to these others, although probably to a lesser
degree. In this sense, literacy training is likely to
have a "multiplying" effect in a context where there is
a high rate of illiteracy, while at the same time lit-
eracy has high functional utility. In this sense,
evaluating the effects of a literacy campaign only in
terms of the individuals concerned does not give a
complete account.

-The adult literacy of females may have greater con-
sequences for the second generation than it does for

the adults themselves through the literacy-increased
aspirations that newly literate adults come to have
for their children, and their emphasis on education
as a means of social mobility for them. If such as-
pirations and attitudes actually come to be translated
into behavior, this may have a good deal to say for
the value of adult literacy for women--a question which
has sometimes been subject to debate.

The above do not exhaust the implications of the
present study for either research or policy, but hopefully
they have suggested some possibilities which might be ex-
plored. *Above all, our findings have indicated the com-*
plexity and the promise of *the entire field of adult liter-*
acy, which should not be considered closed. Research in
this area will allow the building of hypotheses and theory,
on the basis of which effective planning of literacy cam-
paigns can proceed in underdeveloped countries.

INSTITUTES THAT COOPERATE WITH THE LITERACY PROGRAMS IN LATIN AMERICA

School	Church	Unions	Industry	Army	University	Commerce	International Organizations and Institutions
Argentina	Argentina	Argentina	---	Argentina	---	---	---
Bolivia	Bolivia	Bolivia	Bolivia	Bolivia	Bolivia	Bolivia	Bolivia
Brazil	Brazil	Brazil	Brazil	Brazil	Brazil	Brazil	Brazil
Colombia	Colombia	Colombia	Colombia	Colombia	Colombia	Colombia	---
Cuba	---	Cuba	Cuba	Cuba	Cuba	---	Cuba
Chile	---	Chile	Chile	---	---	---	---
Dominican	Dominican	Dominican	Dominican	---	---	---	---
El Salvador	El Salvador	El Salvador	El Salvador	El Salvador	El Salvador	El Salvador	El Salvador
Ecuador	Ecuador	---	---	---	---	Ecuador	Ecuador
Guatemala	Guatemala	Guatemala	Guatemala	Guatemala	Guatemala	Guatemala	Guatemala
Haiti	Haiti	---	---	---	---	---	---
Honduras	---	Honduras	---	Honduras	---	---	Honduras
Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	---
Nicaragua	Nicaragua	---	---	Nicaragua	---	---	---
Panama	Panama	Panama	Panama	---	Panama	Panama	Panama
---	Paraguay	Paraguay	---	Paraguay	---	---	---
---	Peru	Peru	---	Peru	Peru	---	Peru
Venezuela	Venezuela	Venezuela	Venezuela	Venezuela	Venezuela	---	Venezuela

Notes:
- Uruguay is not included in this table because it does not engage in literacy activities. Neither does Costa Rica appear because it has not submitted data in this respect.
- In spite of the fact that two countries do not mention the school, the teachers do participate in literacy work and most likely they make use of school facilities.

*This table is reproduced, translated from the Spanish, from Centro de Educación para el Desarrollo de la Comunidad en America Latina, Estudio de la Situación en Cuanto a la Alfabetización en America Latina: Informe (Mexico: 1968), p. 41.

LITERACY EFFORTS IN PERU[*]
1958-1967

Years	Enrolled	Graduated	Percentage $C = 100 \frac{B}{A}$	Centers of Literacy Education	Teachers	Teachers/ Literacy Center $F = \frac{E}{D}$
	(A)	(B)		(D)	(E)	
1958	177,059	23,425	13.2	2,950	3,967	1.3
1959	78,011	25,112	32.2	3,538	4,833	1.4
1960	51,246	18,782	36.6	2,324	2,778	1.2
1961	87,278	35,005	40.1	2,765	2,913	1.1
1962	95,273	32,894	34.5	2,724	2,903	1.1
1963	376,839	151,878	40.3	17,051	26,410	1.5
1964	167,656	68,455	40.8	6,530	8,324	1.3
1965	101,791	29,959	29.4	4,134	4,134	1.0
1966	29,568	11,045	37.4	1,833	1,833	1.0
1967	26,558	13,717	51.6	1,228	1,228	1.0

[*]This table appeared in Boletín del Instituto Nacional de Planificación, XCII (December 15, 1969), 5. More recent figures are not available at the time this study was written.

APPENDIX C

DOMESTIC SERVICE

In the course of the study, a considerable amount
of information was gathered about the occupation of domes-
tic service. Some additional detail on salary, the law as
it applies to domestic service, and living conditions, will
follow. Most of this is based on official records of adult
education centers and their personnel or on publicly avail-
able material. Some information was also obtained from
interviews with informants and respondents.

Salary

Although there are minimum wages for most other oc-
cupations, there are none for domestic service. The salar-
ies on the whole are higher than they were a few years ago,
a cook usually earning the most, a children's nursemaid
about the same or slightly lower, and a "muchacha" who does
primarily cleaning, the lowest. Laundry women usually live
out and get paid by the hour. Male servants such as "major-
domos," generally earn most.

All salaries, however, are subject to modifications
or cuts. A domestic servant who, for example, is attending
classes for a few hours either every afternoon or evening

or some hours a week, earns less than those who do not. A
major employment agency for domestic service in Lima stated
that in spite of this they find that 95 per cent of appli-
cants want to have jobs that allow schooling and almost
100 per cent of employers want servants who do not wish to
go to school. The salaries without and with schooling, as
quoted by the employment agency, are (in soles) per month:

	Without Schooling	With Schooling
Cook	1,800-2,000	Approx. 1,000
Muchacha	1,200-1,500	800-900
Nursemaid	1,800-2,000	Not allowed

The salaries of the respondents of the present study
were lower than those quoted by the Agency. The range was
from 250-1,300 soles per month (with schooling) with the
average being 698 soles--at the current exchange rate (April,
1972) being about $16. per month. Most received bed and
board.

Living Conditions

Servants' quarters in Lima tend to be separate from
the main building, when in a private house. In apartments
they are usually behind the kitchen, and have separate
washing facilities. Sometimes servants share a room; at
other times they have their own room. As a rule, servants
do not have hot water available to them for their own use.

There are three main reasons for lack of hot water in servants' quarters according to employers interviewed: (1) it would cut down on the supply; (2) it would raise utility costs; (3) it would result in a constant influx of relatives and friends to use the supply for laundry and washing purposes.

When living out, it seems that living conditions are generally even worse. Those among the respondents in the present study who did not stay at their jobs usually lived in one or two room huts or adobe or other cheap material. Very rarely is there enough bed-space for everyone, sometimes both mothers and children sleeping on the bare earth or crowded into the beds available. Sanitation is usually communal or lacking. In most cases, such buildings were rented rather than owned. While the rents that the women in the respondent population paid were relatively low, for the domestic whose salary is not only limited to begin with but frequently involves several cuts before she receives it, rent consumes almost all the income. As many explained in interviews, there is sometimes very little, if anything, left for food or clothing for the children. One reason for the overcrowding of living quarters then becomes an attempt to cut down on expenses for rent by sharing with relatives, friends, or sometimes simply acquaintances. In other cases, a countryman or a relative comes to stay—sometimes one after another—and it is almost impossible to dis-

lodge them. Such crowded conditions sometimes also lead
to extremely complicated and difficult family problems.

The Law

The recently published (1971) <u>Ley del Trabajador
Doméstico</u> spells out several legal constraints of the oc-
cupation of domestic service. Some of the main ones will
be briefly touched on.

The "contract" between servant and employer can
exist in written or spoken form (but it is very rare to
find the former). The law decrees that employment can take
place directly or through the mediation of an employment
agency. It also specifies a fifteen-day trial period after
which time the employer may terminate the services of the
domestic without a period of notice if she has been found
unsatisfactory, paying her for only the number of days in-
volved. A health certificate, directed primarily at infec-
tious diseases, is required of all domestic servants. All
servants are also required to register with the Police
Central Agency.

The employer is obliged by law to give a servant
food and board in addition to salary, and eight hours
minimum of sleep a night (a recent regulation). He or she
is also obliged by law to allow the servant one day off in
eight (again a recent law) and three official holidays a
year, or re-emburse the servant for the extra service.

There now also exist laws about severance pay, special hours for minors (for those between 13 and 14 years of age and between 14 and 18) and--again a recent law--social security regulations.

The law also states that domestic employees are to respect and obey their employers and to carry out the services for which they had been employed. Again, according to law, "it is prohibited that employers mistreat their servants by word or deed whether they be minors or adults." Finally, on the termination of employment, the employer is obliged by law to give a servant a "certificate of work" or a reference.