Anthropology of Gender and Social Change:
In the Case of a Rural Village of the Huasteca in Mexico.

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In most of Mexican and other societies in Latin America, generally the
distinction of women and men is obvious, and the sexual division of labor
tends to be stressed. On the other hand, the societies are in rapid change
with increasing migration, politics of the economic development and so on. In
the studies of gender in Latin America, many of them are accounted with
those contexts of social change, like female participation in the labor market.
However, in most of them, it is premised that the dualism of women/men,
and the positions in the kinship like “mother”, “daughter” or “wife”, for
example, are treated as explanation of the meaning of “women”. As the result,
denying the essentialism of the significance of gender, they couldn’t get over
it sufficiently, so they failed to analyze clearly the dynamics of the structure
of the differences. This problem arises from the way in which gender itself is
constructed as an analytical model.

Sex difference is never at the core of gender. It can take on meanings as
“gender” only when it crosses over with other differences such as race,
ethnicity, religion, etc. Here I focus on the relationship of kinship as the
structure of differences which includes sexual differences, and I analyze how
the meaning and positionality in the relation of kinship correlate with social
change.

In the rural community of Santa Cruz, a Nauatl indígena village in the
Huasteca region of the state of Hidalgo, Mexico, where corn cultivation has significantly dropped these past twenty years, the degree of dependence upon external economy, including migration to big cities, and the influence of the national poverty programs has increased.

The village was under domination of hacienda until the 1940. The membership of the community is linked with the right to the communal land, *ejido*, which was created in the 1940, and it was basically attributed to males, by succession from father to son. This means that women belong to the community only through the male tie of father or husband.

Now most of the young generation in Santa Cruz has experience of labor migration to cities in the country. In the cities, occupations, the way of spending leisure time, and the use of their incomes, are different depending on their sex. Meanwhile, women and young people who have had little chance to earn money in the village, now have opportunities to gain even more than their fathers or husbands. Therefore they gained more independence from them.

Now, I shall analyze how the practices and meanings of the relation of kinship have changed, focusing on three of the kinship symbols, "child", "marriage", and "house". The image of "child" in the village, which used to be seen to become helpful to the family from a young age, has drastically changed as generalizing public education and extending the schooling period. Now most of the women of Santa Cruz consider that it is better to bear fewer children and that it is possible to regulate conception at their own will. But in the course of this change, the subject that should receive the means of contraception is always women, which reflects the gender image of the State.

The practices and meanings of "marriage" also changed. Formerly the marriage was to be proposed from the side of the man toward the father of the woman, and the wedding should be held before living together. But now, most of young couples start living together without permission of their parents, and the ceremonies and legal marriage tend to be postponed.
"House" is connected with the genealogical relationship, and at the same time, it is the place to form a family by living together. Moreover, it can be "constructed", paying for land, materials, and so on. Whoever covers housing construction costs creates the sense of who can live there and whose house it is. In recent years, having chances to earn money by dedicated work, many wives began to contribute to the construction of the couple's house, and many unmarried daughters, to that of their parents. Women who covered construction cost are considered to have right to live there, including daughters who used to move to the house of her husband as marry. This made it acceptable to daughters living together with their parents even after marriage, asking parents for child care, or living permanently in the house as a single mother.

In Santa Cruz, formerly when a baby was born without a father or the parents separated when the children were very young, the mother used to go out to marry leaving her children with her parents or someone. But after the 1980's, some of the women began to continue working to support their children as single mothers. Recently single mothers in the village are accepted even though they are marginalized. One of the reasons of this change is, of course, the opportunities for women to take part in the labor market. However, at the same time, it is due to the changes in the meaning of child, the meaning of marriage, and the relation of the daughter and her parents in the change of social conditions.

Gender and social change interact with each other. The norms of gender can constitute the people's way of confronting with the changes and, on the other hand, the norms can change by themselves. The feminist perspective on gender which raises questions on generation and change of the differences, contributes toward bringing new horizon in anthropology, focusing on the social structure itself.