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PEASANT ECONOMY, WOMEN'S LABOUR AND DIFFERENTIAL FORMS  
OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN  
THREE CONTRASTING SITUATIONS IN PERU AND CHILE

BY

PILAR CAMPANA

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology

University of Dunham

March 1985



16 MAY 1986

## DECLARATION

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## ABSTRACT

The subject of this thesis is the study of rural women and their participation in agricultural production. It intends to analyse the impact of differential capitalist development on the patterns of involvement of women in production in three regional situations in Chile and Peru, trying to show the relevance of women's work and its contribution to the regional and national economy. The three regions selected (the fruit growing and mixed cropping areas of Chile, and the mining central region of Peru) permit us to grasp the heterogeneity of capitalist development in Latin American countries, showing striking variations in the economic role of rural women. In one area I found heavy participation of women in wage labour, whilst in the other areas there was a substantial commitment to agricultural production, or, as in the case of Peru, <sup>these</sup> predominated a combination of commerce and agriculture.

The aim of the study of rural women in these three regions was to place women's work in the historical development of the regions, and in relation to the household unit, attempting to detect the contribution of women to the household common income fund. This approach allowed me to observe the connections existing between different forms of organization of production, the strategies adopted by the members of the household for survival in situations of insufficient production and income, and to discover the different forms of participation of women in production in the three regions under study. The study was carried out in various stages, first in



Peru in 1979, and later in Chile during 1982 and 1984. The general methodology consisted of combining both general data for establishing the regional framework and a survey for collecting quantitative data on women's involvement in the economy, together with case studies on the position of women within the households.

The hypotheses that guided the study were that women participate fully in the economy and contribute significantly to the provision of income and the economic maintenance of households, and secondly, that this contribution is important for the economy as a whole, both in terms of production and reproduction functions; also, that the specific forms of women's involvement in production activities depend upon the specific characteristics of the regional process.

The conclusion of the study suggests that women's work, for a great part, make up the production of the internal demand of foodstuffs for these countries, as well as, in some cases, of export crops. Also, although women's work may not be recognized as part of the formal economy, it can help maintain peasant forms of production, perhaps even limiting the emergence of forms of peasant differentiation

The thesis is divided into two main parts: the first providing a general framework for methodological problems concerned with the analysis of women's work in rural contexts and a comparative approach to understanding agrarian development and situations in Chile and Peru. The second part consists of three main chapters dedicated to the analysis of women in the regions selected for the study, each of which includes a detailed regional analysis, together with specific field data and testimonies on women's activities and perceptions.

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The fieldwork was carried out in Peru and Chile, and the people of both countries, academic, friends and relatives, too numerous to mention individually, gave me their time, a space to work and also encouragement in such a way that I felt one might make some contribution to the future.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW.

This thesis discusses the situation of rural women and their participation in agricultural production in different contexts of capitalist expansion in Latin America, taking as a sample three regions, two in Chile and one in Peru.

In the last ten years systematic studies have been conducted in these countries on the position and condition of women and their contribution towards development. Though there is still much research to be done, there is no doubt that substantial progress has been made in the empirical and theoretical study of this subject.



As far as rural women are concerned, the discussion has focussed upon two main issues: that of analyzing and clarifying the role of women in agrarian contexts, and that of achieving their full involvement in society through increasing participation in the economy and in political organization, and thus removing them from their present subordinate position in society.

Within this context, the present thesis aims to contribute to the study of rural women by analyzing the different types and forms of their work in agriculture and by studying the extent to which their participation in agricultural production has importance and/or relevance to the wider development of regional and national economies.

I start from the hypothesis that the participation of women in agricultural production depends, above all, on the type of development offered by a given region; and that, in its turn, the agricultural development of different regions will depend on historical processes and, especially, on existing natural resources such as soil, climate, and irrigation. Because of this, agricultural development in Latin America, and within each country, is very heterogeneous. It is possible to find regions with a high degree of capitalist development next to regions in which capitalist enterprise is less significant in the national economy. Regions vary in economic conditions depending on the price that their cash crops fetch on the international market and on state policy. There are also regions in which agriculture is essentially subsistence-oriented and where capitalist penetration has produced little impact on the structure of agriculture and production.

Such differences are plain to see; we might say, self-evident. Furthermore, among them there is a varied range of composite situations. A great deal of research has been done on "peasant economies" in most of the different regions in the continent, but they have mostly failed to grasp properly the internal dynamic of the rural economy as a whole. In my view this failure is partly a result of a methodological approach which takes men as "the peasant", and which consequently is unable to comprehend the complexities of internal peasant household dynamics. What is needed at this stage of research, then, is to study the peasantry from a different point of view, giving attention to the other members of the household, in order to reveal the conditions of peasant agricultural production and survival, and to understand the role of rural women and their contribution to the household income. It is my aim in this thesis to present a preliminary approach to this perspective, and for that I shall analyse women's involvement in agriculture in certain clearly defined areas that exhibit different patterns of development, so as to establish how far women take part in agricultural work and how in this way they contribute to the economy as a whole.

With this object in mind three regions have been selected in two countries in Latin America. These present different features, both in relation to the involvement of capitalism and in terms of the characteristics of their regional economies.

The first is the fruit-growing region of Chile. This region provides an example of early capitalist development. It may be considered a privileged region for agriculture as far as soil, climate

and irrigation are concerned, which has led to heavy investment in infrastructure and to increases in productivity and revenue of land. Most production activities are carried out by commercial farms, whilst peasant units are of secondary importance. Located in the central mediterranean area, between the Aconcagua and Maule valleys, this is by far the best Chilean agricultural region and contains the greater part of the population of the country, including Santiago, the capital.

The second region, also in Chile, is of mixed agricultural production, and serves as an example of the incorporation of women in a peasant economy, in a situation where the impact of capitalism on agriculture is weak and uneven. This region, though it meets the conditions for the development of capitalism in agriculture, has certain limitations -soil and climate- which adversely affect the yields per acre for produce and their earnings. The only way farmers have of increasing their income is when there are optimum price conditions and security in the product and labour markets. Thus, if the market is favourable it is possible for capital to enter the field, withdrawing again when conditions become adverse. As mentioned above, the role played by the State in the development of these regions is all-important. If the cultivation of certain crops is subsidized or appears to be insured by the State, giving some guarantee of prices, farmers will invest in them. On the other hand, if there is no help from the State and also market prices are low, commercially oriented agricultural enterprise will tend to withdraw, while peasant family units will tend to increase. This counterbalance between commercial and peasant production units seems to characterize regions where capitalist possibilities are limited .

Thirdly, the central region of Peru has been selected in order to demonstrate and analyze the development of women's work and the family economy in an agricultural setting where capital in agriculture is largely absent, preferring, instead to invest in other activities, such as mining. In this region, capital involvement in agriculture is of a secondary, marginal nature, both in relation to the reproduction of the labour force of the family unit and in the development of the region as a whole. Nevertheless, even though capital is marginal, agricultural production is maintained by peasant units, which take over also the responsibility for the reproduction of labour because the dominant capitalist sector is incapable by itself of reproducing the labour force it needs. As a result, most labourers working in mining, industry and commercial activities are also peasants, who keep their plots of land in order to complement their wages and petty commodity activities. The main characteristic of this situation of capitalist development is the close relationship between marginal forms of agricultural production and the other economic sectors, which come together in the family household which maintains its various members in several economic sectors.

The second hypothesis for exploration suggested that the involvement and participation of women in agricultural work also depends on the rural strata to which they belong. In the two Chilean cases there is a marked pattern of social differentiation within the peasantry, so that it is possible to find in both regions minifundia, subsistence-oriented peasants, traditional smallholder market-oriented peasants, and a new category of peasants who were awarded holdings

under the Agrarian Reform ('parceleros'). These strata depend basically on the amount of land owned by each unit and on the type of land ownership. In the Peruvian case, on the other hand, though there is marked social stratification within the peasant communities, differentiation is moderated by forms of family relationships between the different social strata including also forms of fictive kinship such as 'compadrazgo'. This makes a precise identification of these social strata very difficult. Also, as will be seen later, the amount of land managed by each family is not a good indicator of differentiation, because each family has economic activities outside agriculture itself, and is firmly tied to wage activities and, particularly, to the petty commodity sector, through family links.

The third hypothesis concerns the relationship between changes which affect agriculture and women's participation in agricultural work. Garret (1976) and Boserup (1970) agree that the modernization of agriculture, the introduction of machinery and of modern technological systems, directly displace women in agriculture. My own view, however, is that this does not happen of necessity. On the contrary, it is possible to find agricultural areas with marked capitalist penetration in which an important part of the productive process is in the hands of women, either as wage-earners in capitalist agrarian enterprises or in family production units. It seems that the main reasons for this derive from the type of labour and productive dynamic established by the crop produced and its role in capitalist development. Just as there are crops of agro-industry which displace women, such as the mechanization of milk production, others attract female labour, as in the case of fruit growing.

On the other hand, the role of agriculture and of particular crops within the overall economy of the country, is also basic to the presence or displacement of women in agricultural work. In a situation in which agricultural production is subordinate to other sectors of the economy -mining, industry, services- the agrarian sector in general and, even more so, the peasant economy is likely to suffer such a crisis that the whole family unit is forced into taking an active part in the agricultural production process, and in this way women are prevented from dedicating themselves exclusively to domestic chores. In fact, it obliges them to take a main role in production.

It is generally accepted that it is not possible to understand the situation of peasant women in isolation from the social context and the process of change within which they live. For this reason, every time it becomes necessary to analyze their role in agriculture this will be done in relation to the changes which have taken place in agriculture and in society as a whole. In Chile, the structural changes which have taken place in the agrarian sector in the last 20 years have been very important and both the peasant economy and the peasants themselves have been affected by them. Employment patterns and tenancy of land have substantially changed. Possession of most agricultural land by large-scale landowners has been replaced by medium and small holdings. And, finally, new types of crops are being harvested and have increased their importance considerably within the agrarian economy. On the other hand, in the central region of Peru, though there have been important changes in the last 20 years, such as the expropriation of the large farms or nationalisation of the mines located outside the borders of the peasant areas, these have not

penetrated the basic economic structure of peasant society, nor the pattern of family household economic organization established between agriculture and other economic sectors. These structures seem to have a permanence over time unassailable by such changes, which have brought change not so much in the tenancy of the land or in the processes of employment but, merely, in the formal conditions of ownership. In fact, the effects of all this on the mass of communities has been not very considerable.

#### Origins and Structure of the Thesis.

This thesis is the result of several field studies on rural women carried out by the author in different regional contexts, from 1978 onwards. In the beginning my main interest was directed towards a detailed account of the peasant family economy in the central sierra of Peru, but very soon I realized that women were one of the most important economic props of the peasant community, and that they were certainly worthwhile as a subject of more specific research. This was in sharp contrast to what had been taught and written about the peasantry in Latin America. At that time, the relevance of women - urban and rural- in the economic, social and political development of these countries was something that was just beginning to be timidly discussed in Latin American academic and intellectual circles. There is no doubt that the first impulse for this kind of research was provided by the declaration by the United Nations that 1975 would be Woman's International Year and the following ten years, Woman's Decade. This meant that, in some measure, both government and non-government research institutes and institutions for research funding



in Latin America gave priority in their programmes to research studies on women in order to develop a full picture of women's problems and their economic and political involvement looked at from different angles and using different methods of analysis. In Chile this created favourable conditions for carrying out research on rural and urban women, and led to the support of a number of projects which were aimed at encouraging the participation of women in development.

Having carried out this research using intensive fieldwork methods, I quickly became aware of the degree of participation of rural women in the production of food for the country's needs and in the provision of family income. I also came to understand and participate in the daily life of many women. For this reason, in each of the main chapters I have included the personal testimony of two women, in order to illustrate and confirm the points raised in the chapter. I have emphasized in these accounts those features relative to the productive and reproductive work of women, and for this reason, Lucy, Juana, Flor, and all the others who, through out these years, have given part of their time, usually spent on daily chores, to the job of injecting life into this research, may also be considered co-authors of this thesis.

The thesis is composed of seven chapters. Following this introduction I provide, in Chapter II, a discussion of the specific methodological problems which arise in the study of women. One of the factors, I argue, that has most obscured and hindered research on women and economic participation in Latin America is linked to the methodological problem and the near impossibility of using national

population statistics as reliable research material. At the same time, I also present a discussion on the characteristics of agricultural processes in Latin America and show how rural population have been involved in them. Also, some ideas are defined concerning the sexual division of labour in peasant economies and, generally, in agricultural production. A theoretical-type discussion is also initiated in distinguishing between productive, reproductive and domestic work. These are fundamental distinctions for the understanding of women's participation in peasant and agricultural economies.

The objective in Chapter II is to provide an overview of the most important agricultural processes in the two countries involved in the case-studies: Chile and Peru. The intention here is to provide basic elements on the agricultural situation in which the labour of rural women takes place; and also to observe to what extent State policies, like agrarian reform, have managed to incorporate women into agrarian development programmes.

The chapters that follow (IV, V and VI) are the main chapters devoted to describing and analyzing the involvement and participation of rural women in the different agricultural contexts. Chapter IV concentrates on the study of women in a situation of intense capitalist development -in the fruit growing zone of Chile. Chapter V analyses the situation of women in a peasant area of a mixed farming economy also in Chile. And chapter VI contains a study of peasant women in the central sierra (highland region) of Peru, in which there is intensive capitalist penetration in the mining sector, but less so

in agriculture, which results in the latter becoming a subsidiary economic activity within the regional context.

Chapter VII provides my conclusions. In this I analyze the relevant elements of women's participation in the three regional contexts, with the object of formulating some general conclusions on the cases under study. This, in turn, leads me to formulate some hypotheses for conducting more intensive comparative studies on Latin American rural women, so that we might achieve a more comprehensive approach to their involvement in both agricultural and national economies.

## CHAPTER I I

### METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH ON WOMEN.

#### 1. The Problem of the Invisibility of Women's Work.

The statistical data for Latin America show a significant decrease in the participation of women in agricultural activities since the 1950's. This information has played a major role in shaping the present conception that urban society has about the role of women. This conception basically accords no importance to women as producers, and hence, denies the importance of women's work for the economic development of these countries. This chapter aims to discuss how far census-type data reflect the reality of rural women's work, revealing the more important factors contributing to the distortion of census

information, and ends with some methodological proposals aimed at obtaining a clearer image of the role of women in the economic development. This implies a need to identify factors that might lead to a better analysis of women as workers, both in the field of production and reproduction.

According to the Peruvian census of 1972, there were 132.633 women - that is 7.1 per cent of the total adult women- working in agriculture. In the case of Chile, there were 20.500 women involved in agricultural activities, representing 6.8 per cent of adult women. Furthermore, in both cases there has been a substantial reduction in women's participation in agricultural work over the last three national population censuses. Until a few years ago, and simply on the basis of statistical data, it was possible to arrive at the conclusion that the general tendency in Latin America was towards a low participation of women in economic activity in general and particularly in agriculture (1).

Garret's (1976) research on women's work in 'haciendas' in Chile emphasizes the dissimilarity of data on participation of women in agricultural work, given by the national population census and the agricultural and livestock census, and reaches the conclusion that "the disparities between the general and agricultural censuses suggest that the more specialized census developed more adequate methods of enumerating women engaged in agriculture than the general population census" (1976:13). However, in recent years several authors have coincided in pointing out that when it is a question of measuring the participation of women in work by use of the census -whatever the

nature of the census may be- we find a series of obstacles which affect different dimensions, ranging from those directly related to quantification to questions of ideology (2). Censuses, normally one of the most useful and most used ways of analyzing the population of a country, are practically useless for the study of the participation of women in the global economy and in seasonal work, or for their contribution to local production of food, or in commerce or, in general, in informal employment (3).

But, before analyzing the defects inherent in the census itself, defects which are directly related to the lack of information about women in national figures, we wish to emphasize some of the problems directly attributable to the nature of woman's work in Latin American countries.

From about 1975 onwards, and coinciding with the beginning of the United Nations Women's Decade, a great deal of research has been undertaken with the aim of discovering different aspects -social, economic, political and ideological- of the integration of woman in society. During these last 10 years the development of our knowledge about woman in Latin America has been substantial, and has demolished a series of myths about the supposed lack of female participation, both in the economy and in the social and political arena.

A great number of research studies has brought to light the high degree of participation of women in the production process and, what is more, their role in the economic development of Latin American countries (4). These studies all coincide in demonstrating that women

play an active part in production, in the reproduction of labour, in commerce, and as part of the labour force, for example, in fruit-growing farms, in tea, coffee and cotton plantations, as well as in many other types of production. In these places, mothers are usually accompanied to work by their infant and adolescent children.

The most conspicuous characteristics of agrarian development in Latin America and its various regions are its heterogeneity and the persisting nature of the peasantry. The participation of women in agricultural production shows differing degrees of intensity, according to the capitalist accumulation processes operating in agriculture and the types of link that exist between the peasant economy and the regional economic contexts with their specific production, demographic and employment characteristics. That is to say, the inclusion or displacement of women in direct agricultural activity will mainly depend on the needs of capitalist accumulation based on a given region. In Third World countries, where the peasant economy is an important part of development, rural women, whether they be enrolled in reproductive work or in direct productive work or as seasonal workers, are in the final instance contributing towards the maintenance of the type of Third World economy within which they subsist.

Among the types of work we have named is domestic activity. One of the topics concerning women, and the one to which most theoretical emphasis has been given, is the contribution of domestic work to the economy of a country. Several researchers have studied the subject, principally from an economic and sociological point of view (5).

According to Barbieri (1977), domestic work produces goods which, because they are not exchanged through the market, generate use value.

Yet although domestic work is unpaid, it maintains and represents a commodity which is actually exchanged in the market, namely labour. This fact makes the housewife's function similar to that of the workman in charge of the maintenance of a machine or other equipment in a factory. A number of authors also subscribe to the idea that, by means of domestic work, capitalism reduces the cost of the labour force. Thus it is argued that, although it is true that domestic work does not create a tangible value, and is not directly related to capital, it does reduce the value of labour, and hence, produces an increase in the rate of surplus value. Thus, capital may be able to reduce the costs of labour in direct relation to the number of tasks performed by a woman in the home or a woman will take on more or less domestic chores according to the wage received by her husband.

In the central capitalist countries there is a clear, sharp distinction between paid productive labour and unpaid domestic work. As far as society is concerned, this unpaid domestic work, performed by woman in home, is invisible and of no account. It is phantom labour, according to Illich (1982). In the case of Latin America this distinction is blurred. In rural areas an important part of the productive process is carried out by women but, because of this, it is rated as domestic work, transformed into phantom labour, and is therefore not considered productive, either by society in general or by the women themselves. This type of work includes the cultivation of vegetables in the kitchen-garden and the raising of small animals, the production of handicrafts and the preparation of foods. A



characteristic of this type of production is that, like domestic work, it does not received a wage. However, it does contribute towards both the reproduction of the labour force (6) and the reduction of the price of agricultural produce on the market, either through the involvement of women's labour in the agricultural holding or by means of an increase of food for the household that does not go onto the market. In this way an important part of the subsidy that the peasant economy renders to the global economy of third world countries is composed of the phantom labour of peasant women or, as Deere says (1982:20) "the economic functionalism of women in the rural areas is concentrated on the maintenance of a low-value labour force by means of the cultivation of subsistence-level foods for the production and reproduction of the labour force".

Whatever definition is assigned to domestic work and whatever separation is made between productive and reproductive work, it will directly influence, first, the way the censuses express the national work force and, secondly, the way that each country constructs its figures for the Gross National Product.

## 2. Censuses and Labour Activity.

There are several institutions and researchers in Latin America that have tried to specify the difficulties and lack of trustworthiness of data given by censuses. These not only concern women but the whole of the labour force (7). The interwoven factors are many and vary from those that are essential parts of the formulation of the census itself to external factors.

a) Application Period of the Census.

In order to measure economic activity, the most usual way is to inquire about the work carried out during most of the previous week. According to CEPAL (1978), the use of the notion of the week previous to the "census day" as a period of reference in order to determine the conditions for the activities of the population is adequate for the purpose of measuring the size of the work force at a moment of time and so concentrates on the employment situation. However, this criterion is not the most adequate for determining the human resources used in production for the year of the census, nor for the analysis of seasonal employment. This affects the measurement of the degree of female participation in economic activity in a decisive way.

In the rural sector, the seasonal aspect is important, due to the fact, among others, that the dynamic of growth of production in agriculture is made worse by the many jobs that a man or a woman does during the year, both in their own rural properties and as temporary wage-earners in other farms or work centres. By the application of corrective criteria, Maletta (1978) calculated, in the case of Peru, that the number of people who work for a salary in agriculture and in rural districts is very much higher than the figures given by the census. This difference is fundamentally attributable to the seasonal nature of agricultural work. At the time of maximum demand in agriculture and stock breeding labour can rise between 50 to 60 per cent. This occurs with all the important crops, which have highly seasonal labour requirements, such as fruit growing and in plantations in general.

In the case of a peasant woman, it is normal for her to have two or three different jobs, but none of them by itself occupies enough of her time to be considered by the census as in 'employment'. All this increases the bias towards underestimating female participation in the labour force. In the cotton cooperatives of northern Peru, for example, women workers hired for occasional work for the harvest, besides having their working hours reduced to only four, do not even figure on the payrolls. The reason for this is that, with the object of producing more and getting paid a higher wage, they turn up in work-gangs with their husbands or fathers and it is the name of one of latter that is put down in the employment register.

Therefore, it can be concluded in all those countries where labour is highly seasonal, the census does not reflect the real work situation for women, nor does it give specific information about it.

#### b) Identification of Head of Family.

The identification of the head of family presents another sort of difficulty. The head of family is defined as a person who, within the family, takes on the main responsibility for the economic upkeep of the unit, and also who takes the decisions, concerning the use of resources and income. The identification of responsibilities for each member of the home requires information about the contribution made by each one, and this leads to research regarding matters about which it is difficult to get an honest answer such as "income". The evaluation of income contributions, moreover, is related usually to the economic value of the many reproductive and productive tasks that

women perform in the home. Furthermore, in case where both parents work and contribute with similar incomes, it is the man who, partly for ideological reasons, takes on the position of head of family.

Present-day knowledge about the participation of rural women in the family economy throws doubt on whether the criterion used to identify the head of family is the most correct one (considering income contribution and decision-making within the home), since it is known that in many cases it is women who contribute the most steady family income during the year. Yet, this does not automatically confer on her the possibility of deciding the way in which the income should be spent. This situation may be considered quite common in many Latin American countries; not only in rural areas but also in urban milieux.

In the same way, in the majority of countries, legislation establishes that married women depend on their husbands, and this, though it may not be enforced by law, is sufficient for her to be classified as dependent on the husband.

From another angle, in agreement with Noordam (1980), the identification of head of family appears still more uncertain in countries where the economy is deeply affected by migratory labour, where double residence results. This occurs in certain areas of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, and also in Jamaica and other Caribbean countries. In these regions women act as heads of household, have a steady income, but do not necessarily act as heads of family.

c) Identification of Employment.

Another difficulty concerns obtaining precise information about women's participation in the labour market, especially in domestic and agricultural work in the peasant economy. There is also the additional problem of quantifying it.

Peasant women participate mainly in non-paid household farm work, in remunerated seasonal and casual work or in the informal sector of the economy. These characteristics of women's work -non-paid, seasonal and/or informal- make the classification of peasant women in the work force particularly difficult, and dependent on how she is identified in the census. Analyzing the problem of identifying women's activities in the work force, Ricchini and Wainermann (1979) conclude that in the censuses prejudices and stereotypes about women's role in society, have been converted into analytical concepts, and this, in turn, casts doubts on the exactitude of the quantification of the female work force. For example, they maintain that one can identify serious deficiencies and inconsistencies in relation to the time at work required for a person to be considered active. Women are most critically affected by this, since it is they who most frequently work part-time or as non-paid family members. Finally, after a careful analysis of the census instruments used in Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1970's, Ricchini and Wainermann show that censuses do not give a valid measurement of the female work force, especially in the sector which includes women who work in agriculture and those occupied in traditional activities. This raises the problem of the type of economic development to be found in the peripheral

countries, in which an important part of the population lives from a combination of different activities, many of them located in the informal sector of the economy. Permanently paid employment for most of the working population, a typical feature of developed countries, is not the norm in this part of the world. Because of this, censuses, usually based on international norms, are frequently unable to present a full perspective of the actual working force and its main characteristics.

Thus, domestic work and discontinuous non-paid activities have been currently classified as 'unproductive work'. The question is how to obtain information on certain activities, such as those ascribed to the production of food and its transformation and processing within the domestic area. The transformation of agricultural products into a product for direct consumption is considered in two ways. If it takes place in factories, it is looked upon as productive work and also figures as part of the National Gross Product, but if the same activities occur at home, then it is considered unproductive work. In relation to women's contributions to production, what is the difference between mashed potatoes produced in a factory and that made at home? Or, between flour ground in a mill and that which is the product of a peasant's grinding stone?.

The main problem is that the census defines economic activity in such a way that it reserves no place for a quantity of tasks which, though they are productive, get mixed up with all those domestic chores that until now have been considered unproductive. Until we develop a theoretically complete and clear conceptual framework,

within which domestic work can be fitted and validated as productive work, discrimination against the value of women's contribution to the economy of each country will continue.

d) Application of the census.

The stereotypes of interviewers become very important for considering the reliability of information given by censuses. The bias in information about work done by women will be affected also by 1) The limited training given teams of enumerators, which is the first thing to suffer when the budget is cut or low; and 2) The way in which the questions designed to measure women's participation in the economy are posed. This is quite important because when a woman is asked about her main activity, the usual answer is 'housewife', even when her more principal work is something else. A third important factor is that interviewers are usually not much motivated to do a conscientious job. The quality of the information can be seriously affected by such elementary factors as the eagerness of an interviewer to finish the interview as soon as possible. The most important thing is that failures of this sort cannot be checked out and reformulated for later quantification, in spite of the use of common corrective methods. The latter may be useful for discovering certain gaps, but frequently no help for assessing women's work. In addition, there is always a distortion with respect to the information provided by previous censuses due to changes in definitions and specifications for each question, and because it is fairly difficult to work out the prevailing tendencies.

### e) The Person Interviewed.

Another source of distortion provided by censuses is generated by the ideological bias and stereotypes of the person interviewed, usually the man as 'head of the family' who, as Noordam (1980) well indicates, usually considers that only those activities done outside, and for an 8-hour period, can be considered properly as work. There are also other factors which directly contribute to the distortion of information; among peasants is a common issue to hide information about property, agricultural and livestock production. Besides, men will always identify themselves as the workers, leaving to the wife the domain of 'unproductive' domestic and garden activities. When the person interviewed is a town-dweller, his ever-present fear of taxes makes him conceal the total income gains by his whole family, and, as a result, the income that is most probably not disclosed for the census is that of the woman. This constantly confirms the traditional view of the division of labour: "the man works while the woman stays at home".

These methodological problems may be considered by themselves as yet more evidence of women's subordination in society. The traditional idea that a woman is only a housewife, except for a limited number of cases, has become uncritically incorporated into the methodology of censuses and into the criteria of current sociological analysis. This shows that the subordination of woman is not merely a question of popular stereotypes, but has become established as an ideological value in present day culture and society. Such methods of data collection also reveal the dominance of the commonly-held urban middle-class model of women in society.



Because of these ideological dimensions, information on women available from censuses is totally inadequate. It does not take into account the fact that Latin American and the Caribbean women usually perform a series of activities in addition to their domestic chores, so that they might have access to a steady family income. These activities often constitute the most fundamental safeguard for the income of families.

The reason I am emphasizing the intrinsic obstacles to be found in census data for researching the role of women in the economy, is primarily because of the need to be somewhat sceptical of the value of statistically-based studies and to use census data only from general point of view, and with caution. Secondly, my intention is to point to possible methodological procedures that may help to overcome, in part, these deficiencies.

### 3. Methodological Proposals.

I would not deny that the census is a source of general information on women's issues. It has been useful as an instrument for measuring women's economic activity in the formal sector. However, in relation to the general knowledge of women's contribution to the economy of Latin America and the Caribbean, the most practicable approach is to combine a series of methodological approaches. Of these, direct field research and observation is one of the most necessary and enlightening.

From the experience acquired during these last ten years by numerous researchers exploring the roles of women in these countries, there appear to be major advantages of undertaking systematic fieldwork using an anthropological methodology, which at present is beginning to be adopted by economists, sociologists, historians and other social scientists interested in rural studies. The reason for this is that to do research on women, and among peasant women in particular, we have to begin practically from zero, without the help of certain basic information. Besides, the position of the peasant women in society has turned out to be very much more complicated than one would have imagined on the basis of earlier studies.

As for the fieldwork, it should be clearly understood that I do not merely refer to simple observation, but I have in mind a form of systematic research which complements field observation with data collected by means of questionnaires and sampling methods. Observation of different occurrences in daily activities should become a main backup for interviewing techniques. Observation permits one to implement several tasks which are fundamental for the success of the investigation:

(1) to obtain a complete personal view of the specific problems;

(2) to be able to check out the information received with the development of concrete occurrences;

(3) to correct discrepancies in the information obtained; and

(4) to be alert to possible deficiencies in the design of the research study.

The results of studies based on fieldwork contrast markedly with those based exclusively on census and secondary data. An example of this is the research on changing social relations and the work of the women in Cajamarca, in the northern 'sierra' of Peru, carried out by C.D.Deere (1977). Apart from a long stay in the field, she administered a questionnaire to a representative sample of 105 peasant households in three districts of the province. When she classified the data generated by her enquiry she found, in relation to the national population census of 1972, a strong bias. The census data estimated that only 3.8 per cent of the women of the province were part of the work force in the agricultural sector, as against 80 per cent according to her calculation (8).

Two problems contributed to the distortion of the census figures. First, because of the requirement set by the census in terms of hours of work, women engaged in seasonal paid work were not considered to be economically active, and were therefore included among non-earning members of the family. The second obstacle detected by Deere concerning the difficulties of including women in the work force, was that women considered their livestock and agricultural labour as an extension of their domestic chores. When women were asked who did the agricultural work in the family, 61.6 per cent of them answered that the man did. But, from the data on agricultural participation obtained from a detailed questionnaire, differentiated by sex and age,

it was evident that in 86 per cent of the peasant households women took the main part in agriculture. The Cajamarca research, then, illustrates a general problem concerning the information available about the role of women in the labour process in Latin America. These and other similar studies, using more qualitative methods of data collection, have challenged the existing image of the poor performance of women in agricultural work.

Fieldwork is, then essential for research on the economic participation of rural women. I now wish to discuss two other types of methodological problems concerning this kind of research.

One point to consider is the existence of a great number of differences between regions. These result from particular historical processes and divergent patterns of economic development. It is impossible to generalize data collected in different regions, unless the analysis forms part of a single methodological approach with the region itself being considered a unit of analysis. Research should begin with a study of the historical processes and the conditions of regional development into which information on specific socio-economic dynamics can be inserted (Long and Roberts, 1984).

The second analytical level to consider is the household unit, since one of the most basic issues relating to the subordination of woman in society is the nature of the sexual division of labour within the domestic group. Moreover, since peasant family households usually coincide with the units of farm work, the study of women on the basis of the household allows us to observe the connections between various

forms of economic organization, as well as the livelihood strategies of members in situations of insufficient production and income. At the same time, through the analysis of family households, it is possible to discover with greater precision the different forms of female participation within the peasant farm.

#### 4. Research methodology used in present study.

The present investigation was carried out in two steps. The first included field-work in the Central Sierra of Peru between 1978-1979, and the second in Chile between 1981-1982. Though the object of the research was the same in both countries -Chile and Peru- and the analytical method was the same too, the field procedure and the approach to the problem were slightly different, because each case presented specific regional characteristics that required reformulation of certain methodological matters.

##### a) The Study of Women in the Central Sierra of Peru.

The study of women in the Central Sierra of Peru resulted from research begun in 1975 on agrarian and peasant problems of that region. The possibility of drawing upon an enormous literature which had accumulated on the region, as well upon my own field data, provided me with the possibility of exploring in detail patterns of family economic diversification. I had undertaken a preliminary study between 1975 and 1976 of the changing nature of the peasantry and the impact of agrarian reform (Campaña, 1976). This provided a context within which to develop my later work on economic diversification and

the role of peasant women in household economies. The first step was to select two communities in the Mantaro Valley, with the object of carrying out a comparative study of economic diversification of households. The information I already had allowed me great freedom to choose the place for the study. The communities selected were Matahuasi and Unas, both on the left bank of the Mantaro river. Matahuasi is a small urban centre some 30 Kilometres away from Huancayo, the major urban centre of the region, and Unas a village only five Kilometres distance.

After a while the community of Matahuasi was excluded from the research for two reasons: first and more importantly, because the study in Unas took up the greater part of my time, and secondly, because it had already been studied by others (see Long and Roberts, 1978; Laite, 1981). To persevere with the study with a high degree of involvement in field work proved to be very difficult since my place of residence was Unas.

In the community of Unas, economic and population data were obtained by means of a census. This was carried out by university students from the locality itself, under my instruction. Special help was obtained from the community judge, who was also a lecturer at the Huancayo Central University. Once the census was finished, the forms were collated with the help of the judge to check certain omissions, which were mainly, it seems, related to the question of livestock ownership.

With the object of studying the diversification of the family household economy in depth, three extended families were selected, as

case studies, including 15 nuclear family households and about 40 adults. Each adult -defined as being 15 years or more- of the three extended families was interviewed for basic information on economic activities and migration; and a life-history was also obtained for data on occupation, migration, property, participation in community affairs and the principal events in the life of the individual. At the same time, genealogical charts were constructed for each family in order to collect information on kinship, residence, place of birth, economic activities, and marital and intra-familial relations. These genealogical charts gave a fair picture of the internal dynamic of the families, showing how socio-economic strategies correlated with available resources.

Moreover, observations in the field provided specific data on agricultural production, not only in the community under study but in others where these villagers also owned property. The same procedure was adopted for petty commodity and small scale commercial activities performed by members of these families, using a special schedule for documenting in detail these types and amounts of goods transacted during the year.

During the research it was discovered that women, because of their work, often travel beyond the limits of the peasant community, participating in activities in various urban areas. In the opposite way, many women of these families living permanently in Lima or Huancayo, took part in the agricultural activities of the community, and even have animals in the charge of other relatives or hired workers. Once a fairly good idea had been obtained of the work of

women within the family, the community and the region, which took a full year of research, a questionnaire on the conditions and participation of women in the regional economy was designed. This was a relatively simple questionnaire which attempted to explore the patterns of regional urban-rural relations throughout family networks and social contacts.

This questionnaire was administered to a sample of 140 women selected among housewives living in various locations in the Mantaro Valley. Care was taken to follow up cases when the woman was not present, with the object of avoiding interviewing only those women whose main activity was domestic work. With the same end in view, the interviews were conducted only after six o'clock in the evening.

Seventy questionnaires were completed with women resident in the small towns and city of the region, and seventy with residents of peasant communities. Seven peasant communities were covered: Unas, Palian, Matahuasi, Orcotuna, Llocllapampa, Cochas and Viques. In the case of the towns, the interviews were carried out in Chupaca, Jauja and Concepcion. In the city of Huancayo, where the population is much larger, four suburbs were selected: San Carlos, the residential district of the local petty-bourgeoisie; El Tambo, which gathers together people of limited resources; Chilca, a suburb populated by poor migrants; and from the Centre of Huancayo, which includes the commercial and administrative sector of the region.

At the same time, in order to achieve a more complete assessment of the situation of women in the central region of Peru, six women of the



community of Unas were selected for case study work. They were asked to tell about their lives from childhood in relation to their work and family and community connections. To this was added a biography.

b) The Research Carried Out in Chile.

This research was carried out as part of the research project "Capitalism and Peasantry in Chile", set up by the Agrarian Research Group (GIA), between 1979-1981. The object of the study was, firstly to discover what was the new dynamic of agricultural production in the different zones in Chile, and from there, to analyse the changes produced in the agrarian sector as a result of the so-called "neo-liberal" model of economic development implemented since 1973.

In a first part of the study we differentiated between distinctive agricultural production zones, called 'situations of production', each one distinguished by the predominance of one dominant cropping system, which gave each zone a specific socio-economic dynamic. Within the context in which production is controlled by the market, by capital and by the standard of maximum profit, the agricultural regions were delimited by their specific resources which, in turn, were dependent upon their types of climate and soil. "In this sense the agricultural-climatic component establishes physical limitations to various activities, and it is not possible to expand them beyond a certain limit" (Bengoa et. al., 1980:283).

As a result, we identified several regions -'situations of production'- which offered optimum conditions for the development of

export crops with comparative advantages in the external markets. Fruit in the central region and pine forests in the non-irrigated lands of the central-southern coast, are most characteristic of such areas. On the other hand, we found zones which do not attract entrepreneurs because of the soil and climatic limitations on the cultivation of profitable crops. In these zones capitalist enterprises lose money, while the peasantry expands. These are the mixed cropping and cereal-growing areas, both located in the central valley from the city of Talca to the south. Cattle raising in the very south of the Central valley has a fluctuating position, since it offers good profitable opportunities, but suffers from persistent instability. The concept of "situation of production" therefore was developed to deal with a particular territorial context which is not merely regional, but related to the economic dynamic of certain crops, which can in fact overlap with major geographically-based regions, such as in the cattle raising area, or can embrace various regions such as in the fruit and forestry producing areas.

The second phase of the project was aimed at analyzing the internal dynamic of agricultural production in these zones, including both commercial and peasant farm units. In order to do this it was necessary to establish the differences between commercial farming and peasant enterprise in each zone. Commercial or capitalist enterprises were defined as those agricultural units using one or more hired wage labour equivalents (i.e. more than 260 days of hired labour a year), and peasant farms as those agricultural units integrated into the capitalist system but based mainly on household labour (Bengoa et.al., 1980).

Apart from the global analysis of each situation of production, based on statistical and secondary data, field research was carried out in one representative municipality (in Chile called "comunas") in each of the five zones, chosen on the basis of certain parameters. In each case the municipality studied was one among the ten selected as the most representative in each zone, in respect to productive resources, use of the soil, yields per hectare of the dominant cropping system, peasant and capitalist development, and the dynamics of migration and rural employment.

Finally, in each region, research on the participation of women in the peasant economies was carried out. These studies were organized in stages from 1980, when work on the fruit-growing region was begun, and continued until 1984, when the study of women in the forest region was completed (9).

In this thesis I use data from only two of the five zones. The aim is to obtain a better understanding of the different roles played by women in farm household work, with special concern for the character and impact of capitalist development in agriculture. The fruit-growing area provides the ingredients necessary to understand the situation of women in the context of marked capitalist development in agriculture, offering a great range of opportunities for women to be involved into wage labour. On the other hand, the mixed cropping area is a good example of development of a peasant economy, in which, in contrast to the previous zone, there has been, in the last eleven years a certain withdrawal of capitalist development based on commercial farming. As a result, opportunities for access to wage labour are now very limited.

### c) Study of Women in the Mixed Farming Region.

The research on women of the mixed-farming region was carried out in the municipality of Niquen, in the province of Nuble in 1981. The prime concern was not to separate women from their socio-economic context, and so for this reason the family household was chosen as the basic unit of research. Though research was based on case-studies, an additional sample of 84 households was selected at random to include the three main peasant strata: land reform smallholders ("parceleros"), traditional peasants, and owners of minifundia plots (10). These were drawn from different peasant localities in the municipality. Each household was administered a questionnaire including information about land holding, occupation and demographic data. The sample also included ten families living in the town of San Gregorio, where part of the urban activities of the municipality are concentrated, the object being to detect any possible differences in the work and condition of women in the urban situation and to see whether they -as in Peru- have access to land. Because women resident in the town were found to have no connection with peasant land ownership, they were excluded from the later analysis of the cases-in-depth (11).

The questionnaires were supplemented by four group interviews, each conducted with an average of about 25 women. These interviews allowed me to explore ideological problems relating to the conditions and understandings of peasant women as mothers, as wives and workers, their role in society, and question of male-female relationships and

subordination. Although this type of methodological instrument had not been originally proposed in the research, the existence of women's organizations and the warm welcome we received, gave us the chance to experiment with this sort of group dynamics.

Within the framework of the case studies I selected twelve women in accordance with the strata that existed in the municipality: Seven cases of women owners of minifundia, four women with land reform smallholdings and one traditional peasant. In each case we used the following methods of collecting data:

- 1) A questionnaire on the work and production of the woman on the farm, in the home garden, in the production of small animals, and in domestic work. This allowed us not only to detail production work, but also to specify the income provided for the family by women's work.

- 2) An enquiry on their use of time, for which we chose a day at random, usually the day before presenting the questionnaire. The day was divided into three periods, according to the ways in which the women distributed their time: the morning, from the moment they got up until after lunch, including the washing up of dishes; the afternoon, until 6 p.m. when the preparation of supper begins; and the evening, up until going to bed. In looking at this dimension I took into consideration the seasonal nature of agricultural labour, which is intense in some months of the year and almost non-existent in others. It was important to detail the intensity of the total labour of the woman, as well as the types and periods of entertainment and rest.

3) A card for recording the women's life histories with the object of determining the degree to which women's lives and work have been affected by the changes which have taken place in agriculture in the last 20 years. In this case, the life-history was designed to obtain information on work, migration, property and organization.

4) With the object of covering certain ideological issues relating to being a woman, and also of reconstructing the lives of several women, a number of them gave an open-ended interview in which they talked about themselves. This interview was recorded.

5) Since other types of activity were detected in Niquen that were not directly connected with agriculture, an additional card was designed to record these other types of work, such as cheese making, spinning and weaving, all of them activities which provided an important part of the cash income of the families.

#### e) Study of Women in the Fruit Growing Region.

As far as the study of women in the fruit-growing region is concerned, the research was organized as follows: There were two stages, the first carried out in 1980, and the second one in 1984. The first stage of the research was done on the basis of a case-study in two municipalities selected as representative of the fruit growing areas: Santa Maria and Coltauco. In these, 31 cases were selected, 16 in Santa Maria and 15 in Coltauco. From Santa Maria, eight women of land reform smallholdings or "parceleras" were selected, four

"traditional" peasant women, two women owners of minifundia, and two female agricultural wage-workers. This choice more or less followed the pattern of social stratification in both municipalities. The land reform smallholdings were identified as of two types, those who had received the land with fruit trees in production and those who were given land without fruit trees.

In Coltauco the selection consisted of four land reform smallholders, three traditional peasants, four minifundia owners and three paid agricultural workers. Of the land reform holdings, two received fruit orchards. In Santa Maria the most important sector is that resulting from the agrarian reform, while in Coltauco there is a predominance of minifundia.

The case studies were carried out basically with a standard interview consisting of:

- 1) Identification of the land holdings in terms of area, location and origin of ownership.

- 2) Characteristics of the family group. Number of children, age, schooling and occupation.

- 3) Woman and work. This part of the interview consisted of several levels. Experience in wage-labour, work contributed within the production unit for which an enumeration of the products cultivated in the holding during the agricultural year 1979-1980 was requested, the participation of the woman in work done in the home orchard, with

small animals (mainly poultry), and her participation in domestic work. For this the woman was asked to describe a normal day in her working life, identifying those jobs she did not do every day, such as the laundry, shopping, ironing, sewing, etc., and also those jobs tied to the seasonal nature of agricultural work.

4) Together with the standard interview schedule, an open ended interview was also used, so as to detect the participation of women in the decisions to be taken within the holding and the family, their expectations and hopes, both their own and in relation to their children, their point of view in respect of female wage-labour and their participation in organizations.

Later on, in 1984, with the object of obtaining uniformity in the data and exploring the effects of the capitalist take over of women's work, a general questionnaire was administered to 79 rural households, similar to the one used in the region of mixed-farming, though only in Santa Maria, where the effects of capitalism in the peasant context are more noticeable. At the same time, another interview was conducted, so as to obtain an approximate value of women's involvement in seasonal wage labour in the fruit growing activities and in the agro-industries.

This chapter was organized into several parts. The first dealt with the problems of the inadequacies of census and other statistically-based data for obtaining a clear picture of women's work in the rural areas. Such quantitative data have been useful for



acquiring an overview of regional agricultural situations, but were unable to yield reliable information about the involvement of women in agricultural and rural activities. The second part argues that this lack of adequate information obliges one to look for new ways of analysis based on intensive fieldwork; including a combination of observation, participation, open-interviews and survey questionnaires.

This allows us to obtain a very different image of women's work from that which is currently presented in the analysis of agrarian development and of the changing conditions of rural labour. Finally, I outlined the research context and the methods of data collection employed in the three regions selected for the study.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER II.

- (1) See Del Valle, 1976.
- (2) Among them Ricchini and Wainermann (1979) carried out an exhaustive analysis of the measurement problem in the censuses of the seventies in the Latin American and Caribbean countries. Also, Buvinic, 1982; Campana, 1980; Deere and Leon, 1982.
- (3) See Campana, 1983.
- (4) A good compilation of studies of this type has been carried out by Leon, 1982.
- (5) It would be too long to enumerate the research done on this subject. We recommend the bibliography in the compendium edited by Bonnie Fox, 1980.
- (6) In agreement with Beneria (1982), I understand by 'reproduction' three dimensions: biological reproduction, which functions in conjunction with the daily labour of maintaining the work force, and social reproduction which is concerned with the perpetuation of the social system. For a similar view see Edholm, Harris and Young, 1977.
- (7) The Economic Committee for Latin America (CEPAL), a United Nations organisation has published various documents on the subject. See CEPAL, 1978 and CEPAL, 1979.
- (8) Rogers (1982:164) also uses the case of Cajamarca to argue the same point. Her book, which I discovered after completing this chapter, raises criticisms similar to my own on the inadequacies of quantitative data on women.
- (9) The studies on women in the different regions are: Lago and Olavarria, 1981; Campana and Lago, 1982; Campana and Lago, 1984; Lago 1984.
- (10) In Chapter III, on the agrarian processes in Chile and Peru, there is an explanation of the origin of the different peasant strata and the "haciendas" in Chile.
- (11) This is one of the substantial differences between the Chilean peasant economy and that of the central region of Peru. Rivera (1983), has published a specific study on the subject.

## CHAPTER I I I

### AGRICULTURAL PROCESSES IN CHILE AND PERU.

#### 1. General Considerations.

The aim of this chapter is to present, in general terms, the agrarian problems of both countries -Chile and Peru- with the object of providing a background for the three chapters that follow. From the beginnings of 17th century, the Spanish colonies of Chile and Peru took different paths of development, both internally and in their relations with Spain. The Vice-Royalty of Peru was structured for the extraction of raw materials, mostly minerals such as gold and silver, and local agricultural production was insufficient to meet the demands of the new mine-based economy. A great deal of foodstuffs and

materials, then, had to be transported from other neighbouring countries (Campana and Rivera, 1978).

In early republican Peru, mineral extraction and the plantations of tropical products, such as sugar and cotton for export, were the basis of the economic system. Agricultural and stock-breeding activities were organized within the Indian communities and especially in the large farm (hacienda) system. In the latter, the direct producers - tenants 'colonos' and 'huacchilleros' (1) - were under the landowner, and much of their surplus was appropriated by the landowners, a situation which was maintained until the agrarian reform in 1969. Furthermore, it was not unusual for the 'hacendados' to send their tenants and 'huacchilleros' to work in the mines and plantations, and collect for themselves the wages the workers earned (Martinez 1968:57). Thus, haciendas, communities and plantations have been the three structuring sectors of modern Peruvian agrarian development. Haciendas and communities at the base, using traditional technology with non-wage social relations of production, satisfied, up to a point, the food needs of the population; and the plantations produced for external export markets. The so-called traditional production sector was linked to the plantations by means of seasonal migration of highland peasants, who made up the majority of the labour force for the export enterprises.

On the other hand, the Captaincy of Chile, lacking in mineral wealth, gold or silver, required by the Spanish and European economies, became organized on the basis of food production from agriculture and cattle-breeding, both for internal consumption and for

export. The exported goods were mainly tallow and leather, despatched to Peru and the other Spanish colonies. In Chile part of the native population was absorbed and mixed rapidly with the Spaniards, while the Mapuche or Araucanian population to the south of the river Bio-Bio survived, after vigorously waging war against attempts at pacification and absorption. They remained independent on what was left of their former territory until the last days of the 19th Century.

As Loveman (1979:83) says, "the 'encomenderos' and 'hacendados' created textile sweatshops, oil presses, wineries, tanneries, mills, rope and tool manufactures and even, briefly, sugar mills in Copiapo and Aconcagua, to process the produce of the land. Despite recurrent warfare, the Chilean economy produced a considerable surplus of food and agrarian products". Until the 1850's, the Chilean economy developed round agriculture and, as a result, it became at that time an important wheat exporting country. It possessed a whole fleet of merchant ships and much local industry which supplied the basic needs of its population (Vitale, 1969).

However, with the annexation of the northern rich nitrate-bearing territories, after the war against Peru and Bolivia (1879-1884), the Chilean economy began to change towards a mineral extractive type for export, and agriculture came to occupy a secondary position. So much so that, already at the beginning of this century, it became necessary, for the first time, to import food; first of all, meat to supply the mining centres in the north, and later wheat, from 1935 onwards. From that moment Chilean agriculture never again occupied the leading position in the economy it had held before.

As for the agrarian context, Chile and Peru have in common that they are countries with a sufficiency of agricultural resources, but for different reasons, they have been unable to produce all their own food. This has forced them to import an appreciable amount, which has meant using a large part of their national revenue to purchase such basic items as wheat and, in these last years in the Peruvian case, even potatoes and sugar.

TABLE 1  
IMPORTATION OF FOOD CEREALS. CHILE AND PERU.

Percentage of National requirements

	Wheat (%)		Maize (%)		Rice (%)	
	1948-52	1968-72	1948-52	1968-72	1948-52	1968-72
Chile	8.0	25.0	0	52.0	0	35.0
Peru	59.0	85.0	0	6.0	7.0	-3.0

SOURCE: De Janvry, 1981:80.

Of these products, wheat is the most in demand in both countries. The decrease in internal production, shown in Table 1, is principally due to a reduction in the area of cultivation. Production in Peru has fallen from 138.000 metric tons in 1958 to 120.000 in 1977 and during the same period the importation of North American wheat rose from 285.000 metric tons to 779.000. Consumption has risen at the same rate, from 443.000 metric tons to 899.000 in the same period. In the case of Chile, production fell between 1965 and 1979 from 1.114.834 tons to only 995.140. This resulted from the reduction in the area

sown from 721.4 hectares to 560.5 hectares in 1979. Simultaneously, imports increased two-fold.

In both countries the large-scale producers have abandoned the cultivation of wheat, leaving it to the peasant sector. "The big farmers who had other commercial outlets, stopped sowing wheat, and the only ones still producing it, are those with a cost-structure that allows them to make a net profit even at present-day relatively low prices, or those who keep on producing, whether they make a profit or not" (Valderrama, 1979:184).

In the same way, the rest of the Latin American countries, except Argentina, show this tendency. The existence of large North American and Canadian wheat surpluses, which through various forms of tax exemptions are sold at low prices, allow countries as Chile and Peru to build up stocks of wheat and other basic food-grains at lower prices than if they produced them themselves.

## 2. The Agrarian Process in Chile.

Only about eight per cent of Chilean territory is suitable for agriculture and livestock, mainly located in the Central Valley, between the provinces of Aconcagua and Llanquihue. To the north of Aconcagua, in the semi-desert zone, small valleys are found which are suitable for fruit growing, especially table grapes vines. However, its production is not significant within the total national agricultural production. South of Llanquihue, in the province of Chiloe, only subsistence-oriented agriculture based on sheep herding,

fishing and potato-growing exists. Sheep-breeding in Aysen, and, further south in Magallanes, there are extensive grass-lands where raising of sheep is carried out for production of wool and meat, both for export and internal consumption. However, all that production is marginal to the bulk of Chilean agriculture. For that reason, when agriculture is mentioned in Chile, people normally refer to the agrarian and livestock areas of the central regions of the country, where the heaviest investments in agriculture and livestock are found.

#### a) The Agrarian Situation Before Land Reform.

In common with the rest of Latin America, the Chilean agrarian structure and the land tenure system are the result of the distribution of land which took place during the early Spanish colonial period. Already in 1650 tallow and meat were the most important export products, which suggests that the size of the production units must have been considerable (see Thome, 1971).

From the beginning the landed property tended towards concentration. At the same time, small holdings began to come into existence in the hands of the native population who had survived the disease and obligatory labour they had to undergo in the gold-washings during the early colonial period. But above all, the present Chilean minifundia plots are a result of the division of small and middle-sized holdings during the Colony and the first period of the Republic (Cox, 1971).



Agricultural and livestock production within the hacienda system was found mainly between the Aconcagua and Bio Bio rivers. At the same time, and up until 1880, the country south of the Bio-Bio and Valdivia rivers had not yet been taken over. In fact, this territory was not colonized until after the Pacific War (1879-1884) by the immigration of Europeans -Germans, Italians, French, Spaniards- when the native population was settled in reservations (Babarovic et. al., 1984).

Until the 1930's, Chile was a country based on an agricultural economy. The core of this activity was the hacienda oriented to cattle raising and wheat production. Indeed the export of wheat, along with nitrate, was the one of the main sources of external revenue. The economic crisis of the 1930's, however, reduced nitrate exports, and also put an end to wheat exports and, thus, to agriculture as an important basis of the Chilean economy. The crisis of the nitrate and agricultural economy resulted in high unemployment, the loss of income, and increasingly harsh living conditions for the mining and urban population. "The drastic reduction of the export market and the favourable prospects open to the development of certain industrial activities, attracted capital which had to be withdrawn from other under-takings now in decline" (Aranda y Martinez, 1971:130).

The CIDA study (1966), based on the agricultural and livestock census of 1955, estimated the population related to these activities to be two million persons, or about 350.000 families. Of these, ten per cent were associated with large and middle-sized

properties which employed wage-labour. The middle-sized capitalist holdings had developed mainly in the south of the country, starting with the colonization carried out in the 1860's up to the beginning of present century. In this region, highly mechanized wheat producing units were created and also, between Valdivia and Puerto Montt, farms specializing in stock-breeding.

TABLE 2

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION RELATED TO AGRICULTURE IN CHILE(1).  
(census 1955)

	Families	Percentage	% Type
OWNERS -----			
Large and Middle-sized Farms	32.000	9.2	15.7
Traditional Smallholders	60.000	17.2	29.4
Independent Minifundistas	22.000	6.3	10.8
Community Minifundistas(2)	60.000	17.2	29.4
'Medieros' (sharecroppers)(3)	30.000	8.6	14.7
Sub-Total	204.000	58.6	100.0
WORKERS -----			
Administrators & Employees	7.000	2.0	4.9
Overseers & Skilled workers	30.000	8.6	20.8
'Inquilinos' (rural workers)	82.000	23.6	56.9
'Afuerinos' (itinerant workers)	25.000	7.2	17.4
Sub-total	144.000	41.4	100.0
-----			
TOTAL	348.000	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Derived from information of CIDA, 1966.

(1) Figures are rounded up.

(2) This includes Communities in the Near-North and the Mapuches.

(3) This category ranges from landless peasants to contractors who manage large areas of land for commercial production.

In 1955 only 58.5 per cent of rural families were owners of land, of which a high percentage (more than 50 per cent) were peasant families. Of these, only the small number of 'traditional' peasants were able to reproduce themselves exclusively on the basis of agriculture and livestock production. The rest, the independent minifundia peasants and the indigenous communities, and a percentage of the 'medieros', combined agricultural production with seasonal wage-labour.

Of the families related to agriculture, 41.4 per cent consisted of rural wage-earners. If we separate owners from workers, we find that 82.6 per cent of workers were permanent wage labourers and only 17.4 per cent temporary labourers without land. Most of the latter consisted of the so-called sector of 'afuerinos' or itinerant workers, who were hired only for peak seasons. The most important sector, which represented the essence of the problems inherent in agriculture until 1964, was that of the tenants or 'inquilinos', who, according to Table 2, made up 56.9 per cent of the labour force in agriculture.

Much has been written about the system of 'inquilinaje' in Chile. For some commentators, they are an example of semi-feudal relations of production, since they had been bound to the land for generations and, as part payment, received, besides money, rights in land, in animal feed, and food. For other authors (Vitale, 1969; Gunder Frank, 1966, Aranda y Martinez, 1971; and others) this type of relationship was a result of a dependent peripheral type of capitalism, which based its surplus value on an extreme reduction of the costs of manual labour.

The 'inquilinaje' system developed over the years. The wage in cash gradually replaced payment in land rights and goods, especially as production became more intensive and the legal regulations for the agrarian sector grew more drastic.

What is beyond doubt is the nature of the conditions to which the 'inquilino' and his family were subjected. In 1916, a journalist, Tancredo Pinochet, pretended to be an 'inquilino' in order to observe and feel "in the flesh" the exploitation to which this social sector was submitted. His report describes the house of an 'inquilino' which consisted "of one bedroom where the whole family sleeps in promiscuity, and another which is a kind of storeroom. The rooms are not boarded, neither the floor nor the ceiling. The bedroom is dark, without ventilation, ill-smelling. The inmates eat on the floor; the children, half-naked, run around like domestic animals". And he goes on, "the worker's ration is a small loaf of bread for his breakfast, no coffee, no tea, no hot water; a plate of beans at midday, without bread; and another loaf of bread at the end of the day" (Pinochet, 1970:98). Furthermore, during that time children had no access to education or health service and rural workers were not allowed to form unions.

In spite of the fact that in 1947 the Government had passed a law permitting the creation of unions of rural workers, it also laid down so many obstacles to their constitution (2) that in 1964 there were in the Chilean countryside only 18 unions with a total of 1,800 members. These unions belonged mostly to the zone round Lontue and Molina, where early on there had developed a wine-producing agro-industry, and

the struggle for better wages was an old tradition. In the rest of the haciendas, the 'inquilinos' were isolated from any move towards organization and exposed to manipulation by management employees and overseers. In a study of peasant consciousness, Lehmann (1969) argued that the 'inquilinos' sense of loyalty is first of all towards the hacienda and the landlord he works for, and the only way to overcome this barrier is to break through the isolation in which he lives and maintains towards society in general. Between 'inquilinos' and landlord the relationship was basically paternalistic and both made use of it to try to promote their interests. For these reasons, the possibility of improving living conditions and of being actively able to organize to further one's own interests nationally were very limited.

Table -2 shows that the presence of capitalism in the Chilean agrarian scene before 1960 was considerable involving the whole of the Central Valley, from Aconcagua to Llanquihue. According to the study by CIDA quoted by Aranda and Martinez, "in 1955, in the areas where the 'traditional' latifundia predominated, also the principal agricultural centres of the country, the labour force of the large multi-family businesses was made up of, approximately, 60 per cent of agricultural labourers, while in the middle-sized enterprises the proportion was even greater. It should be noted that both types of business enterprise own 88.9 per cent of the arable land, contain 64.5 per cent of the active population and represent 81.5 per cent of the value of agricultural production in those regions" (1971:116).

This means that, while there existed a modern type of agriculture, at the same time the difference in ownership within it was considerable.

TABLE 3  
STRUCTURE OF LAND HOLDING IN CHILE (1965)

Size of Holding (hectares)	Use of Land		Total Area		Area
	Number	%	Hectares	%	Average Has
Less than 5	123.636	48.7	207.000	0.7	1.7
5 to 50	92.408	36.5	1.556.000	5.0	16.8
51 to 200	23.959	9.5	2.284.000	7.5	95.3
201 to 1000	10.158	4.0	4.310.900	14.1	424.4
1001 to 5000	2.601	1.0	5.495.400	17.9	2.112.8
More than 5001	730	0.3	16.795.400	54.8	23.007.4
TOTAL	253.492	100.0	30.648.700	100.0	

SOURCE: National Agricultural and Livestock Census, 1965.

While 48.7 per cent of the agrarian units were less than 5 hectares and took up 0.7 per cent of the total area, 0.3 per cent of the units controlled 54.8 per cent of total area. Also, the big owners held the best lands in the irrigated zones. Besides, the productivity of the large farms was extremely low and an important part of the arable land was either under-cultivated or was not cultivated at all. In 1965, landlords used only 36.8 per cent of the arable land for annual and permanent cultivation, and a quarter of this for cultivated grass lands, in spite of the fact that there were seven million hectares capable of being turned into pasture.

From the above the consequence follows that the country was forced to import necessary food to supply the population. In 1965 the import of agricultural products -food and raw materials- was valued at about 200 million US Dollars.

All this suggests that already in the 1960's a profound transformation of the structure of tenancy was necessary, for this appeared to be the cause of the inefficiency of production and of the living conditions of the rural working sector.

#### b) The Process of Agrarian Reform.

According to Kay, "the Christian Democrat Government (1964-1970) introduced legislation on agrarian reform necessary to modernize and consolidate a capitalist mode of production, and the Government of the 'Unidad Popular' (Popular Unity) (1979-1973) tried to use the same legislation to destroy the capitalist relationship, as a first step in the transition towards socialism" (1981:94).

In 1964, when the Christian Democrat Government took power, the agrarian problem was already old. In 1928 the Central Office of Agricultural Colonization had been established with the object of distributing unused lands along the whole length of the territory, including expropriation of neglected lands on the great 'haciendas'. When this Office closed down as such in 1962 it had only managed to benefit 4.206 families, of whom only 15 per cent had found a place in the central valley, the best agricultural land in Chile.

In 1962, under the Government of Jorge Alessandri, the first agrarian reform law No.15020 was passed. This law dissolved the Colonization Office and in its place created the Agrarian Reform Corporation (CORA) and the Agricultural and Livestock Development Institute (INDAP). Both institutions were to play an important role in the next decade. CORA had total control over the agrarian reform process and the distribution of new production units, while INDAP was in charge of giving credit, production supervision and technical training to free hold peasants.

At the end of his presidential period, Alessandri had only benefited 1.354 families with a total of 51.442 hectares, mostly from State-owned lands. The result of the 1964 presidential elections, with victory for Eduardo Frei and the Christian Democrats, was largely due to the promise given of carrying out a "Revolution in Freedom" which would provide opportunity for the participation of the whole population of the country in the making of a new society. The programme included a large land reform process, which give agricultural workers and peasants access to the land.

Its aim was to give land to thousands of 'inquilinos', to increase agricultural production and integrate peasants into the wider society. In spite of the fact that the first two years of Frei's government were spent in drawing up a new more efficient law, more in accordance with the "community" principles of the new regime, the 1962 law was used to expropriate abandoned or inefficiently cultivated lands. This affected some 480 haciendas, and distributed land to 8.000 families. When the law was finally approved in 1967, the process was was



accelerated. Every property of more than 80 equivalent hectares of standard irrigated (HRB) was, by law, liable to expropriation. The notion of HRB (Hectares of Basic Irrigation) was used to calculate landholdings, taking into consideration the dissimilarity of the Chilean soils, in an effort to build a standard system of measurement.

In addition to the number of hectares available for expropriation, the law included certain criteria about the way the land was to be used. "Escape clauses have been well used; for example, an owner presenting an investment plan to improve soils may have his land exempted. Abandoned or badly managed lands could be expropriated regardless of size, but vineyards and certain 'extraordinarily well-run' farms could be left intact up to 320 hectares" (King, 1972:165).

The new agrarian units were called 'asentamientos campesinos' (peasant settlements), in which the land was divided into holdings with an average between 10 and 15 HRB per family. The settlement system left an important part of the land for community production, and only a small part was to be cultivated individually by each member of the enterprise. Every expropriation left a reserve area, of some hectares 80 HRB, in the hands of the original owner who had the right to choose which tract of land he wanted to keep for himself including the old hacienda house and storehouses. The result was that a significant part of the best land continued to be held by the rural bourgeoisie. Besides, as Thiesenhusen has described it, "on the usual 'asentamiento' the physical lay-out of the 'fundo' (or hacienda) is not changed, large fields continue to be operated intact. Work is accomplished communally in 'field crew' fashion, much as it was before

the reform. But now the former owner and usually his on-farm representative, the administrator, have left" (1971:107).

At the end of the Christian Democrat Government in 1970, CORA had expropriated 1.364 haciendas, about 3.433.774 hectares (282.374 HRB), to the benefit of almost 25.000 families, only a quarter of the number originally expected.

However, INDAP through its technical training programme and financial credit system encouraged the organization of small owners into cooperatives. "One hundred thousand small producers and farm workers had formed co-operatives. A few have gone into intensive chicken and hog production. A structure of regional marketing and processing co-operatives is beginning to emerge. One co-operative is exporting onions and garlic, previously a lucrative private monopoly" (Barracclough, 1973:149).

Though in the first four years of President Frei's government the Christian Democrats managed to increase agricultural production by an average of 4.6 per cent a year, these increases took place in the private commercial sector and not in the reform units. In agreement with Ringlien (1971), it is possible to argue that the landowners, under threat of expropriation and encouraged by government promises that in such a case all investments would be paid in cash, an immediate increase in investment and production took place. According to Kay (1981), all the indicators suggest that the primary object of the Christian Democrat agrarian reform was not expropriation of large farms, but an increase in production. The four fundamental objectives of the process in this first period were:

a) To modernize the large estates by changing them into capitalist concerns.

b) To increase the productivity of the Chilean countryside.

c) To integrate the peasantry socially and politically into the national society, and

d) To strengthen the organization of the peasantry by means of an active participation in trade unions and cooperatives.

Perhaps the major achievement of the first period of the process (1964-1970) was the encouragement given to the organization of rural workers or 'inquilinos'. Law 16.627, favouring the formation of wage labour and peasant trade unions, not only created 3.500 of them throughout Chile, but also, for the first time, produced an overall movement in favour of better salaries and living conditions for agricultural labourers. It is of interest to point out that between 1960 and 1964 there were only 94 strikes by agricultural workers, while from 1965 these increased, and in that year alone there were 141. After the trade unions law came into effect, there were 693 strikes in 1967 and 648 in 1968. In the last two years of Frei's government strikes doubled (3).

TABLE 4

WAGE LABOUR MOBILIZATION IN CHILE DURING AGRARIAN REFORM.

Year	No of Strikes	Year	No. of Strikes
1960-64	97	1968	648
1965	141	1969	1.127
1966	586	1970	1.580
1967	693		

SOURCE: Kay, 1978.

Table 4 suggests two things. First, the slow pace of the process as a whole and, second, the fact that the greater part of the needs and expectations of the rural sector were not being resolved by the government. This meant that action and mobilization were the only means of exerting pressure.

The presidential elections of 1970, which put Salvador Allende in power as representative of the left-wing parties united in the 'Unidad Popular' alliance gave a more definite drive to the reform process in agriculture. As Barraclough writes, "The key to the future of the new government's agrarian reform will not be encountered in the agricultural sector but in the system of power relationships in the entire society. The fate of the agrarian reform will inevitably be determined in large measure by the relative success or failure of the government's over-all strategy of structural change" (1973:495)(4).

Though agrarian reform was being carried out under the same law enacted by the Christian Democrats, it became a program of far-reaching changes which aimed at transforming Chilean society into socialism. In this sense, the Unidad Popular government intended, as a first step, to do away with the large farm and the Chilean agrarian bourgeoisie. Its objective was also to extend the social and economic benefits to the landless workers and to those in conditions of poverty, including the "afuerinos" or landless itinerant migrants, who were not allowed by the Land Reform Law of 1967 to be members of the new land reform enterprises.

The Unidad Popular government installed a new type of production unit on the expropriated farms, the Agrarian Reform Centre (CERA), in which production and ownership was to be communal, and whose members would not only include former 'inquilinos' from the hacienda, but also the 'afuerinos' and even, in some cases, the neighbouring minifundia-peasants. The idea behind these Centres was to break down the social inequality existing between peasants and agricultural wage workers, in so far as all members had equal rights in the Administrative Council and also, though restricted, over production and fringe benefits. At the same time, it was the intention to rationalize, at regional level, the use of manual labour and the available machinery. In those expropriated haciendas in which it was necessary to use high technology, such as the agro-industrial centres -forestry and stock-breeding farms- Production Centres (CEPROS) were established. These belonged to the State and were run by expert technicians, while the workers were paid a fixed daily wage in cash.

In 1972 Allende had managed to put an end to the hacienda system and its counterpart the 'inquilinaje'. Some 5.809 haciendas, with an area of about ten million hectares, had been expropriated, benefitting 61.000 families of 'inquilinos' and more than 15.000 unmarried workers who had permanent jobs in the new reformed units. Of the arable land, 36 per cent had been given over to the reformed sector.

There were serious conflicts within the reformed units, because of the refusal of some groups to give membership to 'afuerinos' and minifundia owners who were rejected for economic and political reasons (King, 1972). But there was still another problem to be solved.

There was an untouched agricultural sector: the capitalist units between 40 and 80 HRB, which could count on high technology and possessed the best irrigated lands.

As a result of reforms great changes took place in the structure of landholding: one important dimension was that units between 40 and 80 HRB increased considerably, due to the sub-division of the haciendas and land reserves, and the agrarian bourgeoisie became a very important factor in agrarian politics through strong organizations, such as Agricultural Confederation of Employers (CONSEMACH) and National Agricultural Society (SNA) (Gomez, 1972). The number of members of the latter increased from 1.722 in 1964 to 4.388 in 1969, and, together with CONSEMACH, could count on 9.803 associates during 1970. On the other hand, agricultural workers and a number of peasants continued to register in the rural unions, to the extent that in 1972 the five union confederations, together with the 'Federacion Sargento Candelaria', had 282.617 members (5). But all this process was interrupted by the 'coup d'Etat' in 1973, when the Chilean Army imposed a new economic and political model.

#### c) Neo-Liberalism in the Chilean Countryside.

In 1973, with the new military regime, great transformations occurred in Chilean society as a whole as also in the agrarian sector.

The new government was trying to build a new form of society in the countryside. An important step towards this was to take control of the agricultural workers union organizations. In September 1973 all

property belonging to such unions was requisitioned by the government, and thus the membership was denied the use of funds to which it had right, and hundreds of workers suffered from government repression.

Nevertheless, the most important source of agrarian change were various regulations in the national economy, and in the agrarian economy as well, which were aimed at creating a society based mostly on market factors:

1) Individual private property. This meant giving back to the original owners one third of the land formerly expropriated. Another third was auctioned off by CORA and passed into the hands of agricultural capitalists. The remaining third was turned into small plots or holdings, 37.000 in all, and handed over individually to part of the former members of the land reform enterprises. The capitalist sector was strengthened also by auctioning off the capital which had been made over to the reformed sector at very low prices.

2) The subsidiary role of the State. In the new economic model, the former entrepreneurial function of the State (State enterprises, credit and technical assistance) was placed in private hands, while the State kept for itself a subsidiary role in areas of little interest for private investment.

3) The market, the spear-head of the new agrarian economy, was assigned the function of distributing the resources of capital, land and labour. The new State was only to intervene to ensure that the agents of production had freedom of movement among the different sectors.

With the abandonment by the State of its entrepreneurial role, Chilean agriculture has acquired a different face. This can be clearly seen in the differential patterns of regional development that have emerged since 1973. Without the entrepreneurial State, which formerly acted in certain ways to compensate for the differences between regions, attempting to counterbalance the unfavourable conditions in certain regions, there is now a noticeable advantage for those regions which, under favourable conditions, can produce commodities capable of competing on the international markets (Crispi et.al., 1980). In this new system, the preferred products are fruit, between Aconcagua and Curico, forestry production in the centre and Southern Coastal Range, and livestock in the grasslands of the south.

While the businessmen of these regions have successfully entered the market for export goods, have rapidly increased their capital, their technology and their earning-capacity, the peasantry in general -the land reform smallholders, the traditional peasants and the minifundia owners- have been left out of present-day credit programmes and cannot count on technological assistance or training, which might help them enter into the new economic system. Hence the peasant sector has been forced to cultivate those mixed-farming products, such as wheat, beans, potatoes, which do not need a sophisticated technology, nor much capital. These are low-income products which cannot compete in the international market (6). A remarkable feature of this situation is that the prices paid the producer have decreased appreciably compared to his costs of production. For this reason, the cultivation of non export crops is concentrated in zones unfavourable capital -from Talca to



Southwards- and a great deal is produced on peasant units. These do not have the capital, nor sufficient land for the cultivation of the presently (year 1984) highly priced products.

This policy has also affected the capitalist sector of agriculture in the unfavourable regions, which are now experiencing a process of crisis and impoverishment. In this context some of the peasantry, although gradually growing poorer, have been more successful than capitalist enterprise in facing up to lower prices and uncertainties in production. They have, that is, intensified production in order to compensate for the low prices of mixed-farming products, thus achieving somewhat higher levels of output. This explains why the cultivated area of these units has increased over the last ten years.

Given their impoverishment, some peasant, however, have lost their land and have settled in semi-urban localities close to capitalist agricultural enterprise. Over the whole length of the country, and very especially in the fruit-growing and forestry regions, one can see the emergence of very poor rural shantytowns, which do not possess even the minimum living facilities: public services, drainage, sewage, drinking water or electricity.

Under these conditions, Chilean agriculture has undergone profound changes in the last ten years. Though latifundia and the 'inquilinaje' no longer exist, there are new forms of exploitation of labour. Capitalist producers have, for the most part, abandoned the production of food because it is no longer profitable, whilst the peasants have sunk into greater poverty or have lost their lands. All

this has led to an unprecedented crisis. In ten years the area devoted to agriculture has actually decreased by 40.0 per cent, and the living conditions of the peasants have deteriorated markedly.

### 3. The Agrarian Process in Peru.

Peru is a country characterized by extreme climate and soil diversity and major differences in regional patterns of development (7). For this reason, it is difficult to generalize about the overall processes that have accompanied economic development. The tropical region was always left out of agricultural and stock-breeding plans and programmes, until the 1960's when a colonization plan was drawn up aimed at introducing livestock into the area, and at expanding coffee and tea production as well. The northern coast, on the other hand, has had a different economic and historical development. It has been distinguished by the dynamic of large enterprises producing agricultural exports and, on the other hand, by the existence of haciendas and communities in the highlands characterized by extensive production processes, and scarce natural resources. However, it is precisely this heterogeneity which has set the tone for the process of development of Peruvian agriculture, in so far as this is the result of national adjustment and a corresponding insertion into a process of accumulation on a world scale.

From the beginnings Peru developed as functionally related to international markets. Peru brings together three important factors for the development of international capital. It is a country rich in mineral resources, has regions suited to the development of intensive

agriculture for external markets, and also a large and accessible cheap labour force made up of the indigenous Quechua and Aymara Indian populations.

For these reasons, agricultural and livestock production of food for internal consumption was, to a large extent, excluded from economic development strategies and from access to national and foreign capital.

#### a) Peruvian Agriculture Before the Agrarian Reform.

The structure of agriculture before agrarian reform was made up of three types of property: the plantation, the traditional hacienda, and the peasant community. Peruvian agriculture was distinguished by having a large number of community peasants (comuneros), who based their production on family labour; by traditional haciendas with a small number of wage workers, but numerous tenants; and plantations using mainly a seasonal labour force. And finally, a small number of medium-sized farms.

From the 1960's, the number of medium-sized farms slowly increased, due to capitalist development and to the imminence of agrarian reform, which led some owners to divide up their haciendas into smaller farms.

However, this division, "in terms of social and political influence, played an important role at provincial level, because their leaders were supporters of the political structure dominated by the big landowners" (Matos Mar and Mejia, 1980:27).

In terms of capitalist development, the main impetus to Peruvian agricultural activity was provided by export plantation production. These plantations were operated by the owners, usually organized as a business company, and organized to supply markets on a large scale by means of abundant capital and a subjected labour force. Unlike the smaller scale peasant farm, production factors were employed directly for the capital accumulation. These companies made up a great part of the industrial capitalist units of the coastal valleys of Peru. Most were dedicated to the cultivation of sugar cane and cotton on an industrial scale, as well as to some production of food products such as rice and maize.

These plantations represented the biggest part of the agrarian capitalist sector, and were linked to international export demand, often in fact being owned by foreign firms. According to Areces (1972:97) "in 1961, national production of sugar-cane was carried on in four valleys comprising 82 per cent of the total: Chicama and Santa Maria 43.4 per cent, and Lambayeque and Zana 39.4 per cent. In one of these valleys, Chicama, there operated up to the 1950's, four large enterprises, each one of which had been formed through the consolidation of smaller properties. Among these large firms was W.R Grace and Company, together with The Chase Manhattan Bank, The National City Bank of New York, the Northern Peru Mines, the Marcona Mines and Goodyear, who fixed the prices of agricultural products and controlled 50 per cent of the production of raw materials".

The second type of property was the hacienda system. In the highlands we find this in the form of semi-capitalist farms, supplying

both internal and external markets, but with a technology and capitalization appropriate to a more traditional type of labour organization. Within the hacienda, the owner made share cropping arrangements with peasants for agricultural production (called 'colonos', 'feudatarios' or 'arrendires'), or for sheep herding ('huacchilleros'). This was because the hard conditions of the highlands and the difficulties of access to markets made it difficult for them to obtain profit simply from capital investment and the sole use of wage labour (Campana and Rivera, 1979a). These haciendas also included some coastal properties, mainly cotton and rice plantations, which also functioned with share cropping arrangements, locally named 'yanaconaje' or 'aparceria'(8). The only exception to this share cropping system was the seven-hacienda complex of the Sheep Stock Division of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Company, in the Central Sierra of Peru. This company, in an attempt to develop high stock productivity eliminated the 'huacchillaje' system, replacing it in the 1950's with wage-earning workers (9). This was a result of various factors, among them, the monopoly they had for supplying meat to the surrounding mining towns.

Traditional haciendas were very large estates, mostly owned by absentee landlords of the Peruvian oligarchy. These lands were handed over almost in their entirety to peasants, from whom the owners received a rent in cash, in labour or in personal service. Each peasant family received approximately two hectares of poor land, which allowed them to reproduce themselves and in which they grew all kinds of food products. These were partly sold by the landowner.

According to Matos Mar and Mejia the plantations and "haciendas not only appropriated the major part of land fit for agriculture and stock-breeding, but also those of the best quality. More than 10.000 units of this type covered 14 million hectares of arable and grassland, which sustained about 400.000 peasants and wage-earners. The most developed haciendas were to be found on the coast, where the average size was between 800 and 1.300 hectares" (1980:24).

At the other extreme, in respect of their lack to individual property, low productivity and scarce participation in formal markets, were the Indian communities (comunidades indigenas) -today called peasant communities (comunidades campesinas)- which included a large part of the peasantry in the country. According to Dobyns (1970), the rural population settled in legally recognized peasant communities was about 10 per cent of the total population of the country, distributed in 1.600 communities. But, in addition, there were a greater number of communities (about 2.500) organized as such, but not recognized by the State. Therefore, it can be estimated that between 28 to 30 per cent of peasants live in or belong to a peasant community.

The peasant or Indian communities occupied -and still occupy- that sector of the Peruvian sierra where the land is generally poorer and agricultural productivity consequently lower. Over 10 million hectares are fit for agriculture and stock-breeding, but of these, only 10 per cent are cultivated. The rest are natural grasslands in the high 'puna'. Peasant agricultural and livestock production is basically oriented to home consumption and only in some districts can some families sell a reasonable surplus in the market place.

The cultivation of the land has hardly ever, on its own, permitted peasant families to reproduce their labour force. Hence labour migration, seasonal or semi-permanent, has been a constant factor in these communities, but differing in intensity between one sierra region and another. The centres of attraction for this type of wage labour are the plantations, mines and towns. In fact, the Peruvian peasant community has been a central labour reserve for capitalist development, to which the latter has resorted in accordance with the fluctuations of the international market and not so much in line with internal development strategy. In a complementary way, the smallholding in the community is, and has historically been, the life insurance of the peasant domestic unit and a complement to the wage obtained in the capitalist sector (Campana and Rivera, 1978).

TABLE 5  
AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK UNITS OF PERU  
BY ECONOMIC CATEGORY (1961) (1).

Category	Units		Land Extension		Average
	No	%	Hect.	Miles	(Has)
INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS					
'Haciendas'	10.462	1.2	13.995	52.3	1.338.1
Medium Sized Hdas	23.250	2.7	1.006	3.7	43.3
COMMUNAL HOLDINGS (2)					
-family holdings	98.370	11.5	876	3.3	8.9
-minifundia	719.110	84.3	1.124	4.2	1.6
-Communal Lands (1)	2.338	0.3	9.770	36.5	4.179.1
TOTAL	853.530	100.0	26.771	100.0	31.0

SOURCE: From Matos Mar and Mejia, 1980:29.

(1) Includes data only for 60 per cent of the existing communities.

Table 5 provides a summary of land holding pattern up to 1969, when the Agrarian Reform Programme was begun.

b) The Agrarian Reform Process.

The Agrarian Reform Law, N.17.716, approved in August 1969, was not the first attempt of reform in the Peruvian countryside. Between 1962 and 1963 the military government had developed a reform programme - Decree 14.444 - for La Convencion Valley and Lares in the region of Cuzco, in order to put a stop to the threatening peasant movement there. But this had a boomerang effect because it stimulated the mobilization of peasants in other regions, especially in the centre and south of the country. The succeeding government -a coalition of the Popular Action and Christian Democratic parties -had no other option but to plan a land reform programme. The intention then was to limit the area of agrarian property to 150 hectares of irrigated land on the coast, though it left out the highly efficient and capitalized properties, which were left alone to wait for a future "enterprise reform". In 1964, the Agrarian Reform Law N.15.037 was passed, by which the haciendas of the traditional sector were subject to expropriation, while, within the capitalist sector, only those operating on the basis of non-wage<sup>labour</sup> were to suffer this fate. At the same time, the possibility of intervening in the running of capitalist units was established, but so conditioned that in practice they were untouched.



Under this law, 207,000 hectares of the Algolan hacienda in the Department of Junin in the Central Region were expropriated. This land was assigned to 14 communities and 12 groups of workers from the hacienda. In all, up to 1968, only 13,553 peasants (2 per cent) had received benefit from the 375,574 hectares expropriated on the coast and the sierra, which represented only four per cent of the total land available for transfer (10).

Only when a new military government under General Velasco Alvarado came to power (1968-1975), did agriculture move into a new stage of modernization. This new process was based on the idea that the traditional latifundia of the sierra and the plantations of the coastal regions were serious obstacles to economic development, regional integration and social and political participation (Petras and Havens, 1981:166). On this premise, the first and most important measure was to consider all lands, without exception, potentially expropriable. Under this provision the first agricultural units to be affected were the large-scale sugar estates, the most dynamic sector of Peruvian agriculture (11). These became Agricultural Production Cooperatives (CAPs). To ensure that they would not avoid the process, the Government eliminated the exclusion clause that benefitted the agro-industrial sugar complexes in the previous law and broadened the criteria of expropriation. In the CAPs, the permanent workers were to participate in the organization as full members and the property they acquired was to be valued at an amount similar to that given in the previous owners' tax declarations. The terms set by law required the CAPs to pay off an agrarian debt for the property over a 20, 25 or 30 year period, depending upon the amount and capacity of the expropriated enterprise.

This drastic measure -the expropriation of the sugar estates- differentiated this process from the majority of Latin American agrarian reforms. This can only be explained, within the general context of the political plans of the military government, as a nationalist and anti-oligarchical move, which consisted of "not only displacing the traditional power block but also reorganizing the class structure and the dependence relationship, converting the State into an autonomous entity and a dominant factor in civil society. In this context the agrarian reform was charged with the important task of undermining the foundation of oligarchy and becoming a symbol which would legitimize the new government" (Matos Mar and Mejia, 1980:108).

The agrarian reform also affected, in a short time, the livestock latifundia of the sierra. For this sector it created another institution -called- the Societies of Agrarian Social Interest (SAIS). A special feature of this type of reform was the incorporation of neighbouring peasant communities, which were nominated as members according to certain ecological, historical, social, economic and agrarian criteria. At the same time, the workers of the hacienda took part in the organization as members of a Service Cooperative.

In the central region of Peru, the first hacienda to be expropriated was the Livestock Division of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, which came to form part of SAIS Tupac Amaru No 1, together with 16 neighbouring communities. These communities, together with the Service Cooperative, participated in the new organization in differential terms according to the land situation,

existing production structure and available public services of each community. For the SAIS, the term of payment for the agrarian debt was 25 years and 5 years free from the date of initiation.

The number of communities which formed part of the different SAIS in the whole sierra made up only a small percentage of the total, and for this reason special legislation -the Peasant Communities Statute- was passed. This was not necessarily directed to providing communities with extra land, but aimed at eliminating power groups, often living in the cities, that operated within the community to monopolize land resources. The Statute was issued then to provide a more equitable distribution of land rights within the communities. A 'reclassification of comuneros' was carried out, so that only those who worked directly in agriculture or livestock as their main activity could have the right to use communal land and resources. At the same time, all those living outside were to be disqualified as members of the community (for details see Long and Winder, 1975).

The main purpose of the land reform law for peasant communities was to create communal cooperative enterprises, in which all comuneros who qualified under the Statute would participate. It was expected that, over time, private land holdings would disappear, as the individual plots became integrated into the communal property. In this way, the peasant communities would develop, in the long term, into fully communal cooperatives.

The military government apparently envisaged this as a system that could easily be put into operation. They launched the project with

the idea that the cooperative system was deeply embedded in Peru's pre-colonial 'comunal' past. However, only in a few communities, particularly those linked to some of the SAIS, were these measures really implemented. And right from the start, the new Statute was decisively rejected by the comuneros themselves. As a result, the agrarian reform did not manage to destroy the pattern of internal economic differentiation within the communities, nor did it get rid of the groups of comuneros who had, for decades, lived outside their places of origin. This latter situation was especially significant for the peasant communities of the Central Region, since comuneros living there were from at least the 19th century onwards closely linked into the wider regional economy through the provision of labour to the mines and through participating in non-agricultural activities (Campana and Rivera, 1979b). As a result, the poorer sectors of the communities did not obtain better access to land, which remained in the hands of the village elite, resulting in the further impoverishment of the poorest peasantry.

As can be seen in Table 6, until 1975 the rates of expropriation and distribution were rapid, such that, at the time of Velasco's fall from power in 1975, three quarters of the programme had been accomplished. The new government did not stop the process immediately and so expropriations continued up to 1979. From then on, however, the whole process slowed down on the principle that "a consolidation of what had been achieved was necessary before continuing to go any further".

TABLE 6

RATE OF EXPROPRIATION: 1969-1979.

Year	Expropriation			Distribution		
	Units	Has.	%	Benef. Families	Has.	%
1962-1968	546	1.027.649		13.553	375.574	
1969	249	428.080	4.7	7.355	256.774	3.1
1970	391	1.594.727	17.6	42.343	691.697	8.3
1971	478	655.225	7.2	18.671	538.083	6.5
1972	1.732	1.028.477	11.3	38.976	1.119.223	13.4
1973	2.446	952.289	10.5	56.496	1.336.692	16.0
1974	1.522	805.427	8.9	42.080	879.318	10.5
1975	2.376	933.919	10.3	36.590	1.081.692	13.0
1976	3.753	1.298.943	14.3	40.267	634.805	7.6
1977	1.653	486.156	5.4	29.398	592.917	7.1
1978	1.105	749.005	8.3	21.137	560.483	6.7
1979	121	133.524	1.5	35.504	636.638	7.6
1969-1979	15.826	9.065.772	100.0	368.817	8.328.322	100.0

SOURCE: From Matos Mar and Mejia, 1980:171.

In general, it can be said that, although agrarian reform undermined the basis of the Peruvian oligarchy and swept away the traditional hacienda and the power of the big foreign companies, it did not establish in their place a totally new structure of social relations of production in the countryside. For example, in the SAIS

the 'huacchillaje' system has continued to function to this day; the CAPS have become decapitalized, many of them bankrupt. On the other hand, peasant comuneros have continued to farm, on average, less than one hectare. The result has been a reduction in the export of agro-industrial products. Since being an exporter of sugar, in 1980 Peru imported 26.000 tons of sugar, rising to 268.195 in 1983. There has also been an increase in the food imports, especially as previously mentioned, wheat, and more recently potatoes, which reached 15.211 tons in 1983.

The agrarian crisis is plainly revealed by the increase in the number of street vendors in Lima. These are mainly people who have been expelled from agricultural work. In 1976, of a total of 61.343 street vendors, 80.5 per cent (49.396) came from rural provinces outside Lima (12). Also, according to estimates by the ILO, more than 54 per cent of the rural population could not provide for their minimum basic needs. As De Janvry points out, "the land reform and the new military leader's efforts at boosting agricultural production after 1975 resolved neither the food crisis, nor the country's massive rural poverty" (1981:140).

#### 4. Women in Agrarian Processes.

There are many similarities and differences in the agrarian processes of both countries. However, in this section my concern will be to establish the place of women in both these processes, especially in regard to agrarian reform, since this constitutes a planned strategy for restructuring the productive forces and functioning of the various social components that make up the agrarian sector

Actually there is little to be said in this respect. Deere summarizes it in a few words. She argues "that the majority of Latin American agrarian reforms have failed to produce either a significant number of female beneficiaries, or even give attention to gender as a beneficiary category" (1984:4). Peru and Chile are not exempt from this verdict.

Much has been said and written in Chile about the low interest shown by peasant women in taking part in national organizations and in the political life of the country. Women are, it seems, absent from the history of peasant movements and from the process of agrarian reform: they were not present to any significant degree in the agrarian social movement, nor in the taking of decisions in the 'Asentamientos' and CERAS. The most eloquent proof of this is that in the nine most important years of Chilean peasant organization only two notable examples can be found of peasant mobilization by women: curiously, one at the beginning of the agrarian reform (13), December 1964, and the other near its end, in August of 1973 (14).

The greatest impediment to women's participation in the process it appears, was the fact that they were not considered to be producers and, therefore, could not qualify as beneficiaries of the land reform. According to Garret (1976) the capitalization and mechanization of the haciendas eliminated women as a work force and therefore, at the time of land reform, there were few wage-earning women on the farms. This was one important factor for their exclusion as beneficiaries.

The result was that women did not have any rights in respect to the resources of the reformed units, nor did they participate in the

taking of decisions. This is true in the case of the 'Asentamientos' created during the Christian Democrat Government. When the CERA came into being there was, at least in theory, the possibility of women's participation, since individuals over 18 years old could be active members of the General Assembly and the Social Welfare Committee. This clause allowed women to fill truly participatory positions. However, the men objected to their wives filling official positions in the formal structure of CERA. Also, many of the women looked upon such participation as an activity foreign to their daily work and seldom necessary, as they had always considered that these problems should be resolved by men.

Actually, the only activity in which the women were able to take part was the CEMA -the Mother's Centres. These women's organizations spread rapidly throughout the country. As their objective was closely related to the daily tasks of women, they came to fill an important organizational vacuum and were accepted by both women and their husbands. However, because of the way in which problems in CEMA were resolved, these centres reinforced the domestic nature of women's work and aggravated their inability to participate actively in the process of agrarian change. These organizations were useful for the discussion of women's problems, but they did not get as far as questioning the narrow limits of their home life, nor did they ever come to convert the CEMA into a decision-making structure, not even at local level. Furthermore, the CEMA discouraged the participation of women in the problems of the community, especially in anything that might be considered "political" (Campana, 1982). In short, the Mother's Centres increased the dissociation of woman from the agrarian



production process and reinforced the existing tendency towards a division between productive work as an exclusively male activity and domestic work as a female one.

In the case of the Peru, there was a notable contradiction between the high participation of women in production activities and their marginal contribution as members to the reformed units. This was partly due to the fact that women were considered not eligible as participants in the power structure, since it was necessary to qualify as a "Head of Family", which formally speaking they were mostly not.

In Peru, only a spinster, a widow or a woman separated from her husband, with children under 18 years of age, could be considered a "Head of Family". In this last case the law established that the woman would lose the use of her land when her children reached the age of 18 or acquired civil rights (Sara Lafosse, 1969).

In actual fact, in the Province of Cajamarca, women made up between 30 and 50 per cent of the labour force in the milk-producing haciendas, but in the 15 reformed cooperatives only five of them had women among their members, making up two per cent of the members of the cooperatives in the whole province (Deere, 1984). This same percentage was found by Fernandez (1982) among the cotton cooperatives of the northern coast, in Piura, where 40 per cent of the seasonal labour force is made up of women. Moreover, in a study of 83 cooperatives, excluding those of the sugar agro-industry where only men are members, it was found that only five per cent of the 724 members questioned were women (Buchler, 1975).

In the case of peasant communities, a very similar picture pertains. The process of having to requalify as a comunero led to the decision only to accept as comuneros those widows whose husbands had been community members, in spite of the fact that, as we shall see later, women take charge of the greater part of the agricultural production of the peasant unit.

According to Fernandez (1982), the high degree of correspondence *in Peru*, between the ideological element and the division of labour by sex, causes a close relationships between how women see themselves, their situation in production activities, and their almost total exclusion from politics. There is such a concurrence between their social position and the opinion they have of themselves, that they do not question this kind of situation, in spite of the fact that it keeps them in a subordinate and marginal position in respect to their own work and interests.

This subordination is also influenced by the ideas men have, and transmit over time, about what women's work should be. Deere (1977), Chambeau (1981) and Fernandez (1982) agree that as far as the men are concerned, women's participation as active members of organizations is questionable. The opinion they have of women is that they are not interested in public or community politics or enterprise problems, and because of that they do not take their work seriously; it is supposed that women will always put off productive or organizational work in order to attend to the daily problems of their homes. This evaluation, it seems to me, roughly coincides with the general view held by Peruvian society of women and their work.

According to Deere, the exclusion of rural women from the agrarian reform programmes of Latin America is a consequence of an omission in State policy: "the lack of an explicit State policy to include women as beneficiaries has reinforced traditional prejudices regarding the sexual division of labour, resulting in the lack of incorporation of even those women legally eligible to participate" (1984:5). Moreover, it appears that governments which put through these changes believe that women are interested only in the well-being of their families and especially their children, but do not take into account the responsibilities they carry for activities outside the domestic sphere. For this reason, women were not given the means to take part conscientiously in these processes. According to the above literature, the fact that women were left out of these processes of change encouraged measures aimed at maintaining them as house-keeping family members, which resulted from the male-dominated character of society. It was understood -as much by men as by women- that the field of politics and economy belonged to men. And so long as women continued to be considered mainly as wives and mothers and, as such, the major support for the family units, then their possibilities for engaging in public affairs became more difficult. Also since women were not considered part of the income structure of households, they could not be regarded as "workers" as or "producers".

In the following chapters, we shall see how divorced from reality this idea is. Rural women form an important part of the household-based economy and of agricultural production. The next three chapters analyze how women participate in contrasting agrarian economies,

comparing the situation of the fruit growing and mixed cropping areas of Chile, and the central sierra of Peru, characterized by a peasant agriculture linked strongly to mining and commercial activities. My aim is to provide insight into the general socio-economic structure of each area, which comprise the social and economic environments in which women carry out their activities. As I explained earlier, such a regional approach is crucial to understanding the complexities of women's involvement in production and income-earning activities: farm work, garden and home activities, commercial and handicrafts, as well as wage labour. In this way I wish to develop my main theoretical theme, namely that women's involvement in agriculture does not follow a single defined path but several, and that this creates a rich variety of social and economic relationships linking women's labour to rural society, as well as to society at large.

### NOTES ON CHAPTER III

- (1) The 'colonos' were peasants from the agricultural haciendas of the highlands. They were allowed a plot of land in return for the payment of rent in labour or products. The 'huacchilleros' were taken on the same conditions, but were peasants tied to the livestock haciendas of the highlands of Peru.
- (2) These conditions included knowing how to read and write (the majority of the 'inquilinos' were illiterate, living a certain number of years on the farm, and having a minimum of 20 permanent labourers per agrarian unit).
- (3) There are two points open to discussion: who led the movement? The peasants or the leaders of the political parties? The other point is: What was the motive force? More land or higher wages? For an approximate picture consult: Petras and Zemelman, 1971; Lehmann, 1971; Marin, 1973; Kay, 1978; Bengoa, 1983.
- (4) This is the English version of the article published in Spanish in 1971, in Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, Vol. II, No 7, Santiago.
- (5) The peasant organizations were the Confederacion Libertad (14.4 per cent), Confederacion Triunfo Campesino (22 per cent), Confederacion Ranquil, now called Confederacion El Surco Campesino (47 per cent), Confederacion Union Obrero-Campesina (14 per cent), and Federacion Sargento Candelaria (1 per cent).
- (6) This is so in respect of wheat, the cost of which in countries such as the United States and Argentina is substantially lower.
- (7) The Programme of Velasco Alvarado was based, ideologically, on national integration as the fundamental pillar of national security.
- (8) 'Yanaconaje' or 'aparceria' is the name given to a similar system to that of the 'colonos' of the highland hacienda, but specifically applied to the cotton-growing haciendas of the central coast.
- (9) An interesting discussion on the salaried status of these workers can be found in Caicho, 1977; Martinez Alier, 1978 and Campana and Rivera, 1979a.
- (10) A great number of authors have studied the Peruvian agrarian reform process in depth. See, for example, Matos Mar Mejia, 1980, MacLean and Estenas, 1961; Pease, 1977; Valderrama, 1976; Matos Mar, 1976; Malpica, 1970.

- (11) The eight largest agro-industrial enterprises, which controlled 90 per cent of the sugar production, were taken over the day after the law was passed.
- (12) Unfortunately, since 1976 there has not been another Census of itinerant Vendors. Between 1976 and 1984, the Peruvian economic crisis deepened and agriculture did not avoid its effects. As for the figures given in the text, the itinerant vendors from the Department of Callao, of Lima and the ones from further afield were not included in the 80.5 per cent. Those from Lima were left out because there was no information about Metropolitan Lima. It should be noted that this Department includes several provinces which have large peasant populations.
- (13) It was the first Peasant Women's Congress, which took place in Chinihue (a rural locality) and gathered together 100 delegates.
- (14) In August 1973, there was a meeting, in the province of Bio-Bio, of peasant women from four southern provinces. Each district chose its delegate for the event. The central topic was the militant participation of women in defense of the government of the Unidad Popular (Noted by Garret, 1982).

## CHAPTER IV

### WOMAN IN A SITUATION OF STRONG CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF THE FRUIT-GROWING REGION OF CHILE.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the effects of capitalist development in a fruit growing area upon rural women. Although capitalist relations of production were predominant in this area before the 1950's, the implementation of the 'neo-liberal' economic model since from 1973 onwards has created new forms of expansion characterized by changes in production, population and labour relations. This offers an interesting scenario for the study of how the changing labour process affects women, either incorporating or marginalizing them from the production process.

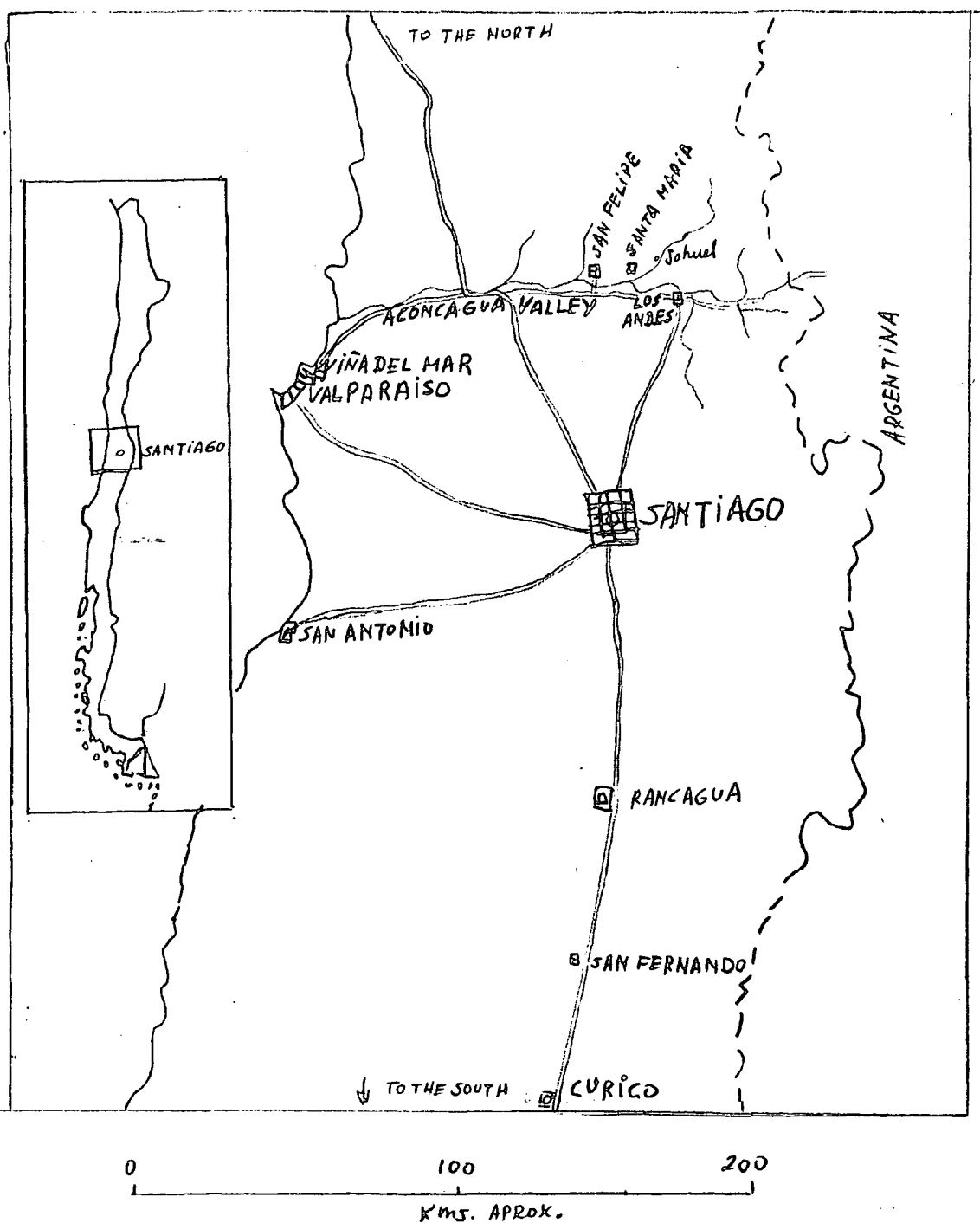
In order to analyse the position of women in this specific region, I summarize in the first section some of the more relevant economic and historical processes, as well as, some general features of the present agrarian structure. An important element was the land reform developed in Chile during the 1960's. In fact, the changes experienced by rural women in this region are the outcome of about a 25 years process. In a second section, I describe some of the more relevant aspects of the locality where the study was carried out, - the 'comuna' (or municipality) of Santa Maria. These two dimensions, the process of fruit expansion and the main characteristics of the comuna of Santa Maria help us to obtain a better understanding of the present situation of rural women in this area. Santa Maria is a "representative" fruit growing comuna selected as part of the study of Chilean rural women (see Chapter II). In the third section, I give a detailed account of the consequences of rural and agrarian change on women, and specifically upon three social strata: landless women, those owning ex- land reform holdings ('parceleras'), and 'traditional' minifundia peasant women. Section four presents two testimonies of women, one landless and the other a parcelera. Each outlines the main feature of their lives, their activities, and their commitments and circumstances. Finally, in the last section I summarize briefly the more important elements that arise from this analysis of women and capitalist expansion in the fruit growing area.

#### 1. The Fruit Expansion in Chile.

From the 1960's, and especially since the neo-liberal model was put into effect, one region in Chile has experienced a forceful process of



# THE FRUIT-GROWING REGION. CHILE



capitalist economic development. This has produced a profound change in the structure of land holding, social relations of production, and in the organization and sexual division of labour. In this sense, this region is a good example for examining hypotheses on the ways in which capitalist development affects women's participation in agricultural production.

The fruit-growing areas are located in the central valley of Chile, between Aconcagua and Curico, and bring together four favourable factors -irrigation, good climate, soil and abundant capital- which have allowed for the development of a highly-productive type of agriculture. In the last 15 years, there has been a massive increase in fruit production with high profits. This agricultural region also happens to be placed at the centre of urban commercial and industrial activity of the country, and has a good deepwater ports and infrastructure. This lowers the costs of packaging and transporting goods for export.

These and other factors combine to provide the fruit-growing region with comparative advantages for export production: "a certain zone or country offers comparative advantages, like that of central Chile"... "[when] "it has a combination of favourable conditions which make it possible to obtain high productivity in a certain item"...."The productivity obtained by a fruit tree in the most suitable setting, will produce a higher price than can be obtained in other countries or in other zones" (Cruz and Leiva, 1982:3). On these terms, Chilean fruit -peaches, nectarines, cherries, table-grapes, apples and pears- can compete with some advantage on American and

European winter time markets with other fruit-exporting countries of the southern hemisphere such as South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Argentina. This is especially so because, owing to its geographical situation and to the varieties offered, it can reach the consumer centres at the right time of the year and in the best conditions, and so obtain the most advantageous prices (Cruz and Leiva, 1982).

The interest in fruit production goes back to the first years of the 1960's, when the Chilean Government became aware of its preferential situation as a producer of temperate climate fruits during the winter season of the main consumer centres. A serious attempt was made to promote the planting of new varieties of fruit-trees suitable for export. In order to do this the State channelled financial and technical resources through the Corporation for Promotion of Production (CORFO), so as to stimulate investments in fruit production. Between 1963 and 1965 the average Chilean contribution to US fruit imports was 3 per cent apples, 2.6 per cent pears, 20 per cent table-grapes and 47 per cent peaches (CORFO, 1968).

At the same time, objectives for expanding production were established and new plantings of up to 5.000 hectares a year were planned up to 1970. It was estimated that during a second period - between 1971 and 1975- fruit production would be increased to 19.300 hectares, that is to say, 3.860 hectares a year, so that that by 1975 there would be a total of 82.100 hectares planted with fruit trees.

This expansion was carried out alongside the development of an agricultural preservatives industry, and dehydrators and plants for

processing fruit rejects for juices and jams. From 1967 onwards, the State, with public financing, built four fruit packing and processing plants in the provinces of Aconcagua, O'Higgins, Colchagua and Curico, and also refrigeration plants, and middle-sized packing and selection plants. Together with an intensification of research aimed at greater efficiency and productivity, the promotion policy for fruit growers provided agricultural entrepreneurs who went into the exporting business with considerable economic advantage.

Previous to this, a preservative industry had been established in the province of Aconcagua which concentrated on the production of peas, corn-cobs, greenbeans, tomatoes and fruit. Although this activity still operates, it has now, to a great extent, been displaced as the main economic activity by the export of fresh fruit.

This projected development of fruit production in the country was put into operation together with the agrarian reform. As I described earlier, the latter, in its first period, not only aimed to liquidate the out-moded production system characteristic of the hacienda, but also sought to introduce into agriculture a more capitalist production system based on high technology and more efficient production.

As a way of avoiding expropriation, many of the large-scale landowners of the region sub-divided their land, and this gave birth to a kind of medium-sized property, which, for legal reasons, could not exceed 80 HRB. The reserves of land of up to 80 HRB, granted to the owners of the expropriated farms helped to swell this type of property. And it so happened that the middle-sized farm benefitted

most by the decisions taken by the State in favour of the development of fruit production. It was at this time, too, that the necessary infrastructure was built.

Land reform especially affected the larger farms of the region. A total of 2.369 units were expropriated, that is 41 per cent of all those expropriated in the country as a whole, covering an area of 2.823.227.7 hectares, equivalent to 429.769.03 HRB, or 48 per cent of the total land expropriated in the country.

TABLE 1

USE OF LAND EXPROPRIATED BY AGRARIAN REFORM.  
(FRUIT GROWING REGION - CHILE)

	Agricultural Units	Area %	Area HRB %
Expropriated Land	2.148	100.0	100.0
Returned Land	1.377	29.9	25.0
Alloted Land	20.908	21.8	64.6
Land Sold to Others		48.3	9.5

SOURCE: GIA, based on Official Information Circulars of the Corporation for Agrarian Reform (CORA).

Following the military coup, between 1975 y 1976, part of the land was given to smallholders and the remainder to former owners, producing, as a result, an agrarian structure characterized by medium-sized and family farms. All this shows that at the time of the radical neo-liberal change in the political economy of the country,

there existed in this region all the necessary conditions for the development of capitalist agriculture, with a favourable cash crop product, an open market system with abundant cheap labour, and the financial support of banks and commercial institutions.

The post-agrarian reform process in the region, created about 21.000 peasant family plots ("parcelas") with an average of 8 HRB each; a large sector of capitalist farms with more than 80 HRB, and also a number of more extensive properties with low quality land, in which it is difficult to produce profitably any fruit or annual crops.

TABLE 2

LAND USE BY TYPE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION UNIT.  
(FRUIT GROWING REGION - CHILE)

	Number in Hectares		Percentage	
	Peasant Units	Capitalist Units	P.U.	C.U.
Number of Units	76.492	14.266	84.3	15.7
Irrigation Area	126.475	402.838	23.9	76.1
Total Arable	157.290	604.104	20.7	79.3
Total Agric. Area	216.941	4.979.217	4.2	95.8

SOURCE: GIA, V National Agricultural and Live-Stock Census, 1976.

Capitalist expansion in the region has directly influenced the size and number of production units capable of intensive output. Between 1965 and 1976, due to the subdivision affected by the agrarian reform, the properties in the region increased from 72.886 to 90.758, but this increase was more important in capitalist farms, which grew by 54 per cent, while the peasant sector increased by only 20 per cent.

The fruit-growing region includes the old provinces of Aconcagua, Valparaiso, Santiago, O'Higgins, Colchagua and Curico, a total area of 5.196.158 hectares of agricultural land. This is the most populated region of Chile, with about half the total 11 million national population. Of this population, 84 per cent is urban, since the region contains the two most important cities: Santiago, the capital and Valparaiso-Vina del Mar, the major commercial port and seaside resort.

TABLE 3  
NATURAL RESOURCES: FRUIT GROWING REGION.

Type of Resources	Hectares	Percentage
Arable	761.394	14.6
Irrigated Area	(529.313)	(69.5)(1)
Grass- Lands	1.760.099	33.9
Forest and Mountains	738.783	14.2
Potentially Productive Land	101.721	2.0
Others Lands	1.834.161	35.3
Total Agricultural Land	5.196.158	100.0

SOURCE: GIA, based on the V National Agricultural and Livestock Census, 1976. (1) Out of the total cultivated area.

Given the pattern of centralization in the country, not only are the banks, industry, commerce and services concentrated in this region, but also the communication system, railways and roads are the

most important and best endowed in the country. In spite of the high degree of urbanization of the region, between 1965 and 1976, it provided 37 per cent of agricultural output, mostly owing to the optimum conditions it offers for the development of high-yield agriculture. For this reason, more capital has been invested in agriculture in this region, for installation of irrigation systems, new technology, etc., than in any other.

Even so, only 14.6 per cent of the agricultural land is arable, and of this, more than half is irrigated. <sup>(see Table 3).</sup> The statistics also show that the region presents good conditions for the development of livestock and in fact supplies 23 per cent of the value of all livestock in the country, in spite of the fact that the implementation of the neo-liberal policy has reduced this activity in favour of fruit growing. This region, then, provides a major contribution (39.8 per cent) to the total value of agricultural and livestock production. <sup>(see Table 4).</sup>

TABLE 4

## VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER ITEM. FRUIT-GROWING REGION (1).

Cereals	Leguminous	Ind.Cult.	Vegetabl.	Fruit	Livesl.	Aver
24.5	43.1	13.0	71.0	66.8	23.6	39.8

SOURCE: GIA, based on V Agricultural and Livestock Census 1976, of the Fruit-Growing Property Census of 1977 and Slaughter House Counts, INE.

(1) In relation to the total for the country.

In other words, though it is true that there is a leaning towards fruit production, the region also provides a major part of basic food



in relation to the total for the country.  
 production. However, the product with the greatest profit margins within the present economic model -fruit- is mainly concentrated in the capitalist farming sector, while those crops with a low profit margin, such as cereals, are found on peasant holdings (see Table 5).

TABLE 5  
 USE OF ARABLE LAND ACCORDING TO TYPE OF FARM.

Item	1965		1976	
	Peasant	Capitalist	Peasant	Capitalist
Annual Produce	73.2	38.5	68.3	37.9
Fruit Trees	8.6	4.5	9.1	7.8
Vineyards	2.3	4.5	3.0	6.2
Cultivat. Pastures	4.6	21.2	6.5	14.6
Fallow Lands	11.3	31.2	13.1	33.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: GIA, Based on the IV and V Agricultural and Livestock Census of 1965 and 1976.

Only 9.1 per cent of peasant holdings are planted with fruit trees, and the major part of this is concentrated on land reform holdings where investment was made by the earlier land reform enterprises. The increase of fruit production among peasants has been slow, only 5.8 per cent between 1955 and 1976. Although the capitalist sector has only a small proportion of its own land planted with fruit trees, this amounts to three quarters of the total land devoted to fruit production and their amount has increased by 73.3 per cent in the same

period. At the same time, livestock production has fallen substantially (by 63.8%) on commercial farms. An overall 76.7 per cent of fruit production is concentrated in the capitalist farm sector.

The importance and vitality of the production of fresh fruit for export within the neo-liberal policy can be seen in the increasing value of exports, which between 1970 and 1980 has grown ten times, from roughly 30 million to 300 million dollars, which represents an expansion from 1.5 to 7.0 per cent of total Chilean exports. This means that the annual growth of fruit export has been between 20 and 30 per cent. In comparative terms, the fruit export figure for 1982, with about 50.000 hectares in full production, is equivalent to the import value of about 500.000 hectares of Chilean-grown wheat. It is projected that by 1986 there will be some 100.000 hectares in full production, which means the possibility of doubling present export value.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF MAIN PRODUCTS BY TYPE OF PRODUCTION UNIT.  
(volume of production)  
(1965-1976: Fruit Growing Region)

Type of Units	Cereals		Mixed Farm		Legumes		Orchards		Grapes	
	1965	1976	1975	1976	1965	1976	1965	1976	1965	1976
Capit.	87.3	78.2	64.5	49.0	50.6	50.2	76.3	76.7	92.5	88.5
Peas.	12.7	21.8	35.5	51.0	49.4	49.8	23.7	23.3	7.5	11.5

SOURCE: GIA, based on IV and V Agricultural and Livestock Census, 1965 and 1976.

If we compare (Table 6) the production of peasant and capitalist units between 1965 and 1976, it appears that the capitalist dynamic in the region concentrates activity in the most profitable products, while staple products or 'wage goods', such as wheat, potatoes, beans and maize are principally grown on peasant holdings (Bengoa, et.al.1980). There are several reasons for this. First of all, most peasants do not have suitable land for fruit growing, except the land reform smallholders, of whom about half of have had to sell up due to financial straits. Secondly, it requires high technology and capital investment, giving results only after a number of years. Few peasants therefore can afford to invest capital and then wait for the trees to bear fruit. It is difficult for most of them to obtain bank or private loans to tide them over. It also requires learning a number of new techniques and know-how.

In such circumstances, the chances of successfully entering into this new field of production has not been very good for small-scale producers after 1973. Without considerable bank credit and State support, the peasant is handicapped: hence many of them choose either to sell their land or to continue cultivating only traditional products.

One consequence is that peasants are moving out of land into paid work. This has generated a new structure of employment (see table 7).

TABLE 7

CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT: FRUIT-GROWING, 1965-1976.  
(FRUIT-GROWING REGION)

Type of Workers	1965		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
-----				
Permanent				
Paid	80.484	30.3	64.094	21.2
Unpaid(1)	107.886	40.6	85.908	28.4
Temporary				
Paid	66.978	25.2	94.950	31.4
Unpaid	10.430	3.9	57.518	19.0
-----				

SOURCE: GIA, Based on IV and V Agricultural and Livestock Census, 1965 and 1976. (1) This concerns family members.

As Table 7 shows, between 1965 and 1976 there has been also a marked reduction in permanent paid employment. One reason for this is the elimination of 'inquilinaje', which entails the end of an important number of permanent agricultural workers. Another reason is new employment conditions brought by fruit production which generates the need for a highly seasonal labour force.

The increase in temporary non-wage workers, shown in Table 7, is due both to an increase in the number of peasant holdings and in the number of peasants per holding. This increase is due partly to changes in the general social-economic conditions of the country, especially with the interruption of the rural-urban migration which, in the past, siphoned off normal population surplus (Rivera and Cruz,

1984). Nowadays peasants cannot so readily migrate and this swells the number of non-wage household workers.

TABLE 8  
MANUAL LABOUR BY TYPE OF WORKER, ACCORDING<sup>to</sup> TYPE OF HOLDING.  
(FRUIT GROWING REGION)  
1965 1976

Type of Worker	Peasant	Capitalist	Peasant	Capitalist
-----				
Permanent				
Paid	9.431	71.053	12.295	51.799
Unpaid	93.041	14.845	61.144	24.764
Temporary				
Paid	24.641	42.337	28.862	66.088
Unpaid	7.708	2.722	4.742	4.742
-----				

SOURCE: IV and V Agricultural and Live-Stock Census, 1965 and 1976.

The increase in temporary workers is largely due to the development of fruit production on capitalist farms, since fruit requires large numbers of workers during certain specific periods of the year, and there has also been an increase of 50 per cent in the number of farms.

## 2 Agriculture and Employment Changes in Santa Maria.

Santa Maria is the comuna where fruit production has been the most marked in the whole country, and for that it can be considered an example of the main trends of the social and economic process of fruit production. This is the reason why this comuna was selected to carry

out the study of women in the fruit area. Capitalist agriculture began to expand in Santa Maria before the 1950's. From early on the farms specialized in high-profit products connected with agro-business, such as fruit and vegetables for the preservatives industry, supplying both internal and export markets. The demand for temporary employment started early in response<sup>to</sup> this new agriculture.

Santa Maria is in the centre of the fertile valley of the river Aconcagua in the new province of San Felipe, to the north of Santiago and joined to it by good, fast roads. Its proximity to the port of Valparaiso is an advantage, since this allows producers and industrialists to ship their export produce in the shortest time and with low transport costs. It is also close to two relatively large towns -San Felipe and Los Andes- which include some of the largest agro-industrial complexes in the country.

Besides the production areas on the farms, there are small packing facilities, mostly simple sheds with a few long tables round which the fruit is cleaned and packed, and also the so-called 'packing satellites', larger buildings where the fruit is prepared for shipping. These smaller and medium-sized packing plants work with the agro-industrial complexes in San Felipe and Los Andes. These latter contain special systems for washing, selecting and packing, installations for pre-refrigerating, fumigating, freezing and dehydrating warehouses. The town of San Felipe has eight such complexes (1), which receive the grapes and fruit in boxes from the whole region to the north of the river Aconcagua, even from as far away as the valley of Copiapo and Huasco, some 700 kilometres north of San Felipe (Aranda, 1982).



Due to its early development of capitalist enterprise, Santa Maria has a more urban character than the majority of the rural municipalities in the country. The town itself has a population of 2.600 inhabitants and contains relatively good health and educational services, an active commercial life, and two medium-sized packing plants which operate during the summer months between December and March.

TABLE 9

## RURAL-URBAN POPULATION. SANTA MARIA.

Population	Number	Percentage
-----		
Urban	2.617	32.2
Rural	5.520	67.8
Women	3.982	48.9
Men	4.155	51.1
TOTAL	8.137	100.0
-----		

SOURCE: National Population Census, 1970.

According to a ranking study of wealth/poverty levels carried out by Vergara (1974) in 194 rural municipalities in Chile, Santa Maria comes out number 175, that is to say, it is amongst the 20 municipalities with the highest living standards.

TABLE 10

## LIVING CONDITIONS IN SANTA MARIA.

Infant Mortality Rate	44/1000
Birth Without Medical Attention	188/1000
Illiteracy Rate per 100 persons	13.4
Ratio of Teachers per 100 pupils	2.5

Source: Vergara, 1974

These figures (Table 10) show that, in spite of low health and educational levels, Santa Maria presents a privileged locality as compared to the majority of the rural areas.

a) Land Reform in Santa Maria.

Agrarian reform began in the valley of Aconcagua, and particularly in Santa Maria, where the division of large-scale haciendas into medium-sized units occurred in the 1950's. The reform was intensive and the results generally positive. Peasants who obtained holdings under the land reform have fared better than in other municipalities and regions of the country. Land reform gave them the opportunity of acquiring training in new techniques and agricultural management, and some have therefore been able to move into fruit business. This district is, thus, different from many others of the same fruit-growing region, where agrarian reform was implemented only recently as 1970-1973, and where consequently there has been *insufficient* time to consolidate production units.

Eleven properties with a total of 1.637.77 HRB were expropriated in Santa Maria. This land was later divided into 101 holdings, although



later, as I suggested earlier, many of these plots were sold to local large-scale farmers. However, this does not mean that a process of concentration of property is taking place. The fact is that in this zone a holding with 8 HRB will possess sufficient resources to function commercially. Everything depends on the level of capitalist investment.

#### b) Natural Resources.

Santa Maria has one of the highest proportions of good land for agriculture in the country (43.0%), of which much is irrigated (97.5 per cent) but, at the same time, it has a high proportion (43.4%) of very poor quality soils, on which agricultural activity is unprofitable.

TABLE 11  
LAND USE AND PRODUCTION UNITS. SANTA MARIA.  
(785 PRODUCTION UNITS)

Resources	Hectares	Percentage
Arable Land	4.000.8	43.0
Irrigated Area (1)	(3.903.1)	(97.5)
Grass Lands	159.8	1.7
Forest & Mountain	1.107.6	11.9
Other Lands	4.047.4	43.4
TOTAL	9.315.6	100.0

SOURCE: GIA, based on V Agricultural and Livestock Census, 1976.

(1) Out of the arable area.

Peasant farmers make up 82 per cent of production units in Santa Maria, including both good and bad land, and own 35.0 per cent of the land. However the average arable irrigated land per peasant holding consists of only 2.1 hectares, whilst the average for capitalist enterprise is 26.5.

TABLE 12

## TYPE AND NUMBER OF PRODUCTION UNITS AND LAND USE: SANTA MARIA

	Units	Percent.	Arable Area %	Irrigated Area %
Capitalist	98	12.0	64.8	65.6
Peasant	687	88.0	35.2	34.4
TOTAL	785	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: GIA, based on V Agricultural and Live-Stock Census, 1976.

On the other hand, ninety eight farms make up capitalist production in Santa Maria, owning, in 1976, sixty five per cent of irrigated land. Land bought afterwards by this sector (nearly half the land allotted to the peasants) was also irrigated.

This municipality also shows during recent years a spectacular change-over to fresh fruit production, far above the regional average.

Table 13 shows the spectacular expansion of specialized fruit and table-grape production due to optimum conditions in the district for the cultivation of these products, and to the new market demand stimulated by the new economic policy.

TABLE 13

## CHANGES IN THE USE OF LAND. SANTA MARIA.

Crops	Region	Santa Maria
-----		
Annual Crops	-7.4	-44.1
Fruit Trees	43.6	136.6
Vineyards	16.7	304.6
Cultivated Grass Land	-36.9	-32.8
Fallow & Idle Land	-7.3	-4.2
-----		

SOURCE: GIA, based on IV and V Agricultural  
and Live-Stock Census, 1965 and 1976.

Change in production has also provided a substantial increase in permanent and seasonal labour. Santa Maria is one of the few rural districts in the country in which the number of non-wage workers has fallen (See Table 14).

These figures conform to the pattern of capitalist development in the district. Peasant properties have diminished and seasonal wage labour has increased due to fruit production. For example, in Santa Maria, in 1976, for every permanent worker, there were 2.9 seasonal workers, a part of whom combined work on their peasant holdings with wage labour. The other part are composed of landless temporary workers living in towns and villages. On the other hand, according to the 1976 Agricultural and Livestock Census, taken on the second week of March, there was only 0.8 active workers per peasant holding.

Presumably had the census been taken in February, the figure for active workers on the peasant holdings would have been even lower, for in that month the demand for labour is at its highest in fruit production.

TABLE 14  
CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE. SANTA MARIA.

	1965		1976	
	Number	Percent.	Number	Percent.
PERMANENT WORKERS	-----			
Paid	522	20.0	606	16.7
Unpaid	1.157	44.5	1.058	29.2
SEASONAL WORKERS				
Paid	657	25.3	1.737	48.0
Unpaid	264	10.1	217	6.0
TOTAL	2.600	100.0	3.618	100.0
	-----			

SOURCE: GIA, based on the IV and V Agricultural and Livestock Census, 1965 and 1976.

The statistics show that peasants of Santa Maria are closely linked to capitalist development, either as labourers and/or as producers of vegetables and fruit for the home market and, in some cases, for export (see Table 15). So much so that the differences in the use of land between capitalist and peasant sectors are less marked than for the rest of Chilean agricultural regions.

TABLE 15

USE OF ARABLE LAND, ACCORDING TO TYPE OF FARM. SANTA MARIA.

Products	Peasants	Capitalists
-----		
Cereals	13.3	12.1
Home-Farm	8.6	4.6
Other Products (1)	8.9	26.8
Vegetables	16.0	5.5
Fruit Trees	38.7	39.7
Artificial Grassland	7.4	7.1
Fallow	7.1	4.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
-----		

SOURCE: GIA, based on the V Agricultural and Live-Stock Census, 1976.

(1) Cultivations for industrial use. Include tobacco.

The cultivation of cereals -e.g. barley and wheat- which are important for peasant consumption has been taken over by the agro-industry of the district. The peasant holdings themselves supply a large percentage of vegetables (61 per cent), although their principal production is fruit, which is mainly sold to the larger producers, who organize the harvesting.

### 3. Rural Women in the Fruit Growing Region.

The hypothesis that the displacement of women from direct production work from the modernization of agriculture (Boserup, 1970), or, in other words, from capitalist expansion in agriculture, has been much discussed in the light of recent research on the Third World. On the basis of my research in the fruit growing region of Chile, I can postulate that the permanence, integration, or displacement of agricultural activities in areas of capitalist expansion, are related to specific forms of production, the types of technology, and sexual division of labour required for the dominant crops. In this respect the expansion of large-scale exporting of fresh fruit in the region, between the provinces of San Felipe and Curico, has fundamentally, and perhaps irreversibly transformed the relations of production and social relations in these regions. In contrast to Boserup's generalization, the incorporation of women into fruit production on a massive scale has been a significant feature of this change process.

Although there are no previous studies giving profiles of women's labour in this region, we know from testimonies of peasant women that they played an important part in the early years in the harvesting of certain vegetables and fruits, such as nuts, and in the cultivation of tobacco. This work was paid for by the sack, and women were often helped by their children who accompanied them to the fields. The situation changed radically with the implementation of neo-liberal policies around the beginnings of 1976, when the government created new financial and management conditions necessary for the expansion of production and the export of fruit.

The need to make fruit production highly efficient in order to compete in the American and European winter market was accompanied by the introduction of high technology, new hybrid plants, the use of hormones to speed up the maturing process, fertilizers and specific fruit management techniques required during the yearly cycle. All this has necessitated a more specialized and skilled labour force.

TABLE 16

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADULTS<sup>(1)</sup> IN SANTA MARIA.

Occupation	Men		Women		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Temporary Labour	52	43.4	57	45.2	109	44.3
Permanent Labour	18	15.0			18	7.3
Farmer	32	26.7	24	19.0	56	22.8
Housewife			36	28.6	36	14.6
Trader	1	0.8	1	0.8	2	0.8
Domestic Servant			1	0.8	1	0.4
Employees	6	5.0	7	5.6	13	5.3
Indust. Labour	1	0.8			1	0.4
PEM-POJH	1	0.8			1	0.4
Unemployed	9	7.5			9	3.6
TOTAL	120	100.0	126	100.0	246	100.0

SOURCE: GIA, survey of 79 rural households in Santa Maria, 1984.

(1) People over 15 years old.

At the same time, the planting of fruit trees has been intensified: between 1956 and 1981 in Santa Maria alone the hectarage planted with vines for table grapes increased five-fold. All this has meant that a great number of new workers has been incorporated into the labour force. This employment pattern generated by fruit production is shown in Table 16.

There has been a clear change from permanent towards temporary employment, with a preference for temporary female labour. Among the rural women in the sample there was not one woman in permanent agricultural employment (see Table 16), despite the fact that some of the large-scale agro-industries were working throughout the year on the various tasks which are required for the processing of dried peaches, raisins and apples. These businesses are located in the cities of San Felipe and Los Andes, and for that reason it is the urban women who stand the best chance of securing permanent employment.

In Santa Maria the most significant social strata are the landless, the parceleros and minifundia peasants. Questionnaires administered to 79 rural households in the comuna of Santa Maria included 53 households without land, 13 with small plots distributed with the land reform, and 13 with minifundia plots. In the section that follows I shall analyse these three strata in an attempt to identify the relationships that women establish with the wage labour as well as with peasant labour. The data are drawn from the questionnaires, and from informal interviews with a number of women, and with some fruit entrepreneurs and staff of the fruit enterprises. I shall begin with



the analysis of landless women, and then continue with minifundia and parcelera women.

a) Temporary Women Workers.

In the households interviewed, we found 57 temporary women workers out a total of 127 (45 per cent). In fact, temporary labour is the most common activity in the whole survey (see Table 17).

TABLE 17

WOMEN IN TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT.

Strata	Households	Adult Females in temporary Employment	Percentage
Landless	53	49	92.5
Minifundia Plots	13	5	38.5
Land Reform Plots	13	3	23.1
TOTAL	79	57	72.2

SOURCE: GIA, Survey of 79 Households in Santa Maria, 1984.

As can be seen from Table 17, the majority of these women with temporary work, come from households which, for various reasons, are without land. Some of them are without land because they did not qualify for a plot during the agrarian reform period, and others because they have since sold their land (2). Others are immigrants from poorer agrarian regions.

For a preliminary analysis of women in temporary work, I included

only those 49 women from families without land. The age of most of these landless women in temporary labour is between 20 and 34 years. There is a pronounced tendency for women over 35 years to be replaced by women younger than 20. This can be explained by the fact that women who are 35 and more usually have young daughters who can replace them which allows them to retire from the labour market. This may impede the educational aspirations of daughters, the majority of whom do not finish secondary school: only five women from the landless households have completed secondary education (10.4 per cent). At the other extreme, only one woman of 65 years was illiterate; but a large number of them (40 per cent) has only completed their primary education.

From the 49 landless temporary women, six are from households that lack male heads of household. In such a household, it is the working woman who acts as head, and usually has children and/or other relatives living with her, mostly brothers. 29 of the women are married and, together with their husbands, form typical nuclear family households. 11 of the working women are less than 21 years old and live with their parents, where in most cases the mother of these girls is not involved in temporary labour. Finally there are two temporary workers who are women of young marriages who live together with their husbands and children in the house of one the latter's parents. The incomes of these households depend basically upon wages. Only one woman has a kitchen garden, while 14 of them raise poultry for home consumption and for the occasional sale of eggs.

If we turn now to the total number of women in temporary work, a total of 57, we find that 63.2 per cent work only four months during

the Summer, and the rest a total of six months a year. Even when women manage to obtain work each year for a certain number of months, their employment is unstable, due to the fact that companies contract them for specific periods depending on the time it takes to complete specific tasks. A woman will pass from one such job to another, but for each she must sign a new contract. Moreover, her transfer from job to job cannot be taken for granted. The intensive period for women working on fruit begins at the end of October, with the thinning-out of the excess blossom and young fruit, and finishes towards the middle of April with the packing of the fruit.

In 1984 the daily wage received was \$300 (US\$2.2), paid on a weekly basis from Monday to Saturday. In 1980 the daily wage of a temporary worker was \$125 which, at that time, was worth US\$3.1 (Aranda, 1982). Thus, in real terms, wages have, during the last four years, been devaluated by about a third in value.

The average Summer monthly wage for women in temporary work is \$11,800. This is much higher than the minimum wage for a permanent agricultural labourer which is \$6,500, although, after deductions, amounts to only \$5,500. One must also contrast this wage with that paid by the State to the workers on unemployment subsidies (Programa de Empleo Minimo), which is only \$2,000 a month. These comparisons help us to understand why it is that women have been incorporated in such large numbers into temporary employment.

If we consider that, in general, women are involved in four months temporary work, then I calculate a yearly woman's income of at least

\$33.600. I say at least, because in the months of February and March packing is paid for by the box and not by the day, and thus some women earn more than \$300 a day. Also, since the fruit picked in the morning must be packed on the same day, it is common for women to work extra hours during February, sometimes staying as late as 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. In 1984, each extra hour earned them \$56. If we assume that a woman earns only 2 extra hours per day work, then, her monthly <sup>wage</sup> will be \$11.800, which brings her total annual income to some \$37.680, equivalent, that is, to an average monthly income of \$3.140 (US\$21) (3). Also, if we consider that some husbands (13.5 per cent in Table 16) of women in temporary employment, are themselves working as permanent workers, then one can calculate that women bring in, theoretically, the equivalent of about 35 per cent of their total household income.

Let us now look at the cases of two landless households living in Santa Maria. Both cases emphasize the major contributions made by women to household earnings. These cases are not exceptional, and have average household incomes.

The first household is composed of a nuclear family made up of six members, parents and four children. This is an in-migrant family that has been living some 18 years in Santa Maria. The second is an incomplete family household composed by a single woman 37 years old, living with her four children, and one grandson. She is also an immigrant, arriving in Santa Maria some 13 years ago.

TABLE N.18  
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND INCOME  
(nuclear family)

Members	Age	Activity	Months Empl.	Educational	Earnings
Husband	48	Temporary Labourer	8	Basic	72.000
Wife	40	Temporary Labourer	6	Basic	70.800
Son	20	Unemployed	---	Secondary	---
Daughter	19	Temporary Labourer	4	Second. In(1)	36.000
Daughter	17	Temporary Labourer	4	Second. In(1)	36.000
Daughter	10	Student	---	---	---

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile, 1984.

(1) Incomplete Secondary Education.

The total annual income of this household is \$214.800 (US\$2.590), or an average of \$17.900 a month. Women's wages constitute 66 per cent of this income (i.e. 32.7 for the wife and the rest earned by the daughters). It is interesting to observe that the 20 year old son does not work in the fruit production, since he considers that this work is beneath his level of skill.

The total annual income of the second household is \$106.800 (US\$791), amounting to a monthly average of \$8.900. In this case the female contribution to household income again reaches some 66 per cent.

TABLE N.19  
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND INCOME  
(Incomplete Family Household)

Members	Age	Activity	Months	Emp. Educ.	Earnings
Mother/Head Hhold	37	Temporary Labourer	6	Basic In(1)	70.000
Son	16	Temporary Labourer	4	Basic In(1)	36.000
Son	12	Student			
Son	10	Student			
Daughter	9	Student			
Grandson	1				

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile, 1984

It is interesting to observe that in the nuclear family household, although the wife contributes only a third of the total income, all women together (wife and daughters) generate two thirds of household income, similar to that of the incomplete household. Also, both tables highlight the existing trend towards temporary employment, since in both no member is in permanent employment. As Table 16 shows, out of a total work force, only 7.3 per cent has permanent agricultural employment, and if we add to this peasants (22.8 %) and employers (5.3 %), this figure reaches 35 per cent.

The questionnaire administered in the comuna of Santa Maria to three groups (the landless, the minifundistas, and 'parceleras'), confirms this large-scale incorporation of women into agricultural

labour (45 per cent of adult women were in temporary employment: table 16). This suggests a direct relationship with the boom in fruit production which has been reinforced by the implementation of the neo-liberal policy. The sample of women in temporary labour indicates that only 12.3 per cent of them were working before 1973 in agricultural labour. From the beginning of 1979, the year in which the planting of fruit trees and vineyards ('parronales') tripled in Santa Maria, the incorporation of women into the labour market doubled. Of those involved in temporary employment, 26.3 per cent were incorporated between 1977 and 1980. This latter year marked a boom in terms of capital investment in the region. Most of this investment went into fruit production, with no less than ten new packing stations becoming operational. According to Aranda (1982), in the last few years an area of 6,500 hectares in the provinces of San Felipe and Los Andes, have been planted with new varieties of vines. This signified a labour demand during the harvesting period of approximately 25,000 temporary workers. Hence labour requirements in this area have augmented considerably and is reflected by the fact that 54.4 per cent of the temporary women workers entered the labour market from 1981 onwards, which coincided with a growing economic crisis in other regions of the country.

There is no doubt that the whole of this region, and particularly Santa Maria, is one of the few centres of attraction for wage earners in the country. This has meant that the region has suffered a heavy process of in-migration, with 41.1 per cent of the women in temporary employment arriving in Santa Maria only in the last ten years. On the other hand, we also encountered, although not to the same degree, a

process of seasonal migration: women who live some distance from Santa Maria move there for the Summer season.

Nevertheless, in spite of the relatively high availability of female labour, the demand generally exceeds the supply, and for this reason in the last fruit season companies were obliged to raise the daily wage from \$200 to \$ 300 and offer various other improvements in the working conditions in order to attract labour.

#### b) Peasant Women with Minifundia Plots.

Of the 13 minifundia households interviewed in Santa Maria, only 5 women were working in temporary wage labour. In spite of the fact that this is the only agricultural region potentially capable of offering temporary employment to women, few of the minifundia women were in employment. Among the factors which constrain their entry into the market three are particularly relevant.

1) The double nature of their duties: they work in minifundia agriculture and also undertake domestic work. For the majority of these married women, it is impossible to engage in wage labour simultaneously with fulfilling their peasant agricultural tasks, above all because the opportunity for temporary work coincides with the time of heaviest labour input on their own plots. Thus, only those women with the smallest amount of land can look for wage employment; they are obliged to obtain monetary income from whatever source, and in any case their labour is not as necessary, since that of the husband or one son is usually sufficient to cope with family needs.



2) Minifundia plots are generally situated some distance from capitalist production centres. The lack of adequate transport combined with the number of hours such women would have to be away from their homes, impede their entry into the labour market. However this need not be so limiting a factor, because, with a great shortage of labour, capitalist enterprise would no doubt organize to overcome it. In 1984, for example, when supply did not match the demand, the companies organized special transport services to bring women from distant areas to work on fruit packing.

3) Finally, there is a cultural factor that might be of importance. Minifundista peasants are one stratum of Chilean agrarian society that is the most 'traditional', in the sense that the sexual division of labour is firmly demarcated and legitimated. Men have a great deal say over what women can do, and in general, they do not agree to women working outside the home. Firstly, men argue that this will prevent them from accomplishing their principal roles of wife and mother, and secondly that they feel threatened that they might be placed in an inferior social position, because they themselves will appear incapable of providing for their own families. However, as various authors have suggested (Leal, 1980, Lago y Olavarria, 1981), when conditions are extremely precarious peasants generally disregard these ideological factors acting as a brake on the proletarianization of women, thus facilitating an easy and flexible incorporation into the labour market.

However, even when wage labour becomes a possibility for minifundista women, their chores continue to centre around work in the

house and work on the smallholding, just as other minifundista women in other regions (4). In Santa Maria, the rearing of animals is the production activity most developed for such women. It is usual for each peasant smallholding to raise between 30 and 40 goats, 1 or 2 cows, 1 or 2 pigs, and between 30 and 60 poultry. The women receive help from their children in the constant task which the management of these different animals entails. The goats and cows, after they have been milked in the early morning, are left free to graze in the neighbouring hills until dark when they are collected and coralled until the next day. Pigs are kept permanently enclosed and only require feeding twice a day. The poultry, after being given maize to eat, are left to roam freely around the house until dark when they are locked up. The raising of animals represent a basic contribution to household income. The rearing of goats and the making of cheese, and provision of meat and hides are exclusively for sale. The rest: pigs, poultry and cows, are both for home consumption and for sale.

In general, minifundia smallholdings are dedicated to the cultivation of maize, some potatoes, and wheat when there is sufficient land. In terms of the division of labour, the man cultivates and does all those jobs inherent to the property itself. Once the maize has been harvested, the women take charge of degrading the cobs and preparing the maize as food for the poultry and pigs. However there is also a sector of minifundia properties, situated on the hillsides, which are dedicated to the cultivation of olives for sale.

Among the 13 minifundia women of my sample, five have no kitchen gardens because of insufficient land. The rest maintain a garden

throughout the year which provides them with vegetables for home consumption. Among minifundia women work is very intense and precarious. However, a fairly high proportion of household income comes from women's work: the rearing of domestic animals and others, like goats, provide a large part of the cash income. On the other hand, the work of husbands is more related to providing food for home consumption, and for the animals. Men are also not very much involved in temporary work. Among the 13 households interviewed, in only three of them were there men working for wages in fruit production (five workers), and of them, four were young men of less than 22 years of age.

#### c) Women on Land Reform Plots.

Since 1981, about half of the owners of the land reform plots decided to sell their land or had lost part of properties due to the debts they had incurred, or because of pressures placed on them by capitalist entrepreneurs. According to Crispi (1984), in so far as fruit activities remained profitable, even in spite of the national crisis, the demand for land in the area was high, and so there was pressure on them to sell. In concrete terms, up until 1984 in Santa Maria alone, some 51 per cent of the originally assigned plots had been sold. The other 49 per cent remained in the hands of the original owners -ex-inquilinos- because, among other things, they had managed to move into commercially-oriented fruit production. The ex-inquilinos have changed their production strategies away from traditional patterns towards fruit cultivation, with agricultural credit from the State, but loaned on strict financial terms. At the

same time, they have introduced improved forms of technology which is the only way of competing in the fruit market. These plots have also managed to remain intact because of the contribution made by the wife in production. From 1976 a great effort was required of these families -as much in acquiring new and sophisticated agricultural knowledge as in physical labour.

Faced with this new situation, the men found themselves lacking agricultural know-how as much as the women, and for this reason it was easy for women, from the beginning, to incorporate themselves fully into the production process. Peasants had received their land in extremely insecure conditions, without the support of low interest rate credit, without proper training or machines, and thus, it was necessary that every member of the family was fully involved in the work.

The crisis hit those with debts due largely to high interest credit. The only way out of this was to attempt to replace certain forms of wage labour by unpaid seasonal labour from the family. Thus, the conditions which allowed for capitalist expansion among the parceleros also obliged their wives to become more fully involved in the working of the farm. Following this argument, one might suppose that under less precarious conditions and without economic crisis, the wife of a parcelero might have maintained her position outside agricultural production, as was the case during the agrarian reform.

Under present conditions, therefore, the parceleras of the fruit region invest much more of their labour in production than peasant

women do in other agricultural regions. For one thing, fruit production requires single-minded dedication throughout the year. From April to May the pruning must be done. June and July is the time for applying fertilizers and in August the weeding must be carried out and bungs made around the trees for irrigation. In October the season of heaviest work begins with the thinning out of the fruit blossoms, a specialized type of work which requires a good deal of finesse. Work in November continues with irrigation and in December the excess of young fruit is thinned out. This also requires a lot of expertise. January and February is harvest time and the fruit is sold to intermediaries. At this point the type of work done by women changes because, in general, they are responsible for the control of the harvest, for packing and sending off the fruit. In February and March the land is given a final irrigating and is then harrowed.

Agricultural production work has in no way diminished or invalidated the work women do in their kitchen gardens, or with the animals, or in the home. Thus, when the bulk of the plot has been planted with fruit and grape vines, the women continue cultivating at least a quarter of a hectare for food, for family and animal consumption. In both cases it is the woman who does this kind of small-scale production. In the same way she is the one who raises the poultry.

On top of all this, one has to add the domestic work which involves preparing meals, cleaning, taking care of children, attending school meetings, and washing and ironing. But, unlike peasant women from other areas and strata, wives of parceleros of Santa Maria, and

the rest of the fruit region live in the middle of a zone in which urban facilities are rapidly being extended to the countryside. Hence they can cook with gas and not with wood, and they have tap water and electricity, and the majority now possess electric washing machines.

At this point it seems interesting to explore the economic situation of a parcela in Santa Maria. The case is not of one of the most successful: the yields, for example, in the production of peaches are lower than in other similar properties, and as a result the income is not enough to cover the full expenses of operating the holding.

TABLE N. 20

## INCOME AND EXPENSES OF A LAND REFORM PLOT IN 1983

## I N C O M E S

## C O S T S

a) Gross Income	\$486.500	a) Total Expenses	\$429.600
Sales	387.500	Food	144.000
Others	70.000	Labour	185.700
Home-Consump.	29.000	Others	99.900
b) Net Income (gross income minus total expenses):			\$56.900
c) Mortgages and credit repayments due in 1983:			\$219.300
d) Final Situation: profits (losses)			(\$162.400) (US\$1.203)

SOURCE: Crispi, 1984.

This holding is 5.5 hectares (H.R.B). The land was acquired through the agrarian reform with 4.5 hectares planted with mature peach trees. In 1977, the parcelero replaced 2.5 hectares with new tree peaches,

and 1980 replaced another 1.5 hectares, adding also one new hectare of peaches. Until that year the remaining land had been planted with tomatoes, onions and peas. Later, in 1982 he rooted out two hectares of the new peaches and replaced them with vines. For this he obtained a credit from INDAP with three years free of repayment. In 1984 the financial situation of the holdings (see Table 20) indicated that his situation was very unstable. He was indebted for a total of \$700.000 (US\$5,200), and could not repay the 1984 mortgage of \$219.300.

As a way of solving this critical economic situation, the husband took employment as a local middleman for a fruit enterprise. As a result, the wife began to assume a more prominent role in the running of the parcela, taking charge of a number of tasks. Her involvement in the work was more important during the Summer, since her husband was absent most of the time contracting fruit in the area.

Women from this stratum are amongst those less integrated into the wage labour market. In fact only three of them undertook temporary work, all being daughters living with their parents. The labour strategies for parceleros is to keep most of the labour working within the plot, so women in wage labour occurs only when there is a labour surplus in the household.

#### 4. Two Women in the Fruit Region.

In this, as also in later chapters, I present testimonies provided by women from the area. These testimonies, I believe, reveal the social and economic processes through which actual individuals live and attempt to solve their problems. This allows us to incorporate

into the more abstracted models of social process, the views expressed by particular women. These testimonies cover sets of ideas, life projects and sentiments, and show how differential responses to certain basically similar situations of livelihood take place. For the fruit region I have selected two cases of women from very different social strata, a landless temporary worker: Senora Julia; and a parcelera, Senora Ana (5). Both women live in Santa Maria and both have been affected, though in different forms, by the pattern of regional development.

a) Senora Julia: temporary work and livelihood.

Julia is 25 years old and is one of the many temporary seasonal workers and migrants who are at present living and working in the fruit region. It is seven years since she arrived in the city of Los Andes. She has three children, two boys aged 9 and 7 and a baby of 5 months old. The eldest boy lives with his grandmother in Limache, the town where they come from. She lives in a wooden house, very clean and comfortable in spite of her poverty. She works for seven months in the year and she has no kind of social security or any right to insurance. For the rest of the year she looks after her home, she collects nuts and sells them and raises chickens.

"I look after for myself"

"I was born in Quillota but I was brought up in Limache by an uncle and aunt. They brought me up because my mother died when I was five and my father died too about four years ago.



My aunt and uncle had a smallholding ('parcela'). In Summer I worked on tomato growing, either tying up or taking off shoots. In Winter I worked cutting parsley, taking up cabbage or any kind of vegetable grown in the holding and tying up vegetables into bundles for my uncle who always loaded lorries on Monday to go and sell on Tuesday in the port of Valparaiso. He took all the vegetables there and we worked collecting cabbage, cauliflour, and all such in the Winter. So I worked at that. In the Summer I did piece-work: when I got out of school I'd work till sunset. That was before I was twelve years old, I was small then. At my uncle's I worked for the plate of food he gave me. I got paid for the tomatoes because I worked next door, in the neighbouring holding. My uncle didn't pay me, he didn't even help me with my clothes, because my father gave me a sum of money every month which he sent to my aunt, and with that I kept myself in clothes. I worked on the land. I worked in the tomato fields and I did my school work in the evening. I have brothers but I don't count on them at all, in fact I look after myself".

"Until I was twelve I lived like that: working and going to school. Then I began to work as a domestic servant and I left school. I quite liked working in houses because there they taught me a lot of things that I didn't know: to cook...and to do all the things that have to be done in a house, make the lunch, everything, because I didn't know any of that. And there I began to work, to work until I became pregnant with my first child when I was 15 or 16. After I had the boy I went

on working. The boy is now 9 years old and I am 25. Later I had the other boy, the younger, Gonzalo, who is 7...going on for 7".

"The father of the two boys was the boy friend I had in Limache. I was brought up with him, we grew up together from the time we were small, and we went together, and when I was working as a servant I became pregnant. Later, when I was pregnant with the second child, the aunt who brought me up sent me to Los Andes as a punishment, because she didn't want me to marry that boy. I lived in Limache and my aunt sent me to Los Andes where I lived in the house of another aunt. I lived there until my cousins made life impossible for me and I had to leave. I left, I rented a room and paid for my boy, paid for my boy to be looked after, so that I could work at whatever came up, as long as I could have enough money so that they had what they needed".

"Having the two boys I couldn't be without a job because I had to work for them. Sometimes I worked as a domestic servant, sometimes picking onions, in the fields, in the regimental mess, so I've been in several places. I couldn't be without work. I had to have the money so that my children could be looked after and I could pay for the room I rented. Sometimes I didn't even eat. I've looked after my children on my own, the father admitted they were his, yes, but I have never asked him for anything, I never asked anything for them, never, even, has he given me anything, he just gave me his surname

but he has never given me anything. So all on my own I've looked after them. Of course I've got the eldest boy living with his grandmother in Limache. He's been there since he was four. I just have the youngest with me. I go and see the eldest once a year, now I'm waiting to get some money together to take him some clothes and go and see him. How am I going to turn up there empty-handed ?. The boy lives with the mother of his father, so he does. She has helped me to bring him up, but you can't count much on his father because whatever he earns he spends on himself. It's the grandmother who keeps the child. When he was three and a half the boy went to his grandmother, when he was quite small because it was too difficult for me with two of them. I went through the worst kind of poverty...sometimes I didn't have enough to eat for myself!"

"For me it has been very difficult because I never had any help from my mother or my father. I have had to struggle on my own because I have never had the backing of my family as support. Nothing, nothing, nothing, I have always lived as a "hanger-on", except that with what I earned I could contribute to the expenses of the house. The truth is I kept myself alive with little bits of food, no more".

"As I said, I worked at many things. I worked in the "OSO" preserve factory. There I worked on peaches, beans, closing the tins, de-stoning the peaches. They put me to several things. I also worked in the fields, on onions under the hot sun. I got sunstroke there. They used to bring us from Los Andes by bus.

early in the morning, and we'd arrive at the field to lop off onions. They paid us by the lot, a miserly wage at that time. I got that job through my aunt who told me that in Santa Maria, over towards Tambo there was work. I took a bus. I'd no sooner arrived than they gave me a job, and there I began to harvest onions. After a month I got ill. I got sunstroke, so I couldn't go on working there any longer. So I went back to working in domestic service. Where I worked I did the washing, ironing, all that".

"In Los Andes I was going around from one thing to another until I met up with Juan and then I settled down. I came here to Santa Maria with him and I haven't moved from here since. I've been here for four years now. I have three children. The girl, the youngest is Juan's, the man I'm living with. I'm not married. I live with him and he accepts Gonzalo as if he was his own son. And now with Juan's help I've got on my feet. He's like a father to the child, the second one who lives with me. I've been living with Juan for four years, and since I came to live with him I've been working in fruit packing. First I worked in Co-Export cleaning grapes but now I'm working here in the other packing. I've been here three years packing grapes".

"In January we begin working on the packing"

"It wasn't difficult to find work here in fruit packing. When I arrived I had no idea they worked like this with the grapes. One day a friend asked me if I wanted to work in packing and I asked

her what that was, for I'd never worked in it. She told me it was the business of the grapes for export. She explained several things. Then she said: "If you want, I'll get you work". I said: "Alright". At first she got me work in the Co-Export firm and I started there. At the end of the month when I went to get paid I got a miserly sum. It was about three thousand pesos for the whole month. I tell you when I went to get my wage it was just a mingy amount".

"We started in the morning at eight and broke off at twelve. Then we'd come and have lunch and later at about one thirty we'd go again and work until late. Sometimes till one or two in the morning they'd have us there because we had to pack all the grapes that were cut during the day. But I just got a pittance out of it because in that place they are very...very...shameless, they cheat everyone. So I got fed up with the packing company and the following year I came here to ask for work, where I'm working now. Juan's sister, Angelica, who has been working for years at this, told me they needed people and I came to find out. I asked the owner if they would give me work, and I kept going for three days to get him to give me a job. Finally he said: "If you are a packer you can stay". I said yes, of course, and he gave me work".

"The work of a packer is a delicate job because if the boxes are not properly packed they open them up, and throw them out. The box has to be packed quite level, quite full, because if not they send it back to you and you don't get paid for it when you are

doing piece-work, by the box. They pay by the box when there's a lot of grapes to pack, but at this time as there isn't much we get paid by the day. They pay 300 pesos a day and 56 pesos an hour for overtime. When I work by the box I do about 300 boxes a day, but when I get paid by the day I've never worried to find out how many I do. After all, it's all the same, isn't it?"

"Last year I worked on the vines. This begins half-way through October...let's see...October, November, December. Until December we worked on the vines. But in January we begin working on the packing. January, February, March, April, the packing lasts until April, four months packing, so there's work for all that time. This year I wasn't able to work on the vines because my girl was still just a baby, but now as there's a sister-in-law of Juan's staying in the house I can go and work in the packing. I've been working since January".

"We work so as to be able to keep our house going, we want to fix it up, we want to make our way because the place isn't ours and we want to try and save up a bit to see if perhaps we can buy ourselves a house and get out of here, because this place belongs to Juan's boss. He owns a lot of land, so he lets Juan have this piece as they've known each other since they were boys".

"Juan works on loading the peaches, he just does the loading. He's a seasonal, but he's also worked as a cook up towards Copiapo, or towards Ovalle, wherever they need a cook. Or if not, in the Winter we go and collect nuts, we gather quite a few, then

break them open and sell them and we have enough to get through the Winter. The Winter is very hard for us because at that time work is very scarce. The Summer is good, but in the Winter there's big trouble, sometimes we don't have enough to eat, but my mother-in-law helps us a lot. She's a woman who would give the last crumb to her sons, she always has to give what she has, she's always helping them".

"Though the packing is not very hard I'm quite done in when I've finished. It's very different to house-work which has to be done every day. It's just routine, it's routine but at least one feels good at home...but the packing, no. The work makes you feel fed up and tired out. For me, at least, when Juan's sister-in-law was not in the house with me, I had to get up extra-early in the morning, do all the house-work and then run out to leave the child at my mother-in-law's, and then eat something in a hurry and leave for work.. So, when I arrived I was already tired. I'd leave work at about two or three in the morning and have to go and get the baby at my mother-in-law's. I'd arrive home very late, just about ready to pass out".

"I don't like the vineyard work very much because it's too hot in the sun and I miss the house. I like to work around the house. I'd prefer to stay here with the children but I have to earn a salary -I say- because if I stay at home I'm no help to Juan and his salary on its own is not enough for everything. He has to buy things to put by for the Winter and even so we don't have enough, so the little money I earn in the packing is very important".

"So, though I like house-work very much, I have to keep on working out, because I can't keep asking Juan for things for my boy even though I need to buy him things. I also have to buy things for my eldest, what he needs at school and so on. How I worry about him!

Now, if we had enough and over, I think I'd prefer to stay at home, but at present we're hard up, that's why I have to work. If I don't work, who's going to give me the money? Juan gives me money for his food and when he can he helps me out, but we are still without many things. Some of my wages I put by. I put it in a savings account in the bank because they say that if the people have some savings the government will give them houses at a cheaper rate. If I had that I'd be happy. A house!. Can you imagine?"

"Nowadays, having the baby I have lots of work at home, while before it was much easier. Now I have to do some washing every day, while before early in the morning I'd have everything ready. Now, I have to get up at seven, or earlier, to leave everything done. It's much worse now. I feed the baby before I go and give the boy his lunch and after that Cristina looks after them. I have to pay her for that. I pay her 2.500 pesos a month and she looks after everything while I'm away. She helps me a lot and I don't worry because I know there is someone there looking after the girl and the boy. Before, when I had to leave him alone I was on pins and needles all day. When I was working last year I left him with Senora Juana, my mother-in-law, and she wouldn't take any money so I didn't pay her, and he stayed with her".



"Last night we left the factory after one o'clock, the night before near two o'clock, and even after two o'clock sometimes. For over a year we haven't worked in the morning; we start at two in the afternoon, we finish the day's work at ten at night, and from then on it's overtime".

"It's never occurred to us to make trouble"

"Those of us who work together in the packing will meet sometimes when we have a problem: because we don't earn enough, because we need hot water when it's cold at night. All the packers get together and we go and talk to the owner, but we don't have a union or anything like that. The owner is understanding, he's a good man. We packers are very united but we have never been up against the owners. It's never occurred to us to make trouble. Sometimes when we want to throw a party, all the packers get together, we are united. But this year there are fewer of us than before, but that suits us because the fewer of us the more work there is and the more we earn. Of course, it's more work, but we earn more".

"Luckily Juan doesn't make any trouble because I work late. Sometimes he comes to get me, other times when he also has to work late, I come home with the other girls who live out my way. Now, I'm over the worst of my problems; at least, if times are bad we share them with Juan. Sometimes there's nothing to put in the pot, but then Juan goes out to see what he can do, to sell something. Sometimes we raise chickens for the winter and with

that we get by. I grow flowers and flowers sell quite well round about here and that helps though it's not much, but enough to buy some bread. This year the hen has produced about twelve chickens. The chickens we eat ourselves, sometimes people come by to buy eggs, but at the moment I only have two hens that are laying".

"I don't have a Kitchen-garden because it's no good planting anything here, for the simple reason that you have to buy a lot of disinfectant, otherwise everything gets bugs and spoils. Maybe because they put so many things on the vines and the peaches! Things grow well over in Limache, there it's a pleasure to plant, everything grows so nicely. But what could I do over there ?. Here I'm alright, I don't have any problems anymore, I hope I don't have any in the future".

b) Senora Ana: The Agrarian Changes Lived by a Woman.

Senora Ana is a typical parcelera of the fruit-growing region. In order to hold on to their land she and her husband have had to work hard. They owe their success to the fact that they always had know-how about fruit handling when they were first allocated their plot. But there were years, between 1981 and 1982, when their economic situation was so critical that they were on the point of selling the land.

is 38 years old,

Ana has 4 children, the eldest, a girl, is 17 and the youngest, a boy, is 7. She is also bringing up a nephew of 10, and her mother lives with her. The holding consists of about 5 hectares of the best

land in Chile. Their living quarters are about one kilometre from the holding on the edge of the main road San Felipe-Los Andes, surrounded by about 600 square metres of land on which she raises vegetables for home consumption and rears some animals.

"I was born here in Santa Maria. My parents had some land that was left them by my grandparents but they didn't know how to make the best of it. My father went off to work in the mines, in the north, and everything was left to rot, and the land was sold off. We were six children. My mother brought us up practically on her own. For money she took in washing, at harvest time she gathered nuts; that was the sort of thing she worked at. I reached third grade primary school, as far as I know; I think that's as far as I got, no further".

"While I was at school I worked on the land. I began to work for an Argentinian couple. He was Argentinian, she was Chilean. I picked apricots and worked at everything a woman can do. I raised onions, cleaned out seed-beds, harvested nuts. I remember that I was no good at walking bent over so I used to crawl on hands and knees collecting nuts. And in this way I earned something to help out at home. I always say work is not something to be ashamed of, whatever it is, as long as one earns one's money honestly. There are so many things one can do to earn clean money".

"We used to work Summer and Winter." In the Winter we shelled nuts; we did it by the sack and I liked best to do piece-work. I always worked with an elderly 'senora', as a pair, in the shelling

of the nuts. These jobs were done in the Winter, and in this way we had work both Summer and Winter. And so I got used to working.

That was when I was young, before I started work in domestic service".

"My life has been long and sad"

"I was about 10. I remember we had holidays from school and I met this 'senora' who took a liking to me, as they say, and she took me off to Santiago. She wanted me to keep her company because she lived alone. I met her in the house of a lady where I always went to do the cleaning. I used to spend all day there because they had a daughter about my size so we got on very well together. At night I used to go home. In Santiago they put me in school but I couldn't get used to it. I always think: "And if I'd got used to it, I'd be another person, wouldn't I?" After a while I came back and here I am still putting my shoulder to it, working".

"We never had much money because I remember that when the snow fell around here, I walked about in the snow in my bare feet. I always remember that the lady who took me to Santiago bought me such a pretty pair of slippers...those slippers with pictures on them that they used to sell".

"I worked in domestic service. In one house, in San Felipe, I worked about five years. Then this family went to Polpaico and I went with them, but my mother fell ill and I was sent for. So in the end I came back and I started to work for Don Milton

Contreras, and there I met Jose. I kept company about three years with Jose. I was about 17 when we met. I was working as a daily, as they say, but it was a lot of hard work because besides having to work even on Sundays I had to get home to look after my two nephews who are sons of a brother of mine. Their mother left those children when they were small, so I would get back from work and do the washing and wash them. I always said to them: "I am your second mother, your third mother; because my mum, when I was working, looked after them during the day and I took care that they had everything they needed: I washed their clothes, saw that they were always clean, and all the money I earned went into the house. I was never able to buy myself a pair of shoes or say "I like this piece of cloth, I'm going to buy it", and that's what I'd say. I was accustomed to that system because, with the money, it was a case of receiving it and giving it over, sometimes at the end of the month, I'd got nothing. My mother would turn up..."Look, I need money for this and for that". So what with one thing and another, at the end of the month I'd got nothing because I'd already asked for it all in advance".

"My life has been long and sad. I remember that at home my brothers were quarrelsome. They'd come in and start fighting so violently that my mum and me would have to run out of the house in the middle of the night, because it was dangerous. I say that in a home it's nice when those things don't happen. That's what I say to the children: "You haven't been through what we've been through", because if home is to be slept in, it's to sleep peacefully. Isn't that true? Because if a child's gone to bed,

it's so he can have his rest. He shouldn't be frightened, or have to go without food, all those things. And all those things I had to do without".

"We are two women in our family, but my sister was married at 18 so I have been the one who has had to battle more, together with my mother, for my brothers, because they always arrive with their problems, even today when they are old. The eldest is over 60".

"I think that someone who has had to suffer from very young can't behave badly. I can't be bad and deny them things. Anything they ask me for I can't deny it. I'm used to it. But it makes me angry...Why should I, woman as I am, have to be helping them? There are two of them, they are old, and they are worse off than a bird. The other day I was talking to my mother and I said: "Instead of them helping me, they should look after you". I was in a rage, in a fit of nerves, because they just go to work for drink, and sometimes they fight among themselves and I just feel sorry for my mother. I say to them: "You ought to look after the old woman, because if my mother wasn't with me, she wouldn't be with us any more". While all she does all the time is work for them, always for them. And that's what I say, instead of them working, my mum and I are looking after them. They don't worry about anything, not even about themselves. That's what makes me desperate, in the situation we're living through now. Because if they've got work, why don't they put something away, even if it's only 500 pesos ?. Or whatever they can save. They don't have insurance, or anything. The only thing they worry about on a

Saturday is to get paid and drink. They work seasonally, they don't have steady jobs; I don't know if it's because they are not married, they are not interested in anything. Here at home my husband is the only one in work and we have never had to go without bread, or anything. And mind you we have five children. So I say, if they are on their own, why can't they keep themselves?"

"The land was still part of a big farm"

"Since I was young, since I was first able to think for myself, I've been providing for the home, the home, the home. Everything I've earned was for our home. Now I'm married, I say, I live in bliss, because when I was small I did not even sleep well because at night often we had to get out of the house on the run with my mother and the two small children ?. Nowadays, what I do, the troubles I have to go through, I know it's for myself and for my children. That's what I say to them: "Make the most of the little we give you because it's for you, because how much did we suffer ?. It was the same for Jose. Jose got as far as first year secondary school. He wasn't able to go on studying either, because he had to help his parents and his younger brothers. But I was the opposite, because I had to help the elder ones as well".

"It was in Don Milton Contreras's house where I met Jose, in the plot of land we have right now. I met him unloading peaches. At that time the land was still part of a big farm, and they used to go and fetch us to take part in the work; they used to fetch us

and take us back, and several of us girls from the village used to come. I thought that he liked another girl, and that he only thought of me as a friend. But no, it was me he wanted to court. We got to know each other, became friends, we went together for three years and then got married. I was nearly 22".

"From then on we began to struggle to get somewhere. First we had a room in the house of another couple that worked on the hacienda, but really we just went there to sleep because we paid my mother-in-law for our meals and I used to spend all day in her house. I helped her with the laundry. They had a small boy, and I looked after him because the daughters went out to work. My mother-in-law would go out and I remained in charge of the house. I would wash and cook and have the food ready when they came home. Later on we got a house together with my sister-in-law and there I could do my own things. And when they finished fixing up the houses on the hacienda, we went to the houses of the owners. There we had a room. All this time our things were bouncing about from one place to another. Afterwards they gave us the house where we first lived, but this time all to ourselves. And from there we came here".

"The land was later divided up into plots"

"The farm used to sow hemp, wheat and Indian corn. While it was a farm I used to work on the piece given us by the owners, which was about a quarter of land. There I used to clean and harvest, but I didn't work on the farm, only on the piece that was given to us.



When the farm was made into an 'asentamiento', then I worked packing peaches because there we all worked together. The land wasn't divided up immediately, it was worked all together and in this way we harvested the fruit. At that time I was getting paid for my work, but it was only for a short time, because as the land was later divided up into plots and each worker was given his title deeds, then each one only looked after what they owned. I remember also that while the land was still an 'asentamiento' some land had been distributed, but not as it is now".

"I used to go and work on the hemp, fat as I was with little Tato (she refers to her eldest daughter). I had to take my breakfast with me because we worked early so as to tie up the hemp while it was still wet with the dew. You can't tie up the hemp when the sun is high because it breaks. It has to be at daybreak. He used to go off at 4 in the morning, and later I followed with the breakfast. Sometimes, as it was only the two of us, I used to take something to make some lunch out there, or I would take something already made and we'd eat it there. Then we could make the best of the sun to turn over the hemp, because it had to be turned over to keep it dry and not lose the seed. After that we'd carry the hemp to be stripped of the seed to the threshing-floor. The threshing was done with horses. I remember they used to say to me: "Senora, you're going to drop your bundle in the road", because I carried the parcels and my enormous tummy. And to think that there are some women so useless, young girls who can't walk because they are fat, or can't peel a potato or sweep a floor. And what about me! I even used to seed hemp! Only just, but I

did it! I say that the more you walk the better, because then the baby isn't just sitting there. When I had to do the laundry, I did it in the morning; then after lunch I'd go inside, and when I didn't have to wash clothes I'd leave early with the breakfast and the lunch so as not to make so many trips. We also grew 'curaguilla' (shrubs used for making brooms)".

"Working and working we've managed to make our way. I say to Jose it would be too much of a thing if he decided to sell our bit of land after so much trouble, that now that the children are bigger and we have more help, it would be a crime to sell. Besides I wouldn't put my signature to it. Of course he's never said he wants to sell, he'd have to be in real trouble for that; he would have to have no money coming in at all before I would decide to sell. Because we have worked ourselves to the bone for this land, hard at it. We've had to sweat blood to have what we've got".

"Jose says: 'We've got to do this and the other on our plot. Let's go and do it!' Because we don't make anything if Jose has to look for a workman, when we can do it ourselves. We do the work and then the money that would go to a workman stays at home. Now, I know that in the house I have to do this and then the other. If tomorrow I have to go to our plot I will leave everything ready for tomorrow. Even last night, I left the beans all chopped. I left fruit juice ready for today and I got up early. I did everything I had to do in the house and I said: 'I'll get up early. I'll save time in doing this and that and I'll go to the plot early'. In this way, this morning with Tato

we did ten row of vines. Now those rows are done. The children here, whether or not they have to study, when they arrive from school, if it's necessary to go to the fields, they go to the fields. Small ones and big ones. The small ones have to cut grass for the rabbits and if there is long grass in the fields, they'll cut it and bring it over. Here we all lend a hand. That's what I say, here we all work. Jose always says: "Without your help, without the cooperation of all, I would be nothing".

"That's the way we manage, because if we stand around with arms crossed, looking at each other, we wouldn't get anywhere. That's what I say to the children: -"You also have to bear part of the burden, if you want to study and want to be somebody later on. I don't want you to be like me, because I don't find it easy to make money, so you have to put your shoulder to the wheel when it's necessary".

"Each given his opinion"

"As one creates a home and a family so one brings up the children too, and according to how they are brought up that's the way they'll be. Well, tell me: isn't it nice to bring up a child the right way so that later he'll be a fine young man who, well...not a lawyer or more than that, but someone who will be the way he ought to be, someone who'll make you feel proud? Sometimes, because you want children to have everything, you give them too much love, you let them get away with things because you love them, and you do them a whole lot of harm. Sometimes you don't

punish them because it hurts -and one has every right to punish them- and the little boy or girl gets to know the way you feel and in the end they do what they want".

"I think the worst thing is when there is no communication between parents and children, when parents don't listen to the children or the children don't listen to the parents. Everybody in our house always talks things over at meals, each giving his opinion. If we are wrong -because nowadays children like ours have studied more and they know more than we do- then I like to discuss things with them. I want the best for them: that they should choose a profession that they really like, because I don't get anything out of telling them what I would like them to be".

"We like to talk things over. I tell Jose: 'Viejo', we have to have patience, we have to be patient and calm and have faith too", because without faith I think one doesn't get anywhere. And if you're going to be complaining all the time, you'll be no help to anybody. I always say we have to have faith and take it quietly, because sometimes he gets very nervy. Well. I understand that because he is the one who has to worry about how he's going to pay and all that: the payment of the rent, of the credits. I don't understand about that, because he's never told me: 'Vieja' this is the way it is". So I say to him: "Look, there are some things that both of us have to know about so that we can help each other, because, look, sometimes you get into a temper and I don't know why you are bad-tempered". But he says: "How can you not know? If I have to pay so much, I have to have the money for this and

that". But if we talk it over it is different because even if I can't find a solution at once, just saying the right word makes him feel that he has support. Then he does not feel all alone, he feels better and gets it off his chest. He says: "I feel ashamed that you should have to know about all this". "But 'Viejo', I say, it's worse if I don't know about it". At one time I used to have my dreams: "Viejo", I'd like to have this, I'd like to have that, yes, very soon we'll be able to afford it". And when the harvest time came round, the money wasn't enough. And I would say: "And why didn't you get it for me, why can't we buy it?". Now I say to him: "You see, it was your own fault because you yourself used to encourage me in my dreams. You never said, look, we can't buy that because we have to use the money for other things that have to be paid for. I say to him: "Don't you see we have to talk things over to be able to understand each other". Because if not, you just ask for more, while if you know, then you don't".

"And nowadays I say: Well! when you work on the plot you understand things differently, because you see how difficult it is to earn the money. It is difficult to earn, and more so if I just sit by and my husband has to pay a worker, that money goes. Why can't I do that job so that the money stays at home?"

"I've always worked on our plot"

"This time last year, Jose was very keen on doing business buying peaches all over this place and I had to take over the management

of all people working on the plot, more than 14 workers. I had to see they didn't pick the peaches too unripe, I had to see that they didn't put their weight on the trees, because that harms the trees, and us too, because next year that tree is not going to produce the same amount of fruit as this year. Then Jose was working at one thing and I was working at another, because if I'd stayed working at home, then he'd have had to work on the plot and he wouldn't have made the money from the purchase of peaches to send to Santiago. And that money we needed for the Winter".

"I've always worked on our plot. At first we had vegetables and we spent all our time on them, with tomatoes, cabbage, cutting beans or cleaning. I remember that at that time Jose became ill and had to go to hospital, and I had to look after the farm. I had no idea how to go about watering, how to turn on the water, how to arrange the ditches. I had never done these things because he always said: "I know about that!". That's why I say that a man has to be all the time in communication with his wife, telling her you do it this way or that way, because suddenly there is an illness and one doesn't know how to do things. It happened just at harvest time; I went with the people to harvest, not people from outside but with the family, but I always had to be there. As for the watering, he told me: "This is the way you have to do it, you have to water this way". And I learnt at once".

"Now in the farm we have peaches and grapes. We have a little piece planted with beans and a few rows of tomatoes, but just for the needs of the house. Here we have chickens for the house, in

case of an emergency. Sometimes there's no money for meat, so then we eat a chicken".

"For the Winter I sow some lettuce, salt-wort, radishes, parsley, that sort of things. I do that on my way because they're just small things. Then I clean, I water, and that way we get by. In the Winter there is very little to be done, so one can take time off to rest a bit. After the pruning we have to collect the cuttings, make little piles, tie them up, because afterwards these cuttings can be used for the fire. This year we are going to get more cuttings because with every year that goes by the trees get bigger, and we have more work. Then we harvest the nuts. There are not many walnut trees but it has to be done. That's a job we do ourselves, the collecting, the shelling, and all that..."

"What I haven't wanted to learn is how to prune peach trees. Really, it's not that I don't like it. It's that I get ill with the down off the peaches. They give a sort of allergy. I like to pare off plants, I like to take off the shoots, to thin out, but what I like most is working on the grapes. I don't know... I feel good at that job, even though we're just starting. I don't know all the work, but as the grapevine grows so one learns".

"I like any kind of work. For example, here in the house I sew for the children; I don't do it very well but I do it. I like to knit, I like to learn. I would have liked to go on studying a bit longer because one learns more and knows how to say things better. But though I had so few years at school I don't feel bad about it

because as I meet other people I learn something. I like to learn about everything. Here I make buns, I make jams, I make preserves for the children. That means economizing because if you have to buy the buns and jams that is not economizing and it's not the same. Also, if you want to eat a preserve you have to buy it. I bake for the children. When I have eggs I make bread with eggs I make cake".

"The truth is I work throughout the year. This year we aren't going to get a rest because the grapevines are already a full-time job. After tying them up you have to dress and clean the plants, spread fertilizer, and then you have to be all the time at it, cleaning, tying up, dressing. When in a year's time the vine grows to the top, the work will be easier, because then all you have to do is dress and no more tying".

"Here we also have a small cow, a male calf and a mare. For the mare we rent grazing rights in Chacabuco. I'm the one who deals with the cow: take her out, give her water, lock her up, tie her; and also the mare. I have to see to all the animals; there aren't many but it's a worry. It's a good thing if Jose takes on the milking of the cow, he's never wanted me to do the milking. He says: "If we had more, then, yes, but with just one cow it's better for me to do the milking". We use the milk in the home and what's over we sell. I also have a small sheep. When one has some animals they're a help in an emergency. If there is sickness in the family one can help out with one of these small animals. We raise them, see, they're a lot of trouble to raise but at the same



time they produce for us. I've never been able to keep pigs because the food is too expensive; in practice one can only keep them during the Summer when there's fruit and there's grass, but in the Winter, one has to have money to buy the food for them".

"Yesterday I got up at a quarter past seven, made the lunch, did the cleaning, and served the lunch at about half past twelve. Then I had to wash up the dishes, see to the animals and leave for the fields. There we were till half past nine. First I sent the young girl back with the children, while I stayed doing the rounds because there are always people getting in to steal the peaches. Now we are tying up the vines and taking off the shoots, and we are already late paring off the plants, because not until Wednesday will we be finished with the peach harvest. I got back, washed myself and laid the table. Then we ate and got down at once to work for the next day. On Monday I baked bread, on Tuesday I did the laundry so that the rest of the time would be as free as possible for working on the holding. Tomorrow the work is starting, and the next day the same. If there is work to be done we don't respect Sundays or holidays. It was the same when we had peas: Sundays and holidays there, we were head down bent over with the little sickle cutting peas. I say: When we have to put our shoulders to it, we do it, when we have to work, we work... and all together !"

Before summarizing the main points relating to the position of women in the fruit production process, I would like to draw attention to some issues that arise out of these two testimonies.

Both testimonies provide glimpses of the life projects of the women concerned, that is to say, they reveal their underlying interests and aspirations and show how in everyday life they attempt to achieve them. To speak about their life in relation to work, means also to speak about their life as a whole. Both Julia and Ana began to work at a very early age, before they were 10, and continued to do so afterwards, although once married the situation changed. For both of them work was of a different character once they had created a household; Julia expresses this by saying, "I don't have any problems anymore", and Ana feels that all she does is for the well being of her children, for a better future. Thus for both women, when there is a husband and a family, work becomes part of a life project, a project which is made concrete through different things, such as, for Julia having a house, and for Ana, having her children at the university.

The relationship with the husband is very important for both of them. Developing a good working relationship with the husband was, for both of them, a turning point in their lives. The main reason for this is that neither of them had the support, material or emotional, of close older relatives -parents or brothers- to help them during childhood. Before they married, their lives were therefore very hard. Looking from the outside, it might appear that Julia still has a very hard life, with only temporary employment, two children to look after and another one living away, and times when there is no food at home, etc. However, she herself, as well as Ana, does not view the hard work outside and inside the home as a sacrifice but more in terms of the possibility of realizing their life projects.

Money for both of them is highly valued but basically as a means of making ends meet, and their daily activities show this. For Julia there is a good chance that this year the fruit companies will hire less personnel, and they will offer her the opportunity of working extra hours and earning more money. On the other hand, Ana aims to replace workers, or even the labour of her husband, so that she can save money, thus freeing her husband to start new economic activities.

In these ways, they attempt to find a way out of their present economic difficulties. For both women, as well as for most others included in the sample, to "work" is a central element in their mode of life.

Prior to the 1960's, few women worked in agricultural production, either as wage labourers or as peasant producers. For most of them, domestic service provided the most likely form of employment. Both Julia and Ana worked as domestic servants, and for both of them this period of their life was very important since they learned and experienced new ways of living. Both stressed this, indicating the importance of knowledge and understanding, so as to overcome, as they saw it, the barrier of an inadequate schooling. Thus Ana appreciates fully any form of learning, even that deriving from her own children.

Ana's account brings out one of the main issues discussed in the methodological chapter, namely that not only does society in general not consider women as workers but that women themselves often take the same view. Ana says for example: "my husband is the only worker in this family and we have never lacked anything". Faced with this statement what can we say about Ana's conception of her work? Why does she dismiss herself as a worker whilst at the same time providing

a long narrative account of her own work? -work which is not only directed to reproduction, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to actual economic production. The testimonies reveal clearly the huge efforts made by both women to combine domestic and production labour, and so it is somewhat puzzling to discover that both did not consciously acknowledge the large part of household income that they themselves contributed. Clearly this reflects the dominant view of women's labour and household roles existing in rural Chile.

A last comment deals with the fact that the life histories of both women, in various ways, reflect the ways in which the changing agrarian structure has affected the livelihood of individuals and households, and especially of women. The life history of Ana in effect is the history of Chilean agrarian change. It is that of a woman who was an 'inquilina' in the hacienda, afterwards benefitting from the land reform process, and now becoming an owner of a holding located on some of the best Chilean land: it is a story from 'inquilina' to owner, from domestic servant to independent agriculturalist. Julia's story, on the other hand, reflects the present agrarian model imposed by the neo-liberal policy: she is a temporary wage labourer, who, along with thousands of other women, contributes to the generation of some 300 million dollars of profit, more than the amount spent yearly on purchasing overseas the grain needed to feed the Chilean population.

##### 5. Some Final Remarks.

Contrary to Boserup's hypothesis, capitalist expansion in the fruit growing region, entailed a major new kind of involvement of

women in agricultural production. This, as I develop in the concluding chapter, was due to the special character of fruit production which created a sexual division of labour in which women played an important role.

As I have shown in this chapter, the expansion of capitalism developed with great impetus in the fruit-producing area especially since the beginning of the present neo-liberal economic model of development. Summarizing the main changes that have occurred in this region, we can identify the following:

a) A clear trend towards the specialization of fruit production for export. Fresh fruit is exported, which, due of the long distance to destination (several weeks by ship), requires careful handling.

b) Simultaneously there has been a profound process of depeasantization, both among land reform holdings and traditional peasants, with the transfer of land to capitalist enterprise and with the increasing involvement in temporary wage labour. Yet, the peasantry has increased numerically as a result of land division, entailing a process of progressive impoverishment.

c) There has also been a notable trend towards converting permanent into temporary labour. This has been reinforced by the seasonal pattern of employment required by fruit production.

d) Fruit production has permitted the full involvement of women in wage labour, as well as their continued contribution to non-wage labour on peasant holdings.

The expansion of capitalism in the fruit growing region has had a differential impact on women according to the different strata they belong. A majority of women has been involved in a process of depeasantization and work as temporary wage labourers. Another group, the parceleras, have been obliged to work on their holdings in order to save money, instead of hiring wage labourers, which anyway in most cases is difficult to afford. A third group are those women less affected by the expansion of fruit production, namely the minifundia peasants who live some distance from the fruit areas and who do not commit themselves to wage labour, preferring instead to remain working on their own plots.

In the case of landless women their links with wage labour obviously result from lack of resources, difficulties of obtaining employment in other economic areas, as well as the relatively good wages paid to temporary workers. As I explained in the discussion of the landless, the women's contribution to the household income is between one and two thirds. In the case of parceleras, their participation in the production activities of the holding results from economic pressures due to the lack of sufficient earnings from wage labour. These problems, in turn, are the result of the growing national economic crisis. This suggests the hypothesis that in a less stressful situation parceleras would in fact abandon some of their present commitment to labour on their plots. It is interesting to note in Ana's testimony that her involvement in production has fluctuated: during the hacienda period she worked only on her garden plot; later, during the land reform period, she became heavily involved working in the production of the 'asentamiento', only later

to retire from work until 1981, when the deteriorating economic conditions obliged her to work once more on their holding as a way of reducing costs by replacing hired labour.

Finally, minifundista women raise their household income to a certain extent outside fruit growing, living as they do on marginal lands where in most cases agriculture is relatively non-viable. However, if the present trend towards increasing labour demand persists overtime -as is possible since much new land is planted with young fruit trees, and the hectarage is increasing every year, there is a certain possibility that these peasant women will become much more involved in temporary wage labour.

In all social strata women carry out a double set of activities; on the one hand, organizing the running of everyday domestic duties, and on the other, being involved in production work entailing both wage and family labour. Also in all social strata, a sexual division of labour is clearly apparent, but it is not simply a division between domestic labour assumed by women, and production activities carried out by men. Even though domestic labour is carried out only by women, production and generating income of the family also form an important part of their responsibilities. A second interesting dimension is that the organization of labour for fruit production follows a sexual division between male and female tasks, except perhaps in the case of parceleras, who sometimes take over certain activities which are customarily defined as male work.

Despite the great involvement of women in agricultural production in both the peasant holding and in wage labour, there is still a third

area, that of gardening and raising of domestic animals, such as pigs and poultry, which remains the responsibility of women and which is considered by them as a part of their domestic labour, even if in certain cases this provides an additional source of cash income. Summing up, one can say of capitalist expansion in the fruit-growing region,, that although it has incorporated women into productive labour outside the home, it has not cut off the links they have with domestic activities. This implies that women are now engaged in a number of activities, both productive and reproductive, which result in an additional crucial contribution to household income.

But the participation of women in capitalist production is not the same in all regions, and that is because capitalist expansion itself is uneven, and is based on different types of products, which, in turn, allow or prevent the incorporation of women into production activities. In the next two chapters, I analyse two situations where capital expansion is weaker than in the fruit region, and where, consequently, rural women are not involved in working for wages on capitalist enterprise. However, there is a strong commitment to labour on their peasant plots, as well as to a number of diversified economic activities (e.g. handicrafts, market selling, food processing) which supplement farming income. This means a different form of participation in the development of the capitalist system as a whole, which although it does not develop through wage labour, does depend upon the provision of cheap commodities and on the reproduction of the work force with low costs to capitalist production.



#### NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

- (1) The agro-industrial complexes are: David del Curto, Afrucoop, Agro Frio, Agro Valle, Frio-Pack, COEXPORT and Compania Frutera Sudamericana.
- (2) For a detailed understanding of this process and its magnitude, see Rivera and Cruz, 1984.
- (3) These are calculated on the lower level. The majority of landless women earn a wage that rise to 20.000 pesos during two months of the season.
- (4) Since these activities are similar to those carried out by the peasant women of the mixed farming region, I have limited my analysis here to the simple mention of the situation of the minifundistas.
- (5) Ana is the parcelera from the case illustrated on Table 20.

## CHAPTER V

### WOMEN IN PEASANT AREAS: THE MIXED-CROPPING REGION OF CHILE

#### Introduction.

I selected for research the mixed-cropping region of Chile because it embodies the characteristics of a peasant situation in which the majority of the production units function on the basis of the direct labour input of the family group. This region contrasts with the fruit area in certain respects. First, the process of capitalist expansion has been different and more unstable, being based on a certain basic "wage-good" products for internal consumption, which are not so profitable as fruit. Second, production takes place on both capitalist and peasant holdings, although, in general, it can be said

that peasant enterprises have been more stable than capitalist enterprise. Among peasants I distinguish between three groups: minifundia peasants, parceleros and commercially-oriented peasants (also called "traditional peasants"). The most important characteristic of women's activities is that they are almost entirely confined to working on peasant agricultural holdings, wage labour for them being almost completely absent.

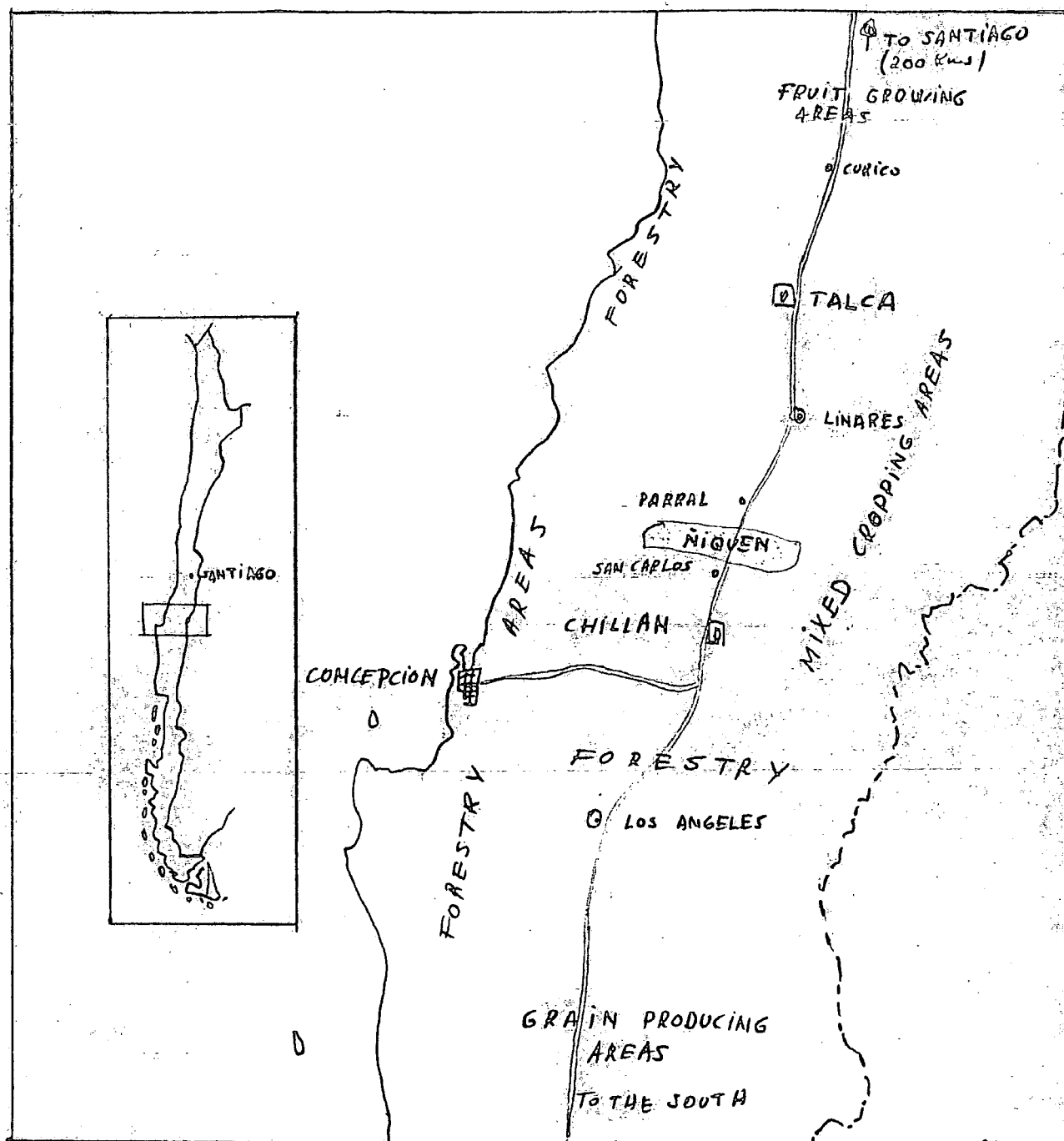
The chapter has been divided into various sections: 1) a brief overview of the region; 2) a description of Niquen, the comuna where the study was carried out; 3) a discussion of the main characteristics of the peasantry and 4) an analysis of the role of women in the peasant holdings.

#### 1. General Overview of the Region.

The mixed-crop farming area, between Talca and Nuble, in the centre of Chile, is predominantly agricultural and throughout history has supplied the country with a number of basic foods: potatoes, wheat, beans and sugar beet. These basic foods are part of what are called "wage-goods" because they are produced for mass consumption. Since prices of these goods make up the most of workers food expenses, their prices affect the level of wages of the working population (Bengoa, et. al., 1980). These crops are sown on peasant holdings because they do not require heavy capital investment, nor sophisticated technology, and the profit margins are limited.

The towns in this zone have developed in response to regional agrarian activity. Talca is an important administrative centre with

# THE MIXED-CROPPING REGION CHILE



kms. APROX.  
0 100 200

agro-industries based on pork products, vegetables, oil, wine, rice, as well as manufacturing industries producing, for example, farm machinery, shoes, soft drinks and timber products. Chillan, second in importance, exhibits less industrial development, but includes a beet processing plant for the production of sugar, and other minor industries such as sawmills, a factory for paper industrial bags, and wine and milk production. Both towns have universities and also act as regional centres for administrative and commercial activity. Other smaller townships are Linares, San Javier, Parral, San Carlos and Cauquenes, whose economies are mainly linked to the agricultural area that surrounds them.

According to the 1982 census (1), about 50 per cent of the working population is connected with the agricultural sector. An analysis of the composition of the regional work force confirms its essential agricultural nature. Compared with national figures, we find that only 21.4 per cent of the country's work force in 1970 was occupied in rural or similar activities, while in this region the figure was 49 per cent. On the other hand, the national urban work force occupied in manufacturing industry, electricity, water, gas, public works and health services was more than 21.9 per cent, while for the towns of this region the average was only 13.2 per cent (2).

The region contains 3.203.199 hectares of land of which only 23.9 per cent are arable (830.000 hectares), and of these, only 38 per cent are irrigated (315.000 hectares). The remainder are natural grass land, forests, and potentially productive lands. At the present time the hydro-electric complex of Colbun-Machicura is being built near

Talca. Besides doubling the present capacity for generating electricity in the country, this project will irrigate and improve irrigation in 300 thousand hectares in the provinces of Curico, Talca, Cauquenes and Linares, raising by about one third the irrigation capacity of the region.

TABLE 1  
LAND USE IN THE MIXING FARMING REGION.

Resources	Area. Hectares		Area. %	
	1965	1976	1965	1976
Arable Land	953.237	809.782	29.0	25.3
Irrigated Land (1)	(372.562)	(314.682)	(39.1)	(38.9)
Grass Land	914.087	914.221	27.9	28.5
Natural Forests	843.160	841.310	25.7	26.3
Other Lands	569.365	637.886	17.4	19.9
TOTAL	3.279.849	3.203.199	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: GIA, based on the IV and V National Agricultural and Live-Stock Censuses of 1967 and 1976. (1) The irrigation area (in brackets) reduced because a part was given over to another province.

The types of soil and climate are factors which have left this region out of capitalist markets for agricultural products with

comparative advantage. As described earlier, in Chile, these are fruit, livestock and timber. To develop these products in this zone would require heavy capital investment in order to obtain yields that would be comparable to those under better climatic conditions (3). The conditions are generally not suitable for fruit growing because the climate is too damp and cold. Grape vines, for example, must be grown in the dry coastal area, which consequently gives very low yields. On the other hand, the climate is too dry to develop intensive stock breeding, and though livestock production is important, the profit from it, like that of other products, is low. The region, then, forms part of an extensive rotation system of legumes-wheat-grassland, including both peasant holdings and capitalist farms (Crispi and Rivera, 1982).

From 1973 onwards, the free market policy for all national products led to a collapse in the prices of wage goods, not because of increased levels of production, but mainly, it seems, due to an over-exploitation of the peasant sector using non-paid family labour, which, as a result, had to give up a considerable part of its potential earnings. There was a loss of capital by commercially-oriented enterprises that were not able to change their production strategies towards products with comparative advantage. They have, as a result, had to continue producing low-priced wheat and low quality meat. Having land but little capital, peasants have also devoted their efforts towards products which do not require much investment, but whose market prices are low. The direct consequence of this has been the impoverishment of both the peasant sector and the commercial enterprises, which continue to cultivate the same agricultural products (Crispi and Rivera, 1982).

The region is undergoing a process of expansion in the number of peasant holdings. Between 1965 and 1976 the number of these properties increased by approximately 30 per cent, without taking into account landless sharecroppers ('medieros'). This is clearly shown in the structure of cultivation, which shows a fall in those products which are concentrated on capitalist farms, such as cultivated pastures, vineyards and orchards. On the hand, there is an increase in the labour intensive mixed-farming types of products, such as rice, beans and wheat for home consumption. Nevertheless, in terms of land-use area, the region contributes about 26 per cent of Chilean-produced annual crops (see Table 2). It also contributes some industrial products, particularly sugar beet and wine. The importance of fruit orchards and grasslands is low.

TABLE 2

## CONTRIBUTION OF THE REGION TO NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

## 1. Agricultural Area

## 2. Live-Stock

Annual Products(1)	25.9	Cattle	12.6
Mixed-Farming & Ind.Crops(2)	29.9	Sheep	19.1
Vegetables	12.3	Pigs	17.9
Fruit-Trees	5.1		
Vineyards (3)	47.0		
Grassland	14.1		
Fallow & Idle Land	30.6		

SOURCE: GIA on data from INE, ODEPA and CORFO.

(1) Wheat, oats and rice.

(2) Beets, raps, sunflower, maize, potatoes, beans and others.

(3) Grapes for wine, that in the present situation have very low prices.



If we now compare land use in the region by the type of enterprise -capitalist or peasant- we can see that for both there is a preference for peasant-type crops such as wheat and legumes, while industrial products amount only to 7.9 per cent of the total.

TABLE 3

## LAND USE BY TYPE OF PRODUCTION UNIT IN THE MIXED-FARMING REGION.

	REGION	NIQUEN	
		Capital.Entp.	Peasant Units
Cereals	23.6	30.8	24.0
Mixed-F. & Indust	12.2	17.3	28.9
Vegetables	1.3	0.1	0.2
Fruit, Vineyards	6.5	0.5	0.2
Artificial Grassland	9.5	12.7	3.4
Fallow, Idle lands	46.9	38.6	43.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: GIA, based on the V Agricultural and Live-Stock Census of 1976.

Table 4 compares the size and types of enterprise for 1965, soon after the introduction of the agrarian reform, with the situation in 1976, following the division of properties that occurred between 1974 and 1976.

TABLE 4

## DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL PROPERTY IN THE MIXED-FARMING REGION.

	1965		1976	
	Capit.Entp.	Peasants	Capit.Entp.	Peasants
No. of Farms	6.703.0	44.409	7.879.0	52.268.0
Total Area(1)	2.896.7	383.2	2.621.0	455.9
Irrigated Area(1)	269.8	57.8	204.4	110.3
Total Arable Area(1)	718.6	234.7	542.7	267.1
Average Arable Area(1)	107.2	5.3	68.8	5.1

SOURCE: GIA, based on IV and V National Agricultural and Live-Stock Census of 1965 and 1976. (1) Area in thousand of hectares.

This shows that there has been an increase in the number of farms and in the average number of hectares under irrigation worked by peasants. We also find an increase in the number of capitalist farms, but the average hectarage for these farms, both in total production and for arable and irrigated land, has diminished. Basically, this is due to the fact that an important part of the irrigated lands were expropriated by the agrarian reform. These lands were transferred to the peasant sector through to the creation of smallholder plots or parcelas, consisting of an average of 10 HRB hectares.

Another dimension that shows great changes during the last 15 years is employment in agriculture. Permanent paid work has dropped by almost 25 per cent, with a concomitant rise in temporary wage work which has increased about 80 per cent, and in temporary unpaid labour

which shows an increase of 473.6 per cent between the two censuses of 1965 and 1976. In general, then, the percentages for type of employment show a significant reduction in the amount of permanent paid work, while temporary work, both paid and unpaid, has substantially increased.

TABLE 5  
AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE MIXED-FARMING REGION.

Type of Employment	1965		1976		Differen.
	No.	%	No.	%	
Permanent Paid Work	39.042	21.9	29.410	10.4	-24.7
Permanent Unpaid Work	85.318	47.8	125.410	44.2	+47.6
Temporary Paid Work	45.145	25.3	81.203	28.6	+79.9
Temporary Unpaid Work	8.841	4.9	47.849	16.8	+473.6
TOTALS	178.346	99.9	283.872	100.0	+159.2

SOURCE: GIA, Agricultural and Livestock Census for 1965 and 1976.

This coincides with the increase in the number of units in the peasant sector, where unpaid family work predominates, and coincides too with the deteriorating situation noticeable in capitalist enterprises, which now employ mainly temporary wage labour, and also make fuller use of their own family labour. Previously, within the peasant sector, the excess members of household used to migrate to the towns, but at present migration has reduced because of the lack of urban employment opportunities. This has produced an increase in the unpaid work force available in the peasant sector, which, in turn,

allows for an increase in the land given over to sharecropping by capitalist farmers.

## 2. The Comuna/Municipality of Niquen (4).

In this region, my investigation focussed on the municipality of Niquen, in the province of Nuble in the central valley. Niquen is located between 10 and 30 Kilometres from the town of San Carlos, and about 50 Kms. from Chillan, the capital of the province. Niquen does not contain any important urban centre and its only towns, San Gregorio and Niquen, total a small population of 704 people. This is only 5.4 per cent of the total population of the province.

TABLE 6  
POPULATION OF NIQUEN.

	Urban		Rural		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Women	376	53.4	6.366	48.8	6.742	49.0
Men	328	46.0	6.675	51.2	7.003	51.0
TOTAL	704	100.0	13.041	100.0	13.745	100.0

SOURCE: Population Census of 1970.

Although San Gregorio can count on public services such as a medical centre, post-office, elementary school, police station, a fairly active commerce sector, two flour mills and transport services, the greater part of the population directly travels, at least once a

month, to the larger urban centres (Chillan and San Carlos) to buy and sell their produce and to discharge their public obligations or get health attention.

From the survey of 94 households of Niquen, we found that of the total of 206 women over 15 years of age, 24 per cent of the daughters had migrated. For the men (203), the percentage was 21. The somewhat higher percentage of migrants women is due to the social and economic conditions of the country, which afford women better chances than men of obtaining urban employment simply because domestic employment is one of the few jobs that has increased in recent years. Of the 52 migrant women who live outside Niquen, 21 per cent have domestic jobs, and of the 19 who are at present housewives, a high percentage, 36.5 per cent, were previously domestic workers before they got married in the city.

The great centre of attraction for this migrant population is Santiago, the capital. Out of 95 migrants -men and women- 67 live in the capital (71 per cent) and 14 of them are residents of the nearby cities of San Carlos and Chillan.

At the same time, it is true that there is also a return migration process which results from rising unemployment, especially in Santiago (5). This return migration amounts to 22 per cent for men and women. Reduction in urban employment has not put an end to migration -young people continue to leave-, but unemployed adults with a family find that returning to the countryside is one possible alternative under present economic crisis (6).

As we saw in Table 7, Niquen is largely an agricultural comuna, with a distinct tendency towards the formation of peasant holdings. The majority of them are of less than 20 hectares, though it is also possible to find peasant holdings close to 50 hectares. Generally then, peasant units are small, with almost 3/4s being less than five hectares in size.

TABLE 7  
LAND OWNERSHIP IN NIQUEN

Extension/Hectares	No of Farms	Percentage
-----		
Without Land	20	21.3
0.5 - 0.9	25	26.6
1 - 4.9	24	25.5
5 - 9.9	10	10.6
10 - 14.9	7	7.4
15 - 19.9	7	7.4
20 & more	1	1.0
-----		

SOURCE: GIA, sample of 94 (1) households of Niquen (1982).

(1) Another ten questionnaires were administered in the village of San Gregorio, but only one household owned land.

According to the National Agricultural and Livestock Census of 1976, there were in Niquen 1.956 production units of 20 hectares or less (80.6 percent of the total) controlling 9.300 hectares. This corresponds to an overall average of 4.7 hectares per peasant production unit.

This means that the majority of peasants do not have sufficient resources to depend solely on farm production and must therefore have recourse to temporary paid work or some other means of supplementing farm income. Rivera and Crispi (in press) have estimated that a peasant unit in this comuna can maintain itself under the present level of technological development with a minimum of six hectares. In such a holding it would be necessary to practice the following land use pattern: 1.5 hectares would be reserved for vegetables and mixed-farming products for home consumption, and 1.5 hectares for pasturage for livestock. Some of these products would be marketed; 1.5 hectares of produce for sale in the market; and 1.5 hectares of wheat for sale and home consumption.

In general, Niquen follows the general regional pattern of land use, the largest area being dedicated to cereals, followed by mixed-farming products. Pasture land is also an important item, though its area has decreased noticeably between 1965 and 1976.

Finally, the living conditions in Niquen are worse than the average for rural municipalities in the country as a whole. According to the welfare scale mentioned earlier (Vergara, 1974), Niquen figures at the second worst level (7).

### 3. Nature of the Region and of the Peasant Household.

Although this region has never attracted agrarian capital like the fruit growing region, at least until 1973, it developed an important wheat and agricultural processing sector, which stimulated the

development of capitalist enterprise as well as private and State-owned agro-industries, such as flour and rice mills, sawmills, and wine, sugar beet and vegetable oil processing plants. However, Niquen has never been well located in terms of industrial centres, and that has probably been one of the reasons for its poor capitalist farm development. Yet this fact has simultaneously facilitated peasant-type production.

However, the peasantry is not indifferent to the market and capital penetration. The peasantry has for a long time been involved in commercially-oriented farming, and so both peasant and capitalist enterprises have been producing for the same markets. The products they grow can easily be cultivated with good results by peasants, whereas capitalist farms practicing mixed farming experience some difficulties (8).

Within the framework of a neo-liberal economy, the low profitability of wage goods limits access to capital and technology, and, as a result, complex relationships are established between peasant and capitalist farms through sharecropping and various exchanges of land for labour, that in many ways reproduce certain of characteristics associated with the former hacienda labour system. Hence, sharecropping has, in this region, become one of the most important forms of production. It affords the peasant the possibility of cultivating a larger extension of land, while the capitalist is able to reproduce his capital at lower cost and with less risk. The mutual advantage of sharecropping, therefore makes peasant survival possible, but, at the same time, reinforces social relationships based on old labour patterns (Crispi and Rivera, 1982).



As I have pointed out earlier, an important aspect of the present dynamic of the agricultural economy of the region is the increase in the number of peasants, as well as, their differentiation into social strata. This process resulted from the division of the land reform enterprises into small holdings. As Gomez (1981) points out, the distribution of part of the expropriated land into individual units and the economic policy put into operation since 1973 did away with the obstacles that had previously halted peasant differentiation. The allotted plots were generally the best-quality land with the greatest agricultural potential, and for this reason some holders have been able to develop reasonably successful farming enterprises.

The difficult conditions that neo-liberalism has imposed on the agrarian sector and on the production capabilities of this particular region has produced a marked process of differentiation among peasants, especially among the land reform holdings. A number of the latter have created well-run farms, based on large household units, containing, on average, three adult men (Crispi and Rivera, 1982). A small number of prosperous peasant farms are also found among the long-established or "traditional" smallholders. In Chile, and particularly in this region, the peasantry originated from the division of the large farms and haciendas which resulted from the existing bilateral inheritance system, which, over generations led to the fragmentation of holdings. Nowadays the more prosperous peasants make a living from market-oriented agriculture and livestock production.

However, in order to make a success of commercial farming, which, as I suggested above, takes place in a high-risk environment, they

have had to adopt certain production strategies which stress some degree of home consumption, whilst at the same time maintaining a large family labour force that can, from time to time, shift between agricultural activities and outside temporary wage labour. The judicious use of their own labour in the pursuit of different livelihoods is the central element of this strategy.

Both the better-off land reform smallholders and so-called "traditional" peasant households aim to send their production to the market. However, how much they produce or how big an area they cultivate is dependent basically upon the amount of unpaid family labour that is available. Those who have working equipment and enough sons will cultivate the whole of their holdings. Part of production will be for home consumption, approximately two hectares of wheat plus enough potatoes and beans to feed them through the year. The remainder will be devoted to growing market produce, such as wheat, potatoes, as well as certain crops for industrial processing such as sugar beet, rice, and black beans for export.

A process of impoverishment has, however, affected a section of the land reform and 'traditional' peasant holdings. One of the most definitive results of this process has been the sale, renting and sharecropping of land which occurs among most of the land reform peasant holdings. In Niquen, 18 per cent of those holdings were sold between 1977 and 1982, while other plot owners have become so poor that they now mostly produce for home consumption, which they combine with renting out or sharecropping some of their land. Occasionally, too, they sell small plots to other peasants. These transactions take place in order to generate enough cash to purchase other necessities.

The largest sector of impoverished farmers is found among the 'traditional' peasants, whose plots now range between 0.5 and 10 hectares. This sector faces enormous constraints on obtaining sufficient income from agriculture, or from temporary labour, and has to live in very poor conditions. Depending on the quality of the land, irrigation facilities, labour force and means of production that they can count on, these peasants sharecrop land with other peasant smallholders or on the larger farms of the area.

An important characteristic of the poorest peasants is their lack of sufficient household labour to cultivate sufficient land for basic subsistence. These peasants can usually only count on their own labour, and as a result are unable to undertake sharecropping with other peasants, although they may, of course, decide to sharecrop or rent out a small portion of their land to others so as to obtain some income from it. In this way, the land reform holders find partners among the minifundia owners who often have a surplus of labour at their disposal but no land. During the fieldwork it was observed that the owner of the land usually supplies half of the inputs -seed, fertilizer, pesticides, tools- and the one who takes on the sharecropping puts up the other half, plus his labour and that of the other members of his family. The necessary farming equipment is supplied by one or the other, and the share out at the harvest is 50:50. Hence, land and labour, are, in fact, 'priced' the same.

The same happens in the case of livestock. Sharecropping for the parceleros has been a strategy for accumulating livestock, while the

owners of minifundia are able to keep a couple of cows or some draught animals by going halves with parceleros. At the moment, sharecropping appears to be one of the most important production strategies pursued by peasants for household economic reproduction within the mixed-farming region.

As we have seen, the peasantry is very heterogeneous and can be divided into different strata, according to the different forms of insertion into the market and to the types of production and survival strategies adopted. There are four major elements:

1) Heterogeneity is, it seems, partly a direct consequence of the characteristics developed by the region under the specific conditions created by the neo-liberal economic model.

2) The majority of peasants must make use of several production strategies, depending upon their socio-economic position and capital resources.

3) These strategies are developed by the household as a whole, and

4) In this reproduction process, each member of the family has a specific economic role to play.

As Galeski (1972) has argued, one of the fundamental characteristics of peasant farming is the identification of the enterprise with the family economy, since the unit of production supplies, as far as possible, the needs of both home consumption and market. This proposition can only be valid here for parceleros and 'traditional' peasants, who reproduce themselves through direct agricultural production. In case of minifundia owners, the production

unit is not sufficient to cover both these needs and, for this reason, they must work as wage labourers outside their plot. This is a general strategy adopted by the poor peasant (Wolf, 1966). When the possibilities of paid employment as a complement to farm production are restricted, the peasant unit is forced to look for other alternatives that will allow them to find a substitute income. The possible alternatives are long distance-migration for work, social security allowances, and/or engaging in some kind of informal sector activity based on sporadic sales and exchanges, including wild poultry, hunting of rabbits, collecting of prawns, etc.

Summing up, we can say that factors such as material resources (eg. the quality, quantity and use of land), and the number of household members determine the social stratum of these peasants and their work organization, which is geared to undertaking different production activities and developing some sound livelihood strategy.

In this way, the peasant household constitutes an economic and labour unit in which all its members -adults and children- participate with complementary responsibilities. From this point of view, one can examine the role played by women in the social reproduction of the peasantry, in the process of peasant differentiation, and in the process of accumulation in the agrarian sector. Women take on, in the conditions imposed by the overall economy, an important part of the duties appertaining to the economic and production strategies adopted by the household.

#### 4. The Role of Women in the Peasant Economy.

The role of peasant women and their participation in the household economy in Chile is closely bound up with the social and economic changes that have taken place in the agrarian sector during the last 25 years. However, it is not possible to find, any research study which discusses the work of peasant women of this region, either before or during the agrarian reform. From the case-studies completed during the present research, and from information obtained from other studies on women in agriculture carried out in Chile in the last eight years (9), one can establish that women have always been connected with direct production work on the peasant farm, especially dealing with the small animals, to cleaning and selection of seeds, and many other agricultural jobs. Yet, these jobs have been, and still are seen, both by the woman herself as well as by society at large, as forms of additional help, not as centrally important to production.

Except for milkmaids and vineyard workers, women were always in the hacienda system "kept separate" from agricultural production and subjected to the obligations she owed to her husband. Women's work was thought of as a type of cooperation with the husband in specific jobs, no matter how many jobs they did for the hacienda.

In 1875 Balmaceda noted that "The women of the 'inquilinos' (rural workers) are obliged to knead the bread, cook food for workers, milk the cows, make butter and cheese, shear the sheep, sew and mend sacks, work in the storage of wheat, in the winnowing and sweeping, in the harvest and in many other things, in which not only are they useful

but can also substitute men, sometimes with advantage" (1970:83). But this work became invisible in so far as the husband was responsible for it to the owner, and only he received a salary. So invisible was this work that if the husband died and there was no adult man in the family to take over his work, the widow and children were expelled from the hacienda (Oxman, 1983).

With the modernization of the haciendas these responsibilities were reduced, as wages replaced perquisites and as new technology was introduced. Thus, the work done by the woman gradually diminished and became more and more confined to domestic chores. At the time of land reform, the duties of the inquilino's wife were reduced to a few agricultural jobs and to the preparation of food for the workers during the periods of sowing and harvesting. Nevertheless, the wife continued, independently, to look after the kitchen garden and the small animals for home consumption.

The land reform put an end to the hacienda system, but in this process women did not find a place, nor were they assigned any real participation. Moreover, within the new production units created by the State, women were actually eliminated even from those tasks which they had traditionally undertaken, and thus they were specifically relegated to domestic work (Garret, 1982). On the other hand, the State took care to associate women, not with production work nor with the executive groups within the land reform enterprises, but with new organizations, the Housewives Committees ('Centros de Madres') in which their roles as mothers and wives were emphasized by means of training courses in various domestic activities, such as sewing,

weaving, making cakes, hair dressing and other similar tasks. As Oxman points out, "the agrarian reform process acted as one more obstacle to the incorporation of more women into agricultural labour as direct workers, accentuating the tendencies which had already been noticed in rural employment and aggravating their dependent condition in respect of men's work" (1983:38).

From 1973 onwards, the increasing impoverishment and general critical situation of agriculture has obliged the family as a whole, in the different peasant strata, to intensify production activity and, at the same time, to search for new and varied alternatives which permit them to reproduce themselves, or at least to reach minimum levels of subsistence. In this context, women have had to double their efforts in production to take a more active part in the work of the peasant holding, and intensify thereby their participation in new directions.

Domestic chores, the upkeep of the kitchen garden and the care of small livestock fall within the scope of the decisions and responsibilities of women. They have also to cooperate, as the children also do, with the rest of the household, in cleaning and selecting seeds and carrying out supplementary jobs such as storing farm produce. To this must be added various non-agricultural tasks, such as making cheese and bread for sale, woollen handicrafts, honey, and engaging in small-scale trade, which is significantly different to that carried out -as shown in the next chapter- by the women in the central sierra of Peru. Owing to the critical situation that the whole region is undergoing, these extra tasks have become basic for



the support of the family, since they provide an important part of cash income.

Women in Niquen, whatever the stratum to which they belong, are in charge of the administration and upkeep of a kitchen garden for home consumption. Its size varies between 200 and 2.000 square meters, depending on the total amount of land at the household disposal and on the supply of water (10). The garden is an important factor in the support of the household, for it will provide onions, garlic, salt-wort, beet root during the whole year, and green beans, potatoes, maize, chillies, tomatoes, peas and greens in Spring and Summer. Since in this region there is no tradition of food preservation, the majority of this produce is consumed immediately by the family. However, some surplus is sold and/or exchanged among neighbours. The money obtained from these sporadic sales usually goes to cover the needs of the school age children.

The kitchen garden is a regular feature among peasant women of the region, and implies a knowledge transmitted from mother to daughter and over generations. In this region gardening is a particularly important activity, different, for example, from the fruit region where kitchen gardens are not considered by women an important element in the household income. The seed is kept from one year to the next, the nursery frames being prepared during the Winter for the early Spring vegetables, but in Autumn the kitchen garden is reduced to a few crops. Seeds and seedlings are exchanged between neighbours with the object of obtaining improved vegetables and better yields. Generally speaking, after the domestic chores, the kitchen garden is

the most important concern of women and there is a feeling of pride and competition surrounding it. The result is that in each peasant unit the Kitchen garden occupies a prominent position especially in terms of the amount of time dedicated to it when compared with other tasks.

The actual time given to work in the garden varies according to its size and the time of year. The period of greatest activity is Spring and Summer time, when women are occupied in it for two or three hours a day, in two spells, mornings and afternoons. This is the time of sowing, of cleaning and watering and of constant watching and worrying in order to keep it from being ruined by the fowl and by garden pests or by drought. In the case of the minifundistas, watering is an exceptionally heavy task, because most of them do not have irrigation channels and have to carry the water from the well in pails. However, the need for a Kitchen garden is so great and the attachment to it so deep-rooted that the effort it entails is apparently no obstacle.

Working in the garden, the wife gets some help from her husband - he generally helps to till the earth - and from the youngsters and children with the weeding. But, even so, the Kitchen garden is her domain. She decides what and when to sow and what to do with the produce. If she sells part of it, the money she gets is hers, and she can decide what to spend it on. In the cases we studied, all women spent their money on clothes and on school expenses for their children.

Throughout the region, peasant women are clearly conscious of the contributions they make with their work to the family economy and to

the solution of survival problems. One woman put it as follows: "I believe that in the countryside one can always count on eating at least a dish of beans. For example, if a woman has something in her kitchen garden that one doesn't have and one wants to buy it, she won't sell, she'll give it, while in the town they won't".

The raising of small animals -fowl, pigs, and sheep- is another of the jobs women specialize in, which is considered a domestic task, not a productive one. All women breed fowl and pigs, but only a few of them have sheep as well. The number of chickens varies between 20 and 50, and depends almost exclusively on the amount of maize, wheat and potatoes which the peasant unit possesses. Within certain limits the number of chicken is inversely proportional to the amount of land they own. In this way chickens become a food substitute for agricultural produce of the household.

The production of chickens is mainly for home consumption, but small numbers are also sold among neighbours, and sometimes poultry are sent to their grown-up children who live in town. Chickens are one of the resources they can fall back on at times of economic difficulty.

The breeding of pigs is also a regular concern of the peasantry and it is the woman who is responsible for them. Pigs are usually bred in pairs, one for home consumption and one for sale. Of the year's production, all the pigs are sold at three or four months of age. The sow is kept and two or more litters according to the amount of fodder that is available on the holding. If for some reason the woman loses

her pig production, she will take part in a sharecropping arrangement, by which another peasant woman will hand over to her a couple of young pigs to raise. Within the year she returns one of the pigs, keeping the other in payment for the fodder.

Pigs are important because they produce a cash income for the family at times when earnings are low. Also they provides lard for preparation of food during a large part of the year and besides, together with chickens and eggs, they supply nearly 90 per cent of the protein intake for the family.

In so far as the feeding of small animals is provided by the holding itself, the production of maize, potatoes and wheat establishes a limit to the number of animals that a peasant woman can raise. Therefore there is a threshold beyond which a peasant unit cannot keep more. On holdings with less than a hectare of land it is difficult to find more than one pig and five chickens per unit (11).

The cultivation of the garden and the raising of small animals have always been associated with domestic work and are, therefore, underestimated when considering women's direct productive work. If one examines the details of the total production of both these activities, it becomes clear, however, that they take care of a part of the food consumed by the household, and are especially important in respect to the supply of animal proteins. In this sense, we can begin to reconsider both the productive nature of these two activities and the importance of women in agricultural work for the reproduction of the peasant household. Later I shall look at the magnitude of these in relation to family income.

Though raising sheep is not very common among peasants of the region -only a third of the peasant properties keep sheep (12)- more than 50 per cent of the women worked in activities that had something to do with wool. This work goes through different stages from the shearing of the sheep to the sale of the finished product: washing the wool, spinning, dyeing and weaving. Women who do not weave but keep sheep use the wool to make mattresses or send it out to be woven. Others buy it, wash it and spin but, since they may not have a loom, they also give it out to be woven. Others have it spun by someone else and only weave the loom.

The tasks connected with wool production, except for shearing and washing, are carried out in the Autumn and Winter, at the time when there is not much agricultural work. This activity is traditional to the zone and both the looms and art of weaving are passed on from mother to daughter.

In spite of the fact that in Niquen there are some women who buy wool and send it out to have blankets and shawls made for the market, it cannot be said that there is a consolidated system of intermediaries, because the market is small and sales infrequent. Normally these materials and items are sold through kinsmen -sons or brothers- who live in the cities, or else they are left in consignment with people living on the edge of the trunk road, who then exhibit them for sale to passing motorists (13). Though it is true that this type of work requires time and disposition and is not a secure source of income, it is practised nevertheless. Production is

specifically for sale and, in some measure, helps to increase the cash earnings of the family. Actually, the labour input by women working on wool is high. If the work hours necessary to make a blanket and the cost of the wool are considered, then the selling price would not cover the cost of labour. But in the critical situation of poverty and struggle for survival in which the peasant family lives, this is one of the few tasks performed by women which produces some cash income.

Another specifically woman's activity which generates cash is the manufacture of cheese. Peasants usually have a couple of cows which are milked by the wife. The milk is partly consumed in the house, but is made into cheese for sale. Only what is not sold is eaten by the family. The sale of cheese also takes place on the main road, usually on consignment. Very often this trade is practised by the young unemployed of the locality. They go round the houses picking up the cheeses and then sell them. The woman manufacturer puts a price on the cheese and the salesman adds a percentage for his profit.

In 1981, a better alternative to making cheese was to sell the milk to the large dairies. The price at that time was ten pesos per litre, while making a cheese required ten litres and also sold for 100 pesos. Therefore, the price did not include the work done nor the cost of the rennet necessary for manufacture. However only peasants with easy access to the road could benefit from this, for the milk-collecting lorries of the dairy plant in Chillan cannot reach out-of-the-way farms.

Every woman devotes, during Spring, Summer and Autumn, a couple of hours a day to making cheese. The time of greatest activity is in the Summer when there is more milk production, but cheese is sold all the year round because it is a cash income which, though small, is important to the peasant household.

Though small-scale trading is not a highly developed activity among these peasants, women turn to it as a way of obtaining money, especially towards the end of the year before harvest, when the previous production has been consumed. In eight of the twelve cases studied in depth, the woman participated sporadically in small trading or other minor transactions. Small-scale trade in peasant produce is mainly limited to the locality and occasionally includes the sale of products in the towns of the region. The greater part of women who go in systematically for the sale of kitchen garden produce or small animals, cheese or wool in towns, have definite housewife clients who prefer to buy agricultural products direct from the peasants producer.

Under present conditions of peasant impoverishment, it is the wife who obtains from her small home tasks -especially in the case of the minifundia owners- an important part of cash earnings. The reason for this, as previously argued, is that there has been a diminution of temporary paid work, so that the husband can count on few opportunities of finding work within the region. Also, because the owners do not dispose of much cash, very often temporary work is paid in kind: "My husband works on odd days when he can find work. Today he is producing beets, and as they don't have money to pay him they give him wheat and beans".

This lack of cash affects peasant families who produce for the market, since farm work has come to depend almost exclusively on family labour, reducing to a minimum the hiring of wage labour from outside. Women in these holdings engage in various forms of farm labour, which in earlier days would have been performed by hired labourers. The case of women on minifundia holdings is different; they do not need to work on their holdings because the labour of the husband is sufficient. But, since they are currently short of money, they must work hard in gardening and other activities, whilst the husbands must look for temporary employment on nearby capitalist farms: "We have little work on our own plot, so every year I go to gather lentils in the same place. There they already know me so I am sure of getting work. Thank God, because getting work here is difficult" (14) .

It is interesting to chart the activities carried out by peasant women in the mixed-farming region, through the 12 cases I studied in depth.

Of the seven minifundia women, only one does not contribute to the family from her earnings. She is the wife of a permanent worker in the church of San Gregorio. The rest all carry out some activity that provides them with a certain amount of money, usually by trading foodstuffs produced or processed by themselves. In the case of handicrafts, the objective is always to sell. Six of the seven women work on this.



## CHART

## GENERAL DATA AND ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN: TWELVE CASE STUDIES (1).

Case	Age	No of child.	Hects	Work in farm	Work in Garden	Work animals	Hand- Crafts	Cash Income
-----								
1	27	2	1	-	x	x	-	-
2	38	3	1.25	-	x	x	x	x
3	53	9	1.83	-	x	x	x	x
4	41	4	2	-	x	x	x	x
5	71	12	2.25	x	x	x	x	x
6	53	2	3.75	-	x	x	-	x
7	49	4	5	x	x	x	x	x
-----								
8	45	5	13	-	x	x	x	-
9	51	7	13.4	x	x	x	-	-
10	43	7	15	x	x	x	-	-
11	30	2	23	x	x	x	-	x
-----								
12	59	6	17.5	x	x	x	x	x
-----								

SOURCE: GIA, field-work, 12 case-studies in Niquen, 1982.

(1) From 1 to 7 are minifundia Women, from 8 to 11 parceleros, and case number 12 is a so-called 'traditional' peasant owner.

At the same time, it is clear that women with less land generally do not work on the farm: only two of them in fact do so. Case number five, with 2.25 hectares, has 12 sons and daughters, but only the

youngest girl lives with her. Thus in spite of their age, she and her husband, work hard on direct production. This is not so in case six, where the two adult sons and the husband suffice to cultivate their 3.7 hectares, so that the woman does not take part in this type of work and can devote her time to a variety of other activities. If one of her sons were absent, she would have to take his place as wage worker. Otherwise, the alternative for this family would be to sharecrop part of their plot.

The case of the parceleros is different. In the three cases with most land, women work on the farm and Case 8 has sufficient labour from her sons. Only one of them carries out an activity which brings in money. She is a dress maker and sews for the neighbours of the locality, especially in March at the start of the school year, for the national celebrations in September and for the New Year festivities.

The 'traditional' peasant smallholder presents similar characteristics. The woman has always been just another worker, working jointly with her husband and older children. In case 12 it is evident that the woman takes part in all activities, and the numbers of hectares and children seem to make no difference. She works in the farm, in the garden, she has a certain number of small animals -the production of wheat, maize and potatoes make this possible- and she makes handicraft goods for sale, in order to obtain some cash earnings.

## 5. Two testimonies of Women from Niquen.

In order to have a clearer understanding of the labour dynamics of peasant women in the mixed farming region, let me now develop a profile on the basis of two testimonies: the case of a minifundia woman, Senora Flor, and that of a parcelera, Senora Laura.

a) Senora Flor: "One doesn't think of the work".

Senora Flor is 53 and she and her family possess 1.8 hectares divided into two parts, one located several kilometres from the house. For this reason the husband lets it in sharecropping. He provides the seed and grows potatoes and broad beans for home consumption. On the other piece of land he grows export-type black beans, which he sells to a storehouse in San Carlos. He also cultivates on a sharecropping arrangement a piece of land near his house which he sows with wheat. This provides him with flour to last about seven months. One 'cuadra' (1.5 hectares) provides them with about 3.200 kilograms of wheat. For the harvesting done by machine, he has to pay 300 kilograms for 'maquila' (paid with ten per cent of the output) and for the milling, another ten per cent of the wheat for maquila.

"To tell the truth, as it is, I have to say that I'd no learning. I was only a year at school because my mother got ill and I had to take charge of the house, bring up my brothers and look after her. I always say it was very sad. She had to get ill just as I was starting school. After my mother died I was

ten years with my small brothers. And some years later I got married.

"I was brought up right here. My parents had a piece of land and they left a bit for each of my brothers and sisters. For me it was difficult bringing them up. I had to wash their clothes.. it used to make me cry!. I wasn't really capable!. After I got married I didn't leave until I'd finished bringing up my youngest brother, who was two when my mother died.

"At that time my father took on a piece of land in sharecropping.

It had a house and a hut, good for rearing pigs and chickens. We moved there with my husband. A few years later we came here and put up this house, as we were able, little by little. This house was built in three parts: first we built a little house, it was just a 'ruquita' (15), then we got together some energy and added another room and, finally, last year, thanks to God and to our sons we finished it (16).

"Six of our children work in Santiago and always send us money. Of course, just lately they've had trouble and haven't been able to help us. The eldest went to work in Santiago nine years ago.

A cousin of mine took him when he was just a boy. He was only 11, and after that he never liked the countryside. And as each one grew up, they all went off too. First the three boys and last year my girl who is 17 went to work as a domestic maid. The eldest of the sons mends and paints cars, another works in a newspaper printing house, and the last one to go is a junior

clerk in an hotel. All of them have good jobs perhaps because I asked the Lord to look after them, to guide them on the good road, and to give them work. My God has listened to me so far because they have never had to go without.

'Three of them have married girls in Santiago. Whenever I go to see them I take them a few chickens. Of course I only go twice a year, for Virgin's Day and New Year.

'The last of our sons helped us to finish our house; they worked so hard, he and my husband! They took a lot of land in 'medieria', they sowed more than two 'cuadras' of land, they did well with black beans and bought the wood. They finished the season very tired. They worked on the farm everyday and at night carried up water to make mud bricks.

'Nowadays my life is fairly easy but when the children were small it was hard work. But we did it all with patience and God's help. We had a difficult time bringing them up. We used to go out to work, me with my pots and my baby. I'd make a meal out in the fields to save time. In the evening, when we came home, I'd leave the bread made. In the morning I'd bake it and out I'd go with my basket of bread, the pots and my children, sometimes pregnant. I'd take all my children to the farm work so as not to leave them alone. He also was an understanding man, who took care to help me. When I was ill he used to look after the children and do all the work of the house: bread, food, and even the cleaning.

"When the harvest was bad, then we used to decide together. We've never lived in disagreement. Each one did what he had to do. He has more learning, while I know about the things to do in the house. So my old man would say to me: 'Now what are we going to do if we don't have this, that or the other?'. I would say: 'Don't worry, God will help us'. And there and then I'd start to spin some wool or weave a shawl to buy a pair of shoes for the children, or for what ever we needed. And when we've had hard times he'd go off to Santiago for six months, and then come back for two or three, and go off again. While he was away I'd take charge of everything: I'd water, sow and do all that had to be done. He'd come back when he'd got together enough money for what we needed.

"Life in the countryside is very hard, especially for a woman. After all when the man gets home he's given his dinner and he has his rest, while a woman sometimes doesn't even have time to sit or eat. I'd like to have lived in town, but I can't get used to it, I don't like being closed in. Here one moves about all day in the open air. I compare my life to my daughter-in-laws' in Santiago. They all go out to work. I don't think it right that a housewife should work because she neglects the house. Besides, I don't see the advantage; when they come in they have to do the house work just the same.

"Here I'm quite well off. I get up at half-past six and the first thing I do is light the fire to boil the kettle. While the water gets hot I feed the poultry. I have 40 chickens and

hens altogether and also 18 turkeys. I have to fetch turnips to cut up for them and I also mash some maize. Between the poultry and the pigs it takes me about 45 minutes. If I have time I sweep the yard. At about 8 o'clock we all have breakfast, then I do the cleaning inside and the beds.

"Before beginning lunch, or while I leave something on the boil, I go to the garden, I do the washing and make bread. My garden is small, it's only about 20 square meters. There I plant coriander, cabbage, chives, salt-wort, lettuce and tomatoes. In this small garden I prepare seedling frames for the farm worked by my husband. In Summer I water with a pail every other day and this takes me about one hour and a half. In this way, between the garden and the bread I get the lunch ready.

"After lunch I wash the dishes and I feed the chickens again. At about 2 o'clock I get down to work on the wool and I have some 'mate' (17). On Thursdays I go to a meeting of the sewing group that we have here and later I iron and sew. At about seven I serve tea to my husband and the children and at nine I give them something that's left over from lunch. When I have to weave I stay up till twelve, but I don't mind because I like doing it. I prefer to weave scarves. It's more worthwhile than a blanket because for these nobody will pay more than two thousand pesos and for one blanket I can make three scarves for which people will pay 1.200 pesos each. So it's better, though the work is harder. If you work it out, one doesn't make much, that's what my son says, but as it's my vocation I just go on. After all

one doesn't think of the work. But while my health is good I don't rest. If they see me walking around not doing anything, it's because I'm ill!".

b) Senora Laura: "All I wanted was to be my own boss"..

Senora Laura has lived all her life in Niquen. Together with her husband, she has 13.5 hectares of very good land, the best in the region. It came into possession towards the end of the 1960's through the expropriation of the hacienda where her husband worked as an 'inquilino'. At first it formed part of a land reform enterprise or peasant settlement set up by the land reform. Apart from the land farmed in common by all the assignees, each head of family received a plot for his personal use. Then in 1976, the land was made over to them for individual ownership. They now use it to produce wheat, beans and pasture for cattle. Senora Laura is 51 years old and has seven children between the ages of 15 and 30 years. One daughter is married to a neighbouring parcelero and doesn't live on their farm. Another daughter works in Santiago as a domestic servant. Of the rest, two daughters and the youngest son live with her and her husband. In addition, about a year ago, a brother of hers arrived from Santiago and stayed to work on the farm, without wages but making use of two hectares of land in payment for his work. She relates her story thus:

"When I was a girl I lived on a hacienda near here where my father was an 'obligado' (18). I didn't learn to read or write because at that time there were no schools. Besides, even as a



small girl I had to work! I needed, I gathered wheat, peeled maize, sewed sacks, picked runner beans and did other jobs that came up. In that way I helped to pay the 'obligation' (19). They gave us a piece of land for farming and fodder for six animals, but later they reduced this to fodder for only two animals and they took away the piece of land. So then I decided to get a job as a maid in the house of the owners of the hacienda. All I wanted then was to get married so as to have my own house and be my own boss. I saw that my mother gave the orders at home and I liked that, because the only place where one can give orders is in one's own home. So very soon I married a boy from the same hacienda. After we married we continued to be 'obligados' but at another place.

"Here on I give all the orders about my house and my garden. He decides only about the farm. He helps me in everything. When I was ill and the children were small, he made the dinner and washed the clothes. Now he doesn't do these things because the girls are grown up, but he helps me to feed the poultry and with some jobs in the garden; for example, he ploughs for me. I must say he is very good to me. He doesn't mind my belonging to some women's organization. He says it's just up to me. I go to religious instruction, to the Mother's Centre and to the Novena of the Virgin in December.

"Nowadays of course, I don't have much time. The situation is difficult for everybody. Look, even I, for the last two years I'd stopped working on the farm because we had money to take on

one or two workers, but now we don't have the money to pay anything like that and I've had to go back to work, together with the boy, in the sowing, in the harvest and in whatever is needed. The price of vegetables is very low. For the beans they paid us between four and ten pesos per kilo (20). We needed to get together some money to pay the quotas of the CORA (21), the water bill and also the land tax. Just as an example, my daughter married a parcelero, and they alone can't sow more than five hectares. They can't pay the workers and, because the children are small, they have no help, so my son-in-law lets the rest of the land out for sharecropping, so as to get money to pay the quotas. Imagine how badly off we are, for we haven't been paid for the wheat we sold, either. We've been cheated!. To get by we've had to sell some cattle. This year we've already had to sell two at 10.000 pesos each, when two years ago an ox we bought cost us 30.000.

"The children in Santiago cannot help us either. They have their own families. They work on building construction and at the moment they are out of work. I sent to tell them to try and hang on as long as they can, but if they are out of work for much longer, they'll just have to come back here. At least here they won't be without a plate of food. One of our daughters wants to go to work in Santiago. I think it's a good thing that a woman should work, but for that, one has to go to town. Round about here wages are very low. Besides, the work in town is clean, the girls learn a lot of new things and since they have some money they dress well. We don't have enough to give them

what they want. I've never left this place, perhaps because I never had any education. I never dared look for a job outside.

"But, for me, farm work is what I know. Anyway we peasants are always on the losing side! But I think the best thing is to raise cattle. Just look how in spite of the low prices we've managed to keep going. Besides, people pay cash for animals and they don't give much trouble, not like the sowing, I'd put all our land down under fodder!. Thanks to sharecropping we raised nine of our own cattle and we still have one in co-partnership. But I'd leave a plot of land under maize and potatoes so as to keep poultry and pigs. I have five pigs and twenty hens and chicken. I don't like to raise ducks because they are very dirty, or turkeys because they are very delicate. To have a kitchen garden? Oh, yes! Because I keep working at it all the year round I'm never without greens of the season. What would I do without my garden!".

From the testimonies of these two women we can observe that there are few, or no means of subsistence <sup>except</sup> from farming, either from one's plot or through various forms of sharecropping. In the case of Flor, her husband sometimes engages in wage labour but only when the harvest has been insufficient to provide enough income for the household.

In Laura's household cultivation is also the only means of livelihood, but, in this case, they have more land that they can cultivate for themselves, and for that reason, instead of hiring labour, they exchange land for labour with the husband's brother. The

husband is a form of *inquilino*, who also engages in sharecropping outside the household. This form of acquiring supplementary labour is very common among peasants of this zone. When there is not enough labour in the household, they use some of the land for sharecropping, as in the case of Laura's daughter's husband. Another strategy, as Laura explains, is to reduce the cultivated area and increase the number of cattle, which can also be organized through sharecropping. In this way Laura's household has obtained 10 animals, which form the core of their herd.

Both testimonies highlight increasing level of poverty and the incapacity of peasant agriculture to retain population, even at a minimum level through incorporating part of the younger generation. It is also interesting that, once children have left to live in the cities, there exist, apart of casual visits and holidays trips to the countryside, no forms of systematic and organized economic cooperation between households. The only type of economic exchanges that takes place are sporadic gifts (a bag of potatoes, for example) send to the city, or of clothes in the reverse direction. This marks a crucial difference to the case of central Peru which I examine in the next chapter, where inter-household cooperation constitutes the crucial factor in the peasant and regional economy.

In the Chilean case, and particularly in this region, households are made up of a co-residential group, with no stable network of economic relationships with other kin-related households. When in certain circumstances a married son/daughter lives in the household, the parents say: "ellos estan viviendo con nosotros" ('they are living

with us'), denoting both the fact that is a temporary circumstance and that the two units remain in some ways separate: "estan" implies a present but non-permanent situation, and "con nosotros", the idea of two different units. A permanent co-residential arrangement would instead be described as: "nosotros somos..." ('we are...'), and in this case the verb 'to be' is used as denote a more permanent feature.

If Laura's sons living in the city return to their parent's households, they would on fact fall under the category of "allegados" (hangers-on), which contrast with the case when certain households include a grandparent or a grandson, or some other relative, or even a non-relative, who participate fully and are regarded as adopted by the household.

Both Flor and Laura represent typical peasant women of this region. They work on various household duties, with domestic animals and also cooperate in certain tasks in the main fields, such as cleaning and harvesting sugar beet and beans. The role of Laura as a worker on the farm is more noticeable than in the case of Flor due to the different size of their holdings. Laura has so many duties in agriculture and gardening that it is impossible for her to take on anything else, while Flor weaves items to sell in the market. Flor also develops other activities to obtain additional income, but they all are based on the holding's resources.

Both women make a clear definition as to male and female domains within the household, and domestic work is carried out almost exclusively by women, helped sometimes by the husband. Both women coincided in describing their husbands as "good men" because they help

them in household tasks. Flor emphasizes that "he knows more about numbers, meanwhile I am more acquainted with domestic chores", which again emphasizes the notion of a sexual division of labour, which she takes as a basic element of the everyday household existence.

However, such a conceptual distinction, together with the actual division of labour, give women a great capacity for taking decisions within the household, especially in relation to what is considered a woman's domain: the kitchen garden, domestic animals and the household itself. This has important implications, since it reinforces the role of the woman in, for example, deciding on children's education, and in allocating household income to specific items. My research shows that there is a great 'investment' of peasant women in the education of the children.

Education has another implication for peasant conceptions of agricultural work. In both testimonies, as well as in other general interviews, I found that peasants express a negative conception about rural work, as something dirty, full of drudgery, and with few benefits; as a sacrifice that one has to bear because there are no opportunities elsewhere, which are always rated higher than agricultural work. It is for this reason, I believe, that peasant women encourage their children to gain education and to leave the countryside for the cities, where work is viewed as something easy and clean. Women especially like for their children what they themselves have been denied.

Finally, I would like to point to a characteristic that is specific to peasant women in this region, and which emerges from the

testimonies, and from other research, namely, the special idea they have about rest and leisure. Some women say they "rest" when they are ironing, or sewing, or mending clothes. Others say they rest, for example, when they are selecting seeds, or when they are gardening. Thus, although peasant women do not in fact rest throughout the day, and have a clear understanding of the contribution they make to household income, they do not consider many of their activities as constituting proper "work". Gardening, raising of small animals and other jobs are considered by them as domestic tasks and these tasks for them lack value as work. When somebody asks them about their work, they will answer: "I do not work, I only stay at home." This is a crucial point which carries with it both ideological connotations (for the person who asks it and for those who answer), as well as semantic implications relating to how the concepts of "work", "labour" and "activities" are defined and differentiated.

#### 6. Contribution of Women to the Household Income

From the analysis of cases, records and questionnaires administered in the district of Niquen, it is evident that the participation of peasant women in various production activities is different according to the resources that the peasant household has at its disposal.

In the case of parceleros, who normally have between 10 and 20 hectares of land, direct labour on the holding is intensive for women, since they take the place of labour which they would otherwise have to hire. At the same time, production from the garden and the small animals is important because they have sufficient flexibility to

devote a reasonably large piece of land to the garden and also can obtain fodder for the animals from the farm holding.

The situation is not the same for minifundia plots because the husband's labour is sufficient. But, the fact that nearly all of production is consumed at home, makes it imperative to complement this by means of some cash producing activities. Under the present circumstances in this region, women are in the best position to make money, as they can diversify their activities in a variety of ways. Men's chances are limited to direct agricultural work, to occasional jobs either locally or elsewhere or, as a last resort, to a place on a PEM State programme, or, if lucky, to receiving a retirement pension. Under present conditions, therefore, minifundia women provide a substantial part of the total income of the peasant household.

It is interesting to calculate the approximate contribution made by peasant women of different social strata in order to obtain a quantitative approach to the matter.

Table 8 shows the economic value provided by women in two peasant households. It has been necessary to make a number of assumptions in order to arrived at these figures:



TABLE 8

ESTIMATED MONTHLY ECONOMIC VALUE PROVIDED BY WOMAN'S WORK IN TWO  
HOUSEHOLDS OF THE MIXED-FARMING REGION(In pesos of 1982)

	Minifundia	Parcelera
	Woman	Woman
-----		
Garden Production	224	745
Animal Production	1.960	1.191
Work on Holding	--	600
Other (1)	950	995
TOTAL	3.134	3.531
-----		

SOURCE: GIA, fieldwork in Niquen 1982.

(1) Includes sales of handicrafts and processing of food.

1) The table presents two specific cases of households, a minifundia and a parcelera considered representative of the economic situation of women in the comuna under study.

2) In order to calculate the value per item of production, it has been necessary to assign a monetary value to total production including both that part actually sold in markets as well as that used for home consumption. The calculations are based on the market prices for various agricultural and non-agricultural items for March 1982 in San Carlos market.

3) The calculations do not include any estimated value or cost for labour.

4) For handicraft production, relevant information was available, and so it was therefore possible to discount costs.

5) The production costs of the garden were not taken into account, since the seedlings and seeds are produced in the garden itself. If an estimate of the costs incurred is calculated, the amount would be very small.

6) In the case of animals, the opposite is the case. Part of the feed for pigs, poultry and, in some cases, sheep, comes from the farm yard, or sometimes from payment in kind received by one of the members of the domestic unit. The cost incurred, although not negligible, has been impossible to quantify and, therefore, has not been estimated. For this reason, the income obtained for the sale of animals is probably an over-estimate. This situation affects the minifundia household in a different way to that of the parcelera household, because of the different relative weight of animal production. Hence the over-estimation is greater for parceleros.

7) It is extremely difficult to delimit exactly the scope of female and male work and thereby separate incomes or economic value.

These comments point to some limitations of the calculations. However, this does not, I believe, detract from their general validity. My approximations, I think, give a rough idea of the contribution of women's work to the household; and in my opinion the percentages do not differ significantly from the real situation and, in so far as the calculations were carried out in exactly the same manner for both units, they are comparable. Women's earnings constitute an important part of the total income earned by both households (see Table 9).

TABLE 8.

## MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC VALUE PER PRODUCTION UNIT.

Work by Sex	Minifundia Unit		Parcela Unit	
	Amount in pesos	%	Amount in pesos	%
Men's Work	2.833	39.5	22.000	84.8
Women's Work	3.134	43.7	3.531	13.6
State Subsidies	1.203	16.8	401	1.5
TOTAL	7.170	100.0	25.932	100.0

SOURCE: GIA, fieldwork in Niquen, 1982.

In the case of a minifundia owner with 1.3 hectares of land, the value obtained from agricultural production was \$2.000 a month and the wages earned from temporary employment by the head of household \$833 a month. Therefore, the monthly economic value provided by the man was \$2.833 pesos, which makes up 39.5 percent of the total for the household. To this must be added three State subsidies for the children of 401 pesos each, forming 16.8 per cent of the total for the household. The remaining 43.7 per cent of value was provided by female work.

In the case of the parcelera with 13.4 hectares, the net economic value from agricultural and livestock production was approximately \$22.000 a month. To this was added \$401 a month for one child State subsidy and the remaining \$3.531 (or 13.6 per cent) derived from women's work.

It should be emphasized that, even though the woman may not take an important part in the work of the farm, the household obtains a substantial part of its food and cash income from her work. This is especially true of smaller owners with less than 5 hectares of land, who do not produce enough to sell in the market. Our survey indicated that 73.4 per cent of the peasants in Niquen fall into this category (see table 7).

It is evident, therefore, that a greater proportion of economic value is provided by women in households whose level of agricultural production is low. Inversely, the greater the land area, the smaller the proportion of value provided by women's work, although, somehow, paradoxically, in these latter farms women's work is actually more intensive, since they have a larger and more varied kitchen garden and raise more animals than do others. This is valid both for parceleros as well as for 'traditional' peasant women.

A more detailed analysis requires that we separate from the total economic value that part relating to the rent value of the land, that is to say, the amount the household would have to pay if they rented all the land under cultivation. I have taken this rent value as equal to the current price for renting land in the locality.

The annual price for renting land was \$7.000 per hectare in March 1982. At this rate, the parcela has a rent value of \$105.000 a year, or \$8.750 a month. If we subtract this amount from the economic returns of the parcela, then, the economic value produced by what is regarded as men's work is reduced to \$13.250 a monthly (see Table 10).

TABLE 10  
MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC VALUE PER PRODUCTION UNIT.

	Minifundia Unit			Parcela Unit		
	(Total)			(Total)		
	Amount in \$	%	(Sex)	Amount in \$	%	(Sex)
Man's Work	2.249	31.4		13.250	51.1	
Rent	292	4.1	(35.5)	4.375	16.9	(68.0)
Woman's Work	3.134	43.6		3.531	13.6	
Rent	292	4.1	(47.7)	4.375	16.9	(30.5)
State Subsidies	1.203	16.8		401	1.5	
TOTAL	7.170	100.0		25.932	100.0	

SOURCE: GIA, field-work, 12 case studies in Niquen, 1982.

If subsequently we divide this monthly rent into two parts to take account of the that both husband and wife have, under Chilean land law equivalent rights to property (22), and then add these amounts to both men's and women's work, the value of the contribution of male and female members of the households are substantially different.

Although this type of analysis has built in methodological problems, especially with regard to how one valorizes labour which is unpaid (in this cases covering both male and female work) and how one assigns values to land and property, the exercise, however, brings into relief the importance of certain socio-economic factors that tend to underestimate the contribution of women to the household income. In most peasant studies returns on production and land rents are

automatically assigned to the income of the man, so that his contribution to the total peasant economy is over-valued.

#### 7. Concluding Remarks on Women in a Peasant Situation.

The contribution of women to the work and income of peasant households is considerable, although the kind of work women undertake varies according to their social status. Among the more prosperous peasants women's efforts are directed mostly towards agricultural on-farm work, while among minifundia peasants they engage in a diverse set of agricultural and occasional non-agricultural activities associated with their own household and farm resources.

Under the present general agricultural crisis, peasant households of the region therefore turn their hand to varied production and economic strategies aimed at meeting their reproduction needs. Women are involved in a variety of activities, whilst men channel their efforts mainly towards direct agricultural production together with casual wage work on nearby farms. This tends to reinforce the work women do within the household unit. This increase in unpaid women's work in jobs which are not strictly domestic makes a contribution without cost to the social reproduction of manual labour. In this way the participation of women helps to reduce the costs of agricultural wage labour. Hence, an important part of the subsidy provided by peasants to the economy of the region and to the country is necessarily based on women's work.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER V

- (1) According to official figures, In the period between the censuses of 1970 and 1982 this region underwent a population growth of around 20 per cent,
- (2) The city of Talca, which has a higher urban PEA than the national average (29.9 per cent), is not included. Clearly, Talca is an exception in the region.
- (3) In the fruit-growing region one hectare of eight-year old apple trees produces 2.000 boxes of export apples, while in Niquen the production is no higher than 1.224 boxes per hectare. As for the raising of cattle and milk production in Osorno -a very advantageous region for livestock, the annual production per hectare is 250 to 300 kilograms of meat, while in the grass-land of Niquen the production is not more than 80 kilogrammes per hectare annually. The relationship between both regions in milk production is similar.
- (4) The district of Niquen was chosen as a typical district among ten pre-selected districts considered the most representative of the mixed-farming region. For more details, see the methodological chapter.
- (5) In 1982, the unemployment rate was 19 per cent. This percentage does not include the population registered in PEM which at the present time benefits 24.000 urban and peasant workers.
- (6) This same phenomenon has been observed among 'mapuche' communities of the cereal-growing central and southern regions of the country. See Babarovic, Campana, Diaz and Duran, GIA 1984.
- (7) The 'mapuche' and 'huilliche' communities of the central and southern regions of the country present worse living conditions than the peasantry of Niquen.
- (8) See, Synthesis of Capitalism and Peasantry in Chilean Agriculture. GIA, 1982.
- (9) Lago and Olavarria, 1981; Aranda, 1982; Campana and Lago, 1982; Lira, 1983.
- (10) This district is very dry and hot during the Summer, the irrigation canals carry little water, and added to this, as from April 1979, Decree No 2063 defines water as private property and obliges all landowners -peasant and capitalist- to purchase the right to the use of water from the Conservator of Real Estate in each locality.

- (11) It can be seen that this situation is different from that in the central sierra of Peru, where pigs and sheep are led out during the day to pasture far from home. For that reason sheep herding in Peru is an arduous and exhausting task. In Chile, on the contrary, the enclosure of animals in private property and fenced fields makes herding over large areas impossible, so that the raising of small animals is restricted to within the holding and even to the domestic area.
- (12) This percentage rises to 65.5 per cent in the case of the capitalist properties.
- (13) The district of Niquen is crossed by the north-south road, the main transport system of the country.
- (14) This occasional work is only for few days a year.
- (15) A 'ruquita' or small 'ruca' is a 'mapuche' indian house, consisting of only one room, which serves as kitchen, eating-room, sleeping-room, all in one.
- (16) The house is still small and poor. It is built of mud-bricks, and odd pieces of good, thick cardboard which close up the holes. It has an earth floor and no windows.
- (17) Peasant women are accustomed to drink 'mate' instead of tea.
- (18) 'Obligado' (or 'forced') is the name which the 'inquilino' gives to himself.
- (19) The indebtedness of the 'inquilino' or rural worker to the hacienda.
- (20) In 1981 the price of beans was higher, at between 25 and 28 pesos per Kilogramme. The dollar exchange rate was 39 pesos.
- (21) As from 1976, CORA has become responsible only for administrative matters concerning the debt contracted by the parceleros.
- (22) Civil Code. Official Edition, 1964.



## CHAPTER V

### ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN A MINE-BASED REGIONAL ECONOMY IN PERU.

#### 1. General Historical Background.

In order to have a better understanding of the position of women and their role within the household economy, as well as the relation of women's activities to the regional context of Central Peru, it is necessary to present a general historical account of the region.

The Central Region has been more closely studied than most other regions of Peru. The reason for this is that from the beginnings of the development of Peru as a nation, this region has shown

characteristics which differentiate it from other parts of the country. The region, whose economic centre is the valley of the river Mantaro and the town of Huancayo, has the greatest concentration of population and agricultural, industrial, commercial and mining activities in the whole sierra or mountain zone of Peru. This is as much due to the abundance of resources as to its proximity to Lima, the major consumer centre of the country.

The Central Region, also known as the Central 'Sierra', has always held a strategic position in Peruvian economic structure, because mining -the principal export source- has been, since the beginning of the colonial period the basis of Peru's economy. As a result of the mining industry developing close to a large concentration of population, this region has played a continuously important role in national economic and political life.

One of the most striking peculiarities of this region, which originated in the colonial period, was the absence of agricultural haciendas, as existed in much of the rest of Peru. Instead, the Indian population was settled in Indian Communities (1).

From the earliest colonial times, the system of the 'mita' (tribute labour) and 'obrajes' (workshops) obliged Indians to interrupt their agricultural activities in order to work at the mines at the bidding of the Spaniards. By means of the 'mita' it was possible to obtain compulsory labour for the mines and public works, while the 'obrajes' supplied the goods that were needed by the haciendas, the mines, towns and villages. From this point of view, community organization was

indispensable for the Spanish economy, each community of Indians supplied a certain amount of labour to meet the needs of the mining industry.

As a result, during this period, agriculture and livestock began to take a second place in the regional economic process, so much so that in order to feed the population of the villages, towns and mines, it had become necessary already in the 17th century to import produce from other regions and even from Chile.

In contrast to other regions, in which even at the end of the colonial period a relatively homogeneous social system existed, in this region a process of socio-economic differentiation was begun early on. A small number of haciendas were established in the valley belonging to the 'curacas' or heads of the 'ayllus' who were related to Spaniards through marriage. This group came to exercise political and administrative control in the villages and communities of the valley. Within the Indian Communities not all 'comuneros' (community members) acquired the same rights to the use and distribution of land.

Over time, within the community, property came to be organized on an individual household basis and communal land became secondary and limited to pastures located in the high 'puna' (high plateau) which was of no use for agriculture. Already by 1742, 33 per cent of the land in the valley was in the hands of Spaniards, creoles and 'half-breeds', 65 per cent was distributed among individuals within the communities, and only 1.5 per cent belonged to the confraternities or 'cofradías' which were religious, hierarchical organizations dedicated to maintaining the worship of particular Catholic saints through annual celebration of the Saints days (Long and Roberts, 1978).

Thus, individual household possession and use of land and the economic dynamism which developed around the extraction of minerals gave the region, as a whole, specific characteristics, within which the towns, villages and communities managed with some success to find a place.

As Campana and Rivera (1978) indicate, the Independence of Peru in 1821 did not substantially change the economic system which continued to be based preferentially on mining, nor did it restructure labour relations in the region. On the contrary, the liberal policies of the new Republic freed property and opened up the market, and this had the effect of giving the region a new impulse, since community organization was in a strong position to provide not only the labour needs of the newly developing enterprises, but also agricultural products, especially meat, upon which the centres of industry depended. From this moment on, the commercial activity of the region took an upward turn. This commerce was mostly in the hands of 'mestizo' peasants who were descended from the families of 'curacas', who controlled the greater part of the land in the communities as well as the small number of existing agricultural haciendas.

During the 19th century, cotton and sugar-cane plantations were developed on the coast. These plantations required a large number of seasonal wage labourers, who were recruited through the 'enganche' system from the central region of Peru (2). These workers came mainly from the peasant communities since, in spite of the new liberal laws of the Republic, the hacienda peasants or colonos remain on the

haciendas and could not easily migrate on a seasonal basis. Thus, an important part of the available work force in Peru was concentrated in the communities of the central sierra, and, in several, it was the poorest comuneros, with small and poor quality plots who sought work on the coastal plantations.

At the same time, there began to take shape in the highlands a new intensive type of copper mining, which also required a great quantity of labour. This development was built upon a combination of Peruvian and British capital; and towards the end of the century there were about 15 foundries processing mineral from several dozen small and middle-sized mines (Flores, 1974).

The high mountain zone, known as the punas, was also used to develop sheep and cattle producing units. According to Laite (1978) these haciendas functioned with little invested capital operating a system called 'huacchillaje', (see note 2 in Chapter III). This system continues to provide manual labour for livestock production to this day, except for some haciendas where, by the middle of this century, a full salaried work force had been established (Caicho, 1977; Campana and Rivera, 1978).

At the same time, the peasant economy in the communities evolved on the basis of a surplus labour which was not dedicated to trade or not recruited for wage work in the mines or plantations. Hence the communities of the valley and of the puna devoted themselves to small-scale production of potatoes, maize, wheat, broad-beans, peas, quinoa and animals, principally sheep. With these they were able to supply part of the requirements of local markets, the mining centres and towns, and the capital, Lima.

In this way, active trading was established between the Central Region and the coast, transport being originally by mule and managed by the wealthier sectors of the large communities of the valley, such as Sicaya, Orcotuna, Chupaca and Matahuasi, and some in the puna, such as La Oroya itself. These peasant cultivators not only worked their own land but also from time to time required extra labour for their farms and for expanding their trading operations. This meant that already by the end of the 19th century the valley communities, and, to a lesser degree those in the puna, exhibited marked social and economic differentiation, which allowed a few families to wield political power and control communal resources and access to regional markets.

However, the end of the century saw the beginnings of profound changes in general, in the social relations of production in the whole region. These changes originated in capitalist expansion on an international scale, headed by corporations and financial institutions, which embarked on the conquest of new markets (Renique, 1978). The construction of the railway Lima-La Oroya, in 1893, was one element of these changes (Yepes, 1974).

In 1902 the North American mining company, Cerro de Pasco Corporation, installed itself in the region, and as a result mining properties were concentrated under a single ownership, with a more advanced technology and more developed infrastructure, qualitatively different from the previous system (3). Throughout the first years labour requirements were exceedingly high. Labour, largely recruited

through the enganche system, was temporary and the rates of pay insufficient to meet the full subsistence needs of workers. This forced peasant-workers to fall back on their village-based peasant economy for some of their necessities. Hence family cultivation of land continued as a necessity, the only alternative open to households needing to supplement mine wages.

Capitalist expansion did not limit itself to mining and between 1906 and 1910 considerable capital from Lima was invested in livestock production in the puna. This move produced a concentration of properties with the formation of two important companies: the Junin Livestock Society which was formed through the purchase of six haciendas, and the Central Livestock Society. Yet, although these companies introduced more advanced production techniques, the system of huacchillaje continued as the preferred working relationship between hacendado and tenant workers (Martinez Alier, 1973).

The whole region took on a new dynamism. In 1908 the railway was extended to the town of Huancayo, and in 1920 the long and difficult construction of the main road between Huancayo and Lima was begun and finished in 1931. With these developments "the predominance of Huancayo as the most dynamic economic and political centre of the region was definitely established" (CENCIRA, 1978).

All this indicates that during the earlier five decades of this century, an intensive transfer of labour was going on from the communities to the mining centres and to the coast plantations, which until the introduction of the Agrarian Reform in 1969 continued to

receive temporary workers from the sierra. In the plantations "the system of recruitment of occasional workers -the enganche- developed in two directions: first, indebtedness gradually lost importance as a central mechanism, and second, the relative importance of temporary workers from the coast itself began to increase. Nevertheless the temporary workers from the sierra are still a strong contingent, whose number can not possibly be calculated precisely" (Caballero:1978:76).

There are several factors during the present century which account for the loss of an important part of the agricultural and livestock resources of comuneros of the valley and the puna: a) The division of the large communities which controlled the land in the valleys and the puna, which occurred when districts were broken up to form new administrative units, blocked the access of comuneros to some of these resources; b) The later division of property by encroachment of community land by the large-scale haciendas (4) and by the natural increase of the population, notably reduced the land area available to comuneros and c) The destruction of the pastures -in part irreversible- and some of the agricultural land by the fumes from the refinery of La Oroya which effectively ruined stock raising and seriously affected agricultural production in the valley communities (5)..

As a result, many comuneros found that permanent paid work was the only way to supplement their agricultural activity, which in time became a supplement to wages earned outside. For the richer comuneros trade came to be the most important activity, to the point that from the 1930's onwards, such commerce shows an sudden increase. This, it



seems, resulted from the capitalist dynamic engendered by the large scale mining industry.

To sum up, from 1900 onwards, a special system evolved around capitalist penetration in the region. This centred on the operation of the mining enclave, which instead of creating a process of capitalization in agriculture exacerbated the development of a non-viable minifundia. This led comuneros to strengthen both their links with wage labour, to affirm their affinity with direct production and with their community, and to expand their business dealings within other spheres of economic activity.

Within the process of social differentiation experienced by communities of the region, it has generally been the poorest sectors which have become involved in temporary wage labour in the coastal plantations, in the jungle region, or in industry, construction work or street vending in cities such as Lima and Huancaayo (6). On the other hand, the families of the richer comuneros who had already managed to find a place in the mining industry and in the petty commodity sector of the economy, were able, with the increasing capitalist development, to expand their business interests in other directions and seek new opportunities. For them, the miner's wage was the starting point for the accumulation of capital aided as they were by being able to count on the ownership of agricultural land and livestock. Although they often farmed non-intensively, their output helped to support the household and its reproduction needs.

At the present time, sources of differentiation at the village level appear to be multiple, in that wage labour, salary earning, and

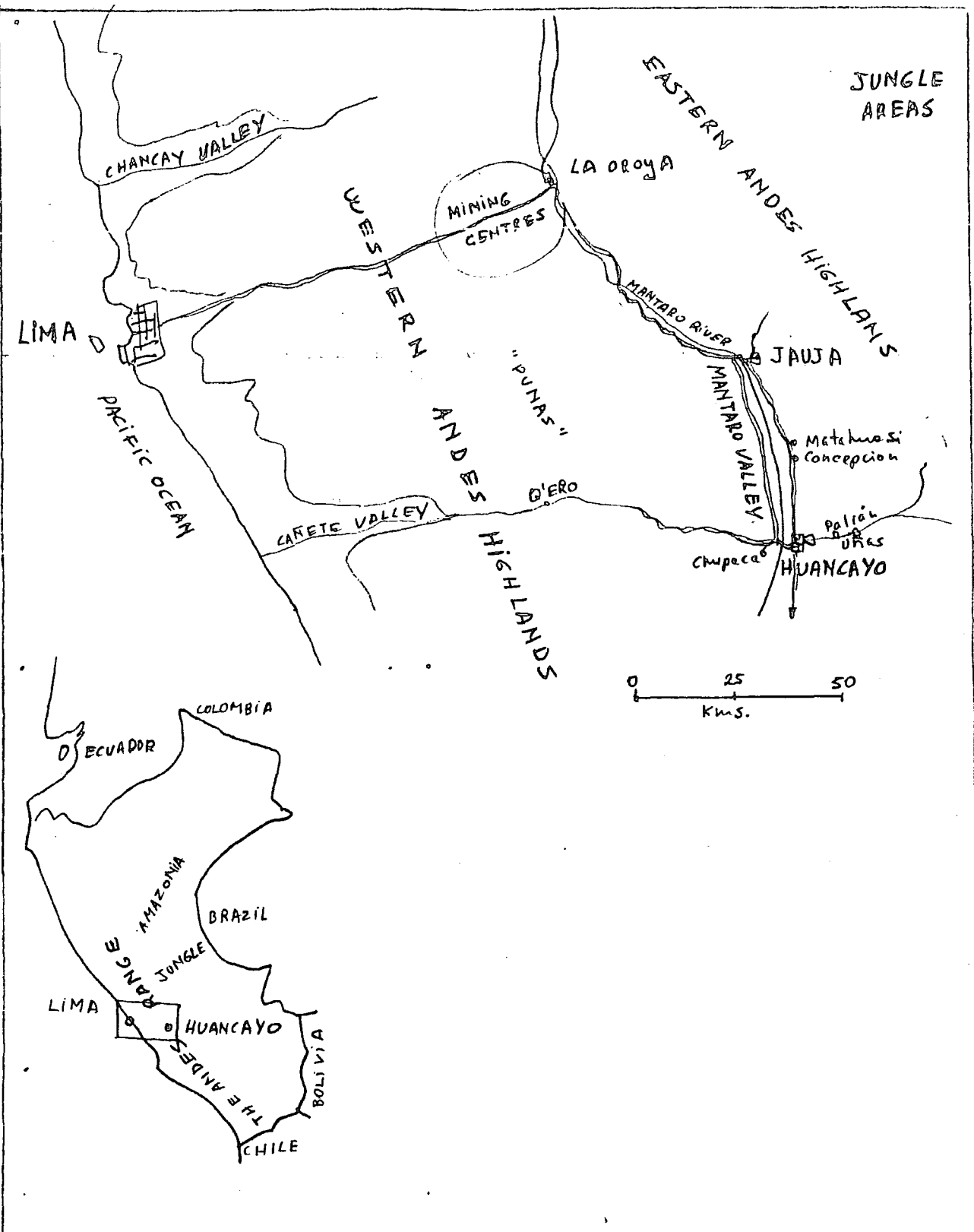
land are relatively independent means of building up a household's resources. The prevalence of minifundia throughout the area and the relatively low returns for agricultural production mean that even the largest farmers of the village earn less than some of the local teachers or retired, skilled mine workers" (Long and Roberts, 1978:31). In this context, the control or possession of a certain amount of land is valueless in itself as a major differentiating factor between comuneros.

## 2. General Characteristics of the Central Region.

In politico-administrative terms, the central region of Peru is made up of the Departments of Huanuco, Pasco, Junin, Huancavelica and Ayacucho. But in relation to the economic dynamic outlined in the previous section, it is the Department of Junin, including La Oroya, the Valley of Mantaro, the towns of Huancayo, Jauja and Concepcion and the peasant communities of the valley and the puna, which incorporates most of the mining, commercial, agrarian and industrial activity of the region.

The Mantaro valley begins, together with the river from which it gets its name, in La Oroya, at a height of 3,700 metres and descends, at first down steep slopes, from the western watershed of the Andean range. La Oroya is a town of a predominantly mining and industrial nature. There is also the intensive livestock on the former haciendas, now, since the introduction of the agrarian reform, in the hands of one SAIS cooperative. The minerals from the mines of Cerro de Pasco, Casapalca, Morococha, Yauricocha, San Cristobal and Cobriza

# The Central Region of Peru



are brought to this town to be processed.

As the altitude of the valley drops, it gradually widens out and agriculture increases. Between the towns of Jauja and Huancayo, at about 3.300 metres, on both sides of the river, the largest and most important communities in the region are found, both in political and economic terms and in relation to their size of population. These are Matahuasi, Sicaya, Chupaca, San Jeronimo, Orcotuna, etc. (7).

Because of the altitude, the climate is very dry with great variations in temperature, especially in Winter, fluctuating between 25 centigrade at midday and -5 C at night. This is one of the factors that make farming difficult during the Winter. These fluctuations diminish in the rainy season, from October to April, which is the period of major agricultural activity.

Perhaps one of the greatest limitations to an intensive type of agriculture is the scarcity of flat land suitable for cultivation. The best lands are on the banks of the river Mantaro at a height of 3.300 metres above sea level. The next best are the adjacent alluvial terraces, which vary in width and extent. Beyond this point are found slopes which contain small valleys but, because they are at a greater altitude, do not permit the cultivation of certain products, such as barley, peas, maize and wheat; only quinoa, broad beans and potatoes can be grown there. Finally, there is the puna which is smooth and undulating, with pastures and wild grass.

This characteristic topography, which is typical throughout the Peruvian sierra, establishes a relationship between height, climate

and the types of product which can be cultivated. This is what Murra (1975), a *grosso modo*, has called "vertical ecology". On the floor of the valley, between 3.200 and 3.400 metres, we find soils most suited to cultivation and that is where most of the agricultural production is concentrated. In the puna there is no cultivation; the grasses - the 'hichu' - are tough, only appropriate for the breeding of sheep adapted to this altitude. The raising of cattle is practically impossible, and is not found above 3.600 metres.

According to the Population Census of 1972, the Department of Junin contains a population of 696.641 inhabitants, which is approximately 5.5 per cent of the total population of the country. It is one of the departments of the Peruvian sierra with the highest population density.

TABLE 1

## URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUNIN. PERU.

Year	Total Dept. of Junin	Urban Population		Rural Population	
		Number	Percent.	Number	Percent.
1940	428.855	168.079	39.2	260.776	60.8
1961	521.210	255.752	49.1	265.458	50.9
1972	696.641	414.751	59.5	281.890	40.5

SOURCE: V, VI and VII National Population Censuses 1940, 1961, 1972, Peru.

Between 1940 and 1972 the Department has experienced a considerable urbanization process, so that at present nearly 60 per cent of the

population lives in urban areas. However, it should be noted that many of the peasant communities form villages and towns, so that they are also classified, in great part, as 'urban'. Moreover, as can be deduced from the previous section, urban residence does not necessarily mean that the residents are not connected with agriculture, do not control land or cultivate in the communities. Even in towns such as Huancayo and Jauja, many of their inhabitants - as we shall see later - are dedicated to minifundia agriculture as a permanent, though secondary, activity. It is, therefore, very difficult to establish a limit between what is urban and what is rural in the central region of Peru.

TABLE 2

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION FOR PERU AND JUNIN  
ACCORDING TO TYPE OF ACTIVITY.

Activity	1961	Junin		1972	Junin	
	Republic	No	%	Republic	No	%
-----						
Agr. Hunt. Sil. Fish	1.555.560	84.057	52.8	1.581.846	87.814	46.3
Mining	66.413	10.687	6.7	53.134	5.898	3.1
Indust., Manufac.	410.980	19.843	12.5	485.234	19.785	10.4
Construction	104.696	4.313	2.7	171.793	6.319	3.3
Commerce	281.847	12.309	7.7	403.185	18.204	9.6
Transp., Comunicat.	94.421	4.779	3.0	165.410	7.903	4.2
Services	476.714	17.761	11.2	732.117	27.217	14.4
Elect. Gas. Wat. Sewage	8.584	330	0.7	7.257	403	0.2
Unspecified	125.814	5.136	3.2	271.637	16.044	8.5
TOTAL	3.124.579	159.245	100.0	3.871.613	189.587	100.0
-----						

SOURCE: VI and VII National Population Census 1961 and 1972.

As shown in Table 2, agriculture continues to be the main activity, though the percentage of people taking part in it has diminished in the last ten years, while the urban population has risen. This corresponds with the overall pattern for the region and with the system of land holding in the communities, which allows people to own land even though they may live outside the peasant community.

The reduction of the labour force in the mining and industrial sectors is remarkable, and reflects the general stagnation of the Peruvian economy in the last 20 years. At the same time it coincides with the growth of the non-productive sector made up of commerce, transport and services, which, as we shall see, has expanded by means of various formal and informal economic activities.

TABLE 3

## PLACES OF MIGRATION FROM THE MANTARO VALLEY.

Place	No Migrants	%
-----		
Lima	9.923	59.5
Huancayo	2.017	12.1
Towns in the Valley	361	2.1
Mining Centres (1)	3.484	20.9
Jungle Clearing	898	5.4
TOTAL	16.683	100.0
-----		

SOURCE: Instituto Indigenista Peruano, 1967.

(1) Includes the mining centres of Morococha, Casapalca, Cerro de Pasco, Yauricocha, San Cristobal, Huaron and La Oroya.

The increase of urban population and the small variation in the rural sector indicate that during this period there has been a considerable process of migration to urban zones, especially Huancayo, a city which has grown about 40 per cent in the last decade. Moreover, the figures indicate a process of out-migration, since the total annual increase of the department has not been more than 2.7 per cent.

The total area of the Department of Junin is 4.338.442 hectares, and of these, only about five per cent is suitable for agriculture (220.000).

TABLE 4

## UNITS OF PRODUCTION AND AREA. PROVINCE OF HUANCAYO.

Hectares	No U.P.	%	Total Area(has)	%
-----				
0 - 2.9	34.663	87.0	30.016.49	8.1
3 - 4.9	3.051	7.2	11.308.79	3.0
5 - 49.9	2.005	5.0	17.413.3	4.7
50 and more(1)	117	0.2	311.740.24	84.1
TOTAL:	39.836	99.9	370.478.82	99.9
-----				

SOURCE: Agricultural and Livestock Census, Lima 1972.

(1) Includes haciendas and communally used land in some communities.

The Province of Huancayo has an area of 495.109 hectares of which 370.478 -- 76.3 per cent -- belong to peasant units of production. As can be seen from Table 4, the subdivision of land is so great that the average size of holdings is less than three hectares, is only 0.86.



If on top of this we take into consideration the degree of subdivision of agrarian property, which consists of about six lots per unit of production, then the average size per plot is 0.18 hectares. Though we have no official data on yields per hectare, it was noticed during the fieldwork that highest productivity per hectare was given by the potato. One of the valley communities produced 60 metric quintals per hectare. Even under conditions of low yields, 65 per cent of the production of potatoes, corn, wheat, carrots and barley sold in the market is produced on peasant units of less than three hectares. The major part of such commercial transactions is carried out individually and directly by the peasants themselves, which is one reason why small-scale trade in agriculture and livestock is very extensive throughout the region.

Until 1968 there were four important companies which controlled the production of livestock -milk, meat and wool- in the region. These four enterprises owned 925,776 hectares and some 510,000 wool-bearing animals and 14,300 cattle. Only one of them -the Cerro de Pasco Corporation- owned some hectares of improved grass; the others operated, and still operate, on natural or wild highland grasses of poor quality and for this reason the average ratio<sup>is</sup> of 1.6 hectares to animal unit.

As for livestock, 30 per cent of the sheep are concentrated in units of less than three hectares in peasant communities, although it should be kept in mind that sheep are pastured on community lands, which correspond to the tenancies of 50 and more hectares of Table 4, which are grouped together with hacienda land.

TABLE 5

## OWNERSHIP OF LIVESTOCK IN THE PROVINCE OF HUANCAYO.

Hectares	No.Prod.Units	%	Total Heads	%	Aver(1).
0 - 2.9	13.525	39.0	34.049	58.9	2.5
3 - 4.9	2.159	70.7	7.776	13.5	3.6
5 - 49.9	1.554	77.5	9.013	15.7	5.7
50 and more	45	38.4	6.914	11.9	153.6
TOTAL	17.283	43.3	57.752	100.0	3.3

SOURCE: ONEC: Agriculture and Livestock Census, 1972.

(1) Average "Livestock Units" per Household. Each "Unit" is: cattle=1; llama=0.5; and sheep=0.3. It refers to pasture requirements.

The figures for livestock must have increased in the last ten years because milk is one of the few agrarian products that bring a fair return. There is now a great incentive for peasant households to keep dairy cows in order to supply the Mantaro Dairy which was set up in the town of Concepcion during the past decade (for details see Long and Roberts, 1984:177).

The low yields, low prices and the high investment needed to produce one hectare of potatoes or wheat are factors which have reduced the agriculture of the region to a subordinate position when compared with other sectors of the economy. In spite of this, agricultural activity survives in the communities because peasant participation in any one sector of the economy is insufficient to meet their needs. This point is elaborated further in the next section of this chapter.

### 3. Economic Diversification and Family Organization.

The rural population of the central region is mostly grouped into peasant communities on both banks of the river Mantaro, whilst the rest occupies the lands of the slopes and plateau of the puna. The ecological and geographic situation has been decisive, on the one hand, for determining the types of resources available to each community and, on the other hand, has directly influenced the types of relations that each community has historically maintained vis-a-vis the mines, the city of Lima, the plantations, the town of Huancayo and, more recently, the economic activity generated by the development of the resources of the high jungle: coffee, livestock and oil.

In order to analyze the economic and social dynamic existing within the communities it is particularly important to differentiate between the household and the family. By household I refer to a group of individuals sharing a common residence, who, mutually "ensures its maintenance and reproduction by generating and disposing of a collective income fund" (Wood, 1981:339). This is the main unit for everyday livelihood strategies, both in terms of investing labour and capital, and in selecting the places where satisfactory economic returns will be obtained. Following Wood, <sup>quote</sup> "the household is differentiated from but not exclusively, of the family, coresident dwelling groups and kinship structures" (1981:339). A family is biologically and sociologically determined by kin and affinal ties but there may or may not exist exchanges between the individuals concerned.

*in the Mantao valley,*

The peasant community<sup>v</sup> is above all a group of households that have individual rights over arable land, pastures and other resources. On the other hand, a family or set of inter-related households<sup>may</sup> be spread throughout various communities, creating in this way the possibility of organizing networks of households linking a number of places within a particular region. An individual acquires rights of access to communal resources by virtue of birth or long residence in the community. Although, most households hold land that is formally community land, in practical terms, land ownership is private and can be sold, hired, or given in sharecropping to members and non-members of the community. Households operate at two levels: a) as corporate family-based groups engaged in a number of production and economic activities; and, b) as made up of a number of individuals, who carry on productive activities both within and outside the community. The latter set of external links tie the household to the wider socio-economic regional and national context. This has consequences both for the community and for the region.

One significant result of this pattern of extra-community links for the region as a whole is the semi-urbanization of the countryside and, at the same time, the rural character of the towns. In other words, a characteristic of the region is an overlapping of rural and urban contexts, both spatially and in relation to economic activity spheres or the residential patterns of families. Several authors (Long and Roberts, 1978; Laite, 1978; Campana and Rivera, 1978) have put forward the view that this particular type of regional development is due mainly to the early integration of the population into a wider set of economic and social relationships linking together the community

economy with mining activities and with small-scale trade. This pattern now includes the sale of agricultural products in Lima, where many Mantaro residents work as itinerant vendors, and more recently labour migration to the eastern jungle zone where new colonization schemes are opening up the tropical lowlands economy.

What is particularly remarkable about this is that these commercial networks are not only concentrated in urban areas. They also include peasant households in the villages, and this is one factor accounting for the present-day semi-urban character of many of the communities, especially in the Mantaro valley. Men who abandon agricultural work and leave the village, nevertheless make use of their community connections to hold on to land and retain other resources and rights; and, in this way, the peasant community of the central sierra becomes a centre for integrating many different types of gainful employment. Frequently we find that the majority of men are away working outside agriculture, far from their homes, while the women are left in charge of farming and domestic tasks, thus taking full control of agricultural production (8). There has also been a marked development of petty commodity activities within the largest communities.

Taking into account the historical process and the internal dynamics of the communities, I now wish to identify the main elements which, over generations, have affected the structure and the organization of the families in the central sierra of Peru. The main dimensions are as follows:

a) In spite of the great changes that may be observed, the temporary or permanent transfer of labour from agriculture to mining

and urban centres exhibits a high level of historical continuity and stability.

b) The instability of labour, the below-subsistence wage level and the gradual deterioration of the peasant economy are constant factors in the development of the region.

c) Given this, then, the organization of families has been directed towards the construction of patterns of social and economic organizations which allow for control over the greatest possible number of economic activities, which, depending upon their income level, either ensure the minimum social reproduction of the family or allow for some accumulation of capital.

d) Processes of economic diversification and household organization cannot properly be understood without recognizing that women are the main props of the peasant economy and domestic unit, while men frequently work outside and have less responsibility for agriculture.

e) This type of family-household organization has been, and still is, central to the operation of the regional economic system. In many respects it is the key integrating institution of the different economic sectors.

In general terms we can state that in the central sierra, the pattern of family organization is of the extended type. A family can be made up of old parents, their married sons and daughters, their respective nuclear families, other blood relations who live with them and, in some cases, also some close family friends or "compadres". The families of the higher social strata frequently also have 'hangers-on' ("allegados"), children or poor households who act as servants, with whom they do not necessarily have any blood relationship, who do

not receive any educational assistance but, who with the passage of time -especially if they are children- may receive some small inheritance when some senior member of the group dies. The existence of extended families does not necessarily mean large residential conglomerates or large household structures. On the contrary, it is a matter of forms of cooperation that link several nuclear family units in accordance with common interests. Since "no one household is likely to be able to satisfy its consumption needs over a long term on the basis of its own labour and land resources (...) then the household must seek to mobilize external resources, but in such a way that it does not jeopardize, through irreversible commitments, its basic means of subsistence" (Long and Roberts, 1978:307-8). Thus, cooperation between households in a community is essentially informal and flexible. The same point is made by Noordam (1980) in Bolivia, where the family relations are also of the extended family type, although the households are nuclear and authority does not conform to a vertical generational pattern but is more evenly distributed.

The evidence for the Peruvian sierra shows that the organization of the family in extended groups does not result so much from high fertility rates or from the vicissitudes of being poor or wealthy, but from the contingencies of economic life which often make it advantageous to develop such networks among kin and affines.

Land is a fundamental resource, a form of insurance against the insecurity of employment and business. Its possession allows one to carry out activities which could not perhaps be undertaken by individuals with no such base. It also often implies some kind of

group-organized pattern of cooperation, with individuals or households sharing the responsibilities of the farm alongside their other economic activities.

The general tendency among families of the middle and high strata is for them to organize themselves into joint business enterprises, spanning both agricultural and non-agricultural activities. But many poorer families also become vertically integrated into an extended family grouping, as 'hangers-on' or as servants. These people are important in that they often take on the role of unpaid labour for agricultural work, domestic service and other jobs. Thus, they represent the non-remunerated labour necessary for the development of the better-off families. If the latter could not count on such labour they would have to contract paid workers. The work and kin relationships which draw together the richer classes and poorer peasants are very strong and conceal the exploitation and inequality which exists between the two groups (9). The poor strata -about 35 per cent of the peasants of the region- are mainly composed of landless peasants, who depend, to a great extent, on the wealthier families. They frequently work seasonally in agriculture in the valley or outside, and also seasonally in itinerant trade in Lima and/or Huancayo (10).

The community-based household unit of the middle and high strata, apart from organizing itself in joint ventures, also constitutes the basis of a system of mutual help and cooperation among its members. For example, children and adolescents are supplied without distinction with clothing and with food by the different adult members, whether



they be parents, uncles, grandparents, etc. Usually this is an informal sort of agreement and reciprocation is not systematic but is made according to the possibilities open to each person at a given moment. On other occasions these arrangements may be made on the strength of future expectations of reward. For instance, it may be difficult for a household living in a town to care for all their children, because of low wages and the costs of urban living, so they may send some of their children to live with relatives in the village.

As a kind of repayment, from that very moment, this household accepts the obligation to receive at some future date the children of the kinsfolk who help them, if ever they wished to move to town for schooling or work. Another form of cooperation between households, usually between brothers, is the sharing of a living space, whereby their houses are built on separate plots within the same parental holding. In this way, married siblings may lead a largely common domestic life: they share food, care for each others babies and children, make arrangements for shared cultivation of their land, etc. but may still, at the same time, remain independent as households managing their own income funds. In many rural areas this residential pattern is common and houses are frequently in close propinquity or are physically connected.

-----In areas of greatest economic activity or in the case of rich families, the forms of cooperation among households exceed the limits of mutual help and favours and take the form of more organized cooperation.--- Almost 15 per cent of household units in the valley belong to the level of rich comuneros and are organized into complex economic enterprises in which agriculture is combined with other

activities. Although agriculture may be of secondary importance, it is kept up as a form of insurance against the risk of more adventurous undertakings (Laite, 1983).

These forms of cooperation, based on "diversified family enterprise" need, in order to be effective, an extensive network of kinsfolk with each contributing some resources such as land, capital, labour and information. Such enterprises, of which there is a great number all over the central region, are notable in that they develop or, rather cover, several economic activities simultaneously: agriculture, livestock, lorry or bus transport, shop keeping, restaurant service, wholesale trading, etc. The size of the business enterprise will depend on the number of activities and family relations involved. No one of these enterprises is likely to accumulate much capital on the basis of only one activity, since this is too risky in the context of unstable economies such as Peru (Long, 1979; Long and Roberts, 1984). The essential point about these enterprises is that they are constantly changing their lines of business, reducing or expanding their interests, expanding into new territories, or restricting activity to more limited areas, enlisting or expelling individuals kinsmen or workers. That is to say, the essential characteristic of all them is their great flexibility and their ability to adapt rapidly to new conditions generated by changes in the regional or national economy.

Middle strata families also diversify their activities to cover a wider economic spectrum than they could manage on the basis of their own resources. One, therefore, also finds among them similar family

enterprises but these are less extended than those of the richer families. A stable working wage over a long period is essential for the development of these enterprises among middle level families. It is also possible that by means of a successful start in a more or less stable business venture that they accumulate sufficient capital to permit some economic expansion. The success of this strategy will, of course depend, in the last instance, on the information available on the possibilities offered by certain kinds of business in the regional market and the chance of making a successful entry into the chosen field. In the regional context, having access to information on what is a good business at a given moment is as important as possessing capital. If capital is available but not the right information, nor the right personal contacts or compadrazgo relationships, any investment made runs the risk of failure.

The diversification of activities within families is based on the sexual division of labour existing within the individual households, and is only practicable in so far as members of households can count on the backing of other members in order for them take on new interests. When one of the members, for example the wife, is successfully performing her agricultural and commercial work, the husband may investigate ways of forming new economic associations. On the other hand, when it is the man who has secure employment, it is the woman who will look for ways of diversifying their sources of income. The latter is the most common pattern since men have greater opportunities of finding paid work in mining or the public sector. Very few women can aspire to such opportunities not only because there are fewer jobs for them - their best chances are in domestic

employment or as casual agricultural workers- but also because wages for women are lower for the same types of jobs, and they normally have a lower education level than men.

Women therefore depend mostly on agriculture and on local trading, both fairly independent activities, and the adolescents and young women of the poor strata, on domestic employment. When they grow up, they get married and many of them, if they have land, become involved in agricultural and trading activities. However, whatever their situation, their work is of fundamental importance for the social reproduction of the household.

#### 4. Women's Role in the Development of an Enclave Regional Economy.

In the central Peruvian sierra, the participation of women in the peasant economy has not gone unnoticed and, as a result, many research studies contain remarks on or impressions of the participation of women in the economy or their contribution to the development of the region.

Laite (1978:76) in his study of the industrial and mining process in La Oroya emphasises "that the role of women, at least as legal figures, was crucial" in the process of concentration of landed properties in the puna around La Oroya. Long and Roberts (1978:305) mention that in their research they found "many cases of households managed by a senior woman whose husband was either working permanently away or had died". In my first approach to the study of peasant communities of the puna (1976), I pointed out that in many of the puna

communities, about 50 per cent of the heads of households are women whose husbands are urban migrants or who work at the mines and, for this reason, the majority of the farmers and stock-raisers are women (1984:101).

However, until a few years ago there was no special study of women's place in the development of the region, nor of their role in the peasant economy. Also, as I explained in chapter II, the work and production activities of peasant women do not exist in national accounts. They are "phantom" labour.

#### a) Women and the Agricultural Process in Peasant Communities.

From 1975 onwards systematic study of the subject commenced in Peru in different regions (11). Among the many research studies carried out in the central sierra, most of them concern specific communities (12), but, nevertheless, they bring to light important data which help to elaborate a theory on the participation of women in the development of the peasant economy. My own research is located within this body of work, and aims to go deeply into the question of peasant women as a specific subject. In the following pages I summarize my main findings concerning both rural and urban women in relation to the agricultural process in peasant communities (for methodological details see chapter II).

What is of interest in this section, then, is to discover the extent of peasant women's work in the region, to observe by means of their different activities the connection that exists between urban

and rural contexts and, finally, to reveal and understand their role in the process of development of the regional economy. Of the 140 cases sampled in my study of the peasant communities and towns and cities of the Mantaro valley area, only four women declared themselves to be exclusively housewives; and they happened to be the wives of public employees transferred from Lima to the sierra.

... The active role played by both urban and rural women in agriculture and other forms of work is clearly visible. Besides working in domestic chores, they play a crucial role in the development of the peasant economy, in different types of trade, in crafts, in domestic employment, and in subsistence-oriented agriculture. The historical issues sketched out in the first section of this chapter show that this is not a recent phenomenon, but corresponds to the tendencies of the economy as a whole. The changes which have taken place in the last two decades, with the introduction of modern technology to the countryside and the creation of new needs, have accentuated rather than diminished these patterns of social organization and sexual division of labour.

The first factor that has to be taken into account in order to understand the degree of participation of women in the development of the regional economy is the work of men. The communities of the region are fundamentally agrarian and/or pastoral, with a high degree of land fragmentation, so that few of them offer any type of paid seasonal labour, let alone permanent work. As we have seen, paid work is found outside the communities, in the urban and mining centres, which is why migrant labour has been, and still is, a constant element in the development of the central region.

The sample questionnaire showed that 72.1 per cent of women had husbands in permanent employment, and the percentage was greater among women who lived in towns (81.4 per cent). From this figure we may deduce that a high percentage of permanent workers live outside the communities because of the nature of their jobs.

TABLE 6

## DURATION OF HUSBAND'S EMPLOYMENT.

Women Category	Permanent		Seasonal		Total
	No	%	No	%	No
Comunera Women(1)	44	62.7	26	37.3	70
Urban Women(1)	57	81.4	13	18.6	70
TOTAL	101	72.1	39	27.9	140

SOURCE: Field-work, Peru, 1979.

(1) By "comunera" I refer to women living in peasant communities, and by "urban" to those living in towns and cities.

If we compare this region with Peru as a whole, which shows only 52.8 per cent in permanent work, it is evident that the employment situation in the region is especially positive. It is important to situate these figures comparatively, because, if in this region women participate so actively in the peasant economy, then in the rest of the countryside - in less favourable employment situations - one would expect a higher pattern of male migration and, as a result, therefore greater participation of women in work which maintains the household.

Research on peasant women in other regions of the Peruvian highlands, such as the zones of Cajamarca, Cuzco and Ayacucho indicate a situation in which peasant women are in charge of agriculture and livestock production while men look for paid work outside (13). Also in the central highlands but in communities at a higher altitude -at more than 3,600 metres- where resources are limited and communication with the Mantaro valley and the towns is difficult, the population structure consists of communities virtually without men at all because they are all working in distant places and only visit their families once or twice a year (Campana and Rivera, 1984). In these puna communities, the adult male population seeks permanent or temporary employment in the mining centres or in Lima. As can be seen from Table 6, in the valley communities 27.9 per cent of the men are temporary workers, so that they only spend part of their time at home. And it can be seen from Table 7 that of the husbands in permanent work, 35.6 per cent of them work at some distance from their homes. For this reason, they too, visit their households only once or twice a year, generally on the Community's Saint's Day or for the New Year.

TABLE 7

## RESIDENCE OF HUSBANDS WITH PERMANENT WORK (in percentages)

Women	Husbands at Distant Location (1)	Husbands at Nearby Location	Total
Comunera Women	45.5	54.5	44
Urban Women	28.1	71.9	57
TOTAL	35.7	64.3	101

SOURCE: Field-work, Peru, 1979. (1) "distant location" indicates that men currently do not sleep at home.



If to the number of husbands in seasonal employment we add those who work away for longer periods, then we obtain the percentage of men (83.6 per cent) who remain away from their households for a large part of the year. These figures show that peasant communities continue as supply centres of labour for the capitalist sector. They also suggest that community resources are incapable of retaining the whole of the labour force and reproducing it on the basis of the local economy. This economy develops within the communities, where there are more women than men. We can therefore say that in the sierra women do not simply cooperate with their husbands in agriculture, but, on the contrary, it is they who carry the main burden of work, both from the point of view of production and management. This is not, however, the pattern only for women living in the communities, but also for those who live in the towns of the valley, who possess land in their communities of origin. As is clear from Table 8, women from the towns or cities continue to practice agriculture and the fact that they live in an urban place is no obstacle to them. What is more, both community structure and family organization are well adapted to this type of rural-urban relationship.

The inheritance of land has been an important factor in the participation of women in subsistence-oriented agriculture and also in the process of capital accumulation outside agriculture. Under the bilateral system of land inheritance, daughters receive the same share as sons, so that every woman comunera or daughter of a comunera is legally an owner of a plot of land. In practice, a family household holds several plots of land, which may be located in one or several communities because of exogamous marriages.

TABLE 8

## PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY.

Women	Owners of Land				Work Directly(1)			
	YES		NO		YES		NO	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Comunera Women	59	84.3	11	15.7	54	91.5	5	8.5
Urban Women	49	70.0	21	30.0	37	75.5	12	24.5
TOTAL	108	77.1	32	22.9	91	84.3	17	17.7

SOURCE: Field-work, Peru, 1979. (1) Women who work the land directly.

Among the richer comuneros marriage is the way in which men acquire more land in order to increase production and, at the same time, to obtain the help of a wife who will control agricultural work while he dedicates his time to other activities (Mallon, 1983). Among the middle and poorer strata, marriage, besides providing access to additional property -if only by a third of a hectare- makes it easier to become a wage labourer without having to give up agriculture, which remains in charge of the wife. For those men foreign to the region, marriage with a daughter of a comunera means access to land. As Laite points out, sometimes "These outsiders were viewed with suspicion by the residents, who joked cagily about these men who had married their sisters and captured their land" (1983:19).

This occupational dynamic in which men change locality in response to wage labour or business interests, while women remain anchored to their community or in the urban areas near to the communities of

origin, directly affects the pattern of residence of the family. Fundamentally, it implies that the members of the group will frequently move from place to place. Adults move for reasons of work, among which the most expanded pattern is that connected with trade. This means that every family, other than those of the poorest strata, can, because its organization is based on flexible extended families, at any moment count on several houses in different places, the peasant community, other villages, and various towns and cities.

The members of the family may be distributed in several residences depending upon their economic and social commitments. The place of residence of children and adolescents will depend on their education and the need that adults have of them. Like the men, they can move between the different houses available to the family. It is probably the married women who are the most immobile members, as their work is also conditioned by their responsibilities for domestic tasks. Therefore, either because of work connected with trade or farming, they return home as soon as their activities permit.

The hiring of rural labourers depends on the amount of land that the woman or the family decide to cultivate in any given year. The climate and the sub-division of property prevent agriculture from being an activity which can be carried on all the year round. On the other hand, there are peak demands for agricultural labour during sowing and harvesting. In the case of very small holdings, the household can provide the necessary labour; but it is usual for families with larger plots to contract agricultural workers.

TABLE 9  
CONTRACTING SEASONAL RURAL WORKERS.

Women Category	Women Land Owners	Contracted Labour			
		YES	%	NO	%
Comunera Women	59	39	66.1	20	33.9
Urban Women	49	37	67.3	16	32.2
TOTAL	108	76	68.5	36	31.5

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Peru, 1979.

The average hectares under cultivation among the families interviewed was 0.75 and the average number of workers contracted for the harvesting was 3.5 per household. A considerable number of these were women, because they are cheaper labour than the men. At the beginning of 1979, male labourers were paid 250 soles a day (US \$1.50) while women received only 150 soles a day.

Only eight of the interviewed women said they worked as wage workers (14), the largest contingent being made up of women from the most depressed areas of the sierra -principally Huancavelica-. These women migrate annually to the valley at harvest time. Instead of being paid in cash, they prefer to receive produce because in this way -working intensively in different fields for two or three months at a time- they can collect a supply of products such as potatoes, maize, and peas. In this way they can normally obtain double the amount of goods than they could in the market for an equivalent cash payment.

According to Deere (1978), the social status of a woman is a decisive factor in the way she is related to agriculture. Women of higher social status are in control of production but they do not directly work the land. They manage the plot, being responsible for buying the seed and the necessary agricultural inputs, for hiring workers, oxen or tractors, beasts of burden or lorries, and for the preparation of the food for the labourers. They must also ensure a supply of sugar cane spirit, coca leaves and cigarettes, all of which are part of a worker's pay.

There are few families who own more than five hectares of land suitable for cultivation, since community organization prevents the purchase and accumulation of land, even though they belong to the strata of richer comuneros. From about the 1960's onwards, the richer comuneros developed an agricultural production strategy for the market based on the cultivation of a great number of small plots, belonging to kinsmen and close friends, or their compadres, on the basis of sharecropping. The arrangement was that the owners provided seeds and other inputs and during the harvest the necessary labourers. Part of the produce sold was then distributed among the parties concerned, and the remaining part constituted the "capital" profit. As Mallon (1983:28) points out, the success of the system depends largely on the part played by the woman "as a 'generous' mediator figure with the sharecroppers, giving the relationship a special face-to-face dimension".

When the holding is small the woman, as well as taking on one or two workmen for the heaviest work and other odd jobs, herself works

directly on the land. This is common among families with scarce resources and little land, but with husbands working in secure employment.

TABLE 10

## COOPERATION OF HUSBANDS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.

Category of Woman	Helps		Sometimes Helps		Does not Help		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Comunera Women	25	43.9	15	26.3	17	29.8	57
Urban Women	19	46.3	16	39.0	6	14.6	41
TOTAL	44	40.7	31	28.7	24	22.2	108

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Peru, 1978.

Table 10 shows that urban women receive more help from their husbands than women living in peasant communities. The explanation for this is that men whose families live in the community generally work outside the region or far from the community, which makes it difficult for them to travel to the community when needed. This is not the case with the families who live in the towns of the valley, since many of the husbands work in the same area and at the appropriate time they can return to cultivate the family plot. For them agriculture is a weekend task. This is especially the case in certain communities closely linked with the mining centres, like Ataura, described by Laite (1983).

The most common products grown are potatoes, peas, maize and broad-beans, which are sown for home consumption and also, though in very small quantities, for sale. Other vegetables such as onions, carrots, cabbage and lettuce are basically for the market but also only in small quantities. These products are even cultivated by peasant units of less than 0.5 hectares of arable land in the valley. Generally, potato is grown at a higher altitude on community hillsides.

The level of capital needed for sowing these products varies according to the quality of the soil, but is normally fairly high due to the quantity of agricultural inputs necessary for a successful harvest. From the 1960's onwards, chemical fertilizers were used in the region, as well as insecticides and herbicides and, nowadays, it is unusual for a family to decide to sow unless they can at least count on, some of these chemicals.

It has been calculated that, in 1979, in order to get the best out of a hectare of potatoes, it was necessary to spend 350.000 soles (US \$1.400) and for a hectare of maize in the valley about 50.000 soles (US \$320). At that time a miner's wage - the best paid worker in the region - was 30.000 soles a month (US \$120). In fact, the majority of peasants cannot invest more than 20.000 soles per hectare of potatoes, which consequently results in a marked reduction in yields. In the year mentioned, the lower and upper extremes of yield per hectare of potatoes in a valley community near Huancayo were respectively two metric quintals and 60 metric quintals, on the same type of land but with different capital investment.

In such extremely poor production conditions, due to the minifundia system, low yields and low prices for agricultural products in the market, agriculture cannot easily generate much capital for reinvestment. On the contrary, an important part of the capital which is invested in agriculture is produced outside this sector.

TABLE 11

## ORIGIN OF CAPITAL INVESTED IN AGRICULTURE (1).

Origin	Comunera Women		Urban Women		Total
	No	%	No	%	
Agriculture	31	34.0	14	23.3	43
Husband's Wage	34	37.4	22	36.7	56
Commer. Handicrafts	21	23.1	18	30.0	39
Other Sources	5	5.5	6	10.0	11
TOTAL	91	100.0	60	100.0	151

SOURCE: Field-work, Peru, 1979. (1) An account was kept of all the sources of income on which the households depended.

In practice, in order to develop agricultural production, families yearly mobilize different sources of income for the necessary capital (see table 11). As the regional economy is very unstable - insecurity of employment, business uncertainty, very unreliable climatic conditions - the chances of reaping a good return are slim. For this reason, it is sometimes decided not to cultivate all the household plots, so that every year a considerable number of hectares are left uncultivated, especially those whose soil quality is poor. Such plots



may be devoted to pasturage for animals, principally cows, sheep and pigs. Of community households, 52 per cent keep animals, while for town families this percentage drops to 32.9 per cent. Women are responsible for the animals, but they are pastured with the help of children, depending on the time each has available. Of the women who live in towns, 28 per cent leave herding in the hands of community kinsmen, or hired hands.

Herding is one of the most marginal of activities. Animals are put out to grass in the countryside, on the roadsides, and on the slopes too steep to be tilled. To keep the animals fed in these conditions is a task without end and without rest which must be combined with the gathering of wood for the kitchen stove. Work begins very early in the morning. If children have to go school, they take the animals home and shut them up in the corral or fold. At midday, when they return from school, they let the animals out again to grass until it gets dark.

However, when one talks of children in general, one is not describing the situation exactly. It is usually the girls who follow the animals into the countryside; it is they also who, when the mother is absent, are responsible for the domestic chores, for the care of the younger children, work on the land, etc. Meanwhile the boys can play and devote themselves to their school tasks. Among the poorer families, many girls are never sent to school. In the middle and upper-strata families, girls are taken out of school whenever there is an occasional domestic responsibility to be faced.

Agricultural produce is never fed to animals, so that the purchase of fodder, or natural pasturage are the only ways of maintaining them. The middle and poor strata families pasture them but the richer ones keep animals for commercial purposes, especially for the milk, combining nature pasturage with special feeds such as oats and cultivated grass. The families that have a reasonable number of sheep -more than ten- graze them on community pastures, usually in the charge of a poor relative or a woman farm labourer, who is rewarded by receiving in payment a certain number of sheep of her own, plus rations of rice, oil, sugar and coca monthly. The greatest exploitation is suffered by shepherds who work for comunero families. Under the huacchillero system, they not only receive no wages, but they must replace from their own herds any of the owner's animals lost or that die. Shepherds' families do not have any fixed abode or stone-built houses; they must make use of the clefts and cracks in the puna to build their precarious homes, while they wander about looking for better pastures. While women spend all their lives shepherding animals, men earn some occasional wages whenever they can find work. Hence they may spend long periods away from home.

TABLE 12

## WOMEN DEVOTED TO COMMERCE.

Category of Women	YES		NO	
	No	%	No	%
Comuneras' Women	43	61.4	27	38.6
Urban Women	44	62.8	26	37.1
TOTAL	87	62.1	53	37.9

SOURCE: Field-work, Peru, 1979.

The rural women of the central region, are not only directly involved in agricultural production but they also participate in the commerce of the area. Place of residence -rural or urban- does not seem to be a limiting factor for this type of activity (see Table 12).

The expansion of small-scale trading is a striking feature of the region. Hundreds of women travel everyday between the countryside and the towns, carrying small quantities of farm-produce - vegetables, eggs, alfalfa, fodder, rabbits, hens, milk, etc.- which they sell from house to house or from street stalls. Other women prepare food to sell in the many markets of the region and in the streets of the towns. In the case of middlemen who trade in commercial farm produce or handicrafts, this activity is undertaken both by men and women, and is often considered a family activity. Often within the framework of large family structures, some traders collect together products from the small producers of the region, and others transport them to Lima to sell in the large-scale markets. Neither of these two tasks is specifically men's or women's work, but small-scale trading is certainly considered exclusively a woman's domain. Among the 140 cases that were interviewed, 87 women took part in trading, that is 62 per cent, without much difference being noticed between the town residents and the women from the communities (see Table 12).

Trading is not necessarily limited to the sale of agricultural products, but spreads out to take in many other items, such as clothes, prepared foods in the streets, household implements and

accessories. Nor is this activity limited to the area of the locality or the region; it extends as far as Lima and the tropical lowlands. Table 13 shows the different types of trading carried out by women, both urban and comuneras. From this it can be noted that most trading is small-scale and takes place in markets and streets. Small-scale trading is very intensive, and women involved in it can in some cases spend up to a month away from home. In this case, the family network provides sufficient help to carry on and can take over the domestic chores.

TABLE 13  
TYPE OF TRADE CARRIED OUT BY WOMEN.

Type of Trading	Comunera Women		Urban Women		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Shop	13	26.0	15	30.0	28	28.0
Fair Stall	3	6.0	6	12.0	9	9.0
Market Stall	5	10.0	7	14.0	12	12.0
Ready Food in Streets	2	4.0	--	--	2	2.0
Itinerant Vendor	27	54.0	22	44.0	49	49.0
TOTAL	50	100.0	50	100.0	100	100.0
Two Types of Trading(1)	7		6		13	14.9

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Peru, 1979. (1) Involved in two types of trading.

For poor women, trading is a precarious activity. It is not permanent, and depends on the opportunities for sale of particular

produce -e.g. vegetable or animals- and on the fluctuations in price which occur in the markets. Obviously, at harvest time the agricultural activity of women increases, as also does small-scale trading in farm produce.

In this respect and related to the stability of trading, it was found that only seven per cent of women engage in marketing on an occasional basis, 46.5 per cent are semi-permanent, and 46.5 per cent do it permanently. Marketing activities are more important in the towns, since 71 per cent of market women do it permanently, and we found no one who was an occasional market seller.

Another very important activity in the region, focused mainly on the communities, is handicraft production. There are some communities which specialize in the production of certain types of craftwork: silverwork, handweaving on a loom, ceramics, decorated gourds, and many others. These handicrafts are highly thought of, and there is a ready market in the region, in Lima and abroad, through intermediaries who often come from the same villages. In contrast to the other activities described, handicrafts are not exclusively practised by women and most often whole families in each community specialize in particular crafts. But, as the spinning and weaving of wool is also a handicraft which is exchanged in the market and produces income for both the rural and urban families, it happens that almost all women in the region participate in handicraft work.

From information supplied in the interviews, from other research studies carried out in the region, and from census data, we can say

that the only activity in which women do not take part in great numbers is formal urban employment. The sample showed that among urban women only nine per cent of women admitted to being employed in the town and none of these owned land (12.8 per cent of urban women). However, if we take into account the fact that in Peru the urban sector amounts to 70 per cent of the population and, if we extrapolate these figures proportionately, the number of women earning a wage would be around a figure of 18 per cent. This figure is in line with that given by the last national population census which shows that 20 per cent of the Peruvian work force is female.

##### 5. The life-histories of two rural women.

In the research I collected a number of testimonies from women of the community of Unas. These picture clearly the complex set of relationships that develop between agriculture and commerce, between different households making up large family conglomerates, and also highlight the social stratification existing within the communities. I have selected two of these testimonies to bring the analysis more closely in touch with the actual working and living conditions of women of the central sierra. The life histories illustrate the work roles and the involvement of women in community affairs. Sra Juana is a landless immigrant woman from a backward area. She represents the lower strata of peasant communities. In contrast, Sra Lucy represents a case of a typical middle strata woman, who diversifies her labour time in many activities, linking together four different places and using her family network.

a) Senora Juana: "How I wish I had land!".

Senora Juana is a migrant from Huancavelica who arrived in the Mantaro valley around 1941. She owns no land and she lives attached to a middle stratum family in the community of Unas. She is married, but her husband has left to work as a colonist in the high jungle, near Chanchamayo. She lives with her only son, who, in 1979, was 25 years of age.

"I'm forty five years old, round about August I was 45. I'll tell you from the beginning. Well, my dad is from Tayacaja in Huancavelica. That's an hacienda next to the community of Pichus. When my dad was four years old, it was war, and as there was persecution and I don't know what other disorders. He travelled in his mother's 'quipe'. He went off to the 'puna' leaving house and land. They left taking only a few little things. They went to the community of Iscuchaca. My dad was very young. His brothers and sisters there were five, now I don't remember them. My dad's story interests me more. There they acquired access to land, his parents renting big lands and cultivating them. My dad grew up there, in Iscuchaca and when he became a young man he married a senora. From this senora he had two sons. Then the senora died - so my dad became a widower- and he was a widower when he married my mother. My mother comes from Salcabamba.

"They lived in Iscuchaca and, after being there for some time, my grandfather came -the father of my mother- with my grandmother and said: "what things are you doing here in a foreign land?. We

have over in Salcabamba more land than we want. Let's go!". Well, my dad got excited and they all went off with the animals to Salcabamba. There he stayed, because there his life was changed.

"I was born in Salcabamba; the older children are from Iscuchaca, my older sister; me and my younger ones from Salcabamba. And there my dad took to sowing maize, potatoes, broad-beans, all those things; not wheat any longer, because it doesn't do so well there. He had animals there but now, little by little, we had less, then they all got sold. I remember about five or six cows only, but he had plenty of sheep.

"My older sisters took the animals to grass: the eldest-the cows, the youngest-the sheep. I stayed at home looking after my little brother, making him play, looking after the hens. Those things were for me because my mum made us all do something: the boys had to help my dad and to go school. Only two were boys; there were more girls, we were seven girls, two boys.

"My mum hit us a lot, sometimes I hated my mum. When I was small she got up at four, and at that hour all of us had to get up. Me and my small sister at that time went to see about the potatoes, to see if some animal had got in. My other sisters stayed cooking lunch. Lunch is in the morning, first breakfast, then lunch, we have soup, all that so they go to work well filled. But the elder ones went to cut grass, get milk, all those things they did. My mum telling everybody what. That was her way.



"The two older sons of my dad were studying here in Huancayo and sometimes when they went on vacations they helped him. We women didn't get sent to school. Of course I went here in Huancayo but the elder ones didn't get sent. Makes me angry. And why?. The boys studied here but my older sisters didn't study so they helped with the animals. In Huancayo they had a rented room. My dad brought food every month, he brought it from there. He brought maize to sell, and if it sold well he got clothes and what was needed. That's how he was.

"Then my eldest brother got married and had a son while he was studying. He sent for me and so I came when his first son was born. I came to help my brother, and I was helping him with the child at the time when my dad died. I remember well, it was in 1942. There my dad died and my mum had to leave; she couldn't stay there any longer because when my dad died he said: -"nobody is going to stay here, all of you are going to leave here. Just me for experience is going to be dead here"- Then my mum arrived bringing all her children. I didn't go back to Salcabamba any more. I stayed looking after my nephew and from there I went to work for a Japanese. At the age of 8 or 9 I went out to work for a Japanese. Well, he had a son of one year old. I looked after him, I taught him to walk. He had a big shop and so I was busy helping, looking after the baby. They paid me four soles a month, as I was small I only had to play, looking after the baby, playing with the baby, doing some small errand, that's all. I worked there about two years, because the senora gave up the shop. She said: -"I can't keep you any more because now I'm poor"- Yes,

there was a war in Japan, because of that war they had no shop and so I left.

"When I left that job my mum took me to the community where my grandmother was. My grandma was all alone, so she got accustomed to me, and I did too. I was there for a year. I was eleven years old. Then my mum came saying: "We are going to Huancayo". I didn't want to come because I'd got accustomed there and my mum wanted to bring me by force. My grandma said: "Here I'm putting her into school". My mum told me: "There in Huancayo you are going to study". So, they quarrelled with my grandma, they had a fight. Because of that she brought me. I came and my mum never remembered the school. I said to her: "Mum you brought me to put me into school, if you don't I'm leaving". So she had to register me.

"Oh! At school I was happy! But there I studied only four years. My mum said to me: "I can't keep someone who doesn't work any more". As she came from the countryside she didn't know how to do business, nothing; then we suffered a lot there.

"The older ones were working already. We lived in Chilca, my mother worked in the fields and they paid her a miserable wage because she was a woman. They paid the men more. My mum worked the same as the men, no difference, but they paid her less simply because she was a woman. That my mother remembers. That time we suffered a lot. My brother had gone to Lima, my mum had the children and the older ones were each working. That's how it was.

We were three, me and two young brothers with my mum. I left school and started to sew. I learnt to sew and since then I've sewn till today.

"My brother had come back from Lima and was opening his workshop - there he worked on ready made clothes. He said to me: "learn your profession, there's nothing like a profession. You are going to sew!". He had a machine and I sewed on the machine. I learnt, my brother taught me, but he was a one for swearing, if I wasn't suffering he begins to swear. Then I sewed my hand. The needle broke in my finger. "This is not work for me", I said to myself and I went home, leaving the work. My brother came: "Hello softie, what do you mean by going off, let's go to work! What happened is all for the best, it's a good sign". He made me go back then and so, I went on sewing, I went on sewing.

"The workshop was small. He sold what I made in the Sunday market, then from there he went "high". He bought more machines and he grew, now it was a real workshop. He didn't work anymore now, he was the cutter, and he had the whole family working there. Now it was a workshop where the whole family worked. Now I had a safe job. I worked there about 14 years, but the trouble working with the family is that you can't say: "I want a raise!". I couldn't ask for my keep. Of course, on his own account he gave me what he wanted for a year's work.

"Also I got married while I was working for my brother. Then my husband said to me: "We have to bring an action against your

brother because he owes you millions". "No, I said, How can we bring an action against my brother?". And with that he went sour, then. I got to know him one day while I was sewing. I lived in Chilca and so did he, and he worked as a carpenter and so, going up and down we got to know each other. He was two years older than me, two years older he was. My son was born in 1953, almost when we got married. He's the only son I've had. I didn't have any more children because there was no understanding with my husband, we didn't see eye to eye. We lived together a short time, about five years, then we separated. He was very tight-fisted. I didn't like his character. I suffered a lot during the time I carried my child. I went to work for years...years, always the same thing, I couldn't improve. I realized that the only way to do that is to live alone. We both agreed to separate. He went to the high jungle, to Chanchamayo, and I even went there with my son. I couldn't get used to it. The climate didn't suit me and I came back with the boy and I went to work with my brother. Now my husband has another wife up there. He kept on asking me to go back but I didn't want to. He married me in a registry office, but he married his new senora by "the catholic". They have children already also.

"While I was working at my brother's, I fell ill with rheumatism with so much sewing. I couldn't walk. I could just move along like this. Well I've suffered, nobody came even to hand me anything. My son was about seven years old, he was already at school. He'd just gone into first grade. And so I was looking for a quack doctor to give me a cure, but nothing. Then one day

my brother came. He said to me: "You can't go on like this. This is to get you better, you can work it off". He gave me 500 soles.

With that I went to the health centre and the doctor gave me an injection for rheumatism, then with that I got better.

"I got better and I went to work somewhere else, no longer with my brother, but with a Japanese. There I worked from 8 to 12, four hours. Then in the afternoon I started at 2 until 6. I stayed till 8 without any food inside me, because at 6 I had to go to school, leaving my son by himself alone at home. So I used to leave school at half past nine. I would find my son asleep and at that time, I would prepare some food and give it to him. I kept on at this job for two years. I finished the primary school but not very well. Studying at night is not the same as studying in the day-time, everything is in a hurry, crazy. I couldn't do any homework. I'd put the copy book on one side and sew and study at the same time. Altogether during those two years I don't know what I studied. What I studied in day-time is all I know.

"During those two years I worked with the Japanese there, and for that I had social security since 1964. When I worked with my brother I had no social security. There was social security but he wouldn't give it, because it didn't suit him. I was in the security until 1972 when I resigned from it because it didn't suit the owner of the workshop either. Now I no longer have social security because they changed their business, where they had a ready-made clothes factory now they have a restaurant. Of course, they keep on working but on the sly, everything hidden, to avoid

tax. That's why it doesn't suit them. So they make me bring the sewing to my house and when the job's ready I take it to them. They pay by the work done. Last week there was no work. Most of the time there is work but not much, enough to keep body and soul together, nothing else. I get paid by piece-work. For every piece they pay me 40 soles. When I work well I get 2.500, up to 3.000 I can get working well. If there is no work I go back home and I don't get paid even my bus fare.

"Later I came to Unas to look after a house of a family who live in Lima. At least here I have small animals and my garden with some onions, but nothing else. I'm sowing onions and I'll sell some, I can get a bit of grass for my animals, and those small things I get from the house owners. Potatoes I also grow, some herbs, that's all. Since I came here, I've been happy, I feel merry, I'm light-hearted. I wish I could buy this place so I could stay here for ever. I love it here but it's not mine and when they want it back I'll have to leave. Then I'll have to go back to Huancayo.....

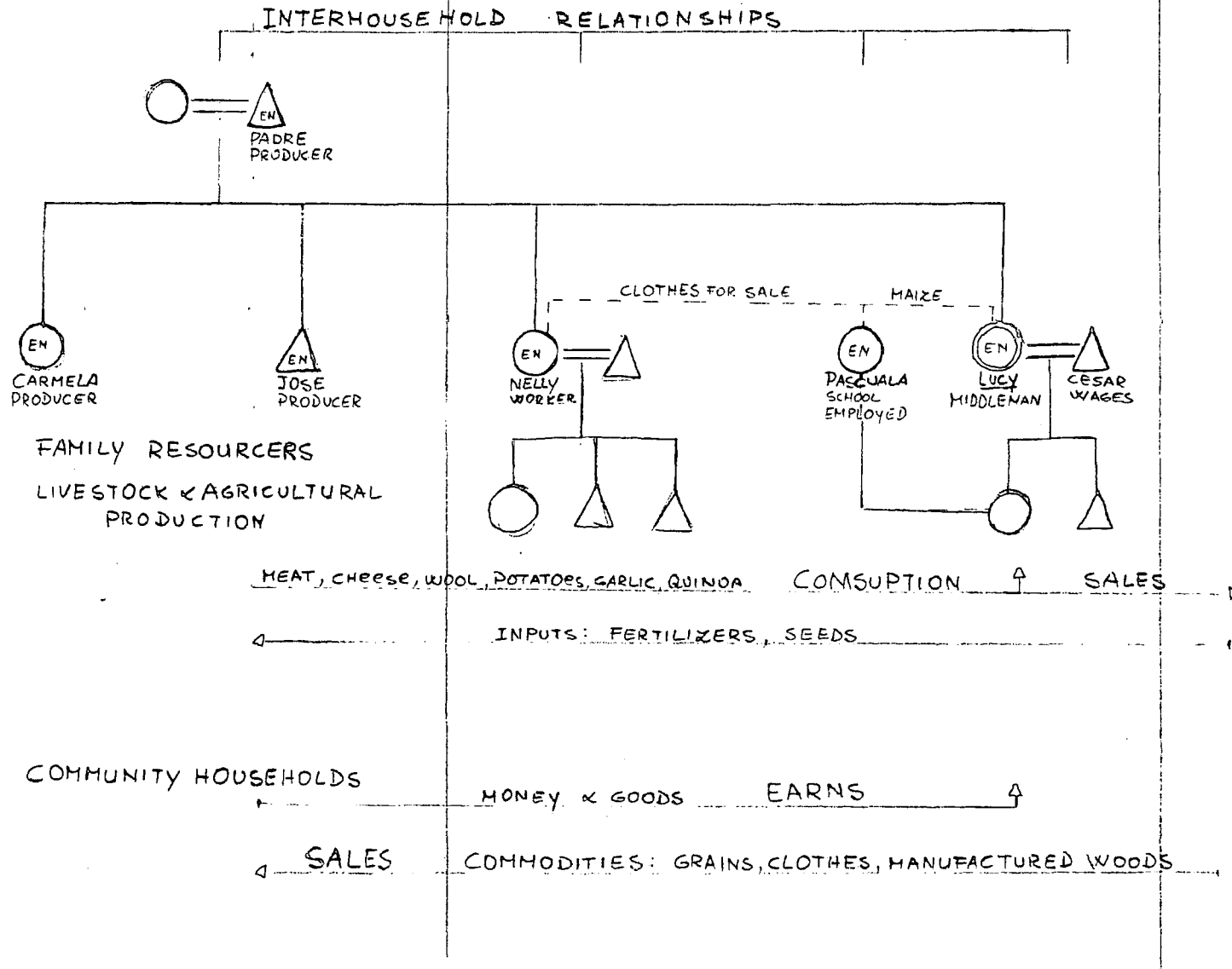
b) Senora Lucy: "I also make bricks".

Senora Lucy also lives in the community of Unas, which is in the Mantaro valley, 5 kilometres from the city of Huancayo. Neither she nor her husband are comuneros here, so they have no access to community resources. For this reason, Lucy cultivates a small piece of land behind the house, about 500 square metres. However, as a native of the highland herding community of Q'ero, she can count on

# Q'UERO COMMUNITY

# LUCY HOUSEHOLD

# MARKET



its resources, through the close family ties which she maintains with her parents and her elder sister. Every year she sows certain agricultural products there, and she owns four cows and ten sheep.

San Jose de Q'ero lies between the valley and the puna, above 3,800 metres altitude. Its resources are basically pastoral, though the comuneros also cultivate potatoes and garlic for subsistence. Senora Lucy's husband is permanently employed in a car repair shop in Huancayo. This has made it possible for them to save some money, which they have invested in raising stock and in the construction of two houses, one of 'adobe' or mud brick in the husband's community of Sano and the other of brick and cement in Unas. The fact that she has a secure income has given her greater flexibility, so she can devote herself to small-scale trading as a middleman.

"I was 10 years old when my mum got ill and I had to look after my brothers. I had to cook for them, wash them, tidy them up every day and work with the animals. We had a lot of animals at that time: we had sheep, about 500, a lot we had! Cows!, we had any amount. At that time, before my mum got ill, we had people to work who came from outside. When my mum got ill every thing was ruined. We couldn't pay people and the sheep began to die, the horses, the donkeys. The horse got into a place where there was a lot of water, it couldn't get out, would you believe it! and it got stuck there and died. How could we little girls get it out of there? When my mum got ill, my sister Carmela must have been 14 years old. At that time I was at school. In Q'ero I studied between the years of 7 and 8 in first and second grades. That way



I was working, studying, looking after my brothers. At seven in the morning we had to leave the house. School started at nine in the morning and we got out at 12 for lunch. At one o'clock we went back until five in the afternoon. We had to take a snack with us so as not to return home, as it was too far.

"In those days we used to make any number of cheeses. Oh! with the price of the cheeses and the eggs we had to pay for ma's illness. We sold them in Chupaca market (15). At that time we had to travel from Q'ero to Chupaca on foot. There were no cars of course, there were only lorries. We went down every seven days, on a Friday. On the Friday we had to get to Chupaca, we had to do our shopping, half the shopping we intended to do. At that time we lived in a place called Tambo. It was like a hotel, but...with all the animals. It had a big corral, the house was a lean-to shack with a few rooms. You used to get up on Saturday morning to sell cheeses and eggs at the fair. Afterwards, you had to do your shopping to get everything ready for the journey. Every Friday crowds came down to the fair at Chupaca! People from everywhere: from Chala, Chaquicocha, Q'ero, Usibamba, Santa Rosa. All the little villages round there! We took all day on the journey, we used to leave at seven and we had to be in Chupaca at three. The same from Chupaca to Q'ero. On Saturday we travelled all day until nightfall. Until 1962 or 1963 we were travelling like that. Later, little by little motor cars appeared. Nowadays you don't see anyone walking. On Saturdays there are plenty of buses, there are plenty on Saturdays.

"We were in Q'ero until I was 12. In those days then we took my mum to see the doctor in Huancayo, you know? and this doctor said to to my mum: "I need a girl who will work for a friend, with the chancellor of the University". My mum said: "You can go" she said to me. "All right, I'll go and work at the doctor's, I said, but with Nelly -my younger sister- both of us". Because I didn't want to go all on my own. There I worked a year and a half. I wasn't studying at that time.

"At the doctor's I had to wash the baby's nappies -there were two babies- and iron and that was all, because there were three girls working in the house: one who cooked, one who just looked after the babies, and also a boy who did all the cleaning in the house. Nelly worked with the babies, looking after the babies, changing their nappies, feeding them, playing with them and so on. In this place they paid us 250 soles a month. At that time everything was cheap, a good shoe cost 80 soles, 60 soles the cheapest. Later on I didn't like it any more, I got fed up and left. A senora who knew us took me to work at the house of an engineer. Nelly stayed at the doctor's. "There you will have to look after only one baby", she said to me.

"The senora was much better, she was good, Brazilian. She didn't like us to work too much. The senora helped in everything because she didn't work at home knitting and sewing. Of course, at night the senora taught Portuguese right there in the house. While I was with the engineer Palomino I went to school. How was I going to stay just like I was! (she laughs). "How am I going to stay

here, only learning a few little things", I said to myself. So, I started to study at night. It was at this time also that I met my husband. I was introduced to him by a senora who kept a fruit-juice stall opposite where I worked. Nelly also moved to work with my sister Carmela with a senora who also was Brazilian; the husband was Peruvian. There they both studied also. I studied there, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th. Until 4th grade only I studied. No more. I went back again to...1st because I'd let some time go by and forgotten.

"I was a year with the engineer Palomino. After that I left. I worked in a leather factory -there I have the photographs of where I worked. When I was studying with my friends, one of them said to me: "Look, don't work there any more. Let's go and work at the factory". Then I went on a Sunday, I went to speak with the senor and so on and he showed me the machines. He needed several girls to work there, who could sew with industrial machines. He taught me. In one week I learnt had to use the machine. I knew a little sewing by machine with a small machine. Very different they are! As they are for leather! There we sewed bags, big hand-bags, cases, satchels of leather and morocco. Everyday we made a dozen and a half to two dozen. We got paid on Saturday. We earned according to the number we made. At that time for a dozen they paid 200 soles, something like that. So every week we made 700-800 soles. At that time it was plenty. We ate in the street (she referred to a restaurant) because we didn't have time to cook anything. We'd go out, eat quickly and go back at once because we had several orders. For example, round about

March...Biff! Full up we were. In March we were already starting to sew any amount. Satchels for schools, we had to make plenty. We had to work day and night, from 3 o'clock in the morning, from 2 o'clock, all day until nine or ten at night. We had time for nothing else. But I preferred that work because I earned more.

"I rented a room in Red Street. Then Nelly also began to work in the factory. After that my sister Carmela. My sister Carmela would still be working there if she hadn't had to have an operation in the bladder. In the factory we had no insurance, no benefits, nothing. We didn't know anything about that. The owner didn't want to pay anything for my sister's operation. Not a cent! But Cesar, my husband -in those days I had got married already and didn't work in the factory- he went to the Labour Ministry to complain. Well, they went to see the factory and how they worked and everything. We made him pay for the operation because she worked in the factory for nearly four years. From the time she was operated on she never went back to the factory. Then Carmela went back to Q'ero.

"Once I was married I never worked again in the factory. I went in for business, seriously, to be able to build the house in Sano, which is Cesar's community. I used to trade in vegetables and fruit. I travelled to Q'ero, there I bought meat to sell in Huancayo. Here I had to distribute to the houses, like I take round the cheeses today. I used to buy the meat very cheap and bring it here, getting a profit of about 50 soles per kilo, sometimes 100 soles. It wasn't very much but enough for the daily

expense on food and with what Cesar made in his work we could use for something else. With what I earned we had enough to eat and we could save Cesar's money to buy this and that. Also I used to make contracts with the houses on the small farms, for cabbage, lettuce, fruit, to sell in the fairs and in the houses in Huancayo. In the end I was running out of the produce from the farms and I used to have to go to the wholesale merchants for whole boxes. Most of these I sold in the markets, in Chupaca.

"On weekdays I had to take stuff to Q'ero and from there I'd return with plenty of things for the house and to sell in Chupaca, because there families would invite me (16), this one, that one, they would invite me, cheese, meat, everything. They also charged me with requests to bring them fruit or clothes. Then the next week I would have to return with clothes, fruit, grain, everything that they asked for from town.

"At that time, I still used to sow in Q'ero to start off with. I had to give my dad all the seed or go and sow. So that they could cultivate the land. I had to help them with insecticides, fertilizers, all those things. What we harvested was just enough to feed ourselves or half to sell. When I sowed in those times I used to go there just for the harvest. And there was hardly time to pee I think, because one has to do everything here also, cut the grass, pick the garlic, many things. When you are busy with the harvest and growing things, there's no rest. When there are animals it's worse.

"This was how I was able to build the flower house in Sano and half build this one that we live in, here in Unas. Since I got married to this very day I haven't had a single rest. Nowadays, I no longer sell fruit or vegetables, that's true, but until last year (1978) I was still working like that: vegetables, fruit, cheese, eggs. Now I go in for spinning, knitting, sewing and I sell a few things - a lot of cheese, sometimes meat. This past year I've sewn a lot of uniforms for school. Nelly does the cutting because she knows a lot about cutting and I do the sewing. I make little blouses, skirts, pinafores, dust coats, those things...

"In the days when I sowed in Q'ero my dad and my brothers worked and we took on some farm labourers. My dad paid half and I paid the other half. But this year I'm not going to sow yet until I've finished the house because it's a lot of expense. Nowadays the potato seeds, the broad-bean seeds, they cost a lot. Carmela yes, she sows everything: quinoa, potatoes, broad-beans, canihua, all those things. I send her fertilizer, little things because she is always giving us....Ooh!...she gives us potatoes and quinoa. With that we don't need to buy from the market, it's help enough.

"Also, I cultivate here in the back yard, sharecropping with Pascuala (17), half an arroba (about 25 pounds) of maize, and broad-beans too. I always sow broad-beans and maize. Last year I sowed potatoes but now potatoes are not good. All alone I cultivate. Of course I hire a yoke of oxen with my kin. Nobody has helped me, nobody. Cooking lunch, going to sow, you know what? I have to put the lunch on early and then I have to run out

like a hen -tan, tan, tan, tan- I have to do everything: cut the grass, run back into the kitchen to see if the lunch is doing alright, run out again to the vegetable garden to cut the long grass, pull out all the weeds, all this until it's 12 o'clock when I have to get ready to take Cesar his lunch on the job (18).

"That's the way I also worked in Sano, the same, the same. For the wall of the house we put up there, I -all on my own- made the 'adobes'. I put on the widest corset, one of those with elastic, really wide. I tied up my head as tight as I could -as they say, not to 'recalcarse'-, you see? I had to wet the earth early in the morning. My husband went to his work and I stayed wetting the earth, inside a big corral about this size. This is how you tread the mud, then I'd made it ready, then cooking the lunch, I'd go into the kitchen, go out again, I'd put something more in, like that, see? because in the early morning, at breakfast time I had to prepare everything: the onions, the garlic, all well skinned. All of it ready for lunch. Then, out to prepare the earth and after that to make the bricks. By the time I had to take lunch I'd made 15 or 20 adobes and I'd leave the earth well soaked so that when I came back I could go on with it. And I'd leave something or other soaking to make a corn porridge in the afternoon and not have to make supper. From the morning I'd have some soup left over or something for the main dish, whatever it was, so we could all eat it together at night and save time. Then I'd come back from taking the lunch and go on making the bricks. That's how I worked.

"Now, I keep on working the same, alone, all alone. I sow and I harvest alone too. Alone I cut, I take everything out, I bring the maize in. Of course, at night Cesar helps me carry some so the corn cobs don't fall. I arrange all in good order. Then when it's dry I begin to remove it, to take the grains off and to dry them on the roof. The husk of the corn (19) I sell to anyone who has a cow.

"The cheeses I'm selling now I bring them from my house in Q'ero. There my sister Carmela milks the cows and makes the cheeses. All alone she does it, she's very good at that sort of thing. What we're thinking of doing now is to finish the house and go in for raising animals in Q'ero, buy more animals and change the breed to Brown Swiss. Cheese is like a mine from the poor cow, all one has to do is keep working at it, look after it as if it were a person, you know? and the money comes in. My sister sends me the cheeses every week. She puts them in a little box nicely fitted in, well done. Carmela always gets a family member to bring it. They come from Q'ero to Chupaca. She sends them every Saturday and I sell them in the market. She also makes money out of everything like me before: cheese, eggs, meat, wool, whatever she can find, whatever is easiest so I can sell it here".

From these two testimonies it can be observed that the economic role of women in the Central Region is very different according to social stratum to which they belong. It seems that access to or ownership to less resources of production, especially land for cultivation and pastures, results in giving less importance to kinship



ties. Access to or ownership of land permits one to reinforce kinship ties, and in this way, to participate in wider family networks which allow a number of households to maintain control over widely spread resources. The use of forms of inter-household cooperation and extended family networks is, then, a response to the necessity of handling resources which are located in various communities and towns within and beyond the region.

Juana's case is an example of a landless household. They migrated into the valley abandoning land in their community of origin. She represents a typical migrant, with a tendency towards a more isolated individual household pattern, without land to share with relatives, possessing only her own labour. However her brother set up a small workshop based upon the labour of relatives and exploited both Juana and others as cheap labour. Such a set of relationships does not constitute a genuine joint family enterprise, entailing some degree of cooperation and reciprocal help. In this case, which seems to be a common pattern for central Peru, a small manufacturing enterprise utilizes family labour primarily to avoid normal labour contracts and social security obligations.

Lucy's case represents a different pattern in which cooperation and exploitation of kin labour goes hand in hand, although, in the final analysis, only one side of the system of inter-household cooperation is able to accumulate. Lucy supports various her activities through a vast network of kin ties, through which she can produce and trade, linking different places (her community of origin and her present place of residence), which form the basis for the creation of wider

trading networks characteristic of the region as a whole. Her trade and production activities, permit her to save her husband's wage, and it is this which enables them to build two houses, and consolidate their economic situation. In the accompanying chart of Lucy's activities one can see clearly that agricultural and livestock activities, as well as, one part of her trading network, are located in her community, where the father and sister, and another young brother, work the land according to Lucy's marketing requirements, receiving at the same time the necessary inputs. On the other hand, in her place of residence she engages in sharecropping with other relatives, such as a "comadre", which permits her to increase her home consumption production. At the same time as she trades her relatives' production, she also obtains the products of other comuneros, who are "free" from other networks, all of which helps to increase the volume of her transactions. The Mantaro valley has a dense network of markets, which are located in different places on different days, allowing for involvement of thousands of women in petty commodity trading. Lucy regularly trades in the Chupaca market on Saturdays, and also irregularly in the city of Huancayo itself. An important point in this respect is that, no matter where she lives, belonging to a community and maintaining <sup>There,</sup> a plot of land is the basis upon which it is possible to diversify sources of income and accumulation. This would not be possible without the existence of mutually beneficial family links which, enable each of the parties to overcome the uncertainties of the regional economy, in which neither agriculture, wage labour nor petty trading by themselves, can assure the successful livelihood of a household.

Also, as can be seen from the two cases no matter what the scale of peasant production, agriculture has little capacity to generate a surplus big enough to finance its own inputs. Thus, a large proportion of agricultural inputs must be generated outside agriculture, from wages and trade. In this sense, for many peasants of this area -as well as urban dwellers who stubbornly maintain their land in the communities- agriculture and other forms of income are regarded as complementing each other.

Another interesting dimension concerns the work patterns of the women, which in many ways are similar to the other four testimonies. The six women began to work at a very early age, not only in domestic duties, but also on the peasant farm or earning wages. In the Peruvian case, however, their lives took different paths. Lucy had access to land and could involve various family members in her trading ventures. Juana had no such resources to provide a good start and has always had to work for subsistence. Lucy works to accumulate. Although she herself does not express in these terms: she displays interest in accumulating and maintaining a surplus to face unforeseen circumstances.

##### 5. Multiplicity of Women's Activities.

The information that we have analyzed on the participation of women in the economic activity of the central region of Peru and on the dispersion of resources and the general conditions presented by the different sectors of the economy of the region, suggest that the only way open to households to obtain sufficient income to meet their

reproduction needs, is through the participation of women in different occupations. The types of occupation practised, however, depend upon the social level to which they belong and on the way in which they organize and reinforce their family relationships. Living in peasant communities or in urban areas is not an important distinguishing factor conditioning economic or social activities. Similar patterns of family organization and sexual divisions of labour provide the connecting bonds between the different milieux and make it impossible to view them as separate economic spheres.

TABLE 14

## MULTIPLICITY OF ECONOMIC OCCUPATIONS AMONGST WOMEN.(1)

Number of Occup.	No of Women	Percentage	Total(2)
One Occupation	4	2.9	4
Two Occupations	63	45.0	126
Three Occupations	61	43.6	183
Four and more Occup.	12	8.5	48
TOTAL	140	100.0	361

SOURCE: Fieldwork in Peru, 1979.

(1) Not including spinning and weaving that all women perform.

(2) Total number of activities.

Leaving aside social differences, a large majority of women carry out several activities in order to accumulate sufficient income to enable them to cover the daily expenses of food, clothing, schooling, medicine, etc. for their households.

While the labour opportunities open to men are scarce and insecure, it is clear that, at least for an important sector of the population of the region, the preservation of the family is dependent primarily on women's work, due as much to the temporary absence of men as to the fact that women provide a more certain source of income.

Finally, production work, apart from domestic chores, forms part of the daily round of women. It is considered and undertaken as an inseparable part of their life and the fact that the husband has or does not have secure employment, does not invalidate their condition as permanent workers. In this sense, and except for the families of the poorer strata, the combination of male activities with those of women and the joint efforts of the members of the family organization, facilitates a process of small-scale, though unstable, accumulation. In fact it is possible to argue that work is conceived of as a form of accumulation and not of subsistence; one does not work simply to survive but to get together some capital or extra saving, irrespective of whether or not the family actually manages to accumulate.

## 6. Some Concluding Remarks.

Women's activities in the Central Sierra of Peru are earnestly directed to acquiring income or drawing more tightly together the family ties that may promote the accumulation of animal stock, business, land or whatever is likely to produce the best profit at a given moment. But as this need for accumulation is widely felt and, as the economy as a whole is unstable, it is very difficult to achieve a process of capital concentration. On the contrary, the tendency is

towards the expansion of diversified activities within a system which embraces thousands of unstable small or middle-sized family businesses.

This complex structure has been examined from various points of view, but it is especially striking in the life histories of the women, through which one can observe the constant effort to diversify income sources, to consolidate family networks, to cope with various economic arenas, and to contribute to household income bringing more stability, and, in some cases, supporting the household alone. The fact that men often have various households, being able to marry by civil law and by the church, is also an important element in forcing women to take a more crucial role in household affairs, linked also to the fact that historically men were pushed out of agriculture into a migrational life pattern, which has resulted in a type of household that is predominantly managed by women. In order to take on this responsibility, women have created various forms of extracting from family networks the necessary means of livelihood, combining different resources. In this context it seems that the basis of diversified family enterprise owes a great deal to women, who in the face of certain historical processes have fought to maintain the viability of their households. As men left home for work, so women diversified activities.

This, in turn played an important role in regional development, as well as in the way in which capitalism has expanded. Capitalist enterprise has not fully developed in agriculture, which has remained as a secondary activity for many households. However, as capitalism

developed in other economic areas, particularly in the mining enclave, the various activities developed by women themselves helped the development of capitalism itself, providing cheap labour and reducing the reproduction costs of the household and therefore also the labour force. This expansion of capitalist enterprise in the Central Region, then, has in great measure been supported by the "ant-like" activities carried out by women.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER VI

- (1) According to Fuenzalida (1970), it was colonial intervention that gave birth to the internal organization of the community, its kinship system and work methods, all different from those existing in the prehispanic period.
- (2) 'Enganche' is a means of attracting and holding on to manual labour in the place of work for long periods. It consists in making an advance payment of part of the workman's wages which he must work off in labour at the mine or plantation. The worker is tied to the business concern by the debts which the owner takes care to manipulate, so as to prevent him from breaking the contract. The 'enganche' is still in operation in some parts of Peru.
- (3) Several authors have studied the process in depth. We mention here the most important publications. Malpica, 1970; Bonilla, 1974; Flores, 1974 and Yepes, 1974.
- (4) For an analysis of the conflict between haciendas and communities in the central region, see Martinez Alier, "Los Huacchilleros del Peru", 1973.
- (5) There are many reports on the ecological disaster produced by the fumes from the smelter, mainly of an official type. The most important are those published in the review "La Vida Agricola" in 1924 and 1934. Also the CIDE Report, Lima 1976.
- (6) Itinerant trading is widely spread in Peru and involves whole communities. A good example is the case of the community of Huamanguilla in the Department of Ayacucho. A considerable number of youths and adult men move every year during the summer months -September to March- to the city of Lima, where they are taken on by the ice-cream manufacturers, D'Onofrio, the largest in the country, for the sale of ice-cream in floats.
- (7) All these communities have been thoroughly studied by different social scientists over more than 35 years. Muquiyauyo by Adams in 1959 and by Grondin in 1976. In 1947 Escobar studied Sicaya. The community of Matahuasi and others of the valley such as Pucara and Ataura were studied by Long and Altamirano in 1971-73, by Solano in 1973, and by Laite in 1972, etc.
- (8) Rina Cornejo (1982), in a study of peasant women in the district of Cuzco, shows that women takes on agricultural production and trading, while the men migrate to other areas in search of wage labour.
- (9) Hanza Alavi (1973) observes a similar phenomenon within the peasant sector in India.



- (10) According to the First Census of Itinerant Street Vendors in Metropolitan Lima, 1976; 8.7 per cent of the itinerants in Lima come from the Department of Junin, second in importance after Ayacucho. On the other hand, only 78.6 per cent have primary education and 21.2 are illiterate.
- (11) In 1982, the group "Asociacion Peru-Mujer" prepared a complete bibliography about research on women on Peru.
- (12) Except for the historical work of Mallon (1983) on gender and class in the transition to capitalism in the central sierra of Peru.
- (13) These studies were carried out by Rina Cornejo (1982) in Cuzco; Carman Diana Deere (1979) in Cajamarca; and Gabriela Villalobos (1978) in four villages of different regions of Peru.
- (14) The questionnaire presents a partial view because it concentrated on housewives and, in general, on female agricultural workers, who in the communities live as "hangers-on". In the case of Huancayo, the majority of migrants from the poorer districts, who are seasonal agricultural workers, live in the suburb of Chilca. Six of the eight cases of agricultural workers lived in that suburb.
- (15) The market (or fair) of Chupaca is one of the most frequented in the whole of the Mantaro valley. It brings together traders from all the towns and agricultural and livestock communities in the district. On Saturdays, important business transactions, both great and small, are carried out here.
- (16) The word 'Invite' only implies access to certain products over which some sort of transaction is possible, be it purchase or some commercial exchange. Generally the middleman -in this case Lucy- makes a good profit on the transaction.
- (17) A 'comadre' (co-mother), is an fictive relative that is not based on a blood-relation. Feminine of 'compadre'.
- (18) Every day she takes lunch to her husband who works in Huancayo. This takes her an hour and a half to two hours for the return trip.
- (19) Leaves and foliage left over after the maize harvest.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

My aim in this thesis was to examine the form and degree of women's participation in agricultural production, and to determine the characteristics of capitalist expansion in the countryside and assess its effects upon the socio-economic role of rural women. In order to accomplish this objective I took three regions for analysis which offer remarkably different patterns of capitalist expansion, and involve women in production in quite different ways.

The first theme discussed was the 'ghost character' of women's labour in agriculture, which is not officially recognized by society and whose implications are not fully realized by peasant women themselves. As a result, from the point of view of society, women are not taken into account either as workers or as producers. Women's

labour is not included in official statistics, and seldom given a place in the plans and programmes for development. This is particularly crucial in Latin American countries where, in spite of the increase of knowledge about the role of women in production, censuses and other sources of statistical data have not yet incorporated the changes needed to collect reliable information on the participation of women in production.

In Latin America a great many economic transactions are made outside of the 'formal' economy by family-based enterprises, both in the cities and rural areas, in which women play a centrally important role. Also, peasant agricultural production, handicrafts, small-scale manufacturing and trade often include female labour as non-remunerated part of the work force. In this respect the argument advanced by Rogers is interesting. She points out that "the less 'developed' the national economy, the more crucial is the non-market production in which women play such an important part" (1980:61). Therefore, the present practice of taking no serious account of the role of women within the economic structure, produces a partial and false picture of how society really works and, because of this, efforts to promote development are likely to be misguided or abortive.

Given the lack of adequate knowledge about the position of women in the economic structure, my aim was to collect field data to fill this gap, and to relate this to general processes of economic development. An important point in my approach was not to concentrate exclusively on women's work, to the extent of forgetting that they participate in wider family networks and in specific household units whose members

decide together on ways of achieving better life conditions. Thus, the results of the study relate to women in rural society, but from the point of view of their participation and contribution to household and family livelihoods.

My work is similar in approach to other recent research on women in Latin America (Deere, 1979; Leal, 1980; Spindel, 1982), which concentrates on extensive fieldwork and compares the results with those of official sources, thereby obtaining a clearer understanding of women's work. Using this approach it has been possible to assess more accurately the degree of women's participation in the economic activities of various regions, their labour patterns, and their incorporation into planned development projects. However, the problem of arriving at adequate generalizations based on comparative studies persists. Different community or regional studies show divergent patterns of women's involvement in agriculture depending on the nature of regional and national development.

#### Differential Capitalist Expansion and Women's Labour.

In Latin America capitalism has developed in many different ways, creating a great heterogeneity of regional forms, to the extent that some regions exhibit only a small number of social and economic relationships which in micro-perspective could be considered as properly capitalist. Such heterogeneity is the result of peripheral forms of economic development. This means that certain regions, or even within these, certain specific products are linked directly to external markets without being properly integrated into the

surrounding regional economy. Such is the case with so called 'enclave economies', where the enclave exerts dominance over adjacent areas, limiting instead of encouraging social and economic development. Agricultural production is one area where there is considerable heterogeneity due to the fact that in agriculture capitalist relations and forms of production are often less evident.

This situation has given rise to discussions concerning the differentiation and decomposition of the peasantry as a result of capitalist penetration. Much of this debate stems from Lenin's thesis concerning the end of the peasantry: "The differentiation of the peasantry, which develops the latter's extreme at the expense of the middle peasantry, creates two new types of rural inhabitants (...) The first new type is the rural bourgeoisie or the well-to-do peasant (...) The other new type is the rural proletariat" (Lenin, 1982:131). In the 1960's Lenin's argument represented a main theoretical trend, but, by the 1980's is seriously questioned by the persisting nature of the peasantry, especially in certain regions. This fact necessitated some rethinking, in the sense that it was possible to find a multiplicity of situations, generating different processes of rural development with specific regional characteristics. In fact, Latin American capitalist expansion has been very selective and differential, both regionally and nationally. In some areas it is possible to observe the kinds of processes of differentiation described by Lenin, but in other cases the peasantry has increased and a variety of combinations of wage labour and agricultural production have emerged. Furthermore, as we have pointed out elsewhere (Campana and Rivera, 1979b), once a process of proletarianization has taken

place, this does not mean a complete and irrevocable change towards this form of labour relations. Indeed in some regions of Latin America it is possible to find processes of advanced proletarianization evolving into new forms of peasantry.

These processes, on the other hand, are conditioned by State policy, such as a land reform or neo-liberal policy, which can alter the direction of social change. Development policies generate different paths of change in terms of relations of production, social organization of labour, and demographic processes in different regional or national settings.

A number of authors have pointed out (Amin, 1975; Meillasoux, 1972, Wolpe, 1972; Vergopoulos, 1975) that peripheral capitalist expansion does not create the conditions for the conversion of peasants into free wage labourers, but instead, appears to create the conditions for the maintenance of the peasantry, even in regions of strong capitalist development. However, these authors often have in mind a single form of peripheral capitalist development, i.e. that which preserves the peasantry in order to supply capitalist enterprise with cheap labour and cheap goods. This pattern may be true of certain regions, but in many others the situation is much more complex. It is possible to observe forms of peasantry closely involved in market-oriented production whilst, in other contexts, we find a peasantry with relatively few relationships with capital or markets.

If we take the case of the fruit-growing region of Chile, as an example, there is no doubt that this region has experienced a

longstanding process of capitalist expansion. But, instead of being based on cheap seasonal peasant labour, the region has followed a pattern of development similar to that found in most developed countries, where the dominant trend is towards family and medium sized farms, with a predominance of temporary or part-time landless wage labour. As Djurfeldt has pointed out: "The modern rural proletariat is largely part-time: students, housewives, etc. drawn into agriculture during certain peak periods, as for example during harvesting of vegetables and fruit. The group of full-time agricultural labourers is surprisingly small" (1982:139). I found something similar in the fruit region of Chile although, because of the high unemployment in other areas of the economy, we find a large mass of the unemployed persons remaining in the area. This makes for a far more complex situation than that depicted by Djurfeldt. All this occurs in the region whilst, at the same time, the peasantry is in fact increasing in number, both as a marginal minifundia sector with little involvement in fruit production, and as parcelero fruit-producing family farms. Some of these have evolved towards a capitalist farming pattern, while others have sold their land and become wage workers.

In other regions the peasantry make up a majority of the agrarian population and production, practising market-oriented forms of production, such as in the mixed-cropping region of Chile. In this region the process of differentiation does not result in proletarianization because of the weakness of capitalist enterprise, and because, to a certain extent, peasant producers are able to compete advantageously by using unpaid family labour and working longer hours. This self-exploitation allows them to outcompete the labour productivity of wage labour on the capitalist farms.

In yet other regions, a still more complex process can be observed. For example, in the central region of Peru, we find a great deal of production and trade oriented to satisfying the self-consumption needs of large family systems, while at the same time there exists a marked involvement by the peasantry in cheap labour for capitalist production. This pattern of development is highly conditioned by the existence and dominance of mining activities in both the rural and urban sectors. However, although the region exhibits an overall capitalist system of production, this is uneven and creates a situation where there is no single trend either towards proletarianization or towards the expansion of the peasantry. Instead, there exists a mixture of both elements through forms of inter-household exchange and cooperation in various economic fields.

This heterogeneity of agrarian situations and differential forms of capitalist expansion led us to reconsider some hypotheses relating to the involvement of women in capitalist development itself. On the basis of existing regional patterns of capital development, and from an examination of the three regions included in this research, I was led to suggest that women's involvement in agriculture does not follow a single defined path but several, and that this creates a rich variety of social and economic relationships linking women's labour to peasant society, as well as to society at large. The linking of rural women with agricultural work is, to a certain extent, conditioned by the specific forms of capitalist expansion, and by the labour pattern of the dominant crops in each region. This means that women's involvement in rural production extends from exclusive wage labour to other situations where there is a high degree of diversification of



income-generating activities. Between these extremes we find situations in which women are mostly concerned with domestic and agricultural activities on the peasant holding. These different forms depend only in part on women's decisions and aims, since they also depend on the character of the regional economy which includes the size of land holdings, the availability of land for sharecropping or renting, the conditions of the labour market, the possibility of entering into small-scale trading activities, and the opportunities for employment for various household members. Instability or the inability of men to provide regular and sufficient income for the household is a key factor accounting for the involvement of women as major income providers.

Although there exist a number of important differences between the regional situations included in this study, there is, nevertheless, one crucial similarity with respect to the role of women in the economy, and that is that in all three cases women participate to a large extent in productive work, in trade or in the cultivation of peasant plots, thus contributing in a significant way to the general output of production. Women combine these activities with domestic activities essential for the reproduction of labour. Since in most cases this work is unpaid, the contribution of women remains unrecognized or taken for granted.

In the fruit region of Chile women play an important part in the expansion of capital. However, unlike other regions, their work is seasonal but well-paid. They enter the labour market only during the peak season, but this helps to maintain the massive unemployment of

the rest of the work force, since the combined incomes of women and men are sufficient to meet the basic needs of the household. This pattern of employment, partly conditioned by the labour requirements of fruit, but also, and maybe more importantly, by male unemployment, which is to a large extent a result of the implementation of the neo-liberal model of development. As men progressively earn less, women are obliged to do overtime and became more and more involved in wage labour, which suits the specific employment requirements of fruit production.

The situation is different in the mixed-cropping areas, where the effects of neo-liberal policies are characterized by the withdrawal of capital from the agriculture with the result that the peasantry has now become the main actor of the agrarian arena. This increases women's involvement in agricultural production on peasant plots, as well as increasing their commitment to kitchen garden production and to certain handicrafts. Women have also replaced wage labour on those peasant holdings able to develop market-oriented production. Since the majority of Chilean population has no relation with agricultural production (only 18 per cent of the population lives in the rural area), and a still smaller number, 12 per cent, own land, then, women's work in agriculture becomes of enormous importance to the country's economy.

In the central region of Peru capital's expansion is segmented. Agriculture has become, to a large extent, marginal and has been taken over by women. Agricultural production is unable, in most cases, to reproduce itself, requiring supplementary inputs generated from

outside agriculture, mainly from mine work. In this context, women recycle a proportion of the mining wages into agricultural products, both for home consumption and for the market (Campana, 1981). Both rural and urban women participate in this process, being involved in the production and trade of agricultural products. In this case, the processes of change neither produce proletarianization nor the formation of capitalist family farms. Complex family networks evolve to cope simultaneously with the different economic fields in which women seem to concentrate on agriculture and men on migrant labour, both within and outside the region.

Social differentiation within the peasantry itself is another crucial element in the insertion of women into the agricultural production process. To a large extent differentiation in Chile is based on the size of land holding owned by each household, and in those regions where land is available for sharecropping, then it also depends on the access to wage earnings. In both the Chilean regions studied I found various peasant groups: minifundia owners, 'parceleros' and market-oriented peasants. Furthermore, in the fruit region I found a process by which temporary wage labour is expanding. In the Peruvian case, in spite of marked social differentiation within the peasant communities, the social division between strata are offset by numerous cross-cutting family and kinship relationships.

In a first approach to the relationship between social strata and women's work one might suppose that fewer resources would encourage a greater degree of women's participation in agricultural production. However, my research shows that the intensity of women's involvement

tends to be rather similar for the different strata, both in the amount of time devoted to production activities and in the contribution to the common income-household fund. If we look at the cash contribution of minifundistas and parceleros in the mixed-cropping region, there is a great similarity between them. If we then compare their incomes with those of the fruit region, we find that also are similar: approximately \$3.500 (US\$26) a month. The main difference is the type of work which varies with the social strata from which the woman comes. Thus those with large and better-quality plots of land intensify their work in agriculture, whilst those with poorer resources diversify their efforts in their search for subsistence. Then, when the land owned is very restricted and below the amount needed to produce enough to maintain the household, the household members, especially women, diversify their activities outside the holding, as in the case of Peru. Finally, when conditions for diversifying sources of income through combining peasant and trading activities do not exist, women tend to become wage labourers, as we find in the fruit regions of Chile.

At this point I would like to return to the argument of Boserup (1970) and Garret (1976) concerning women's work and capital expansion. Both Boserup and Garret point out that with the introduction of modern technology, the female labour force tends to become displaced from production. This displacement includes the marginalization of women by the learning of new technologies. This argument seems valid for the situations which they studied. Garret, for example, shows how milkmaids are displaced by automatic milking machines in Chile, just as happened in South West England (see

Bouquet, 1984:142-143). However, there are two aspects of this problem I should like to analyse further. The first concerns the heterogeneity of agricultural situations, which makes it difficult to find single overall trends in such processes of change. The second is concerned with the specific crops and products through which capitalist expansion actually occurs. The expansion of fruit production in Chile is in fact an example which contradicts the findings of Boserup, Garret and Bouquet. It is a case where the introduction of modern technology, combined with other factors, has entailed the incorporation of women into the labour process. This leads us to conclude that, depending on the specific labour requirements of each crop, modern technology can have the effect of marginalizing or to incorporating women into production. The fruit growing situation also underlines several other factors; for example, differences in type of land tenure, production strategies, labour patterns, household organization and sexual division of labour. These last two, I maintain, are particularly important.

#### Family, Household and Sexual Division of Labour.

Throughout this thesis I have examined women's work in different regional contexts within the structure of households, trying to understand the role played by women as income providers. I believe that locating the study of women within the household unit permits a more precise insight into the role of women in relation to both production and reproduction. A household consists of a group of persons living together who are able to gather enough income to assure the reproduction and continuity of the group. In this sense, as Wood

(1981:339) points out, a household is basically a group of persons who live from a common pool of monetary and non-monetary income which is derived from the livelihood activities of the members of the unit. This basically means the income and goods to be processed for human consumption. He also adds to household income various "rents, investments, transfer payments, subsidies or gifts." (1981:339). On the other hand, household income may take many forms, ranging from agricultural products, to income entirely derived from wage labour. In between there are a number of complex variations, both in the origins of income and in the proportion contributed by each member.

Income is provided by different areas of activity which we may define as productive and reproductive, depending on whether they take place within the domestic domain (reproductive work) or outside. The sexual division of labour places reproductive work in the hands of women and productive work in those of men. This division of labour, which is always defined by reference to some ideal cultural pattern, does not operate in the same way in practice. It may be true that a great number of women in the urban areas are more concerned with reproductive work, but in the rural areas this picture becomes much more complex due to a number of factors, among them, the lack of clearly defined lines between domestic and productive areas. In practical terms, peasant women consider their kitchen gardens and small animals as part of their domestic domain, and for that reason, when asked if they work, they usually reply negatively.

There are also a number of other activities such as the selecting of seeds, processing of foods, establishing of plant nurseries, and

making of commodities like cheese and handicrafts which, since they are carried out within the "domestic space", likewise are considered a part of women's domestic chores, lacking as a result the character of productive work.

If production work is defined as that which pertains to "raw" goods (vegetables, meat, legumes, as well as money to buy raw goods), and this is separated from reproduction work, which is defined as those activities which transform raw goods into (ready-to-eat) meals, then the nature of "outdoor" domestic work (gardening and animal husbandry), and other similar work carried out in the "domestic space" (indoors and outdoors) can be defined as production work. The same applies for clothes and housing. From this perspective the raising of animals and the keeping of a kitchen garden are productive work and, therefore, within the domestic sphere, women carry out both production and reproduction work. Furthermore, as we have seen throughout this thesis, women also make a substantial contribution in other spheres of production, such as obtaining cash income from wage labour or trade, and in contributing to the running of farming activities.

In simple terms, production work is that associated with labour; that is, those activities which produce goods theoretically exchangeable in the market, and reproduction work with that which is not subject to transaction. This definition operates fairly clearly in the urban situation, but in rural areas it is much more complicated. In fact, what difference is there between wheat produced on the farm for home consumption (which is considered production work) and chicken raised at home (which is not considered production work),

when in fact neither of these products reach the market?. As a consequence of defining work in this way, men producing wheat for home consumption are included as part of the work force, and their work forms as part of the National Product; whilst the production of chickens is left out of every one of these measurements, even though chickens possibly need more time and work and provide more protein.

This problem of definition and accounting has the effect of considering the domestic domain as non-existent, and is for this reason referred to as 'ghost' both by society and by women themselves. For this reason women do not consider themselves as 'workers'. Capitalist society has implanted the notion that only work done on the farm or for wages is 'work', while domestic work is only an 'activity'. Thus, women feel that they are performing activities, a great number of them without time to rest, but only men work. The conceptual division between work and activities also maintains the structure of subordination within the household, in the sense that only those who work can command. Women, when asked about whether they work, usually answered "I do not work, I only help my husband". They implicitly provide with this answer the legitimation of power for those who 'work'. The transformations which occur when women begin to "work" are also very interesting, as in the fruit region among the temporary labourers, and in the central sierra of Peru; both places where women feel that they can raise a household by themselves. At the same, however, at least in this last area, the rights of men to beat women still persist. It is possible that the reason for this is the social effect of the separation of men from their homes; by beating women they are renewing their authority at home in front of



the community. In the case of the fruit-growing region, women perform more skilled work and obtain better wages, and consequently also demand a major share of authority within the household. This in fact entails a greater degree of democracy and discussion, and shared responsibility in the decision-making which concerns household affairs.

As household income is variable throughout the year, both from wages and farming, it is generally assumed that women are responsible for planning the best way of spending an irregular amount of income. In circumstances where a man's income is insufficient to cover all the necessities then, it is the woman who is supposed to look for ways of obtaining supplementary income. And it is in this context that the various existing forms of diversification at the household level must be located. And the reason that most diverse of economic activities are performed by women is based on the need to obtain supplementary income. This is also the reason why women work for wages while continuing to perform household chores, and why they spend more time working in the kitchen garden or on the farm, or developing extended kin networks for trading and production, as in the Peruvian central highlands. In this context, although in the Chilean situation extended kin networks are unusual, minor forms of inter-household cooperation do exist, such as caring for children among the temporary female workers, and sharecropping chickens in the mixed-cropping areas. To a large extent, the observed forms of inter-household cooperation are centered around women's activities aimed at obtaining supplementary income, in order to provide more security than is provided by the irregular income of the husband. Also, this suggests,

that differences in the economic behaviour of men and women are the result of two main trends: regional economic structure and historical background. As Long puts it, "differences between men's and women's income and expenditure patterns can only be adequately explained in relation to specific socio-cultural and historical factors associated with particular forms of household organization and sexual division of labour, but they are also related to the everyday objective material conditions experienced by men and women" (Long, 1984:15-16).

#### Women's Perspectives.

The testimonies of women highlight a number of more general dimensions concerning the position and self-image of women in society, and depicted in their life-projects. They also give a personal view of certain temporal processes such as land reform as experienced by Laura, the wage labour situation experienced by Julia, farm work seen through the experiences of Ana, and migration from Juana's point of view. To begin with, it is interesting to observe that all of them except one (Flor) began work during their childhood, and had worked as domestic servants by the time they were 12 years old. Then, during of the course of their later lives, all of them worked in several different activities which taught them new skills, with the result that they can now perform a great number of tasks with reasonable expertise. In the case of fruit workers, they regularly have technical training in the different branches of production and in handling fruit. This is an important point, since women are becoming the only skilled labour available for certain crucial activities; a fact which ensures their employment.

The testimonies show that the six women had extremely precarious childhoods, working from the age of seven onwards, as shown by the case of Flor, who had to look after her younger brother and sisters. I found an element of sadness in all of them over their childhood and for life in general, as well as of a constant hardship, especially since most of them were orphaned and obliged to work from a very young age. Nevertheless, they also felt that it was possible for them to rise out their situations of extreme poverty and, that to a certain extent, they have in fact achieved an overall better standard of living. They admit that life is not so bad now, and in that sense they feel comfortable. But, at the same time, they feel that this has been possible only through tremendous effort, which has involved studying at night in some cases, yet they feel they cannot go much further, and so they aim to obtain a better life for their children, most believing that education is the way of ensuring that.

In spite of their strong commitment to production work and wage labour, these activities are seen as peripheral to their main concern, which is the household itself. All of them have similar interests in their children, as well as in having a house, and establishing this as their domain. They express the idea that men belong to the world of production, to the external world, while women belong to the domestic world, that of preparing meals and looking after children. This is a very strong cultural pattern, part of the sexual division of labour. This is the reason why women accept the double burden of work ("doble jornada de trabajo"), continuing with the domestic tasks whether or not they work in production. For most women who are earning income, their working days include both domestic and production work. These

working days extend to as many as 16 hours without rest, from six in the morning to 10 in the evening. In the fruit area, women may work longer hours during short periods, finishing at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, and in the early morning preparing breakfast for the children and leaving the lunch ready before starting on the packing line again.

In the countryside there is little time to spend on leisure, and in fact women are so accustomed to working all day long that they fill their short periods of rest with "resting activities", like ironing, knitting, weaving, mending clothes, and selecting seeds. Women make a distinction between those activities which are performed standing ('tiring' activities), and those which can be carried out sitting down ('resting' activities).

These six testimonies, as well as many other collected during the research show that, although women may live in different regions, work in different activities, and have different cultural and historical backgrounds, they still present a number of similarities. This is important for understanding the role of women in society. I believe that women, in this case rural women, all share a similar condition which is that of 'to be woman', by which I mean the fact that the position of women in society is generally one of subordination. And this position seems to be universal. Arizpe and Sen (1982:69) point out that the problem of subordination is not only that of a lack of participation as Boserup (1970) argues, but consist a complex system based on structural inequality, resulting in a large number of small aspects, such as, for example, in overwork and malnutrition of rural women when compared with men of the same class. Folbre (1984) says that in the Philippines, even within the same household, women eat

some 25 per cent less protein than men. The subordinate position of women is located within a system which "makes use of gender inequalities in such a way that intensify and make them change their form, with the result that women tend to be located in a position of subordination between class and gender" (Arizpe and Sen, 1982:69). And this seems the same for both affluent and poor women.

In the testimonies, subordination meant basically that these women worked from childhood, and for much longer than boys, in the "domestic space", which included a number of different activities which it was said should be "learned" at home. Boys can rely more for their future work on formal training, and during childhood have fewer duties or chores to perform. When a household becomes motherless, the older sister assumes the role of mother (as in the case of Flor), even where an older brother is available. Because they were subordinated, all the women in the cases abandoned school very early, or did not study at all. Because they are subordinated they have to undertake various activities simultaneously, beyond those which theoretically "they should do" given their positions as housewives, and are able to create space for these activities without abandoning those which they are currently responsible for and, finally, because they are subordinated they envisage a future life not so much for themselves, but for their family, children and husband.

#### Final Remarks.

An examination of agricultural processes in Chile and Peru has shown that most efforts to develop a broad and dynamic agricultural

base in both countries have been unsuccessful: neither the modernization of the haciendas, nor land reform, nor neo-liberal policies, have achieved this. Indeed, in most cases they have led to greater poverty and marginalization of the rural population. It is in the context of agrarian crisis that capitalist expansion has taken place, with uneven results in different regions. Peasants have responded to this by diversifying their production and incorporating more household members into farm work while, at the same time, committing themselves to a number of off-farm activities. Although these processes have occurred in different regional contexts, women have generally become progressively more involved in production and in all regions contribute substantially to household income.

The progressive involvement of women in income generating activities is, I suggested, a direct result of the marginalized position of agriculture, and of the need to lower production costs. It seems likely that under better production conditions peasant women would tend to give up some of their present extra agricultural tasks and become more involved in domestic activities whilst, in other areas, where women take part in wage labour, such as in fruit production, and where women can earn better wages than their husbands, a major restructuring of economic roles between men and women is occurring. The same can be said for the Peruvian highlands, where women are becoming more independent through their trading activities.

Women's work plays a crucial role in capitalist development, both as wage labourers and in peasant production. On the one hand, the labour of women in fruit production during the peak season allows

fruit producers to organize their labour requirements more efficiently. They can work with local labour, and cope with shortages during periods of high demand. In this way, the complementarity of the wages of husband and wife ensures the necessary income for the reproduction of the fruit labour force.

In peasant areas, women's work plays a crucial role in the maintenance of the peasantry itself, since their labour contribution and income-earning activities allow poor minifundia plots to survive, thus stemming out-migration and preventing the sale of the land to larger landowners. In many minifundia areas women are the peasants, while men are much more concerned with wages obtained outside the peasant holding. This in fact is the other side of the argument ("la otra cara de la moneda") put forward by Van Velsen (1960:265) concerning the role of migrants in the maintenance of peasant communities. My analysis has shown that, in the central sierra of Peru, and among the poorer peasants in Chile, women carry out most of the every-day production activities, whether defined for home consumption or for marketing. In this case is possible to speak about the role of women in the maintenance of the peasant economy.

This thesis has focused on women's work, their contribution to the household income, the diversity of the activities which they perform, as well as on problems relating to rural women's position in society and their own personal views about their work. All this has been placed in the context of the differential expansion of capitalism at the regional level and in terms of the way in which the labour demands of different crops shape the forms of female involvement in

production. The thesis indicates many further areas of research on women, of which I consider the following to be the most important:

a) It necessary to develop more comparative research in order to evolve a more general theoretical approach to the position of women in society. At the moment most studies of women consist of monographic case studies, which lack of an appropriate degree of generalization. In part, this implies the need for research which considers a number of general variables that are amenable for comparison, such as the character of the development of agriculture in different regional contexts, the position of women in different types of household, the structure of income in relation to the different earning capacities of the various household members, the work of women in production and the reproduction of the labour force, as well as the role of women in the maintenance of peasant forms of socio-economic organization.

b) Another area of research I consider very important is that of the ideological and cultural issues which relate to the ways in which various social groups in society perceive rural women, and also, how they perceive themselves and their social role. This is an element necessary for understanding the development of the rural society as a whole, but which, however its importance, has so far remained rather neglected.





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