

Women's lives and peasant livelihood strategies

A study of migration in the Peruvian Andes

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Abstract

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The Peruvian Andes are characterized by high rates of outmigration. Within these flows, a major proportion of the migrants are young women, moving from rural to urban areas. Analyses of these migration flows have concentrated upon the urban aspect of movements and rural-based research has not been carried out to such an extent. The present study seeks to redress this imbalance, by examining the rural context of these population moves. By detailing the patterns of migration in the peasant community of Kallarayan, clarification of the reasons behind the features of Andean migration is gained. Data collected in the case study community demonstrate strongly gender-differentiated migration flows, for variables such as age, marital status, length of absence, destination and employment taken.

An understanding of the outflow of female migrants into urban areas and of the sex-specific participation in external labour markets can be gained, it is suggested, through an analysis of the organization of the peasant household. The peasant domestic unit survives by combining local production for subsistence and sale, with wage labour external to the community. By allocating the labour and productive resources at its disposal, the household covers subsistence requirements. The processes of allocation differ with economic differentiation between households. Furthermore, changes in the demographic composition of the unit through the developmental cycle necessitate the dynamic adaptation of strategies. The sexual division of labour is the framework for the organization of women's lives. Consequently, the adoption of livelihood strategies, by which the household attempts to guarantee its reproduction, is conditioned by the availability of gendered labour, and the opportunities for the deployment of female and male labour both internal and external to the unit.

Such a conceptualization of the organization of peasant livelihood is of considerable utility in explaining the patterns of female and male migration from the rural community. The use of female labour by the household is structured by both the nature of women's work in the rural unit, and by the type of opportunities available in external labour markets. The participation of women in external labour markets is largely determined by the household using female labour in a manner which is embedded in cultural practices. Only a small minority of female migrants act outside the unit's livelihood strategies. Moreover, the household, by co-ordinating the spatial distribution of its members, also is in a position to control the resources generated in migration. The return of remittances to the domestic unit highlights its continuance as an income-pooling base for members. The reasons behind female return migration are also clarified by this analysis, by explaining the patterns of labour allocation between local requirements and external demands.

The elaboration of this approach is therefore shown to be of considerable utility in explaining gender differences in migration under circumstances of demographic and economic transformation. The incorporation of gender relations into household-based models of migration clarifies the ordered response of the unit to the characteristics of the labour at its disposal and to situations of socio-economic change. Given the structure of the peasant economy in the Andes, the household remains central to the livelihood of large numbers of the rural population. The application of this approach to migration in the Andean context highlights the crucial importance of women's work for subsistence, as well as indicating the organization of livelihood in the face of widespread rural poverty.

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K"arachu Lima

K"arachu Lima,
 k"arachu Qusqu
 tumbuschallay?
 Allillamanta
 ripuh munahpah,
 tumbuschallay.

Is Lima far away?
 Is Cusco far away?
 My little tumbo*
 For he who wants
 to travel?
 My little tumbo.

Nachu ñachu
 tarirunkina,
 tumbuschallay,
 piyara midiya,
 mulachayuhta
 tumbuschallay?

Have you yet
 met anyone?
 My little tumbo,
 who has a herd
 and a half of mules,
 my little tumbo?

Nan nuqapas
 tarirukunina,
 tumbuschallay;
 kasa intira,
 wasichayuhta,
 tambuschallay.

I too
 have met,
 my little tumbo,
 a woman
 with a house.
 My little tumbo.

Quechua song "Is Lima far away?"

* a native fruit

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Chapter OneIntroduction: Female migration in the Andes

In 1981 in Peru, some 38 per cent of the total female population of the capital Lima had been born outside the city, and no less than seventy percent of these originated in highland Andean departments (INE 1983). Most of these migrants were young single women, coming from some of the poorest families in the country. Once they enter the urban area, the female migrants have a profound impact on the demographic and economic structure of the city (INE 1983); they enter the labour force in large numbers at an early age, and tend to be segregated in the personal services sector, especially in domestic service.

Despite the prevalence of female migrants in rural-urban flows in Peru as elsewhere in Latin America, they have generally been neglected (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978). Many more studies have been carried out on the selective characteristics of male migrants in terms of age, educational levels and sibling order, among other variables, and emphasizing their insertion into urban labour markets according to these factors (eg. Balan et.al. 1973; Browning & Feindt 1969; Bradfield 1973). By contrast, in the few studies of female migration in Latin America, migrant women are treated as a homogeneous group defined solely in terms of gender. In other words, their selectivity in migration is considered only at an aggregate level (eg. Herold 1979). The analyses of female population flows do not generally examine the differences between women either as a group of potential migrants or within the female migrant streams. Moreover the relationships between male and female migration are overlooked, relationships which are crucial to an understanding of why more women than men make long-distance, rural-urban moves, and why certain groups of women in particular participate in these population movements. Exceptions are some case studies of Puerto Rico (Monk 1981), and Mexico (Rengert 1978).

In Andean Latin America, due to the concentration of poverty in rural areas, the policy implications of a study of female migration are not to be underestimated. The massive movement of young women impinges upon a wide range of governmental and policy concerns such as agricultural development, health, housing, employment and family welfare. While these issues have received some attention recently (see below), the neglect of the dynamics of the rural areas in which the female migrants originate, means that policy recommendations are largely based on inadequate and one-sided information. No systematic work has been carried out on the rural context for female migration, and policy proposals are therefore incomplete.

The neglect of female migration as an area for academic enquiry reflects a prevailing pattern, that of an overall neglect of the place of women in Third World economies and societies. Only recently, with increasing governmental and international concern over the feminization of poverty (that is the concentration of women in low income groups; Loufti 1980), has a major advance been made in the collection of statistics on women (1). As a particular subgroup of the population, women have also gained the attention of numerous planning and development bodies (public, private, national and international) as a result of the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85), a decade which has generated many statistics on women as well as a wealth of debates on policy, methodology and theory. Again however, information is mostly collected on urban areas, where economic activity and population are centred, and information more easily collected.

A major effort in recent years has been to 'make women visible'. The United Nations International Women's Year (1975) and the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-85) provided incentives (and funding) to collect statistics on exactly how women in the developing world lived, ate, were housed, raised their children, worked and rested (eg. Brekke et.al 1985; United

Nations 1981; UNDP 1980) (2). These studies were often policy-dominated, oriented towards the elaboration of projects aimed at the integration of women in development (3). As a result of studies on very disparate areas, conclusions which can be drawn on the position of women in the development process remain tentative, although there is increasing recognition of the complexity of the situation (4). Policy implementation remains problematic as theoretical material on women's position in the household (see below) has not been incorporated into programmes in many cases (P.Roberts 1979; Palmer 1979; Ahmed 1983; Rogers 1980). Efforts continue to be made however to include women in all stages of policy implementation and assessment (Palmer 1981) and as a 'target' group for policies (eg. Dixon 1978).

Migration and Andean women

Migration is an important concern in contemporary Third World studies, due to the massive transformations wrought in urban areas as a consequence of largely urbanward flows (Oberai 1983; Rogers & Williamson 1984). Major urban centres in the developing world are growing rapidly, exacerbating regional inequalities, and requiring government attention (Peek & Standing 1982; Mabogunje 1979). The causes of such massive population shifts are complex and numerous, and include such factors as declining rural incomes, fragmented landownership, rural unemployment, commercialization of agriculture, urban bias in investment and policy decisions, and high urban wages (Oberai 1983).

Over 10 years ago it was recognized that theoretical analyses of migration were lagging behind empirical studies (Abu-Lughod 1975; also A.Rogers 1984). While neoclassical micro-economic studies which concentrated on the rationality of individual decision-making were criticized for their reliance upon oversimplistic abstractions, aggregate variables and unreliable indicators of such factors as rural incomes and unemployment rates (Yap 1977), a new paradigm was emerging (Abu-Lughod 1975) which has provided the context for

much theoretical migration work since that time. In this broadly 'structuralist' approach, awareness of the historical specificities of different areas, as well as the realization that migration does not consist solely of rural-urban migration, has opened out the study of population movements and now builds upon a large quantity of data, collected to support the theoretical models (eg. Kosinski & Clarke 1982; Butterworth & Chance 1981; B.Roberts 1978; du Toit & Safa 1975; Safa 1982). One aspect of research focuses on patterns of labour redistribution and distribution which result from uneven development (Aramburú 1981; Standing 1985), and the emphasis is upon macro-structural influences on behaviour.

Although permanent rural-urban moves continue to predominate in the process of urbanization, there has been a shift to an analysis of all types of population moves (Prothero & Chapman 1985). Circulation is a useful concept to describe population movements on a larger or smaller scale which are not within the rubric of (semi-) permanent rural-urban flows (Standing 1985; Prothero & Chapman 1985). Studies can then focus on the rural areas and consider the regional division of labour in both productive labour (eg. Brown & Lawson 1985; Watts & Prothero n.d.) and in the rural household (eg. Stichter 1985), as well as the urbanization of non-metropolitan areas (eg. B.Roberts 1978; Aramburú 1981;7). The limits of conventional neoclassical modelling in explaining rural-based migration have been recognized (Brown & Lawson 1985), while efforts to provide a general theory of migration continue (Woods 1985).

Recent migration studies in Latin America, and the Andean region, have developed within this general outlook afforded by an analysis of uneven capitalist development (Butterworth & Chance 1981; B.Roberts 1978). With the massive urbanization of the population which has occurred in the last forty years in many Latin American countries, an early emphasis on aggregate rural-urban flows, measured from census data, prevailed (Lentnek 1983; Dietz 1976; Elizaga

1970; Aramburú et.al.1983). However, more information on the inter-relationships between regions is now emerging in terms of the interactions of rural and urban labour markets, and this includes material on flows into rural labour markets (eg. Baca 1982, 1985; Long & Roberts 1978; Preston 1978; B.Roberts 1978). Several of these studies adopt a specifically historical viewpoint and trace the relationships of migration patterns to the economic history of wage employment in different sectors (eg. Skeldon 1977, 1979; Laite 1985).

Female participation in migration, although broadly recognized in Latin America (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978) where it comprises the larger part of rural-urban flows, has been underestimated in Africa and probably in Asia (Young 1979). Studies of female migration have only recently appeared, resulting from interdisciplinary studies in Africa (Pittin 1984; Oppong 1983; Adepoju 1983; Wilkinson 1983; Thadani 1985), Asia (Trager 1984; Khoo et.al. 1984; Fawcett et.al. 1984; Colfer 1985), and Latin America (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978; Elizaga 1970; Horst 1981; Rengert 1978; Elton 1974; ISIS 1980). The topic of female migration has slowly been extended into a greater number of areas, as evidenced by some of the papers now generated on the topic (International Migration Review 1984; Anthropological Quarterly 1976; Youssef et.al 1979; Commission of IGU 1983; International Center for Research on Women 1979; Migration Today 1982).

Despite the relative lack of material on female migration per se in the rural areas of the Third World, information collected on the position of rural women in the developing world suggests some factors which may lie behind their moves. Their loss of control over resources, especially land, has been documented in numerous cases (Rogers 1980), while the lack of technical training for these farmers further disadvantages their means of livelihood (Loufti 1980). Agrarian reforms often do not allocate land to this

population group (Palmer 1979). Indeed, land has been taken from them in Latin America because of legislation on inheritance and marriage (Deere 1985; Rogers 1980), and in Africa and Asia, it has frequently been observed that they lose land (Rogers 1980). Other studies have shown how the changing sexual division of labour in the agrarian sector has marginalized women's labour, resulting in their concentration in subsistence agriculture (Ahmed 1983; Deere 1978; Nash 1977; Boserup 1970; Rubbo 1978; Ember 1983), or leading to the release of women from the rural unit (Wilson 1982; Horst 1981; Young 1978). The existence of economic opportunities for women in urban areas has also been suggested as a reason for greater female participation in rural-urban flows in some Asian countries (Khoo et.al. 1984), and in Latin America (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978). Female participation in agriculture is a factor in understanding female rural-urban flows, as well as the availability of urban opportunities (Boserup 1970). Research attention has long been focused on the urban dimension of these population flows to the detriment of rural-based studies.

Population studies in Latin America have focused on migrants within the urban milieu, on their 'adaptation' to urban socio-economic organization (Fried 1959; Mangin 1973; Osterling 1978; Morris 1970; critique by Perlman 1976), the networks initiated and maintained by migrants (Lomnitz 1974; Lobo 1984; Lloyd 1980), and the formal institutions arising from the latter (Wallace 1984; Altamirano 1977; Mangin 1973). While some material has considered women's position in these situations (eg. Whiteford 1978; Lobo 1984; Olarte 1984; Harkess 1973; M.Smith 1971), it has not dealt with the issue in a manner commensurate with the importance of female migrants in the demographic and economic composition of Latin American metropolitan and urban areas.

Throughout the studies we note a tendency for research to focus on the urban situation of the female migrants. As no systematic parallel work on the

rural areas of Latin America has been carried out, the level of explanation is necessarily limited. Boserup (1970) suggests that poor families can send their daughters as domestics in the city as they are not required in rural domestic work. However, this viewpoint is criticized by Hewett (1974), who argues that women are busy in productive and reproductive work in the rural areas. Furthermore in areas with high rates of male migration, female labour is reorganized to overcome labour shortages. Clearly, subsistence costs for the female migrants are covered if they are employed in domestic service and it is economically advantageous for the rural household to reduce their consumption requirements in this way (Boserup 1970;188; Jelin 1977). An important point is made by Bunster and Chaney (1985;38) who argue that the unmarried rural women are "least likely to earn either recognition or wages for their work" in the rural areas. They also suggest that women do not hold responsibilities in the rural household when the men are absent, a point however which contradicts evidence from several Andean areas (Deere & Leon 1982; Bourque & Warren 1981; Deere 1978; Laite 1985).

Female migration is a vital field of study in the Andean region because of the sheer numbers of women involved in rural-urban flows. We note that female migration surpassed male rates in Colombia (both to Bogota and to other urban areas) and in Guayaquil, Ecuador (Elizaga 1970). In Peru, women tend to outnumber men in direct rural-urban migration, whereas in other flows the latter predominate (Martínez 1980;38; INE 1978; Aramburú 1981;8). This reflects the fact that the migration flows of women are characterized by frequency of direct rural to metropolitan moves (5). For example, women are more likely than men to travel directly to Lima: three-quarters migrate direct to the capital, and the remaining one-quarter move indirectly, usually making only one previous stop (Bunster & Chaney 1985;34). The broad dimensions of female migration in the Andean region have been quantified, yet when detailed

analysis is attempted, we find that substantial lacunae exist in the available data, as studies have not addressed the issue of selectivity which is crucial to understanding why certain groups of women are involved in population moves. This lacuna is compounded by a lack of information of sufficient detail from the census.

That a particular group or groups are involved in migration is suggested by existing data which demonstrate that the women are largely young and single, that they are economically segregated in certain urban labour markets and finally that they originate in some of the poorest families in the country. We consider these factors in turn. Throughout the Andean region the female migrants are young. The highest female migration rate in Peru is among the 15-19 year olds, while among men it peaks at 20-24 years (INE 1978, 1983; Aramburú 1981) and this pattern has held at least since the 1970s (Cardona & Simmons 1975;25; cf. Alers & Applebaum 1968). In Lima, women born outside the capital outnumber non-native males in all age-groups from 5 to 34 years, emphasizing the youth of the female migration flows (INE 1983). Similarly women outnumber men in moves to Guayaquil (Ecuador) in the 10-24 year age-group, which comprise over 60% of all migrants, while in older groups men make up the majority (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978;19). Fewer figures are available on the marital status of the female migrants in the Andean countries, a problem compounded by the existence of conjugal relationships outside of formal marriage. Given the data on the migrants' ages however, it is generally assumed that most migrants are single. In Colombia a higher proportion of unmarried women was found among rural-urban migrants than among both rural and urban native women (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978;14).

Female migrants maintain a distinctive profile in the economically active population in the Andean countries and are recruited into highly specific sectors of the urban economy (Yepez & Sulmont 1983; Bunster & Chaney 1985;31, 45).

Their participation in waged employment is higher than among native urbanites (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978): one study found that almost twice as many migrant as native Limena women were active in the labour force (Lowder 1973;151). Moreover, the female migrants enter the labour market at a young age: in Lima for example, domestics started work at 12 years old on average (Bunster & Chaney 1985;42).

Domestic service is a common occupation for migrants on their arrival in the city (Jelin 1977), and it is an overwhelmingly female occupation throughout Latin America. [In other areas of the world, the domestic services sector is smaller and the jobs largely taken by men (Boserup 1970; ISIS 1980).] Female domestic servants are largely young and childless, but upon marriage and childbearing they continue similar work in the conjugal unit (Jelin 1977; M.Smith 1971; Moser 1981). In Peru half the service workers are domestics, and of these 92.8% are women (Bunster & Chaney 1985;21). In Lima between 1956-66, nearly two-thirds of all economically active female migrants found work in domestic service (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978;10). In Guayaquil, nearly 70% of working female migrants were in service employment (which includes domestic service), compared with 58.8% of natives (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978;36). The predominance of domestic service employment is repeated in Colombia: in Bogota, nearly 70% of economically-active migrants were employed in services in the early 1960s, compared with a third of non-migrant women (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978;34).

The domestics are from among the poorest families in the region. In one survey of Lima, approximately one half of the domestics originated in highland departments (M.Smith 1971;31; also Bunster & Chaney 1985;33). Furthermore, evidence suggests that domestics largely come from peasant households. In a Lima study 70% of domestics indicated that their father (if living) worked in agriculture (M.Smith 1971;89), while in another survey approximately half of

the domestics' fathers worked in a subsistence plot or on a hacienda (Bunster & Chaney 1985;34). These women were often unwaged in their place of origin - over 40% of previously unwaged women entered waged employment on arrival in Lima (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978;10). In another study of domestics in Lima, 55% of the women had not previously been employed (M.Smith 1971, table 27).

Domestic service is not the sole occupation of female migrants as they often leave for other jobs after several years residence in the city (M.Smith 1971). In Guayaquil, the percentage of migrant women in domestic service fell from 73% to 34% after 10 years residence (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978;12). It has been suggested, though Bunster and Chaney disagree (1985), that domestic service offers them opportunities for upward social mobility (M.Smith 1973; Harkess 1973). Available data suggest however that the migrants tend to remain segregated in certain sectors, such as unskilled manual employment and general services, and consequently do not experience a significant improvement in social status. Manual trades in manufacturing are represented among the female migrants, but on a smaller scale than for native women. For example, only 13.6% of migrant women in Guayaquil were employed in manufacturing compared with a fifth of native women (Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978;36). Moreover, the migrants tend to be segregated in small scale enterprises (Bunster & Chaney 1985; Sara Lafosse 1983).

The urban bias of studies is further borne out by the relative detail of information on urban women's work subsequent to marriage, and their fertility rates. Due to the youth of the female migrants, a large proportion leave employment in order to marry and bear children (Yepez & Sulmont 1983; INE 1984), although this does not preclude their subsequent entry into informal sector employment (Bunster & Chaney 1985; Sara-Lafosse 1983; Olarte 1984; Moser & Young 1981). Evidence on the fertility rates of native and migrant

women is contradictory (Stycos 1968), although it generally suggests that migrant women have a higher fertility rate than non-migrant urban women, but a lower rate than non-migrant rural dwellers (INE 1979b;250). In one survey of Lima, married migrants over 20 years of age had higher fertility rates than native urban women (Macisco 1975).

Summarizing this disparate information, we note that female migrants in the Andean region are young (10-20 years approximately) and move over long distances in rural-urbanward flows. The migrants frequently indicate that they were unwaged in their area of origin. On entering the urban economy they are economically active, although largely segregated in domestic and manual work. After a few years' residence in the city, the migrants tend to move out of domestic service (to be replaced by younger arrivals, Jelin 1977; M.Smith 1971) into household maintenance and/or informal sector activities.

Available data is thus more complete on the various facets of the migrant women's lives in the city, than the rural context for migration decisions, and on the destination rather than the origins of movers. On Peru and the Andes, more data are now emerging on the nature of rural areas and the dynamics of transformation in the agrarian sector and in labour migration. Research on rural labour markets (Matos Mar & Mejía 1980; Figueroa 1985; Cotlear 1979; Martínez 1970), on the impact of Agrarian Reform programmes (Guillet 1979; Finkler 1978; Matos Mar & Mejía 1980) and on seasonal rural movers (Brush 1980; Baca 1985; Collins 1981; Martínez 1983) all emphasize the complexity and regional distinctiveness of population movements within the Andes. Work has also highlighted the relationships between land holding and labour organization of rural households (Weiss 1984; Cotlear 1984; Preston & Taveras 1979), and on their relation to return migration (Altamirano 1985). However, there is no work as yet which examines the position of female migration in these population movements. As noted by Prothero and Chapman (1985),

"Very few [migration] studies consider the precise relationships of forms of mobility to regional agricultural structure, household characteristics, disposition of family labour and the mix of rural incomes derived locally and from other regions." (Prothero and Chapman 1985)

More research is now required on the disposition of family labour in migration and its relationship with household structure. The context of female migration is largely set by the peasant household, which attempts to cover consumption needs by combining subsistence production and sale of produce and labour to capitalist markets. An approach to the analysis which departs from such a conceptualization of population moves is able to clarify the characteristics of migration flows in the Andes.

Considering the nature of data collected on female migration (of which the Andean region has been given as a specific example), we now turn to analyse the approaches adopted in the study of female population flows in the Third World, in terms of their theoretical and methodological concerns.

Approaches to the study of female migration

"Female migration cannot be properly understood or analysed without reference to a variety of gender-specific factors." (Pittin 1984)

We may divide previous analyses of female migration, as of migration generally, in the developing world into three types - the equilibrium neoclassical approach; behavioural approaches; and finally the structuralist approach. We deal with each of these in turn, to illustrate their methodologies and to highlight some criticisms of each.

The equilibrium approach derives from neoclassical economic theory and explains migration rates as essentially a function of wage rate differentials between regions (eg. Todaro 1969; Harris & Todaro 1970). The rational calculations of individual(istic) actors is evidenced, under this model, in the geographic movement of labour into higher wage regions. Migration is thus understood as the movement of population groups to maximise returns on labour. The neoclassical approach is of utility in explaining the basis or

essential context for the shift of women from rural areas with few employment opportunities to urban labour markets, such as occurs in many Latin American countries. In this model, the similarities in motivations for male and female population flows are emphasized. When approaching the specific characteristics of female migration, marriage-related factors have also been incorporated into the wage rate model (Thadani & Todaro 1977; Behrman & Wolfe 1982), in order to examine some of the gender-specific factors involved. Thus in one study, female migration flows are related to the prevalence of male partners for the female migrants, and the male companion's wage rates, in addition to female wage rates (Behrman & Wolfe 1982).

While generating some statistics on marriage and the market, these studies are unable to draw firm conclusions on the causes and nature of female population flows, due to several theoretical inadequacies. They do not for example adequately address the issue of selectivity among the female migrants, who are generally treated as a homogeneous group, differentiated only at a superficial level by educational achievement (which indirectly affects wage rates) and place of origin (rural or urban). Furthermore, while emphasizing the rationality of individual decision-making which no commentators dispute, equilibrium models have been criticized for minimizing the insights into macro-social factors which condition participation in population flows. This criticism is valid for equilibrium approaches to female migration, which fail to consider the relationships between men and women which condition participation in the labour market (eg. Behrman & Wolfe 1982). For example, the 'probability of having a male partner' is considered in Behrman and Wolfe's model as an independent variable, without a consideration of the social, economic and ideological relationships which interact to structure an individual woman's position as regards marriage and labour market participation. The neoclassical model is thus of some utility in explaining female migration for wage

employment. However, the contexts under which women participate in paid employment and/or marital relationships are not explored with the equilibrium approach.

Behind the complexity of economic relations and the participation of women in wage labour (which are analysed in neoclassical models), are a series of ideological and cultural constructs influencing women's position in, and responses to, changing socio-economic situations, and the analysis of these factors has been undertaken in behavioural approaches to migration. The important role of ideology in the maintenance of gender relations and labour allocation processes has been recognized (Schmink 1984; Young 1985), and various case studies examine this aspect in depth (eg. Jeffery 1979) (6). The participation of women in informal sector activities in the Third World has been linked to cultural constraints on their geographical mobility and wage-earning opportunities (eg. Schildkrout 1983; Moser 1981). Studies which attempt to integrate class approaches with an examination of ideological issues are fewer (eg. Saffioti 1978; Caplan 1985; Bourque & Warren 1981). Much stimulating material is now emerging on the mutual influence of ideology and economic forces in structuring and transforming women's condition (e.g. Afshar 1985). One element of cultural-ideological influences is how women perceive their own experiences, and an increasing number of studies utilize the words and views of Third World women to highlight the complexity of their experiences and their responses to it (7).

One case study of Nigerian women's migration has emphasized how an understanding of behavioural issues and women's explanations for their moves must be central to the analysis of the population flows in the region. In Pittin's study (1984), it is clear that the dominant (male) ideology attempts to create and structure women's married lives and geographical mobility in a certain pattern, which women can resist only by migrating into an occupation which is

socially disapproved of. By challenging the dominant ideology which requires women to remain secluded in the home, the Hausa women attempt "to evade, or transcend some of the constraints of a strongly male-dominant society" (Pittin 1984;1295), and they do so by migrating, as there is "a close correlation between the spatial and physical control of women in Hausa society", such that "deviat[ion] from her socially appropriate place in spatial and normative terms" by migrating, is a form of protest (Pittin 1984;1302-3). The dominant ideology does not permit women to express a strong preference for a particular lifestyle, and the range of alternatives is limited: the women can 'run away' to a place where they may be found by family; they may join urban kin; or they may become kurawanci (concubines). Becoming a kurawanci is not a permanent move as women tend to move between marriage and kurawanci several times during their lifetimes. Marriage in urban areas is more prestigious than in rural areas and the workloads of wives lighter, and it may thus be a positive alternative for migrants to rural lifestyles. Otherwise, the advantages of an independent income (from kurawanci) and close friendships with other women and secluded female kin must be weighed against the disadvantages of harrassment by authorities and continued poverty (Pittin 1984;1310-1). Migration in this context is explicable in terms of the subordinate position of women in the household, the ideological constructs of marriage and kurawanci, and the opportunities for income generation for women (a fifth of the migrants had other occupations apart from kurawanci, such as trading and waitressing). The patterns of selectivity of female migrants becomes clear in relation to gender-role ideology, and the spatial structuring of wage opportunities.

Pittin's case study illustrates several important facets of any analysis of ideological factors, such as the nature of the relationships between men and women in marriage, which influence migration patterns. Furthermore, it highlights the role of particular economic opportunities considered to be 'open'

for (unmarried) women in rural and urban areas in influencing the nature of female migration flows, a point which is linked not so much to wage rates (cf. Behrman & Wolfe 1982), as to the limits on the number of income-generating options for women in any particular society. In the Nigerian case, women resist their role in marriage and the household by migrating to urban jobs and women's houses. In other areas of the world, the tradition of 'evading the constraints of a strongly male-dominated society' may either not exist or manifest itself in a distinct manner, according to household organization and the nature of economic opportunities. We may envisage cases where resistance is not an issue, and is not recognized as an incentive for migration by the women. Nevertheless, ideological factors such as these are crucial to an understanding of the gender relations which mould these actions.

Structuralist approaches to migration have also been used to analyse the features of female migration. Such explanations are largely concerned with understanding migration movements within the context of historical transformations in social formations. Within this structuralist perspective, special emphasis is placed on the reorganization of production during which migration arises because of the spatial redistribution of labour. Due to the diversity of studies under the title structuralist, it is possible to discern several levels of analysis in migration studies ranging from analyses of the development of the capitalist mode of production, to a country's position in the international division of labour, down to a focus on patterns of unequal regional development. Within this broad paradigm, there is clearly scope for analysis of the changing sexual division of labour and its relation to the world economy (Sassen-Koob 1983; Bennholdt-Thompson 1984). One significant occurrence in recent years for example, has been the incorporation of young female labour into industrial sector employment. The use of female labour in assembly plants in Southeast Asia and Mexico, the informal sector in Calcutta, and in the 'Free Production

Zones' in Malaysia, and Puerto Rico, is well-documented and highlights the relocation decisions of capital to benefit from the low costs of this labour (Pearson & Elson 1981; Mackintosh 1981; Young 1979). A trend towards the creation of jobs for women in relocated multinational companies (Pearson & Elson 1981; Young 1979; Arizpe & Aranda 1981; Pearson 1986; Safa 1981) reveals a social and spatial restructuring of production which is the focus of structuralist approaches to migration. The process is characterized by its uneven nature, affecting only particular areas and drawing in only certain types of labour. In many parts of Latin America for example, the number of women in formal industrial employment is declining, due to a combination of opposition from male workers and to the protective legislation on conditions of female employment (Nash 1977).

The nature of the articulation between capitalist and peasant sectors of the economy often provide important explanatory variables in structuralist analyses of Third World migration. Labour market structures and the relationship between subsistence production and capitalism have changed, resulting in different labour markets and labour migration. One aspect of this are changes in the sexual division of labour, which responds to wider transformations in employment structures (Standing 1985; Breugel 1973). One case study illustrates how the structuralist approach to migration has been used to understand young female peasants' selectivity in migration flows. In Oaxaca, Mexico, young women predominate in the moves from peasant households into urban areas, where they enter employment in the informal sector (Young 1978). The factors behind their moves are located in changing production relations in the rural areas, which transformed the sexual division of labour. As capitalist relations penetrated the region in the 1950s, evidenced by increased monetization and the introduction of factory-produced consumer goods, household labour requirements changed. Young women, previously engaged in

domestic manufacture, could not be deployed in local tasks and left the rural areas for the city. The women gained in certain ways from this move, as they could acquire clothes and meet potential partners (Young 1978). Young men by contrast were actively prevented from leaving the rural unit, where their labour continued to be required in agriculture. As differentiation between households advanced, a proportion of them gained access to larger amounts of resources, which subsequently required more labour time. Meanwhile, other households oversaw a decline in their subsistence base. Local opportunities for male wage labour developed, and meant that young men could earn cash locally without moving from the nearby area. Over the years the transformation of the rural economy gained its own momentum, and while wage migration was highly age- and sex-specific in the 1950s, recent flows are characterized by their more even sex ratios and increased diversification of the age structure (Young 1978). Structural transformation has not only influenced the allocation of labour in the rural areas. In the cities, male peasant labour is restricted to only certain job types due to the growing impact of credentialism (B.Roberts 1978). Formal opportunities for women are likewise restricted, although numerous opportunities exist in domestic service (Jelin 1977), in informal activities (Arizpe 1977), and to a limited extent in manufacturing (Arizpe & Aranda 1981).

With this review of approaches to female migration in the Third World, we may conclude with several points. Firstly, the neo-classical, micro-economic approach has tended to aggregate women at a level which minimizes the important influences of class and lifecycle differences on female migration. In the equilibrium models of female migration, a superficial attempt has been made to incorporate non-wage elements in migration decisions, by examining the variables of marriage and male partners' wages. However, there is no discussion of the socio-cultural and economic factors influencing women's participation in either marriage or wage work, or indeed a combination of the

two. Analyses which focus on the ideological construction of social relations of gender are able to deal with these questions with more sensitivity to cultural specifics. Structuralist approaches incorporate a wider range of factors in explanations of female migration. The general structuralist concern with the transformation of production has revealed processes which influence women's participation in population flows. This paradigm could be still further developed by a consideration of the relations of reproduction (8) in which women are engaged. An analysis of the interrelationships between production and reproduction, which are organized within constraints of economic and social change, are central to the division of labour at various levels from the household to an international scale, as suggested by the examples noted above. Population movements could usefully be considered as one aspect of broad historical shifts in production and reproduction organization (Standing 1985). We turn now to analyse how these processes influence migration patterns at the level of the household.

Household strategies and migration

"If the household is to survive, a certain set of tasks distributed in time and space (villages, lands.. plus urban areas..) has to be carried out. In order to carry out these tasks, the household has a certain set of personnel.. who have to reach agreement about their individual responsibilities for these tasks." (Gulbrandson 1977)

A more recent approach to migration studies is one focusing on the household, as a unit which allocates labour and makes decisions regarding members' participation in external labour markets. The household approach offers a way towards a reconceptualization of the migration process which, it is generally accepted, is now necessary (Bach & Schraml 1982; Prothero & Chapman 1985; Abu-Lughod 1975). The household-based approach to migration conceptualizes population moves as one element or strategy of sustenance or livelihood aims of the peasant unit. The strategies of the unit comprise the labour-allocating decisions and resource-management patterns which attempt

to guarantee maintenance for its members. The household unit is the social institution which organizes resources and recruits and allocates labour for the realization of livelihood aims. The household, by allocating available labour among a variety of productive and reproductive tasks (some of which may take place outside the local area and thus entail migration), aims to cover subsistence needs as well as enable participation in culturally-defined activities for livelihood. These latter activities include prestige items and/or culturally-defined expectations such as education, ritual participation and consumption goods. The sustenance level of the household is thus historically and socially-determined, as is necessarily the nature of the organization of household resources to guarantee livelihood.

Given a certain level of resources at their disposal, peasant households allocate labour among various opportunities over the short, medium and long term. At this level, such alternatives are assessed by household members, who depend upon a common pool of resources for their subsistence. This is not to preclude the possibility that conflicts arise between members of the household over the organization of labour and resources. The resources at the disposal of the household unit are of course limited; the fundamental factors are labour and non-labour means of production (land, irrigation water, machinery etc.). Labour availability in the household varies according to the composition of the unit (determined by the age, sex and number of members) and therefore to its stage in the developmental cycle (9). The latter provides the dynamic for changes in the balance of production and consumption over the long and medium term. When members are born or marry into a unit, they add to the consumption requirements to be met. The allocation of labour in production (and reproduction) in order to cover consumption depends on the division of labour by sex, age and marital status, and so on. Households may also vary the ratio of producers to consumers through social mechanisms such as marriage,

inheritance and kinship, and through short-term means such as migration, local work, and the pooling and redistribution of resources.

As the other means of production (mainly land) are primarily used for consumption requirements of household members, the amount of these resources is of crucial importance for determining the ability of the unit to guarantee subsistence locally. Households with a larger amount of land, or higher productivity are placed in a more secure position for covering consumption and non-consumption (cultural) needs. Some households produce sufficient quantities to participate in markets for agricultural or artisanal goods. By generating cash in this way, consumption goods can be purchased. Other households, with different aims in increasing production or with alternative economic priorities, sell their labour locally or participate in external labour markets. Differentiation between households thus conditions households' strategies for livelihood.

Depending on the nature of labour markets and household livelihood organization, the sale of labour power entails particular members becoming involved in migration flows. Demand for a specific type of labour in external markets may pinpoint a specific household members' labour, but the allocation of this labour by the household is a dialectic process, not determined solely by external labour demands. Internal organization of the unit, which is realized through the necessary allocation of a limited amount of labour among reproductive and productive tasks, interacts with external labour market demands to condition the type of worker which leaves the rural unit. Because of differentiation between households, allocation of labour also varies with the varied opportunity costs for labour (internal and external to the unit), education levels and social class variables.

The household as a conceptual category

A focus on the Third World household and its livelihood strategies as a

theoretical and methodological tool, has a varied intellectual history. Analyses of peasant economies, feminist theory (concerned largely with developed countries), as well as recent research on rural and urban Latin America, have all used the household as a conceptual tool for understanding various processes of labour allocation and reproduction. It is necessary at this point to examine these themes in some depth, in order to put models of migration as a household livelihood strategy into context.

The theme which unites the various analyses of the household is the coordinated allocation of labour and resources which contribute towards a common consumption fund. The peasant household as a unit of social organization, as well as a conceptual category, thus acts as a link between individual and structural elements, mediating between individual actions and macro-structural processes (Schmink 1984; Wood 1981; Whitehead 1984; Vlassoff 1983). As such it is not a 'natural' unit, but a socially-constructed one (Harris 1981). A means of conceptualizing the household is as a unit of reproduction, both in guaranteeing its own existence and in terms of a unit which acts to reproduce labour power. Both of these elements will be clarified below. The peasant household depends on its own labour for reproduction whether the labour is involved in direct production, use value production or wage employment. The reproduction of the household, that is the maintenance of members and the creation of new units, takes place through the combination of subsistence-oriented production and cash earnings (via the sale of products and/or labour). In other words, the units' labour is not fully-proletarianized, but is deployed in a combination of activities both in the subsistence-selfconsumption sector and in capitalist spheres. As in proletarianized households, the maintenance and reproduction of this labour is central to household strategies for livelihood maintenance. However, peasant household units are oriented towards combining resources for livelihood, and have their

own labour and some means of production at their disposal in order to do so.

The peasant households are not self-sustaining, autarkic units, contrary to neopopulist theory (10) (see Friedman 1984; Wood 1982). Five sources of income have been identified as possible inputs into the household units' common consumption fund, only part of which derive from resources internal to the unit. These contributions are made by a multiplicity of labour relations from all household members, and include wage labour (paid in kind or wages); subsistence or domestic labour activities; petty commodity production or commerce; rental income; and transfer payments (Friedman 1984;46). The dynamic combination of these income sources is realized through the organization of livelihood strategies by the household. We use the terms sustenance or livelihood strategies here advisedly, because survival (a term used by other writers) implies that households are concerned only with minimal physical reproduction. As will be noted in more depth below, the social and historical influences on living standards are of central importance in determining decision-making behaviour by households, and social definitions of living standards prevail over physical requirements.

As we have seen, the reproduction of labour is organised in units which are not totally proletarianized, that is in units which may combine subsistence activities with non-full lifetime wage labour (Friedmann 1984; Meillassoux 1981). In this sense, the process of reproduction is clearly not separable from production (J.Smith et.al. 1984), as resources and labour flow between the two spheres in the households. For example, production may include production from households' own resources which is oriented towards subsistence (eg. peasant subsistence, informal activities), as well as wage work (cf. Sahlins 1974). Items produced under these circumstances contain both use and exchange values, being directed either towards subsistence or the market, depending on commercial relations, commodity patterns and general conditions

(Bernstein 1982) (11). Migration of labour from the unit is part of this process as labour is reproduced (on a generational and daily basis) in the peasant unit, and may be directed either towards subsistence or labour market activities.

As a result of this process of labour reproduction the peasant household becomes a unit for the reproduction of labour power for use outside the peasant sphere, in capitalist labour relations (Meillassoux 1981; J.Chevalier 1983; Beechey 1978; Martin & Beittel 1984; Evers et.al. 1984; J.Smith et.al. 1984). While there is general agreement among both feminist and world system analysts (12) that the peasant household produces and reproduces labour which is used by capital to reduce its own costs and thereby increase surplus value, there is disagreement concerning the dynamics of this process and the inevitability of proletarianization of this type of labour (von Wehrlof 1984; Martin & Beittel 1984). This debate is not our main concern at this point, except for highlighting the struggles over labour which arise over the allocation of labour between and within households (Wong 1984; Bernstein 1982).

It is possible to speak of peasant household livelihood strategies to describe the organized response of household units to conditioning factors. The crucial aspect of the allocation of households' labour among the various activities is that it takes place in a systematically-organized fashion, according to the rational assessment of necessary tasks (Schmink 1984; Wood 1982; Vlassoff 1983; Gonzales 1984). These strategies are systematized not least by the processes which form and recreate the unit of reproduction, the household. In this sense, as the processes of household formation and dynamic are embedded in cultural practices, it is difficult, and to an extent meaningless, to separate out strategies from prevailing cultural patternings of labour organization. The degree to which livelihood strategies are systematized and elaborated in cultural organization vary with particular circumstances.

Households have to organize the allocation of labour in order to maintain

processes of production and reproduction. An understanding of how labour is recruited to the unit relies upon a distinction between the household and the family (13). It has been suggested that people are recruited into the material relations of households through "a commitment to the concept of the family" (Rapp et.al. 1979;177). In other words, it is through normative recruitment that members become centred on a household unit, which is itself based on material relations, through the "symbolic power of the family" (Tsing & Yanagisako 1983; also Schmink 1984). Thus, households are defined as co-residence groups (Bender 1967; Rapp et.al. 1979; Harris 1981) for sharing activities and pooling resources which are generated by the relations of production and reproduction (Rapp et.al. 1979; Friedman 1984). Family relations are in contrast more diffuse and are evidenced in kinship and genealogical relations, marriage, and the organization of household formation (Harris 1981; Bender 1967). Labour is recruited into households through the mechanisms of family formation and recreation, and subsequently allocated into the processes of production and reproduction (Friedman 1984). The composition of the unit directly affects the division of labour along the lines of age, sex, residence and marital status (Wood 1981; Schmink 1984; Evers et.al. 1984; Fahy-Bryceson 1983; Lehmann 1982; Orlove & Custred 1980; Friedman 1984).

Decision-making for the coordination of activities in the household depends on a specific structure of authority (Wong 1984; Kumar 1984; Whitehead 1984; Safilios-Rothschild 1970), which although varying with socio-historical conditions, is fundamental to household organization. Household organization is developed within notions of long-term security, expressed in a series of obligations and rights (Wong 1984; Friedman 1984) which determine the ability of households to pool income and resources for members' survival. However, one neglected element of household organization is that of conflicts between members over resources and activities (Schmink 1984; Wong 1984; Lehmann

1982). Arenas of contestation exist within the household unit between the sexes and between generations (Rapp et.al. 1979; Harris 1981), which contrasts with the assumptions of a presumed patriarchal head in certain analyses of the peasant household (see Chayanov 1966; Sahlins 1974; and critiques in Harris 1981; Harriss 1982). The power relations through which household organization is realized remains to be investigated (Harris 1981), although possible arenas for control include reproduction (Meillassoux 1981) (see below).

One dynamic around which households must organize, and which subsequently has received a considerable amount of attention from researchers, is that of the household developmental cycle (Chayanov 1966; Sahlins 1974; Kitching 1982; and critiques in Harrison 1982). As the number and ages of household members of the household vary over the developmental cycle, the balance of producers and consumers in the unit shifts (Chayanov 1966; Harrison 1982; Evers et.al. 1984; García et.al. 1981). The producer-consumer ratio, as it varies over the cycle, requires the response of labour allocation strategies in order to cover subsistence requirements. The means adopted by the household to cover needs are conditioned by the socio-cultural setting, and frequently are found in practices of labour and resource redistribution among families in the society. This is because the developmental cycle dynamic is embedded in the organization of the society and response to it is well-established and organized. However, organization around the developmental cycle relies upon the composition of the unit following the cultural norm at each stage. In cases where the unit lacks certain labour types (due to death, geographical separation or permanent migration to take some examples) response differs, and strategies to reorganize labour are generated in a different context, as literature on female-headed households and on Southern Africa has illustrated (eg. Murray 1981; Peters 1983; Youssef & Hetler 1983). For example, in cases where households lack an adult male productive worker, the remaining household

members must adapt available resources (Buvinić 1983). Under these circumstances, households may attempt to increase their size by adding productive members to the unit (Wallerstein 1984; Congreso de Investigación 1982).

The developmental cycle is however only one dynamic requiring household (re-)organization, although it probably is the most common in situations of social stability. Social and economic transformations of the settings for households require the dynamic interaction of systematic household behaviour and new 'strategies' (eg. Nieves 1979). Depending on the direction and degree of change, these strategies become embedded in social practice, and lose their conscious, explicitly-organized nature. Faced with changes in production and reproduction conditions, households of different classes can respond in various ways, according to the means available to them for overcoming risks (K.Roberts 1985). To illustrate another aspect of the dynamic qualities of household strategies, we note that shifts in the sexual division of labour affect household strategies, although the rates at which sexual relations and ideologies may change are distinct. In urban economies of the Third World, it has been generally recognized that women frequently 'dovetail' their activities over the annual cycle with those of the male wage-earner (Moser & Young 1981). In this way, the activities of household members are coordinated to cover the subsistence needs of the household over the annual cycle, when male wage opportunities follow a seasonal pattern. Given the nature of household organization in these circumstances and the conditions for income-generation, household members attempt to participate in a range of activities, from wage work to services, in order to confront a situation of inadequate stable employment positions for the male adult. While this occurs, the cultural expectation for the male adult to be the primary wage-earner persists, and thus gender relations ideology lags behind the actual strategies adopted by

households for livelihood.

The rationale for labour allocation in peasant households, as it is so distinct to that of capitalist labour relations, has a strong influence on production organization and on household resource-use strategies. One element of peasant household strategies, which has frequently been found to clarify the behaviour adopted by low-income households, is risk-alleviation or avoidance. By diversifying income sources (Schmink 1984; Finkler 1978; K.Roberts 1985; Nieves 1979; Evers et.al. 1984), households aim to reduce the risks associated with concentrating on one primary means of reproducing, whether this is agricultural production, artisanal work or wage labour. The concept of risk-alleviation has been of particular importance in understanding peasant economies (eg. Lehmann 1982; Lipton 1982). For example, work on the peasants in the Andean region has focused on the extent to which the organization of agricultural production at distinct ecological zones minimizes the risks associated with erratic climatic and biological conditions (Murra 1975; Golte 1980; Lambert 1977; Webster 1971; Gonzales 1984). Depending on the conditioning factors for income-diversification, households may in some circumstances be able to develop labour allocation procedures which reduce poverty (Vlassoff 1983), or even to adopt strategies of income maximization (J.Chevalier 1983; K.Roberts 1985), which are unlike the risk minimization rationale pursued under other conditions. As noted above, the degree to which households pursue one aspect of the continuum between risk minimization and wealth maximisation depends on historico-structural factors.

Analysing risk-alleviation as one aspect of peasant household livelihood rationality is not to negate the importance of structural influences on behaviour. The concept provides insights into how peasant households respond to macro-structural conditions over the medium and short term, in order to cover subsistence needs. For example, occupational diversification which

includes the circulation of labour is compatible over the short and medium term with a shift in production relations to relations which do not involve labour circulation (Standing 1985). Risk minimization as a strategy is of limited importance in understanding large-scale changes in production, but allows for a clarification of household behaviour. The differentiation of households mentioned above affects the 'safety margin' of households and hence their response to risks, and is thus another means of distinguishing among different households' livelihood strategies.

Originating with a number of these concepts of the peasant household, one model of migration aims to explain population moves as an element in household livelihood strategies adopted by low income units. Wood (1981; 1982) is a major proponent of the household-based approach to migration, which he believes bridges the neoclassical and structuralist approaches. Criticizing the lack of a comprehensive framework for the analysis of internal migration, Wood proposes the study of population moves departing from the conceptualization of migration as:

"an integral part of the sustenance strategies the household adopts in response to opportunities and limitations imposed by conditions that lie beyond the household unit" (1981;338)

Wood's theory emphasizes the rationality behind population moves and the embeddedness of migration in household organisation. In Wood's model the household is engaged in a dynamic set of sustenance strategies which aim to balance consumption requirements with available labour and resources, in an equivalent manner to that discussed in the above section. The labour available to the unit depends on its composition and varies according to the sex, age and number of household members.

The sustenance strategies are necessary for the household to enter a new cycle of production (Wood 1982;313), but subsistence may be guaranteed from a number of distinct sources, one of which is migration to external labour

markets. Alternatives to migration include intensification of production, changes in the sexual division of labour, the redistribution of available calories and changes in fertility and mortality behaviour (Wood 1981; 1982). These alternatives are largely inward-looking, based on the household unit itself and the reorganisation of labour and resources internal to the unit. For example, Wood outlines the possibility that if consumption requirements are met in a stable fashion, low rates of seasonal and permanent migration prevail whereas if consumption is insufficient, seasonal and even permanent migration develops. Migration is thus, argues Wood, "contingent on the relation between households consumption and production", and is "conditional upon the success or failure of initiatives undertaken by the household as it interacts with the social, political and economic environment" (Wood 1982;314).

The sustenance strategies of the peasant household units are developed in response to macro-structural constraints and opportunities, and in this way the household model offers an alternative to structuralist and individualistic migration theories. The households, with varying degrees of success, respond to wider changes such as the penetration of capitalist relations, state initiatives, and changing land distribution and commodity prices (to mention a few examples) by devising strategies of labour allocation. Wood defines the household as "a group that ensures its maintenance and reproduction by generating and disposing of a collective income fund" (1982;312). Income from diverse sources is combined in a dynamic manner to cover consumption needs, and it is pooled in a common fund (Wood 1982;312). Some households may derive their income largely from home-based production, although this represents only one end of a continuum of the degree to which the household relies on the sale of its labour for sustenance.

The household approach offers a possible way forward in clarifying the place of human agency in population movements, by acting as a synthesis between the

vision of the individual rational actor and macrostructural effects on behaviour. The household-based model contrasts with the approach adopted by other models of migration, such as the equilibrium or structuralist paradigms. By emphasizing the rationality of individual decision-making behind population movements, the micro-economic equilibrium models posit a high degree of individual freedom, with little perception of the constraints and influences of such decisions. On the other hand, the macro-structural approach constructs a framework in which the role of personal decision-making is minimal, thereby negating both individual and collective responses to change. Within this analysis, there is 'no appearance of force' behind migration as the relationships of labour are restructured in space as a consequence of the destruction or subordination of non-capitalist modes of production in the international division of labour (Sassen-Koob 1983; Young 1978). By contrast, in the household strategies approach as elaborated by Wood (1981; 1982), migration is perceived as an outcome of the organization of a unit of production and reproduction, influenced by factors outside the unit. In this sense, it combines the rationality of individual organization, within the constraints set by wider processes. Decision-making in this context develops in a dialectic sense, with the household members adapting strategies in response to wider circumstances which they rationally assess.

Wood's is a useful and constructive advance in the use of household-based analyses of migration, but some problems remain with his model. Three central points are addressed here. These are firstly, the inward-looking nature of Wood's model household; secondly, the dynamic behind the organization of household sustenance strategies, and finally the issue of gender. The first point may be dealt with briefly as the issue has been touched upon above, in the discussion on the nature of peasant household economies. Wood's model of the household tends to emphasise the residual character of migration in a self-

sustaining, Chayanovian (14) household. This is clear from his emphasis on the contingency of migration and the assumption that households do not undertake migration except in order to earn cash for subsistence (Wood 1982;314). However, Wood's definition of subsistence is too limiting, as broader economic motivations inform household strategies. It is clear that households may maintain priorities such as wealth maximization, political activism and/or the education of their members (to mention a few examples), which condition domestic decisions for the allocation of resources. These elements of household organisation are not reducible solely to economic calculations of 'subsistence' needs and are not adequately incorporated into Wood's theory.

Turning to the second criticism of Wood's theory, we note that the dynamic accorded to the household is largely demographic, varying with the impact of changing labour composition over the developmental cycle of the unit. Such a dynamic has been shown to be an important factor in the organization of household strategies of peasant households. In Mexico and Peru, the availability of child labour affected directly the diversity of economic strategies adopted by rural households (Schumann 1985; Deere 1978). In relation to migration patterns, evidence from Mexico has highlighted the pattern of 'relay migration' which occurs as offspring mature and substitute for the father in migratory wage labour (Arizpe 1981). However as mentioned above, the demographic variable is not the only one to influence the migration or livelihood strategies of rural households (cf. Evers et.al. 1984). Much evidence suggests that class differentiation is another dynamic, operating on a longer time scale than demographic factors yet influencing the patterns of labour mobility (eg. Sanchez 1982; Figueroa 1984). Labour circulation is an integral part of economic differentiation in rural areas where some families gain access to means for increasing production, and initiate migration for educational and status purposes, while others are forced into income-generating migration

(Standing 1985). Households are, under this analysis, subject to wider processes which influence the dynamics of migration decision-making mediated by the simple requirements of consumption. Differentiation affects the nature of migration flows into sectors such as education, skilled jobs and manual work, that is according to the geographical spread of work, educational and political opportunities for different classes. Studies which focus on individual decisions to migrate tend to obscure the important differences in the ability and motivation to migrate determined by resource levels (Schmink 1984;90).

Gender relations, migration and the household

The fundamental aspect which is undeveloped in Wood's model, as in research on peasant households generally, but which would allow for the systematic analysis of labour organization in the household, is gender. The lack of any theoretical incorporation of gender relations into analyses of the household has been identified by feminist writers. Wood does not address the question of gender in the nexus of sustenance strategies and migration which he proposes. His assumption that the household organises its labour in a rational manner and that migrants would be selected in relation to the unit's use of labour, is incomplete as he does not examine in detail the means by which labour is organized and allocated. Much is clarified once it is recognized that household livelihood is predicated upon gender-differentiated labour which is apportioned according to the sexual division of labour. By dealing with gender as a basic principle of organising labour, the conceptualization of the relationship between household and individual, as well as wider socio-economic processes, is simpler (15). Gender is an elementary axis along which labour is organized, not only internal to the household unit (mentioned briefly by Wood), but also in terms of the sexual division of labour throughout society. Furthermore, gender is the basis of household formation, maintenance and reproduction, mediating between individuals and wider processes of production

and reproduction. It thus provides a framework (but not a determination) for behaviour. We turn to consider approaches to the study of gender issues in order to conceptualize the role of gender in household livelihood strategies.

Anthropological work has in recent years clarified the socio-cultural sources and consequences of male-female relations (Ortner & Whitehead 1981). By moving away from ahistorical biological categories of woman and man, an entire field of analysis is opened up which pinpoints the social dimension of gender roles in different societies (Ardener 1975; Ortner & Whitehead 1981).

"Women's position is structured by a double set of determinations arising from relations of gender and relations deriving from the economic organization of society" (IDS Bulletin 1979;2)

Relations of gender, the first aspect of women's position in the quote above, is a term used to describe the characteristic interactions between men and women in a society. One element of gender relations which has proven to be of considerable utility to feminist theorists is the recognition that women are generally subordinated to men in social relations, under so-called relations of patriarchy. Although the term patriarchy has been criticized by various researchers (eg. Whitehead 1981; McDonough & Harrison 1978; Edholm et.al. 1977) (16), it retains validity as a concept to describe the bundle of practices through which attitudes are perpetuated and reinforced to maintain the social dominance of the male (cf. Edholm et.al.1977). However, gender relations are not solely defined by patriarchy and it is too limiting to consider solely the male-female interactions which influence women's subordination. For this reason, our concern here is to examine gender relations, rather than patriarchy, as the former are central to an understanding of 'women's position'.

Analyses have concentrated on elaborating the dynamics of family and household organization in order to understand gender relationships. Such a focus began with Engels' work (1972) on the relationship between family, private property and the state (see critiques in Sacks 1975; Harris 1981; Stolcke

1981). Subsequent analysis has shown that women's participation in social production has not led to their emancipation, contrary to Engels' expectations (eg. Lupri 1983; Young 1979; Croll 1981), and attention has been focussed on women's relation with the family and household. Control of sexuality and fertility became crucial elements in an understanding of patriarchy (Stolcke 1981), as well as specifying one arena in gender relations. However, women's oppression is not derived from the reproductive role of women per se. "It is not reproduction itself which is the problem but the relations which define and reinforce it" (Eisenstein 1979;50), as these relations are part of wider economic and social dynamics (Eisenstein 1979;28; also Stolcke 1981).

Engels' analysis was developed in relation to a specific historical and cultural situation, that of Western 19th century capitalism, which influenced his conceptualization of the articulation of gender relations and the mode of production. Later theorists have treated modes of production and relations of gender as realities with separable motions and histories (Kuhn 1978). The conditions for the patriarchal family and society predate capitalism as a system of relations ordering family dynamics and the practices of reproduction (in the broadest sense of the word) (Kuhn 1978). Patriarchal relations in Latin America for example, have not developed as in Europe due to a series of factors including the history of property relations (Wilson 1982) and social ideologies, and the influences of indigenous, pre-Colombian relations (see below). Secondly the uneven development of capitalism in Latin America precludes the assumption that the relationship between patriarchy (taken as one aspect of gender relations, cf. Foord & Gregson 1986), and capitalism is identical to that suggested for Europe (see Mallon 1986).

Beyond controlling sexuality and women's procreative powers (McDonough & Harrison 1978), marriage and the family also define and structure the control of labour power, specifically women's labour power (Kuhn 1978) (17). With the

development of Western capitalism, the sexual division of labour was institutionalized into a distinction between use and exchange values which largely corresponded to an ideological construction of gender roles, and of female and male work respectively (Kuhn 1978; Beechey 1978; Seccombe 1975; Gardiner 1975; Smith 1978). The sexual division of labour is not unchanging but highlights the specific interaction between gender relations and mode of production. "Patriarchal relations implied in a social/sexual division of labour and in the appropriation of women's labour by men in the family are 'worked on' by the forces of capital and reemerge at each conjuncture as particular forms of social relations" (Kuhn 1978;58; also Young et.al. 1981; Beechey 1978). The sexual division of labour and society are structured by the relations of family formation and reproduction. Such a conceptualization of the determining elements in gender relations holds crucial implications for understanding the work carried out by women over the course of their lives. "The family is a set of relations which define women's activities both internal and external to it" (Eisenstein 1979;48). Feminist analysis suggests that the sexual division of labour, although varying greatly between cultures and periods, is structured within certain limits, limits which are derived from women's roles in reproduction. It has been suggested that the sexual division of labour is most rigid when the tasks concerned are central to relations of marriage, filiation and reproduction (Mackintosh 1981) (18).

The twin elements of the sexual division of labour, and the family-marriage relations define and recreate gender relations and the sexual division of labour in a society. In a non-Western context, therefore, we would expect to find a dialectic between the mode of production and gender relations, due to the economic conditions and socio-cultural organisation of the sexual division of labour, marriage and human reproduction. In the context of the Peruvian Andes, the particular nature of the interaction between the mode of

production and the relations of gender can provide insights into the organization of women's lives, and under certain circumstances, their participation in population flows. The analysis of gender relations provides a framework around which to analyse the structures of authority within the household and a tool for specifically focussing on women's position in the unit. The analysis of gender relations in a given social situation highlights the practices by which male and female roles in decision-making, control over their own and others' labour, sexuality and resources are maintained and reproduced. In other words, by examining the manner in which household organisation is achieved and the nature of women's participation in household maintenance and re-creation, gender relations aid in an understanding of household livelihood strategies. The analysis of gender relations offers a means with which to understand the allocation of female labour from the household, both within and beyond the unit.

A case study can demonstrate some of the facets of an approach to migration as a household strategy, which incorporates an analysis of gender relations. Izzard's (1985) study of Botswana reveals the necessity for this area's rural households to mesh activities in production and reproduction, in both rural and urban areas, in order to guarantee livelihood. Female migration in Botswana arises as part of female-headed household livelihood strategies linking urban and rural areas (Izzard 1985), as nuclear household structure is increasingly unstable due to the pattern of long-term male migration to South Africa and the unwillingness of men to support their children (Murray 1981). In this context, rural-urban migration of female labour is embedded in the allocation of productive labour in areas of economic opportunity, organized from the locus of the rural household which in its turn carries out important functions of reproducing labour (Izzard 1985). The age of female migrants and the demographic structure of the rural areas (young children and older women

are the primary groups), are both explicable in the "context of familial responsibilities and household strategies" of migration and reproduction (Izzard 1985;272), as the lifehistories amply demonstrate. Without entering into the debate on the formation of female-headed households in Southern Africa (Peters 1983; Izzard 1985; Cooper 1979; Gordon 1981), we note that households of women rely on strategies of migration when the sexual division of wage opportunities are segregated so firmly, both spatially and sectorally (as in Southern Africa).

To summarize, migration is to be seen as one element in livelihood strategies adopted by peasant households, which allocate labour to various activities in production and reproduction. Gender, as a basic facet of organisation, is a primary focus of labour allocation decisions for the organisation of reproduction and production in the household. In the peasant economy, the sexual division of labour provides a framework for household livelihood activities. Peasant migration is not derived solely within local rural production and reproduction circuits, as the peasant sector is inserted in the local, national and international structure of labour demand (for both productive and reproductive labour). Female migration is to be seen in the context of the nature of demands on women as productive and reproductive workers in the rural household economy, and the wage labour market which is structured by class and gender.

With the intention of examining female peasant migration in the context of rural household livelihood organization, the area selected for a case study is the Peruvian Andes, an area of peasant producers characterized by a high rate of migration and labour circulation (19). The study offers the possibility of examining the issues which have been raised in the introductory chapter, and aims to clarify the relationships between male and female migration by

analysing the allocation of labour within the peasant household. The organization of household strategies involves the deployment of labour and resources among various ends in order to guarantee livelihood, and female migration flows, it is suggested, arise as one aspect of household livelihood strategies. As a function of the units' systematic use of labour, gender provides a framework around which strategies are organized and realized, resulting in distinct female and male participation in population flows from the peasant community.

We turn now to outline the position of women in Andean peasant households during the major transformations in economy and society caused by their incorporation into the Spanish empire and the subsequent penetration of capitalist relations. During these changes, women's role in the household shifted according to subsistence organization requirements (especially in reproductive activities) and to the sexual division of labour at the regional and national levels. Livelihood practices have been oriented towards the maintenance of the household unit, which has continued to function as an income-pooling centre. Nevertheless, legislation and class differentiation have acted to construct distinct livelihood responses and determine the degree to which households are able to satisfy livelihood aims.

Women in the Peruvian Andes

"The survival of the household economy and of household production in central Peru should be understood not as proof of an imperfect transition to capitalism but rather as the result of the specific and historical way in which patriarchy and mode of production have interacted in the Peruvian social formation." (Mallon 1986)

The women in the Andean regions of Peru have a unique history, only part of which has been documented (Lavrin 1984a). Nevertheless the available data demonstrate that peasant women, subordinated in the gender, class, and ethnic hierarchy (which is a feature of colonial and post-colonial Peru) have nevertheless participated in various economic sectors, either as productive or

reproductive labourers, depending on the interplay of local and international processes. Consequently, the nature of their geographical mobility has shifted over time responding to transformations in economic and political organisation.

The household unit, although focusing different processes and conflicts for various groups at different places and times, has continued to play a vital role in the organisation of labour practices and the development of a specifically Andean situation (Mallon 1986). With the imposition of Spanish colonial rule over the Inca empire, relationships between men and women were restructured by the creation of ethnic, hierarchical and cultural differences which permeated colonial society. However, for the great majority of peasant women, their work and their lives unfolded as before in the orbit of the peasant household. In the Inca empire the majority of women had worked in the peasant units which provided labour tribute for state requirements, while a number of 'chosen' women, segregated in special houses, wove cloth for the state (Murra 1984;85). Under Spanish rule, the role of the household in the provision of tribute persisted, although the conditions under which it did so were changed, with specific consequences for women. In certain areas of the Spanish colonies, women rendered labour service and were required to pay taxes. Women paid tribute from the time of their marriage, while widows paid half taxes (Lavrin 1984b;346; Silverblatt 1980). Peasant women were incorporated into labour relations with the Spanish elite, although they were not designated as tributaries and thus were not required under law to provide labour on a regular basis. For example, women provided personal labour service in the encomiendas (20) where they cooked, cared for children, sewed and cleaned (Lavrin 1984b;346; Burkett 1978;109). This labour service was unremunerated and lasted down through the centuries, ultimately existing as the last vestige of colonial labour tribute systems (Deere 1978).

The great majority of women however remained in the peasant household

where they participated in productive and reproductive work. There is evidence to suggest that women acted as heads of households, protecting their property rights (Mallon 1986;152). As commercial and labour relations were restructured by colonial production organization, new spheres of activity opened up for a few women according to local transformations. For example, petty commerce provided income for some women with access to capital, while agricultural production recruited other women as female workers. As a result of male migration on a large scale into mining, especially in Southern Peru, a shortage of labour in agricultural production necessitated the use of female labour. Women were banned from working in the mines, which were the wealth-producing centres of the new colonies, and thus they tended to remain in the peasant households when the men migrated to work. The management of the household economy, which relied to an increasing extent on cash, fell on richer and poorer peasant women alike. Furthermore, women became engaged in agricultural decision-making on a scale unprecedented in the pre-Colombian period. The role of rural women in maintaining cultural identity in the peasant communities is not documented and remains to be explored (Lavrin 1984b;346).

Women who moved out of the rural areas tended to enter spheres distinct from the male tributaries. When women did accompany men to the mining areas, it was in their capacity as wives and domestic workers (Burkett 1978). Probably more significant were the flows into the developing urban areas. Although detailed data on the magnitude of this movement is not available, it is suggested that "at least as many women as men, if not more, entered the Hispanic urban world" (Burkett 1978;109). 'Indian' women took part in developing urban economies in a capacity determined by a combination of their gender and class position. To the Spaniards, their femininity negated the potential threat of their race: females were seen as passive and submissive (in Spanish ideology, which may or may not have coincided with indigenous images),

so that women were allowed to concentrate in the urban areas from an early date, unlike the men who were perceived as potentially dangerous (Burkett 1978;123). The degree to which they could gain access to resources and power however was constrained by their class position. Richer peasants, with access to capital for larger trading networks and property, contrasted with the more restricted opportunities available to peasant women who sold their labour in agricultural regions, mines and towns, or who relied upon female networks to maintain a livelihood in commerce. Women were drawn over long distances, largely through the geographical restructuring of employment and livelihood opportunities, which resulted in movements over hundreds and even thousands of miles (Burkett 1978). These migrant women provided the reproductive labour necessary to maintain living standards among the Hispanic and colonial elite: as cooks, maids and nursemaids they swelled the numbers in urban households, most of which contained at least one servant (Burkett 1978).

By contrast among the minority elite, control over marriage and property structured women's lives in a distinct manner. Although they nominally inherited equally with men in the 19th century, the property could not be translated into economic and political power by the women (Wilson 1984). Due to the importance of inheritance and family formation, control tended to be extended over women's sexuality as they were the bearers of the family line in which 'purity' was deemed crucial to elite status (Wilson 1984; Mallon 1986;159).

During the development of capitalist relations, which has been a highly uneven process in both space and time in the Andes although accelerating since the end of the 19th century, the household has "served a positive function for both men and women.. by serving as a refuge against challenges to subsistence" (Mallon 1986;169). For example, in the Central Andes, households survived through a combination of short-term migration, petty commodity production and local reciprocal labour arrangements (Standing 1985;9). The traditional

organization of livelihood was challenged by the development of capitalist labour relations, a cash economy and a modern nation state, and peasant household dynamics have necessarily responded with changes in behavioural and ideological spheres as well as in economic decision-making. While the subordination of women has been relatively constant throughout the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the specific tasks allocated to women have changed, with the penetration of capitalist labour and commodity relations (Deere 1978; Mallon 1986). Furthermore, male and female experiences in the household and in relation to developing capitalist relations, have been distinct (Bourque & Warren 1976; Mallon 1986).

The process of monetization of the economy, while not creating 'pure' proletarian labour on a large scale, has resulted in further differences between the sexes and between rural classes in terms of their access to resources (Congreso de Investigación 1982; Deere & Leon 1981; Bourque & Warren 1979). The sexual division of labour varies most significantly with the class position of the household, although other factors such as form of labour recruitment, regional differences and the specific agricultural task are also involved (Deere & Leon 1981; Bourque & Warren 1976; CERES 1984). In a survey of several Andean regions, poorer households were found to use a higher percentage of female family labour as they could not afford to hire workers. This occurs despite the persistence of the belief that some agricultural tasks are 'inappropriate' for women. Similarly, in smallholder households, the sexual division of labour is more flexible than the norm: men move into wage work, while women take over responsibility for agriculture as an extension of domestic chores (Deere & Leon 1982). Women's participation in agriculture increases generally as a result of two interrelated processes: household reliance upon wage work rises and local production only provides a subsistence minimum, while male household members become engaged in local or seasonal wage work

outside the community. In one survey, it was estimated that nearly a quarter of peasant women are agriculturalists on their own account during the absence of their spouse (Sara-Lafosse 1983; Carpio 1974). In some areas of Peru, such as the northern department of Cajamarca, male seasonal migration had already developed by 1900 (Deere & Leon 1982). Thus, household reorganization of production is taking place at different rates and in distinct directions depending on the specifics of regional development.

Male peasants are however far from being the sole household members to be engaged in wage labour relations. Women are employed in agricultural and non-agricultural sectors, although the former opportunities are largely seasonal and low-paid (Deere & Leon 1982). Rural wage opportunities for women are generally limited, resulting in female rural-urban migration (see above). Rural female proletarians represent a specific group of women: all the female wage workers in one survey were from poor households, and two-fifths of them originated in female-headed households (Deere 1978).

Since colonial times, the state has been increasingly involved in the Andes in management of a sphere which, as we have seen above, is related to women's subordination, that is the relations of marriage and filiation. Official state representatives were appointed in rural Andean areas to regulate marriage, marital conflicts and issues of legitimacy and inheritance (Bourque & Warren 1976). One change taking place in marriage relations, although independent of state intervention, is a shift to less stable unions (Tienda & Salazar 1982). In consequence, approximately one quarter of rural women now expect to head households as single mothers at least once in their lives (Bourque & Warren 1981). Furthermore, over the last two generations, the number of partnerships experienced by women over their lifetimes has tended to rise. The peasant women express a preference for formal marriage as they can depend to a greater extent on male economic support. Moreover, the increased prevalence

of female-headed households holds implications for the organization of sustenance, as will be explained at depth below.

Other state interventions have transformed gender and household relations. Agrarian reform legislation introduced by the state involved impositions of an urban Hispanic legal code on indigenous Quechua organization, with attendant biases against women's control over resources. Peruvian legislation concerned with peasant landholdings through the centuries have largely given men control over land, as the latter have been designated as landholders. In the peasant communities, for example, political rights were allocated to households as discrete units, of which the representative was the adult male, both under colonial rule (Mallon 1986) and under the 1969 Agrarian Reform (Deere 1985; Bourque & Warren 1981). Furthermore, by attempting to replicate an 'ideal' peasant type of agricultural organization whereby men are the primary agriculturalists and family female labour is utilized in peak seasons, the Agrarian Reform has been criticized for dealing with an unrepresentative group. The mass of the peasantry exhibits a distinct sexual division of labour to this 'ideal' type, where although male labour is a major input, women's contribution is not insignificant (Deere 1977).

As a result of the 1969 Reform, relations between peasant men and women were further transformed by legislation on political representation in formal communities. Each household head, or comunero, was to be representative of the household as a whole in community affairs, and each had political rights and obligations within the community deriving from this conferred status (Bourque & Warren 1976). Women's access to the status of comunero was limited to widows and single mothers without adult sons to represent them. Recently however, as a consequence of further male migration more women have become comuneras as they are responsible for a household unit.

Overall, the urban mestizo culture of the dominant Peruvian social groups

has restricted the roles and skills open to women (Bourque & Warren 1980). As the cash economy develops, women's control over family harvests and production declines as men control cash income (Babb 1976; Bourque & Warren 1981). Most importantly, women are unable to transfer their skills and status in the household into resources to be utilized in the cash economy, thus restricting their economic and political power. Women are increasingly dependent on men (fathers, brothers and husbands) in political and economic decision-making (Bourque & Warren 1980; Babb 1976). In a documented case of one estate, women's role has declined in production, and socialization as a corollary of planned change (Babb 1976). Similarly the ACUMOC (Association for Cooperation with Peasant Women) organization, founded in 1972 to educate family members and to provide employment, failed to help all women equally as the amount of time spent by poor women on agriculture was underestimated, resulting in greater benefits for the richer households (Bourque & Warren 1980; Bronstein 1982). Education has sharpened sexual inequality in some areas as more boys are encouraged at school, whereas women's education is perceived as unimportant (Babb 1976; Bronstein 1982). In other areas however, women have benefitted compared with the previous generation: near Lake Titicaca, it has been noted that women are more likely to be educated and assertive than their counterparts a decade ago (Benton 1983).

Despite the extension of the national money economy, the household has endured as a means of combining various income sources, as well as being the focus for production and reproduction decisions (Deere 1978; Mallon 1986; Bourque & Warren 1976). Overall, women's recent experience of the peasant household is characterized by the diversification of their activities (in subsistence agriculture and wage work in addition to reproductive tasks), and an increased dependence on cash income sources. Due to limited resources, the restricted labour opportunities open to women in the rural areas, and their

inability to transfer their skills onto the national economy (Bourque & Warren 1981), women's lives in rural areas tend to be structured by the household unit. Women's status in the household has generally declined with the development of capitalist and state intervention, in spheres such as education and marriage. One major factor has been the shift in household energies from the rural productive unit to the wider national scene and the opportunities available there. Thus, although women's lives continue to develop within the unit of the peasant household, the context in which the household organizes its livelihood has been greatly transformed in the last 400 years.

In the following chapters, we develop on this broad sweep of history to focus on one group, that of peasant producers in the department of Cuzco, Peru, and the current forces of labour allocation which are constructing gender and spatial relations in everyday organisation.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis addresses three major areas of concern. It hopes to contribute to the debates on relationships between social processes and geographical areas, which are currently of much interest to geographers. It does so by examining the migration of female peasant workers from subsistence-oriented households. Within a newly-developed emphasis on the household in migration studies, I hope to provide an advancement on previous household approaches to migration. By bringing gender into the core of the conceptualization of the allocation of labour among reproductive and productive activities, the household model of migration is better able to explain selectivity of migrants from the unit. This holds both for selectivity between the genders and in terms of the specific age (and social) groups which are selected out for migration.

Furthermore, I hope to make a contribution to feminist geographical research, by amplifying the terms of reference to more than the developed world which has been the interest of many feminist geographers up to the

present time (e.g. McDowell 1983; Hudson 1980; Pahl 1980; Hanson & Hanson 1980). With a case study from the Andean region, the material on women in developing countries can be expanded and theoretical models challenged by data on the social construction of gender and the processes of production and reproduction in a non-capitalist, Third World area (see Mackenzie 1980; Bowlby et.al. 1982; Foord 1980). By presenting new material, it is more possible to examine the ways in which "space reflects, reinforces and helps recreate in new forms the socially-constructed gender differences" (Bowlby et.al. 1982;714).

The thesis is structured in such a way as to lead to an examination of gender relations in household livelihood strategies, through an analysis of female participation in migration. Information presented in the thesis was collected in the peasant community (comunidad campesina) of Kallarayan, where a large number of women have migrated or are currently engaged in labour markets external to the community. Field work was carried out between September 1984 and September 1985 (see Appendix One on methodology).

The setting of Kallarayan in the contemporary socio-economic situation of the Southern Peru and Cusco region is outlined in the second chapter, in order to provide necessary background to the subsequent case study and to place the community in context. Kallarayan's relations to local land-holding and urban groups is accompanied by a description of the village's agricultural livelihood, in which households have access to varying amounts and types of resources. The organization of households in the community provides a major focus of attention in the study, as it allows for a consideration of the decision-making process of labour allocation. The sexual division of labour is an underlying principle of organisation in the village and is analysed in Chapter Three, where attention is also paid to the mismatch between how work is conceived by male and female villagers and how it is realized and organised. The ideology which conditions and constructs women's work, as well as their contribution in

household and community affairs, is analysed in terms of the social construction of gender. Women's work load and the degree of responsibility accorded them vary with the relative wealth of the household of which the woman is a member, and with the stage of her lifecycle. The allocation of labour along lines of sex (as well as age and marital status) within the household provides a framework for decisions concerning migration of household members, and thus this chapter leads in chapter Four to a description of male and female migration flows from the community.

In Chapter Four, the question of classification of population movements is addressed and a typology of migration flows is offered which places gender distinctions firmly within the definitions and characteristics of moves. Furthermore, by providing detailed information on population movements from Kallarayan (for example on regularity, length of absence, work undertaken, seasonality) the chapter complements studies on peasant migration participation in other regions of the Southern Andes (e.g. Baca 1982; Bracco 1980; Brush 1980; Aramburú 1982; Skeldon 1977). Gender differences in migration to both rural and urban areas are striking, and Chapter Four highlights how important it is to distinguish male and female participation, and (looking forward to Chapter Five), the differences between women in their migration experience. Women's position in the household and community is dynamic and changes with a number of demographic, social and economic factors which in turn transform participation in external labour markets. Chapter Five concludes with an analysis of the degree to which female migration experience is structured within the constraints of gender relations (and specifically lifecycle stages associated with gender roles), and/or the impact of household-based processes of decision-making and labour allocation. By addressing these issues in Chapter Six, a discussion on the patterning of female migration in the context of household livelihood strategies, leads to an

analysis of household strategies in constructing predictable patterns of labour migration selectivity. Selectivity by gender in migration is created within the strategies adopted by households, given the division of labour and resources in the community. The conclusions (Chapter Seven) summarize the previous discussion on the relationships between household livelihood strategies and female migration. The methodological and theoretical implications of the study are assessed at this point, and some policy issues are raised briefly.

Notes

1. Despite the vast range of class, cultural and historical differences between women, their experience can generally be said to be characterized by their continued subordination in the development process (Young 1979). Women have not seen an end to their subordination, although it is clear that the context in which this arises and is reproduced has often been radically transformed and is not equal throughout the world (Signs 1981; Wellesley Editorial Committee 1977; Subordination of Women conference 1979; Stivens 1985). One important group of women comprises those heading households, on which the available information is slowly increasing (Youssef & Hetler 1983; Tienda & Salazar 1980; Massiah 1983; Ahmad & Loufti 1983).
2. It could also be argued that the Percy Amendment of 1973 which required all U.S.-financed development programmes to take into account their impact on women, has also been a factor.
3. See P.Roberts 1979; Spiro 1981; Cebotarev 1978; Micklewait et.al. 1976; Skar 1982; Charlton 1984; Journal of Development Studies vol.17(3) (1981); Signs vol.5(1) (1979); IDS Bulletin vols. 10(3) (1979), 12(3) (1981).
4. See Tinker (1976) 'The adverse impact of development on women', the S.O.W. conference 'The continued subordination of women in the development process' (1979), and the Wellesley Editorial Committee (1977).
5. The exception is Colombia where women predominate in the short-distance moves to Bogota and men outnumber women in long-distance moves (Cardona & Simmons 1970 in Orlansky & Dubrovsky 1978).
6. The importance of the study of ideology has only recently been recognized among feminist geographers (Bowlby et.al 1982;714). See Davidoff et.al (1976) for a sensitive use of this approach in relation to the Western home; and Ardener (1981).

7. Bronstein 1982; Menchu 1984; Turner 1980; Huston 1979; Guyot et.al 1978; Kariuki 1984.
8. Reproduction, as defined by Edholm, Harris and Young (1977) in their classic article, comprises three levels: social reproduction (the continuity of a social entity in its entirety), reproduction of the labour force and biological reproduction. Women are primarily involved in the latter two processes, through their labour in childbearing, childcare, cooking and maintenance of the domestic unit. These points are elaborated below and in chapter 6.
9. The developmental cycle of the domestic unit is a demographic term denoting its cycle of formation and dissolution, from the creation of a new household, the addition of members through marriage and childbirth, and the fission of the original unit as members marry and leave.
10. The neopopulist school of thought concerning peasant economies was largely developed by Chayanov and it stressed the continuity of the peasantry under different social orders (Harrison 1977). The basic tenet of the neopopulists, as opposed to marxist theorists, is that production and consumption decisions arise from the consumption needs of the unit, and are informed not by surplus-generating aims but by self-exploitation of family labour for subsistence in isolation from economic and social relations around it.
11. The means by which surplus value is extracted from this means of production is a subject of much debate, which does not directly concern us here. Neopopulists argue that surplus value is extracted via exchange-circulation relations (eg. Chayanov 1966; Schejtman 1980), while marxists argue that production relations and differentiation are central (Heyning 1982; J.Chevalier 1983).
12. The major concern of world-system analysts is to examine the interrelationships of capitalist development with institutions such as households (J.Smith et.al. 1984), the state (Wallerstein 1973) and national economies.
13. It is due to their failure to clarify this distinction that the usefulness of Orlove and Custred's analysis of the household in the Andean region is limited. While arguing that the peasant household is the "basic unit of social and economic organization in the Andes" (Orlove & Custred 1980;23), they do not conceptualize the differences between intra- and inter-household relations, which account for the maintenance of the household as a viable social institution (see below). Cf. Brydon's distinction between the household (as a production and consumption unit) and the residential unit in understanding dynamics of domestic units in Ghana (1984).

14. Chayanov's (1966) model of the early 20th century Russian peasantry has been very influential in analyses of peasant economies. In his model, an internally-generated organization of labour and resources is sufficient to cover subsistence needs. This view is clearly misleading in light of the crucial conditioning role played by regional economic and socio-political institutions (see Harris 1981; Harrison 1977).
15. This also counters Bach and Schraml's (1982;334) criticism that household approaches still leave "a vast gulf between the structural and the individual".
16. Whitehead criticizes the use of patriarchy as a general ahistorical term for male domination. Instead she uses 'subordination' to describe the "specificities of male domination in gender relations" and to analyse the relational aspects of gender (1979).
17. Also Meillassoux (1981) on the control of elders over juniors through their access to resources which were needed for marriage.
18. "That is, gender-typing is most rigid in areas crucial to the social relations..called the relations of human reproduction and which generally incorporate male dominance and control of women's sexuality" (Mackintosh 1981;10).
19. Peru, located on the western flank of South America, is a country containing diverse ecological zones, of which the three major ones are the desert coastal strip, the Andean highland 'backbone', and the tropical Amazonian basin. The country currently has a population of some 17 million, of which the capital's share in 1981 was approximately one quarter. The present, centre-left, government under President García, was democratically elected in 1985.
20. All foreign (Spanish or Quechua) words used in the thesis are underlined when they first appear, and their meanings are given in the glossary.

Chapter Two

The cultural geography of Kallarayan

The Peruvian Sierra, one of three markedly distinct regions in the country, is a mountainous chain, lying between the desert coastal strip and the tropical Amazon basin (Gade 1975). While most of the Sierra is characterized by its distinct seasonality of precipitation and cool climate, vegetation and climatic differences arise due to the altitudinal ranges (Bowman 1920; H.Skar 1982). Within even small areas, high snow-covered peaks lead down through treeless grassy plains (puna), to dry crop-growing areas (quechua, suní) and to humid warm regions (yunga, montaña) (Pulgar Vidal n.d). The ecological zones are known by their names in the indigenous language of Quechua (Pulgar Vidal n.d). Such climatic and ecological diversity has attracted much research attention, especially on human adaptation to the environment: the notion of verticality is used to describe the crop zones and associated settlement patterns in each ecological level (Troll 1958; Murra 1975; Gade 1975).

Despite its climatic and ecological richness which allowed the expansion of the Inca empire, the Sierra (especially in the south) is currently the poorest region in the country. As illustrated in table 2:1, some 60% of the rural population (and forty percent of the national total) lived in the Sierra in 1972 (Figuroa 1981). Although their share of the national total has declined slightly since that time (INE 1983), the population continues to include many peasant smallholders (minifundistas) (Figuroa 1981;15). Nearly three million of these smallholders are grouped in peasant communities (comunidades campesinas), which are now officially recognized by the government (Gonzales 1984;17). The minifundio farms produce 2-4% of gross national product, and receive only 2-4% of the national income, making them the poorest group in the country (Figuroa 1981; Gonzales 1984). These families rely on small amounts of resources for

Table 2:1 Peru: Population distribution by ecological zones 1972

| <u>Region</u> | <u>Altitude</u> | <u>Population</u> | |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| | (m) | Total (000s) | % of rural population |
| Coast (east) | <500m | 5,929 | 17 |
| Yunga | 500-2000m | 929 | 10.2 |
| Quechua | 2-3000m | 4,073 | 45.3 |
| Suni | 3500-4000m | 1,325 | 15.5 |
| Puna | 4-4500m | 192 | 1.7 |
| Cordillera | >4500m | 13 | 0.1 |
| Jungle (west) | <1000 | 1080 | 10.2 |
| TOTAL | | 13,538 | (100) |

Source: Adapted from Figueroa (1981;27).

their livelihood - they generally own under 5 has. of land, often spread among different ecological levels, and a handful of animals (Gonzales 1984). Since the Second World War, the smallholders have been increasingly integrated into labour and product markets, and monetary inputs now account for 60-70% of total income in peasant households (Caballero 1982, 1984).

The community of Kallarayan in which research was carried out, is situated in the Peruvian Sierra. The area is one of great contrasts, both geographical and social: this chapter aims to set the community in context for subsequent discussion and analysis. A brief introduction to the department of Cuzco leads on to focus on the locale and finally, the village itself, where special attention will be paid to households and the organisation of agriculture.

Socio-economic characteristics of Cuzco department

Lying between 11° S. and 15° S., Cuzco department is one of Peru's highland departments. The ecological contrasts within its 76,329 km.² are great: snow covered peaks of over 6,000m in the South lead down to semi-tropical valleys below 1,000m in the North. The use of different ecological levels, by communities (Murra 1956) and households (Golte 1980) in the provision of a subsistence base has a long historical basis and continues to this day (Orlove &

Guillet 1982). The economy of Cuzco has been based on agriculture for most of its history and even today agriculture accounts for some 23% of income in the department, as is shown in table 2:2.

The agro-export economic model adopted by Peru as a whole was not a success in Cuzco where wool, coffee, sugarcane, wheat and alcohol have been unable to provide the basis for a stable economy (Guillen 1983). The national advances towards import substitution industry in the 1960s lead to few long-term gains by Cuzco, as a lack of state support and capital security heightened problems of high transport costs to coastal markets. As the wheat-milling

Table 2:2

| SECTORS | <u>Gross internal production of Cuzco department 1971-81</u> | | Millions of <u>soles</u> (1981) |
|---------------|--|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| | 1971 | % share 1981 | |
| Agriculture | 26.5 | 22.9 | 2,102 |
| Mining | 0.7 | 1.0 | 96 |
| Manufacture | 19.5 | 18.0 | 1,650 |
| Construction | 1.1 | 5.2 | 482 |
| Commerce | 9.1 | 7.4 | 676 |
| Housing | 6.7 | 7.2 | 657 |
| Government | 12.0 | 23.4 | 2,150 |
| Not specified | 24.4 | 14.9 | 1,374 |
| <u>Total</u> | (100) | (100) | 9,187 |

Source: Producto Bruto Interno por Departamentos; Direccion General de Cuentas Nacionales, INE, Lima 1983

industry has been undermined by Arequipa and Lima, which have easy access to imported wheat, so Cuzco has come to depend to a greater extent on tropical agriculture and tourism. Agricultural production in the northern tropical and semi-tropical valleys is a dynamic sector of Cuzco's otherwise weak economy, and in this region coca, coffee, cacao and fruit are grown for national and

international markets. By contrast, agriculture elsewhere in the department has suffered from national policies of importation of basic foodstuffs and price controls. Between 1958 and 1978, food production in the department declined by an average of 2.2% annually (Guillen 1983;43). Negative terms of trade in the Cuzco region during the last 20 years have compounded these problems (Baca 1985;51; SUR 1984).

As a result of the government-led COPESCO plan of 1966, prepared with the help of the World Bank, UNESCO and the IBRD, tourism has developed as the newest sector of the economy (Guillen 1985). The expansion of tourism was indeed seen in some sectors as the only option open to Cuzco. The construction of hotels and a steady growth in tourist numbers in the 1970s resulted in the creation of some jobs, as well as one of the highest costs of living in the country (Tamayo 1981). In recent years, guerrilla activity in departments north of Cuzco has tended to cause a decline in tourism (Belaunde 1984), and the long term viability of this sector in generating income is increasingly under debate (Portillo 1982; Vega & Guillen 1981; Lovón & Vega 1982).

While the national economy has experienced various fluctuations during recent years, the department capital's share of the population has risen consistently over the last 45 years as the following table shows (table 2:3), although urbanisation has taken place without the development of industry. The city of Cuzco has expanded rapidly, and is now ringed by 25 pueblos jóvenes (Tamayo 1981;284). The department has also become increasingly urban overall during recent decades in most provinces. For example, in the province of Calca, the urban population has risen although remaining considerably less urban than the department as a whole. In the province, a number of small towns predominate and serve a surrounding rural population, which is grouped largely in peasant communities.

| <u>Table 2:3</u> | <u>Population of Cuzco department 1940-81</u> | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| | <u>Year</u> | | | | <u>% change</u> |
| | <u>1940</u> | <u>1961</u> | <u>1972</u> | <u>1981</u> | <u>1940-81</u> |
| Department | 486,592 | 611,972 | 715,237 | 832,504 | 71 |
| Cuzco city | 42,967 | 86,150 | 129,386 | 184,786 | 330 |
| Cuzco as % of department | 8.8 | 14.1 | 18.1 | 22.2 | |
| % rural in department | 86.5 | 79.7 | 74.5 | 58.2 | |
| % rural in Calca province | 91.0 | 91.1 | 90.5 | 89.8 | |

N.B. All settlements under 2,000 inhabitants are classified as rural.

Source: Boletín de Análisis Demográfico, no.24 Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Lima 1981

Permanent migration from the department of Cuzco has restricted its overall population growth rate, which is under the national average. The annual growth rate was only 1.4% in period 1961-72 (Skeldon 1984), while the country as a whole grew at 2.9% in the same time (Arambarú 1984). The total number of outmigrants living elsewhere in the country reached 43,652 in 1972, approximately 6% of the department's population. During this period, Lima and Arequipa increased their share of migrants, as Arequipa and other departments became less frequent destinations (Skeldon 1984;114). Immigrants from other departments into Cuzco, especially those from Apurimac, Puno and Lima account for only 7.9% of Cuzco's total population in 1981 (INE 1983;xxx). Permanent migration, however, does not account for all population movements and within departments: circular and pendular moves are frequent (Skeldon 1977). Temporary flows to the semi-tropical valleys in La Convención and Calca provinces, to the goldpanning areas in Madre de Dios department and

| <u>Table 2:3</u> | <u>Population of Cuzco department 1940-81</u> | | | | <u>% change</u> <u>1940-81</u> |
|---------------------------|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| | <u>Year</u> 1940 | 1961 | 1972 | 1981 | |
| Department | 486,592 | 611,972 | 715,237 | 832,504 | 71 |
| Cuzco city | 42,967 | 86,150 | 129,386 | 184,786 | 330 |
| Cuzco as % of department | 8.8 | 14.1 | 18.1 | 22.2 | |
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into, and between, the towns of the department are the most notable (Baca 1985; Bracco 1980).

The Pisaq-Taray region

Lying at approximately 30km. from the departmental capital are found Pisaq and Taray districts in an area of great contrasts, evidenced by the fertile and irrigated Sacred Valley of the Incas and treeless highland areas, populated by peasant smallholders. The district capitals are small urban centres in the warm valley, while the peasant majority is found in the highlands. The region of Pisaq and the nearby township of Taray provide the setting for the development of peasant migration patterns, and comprise the area to which the communities' history and economy link it most closely, as shown in map 1.

Ecology

The Pisaq and Taray area includes three of the eight ecological zones defined by Pulgar Vidal (n.d.) in his seminal work on the geography of Peru, the quechua (2500m - 3500m), the suni (3500m - 4000m) and the puna (4000m - 4500m). The Sacred Valley of the Vilcanota lies in the warm, irrigated area of the quechua zone, and is a mild climate, intermontane valley with an average rainfall of 550 cm per annum (CENCIRA 1981). For most of its length the valley has a U-shape with a generally flat floor, approximately 3 kms. wide (Gade 1975). Above this relatively fertile area dedicated to the cultivation of maize for export, lie the suni and the puna zones. The suni, at 3500 to 4000m is an area of hills and slopes with a cold climate, restricting the growth of vegetation. Eucalyptus trees, introduced into the Sierra at the turn of the century are found in this zone, as well as native species such as quishwar, sauco and queñua. Tubers are cultivated at this zone, and irrigation in some flatter areas compensates for an average rainfall of 685cm per year. The puna is a grassland, lying below the permanent snowline, at 4000m to 4800m, characterised by its extremely cold climate (Pulgar Vidal n.d.). Rainfall in this

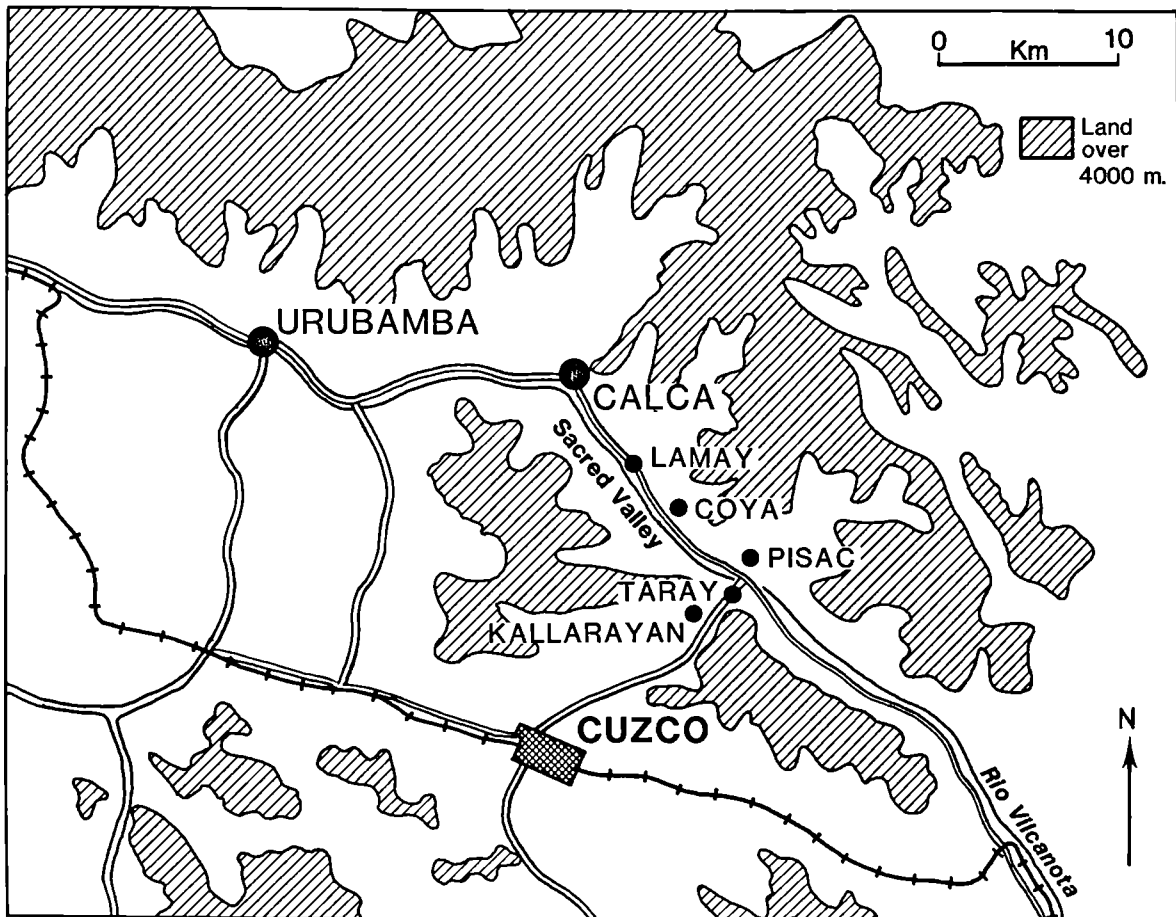
area is very low, the major factor restricting the development of vegetation cover apart from grass. All these ecological zones receive rains during the September to April season, during which temperatures rise slightly. During the dry season (April to August), diurnal temperature ranges are greater, leading to strong frosts in the suni and puna zones. The Sacred Valley in the Písaq area is only rarely affected by frosts.

History

As the region of Písaq and Taray was close to the centre of the Inca empire, which was the city of Cuzco, it was transformed immediately and markedly by the Hispanic invaders. With the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores, two crucial changes for the peasant communities took place. Rights over the Indian's labour power were awarded to the Spaniards on condition that they convert the native population to Catholicism, with far-reaching effects on native organisation and religious beliefs (Wachtel 1977). Such labour grants were known as encomiendas and in the Písaq area, Taray was allocated to a Spaniard in an encomienda soon after the Conquest. By the 1560's, the demographic impact of the Spanish invasion was beginning to make itself felt: dramatic population decline, caused by warfare and European diseases to which the native populace had no immunity (Cook 1981), precipitated an administrative reform. New urban centres or reducciones were formed in which to concentrate the declining native population, and through which the peasants were more effectively incorporated into the colonial economy. "The dispersed inhabitants of each [encomienda] were resettled in compact villages" and valley floors, such as the Sacred Valley were favoured in Cuzco (Gade & Escobar 1982;432). Taray was made a reducción of Oma and Taray (Cook 1982;103) and became an important administrative township.

Although the concentration of population did not last long, their tribute obligations were maintained and in Taray, the peasants were required to work in

Map showing Location of Kallarayan and Cuzco



(C.A.P.s) constitute the rural populace. The small townships have not grown at the same pace in the last 10 years. As indicated in the table, only two (Lamay and especially Písaq) have increased in size due to their position on the main road which links the subtropical valleys to the departmental capital. Coya is situated on the metalled Cuzco-valley road too, but appears to have been superseded by townships with markets such as Calca and Písaq. San Salvador and Taray have declined in importance since the re-routing of the Cuzco-Písaq road (in Taray's case), and the construction of a bridge in San Salvador. In both cases, the district capitals have been marginalized.

Table 2:4 Population characteristics of the Písaq micro-region

| | <u>Population</u> | | <u>% share (1981)</u> | <u>Change 1972-81</u> |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| | <u>1972</u> | <u>1981</u> | | |
| 1.URBAN | 4,602 | 4,742 | 22 | 3.0% |
| District capitals | | | | |
| Písaq | 1,174 | 1,386 | | +212 |
| Taray | 444 | 418 | | -26 |
| Coya | 974 | 953 | | -21 |
| Lamay | 881 | 933 | | +52 |
| S.Salvador | 1,129 | 1,052 | | -77 |
| 2. RURAL | 15,503 | 16,581 | 78 | +6.9% |
| 41 Peasant communities | | | | |
| 3 Production cooperatives | | | | |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | 20,105 | 21,323 | 100 | +6.0% |

Source: Censos Nacionales 1972, 1981; INE 1975, 1983, Lima

The rural population grew at a greater rate than the urban population in the area over the decade and continues to constitute the largest sector of the region.

The division between urban and rural populations is a social division as much as an indicator of residence. The Spanish-speaking, educated, European-dressed mestizos (misti in Quechua) located largely in the towns, dominate local means

of production and have powerful links through compadrazgo and family ties, with higher administrative centres such as Cuzco and Lima (van den Berghe & Primov 1977). Their income has been estimated at 19 times that of the poorest local group, the peasant minifundistas (SINAMOS 1975).

Found largely in rural areas the peasantry speaks Quechua, which is the language spread over large tracts of Peru and Bolivia by the Incas and which remains the first language of most peasants in the Sierra. Despite holding official status, Quechua is a second language to Spanish which is used by the dominant urban and professional sectors throughout Peru (van den Berghe & Primov 1977). Quechua lacks a formal written orthography and is rarely used in national radio or television, although it is estimated that 28.5% of the national population over 5 years of age speaks one of the major indigenous languages (Pottier 1983). The Inca influence may also be seen in the technology used by the peasantry, which dates from the early colonial period (Gade 1975). This population group include those villagers in independent communities, the *comunidades campesinas*, as well as the landless households who rent or sharecrop land and work as agricultural peons. The independent smallholders are by far the majority group in the area.

Economic activity and migration

Census data in table 2:5 indicate the major economic activities in the Province of Calca and the district of Taray, where it may be noted that Taray's economy is more agricultural than that of the province as a whole. Nine-tenths of Taray's economically active population is involved in agriculture, while a further 6% is engaged in trade, mostly of agricultural products: these salesmen operate from the small towns, moving from village to village, and into the tropical valleys. The number of those employed in services falls dramatically as we move down the urban hierarchy: service employment is concentrated in urban areas, and thus accounts for a minor proportion of employment in the

largely agricultural area of Taray.

The figures on employment tend to obscure the high rate of mobility between areas and between categories, as they deal only with residents' employment on census day. Migration on a temporary basis to commercial, semi-tropical agricultural areas; to the town of Cuzco; and to the goldpanning areas of the department of Madre de Dios which adjoins Cuzco, involves a considerable number of peasant families in the department of Cuzco (Baca 1985).

Table 2:5

Economically active population over 6 years, Calca province 1981

% share in 1981

| SECTOR | <u>Calca province</u> | <u>Taray district</u> |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Agriculture | 75.5 | 89.1 |
| Industry | 5.3* | 0.0 |
| Trade and sales | 6.4** | 6.4 |
| Services | 7.97 | 0.7 |
| Other (n.s) | 4.8 | 3.7 |
| TOTAL | 15,597 | 830 |

* Also includes mines, construction and electricity workers

** Also includes transport and finance workers

N.B. The economically active population is given in the census data for the population over 6 years, which is appropriate given the early age at which work starts, especially in the rural areas. Source: INE Lima 1983

Migration flows to the semi-tropical valleys of Lares (in Calca province) and La Convención province date from the 17th century (Fiovaranti-Molinie 1982), although since the expansion of coffee production in the mid-1940s demand for seasonal labour has risen sharply (E.Fiovaranti 1974). Large scale temporary migration to the gold mines of Madre de Dios is relatively recent, having developed in the 1930s when the Ñambari region attracted peasants who were contracted by small-scale miners (Aznar 1979). The rise in gold prices in the

mid-1970s caused a 'boom' in the industry which resulted in renewed flows of peasants from the Highland departments into this jungle region (Maenling n.d.).

Temporary and permanent migration to Cuzco and other large urban areas is also significant. Work and education are the major reasons for migration to the well-serviced metropoli such as Arequipa and Lima both of which lie in the coastal area. It has been estimated that emigration from the Písaq region reaches a total of 870 people annually, and women make up over half of this migration flow (SINAMOS 1975). Such a high figure suggests that emigration accounted for a decline of 4% p.a. in the total regional population in the mid-1970s.

The agricultural economy

The majority of peasants in Calca communities hold between one and 5 hectares of land, as shown on table 2:6, a situation similar to that of the department as a whole. Variation in the size of landholdings in the peasant villages is lower than in the province generally, where the size of agricultural unit varies from less than half a hectare (one quarter of farms) to over 1,000 ha. (0.25% of units). Such a pattern of dispersion is mirrored at the departmental level, which suggests that Calca is representative of overall landholding patterns in Cuzco department. [The table illustrates the position of landholding only 3 years after the introduction of the Agrarian Reform law 1969.]

Ownership of land was not generally affected by the Agrarian Reform, although the haciendas were transformed into production cooperatives (CAPs). Peasant communities in Calca and Urubamba provinces received only 11% of the land adjudicated by 1979 (CENCIRA 1981). By contrast, production cooperatives and peasant groups (the latter were formerly the highland livestock haciendas) received between them two thirds of the land adjudicated. In the Sacred Valley near Písaq, three cooperatives were consolidated from

previous haciendas and put under the management and ownership of the fulltime workers (also Guillet 1976). The Reform had the further effect of removing from the rural area a class of large, powerful landlords, the hacendados. As a consequence of the destruction of the haciendas, the peasants were freed from contributing labour on a regular basis to the lowland farms.

Table 2:6

Currently, land in the area is dedicated largely to the production of maize and potato, which cover a total of a little under half of the land area in the region, as illustrated in table 2:7. Since the 1950s, nearly two-thirds of irrigated land is dedicated to white maize, which is the most important commercial crop, as approximately three-quarters of production is exported. Yellow maize has declined in importance as a result, although it still covers a considerable area in the Vilcanota valley. Agriculture in the valley is mechanized, and dependent on a high input of chemical fertilizers. The tendency towards monoculture has been noted here as production is highly commercial. By contrast, the potato is the traditional crop of the peasant highlands, and this is still largely true, although with the expanding urban market, early cropping of potatoes on irrigated land (papa mahuay) has increased its share in recent years (CENCIRA 1981). The remainder of the land area is dedicated to the cultivation of wheat, barley and beans, with minor quantities of ollucu, añu, quinua (on the dry highlands) and fodder and vegetables (on irrigated land) (CENCIRA 1981).

The standard of living

The majority of the population in the Písaq and Taray region has one of the lowest standards of living in Peru. The average daily calorie intake in the small towns is as low as 1,573 calories (Peru 1972), which compares with a UN Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) recommended minimum in Third World rural areas of 2000 to 3000 calories daily. Malnutrition is widespread in both the rural and urban school populations, where 98% of the school children in the peasant communities have been found to be malnourished (SUR 1982). Poor diet and lack of health care lead to high morbidity and mortality rates (SINAMOS 1975): crude death rates in 1973 reached 19/1000 for the micro-region, when the average for the South-eastern part of Peru was only 11/1000.

Table 2:7Landuse in Cuzco department and the province of Calca, 1972

| <u>AGRICULTURAL UNITS</u> | <u>CUZCO</u> | | <u>CALCA</u> | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|----------|---------------|----------|
| | <u>Number</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>%</u> |
| | 123,299 | (100) | 9,652 | 7.8 |
| Hectares | 2,133,343 | (100) | 253,311 | 11.9 |
| Ha.s under cultivation | 84,715 | 3.9 | 7,533 | 2.9 |
| -with irrigation | 27,020 | (32%) | 2,570 | (34%) |
| -without irrigation | 57,695 | (68%) | 4,963 | (66%) |
| <u>CROPS (hectares)</u> | | | | |
| 1. Cereals | 39,677 | 46.8 | 3,415 | 45.3 |
| Maize | (23.2) | | (32.2) | |
| Barley | (14.6) | | (8.6) | |
| Wheat | (7.7) | | (4.2) | |
| 2. Tubers | 27,460 | 32.4 | 2,583 | 34.3 |
| Potato | (26.3) | | (22.4) | |
| 3. Vegetables | 2,048 | 2.4 | 111 | 1.46 |
| 4. Others | 7,423 | 8.8 | 573 | 7.6 |
| (fodder, fruit, industrial crops) | | | | |
| 5. Not specified | 9.6 | | 11.3 | |

Source: II Censo Nacional Agrario, 4-24 septiembre, 1972, Cuzco, INE Lima 1976

The most important causes of death were respiratory and digestive diseases which between them accounted for half of deaths in the mid-1970s (SINAMOS 1975). Infant mortality reached 118/1000 in 1971-74 (SINAMOS 1975) (2).

Small underfunded and understaffed medical posts exist in Písaq and Taray, and a small health centre is situated in Calca. The nearest major hospital is in Cuzco, but peasants are frequently turned away by urban doctors: only a tiny minority of doctors are willing to take on cases from rural areas. Preventative health campaigns, such as children's vaccinations, are carried out in the small towns and villages at regular intervals, but do not sufficiently cover the groups at risk.

Education levels in the rural areas are low, thus restricting employment opportunities. Under half of the rural population in Cuzco department is literate, compared with four-fifths in the urban areas (INE 1983:292). In the Písaq region most communities now have a primary school, attended by one to four teachers, who are increasingly well-qualified. Písaq, Ccorao and Calca have secondary schools in addition to primary education, and the few peasants in the region who go onto secondary education must travel daily to one of these centres or relocate. Cuzco is the site for the National University, and several training schools. Only a small percentage of peasants reach University education, largely because of the poverty of their families. One of the highland communities in the Písaq-Taray region is the site for the case study of female peasant migration. Kallarayan lies above the Cuzco-Písaq-Calca road in a narrow stream valley. The journey from Cuzco takes an hour in the collectivo bus, and then a narrow path leads up to the village, whose houses are strung along the path which climbs from 3400m to over 4000m.

Kallarayan: the setting

The majority of peasant communities in Peru are located in the suni ecological zone (Gonzales 1984) and Kallarayan is no exception. With lands lying from 3400m. to over 4000m. however, the community has access to various ecological niches from the irrigated, well-protected fields in the bottom of the valley to the high, wind-swept grasslands in the hills. The highland valley

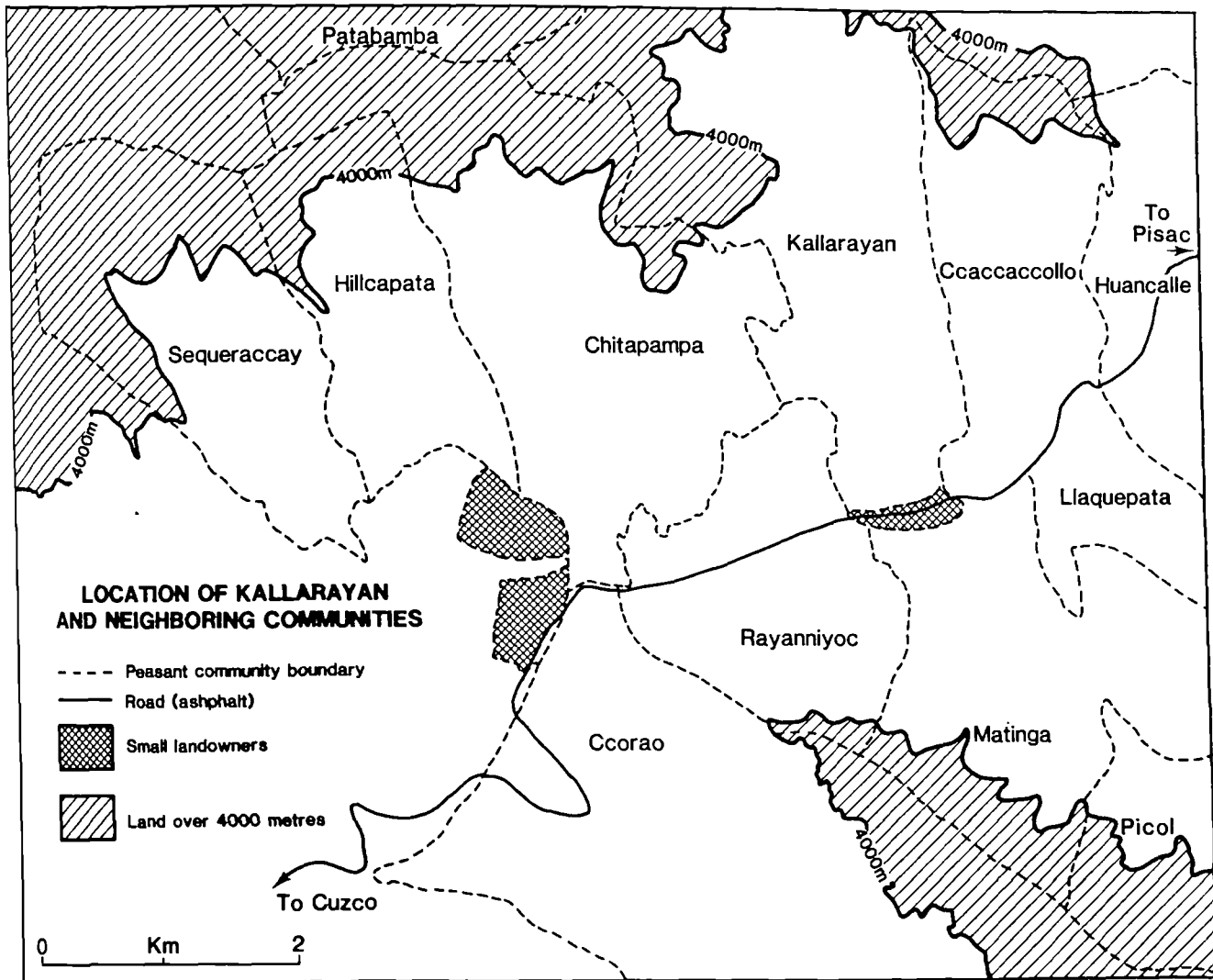
which contains Kallarayan is drained by two main streams which provide drinking and irrigation water. Rainfall is highly variable over the year, and during the dry season between April and September, water is in short supply. Diurnal temperature ranges are greater than seasonal differences, especially during the dry months. Frost is common in the higher lands, but the irrigated parcels lie in a sheltered niche.

Formerly part of the community of Ccaccacollo, which lies in the adjacent valley, Kallarayan is now a separate community. Ccaccacollo was recognized as a peasant community in 1927, as a result of the 1920 legislation on 'indigenous communities' (comunidad indígena). Settlement in the valley which contains Kallarayan dates from several centuries ago, but the residents did not gain official recognition as a separate village until 1967. As a consequence of recognition, it now has unalienable right to the land within its boundaries. No other land was added to Kallarayan's as a result of the 1969 Agrarian Reform but land held by peasants from Ccaccacollo within the boundaries was not adjudicated and many villagers complain that outsiders now own half the unirrigated land. Disputes with the other communities sometimes arise and are resolved in court, and every year in Carnaval a procession makes a symbolic tour of the boundaries to reinforce them.

Despite its relatively late recognition, Kallarayan considered itself a separate community from the 1950s, when a cemetery was built in the valley. Such a move may be due to the success of Evangelist missionaries in Ccaccacollo: Evangelists are accepted and integrated in the latter community but are treated with great suspicion in Kallarayan, where no-one may express sympathy with them. The building of a separate cemetery may therefore be an affirmation of Catholic beliefs, as well as a statement of separate identity.

All the comuneros are nominally Catholic, and attend the village chapel about five times a year when the padre comes from Písaq or Taray, to give the

The Locality of Kallarayan



Mass in Quechua. Four hundred years of Catholicism has not however destroyed indigenous religious beliefs, and mountain spirits are invoked at all occasions, as is the Pachamama, or Earth goddess, whose favour is sought to guarantee a good harvest (cf. O.Nunez del Prado 1973; Isbell 1978). Healers or curanderos, are consulted for all illness including mental illness, and only if they are unable to help is the medical post in Písaq visited. Indigenous medicine is based on a complex pharmacology in which 'hot' and 'cold' remedies are used.

Kallarayan's population has risen consistently since records began to be kept, as indicated in table 2:8. From a population of 330 inhabitants in 1940, the community has increased in number to 462 in 1981. Birth rates are higher than both regional and national rates, and has resulted in steady growth.

In Kallarayan, the Cuzco dialect of Quechua is spoken by all community members as their maternal tongue, although two-fifths of the comuneros also speak Spanish. Men more frequently speak Spanish as a second language than do the women. Spanish is acquired at school, where all classes are taught in the dominant tongue, and in employment outside the community, where exposure to Spanish is more likely in urban areas than in the semi-tropical valleys. Literacy is usually associated with Spanish speakers, as can be seen in table 2:9 and is a skill most commonly found among the younger age group, who have had access to primary education and who have migrated more frequently.

Table 2:8 Population change in the district of Taray 1575-1981

| | <u>Year</u> | | | | | | <u>% change 1940-81</u> |
|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| | <u>1575</u> | <u>1786</u> | <u>1940</u> | <u>1961</u> | <u>1972</u> | <u>1981</u> | |
| TARAY | 1,222* | 1,139 | 2,420** | 2,800** | 2,948 | 3,180 | 31.4 |
| CCACCACCOLLO with Kallarayan | - | - | 592 | 723 | 760 | 857 | 44.8 |
| KALLARAYAN | - | - | 330 | 352 | 402 | 462 | 40.0 |

* In the repartimiento of Oma and Taray, the number of male tributaries fell from 250 in 1575 to 137 in 1660 (Cook 1982;103)

** Taray was part of the district of Pisaq in these years, but these figures include only the communities and towns in what became the district of Taray.

Source: Vollmer G. 'Bevolkerungspolitik und Bevolkerungsstruktur im Vizekonigreich Peru zu Ende der Kolonialzeit 1741-1821' Verlag Gehlen, Berlin (1967); Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Contaduria 1786, cited in Cook (1982;103); Census 1940, 1961; Census 1972, 1981, (INE 1975, 1983), Lima

Table 2:9 Spanish-speaking and writing skills, by sex

| | <u>Spanish speakers</u> | | <u>Literates</u> | | <u>% illiterate</u> | |
|-------|-------------------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------------------|---|
| | <u>Number</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>by gender</u> | |
| Men | 119 | 68 | 99 | 71.2 | 55 | |
| Women | 56 | 32 | 40 | 28.8 | 80.9 | |
| TOTAL | | 175 | 40.8 | 139 | 32.4 | - |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

Public amenities are relatively recent additions to a community which has largely been ignored by the State in the provision of infrastructure. Communal work parties erected the chapel in 1977, followed by two school buildings (in 1977 and 1981). Previously the school had been housed in an adobe building, where two teachers taught small classes. The school now caters for first to sixth grade of primary education, as well as a pre-school year, and four teachers come daily from Cuzco to take morning lessons. A dirt road was built through the community in 1981 and onto the neighboring village of Patabamba. The then-Acción Popular government's organisation of Cooperación Popular, aided a largely communal project by providing engineering skills and heavy machinery. The road has since been extended to Q'enqo community but is infrequently used, serving largely small-scale traders at harvest time and rooftop salesmen.

Kallarayan lacks a piped water supply, although the World Bank, in a programme of work with the communities in the region, approached the village in May 1985 with a proposal to construct five standpipes. The Bank will provide materials and skilled labour, while the village will provide all unskilled labour. Work has not yet started, delayed by disagreements in the community over work rotas, and by the harvests. Kallarayan does not have an electricity supply, and in this respect is similar to 98% of the rural population in the district (INE 1983).

The only shop is operated by a woman from her kitchen, where she sells alcohol, bread and sweets, although a few women also sell alcohol and coca on a small scale in their homes. For the purchase of consumer items such as matches, kerosene, candles, alcohol and some clothes, the villagers go to the Sunday market in Písaq or to Cuzco, both of which are relatively easily reached. Durable consumer goods (radios, watches, and recordplayers) bought by some of the wealthier villagers, are from Cuzco. Clothes such as the

traditional knitted hats (ch'ullu), the men's ponchos, the women's shawls (lliclla) are made in the village itself by the women using local wool, but most other clothes items are produced industrially. The young people especially wear modern, synthetic clothes while the older people wear the traditional short black trousers (for the men) and the long bayeta skirts (for the women).

The peasants' houses are made of adobe bricks, which are manufactured by men and children and left in the sun to dry. Most dwellings are one-roomed, incorporating the living, cooking, sleeping and storage areas. They do not have windows but small openings for the escape of smoke. The richer families build two-storey homes, with three to five rooms where the store house is on the top floor. Roofs are traditionally made of long, highland grass (ichu), but some families are now introducing the use of corrugated tin and ceramic tiles, both of which are considerably more expensive and must be transported from Cuzco. Around each house is a canchón, a small irrigated patch of land or a yard for the animals, bordered by a low wall of adobe bricks. Houses are scattered throughout the valley, although certain clusters occur as close relatives are likely to build near one another. Location is also a function of water supply: houses are usually sited near a small spring or stream.

Statutes introduced under the Agrarian Reform law allowed for the self-governing of the peasant communities, whereby provision is made for elections in each community every two years to choose members for two councils (consejos). Eight representatives are chosen from among the literate and able-bodied community members over 18 years of age, and although the literacy requirement is relaxed for minor posts, it continues to be a discriminatory element against women's selection as they bear the burden of illiteracy. The leaders' authority is derived from regular meetings, or asambleas, of the entire community in which points are raised and discussed: attendance at the asambleas is expected of all adult residents.

Peruvian peasant communities took part in national elections on a very limited basis from 1945 but participation became notable in the 1962 and 1963 elections (Matos Mar 1970). Limited electoral participation was largely due to the fact that voting rights were restricted to literates, and subsequently the Quechua-speaking peasants were mostly excluded from voting. From 1980 however, illiterates have been given the vote, and participation of the peasantry has subsequently risen in the 1980 and the 1985 elections. Radio programmes and attempts by some candidates to talk directly to peasants in the Písaq region have risen expectations of the political process. In Kallarayan in 1985, most adults eligible to vote made the journey to Cuzco to renew their electoral cards and then, on the day of the elections, walked to Taray to vote.

Constitutionally, all land belongs to the legal entity of the community, and village residents have permanent usufruct rights over the land. In practice however, community members hold usufruct rights which are passed on from generation to generation. No market for land is found in the community, nor may land be incorporated into community boundaries, as Kallarayan is surrounded by other peasant communities. Some of the land in the community is the communal area whereas the majority is held by individuals in permanent usufruct. Communal land covers only 5 ha. of the poorest land and is distributed in 10 parcels throughout 7 blocks (see following section). As this land is systematically left uncultivated, communal areas worked in any one year is less than the full 5 ha., and in these areas potatoes are grown and sold to generate income for village funds. Comuneros, men and women, are expected to take part in all stages of production on these lands, and while they receive no payment, they are given drinks during the work parties.

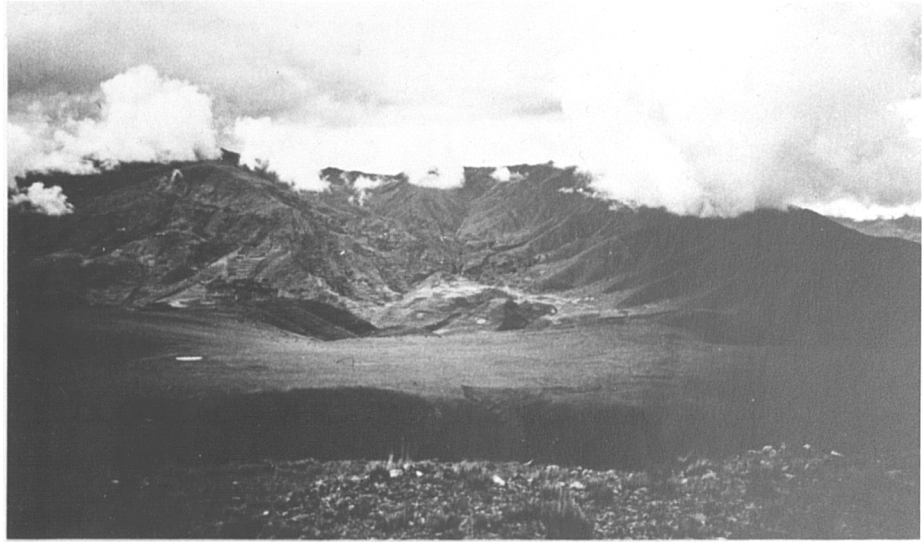
The remainder of the land is held in usufruct by adults in the community. Only those born in the community, or those from outside who have inherited land, can hold usufruct rights. Residency is also a requirement: emigrants who

do not live in the village or do not have relatives there who cultivate the land on their behalf, are likely to lose their rights. Pasture land is the only land type which is not divided into individual plots: it comes under communal jurisdiction, but families with more livestock clearly gain more from it. The total amount of land available per person in the community has fallen since 1940, from a total of 2.89 ha. in that year to 2.08 at the current time.

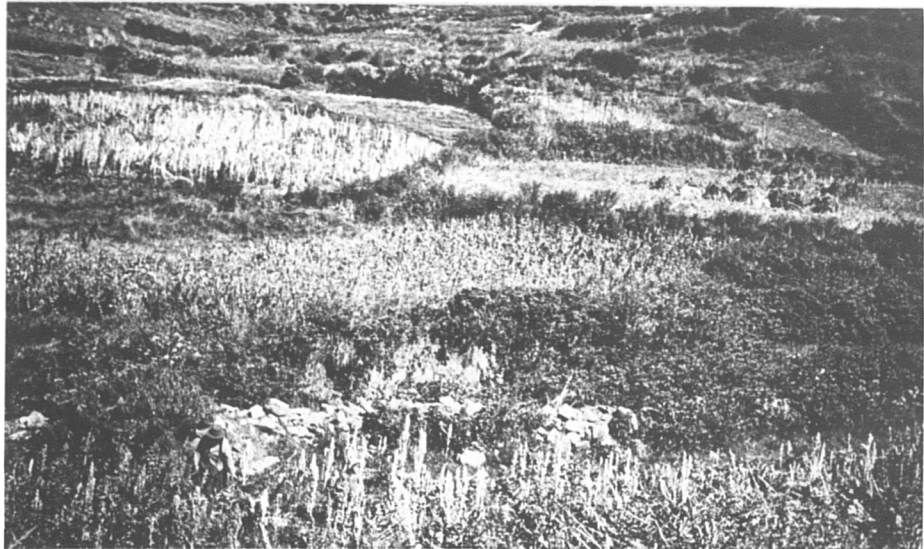
The organisation of agriculture in Kallarayan

Kallarayan is fundamentally agrarian, with livestock providing more a measure of security than a source of income (3). Land is the most important productive resource, along with labour, and the social organisation of its use is basic to an understanding of peasant household livelihood strategies. Households can hold parcels of land in different landuse areas, thus providing a mixed subsistence base. Kallarayan's fields cover various ecological niches, and three landuse types can be identified, which are irrigated land (riego), unirrigated land with a short rotation and fallow cycle (secano), and unirrigated land with a long rotation cycle (muyus or laymis) (The Spanish and Quechua terms will be used here for the sake of convenience).

The most fertile, and hence the most valuable (4) land is the irrigated land, which covers 10 hectares of the 955 ha. of the community (SINAMOS 1975), making it the scarcest landtype. Watered by a series of ancient irrigation ditches, it is possible for these fields to be cultivated continuously. This landuse type is found in the lower parts of the community at an altitude of 3400-3500m., where it is less likely to be affected by early or late frosts. Households have on average one plot, although a few hold two or more. Each domestic unit decides on the rotation system to be employed on their plot, although the parcels are usually dedicated to maize, beans (habas) and potatoes, with quinoa, arvejas and onions grown in association. Kallarayan has a considerably smaller proportion of its land under irrigation than do the



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neighbouring communities (5).

Secano land, which covers 80 hectares (8.4% of the total land area) is unirrigated land on the steep hillsides. Again it is divided into numerous small plots, and the average family owns two of these plots. Originally cultivated as part of the muyu rotation system, in recent years land-use has changed in this area: families devise their own cultivation cycles and the land is left fallow for a shorter period. Families cultivate for 2 to 4 years, then leave it fallow for 2-3 years. Barley, wheat, tarwi (a high protein Andean plant), and occasionally beans are grown. Watered only by rainfall, land under this use yields considerably less than the irrigated land, especially after several years of cropping.

The muyus are the least fertile lands in the community, covering some 850 ha. in the highest part of the village. These fields are worked on a rotation system dating from the time of the Inca empire, in which blocks of land are used for 3 years cropping before being left fallow and used as pasture. It is known that during the Inca empire, communities or ayllu worked the muyu land on a complete cycle of 9 or 10 years, and observers note that this system continued at least until the start of the twentieth century (Kaerger 1979). At the present time however, the rotation cycle is reduced: the muyus are cultivated on a 6 or 7 year system, down to 5 years in some communities in the Písaq region. In Kallarayan, there are currently 7 blocks of muyu land and households hold parcels in each of the blocks. All peasants holding land in the muyus must follow community decisions on dates for the preparation of the land, but they have individual rights over the specific crops to be cultivated in the parcels. Given the relatively small number of crops which can be grown in this area, most peasants follow a traditional pattern whereby potatoes are grown in the first, and sometimes second, year after the reploughing of the pasture, followed by barley, añu or ollucu. Cultivation in this zone is highly

dependent on rainfall: planting takes place when the rains start in September, and yields vary according to the distribution and quantity of rain over the growing season.

Land left fallow in the muyus or secano land is used for the pasturing of animals, thus allowing for the natural restoration of soil fertility. Livestock found in the area include llamas, sheep, cattle, donkeys and pigs. Chickens and guinea pigs are kept in the houses to provide meat protein on special occasions. Animal herding is the responsibility of the women and children and demands much labour time as the animals must continually be moved around to take advantage of the available pasture, and no fencing of fields or pasture exists. Livestock provide useful inputs for the domestic economy: milk and wool are collected, and used in the household: they are not sold.

Table 2:10 Sale of products from Kallarayan

| <u>Products</u> | <u>Number of households</u> |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| Barley | 73 |
| Potatoes | 49 |
| Pastures | 33 |
| Onions | 20 |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

The range of the crop varieties which can be grown in the village has been indicated above. Production of maize, beans, tarwi, quinoa, ollucu and anu is almost exclusively for consumption, and each product is hoarded carefully in the household storehouse (mark'a), which is organised and maintained by the women who are versed in storage techniques for the different products (cf. Orlove & Custred 1980:41). Potatoes tend to be grown for both consumption and sale, and households vary in the extent to which commercialization is emphasized: some families cultivate potatoes which will be stored for subsistence, while others have sold up to 80 kilos of total production in the season 1984-85. Many families who store all the yield then sell a small

quantity, as the need for cash arises, as shown in table 2:10. In some cases, low yields cannot cover consumption needs until the following harvest, and families must buy or barter (6) for more. Just over half of the households in the village sold some potatoes in 1984-85 and over half of these sold only a minor amount. It would appear that production in this case is not consciously aimed at the market, but rather that, given the technology in use (see below) and the vagaries of the market, the peasants produce for consumption, with sale considered as a possible option. [This area thus contrasts with Qolquepata, above Písaq to the northeast, which is a major commercial potato-producing area.]

Barley production is, by contrast with potato production, highly commercial: nearly nine-tenths of the households produce barley for the Cuzco market, where there is a large demand, accounted for in great part by the brewery (Compañía Cervecera del Sur del Perú). The company distributes barley seed in many communities near Cuzco, and has first option of purchase. It is a relatively trouble-free crop as it can be grown on unirrigated land and requires a minimum of work between planting and harvesting, so that many peasant households have turned to barley as a source of cash income (7). Other sources of cash are onions, fodder (green barley) (8) and to a lesser extent, lettuce and cabbage. These are all grown on irrigated land, and are frequently found in the irrigated kitchen gardens adjacent to the houses. A quarter of households sell onions, while two-fifths of all households sell fodder. Production of these crops, which do not make up any significant part of the diet of the peasants, is dedicated exclusively to sale in the market, although production is limited in Kallarayan in comparison with neighboring villages, which have a greater proportion of irrigated land.

The agricultural production cycle is grounded in a relatively standard division of labour, between sexes, individuals, the households and age-groups .

[For a more detailed discussion of the ideology behind the sexual division of labour, see chapter 3.] Production techniques and the division of labour are identical on the communal and individual plots of land, but vary between crop varieties. Some tasks are carried out strictly by the men, while other labours are done only by women.

Planting in the secano and muyu land begins in September-October, with the onset of rains, and both men and women participate in the potato planting. The men plough using methods which have not changed fundamentally in the last 400 years: on the flatter land, two oxen pull a wooden plough (the team is called yunta) and on higher, steeper land, footploughs (chaquitaqlla) are used. The women are responsible for the planting of the seeds in the furrows. Animal dung is used wherever possible: chemical fertilizers are not used in the community by the peasants. The same division of labour applies to the planting of maize and beans which takes place earlier. In the planting of barley and wheat, women prepare food which they carry to the fields, as also during the weeding of the potatoes in November-December. At other times when weeding is necessary, the women are usually responsible. They use a cuti or small hoe for this work, which is the same tool used by the men.

Ploughing up the pastures in the muyus is the next major agricultural task in the cycle and is carried out between January and early March, when rains have softened the soil. Again, the actual ploughing with the yunta or chaquitaqlla involves large groups of men working together on each others' fields. The women also work in large groups, gathering together in the houses to cook. Men, women and children all harvest the crops, working singly or in family groups, as all ages and sexes use the small hoe to reach potatoes and other tubers, and scythes for the beans, maize and grains. Potatoes are generally harvested by family groups as are beans, whereas barley, maize and wheat are more usually harvested by working groups of men, who carry the heavy loads up

to the houses on their backs. Women and children carry potatoes, beans and so on in smaller bundles, and only women sort and select the potatoes for consumption and sale, an extremely important job in the agricultural cycle.

The community's households

At the present time (summer 1985) there are 94 households in Kallarayan (9). The number of households in the community has increased steadily since 1940, although the average size has remained approximately 5 members, as shown in table 2:11.

Table 2:11 Number and size of households, Kallarayan 1940-1985

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Number of households</u> | <u>Average size</u> |
|-------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1940 | 64 | 5.16 |
| 1966 | 68 | 5.24 |
| 1972 | 83 | 4.84 |
| 1981* | 110 | 4.2 |
| 1985 | 94 | 4.88 |

*Probably an over-estimation of the number of households.

Source: Censo Nacional 1940, 1961, 1972 and 1981, INE Lima

1985 data calculated from Family Economy Survey 1985

Households contain between one and nine members, but these minimum and maximum sizes are rare, accounting for only one and two households respectively. Households with four members, however, account for a quarter of all households. The majority of households in the community consist of nuclear families: 61 households in Kallarayan are nuclear families (of an adult couple and children) as shown in table 2:12. The two largest families are, perhaps surprisingly nuclear families, their size a reflection of the number of surviving children (also Bolton & Bolton 1975:41).

Table 2:12 Households' structures: number and average size

| <u>Household type</u> | <u>Average size</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>% share</u> |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------|----------------|
| Nuclear | 4.9 | 61 | 70.9 |
| Simple extended | 5.8 | 9 | 10.5 |
| Multiple extended | 6.2 | 6 | 7.0 |
| Female-headed household | 4.0 | 10 | 11.6 |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | 4.88 | 86 | (100) |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

Although nuclear households are the most common household structure type, other types found in the village are not perceived as unusual. The second most frequent household type is that of the female-headed family with children (11.6% of households), where widowed or separated women maintain independent households. (One household of this group consists of a widowed, 60 year old woman who lives alone, in a house neighboring her sister's.) The remainder of households are extended families, which can be divided into two subgroups to distinguish between simple and multiple extended households. In the simple extended household, one member of the extended family is present, whereas the multiple extended households indicates the presence of more than one other person outside the nuclear family.

The distribution of resources between the community's households is not equal. Groups of households, strata I to IV, can be calculated on the basis of the quartile groups according to total land holdings. The groups run from the richest households in strata I to the poorest in strata IV, as table 2:13 shows. In the table, landholdings are standardized whereby one topo of muyu equals one of secano, which in turn are equivalent to 0.47 topos of irrigated land. This is

Table 2:13 Landholding in standardized topos* by strata

| | <u>Average</u> | <u>Landholding</u> | | <u>No.</u> | <u>Land</u> |
|-------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| | <u>Landholding</u> | <u>Min.</u> | <u>Max.</u> | <u>Households per</u> | <u>capita</u> |
| | (per unit) | | | | |
| I | 3.95 | 2.38 | 7.4 | 21 | 0.86 |
| II | 1.81 | 1.441 | 2.2 | 21 | 0.39 |
| III | 1.15 | 0.77 | 1.44 | 22 | 0.29 |
| IV | 0.49 | 0.0 | 0.73 | 22 | 0.13 |
| Total | 1.95 | | | | |

N.B. A topo measures approximately 2,784m²

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

in order to take into account the differences in the productivity of land. The average land-holding of households in group I is approximately eight times that of households in the poorest group, strata IV. The two poorest strata, III and IV, hold under the overall average amount of land. Two of the households in strata IV are landless, and must depend on renting and sharecropping to gain access to land rather than on usufruct (see below). Land-holding per capita also varies among the strata: the richest households have usufruct of approximately seven times that of the poorest strata per household member, although household size does not differ significantly among strata. Moreover, the households of strata IV are on average the smallest of the community, with a mean of 4.8 members, compared with 5.3 members in strata II, the strata with the largest average size.

Livestock ownership, another indicator of wealth in the village, varies among the strata, and generally correlates with relative wealth in terms of landholding. Thus, the number of sheep held by the richest households is about twice that of the poorest households, and households in strata I own more pigs on average than those in strata IV, the table 2:14 shows.

Table 2:14 Animal ownership by household, by strata

| | Sheep | Cattle | <u>Livestock</u> | | Donkey | Small Animals |
|---------------|-------|--------|------------------|------|--------|------------------|
| | | | Llamas | Pigs | | |
| <u>STRATA</u> | | | | | | |
| I | 7.8 | 1.0 | 1.9 | 1.7 | 0.24 | 11.7 |
| II | 6.1 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 1.4 | 0.095 | 6.6 |
| III | 3.6 | 0.7 | 1.7 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 4.7 |
| IV | 3.9 | 1.0 | 2.2 | 0.8 | 0.09 | 4.8 |
| <u>Total</u> | 468 | 88 | 163 | 105 | 9 | - |
| (number) | | | | | | |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

Small animals such as guinea pigs and chickens are unequally distributed in the village, with households in strata I owning approximately 3 times as many domestic animals as strata IV. Some animals however, are more equitably distributed among households: every household has on average one cow, and 2 llamas. Cows are important in ploughing, and in providing resources such as milk, meat and calves. Similarly, the number of llamas per household does not vary significantly between households due to the utility of llamas as beasts of burden.

Household formation and dissolution

Households are not static unchanging entities in the peasant communities as people and resources are constantly in flux between newly created households and older, dissolving households. The visible indicator of this process is the construction of new adobe houses by working parties of men, and the abandoned, slowly decaying roofless walls scattered throughout the village. Through marriage and inheritance, resources are redistributed and circulated among households, while childbirth and care account for the physical growth of

the families.

All adults expect to be married at least once in their lives, and those villagers who are widowed or separated often take second spouses. Marriage is the basis of the household formation, as elsewhere in the Andes (Harris 1978; 88). On marriage, the couple often live in the house of one set of parents, before constructing a new dwelling. In Kallarayan, of the young couples living in the parents' house, the tendency is towards uxorilocality, that is residence in or near the woman's parents (see Bolton & Bolton 1975;156; cf. Harris 1978) (10). It is most useful to consider that "residence after marriage seems to be a question of how best to combine and protect rights over the land which each spouse brings to the union" (Skar 1981). Marriage is seen as the means to gain access to, and combine productive resources such as land, animals and labour and in the selection of a marriage partner, criteria such as appearance are not as important as the ability to work hard, and access to resources.

Premarital sexuality is not repressed in Andean societies (Harris 1978), and unmarried mothers are not stigmatized, such that children born out of marriage are frequently found with their maternal grandparents, whether the mother is present or not. The grandparents look after the child as their own and when the mother marries, the child remains with the grandparents or may return to the mother. However, in cases when a widower remarries, the acceptance of children is not automatic; they are often sent away to urban compadres. Households also increase numbers by incorporating the spouses of adult offspring and widowed parents into the unit. Where outsiders without land marry into the community, it is most important to be strongly identified with a pre-existing household rather than with a newly created unit (11).

Children are usually born at home, and women's normal activities are resumed from two days to two weeks after the birth (12). Women carry their newly-born on their backs in shawls and breastfeed until the child is one and a

half or two years old. When the children reach the age of five or six, they begin to take part in a series of household-based tasks, which are taught to them by parents or older siblings (see chapter 3).

Inheritance patterns in Kallarayan are similar to those identified in other Andean areas (Skar 1981; Harris 1978) in that both men and women inherit equally of land and livestock. Inheritance goods are not passed on in a single transaction, but are distributed among surviving children over time. A young couple may receive a few plots of land on marriage, but not gain access to usufruct rights over other land and animals until several years later, when younger siblings marry and/or a parent dies. Households thus pass through various stages of property ownership (see chapter 6; Deere & de Janvry 1981; Harrison 1977). In the first stage, a young couple maintains a household on a limited number of resources. As their parents die, and other resources are distributed among other siblings, the original household gains more resources. (It is necessary to point out here that a widow living in the household of her married child retains control over her land as separate from theirs, although all land is worked by the same group of people. Responsibility for organisation of production still lies with the holder of the usufruct. Similarly, it is known within the household to which individual each animal belongs.) Finally, as the couple ages, their children begin to inherit the household's resources. Clearly, each household differs in the quantity of resources to be distributed.

Men and women can inherit equally, although questions of family size and the wealth of the household determine to a large extent the amount each individual inherits. Perhaps more important than gender is the position in the family (ie. the order of the siblings). In Kallarayan the youngest sibling/child, chanako in Quechua, whether male or female, is expected to inherit the house, and take care of elderly parents (13). This pattern clearly holds implications for inheritance rules, in cases where elder siblings have migrated from the

community permanently. For, as will have been implicit in the previous discussion, the right of all children to inherit land and animals, leads to the dispersion and separation of resources.

Redistribution of resources among households

Over the short term, various mechanisms exist which shift resources between households as and when required, whether daily or over the annual cycle. The use of land- and labour-redistributive mechanisms, which are traditional to the peasants and deeply embedded in the social and economic organisation of the peasant communities, may also be conceived as strategies to gain access to resources with which the household attempts to guarantee livelihood (cf. Skar 1984; Brush 1980;214). These mechanisms include the sale of agricultural and artisanal products, and the redistribution of land and labour.

The sale of agricultural products is the most frequent of community-based means of generating cash, and has been mentioned above, but a few families develop other means of gaining access to non-agricultural income. Weavers in seven of the community's households barter their ponchos and shawls. The buyers are comuneros in neighboring communities who pay for these goods with bags of maize or potatoes. Four households are engaged in small scale commerce, buying and selling agricultural produce in Cuzco and the small shop has been described. One widow also buys tarwi in Cuzco, transports it to Kallarayan where she treats it to remove the bitterness and subsequently returns it to Cuzco, for sale at a minimal profit, while another means of generating income in the community is the care of animals for other community members. Animals are given out on a share-cropping system, whereby half of the animals born revert to the owner, when the other half remains with the carer; four households guard livestock on this basis. The only alternative to these income generating activities is to migrate to employment outside the village.

Land redistribution

Nearly half of the households in Kallarayan work land other than that inherited by the household members, as shown in table 2:15. Fourteen percent of households hold land in other neighbouring communities, land which is brought in by individuals marrying into the community (14).

Table 2:15 Methods of land redistribution in Kallarayan

| <u>Method</u> | <u>No. of households</u> | <u>Source of land</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1. Sharecropping | | |
| - taking land | 28 | Family members (8) Non-family (6) Not specified (14) |
| - give land | 12 | - |
| 2. Rental | 15 | Not specified (15) |
| 3. Land in other communities | 12 | Inheritance (12) |

Landtype used in land redistribution

| <u>Landuse type</u> | <u>No. of households</u> | <u>%</u> |
|---------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| Irrigated | 7 | 18.4 |
| Secano | 9 | 23.7 |
| Muyu | 15 | 39.5 |
| All landuse types | 7 | 18.4 |
| Not specified | 17 | - |
| TOTAL | 55 | (100) |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

Two-fifths of households use redistributive mechanisms to gain access to land in the community itself, utilizing sharecropping and renting to add to household resources. Sharecropping (aparcería) is the most common arrangement: a third of families in the community use this method to gain access to land. Under the sharecropping agreement, a landholder cedes a plot for a season to another community member, who provides the seed, fertilizer and all the work required.

At the end of the year, each of the partners receives half of the harvest, regardless of the yield. A less equal agreement is common in the year following a poor harvest, when the supply of seed is low, when urban compadres provide seed in return for half of the harvest, and the comunero provides all other inputs.

Secano and muyu land is most commonly used in sharecropping, although sharecropping on irrigated land is not unknown. Land is given out by households under this arrangement when there are insufficient working members, especially adult men, to cover labour requirements. Thus, female-headed households figure predominantly among those whose land is sharecropped: 8 of the female-headed households in Kallarayan lease their own land, and these make up two-thirds of households giving land in sharecropping. Land is most frequently redistributed among close family members such as parents and siblings (59%). However, a large number also sharecrop land of another villager or from various people. Renting occurs in cases in which households hold more land than they are able or willing to work, and they rent out one or two parcels on an annual basis. It would appear that renting is related to a household's need for cash or labour, as these are the most common forms of payment, and fields in both the secano and muyu are rented out. As no open market exists in the communities, transactions generally cover only one or two years.

The dispossession of lands is another mechanism of redistribution of land among households. Although accounting for a small amount of land, dispossession is an important factor in explaining the insecurity of female-headed households and, in some cases, their poverty. This is not a formalized means in the circulation of land in the community (and for this reason is not included in the figures: data is not available on the specific quantities involved), but threatens those households who cannot show the full use of the land under their usufruct. Entire families who leave the village lose their land in this way,

and widows are another vulnerable group. Widows automatically inherit their husbands' land, and subsequently must call on close relatives, especially brothers, to work it. The family reinforce the rights over the land by working it: in cases where a widow does not have brothers or close relatives in the village, usufruct lands are frequently disputed and other community members may encroach on the plots.

Labour exchange agreements

Throughout the developmental cycle of the household, the amount and type of labour available varies, as family members mature, gain skills and take on responsibilities, and leave. However, if household labour is insufficient and/or in order to quicken work, labour may be called from other units. The idea of reciprocity and exchange is engrained in Andean society (Alberti & Mayer 1974) and perhaps its highest expression lies in ayni and mink'a arrangements. Ayni is the exchange of labour between individuals in return for a similar labour at a later date (15). The term is most frequently used by the comuneros of Kallarayan to indicate exchanges between the men for work in the fields. For example, a man calls on three others to work on his potato field for one day, when he gives them food, alcohol and coca. The first man then repays with one separate day work of a similar type for each of the other men. Ayni can be used to mobilize between two and 35 men, the largest groups working together in the preparation of the muyu land. Women are a part of these complex exchanges: women coming together to cook is also ayni. A woman whose husband has called upon other men to work in the fields, is expected to organise her own group to cook. Women have their own networks of exchange and they do not necessarily call on the spouses of the men called to work. Some villagers argued that the ayni of men and women are equivalent, or that cooking for a day was equal to a day's work in the fields. I believe that this applies especially to the female-headed households, when the women called upon others for work in

their fields, work which was reciprocated with cooking.

Mink'a is very similar to ayni in that it covers groups working on one person's land or property. Instead of repayment in labour, mink'a is paid in food, alcohol and coca in a fiesta at the end of work (Nuñez del Prado 1973). It is less commonly used than ayni in Kallarayan, and is utilized in one-off tasks such as building or roofing a house. Faena is the term used to describe the large working parties where all community members are called to work. Men and women, children and grandparents gather to plant or harvest the communal lands, to construct community buildings, and clean the schoolyard and chapel. Faenas are announced during the village meetings and members are sometimes fined for failure to attend. Women in female-headed households are not expected to participate in faenas if they can send an adult son as substitute. Work in faena is not paid, but alcohol or chicha is sometimes bought.

Recent changes in the community (16)

As noted above, population growth in Kallarayan has resulted in a fall in the amount of land available per capita, and as a consequence strategies were adopted in the community in an attempt to increase land area. Parts of the natural pastures were converted into cultivated lands, thus enlarging the extent of the muyus. Simultaneously with this change, there was a drop in livestock numbers, especially of sheep, pigs and donkeys. It can be hypothesized that these two processes, the enlargement of the muyus and the decline in livestock numbers, were related. We may tentatively suggest that livestock was restrained within a reduced area of pastures, and became weakened by a lack of adequate pastures, causing reduced resistance to diseases, which although present previously, had not threatened the relatively stronger animals.

But a more important factor may be the sale of livestock, as the peasants rationalized the decline in pastures (an event which may have been compounded by droughts, as in 1983). As the animals serve as a form of savings, or capital,

they are sold off in times when harvests are poor, and when large amounts of cash are required, such as for hospital treatment of a household member. The number of animals in Kallarayan has fallen by nearly two-fifths in the 20 years between 1966 and 1985. As we have seen above, cows and llamas are important for households in providing resources and a means of transport, and it would appear that these animals were retained. Sheep and pigs however, have declined in number and it is likely that the reduction in high pasture land particularly affected these animals. The expansion of land cultivated in the *muyus* and the sale of livestock were two strategies found in Kallarayan.

Conclusions

Kallarayan can be said to be representative of the highland peasant communities of the Písaq region in terms of social and agricultural organisation. Its mixed farming economy, which makes use of various landuse types to provide a subsistence base (with varying success), reflects the situation of most villages in this region. Furthermore, it has been noted that the distribution of land in Calca province among independent peasants (*comuneros*) is representative of the situation in the department as a whole. Kallarayan's relative independence from haciendas mirrors that of several other communities in the immediate vicinity (such as Chitapampa, Rayanniyoc), but contrasts with communities which were once directly incorporated into these landholding estates. However, this is not to say that labour from the independent communities was not used in the haciendas. During the last four centuries, peasant communities have been seen as a resource of labour power ready to be used by the State and powerful groups such as the hacendados. For example in the nineteenth century, 'Indians' from the parcialidades (or communities) of Southern Peru were forced to participate in public works, especially in road-building (Kaerger 1979). More recently, older community members of Kallarayan can recall labouring on the Písaq-Calca road, and

subsequently on the road to the valley of Lares in the 1920's and 1930's.

Kallarayan is not a self-sufficient community, nor has it been so since the Spanish conquest. At the present time, the purchase of consumer items in Cuzco and Písaq, the sale of agricultural products and the outflow of labour all link Kallarayan with the regional and national economy. Migration to the city and to commercial agricultural areas, for work and education involves up to fourteen per cent of the village's population at any one time. Migrants bring back cash, luxuries such as watches and radios, as well as images of the diversity of Peru.

Given that the resource base of Kallarayan, as of other communities, is limited at the present level of the means of production, redistributive mechanisms are not sufficient to guarantee livelihood over the short term. Migration, moving out of the community in order to earn cash, is another strategy adopted by resource-poor households. The sale of labour power outside the community does not threaten, in most cases, the continuance of the agricultural basis of household livelihood, as labour redistributive mechanisms allow village members to leave at one time with the understanding that they will return to undertake their obligation at a later date. Migration is thus integrally related to household strategies, in which gender plays a crucial organisational role, and we turn now to analyse the major dimensions of gender relations within the community, and in particular the relations structuring the pattern of women's lifecycles.

Notes

1. The district is the smallest administrative unit in Peru. Districts are joined in provinces, and then in departments. Kallarayan is situated in the district of Taray, province of Calca, Cuzco.
2. The figures on the registration of births, and infant deaths, are highly unreliable due to under-registration, but are offered here as the best approximation. Registration depends upon the attitude and authority exerted by the village leaders.
3. For example, in case of illness of a household member, animals are sold in order to pay for medical treatment.
4. No market for land exists in the community, but irrigated land is highly valued by the villagers themselves and it is rarely given out under sharecropping and renting agreements.
5. Opportunities for the expansion of the irrigated area through small scale irrigation improvement projects, is limited.
6. Barter (trueque) is still carried out by families especially in the Pisaq Sunday market where potatoes and vegetables are exchanged for non-local goods.
7. Seventeen percent (17.4%) of the households produce barley to sell to buyers other than the brewery.
8. One characteristic of Cuzco markets, everywhere in the department, are the piles of green fodder which are bought by urban households for domestic animals such as guinea pigs and rabbits.
9. Of these 94 households, 86 were interviewed in the Family Economy Survey (see Appendix One on Methodology): all data presented below is derived from this survey.
10. Five couples are uxori-local, while only two are viri-local. In the cases of uxori-locality we find that the men are from outside the community, married to the eldest daughter in three cases. In another case, the eldest daughter is married to a comunero of Kallarayan, and in the final case, the youngest daughter is married to an oldest son. In the two viri-local marriages, both involve the second son whose wife has minimal access to resources. See chapter 6 for a discussion of residence and strategies for control over land (cf. Orlove & Custred 1980;37).
11. Only 25 people are from outside the community and of these 14 are from neighboring communities, such as Patabamba and Ccaccacollo.
12. All women wanted children and generally treated them well and with affection. Nevertheless, the women were concerned about having large

families, and felt that limiting family size would be ideal. Native herbal remedies are used to abort but are not always effective, whereas modern contraceptives are available, but their distribution is extremely erratic in rural areas due to the small areas covered by foreign-funded health programmes and the understaffed health centres.

13. We shall have the opportunity to analyse this point in more detail below, where its implications for patterns of migration are considered.

14. Percentages in this subsection do not add up to 100 per cent, as several families use more than one mechanism to gain access to land.

15. Definitions used here may only apply to Kallarayan and the Písaq area. Each writer on Andean agriculture finds her/his definitions of these terms.

16. I would like to thank Annette Salis of CEDEP-Ayllu for useful discussions on this section.

Chapter ThreeWomen's roles in the community

Understanding women's and men's roles in the peasant communities, as in other societies is not solely a question of looking at the work the sexes do either inside or outside the village. In order to understand female mobility within the context of peasant household livelihood strategies, it is useful to consider at some length what it means to be a woman in the peasant community, and the roles and behaviour which are expected of both sexes. As has been amply shown by anthropologists (de Beauvoir 1953; Mead 1962), the sexual division of labour varies markedly throughout the world: what men and women do is not determined by their biology but by the social system around them. Male and female categories are created and reproduced in the spheres of work, ritual participation, clothing, rights over resources, political activities and morals (Ortner & Whitehead 1981). The social construction of gender is the process by which the categories of male and female actors are organised and reproduced in subsequent generations, and the social institutions by which gender is expressed (for example, marriage, inheritance, ritual) (1).

Because of the complexity of the material and the breadth of its cover, I briefly outline how the chapter is structured. The first section deals with socialization, that is, how children are brought up in male or female roles in the communities, what skills they are taught and by whom, and the status markers which differentiate between the sexes even at a young age. In the process of socialization, the blending of Quechua indigenous beliefs and practices with Catholic rituals and imagery is complex and varies regionally, depending on the historical mix of the two traditions. This section is followed by a discussion of the sexual division of labour. As the household is the primary site for the socialization process, as well as the allocation of labour, it is to this institution

that we then turn in the third section of the chapter. The formation of households, male and female roles and the cross-sex relations in the household unit are all crucial elements in understanding differentiation among women and their place in external labour markets.

Women's role in prestigious activities also differentiates male and female access to resources. Prestige relations in the communities are revealed and negotiated in a variety of ways, and the access to land and animals is only one part of status markers. The 'public' arena of decision-making and status activities is largely male in the communities, yet women are not completely excluded. They make use of the wider sphere of social relations on a different basis to the men, largely because they deal with it via their relations with the male actors or because their access to certain crucial resources is restricted (2). Spheres involving prestige which are relevant in the peasant communities today include education, local elections for leaders, and the more traditional cargo system of fiesta sponsorship. All of these activities are present in Kallarayan and highlight gender relations.

Socialization

At the birth of the first child, there exist beliefs concerning the future of the household, dependent upon the sex of the child. Gender is thus an important differentiating element from the beginning of life. In peasant communities, when the first-born is a girl, it is believed that she will bring prosperity to the household (Bourque & Warren 1981; Saravia 1985), and there will be stability and provisions (Lapiedra 1985). In some areas, the first born girl is called taqe or storehouse, indicating the link with provisions and prosperity (Lapiedra 1985). This contrasts greatly with the beliefs about male firstborns, who are called wayra or wind, and are thought to bring instability (Lapiedra 1985), or disgrace to the couple (Saravia 1985). By comparison, in some towns exposed to Catholic beliefs and symbols, it is sometimes hoped that the first born will be a boy

(Bourque & Warren 1981), whereas in more traditional communities, there is no clear preference for one or other sex. While female infants in these communities are viewed positively, other cultural practices and beliefs do not sustain this image, and indeed contradict it at later stages in the lifecycle.

To incorporate children into the society, a number of rituals are utilized although their importance in any specific location depends on the history of the region and its contact with Catholicism. The two main rituals are baptism and the corte de pelo (first hair-cutting), which take place within the first years of life (baptisms tend to occur earlier than hair-cutting) (Ossio 1984). The corte de pelo or rutuchikuy (which also includes nail cutting in some communities) dates from Inca times when it was linked with the naming of the child and marked the entry into independent and individual life (Gonzalez & Galdo 1977). It continues today throughout the Andean region, and initiates a process of differentiation on the basis of gender.

Haircutting, which takes place when the child is between 4 and 6 years old in Kallarayan, indicates the start of life as a full social being, the assumption of responsibilities and the marking of an individual. At this stage the individual is identified on the basis of gender for the first time. Both boys and girls are identically dressed before their hair is cut in a loose skirt of wool, and their hair is unkempt. On their passage into social life with hair-cutting, appearance becomes a function of gender; girls start to wear skirts and small shawls, while boys wear ch'ullus and trousers. Girls' hair, as it grows, is braided into two long plaits which are not cut until death, while boys' hair is kept short as is the men's. In the ceremony too, money is given to the child for its future which is guarded by its parents: this capital provides the main incentive to carry out this ceremony in some areas (Harvey pers.comm.; Gonzalez & Galdo 1977). In Kallarayan the notion of the haircutting providing a passage into social life is intertwined with Catholic notions of original sin, in which the wild, ungendered

child is seen to hold sin which is removed with the hair, allowing the child a 'new' start in life. The haircutting ceremony thus integrates various factors which indicate the initial stages of socialization. The ritual marks the transition from a wild, unsocialized being, which has no gender (the two sexes are not clothed distinctly in early childhood) into a social being, which has gender. A member of the society must be identified by its gender, and external markers such as hair and clothing are used. The same process occurs generally with baptism, which takes place within a week or up to a year after the birth. It is a naming ceremony in which a male or female name is given to the child, and in some areas there is an explicit link with the idea of baptism bringing an end to a wild, unsocialized period. In these areas, the unbaptised children are known as chunchos, the name given to the low-land jungle people, who epitomize a wild, unsocialized, dangerous group for the Andean communities (Gonzalez & Galdo 1977; Isbell 1978).

After the haircutting or baptismal ceremonies, children are taught tasks according to their gender, and their clothing indicates whether they are male or female. In infancy boys are treated in a way which is believed to make them strong: they are sometimes wrapped in swaddling and are weaned a month earlier than female infants. From about the age of 6 years, children start to take minor responsibilities around the house. Both boys and girls collect water and fuel, run errands for parents or older siblings, pasture animals and care for younger brothers and sisters, which is a general Andean pattern (see Bourque & Warren 1981; Gonzalez & Galdo 1977; Sara Lafosse 1983). Girls then learn tasks which are female activities, such as cooking and spinning, which they learn from their mother, grandmother, or an older sister, depending on family structure. In these tasks they become proficient by about 10 years of age, and learn about the management of household resources under the eye of their mother (or the senior female of the household). If their mother is engaged in

the marketing of produce young girls start to learn this skill too. Men are not involved in their daughter's training; they explain that they do not know about women's work and therefore they are unable to teach. They are also absent in the fields during the day.

Boys from the age of 12 to 14 years start to help their fathers and uncles in the fields, learning by example to plough and work together in *ayni* workparties. Their sphere of socialization is thus one outside the domestic domain with which they have most contact in their early childhood. As their mother's work lies largely in the household the boys are removed from the female domestic unit, in which their mother and sisters are occupied. Boys continue to pasture animals until the age of 15 to 17 years of age, depending on the labour available in the household, although it is much more frequent for girls of this age to do so.

The process of socialization in gender thus involves a combination of rituals, skills acquisition and physical appearance. By the time they reach adulthood, male and female roles are distinct, reinforced by physical attributes such as clothing and hair. But these are not the sole markers of gender, as cultural notions of male and female also involve perceptions and explanations (such as myths, stories, beliefs) which explain why gender differences should be so structured (cf. Skar 1981 on gender relations related to Andean concepts of space-time). Such perceptions allow us to understand how women's lives are organised in the peasant communities and how they are seen to be organised. These can be understood through an analysis of the relations of work.

The gender relations of labour

Within the common notion of the sexual division of labour, it is useful to distinguish between two facets, which we will label the sexual division of activities, and the gender relations of labour. By the first term we mean the activities carried out by men and women, what they actually do. This is usually called the sexual division of labour (e.g. Deere & Leon de Leal 1982). The

second term involves notions of how the society under consideration (the peasant community economy in this instance) defines what is work. While some labour is acknowledged and recognized, for other tasks the labour deployed is not considered to be work. In these circumstances what men and women do is evaluated and acknowledged to be work. The gender relations of work thus lie at the level of evaluations of activities, of male and female members of the household in both production and reproduction.

By analysing the gender relations of labour we may understand more clearly how the sexual division of activities interacts with other facets of household organisation, such as migration, participation in ritual and political activities, and use of resources. What is considered to be work by the Quechua-speaking peasants? Work is very highly valued by the villagers and is a salient element in the evaluation and organisation of social relations. Other social groups are disdained if they are perceived to be non-working: the chunchus or tropical valley peoples are looked down upon by the villagers as they do not work (on the villagers' terms). Marriage partners, of both sexes, are chosen on their ability to work hard, rather than on notions of beauty and so on (also Bolton & Bolton 1975;60; Lobo 1984;170). Work is thus highly valued and a crucial element in the moral evaluation of persons and groups. This provides the context for an examination of the sexual division of labour in the community.

Four commonplace beliefs are held by villagers about women's contribution to the community's major economic activity, that is, agriculture. These statements are made by both women and men when commenting on women's contribution, either their own wives and daughters or the women generally in the community. These perceptions are that women do not work in agriculture; that they cook but do not work; that when they work in agriculture, they always work with others and are never alone; and finally, that the women's work is a 'help', and their labour is called upon as a last resort, and that they do easy

work.

Although some of these notions appear contradictory, they are all present among the community members, both male and female. The view that women do not work is prevalent and is usually taken as an illustration of the difference between Kallarayan and other areas. Men explain,

"They say that in other areas the women work more; here, no."

"The women here do not work. Do they work in your country?"

Women may even sometimes be forbidden to work in the fields by their husbands. These comments made by comuneros of Kallarayan are understandable in the context of the notion of work, which is related to the social and moral evaluation of other (outside and their own) groups. The men do not consider that their women work, that is do not work when work is defined as agriculture. The men's statements imply that the contribution of women (in the sense of certain activities carried out by the women) in agriculture is not work. For example, when considering the contribution made by women with their cooking, the men voice the belief that this is not work. In this sense, no value judgement is made, but an opinion on the type of labour involved. The belief that cooking is not work is expressed despite the fact that in terms of time, women's cooking is a major component of their contribution to agriculture.

"She [my wife] does not work but she always brings food"

"Women don't work but cook; otherwise, who would eat?"

Occasionally, women's participation in this way is recognized as work. As will be noted below, women when they cook play a crucial role in the maintenance of social networks embodied in ayni relations. It is in this sense that the man quoted here describes his wife's contribution: "Yes, my wife works, bringing food to the fields" (3).

The men carry out the stages of the agricultural cycle which are evaluated (highly) as work; ploughing and irrigation. Ploughing is the major male-defining

task in agriculture throughout the Andes, whether with the oxen-pulled wooden plough (yunta) or the footplough (chaquitaqlla). Women are supposed to bring about bad luck if they plough, and the notion of women ploughing is presented as dangerous and as a reversal of the normative moral order. For example, in Kallarayan there was a story that a woman went to plough her field, but she did it at night (as opposed to daylight for the men; the night is also a dangerous time when one is liable to be approached by spirits and devils) and alone (as opposed to the men who work in groups). By ploughing, a woman threatens both herself and the 'natural' social organisation of the community. The strict boundaries around the sphere of ploughing (and irrigation) are closely connected with notions of fertility and sexuality (4). Irrigation is also a male task over a large area of the Andes (Lapiedra 1985; Bourque & Warren 1981).

While women do not participate in the ploughing or irrigation of the fields, they do carry out a series of activities in which their participation is perceived as crucial. They are responsible for the placing of the seed in the ground (of potatoes and maize especially, the two basic crops of the community), an act which has clear symbolic value within cultural notions of fertility. Again, planting seed is a female task throughout the Andean area (5). The storage of the seed and harvests over the course of the agricultural cycle is carried out by the women in Kallarayan, as elsewhere in the Cuzco region (D.Nuñez del Prado 1975; Lapiedra 1985). As we have noted above, women's relation with the storehouse (mark'a in Kallarayan; taqe in Andahuaylillas) exists from a girl's birth insofar as there is an association of the first born girl with the granary.

Whilst the cooking done by the women in the community is not perceived by the men to be equivalent to field work, the women themselves consider it to be part of the agricultural process. The cooking of food for the male agricultural labourers is central to the success of an ayni work party and the maintenance of good relations with neighbours and relatives on whom one depends for labour

(6). When the women come together in groups to cook for the men it is also termed *ayni*. The women have their own networks of reciprocity, independent of the men's system. Thus a woman must call on various female neighbours and relatives, for whom she works in turn in cooking. The groups of women are smaller than the male working parties; one woman can usually cook for three men, and this is the ratio maintained by most women when organising a cooking session.

One woman, usually the senior female adult in the household and the person who calls on the others, is responsible for the meal as a whole and delegates tasks among those present. She is also the person responsible for the fire and the cooking pots. Other women prepare vegetables, meat and sauces as required. Considerable organisational skills are needed to provide good food in sufficient quantities. The woman in charge must also maintain favourable relations with the other women, and reinforce her position within a chain of reciprocity. Foodstuffs must sometimes be bought if stores are inadequate, especially as the success of the meal depends on large quantities of food. Female helpers and accompanying children are given food at the end of the morning, before carrying it to the fields. Not all the women in the group carry the pots to the men; some remain behind to clean, or care for the children. In the field, one woman serves the food onto plates, which are carried to the seated men by a young man. Several groups may cook on the same day, especially during the ploughing up of the *muyus*.

Women also cook alone or with the help of a daughter for their husbands if the latter are working alone. If a man works in his own field in another community (with other men or by himself) the woman carries food to him there at mid-day. If a man's wife is absent, for whatever reason, he cannot call on other men to aid him, but works alone and often does not eat. The woman thus provides the means with which a man may call on labour and advance more

rapidly in agricultural work.

As a result of these evaluations of tasks and the boundaries (set by myth, training and cultural attitudes) set around certain activities, perceptions of female contributions to the basic economic activity of the community tend not to reflect what actually happens in the fields. Thus for example, although the men see women working alone in the fields, it is not accepted as a full or integral part of the organization of agriculture.

"Alone..no. She is always with someone else"

"She cannot work alone. She is always working with others"

Women work alone in the fields, despite beliefs to the contrary, especially in weeding and the potato harvest, both of which jobs use the cuti. The table 3:1 shows that women in three-fifths of the community's families take part in agricultural work alone, at various times of the year. This is thus not a phenomenon found solely among female-headed households, where it could be expected that women have to work alone. Nor is it exclusively among households from which the men are absent (having, for example, migrated to work outside the community) but is encountered among households where the principal male agricultural labourer is occupied and delegates 'easy' tasks to the women. The harvest of maize and the aporque of beans are two such jobs passed to the women. Neither of these activities requires more than a cuti or a scythe, both tools used by women.

When it is recognized that women do indeed carry out agricultural labours, it is emphasized that the tasks are easier than the usual, and that women's labour is the last to be called upon and that the women are 'helping' the men.

The men say,

"It is easy to put down the seed"

"Women get the potatoes out of the ground, it's an easy thing [to do]"

"In the potato harvest, we all work, men and women: the harvest is easy"

Table 3:1 Work carried out in agriculture by women working alone

| <u>Task</u> | <u>Number of women</u> | <u>Comments</u> |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| Weeding | 21 | Of all crops, using the <u>cuti</u> |
| Potato harvest | 20 | With <u>cuti</u> |
| Maize harvest | 6 | When the men 'do not have the time' |
| Collection of wild turnip | 2 | Wild turnip is an important foodstuff in the hungry season January to March |
| <u>Aporque</u> | 1 | "Sometimes the women help, doing the aporque in beans, peas when they know how. My wife knows. Sometimes when I don't have the time, she works with the children" |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | Carrying manure |
| Does not work or does not work alone | 33 | 40% of the women in the village |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | 84 families | |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

"Even my wife works in the planting. We need people for the planting"

"In the barley harvest, the men work more, the women help. It's a little difficult"

In the latter statement, men's attitude that the women do not carry out difficult tasks is illustrated. Physical strength could be part of the 'difficulty' but it is not explicitly expressed as a factor, whereas the use of tools is very much part of the notion that women have problems doing agricultural tasks. A man illustrates this belief: "The man works....Manuela [his wife] puts down the seed but we [the men] have the tools". These gender-related beliefs surrounding the chaquitaqla and yunta must be seen as the reinforcement of male control

over the commencement of the agricultural cycle, rather than a statement of female access to all agricultural tools. For example, all ages and sexes use the cuti (small hoe) and the pico (a similar tool), which are used for the harvesting of tubers, weeding and packing soil around plants. Scythes are used universally for the harvesting of grains and beans, and there is no social disapproval of women using them.

These attitudes towards female and male participation in agriculture aid in understanding the sexual division of agricultural labour, which is outlined in table 3:2. The agricultural production cycle is grounded in a relatively standard division of labour among households of different strata and age groups. Production techniques and the sexual division of labour are identical on the communal land to those found on individual plots, but differ among crop varieties, depending on their marketable value. (Barley, and to a lesser extent onions, are valuable cashcrops whose production is more closely controlled by men.) The fundamental division of labour in the planting of crops is of men ploughing and breaking up the soil and the women planting the seed. Men use the yunta on flatter land and the chaquitaqla on steep land with methods which have not changed fundamentally in the last 400 years. Women and young men (the latter in some communal work parties) place the seed in the furrows, and they also place animal manure in the ground as chemical fertilizers are not used by the peasants in the community. Potatoes, beans and maize the three main food crops are planted in this way, as are tarwi and quinoa. Women sometimes carry out the whole procedure of planting alone, or with other women, but it is rare. A group of women can plant potatoes when the husband of one is absent, but the task is time-consuming and burdensome as the ground must be broken with the small hoe, pico.

Table 3:2

The sexual division of labour in agriculture

Poorer young couples often work together in the planting without help, the husband with the chaquitaqlla and the wife with the pico. Barley is planted on steeper land, ploughed with the chaquitaqlla and sown by a man broadcasting the grain. Women are actively excluded from participation in the planting of barley, although they tend to cook in groups for the men. The preparation of young onion plants, also a cash crop, is a task undertaken by all family members from the age of about 15 years, as is the transplanting of the seedlings, although the reliance of this crop upon irrigation tends to make this a 'male' crop.

Agricultural tasks necessary during the course of growth are weeding, and the building up of soil around tubers. The latter is known as aporque [from the Spanish aporcar, to cover plants with earth] and is carried out by men in ayni groups of 2 to 7 persons. Women cook on these occasions, although as noted above, they often weed other crops, including barley. Ploughing up the pastures in the muyus is a major agricultural labour, and the ploughing is an exclusively male labour, involving large numbers of men working together in ayni groups of 3 to 30 people at one time. The women also work in large groups, gathering in houses to cook. After serving the men in the fields, the women dedicate themselves to clearing stones from the freshly ploughed area.

It is only during the harvest season when the division of labour is more flexible: women, men and children work together using the same tools, and they work singly or in groups. Potatoes are generally harvested in family groups, as are beans. Barley, maize and wheat are more usually harvested by the men, who carry the heavy loads to the storehouse. Women and children carry potatoes, beans and so on in smaller bundles. During the harvest period, even women of the richest strata participate in the field work. Whereas they usually avoid work in the plots the rest of the year, during the collection of the crops they are frequently found with other family members cutting quinoa or digging

out potatoes. While some richer women are occupied with the care of animals during the rest of the year, they are called upon for this task. One particular woman of a rich household was from a small town in the Sacred Valley, and was unwilling to undertake work in the fields, except when strictly necessary because of lack of alternative labour, because she thought it beneath her.

Faenas or work parties on communal land are organised at the assemblies; dates and times are agreed by consensus and the number of people required to attend is specified. It may include an adult from every household or 10 males listed in a work rota. When an adult member of each house is needed, widows must participate, although they can send an adult child in their stead. Nevertheless, several widows have no older offspring and must work themselves; they include two elderly women who attend all workparties. All those who fail to send an able-bodied person are liable to be fined. Men thus occasionally send sons or wives to substitute for their labour. Women are usually outnumbered in faenas, although the sexual division of labour is the same as that found on individual plots. In 1984 in the planting of potatoes, four women worked with 11 men, planting the seed and putting down fertilizer. The women were of all ages and several had young children who they left on the side of the field or carried on their backs. In the preparation of the following year's field, over 50 men work together. The women do not work in the fields at this task but prepare food individually for their husbands. Women again participate in fields with the harvesting of the potatoes: men and women have carefully defined tasks carried out simultaneously but separately. Men outnumber the women by two to one but all have their names noted down, in order to receive a part of the yield as payment. Both men and women remove the potatoes from the soil with small hoes, while working in separate groups. The men carry them down to the storeroom and the women are responsible for collecting together the tubers in small piles and sorting.

Post-harvest processing of food grains involves men and women. Family groups, young women working alone or women with children are found threshing and winnowing wheat and barley. Only men however lead the donkeys over the piles of straw; women and men use sticks for threshing. Women often carry out the final selection and cleaning of grains, which is then put into sacks and sewn up by both sexes. Removing leaves from the maize and beans from their pods are tasks largely left to the female community members, as is the selection and sorting of potatoes. In communal harvests of potatoes the women sit in groups around the mounds of tubers, sorting them out for consumption, sale and share. For a small amount of potatoes, by contrast, a man and wife work together on the sorting.

Household formation and structure

Agriculture, despite its central position in defining the activities considered as work and male and female positions in relation to it, goes hand in hand with a range of other activities central to the maintenance of the peasant households. Within the household, male and female tasks are carried out which between them guarantee the unit's reproduction. Over the annual cycle, male activities in agriculture guarantee the production of foodstuffs: their domain of activity is in the fields. Female tasks are more closely tied to the physical infrastructure of the house itself. Jobs include the storage and management of resources, daily chores such as cooking, cleaning, the collection of water and fuel, spinning, weaving and childcare. Taking each of these in turn, we may see that women's lives are occupied with numerous tasks, often carried out simultaneously.

Domestic tasks include the collection of water and fuel, cooking, washing clothes, childcare and food-processing, all activities carried out in or near the house. They are all necessary maintenance tasks for the household members and the unit. In communities such as Kallarayan where there are no services

such as piped water and electricity, these domestic chores are burdensome, compounding problems (such as much time spent in fuel and water collection, and poor sanitation) caused by a low degree of mechanization and low productivity. For the women themselves, other aspects of the tasks are more salient: they are daily, repetitive and frequently simultaneous, requiring the skilful management of resources and time.

Some food crops are processed soon after harvesting and women are responsible for carrying out all the necessary steps. Some crops require a minimum of work, and the work is carried out by men or women in the quiet period after the harvest. Other produce requires more attention: for example, quinoa and beans must be cleaned and sorted before storage, and potatoes are graded. Potatoes are also put through an elaborate freeze-dried process using natural diurnal temperature ranges in order to make ch'uñu which is stored. Women organise the entire production of ch'uñu from the selection of the tubers, through placing them in a frosty area and guarding them, to the flattening and breaking up.

Other household-based tasks include the milking of cows, which is done by the women. The care of small domestic animals is generally a female responsibility, and may be delegated to female children. In the slaughtering of animals, men and women appear to take an equal role. Larger animals, such as llamas and cows require many hands and men and women are engaged in their preparation for the market or pot. Women (and men) help each other in the killing of sheep, and the preparation of small domestic animals. They treat the meat by drying it to make charqui.

Cooking at high altitudes requires a longer time than at lower levels and as a result, fuel is in constant demand. Firewood and dung are the basic fuels in Kallarayan and neighbouring communities, but trees are scarce and much combustible material consists of brushwood and twigs. Large branches are

collected by couples going out for the greater part of a day and travelling long distances, and these forays provide wood for storage. Twigs and light material are collected every day by the women as they herd the animals, and by children sent out on this errand. Dried dung, especially of llama and cows, is also used but due to its utility as fertilizer, it is not always available even to those families with livestock. A few families have kerosene stoves, bought with the earnings from migration, but in recent years the cost of kerosene has risen considerably, making it too expensive even for the richest families (7).

Water is the other resource basic to cooking (as well as to other household maintenance activities). It is collected in ceramic or plastic containers from nearby streams and springs, five times daily on average, depending on the amount of cooking to be done, and the standards of cleanliness in the household. Most households are located near a water supply (a stream or pond) and the time involved in its collection is minimal. Women and children collect it, and young girls are especially sent by their mothers, from the age of 5 or 6 years. Women are responsible for washing the children with water heated over the fire; women also wash their own hair in this way.

Cooking takes place on low adobe stoves, made and maintained by the women themselves with a mixture of clay and straw. Cooking pots are usually ceramic and are bought outside the community. Food is cooked three times daily: twice in the morning and once in the early evening. The earliest meal consists of a sweet soup or tea, followed by 'lunch' at 8 or 9 am, which is usually a soup of vegetables and boiled maize or potatoes. The evening meal, at 6-7pm, is simple - vegetables and grains in some form. One woman, the senior woman of the household or her daughter, is responsible for meals and for the fire, although she is often helped by other women. Daughters as young as 6 years help by feeding small twigs into the fire and shelling beans, and by the age of 10 years, most girls can prepare a meal unaided.

Food is prepared separately for each meal as there is no means of preserving cooked food. The most time-consuming task in this context is the grinding of grains (such as barley, wheat and roast maize), a job carried out with a heavy U-shaped stone on a flat surface. Grain is prepared in this manner for most purposes. For larger quantities, the villagers must transport it to Písaq or Cuzco to commercial mills. Paying a baker in Písaq or Taray for the use of the oven is also the only method of making bread. The former hacienda in the Pinchamayoc valley below the community had a grain mill and an oven, to which the peasants could take their harvest at a small cost. By the 1950s, both the oven and the mill had fallen into disrepair.

Men prepare some food, especially by grinding grain. They do so unbidden and it is acceptable culturally, but for a man to approach the cooking pots and fire when the women are cooking together for a work party is strongly disapproved of (also D.Núñez del Prado 1975). However, when a woman is recovering from giving birth, the male adult of the household prepares special food or alternatively, another woman comes to cook for the mother. Within a month of the birth, women resume full responsibility for cooking and husbands return to their helping role. The important factor to note in this instance is that the men are able to cook and do so when the need arises, such as when their wives are recovering from childbirth or when the latter are travelling. Men are to certain extent masters of female skills, in addition to those defined as male. As we have noted in the discussion on agriculture, the women do not take part in all agricultural tasks, and indeed they are prevented from doing so by strongly reinforced beliefs. The women do not therefore have the autonomy of the men to be self-sufficient (Bourque & Warren 1981).

Washing of clothes takes place in the streams and small rivers, and the women usually work alone, using a stick to beat clothes and soap or a detergent. Clothes are cleaned once or twice a week, and the married women wash the

young children's, their husband's and their own clothes, whereas single men and women clean their own, thus lessening the burden on the adult female of the household. In addition to these basic maintenance activities, women carry out a number of other, less regular tasks of reproduction. They mend and rebuild their own clay stoves at regular intervals, although the men are usually responsible for the upkeep of the dwelling. Women occasionally undertake to repair water channels near the house, if they are threatening the house, and to irrigate newly-planted trees and herbs in the canchon.

A quarter of women in Kallarayan are weavers, while only 1 man can weave and he is an exceptional case (8). It is the cultural norm in Kallarayan for weaving to be a female task and no man would be expected to take up weaving. The one man who does so is from another community and it is recognized in Kallarayan that in other areas men do knit and weave. These areas are thought of as having different cultural traditions (9). There is no significant difference in the number of female weavers in the different strata, but they are found predominantly in the older age groups. Weaving with the traditional back-strap loom is a complex craft and takes a considerable amount of time to learn. Women are most often taught by their mothers, or by a close female relative if the former is unskilled in this field. Women generally learn when they are 17-19 years old, when they have mastered spinning and are strong enough to hold the loom. It is thus a separate skill to spinning which is learnt by all girls by the age of 10 years. Learning to weave is not automatic, as it requires a notable commitment in terms of time, and girls may sometimes become involved in other activities, such as migration or herding animals rather than weaving (10). The weavers are mostly married women with several teen-aged children who can take over responsibilities, freeing them to dedicate themselves to making ponchos, shawls and bayeta cloth.

A further 16 women are able to knit, a recently-introduced skill in the area

and one which is prevalent among the younger women. These women are often recently married women who make simple clothes for young children (11). Knitting has been taken up by the younger women who now appear to be less willing to learn to weave. They buy wool from Cuzco, whereas the weavers spin, dye and then prepare the wool from their own animals (especially sheep) for the traditional cloths and blankets.

Seven women produce mantas, ponchos and blankets for other villagers either in Kallarayan or in nearby communities. They are commissioned to make an item, and are provided with the wool. When completed, the garment is returned in exchange for maize, potatoes or, in rarer cases, money, at a previously agreed rate. For example, one widow weaves for comuneros from Paullo in the Sacred Valley in return for 24 kilos of white maize, which is not cultivated in Kallarayan and which is highly valued (the equivalent monetary value was \$7.50 in mid-1985). When working on behalf of villagers in Kallarayan, she receives an equivalent amount of potatoes or cash. One woman receives payment of \$1.50 for weaving a poncho. Clients most commonly come from Paullo, Patabamba, Quillhuay and Kallarayan; a certain group of women are known as the most skilful and rapid weavers, who are willing to undertake commissions. Work comes to them informally - none seek to make goods, and most work on only one item annually for villagers outside their own family, for these women's work remains primarily aimed at their household's needs. None of the women who knit, sell or exchange the articles made, but use them in their own family.

Women are largely responsible for the herding of the household's animals, such as llamas, sheep and cows. Smaller animals, such as pigs, chickens and guinea pigs, are kept in the house or yard, and their care is overseen by the women with the help of children. Animals are brought into the household by the men and women, as separate property. Women's rights over their own animals

is maintained during marriage and may even extend over their husband's livestock. They maintain the right to sell or give away (as an inheritance or loan) their animals, and traditionally have control over by-products such as meat, wool, hides and milk, and to dispose of them as they wish. Sheep are sheared annually and women wash, spin, dye and then weave the wool. The pasturing of animals involves herding livestock of all types from the pen (located near the house) at an early hour and moving them slowly up to the highland pastures in the course of the day. The animals must be kept constantly on the move and watched over: as there are no fences around the fields, they stray onto crops causing damage, for which the owner is liable to fines, and the pastures are not generally suitable for sustained grazing.

The women remain active while pasturing their herds; spinning wool is the most frequent secondary activity, while the collection of firewood is also common, especially towards the end of the day. Young children accompany their mothers from an early age, either on their mother's back or as toddlers. Children of both sexes learn about herding in this way - they are sent after strays and firewood, and by the age of 10 years, they may be entrusted with the animals for whole days. Exceptionally, children as young as 5 years are sent out with the livestock if there is no-one else available in the household. Children substitute for their mothers during the 3-month school break (December to April). It is very unusual for a grown man to take livestock out to graze - it occurs when the women of the household are otherwise engaged, and a man is most likely to pasture the cattle, the most valuable livestock.

In all households, women are the main family member responsible for herding the animals: in 39.5% of all families, and 58.1% of families with livestock, they are the principal shepherd for the household's livestock and they look after the largest herds, of up to 50 animals, as shown in table 3:3 (12). Adult women share herding work with young (male or female) help in 16.3% of

cases. Young girls (mainly 15 to 21 years of age, but even under 15 years) are given the responsibility of herding large numbers of animals: up to 40 animals at a time. Young men by contrast pasture smaller numbers, except when they share this work with young women, when large herds are involved. Only two families use a young boy of under 21 years as their shepherd, compared with 7 families who delegate this responsibility to young women. But young boys are more likely to help their mothers in this household task than their female counterparts, as the table illustrates.

The household thus brings together labour socialized and skilled to carry out a range of tasks, in which men are seen to be the agriculturalists, and women to be those with duties of animal-care and reproduction. The notion of complementarity lies at an accesible level in the Andean communities (Harris 1981) and is usually portrayed in the context of a married couple (13). Women's status is thus closely bound with the notion of the household and with their married role within this unit.

Among the villagers of Kallarayan, as in other Andean areas (Harris 1978; Gonzalez & Galdo 1977; Saravia 1985), the marriage partner is chosen by the individual, without parental interference. Sexual relations are part of adolescent experience, and single mothers are subject to no disapproval either from their families or members of the community. On first living with a partner, a period of testing is allowed in which the partners decide on their compatability. Another element in this evaluation is the degree to which their partner works hard for the unit (with the consequent social value placed on work).

Table 3:3

This period is known as servinakuy and children born during this time are fully accepted. If the partnership breaks down, the man and woman separate -if the man is rejected by the woman, it is said that he must leave the community, as no other woman would accept him (14). After several children are born, the couple may decide to formalize their union, although this may take place up to ten years after the partners start to cohabit. Under Peruvian law, a civil ceremony is required for recognized marriage while a church ceremony is optional. Generally, comuneros combine the two in several days of rituals and celebration (15).

The married couple, or the couple in servinakuy, begin their relation within the expectation that they are equal and complementary partners. Property brought into the marriage is of both the man and the woman. Inheritance is bilateral and all children receive equal shares in their parents' property (that is, land and animals). Men and women have an acute sense of what they bring into the unit, and children too have an awareness of their father's and mother's separate property and the relative proportions of the same.

While the household unit unites male and female skills and property, it is clearly not a self-sustaining unit and relies upon labour and resources mobilized within the community. Labour exchange arrangements, such as *ayni*, and land redistribution agreements have been discussed previously (chapter 2). Women, too, maintain networks with which they gain access to labour and resources (also Skar 1984). Children are a decisive part of women's access to labour: both sexes are present in the house with the mother until boys reach the age of 9 to 15 years, and girls until they marry. (Even after marriage they sometimes remain in the household until a new dwelling is built.) Children can be sent on errands from the household, such as the collection of firewood and water or goods from the community shop. They also attend to the animals, and care for younger siblings. The use of children's labour is restricted by schooling; classes

run from 8am to 1pm during the week for nine months of the year. During the holidays, many children take over the pasturing work from their mothers, thus freeing them to assume other activities. Otherwise, children work for their parents, and especially their mothers in the afternoons. At harvest-time, school attendance levels fall as parents rely on their children's participation in the collection of crops. Young men help in the cutting of maize and barley, while girls as young as 6 years old carry loads from the fields to the household. Young girls also are sent to collect wild turnip plants which serve as a basic food during the 'hungry season' of January to March, before the arrival of the new harvest.

Apart from the harvest season, children's work in agriculture is generally minimal and they are available to the mother, who is able to coordinate her activities around their labour, which she is not able to do to such an extent when the children work in the harvest and when they reach the age of about 15-16 years. Young men of this age cease to be school children and work as adults in the field. Daughters at this stage of their lives are skilled in most house-maintenance tasks, and are capable of organising the family's resources. The young women's labour is more subject to control by the mother than is the case for the young men, who work away from the household and thus away from the domain of women's direct control over labour. By their mid-teens, the young people of the community are no longer perceived as children and are not called upon to carry out the tasks given to infants; they are adult workers and younger siblings take over minor tasks.

Outside the household one of the most significant resources on which women may call is that of other women's labour. Most labour sharing arrangements between women operate on the same principals as *ayni*, in that work done one day must be 'repaid' with an equivalent amount of work at a future date. Job-sharing depends to a large extent on kin-links within the villages: those women

born in Kallarayan and with a large number of relatives are able to develop a wide-spreading network among female villagers. By contrast, women born outside the community and who have 'married in', lack such links and rely on slightly different strategies. For example, two sisters originally from Patabamba and now widowed, live near one another and share much work on a daily basis. One woman who lacks a female relative (of her immediate family) but who is in the richest strata, relies to a greater degree on older, poor women especially widows, to whom she gives food in exchange for help. She does not participate in reciprocal work, and thus differs from most job-sharers. Although she has affines and comadres in the village, they are unwilling to take part in work outside the more formalized cooking related to the ayni parties.

The division of animal herding responsibilities is a perfect example of the labour exchange agreements among women (also Harris 1982). Occasionally too, women give money and instructions to others for minor purchases to be made in Cuzco on their behalf. Food processing is frequently shared among the women, especially with those living nearby. Even quite young girls become enmeshed in these networks and indeed may substitute for their mothers when the latter are unable to fulfil their obligations. For example, a young girl helps her older female neighbour in the cleaning and storing of grains, or cook food for a woman who is washing and caring for the girl's younger siblings. Female networks often appear to be mediated by food (as are the male ones). As noted above, work can be repaid in meals, and food, carried by young children, is sent to female relatives and to a lesser extent neighbours. This indicates a willingness to maintain an amicable relation suitable for future task-sharing. Older women, who are less mobile, and whose activities have been assumed by younger household members, are frequently requested to care for young children, who may or may not be their grandchildren. Children become accustomed to care from other adults and the women continue with their

activities, such as weaving, while the children are present. Women's networks are informal, allowing for mutual assistance in sporadic tasks, such as removing ticks from hair.

Certain women depend more than others on female assistance in the organisation of livelihood activities: widows with young children especially, initiate and carefully nurture these relationships. Because of their dependency on these arrangements, they are in a way forced into networks with women in a similar position to their own. Women whose husbands are absent work alone and explain that other women are not willing to help, or that men are needed for the work. These women cook for working parties but they continue to work alone on some tasks. Generally women's access to each other's labour is flexible and allows for the lightening of work-loads. However, in households without adult male members, women's labour-mobilizing networks lie outside a labour exchange system which is implicitly oriented to the nuclear family's needs. Although men also require women in order to mobilized male labour in work parties, they are less likely than women to be in a position where they do not have a wife or daughter to cook for them.

Women's access to resources revolves primarily around their role in the management of harvested and processed crops in the *mark'a*, which belongs to and is controlled by the senior female member of the unit. The store consists of one shelf above the floor, one end of a one-roomed dwelling or a low separate building of adobe. The woman has wide-ranging powers over the stores; she supervises the placing of the harvest there and has comprehensive knowledge of the amount and type of its goods. Only she may take products from storage and use them, and her husband must ask for explicit permission if he wishes to do so. Indeed, there is evidence of magico-religious sanctions if the man takes anything from the *mark'a* (D. Nuñez del Prado 1975; 394). Clearly the management of the food supply is the basis of the family's subsistence,

where harvested goods must be stored effectively and their use monitored. Some food processing and preservation techniques have been noted earlier, and are used in combination with other means to keep supplies secure. Beans are stored in ceramic pots, as are grains. Barley is not kept in the mark'a as it spoils; maize is dried after de-graining and poison is put down against rats and pests. Tubers and ch'uñu are kept in the storehouse on beds of a natural pesticidal plant called múña. Skills in storage methods and food preservation are handed through generations from mother to daughter, although it is only in her own home that a woman takes responsibility for the mark'a.

As a function of their control over the harvest, sales of minor amounts of products and the purchase of non-traditional foodstuffs also fall within women's domain. Furthermore, women act as the manager-administrator of the family economy, often remaining responsible for cash income. Such a pattern of responsibility is found throughout Andean peasant societies (16) and involves the retention of cash earned by other family members as well as its disposal in minor purchases of food, clothing and household items. It is frequently said that the men would get drunk and forget their families if they were to take the money (17). The control of cash crops, from planting to commercialization, by men suggests, however, that this explanation is not as useful for recent changes in the peasant communities, whose economies are becoming increasingly monetized.

Prestige systems and women's role

How is woman's role in the household related to other roles in the community, and how does this primary role relate to other status attributes in the community? It is to these questions that we now turn. Traditional and recently introduced skills and institutions are incorporated within notions of male and female roles, in a way which determines women's access to resources and decision-making. Some of these introduced elements are education

(especially in Spanish), community decision-making institutions, and national elections, all of which are relatively new formalized structures in the communities of the area of study. Generally too, the households are dealing with an increasingly monetized economy, in which the sale and purchase of goods is related to prestige because of the goods (such as radios, watches) which can be purchased. Female and male roles are differentiated in this sphere as in other areas of household relations. Finally, we consider the traditional cargo or ritual sponsorship system, in which men and women have distinct roles and opportunities to gain prestige. Although the women do not have the opportunity to participate directly in these occasions, they gain status through their position in the household, and through their role as a married woman.

Education and Spanish

Education is a new resource for the comuneros; it allows them to learn Spanish with which to negotiate with authorities and carry out marketing, and for their children it offers the possibility (hope) of a secure urban occupation. The teachers in Kallarayan are Spanish speakers, and although they teach the early grades in both Quechua and Spanish, their main function is to give the children a basic grounding in the nationally dominant language. Spanish provides the means to participate in decision-making with groups outside the community, and proficiency in this language is a male domain. Women are not confident in participating in discussions on the basis of their self-perception as illiterates and non-Spanish speakers. Illiteracy is the theme of women's reasons for non-participation, even in community affairs where all present speak Quechua. Fluency in Spanish is a status-loaded element in gender relations, and tends to mark the higher status males (Spanish speakers) from the low status women (Quechua speakers). Clearly not all men speak Spanish, while a number of women are quite confident in this language, but this does not disrupt the underlying association of male and female domains with Spanish (and Quechua)

and Quechua respectively. Moreover, the women are socialized into 'forgetting' their skills in Spanish, learnt either in school or during the course of migration outside the community.

Just over a quarter (26.8%) of women in Kallarayan are able to speak some Spanish. Women are less likely to understand the mass media such as the radio and newspapers, and furthermore education is almost exclusively conducted in Spanish. Although young girls are registered in the community school in equal numbers to boys at the present time, this is a recent phenomenon. Women have traditionally been excluded from education because of a belief that they do not need it, and they would not do any good with it. Such a view is still prevalent in many areas of the Andes (18), but is losing salience in Kallarayan. Nevertheless, older women are found predominantly among the mono-lingual Quechua speakers in the community. Today, migration provides an incentive to learn Spanish, and as women do not move from the village as frequently as the men, they are less likely to become bi-lingual in this manner. Men have the same opportunity as women to pick up the language from schooling and the radio. Even when the women are faced with a situation in which to speak Spanish, they prefer to continue with Quechua. For example, women could use Spanish when they travel to Cuzco and other towns to buy and sell products, but in town they tend to speak Quechua with the market sellers.

The ability to read and write in Spanish is even rarer among the community's women than the spoken language - just under a fifth of women of all ages proclaim themselves to be literate, about 70% of Spanish speakers. The basic ability to sign one's name and read simple signs is enumerated here; very few women are able to read a newspaper or a legal document for example. By contrast, 54% of men speak Spanish and 83% of these can read and write to some degree. The men thus mediate for the women between the non-literate Quechua world and the urban Spanish-speaking legal, political and educational

sphere.

Community politics

Another sphere of differentiation on the basis of gender is within the community-based decision-making body, the *asamblea* (or regular meeting of village members) which in turn elects representatives. Although this is a relatively new organisation (resulting from the Agrarian Reform law), it has quickly become dominated by the men of the village.

Asambleas are held monthly in the school yard or in front of the church during the daytime. They are generally held at times when both men and women are available, although women must sometimes herd the animals and as a consequence, are unable to attend. The *asambleas* do not usually last more than 3 hours. The numbers of villagers present at a meeting varies from community to community and during the year, according to the nature of the issues to be discussed, the seasonal workload and the authority of the village leaders. In Kallarayan, *asambleas* vary in size from 40 to 80 adults. In routine meetings, men outnumber women by two to one, or even in one case, 6:1. The issues raised are varied, and deal with several topics which impinge on women's lives or which involve women, for example, decisions concerning the calendar of work on communal fields, the fixing of fines and the dates of the elections. Fines are set in order to punish members who fail to carry out allotted tasks, such as participating in a *faena*. Theoretically no decisions can be taken until over half of the *comuneros* are present, but in practice the declaration of quorum is dependent on the number of dirigentes and men present, and not on the women's presence. During the *asambleas*, the women do not generally make public statements, but tend to sit together and make comments to their neighbours.

Female villagers do not recognize or verbalize their interests as women in the meetings. For example, in reaction to the proposal to provide the

community with 5 drinking water standpipes, their views were neither discussed nor sought by the *asamblea*. While together in groups, the women voiced their awareness of the project's implications (such as the beneficial effects on their children's health and the fact that some of them would have to walk further for water), they did not discuss these in public. The standpipe issue involved the men in the meetings, when their organisation into work teams on the basis of a *rota* was agreed upon. Women's participation in the debate and actual construction was not demanded by themselves, nor solicited by the men (who included engineers from Cuzco and *comuneros*). As a result, a man was automatically elected as head of the comité de obra (Works committee). By contrast however, at another *asamblea* a poor widow with young children asked for help from the communal funds, to go towards the cost of school registration fees for her children. She requested s./5,000 (approx.\$0.50) from the s./50,000 available, and was granted it by the largely male assembly. Women's minimal influence in public decision-making is repeated elsewhere in Peru (19).

This pattern continues with the election of village leaders. *Asambleas* to debate and carry out the elections are evenly attended by men and women, with the latter comprising just under half of those present on average. In the meetings for the proposals of candidates, male villagers dominate the meeting although women are not completely silent. The one woman who has most regularly taken the initiative in *asambleas* was the President of the Mothers Club (see below), wife of a wealthy community ex-President, and literate, a rare combination in the community. During the election meeting of December 1984, she explained clearly at the meeting that female villagers could be candidates for the elections, and outlined the colour system of voting. She expressly encouraged two women to come forward as candidates, but they declined, shaking their heads and looking embarrassed. When proposals were finally made, several women suggested men and no woman was named. The two

lists contesting the leadership of the community thus consisted solely of men. The system of voting used, which uses colours and not names to identify lists, does not discriminate against illiterates and hence allows for the equal participation of all comuneros. In the elections, the articulate Presidenta of the Mothers Club repeated her assertion that all the community members must be engaged in decisions, a plea which is likely to remain marginal to the political organisation at the present time.

In Kallarayan, no woman has ever been elected in the Council. One who did hold the post of secretary for the Parents' Association (which comprises those on the losing list in the community elections), was not seen to be working for the Association although it was recognized at the same time that her husband was extremely unwilling to let her undertake this responsibility and beat her for it. This was said, by one of the men, to be a general problem which prevents more women from coming forward as community representatives (20).

While women's public participation is, it is generally agreed, limited and indeed suppressed occasionally, it is frequently argued by other researchers in the Andes that despite this lack of public power, in private they are able to put over their opinions on matters of public concern (21). It is extremely difficult to say how much this is true: it often involves an incomplete analysis of gender relations and a simplistic conflation of women's presumed political voice with her decision-making rights internal to the household. Certainly, women express the belief that they are not equal to the task of public discourse and political activity, due to their 'ignorance', or 'weakness' (22). Illiteracy is frequently cited as the major reason for their unwillingness to take a more active role in community affairs. In other areas of Peru, it is frequently cited by the women themselves as a barrier (Deere 1985).

Mothers' Clubs

Although the women in the village are largely excluded from the

community-wide forum for decisions, there also exists a group exclusively for the women, the Club de Madres or Mothers' Club. It has no decision-making powers except over a limited range of concerns. In Kallarayan, the women do not challenge the accepted role of married women in their organisation, but cook at large *asambleas* and spend time knitting. In other communities, the Mothers' Clubs have a more wide-ranging agenda of activities which nevertheless do not tend to challenge the gender division of roles. For example, in Rayanniyoc where the women's group cultivated a small field, they carried out all the stages of production save the initial ploughing of the land. In Kallarayan, the Mother's Club has not mobilized the women to such an extent.

The Clubs were formed all over the country principally in order to distribute food donations, after the drought of 1982-83 (23). The food aid, largely from the U.S. government, is distributed by the CARITAS programme which also provides personnel to train the women in its preparation. The food, which consists mainly of powdered milk and lard, is prepared by the mothers for the schoolchildren's noon meal. The women work on a rotation system, with two mothers supervised by a female teacher. The Club's formal structure is very similar to that of the village authorities, in that the committee consists of a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer and a few spokeswomen (vocales) and decisions are made in consultation with open meetings. In Kallarayan, the Club has not galvanized their support or interest: at a meeting to decide on the coming year's activities, only 8 women attended (November 1984). The President's is the most important position and it is her responsibility to organise the others. In the community, she has mostly worked in the preparation of food for sale at the major *asambleas* in order to generate funds for the group.

The limited number of activities undertaken by the Club in Kallarayan contrasts with those of others nearby. For example in Huancalle and Rayanniyoc (shown on the map in chapter 2) the Mothers Clubs cultivate small

plots awarded to them by community decision, in which the women carry out all stages of the agricultural labour except, significantly, the initial ploughing of the land. The crops grown include cabbage, beans and early potatoes. In Rayanniyoc, the Club was given a small irrigated field for two consecutive agricultural campaigns (1982-84). The field was vulnerable to damage by free-roaming domestic animals, was relatively infertile, and they had no access to chemical fertilizers. After harvesting a minimal amount, the women declined to work again as a group. In Huancalle by comparison the Club de Madres is relatively successful; in the small plot of irrigated communal land they cultivate beans, which are sold to generate the club's income.

The Mothers Clubs are the institution through which limited state intervention is directed for training the peasant women. The teaching of cooking methods has been mentioned above. In a similar manner, a CIPA extension worker (female) has taught the women in Huancalle to knit and use a sewing machine (which was donated by CIPA to the group). They now spend 3 to 6 months of the year knitting and preparing items of clothing for their children on a part-time basis. Independent development agencies occasionally teach similar income-generating activities, such as jam-making (Huancalle) and fish-farming (Huaráz), while health and education workers have used the Clubs as a forum for training in preventative health and basic literacy skills.

Considering the peasant women's participation in national political spheres, we note a similar pattern to the community level, in which their public role is reduced, and in which no feminine concerns are expressed. For the 1980 national elections, all illiterates were enfranchised for the first time and by 1985 many peasant women who were previously not able to vote had received their electoral card. In Kallarayan, all but the oldest women went to Cuzco to receive their electoral card from the government offices. Although often being unable to read propaganda posters, female members of the community were

aware of the two major contending parties (Izquierda Unida and APRA) through discussions among the villagers, and through the very occasional visits made by candidates to the rural areas. The peasant women do not recognize any specific feminine agenda, but voting is compulsory and despite the difficulties involved in walking to Taray with young children, their turnout on election day was high. Union activity is almost non-existent in the Písaq area communities among either men or women, and contrasts strongly with the Pampa de Anta region north-east of Cuzco, where the agricultural unions are widely and actively supported, and where women's militancy is high. In Cuzco department as a whole, women's union activity is highly localized. Villalobos (n.d.) cites the case of four active female participants in the Peasant Union (Sindicato de Campesinos) in the 1960s who are now busy in the Lucre cooperative. The union FARTC has no women leaders, and the FDCC has only 2 female dirigentes (Asociación Amauta 1984).

Selling and trading

With the rise in the importance of cashcrops in the village, so male participation in the marketing of barley, onions and pastures (particularly the former) has increased, while women continue to be the primary responsible in the household for the commercialization of subsistence products. In the sale of agricultural products grown in Kallarayan, women predominate among those carrying goods to the road and marketing them. Husbands help the women, sometimes with children, transport goods to the road on their backs or with donkeys and llamas (24). There appear to be no cultural beliefs surrounding women's physical ability to carry heavy loads, and a more practical view tends to prevail when decisions are made concerning the transportation of heavy goods. From an early age boys and girls learn to carry younger siblings, firewood and crops which are the most common bundles for both sexes.

Women's decision on the sale of agricultural products prevails in nearly half

of families in the community, while both partners decide together in nearly two-fifths of families. Commercialization is thus a task in which no strict gender division is marked by cultural beliefs: although there exists a belief generally in the Sierra that women are 'naturally' more adept at selling, this view was not strongly held or remarked upon in Kallarayan. The predominance of women in marketing may be due to a number of factors, such as the men's occupation in agriculture or migration, and no ideological evaluation has taken place concerning this task. Thus, the division of labour in marketing seems to be most easily understood in terms of the daily familial division of labour, and the immediate tasks to be undertaken by the household's members. This is not to say however, that differences in marketing do not exist, according to the crop to be sold.

The commercialization of potatoes, a basic food crop, is distinct from barley, the major cash crop as the table 3:4 shows. Women's decision-making right over the marketing of potatoes is not repeated for barley, where men decide in two-fifths of cases, although this gender division is less strict among the richest families than in those of strata II to IV. In the poorer families, men control the commercialization of barley and a smaller proportion of married couples share this task. In only 5% of households, family members under 21 years of age sell this crop. Among strata I families, women are the predominant sellers of potatoes although they share the marketing with their husbands in an almost equal number of cases. Poorer families are less likely to market any of their potato harvest, but the adult female member of the household retains this task when sales are made and only rarely involve their husbands. In only one family is it delegated to a family member under 21 years of age.

| <u>Product</u> | <u>% households selling produce</u> | <u>Decision-making</u> | <u>Person responsible</u> |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Potatoes | 57% | 70% women 30% men | women |
| Barley | 85% | 44% men | men |
| Fodder | 38% | 30% men with women 26% N A. | women |
| Onions | 23% | N A. | women |

Source: Original research data, Kallarayan 1985. *N A = Not available*

Pastures are sold predominantly by the richest strata (I and II) and either a woman or a married couple are involved. Among the poorest strata (III and IV) many fewer families sell pastures and married men are responsible (especially in strata III). The commercialization of onions follows the main pattern: that of the women marketing although among families of the poorest strata (IV), men take equal responsibility.

Several women use petty commerce as a source of cash for the household. As noted above, the only shop in Kallarayan is organised by a woman in her kitchen; she sells alcohol, bread and some sweets as she continues with other household chores. Previously, she sold more products, such as soft drinks and rice, but with advancing age has reduced the number of goods to be carried up from the road. She travels into Cuzco for stocks once or twice a week, either alone or with a daughter. Three other women concentrate on selling one item, at different points in the village. One sells bread from her house and during the major *asambleas*, while a woman whose sons work in the tropical valleys sells coca leaves. One other woman sells alcohol occasionally, at her house in the highest part of the village. All these women have clients among the households of Kallarayan, and operate on a small capital, organising their negocio to

timetable with other work.

Working on the basis of a slightly larger capital and turnover are those women who buy extra goods, such as rice, noodles, salt, matches and kerosene while in Cuzco in order to trade with villagers of more remote areas. These traders have their houses on the paths leading to remote communities such as Sihua and Q'enqo and exchange foodstuffs for barley and potatoes with women who are not so easily able to travel to Cuzco because of the distances involved. Such barter or trueque traditionally occurs at the Sunday markets of the region, when villagers from remote communities walk down for the day to exchange agricultural products for other necessities. Although offering opportunities for marginally higher profits, commerce of this type is carried out at only certain times of the year, when the women are less busy. The same applies to the processing of tarwi (to remove its bitterness), an income-generating activity adopted by a couple of women in Kallarayan. Tarwi is bought in Cuzco, taken to the village for treatment and then returned to Cuzco where it is sold at a small gain. It is undertaken by poorer widows although they do not benefit from easy access to the road, in comparison with Rayanniyoc, a community with quick transport into Cuzco, where 90% of families sell treated tarwi (Salis, pers. comm.). The amount processed varies from 24 kilos per day to the same quantity per week, with a decline in February-March when the villagers are occupied with the ploughing of the muyus.

Ritual activity

The traditional ritual cycle, with its associated offices and positions, allows women limited participation as this only occurs via their role as married women. In Kallarayan, no cargo or ritual cycle currently exists which is sponsored exclusively by women (cf. Isbell 1978): only men take the role of mayordomo or ritual sponsor. This involves a heavy outlay by the household: animals are slaughtered, storehouse provisions are used, chicha is made, alcohol

is bought, and costumes are made for the dancers, who participate in some of the ceremonies. Both resources from within the community and cash for purchased items are required, and families can spend a large proportion of their wealth on the fiestas: the more elaborate and extravagant the fiesta, the more prestige is gained by the sponsor. However, mayordomos can call upon other families to provide certain items for the fiesta - this is known as hurk'asqa.

Three fiestas in Kallarayan are sponsored in this way, and sponsorship of each in turn is competed for, as the rituals take place yearly. The major cargo is that of the Virgen de Carmen (or Mamacha Carmen) on July 16th, which is the town festival. Many sponsorship positions exist to cover the provision of dancers' clothes, alcohol, firewood, food, chicha and candles for the chapel. The main sponsor is responsible for the latter three items, although he shares this load by using hurk'asqa. The return of migrants to the community around this date, and the presence of all the resident comuneros make this the most prestigious sponsorship, and the fiesta usually lasts for at least 3 days and nights.

Migrants do not generally return for the other two fiestas, one of which is the recorreo de los linderos (the walking of the boundaries), which takes place during the Carnavales or Lent period. The wealthiest and most important families of the community attend this fiesta which lasts for a day or two. One man becomes the major sponsor and provides food, drink, and musicians. The fiesta culminates in a symbolic reinforcement of the community boundaries, where small flower-laden crosses are implanted in the ground at regular intervals.

The third fiesta takes place not in the village itself but in the plain of Tiobamba, where the celebration of the Virgin of the Assumption (August 15th) involves sponsorship of the dancers by Kallarayan villagers. The position of mayordomo rotates among people of different communities, and Kallarayan is

only one of the villages which is thus involved. The fiesta takes place simultaneously with a large fair, and Mass is given in the church at various points. Sponsors from the communities provide food and drink for the party, and between 10 and 15 dancers take part, and pots and food are carried to Tiobamba from the community by foot.

The role of the women in all of these fiestas is to cook and provide food for those present, which may include up to 70 persons. Although only men are sponsors, their wives must provide food and drink, and manage the resources to be consumed. The sponsors' wives organize other women to take a share of the preparation; as with the cooking for the ayni party, the quality and quantity of food is crucial to the success of the venture. While the men are hosting the fiesta in the yard of the house, the women are busy cooking. The status of the mayordomo rests on the men - they are recognized as the 'host' sponsor in the fiesta and receive acclamations from other comuneros for their role. Especially in the fiestas of the Virgen de Carmen and Tiobamba, men strive to make others help them as prestige derives from more villagers' help.

Wives of sponsors however, do not benefit from their own contributions to the fiesta, which are frequently hidden and unrecognized. They do however become known as a good hostess if the fiesta is a success. Their prestige is not a direct result of their participation but is derived from their role as wife of the mayordomo. In the traditional cargo system therefore, women's prestige is less than that which may be achieved by the male sponsors. Women gain prestige via their relation as wife to the sponsor but crucially, this is of limited use to them in wider social relations (25). The male comuneros become sponsors when they are married: their wives organise and work in the preparations for the fiesta. While the wife's implicit (26) acceptance of her husband's (public) decision to become a sponsor is recognized in the community, the women are not autonomous agents in this domain, in contrast to the married

men. In the fiesta system, women act primarily in their roles as wives, which entails work in cooking.

Conclusions

Women in the villages, even in such a small community as Kallarayan, do not comprise a homogeneous group. The nature of their daily lives, the tasks they are expected to carry out and the help they receive in doing them, are different for individual women. For example, a young mother with little land works harder and longer in reproductive and productive tasks than a middle-aged woman of a richer strata whose grown children can take on a wide range of activities. The major axes of variation among the women are the following:

- strata position
- age
- marital status
- position in order of sibling group
- place of birth
- presence/absence of young children

The strata of the household in which a woman works and lives clearly influences the resources available to the women. It also plays a role in the workload of the women and in the skills which they learn. For example, richer women do not work in the field as frequently as do poorer women. Age is another crucial factor: the sexual division of labour begins at a young age, as does the socio-cultural conditioning of gender. Girls of six and above start to help their mothers in the cooking and collection of water and fuel. Young boys are sent to herd the animals (as are girls) and then are called upon to help and learn from their fathers in the fields. Older women receive different tasks to those of younger women, both because of physical disability (e.g. blindness or physical weakness due to illness or old age), or through their control over other's labour.

The position in the sibling order is a significant indicator of women's work and control over resources. While the oldest child may take on responsibility for the organisation of his/her siblings' labour, the youngest child, whether a boy or girl, inherits their parent's house, and some of the belongings as well as being responsible for their well-being in old age. Marital status and co-residence with other adult women may also influence the nature of duties. In a household, one adult female organizes the cooking and maintenance of the group, and she makes decisions on consumption and the deployment of other female members. The likelihood that a woman takes this responsibility depends on her marital status. For example, an unmarried 20 year old woman has to follow her mother's wishes, as does a married woman living in the household with a senior woman (either her own mother or her spouse's mother). A married 20 year old, if she lives in a separate household, takes these responsibilities independently. Widows live in circumstances of particular hardship, due to their position as the adult female in a specific type of household, where they rely on child and ayni labour instead of adult male labour.

Place of birth (origin) is important only in terms of its influence on the practices of sharing work among women, although it is not as central in determining the work carried out by women as other factors such as marital status and age. Kin links are the ties used by women (and men) to gain access to labour, and thus women from outside the community have greater problems in gaining access to labour, with which to lighten their chores. Men originating outside the community face fewer problems, as ayni and minka arrangements are more formalized than the networks used by women, but these networks are the only means available to these men to gain access to land. Men from outside are often vulnerable to pressure to work hard for other comuneros in order to access labour for their own (rented) land. Origin may also have an influence in defining certain attitudes or skills not found in Kallarayan.

The presence or absence of young children is of primary importance in defining the nature of women's work and responsibilities. Very young children are carried on their mother's back all day, even during heavy work, until they reach the age of 2 or 3 years. A young mother's mobility and energy is thus curtailed to a great extent, and this is compounded by the presence of toddlers. Young children are often given to other women for care during the day, if the mother is busy. In cases where a minder cannot be found, it is not rare for children of 5 years and younger to be left alone in the house while the adults work elsewhere. The children are not taken and cared for by the father in the mother's absence.

All these facets of women's lives illustrate the heterogeneity of their position, and are crucial in determining the types of population movements in which the women participate. The two most important factors in influencing mobility are those of age and marital status. By defining groups of women on the basis of these two variables, the broad outlines of women's responsibilities at various stages of their lifecycle become clear. Three groups of women: girls under 14-15 years of age, married women, and single women over 15 years. Girls under the age of 15 years are allocated duties by older household members, and by this age they are skilled in the female tasks which they use for the remainder of their lives. The workload on these girls depends largely on the number and ages of their siblings, and on the birth order. If they are the eldest children in the household, they spend their time helping their mother caring for the younger children. Alternatively, in a family which owns animals, they share the responsibility to pasture livestock. Girls of this age may also attend the village school, thus influencing the type of work they may undertake in the household unit.

By contrast, the workload of the married women depends mostly on their own age, and on the presence of young children, as well as the relative wealth

of the household. Place of birth may also play a role. Married women differ from the other two groups in that they have primary responsibilities for the continuation of the domestic unit in terms of reproductive activities. (The exceptions are those few married women, usually quite young, who are living in their parents' household, or the household of their spouse.) However, these women can call upon other labour and share tasks with other women, as well as with their own children. Those women with many children are able to share out tasks among them, according to gender and age. As has been noted above, women who marry into the community do not benefit from a kin network which is available to native women, but there are nevertheless options in task-sharing. In terms of the households' wealth, married women of the richer families tend not to work in the fields as frequently as their poorer counterparts, whereas they may spend more time processing and storing products and pasturing livestock.

Widowed women are similar to the married women in the extent to which they rely on sharing work with children and other women. Because they repay *ayni* work on their fields, they spend much time cooking for other families. Older sons, if they are present, may work their widowed mothers' fields. Women in this group, whether married or widowed, are responsible for a range of tasks. They do not experience a period in the annual cycle in which the demand for their labour lessens: they are continuously busy with reproductive and productive work. When demand for their labour does rise, it does so marginally (for example in cooking for workers in the barbecho) and fewer women are required than men, as one woman cooks for three men.

Among women in the final group, the single women over 15 years of age, we find the greatest variation in the type and number of tasks undertaken, as the duties allocated to these young women depend on the demographic structure and resources of the household unit in which they are located. While in some

households they may continue to pasture livestock, in other units their labour may be utilized in cooking and childcare. Younger siblings or their mother may substitute for any of these responsibilities and this affects their participation in external labour markets. Furthermore, these women are not subject to parental control to the extent that their younger sisters are, and neither do they have the overall domestic responsibilities of married women. These young women are not surprisingly, the women who participate to the greatest extent in labour markets external to the village.

To summarize these points, we have seen how the work carried out by women in the community households depends on a range of factors, including household resources, age, position in birth order, and the presence of children. Three groups of women can be identified on the basis of marital status and age, to which broad categories of responsibility correspond and in turn influence their geographical mobility. The married women have a primary responsibility towards the domestic unit, and they mobilize child and female labour to carry out their duties. As the tasks, both productive and reproductive, do not vary significantly over the annual cycle, and due to their quotidian nature, the married women's mobility is reduced. Reproductive duties are based in the household, or in the near vicinity, and especially with the presence of young children, the married women remain largely in the confines of the community.

Young women under 15 years are subject to control by their mothers, who call upon their labour in a variety of duties in the household and in pasturing. The duties given to these girls are distributed among all the siblings, depending on age, gender and birth order, and consequently the girls of this age are subject to widely differing workloads and duties. Their mobility is determined by parental decisions concerning the use of their labour in the household unit, or by location decisions of the entire family. By contrast with these two groups, the third group (of young single women over 15 years) is that which participates

to the greatest extent in external labour markets. These women are not subject to such parental control (and demand on their labour) as the younger girls, whereas they do not generally have the domestic responsibilities of married women.

Intra-household decisions concerning movements of members are thus premised on a gender relation which incorporates the division of labour over the lifecycle and the control over labour and duties.

Notes

1. Our concern here is to analyse the social construction of gender in the case study community, and Kallarayan provides most of the detailed examples. Where it is appropriate (to illustrate the universality of some ideas, or to show processes of change) examples from other Andean areas are used. Ethnographic studies of peasant communities, or studies specifically on the situation of women are the major sources of material (table 3:A). Sometimes the data is not sufficient for our purposes, because it was collected with other aims in mind, but the information is usually adequate to suggest patterns as well as regional variations.

Table 3:A Location of work on women in the Andes

| <u>Author and date</u> | <u>Location</u> |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| R. Adams (1959) | Muquiyauyo, Huancayo, Peru |
| S. Bourque and K. Warren (1981) | Mayobamba and Chiuchin, Lima, Peru |
| C.Chira (1985) | Huaro, Cuzco, Peru |
| C.Deere and M. Leon de Leal (1981) | García Rovira and El Espinal, Colombia Cajamarca, Peru |
| O.Harris (1978) | Laymi group, Bolivia |
| B.J.Isbell (1978) | Chuschi, Ayacucho, Peru |
| A.Lapiedra (1978) | Andahuaylillas, Cuzco, Peru |
| D. Nuñez del Prado (1975) | Huaro, Cuzco, Peru |
| V.Sara Lafosse (1983) | Huaro, Cuzco, Peru |
| P.Saravia (1985) | Mantaro valley, Peru |
| S.L.Skar (1981) | Matapuquio, Apurimac, Peru |
| G.Villalobos (1977) | Lucre, Cuzco; Puamanguilla, Ayacucho, |

2. See Ortner and Whitehead (1981) for a detailed and stimulating discussion of this aspect. It should be clear that I have found their work inspiring and I borrow notions from them. All mistakes are of course mine.
3. Also see Bourque and Warren (1981) for similar views expressed by peasants in the Andes above Lima.
4. The plough would appear to have some sexual symbolism relating to fertility: Skar (1981;45) quotes a joke from her study community in which men say to a would-be father "Let me come and work your 'field'. Then surely a child will be conceived". In Bolivia, Harris (1978;25) mentions that one supernatural sanction against the disruption of the sexual division of labour is that of infertility. Similarly, in irrigation which is a male task in Kallarayan, the threat of infertility serves to reinforce the gender roles. As women are thought to be hot (q'oni) (fieldnotes), water threatens to cause a cooling of women's natural heat and lead to a loss of fertility. Water is a recurrent symbol in many Andean rituals concerned with fertility (Bourque & Warren 1981; Skar 1981). Female fertility is that which is perceived to be under threat from a range of natural and supernatural beings and objects, whereas the male role in conception and enhancing the productivity of the earth is a relatively unproblematic theme.
5. Harris 1978; Skar 1981; Isbell 1978; Adams 1959; Bourque & Warren 1981; Lapiedra 1985; Sara Lafosse 1985.
6. Similarly, "The number of people willing to attend a days labour in the fields...is intimately linked with the qualities [skills as an organizer and cook] of the woman and the manner in which she carries out her obligations. People are reticent to work where the quality of food is poor" (D.Nuñez del Prado 1975; 396).
7. See Skar (1982) for more details on fuel and nutrition in the Peruvian Andes.
8. One man originating in a different area lives by weaving hat-bands and belts, which are made on a piece-rate basis for a distributor in Cuzco. In his native area, he was a member of a craftsmen's guild (consisting largely of male weavers), and he has continued this trade in Kallarayan where the family has a minimal amount of land. His position is thus exceptional, in that he relies on weaving to such a large extent for the family's livelihood, and he is unique as no other male in the community has weaving skills.
9. No ridicule or social disapproval was expressed concerning men who weave, but as I was not looking into this area in much detail, I may have missed some important attitudes.
10. In Kallarayan, weaving is learned in the home, which compares with the

pattern in Ocongate, Cuzco (Harvey pers. comm.).

11. The average age of the weavers is 42 years, an advanced age for the community where life-expectancy is low, whereas the average age of the women who knit is 23 years.

12. Nearly a third (31.4%) of families have no animals or animals which do not require herding, such as pigs and donkeys which remain in the house yard.

13. For example, the Laymi concept of chachawarmi (Harris 1981) and the 'essential other half' in Ayacucho (Isbell 1978).

14. I never heard this about a woman leaving the community on separating.

15. Isbell (1978;117) mentions a ritual carried out among the villagers of Chuschi, Ayacucho, in the marriage ceremony which illustrates the notion of complementarity and equality in the marital relationship. At a certain point in the ceremony, family and ayllu members come forward to give money to the couple in two dishes, one each for the bride and groom. As the money is collected, the cash is evenly divided among the two dishes, 'so that the couple start out equal'.

16. See for example Harris 1978; D.Nuñez del Prado 1975; Villalobos 1978.

17. D.Nunez del Prado suggests a reason for women's control over the cash income, which is that men are conditioned to think that they are poor administrators compared with the women. "The women, well ...they know about these things, they know what has to be spent and what kept. We men don't know" (op.cit. 1975;394).

18. See for example, Sindicato de Trabajadoras del Hogar 1982: 50; Bronstein 1982.

19. See Babb 1976; Bourque & Warren 1979 and Villalobos 1978.

20. Elsewhere in the department of Cuzco, women have taken positions in community affairs: in Chumbivilcas and Espinar, 70 dirigentes were women in 1983, while at the same time 2 Presidents of communities were women in the whole Department (Asociación Amauta 1984).

21. For example, O.Nuñez del Prado on the community of Kuyo Chico (1973;28).

22. Various reasons are proposed by women to explain their unsuitability for public responsibility. For example: "We women are weak and must look after our husbands...It seems difficult [to hold community positions]", "I don't know any way in which a woman can work for the community, if all of us [women] are ignorant, we don't know how to read or write", "A woman does not have to participate because women have many duties in the home", quoted in Villalobos

(n.d.; research in 1977).

23. Previously too, organisations such as the U.S. Peace Corps were involved in the distribution of food aid throughout the Peruvian Andes.

24. This contrasts with patterns in the village of Mayobamba where women do not load donkeys according to the prevailing sexual division of labour (Bourque & Warren 1981).

25. This pattern is similar to that noted by Whitehead in Ghana, where there is "systematic denial of rights to the critical fields of extra household relations which are so important for male resource management" (Whitehead 1984;38). Also Bourque and Warren 1979, 1980.

26. This acceptance must be explicitly stated in some regions, such as Ocongate, Cuzco (Harvey pers.commn.).

Chapter Four

Gender differences in migration

The residents of Kallarayan are currently engaged in a complex pattern of population movements into both urban and rural areas (1). Given the sexual division of labour in the peasant household, which was detailed in the previous chapter, gender-differentiated migration patterns can be hypothesized. The data presented below confirms this hypothesis. As the responsibilities and tasks allocated to household members vary according to the sex and age (as well as the related facets of marital status and developmental cycle), so do migration flows. The participation of male and female peasants in external labour markets is markedly differentiated.

The results highlight the problem of attempting generalizations based on data on the participation in migration of one sex only. In the Andean peasant communities, male experiences of external labour markets are distinct to the female, for a series of reasons which are outlined below; to concentrate on male migration (eg. Skeldon 1977; Baca 1985; Aramburú 1983) is to oversimplify the relationships of peasant households with external labour markets. Moreover, a focus on male migration diminishes the importance of the peasant women's participation in spheres outside the community, which are as central in defining the nature of their lives as are the community-based activities described in the previous chapter. This chapter details the distinct features of male and female migration flows from the case study community.

Data sources and typologies

Data presented below is derived from the Family Economy Survey, in which men and women of all ages were asked to describe any moves away from the village during the previous 10 years (See Appendix One). Moves were categorized according to destination, duration of absence and the frequency of

moves, as well as marital status at time of move. Clearly, there are problems of accuracy of recall with this type of question, but these were minimized in this case for two reasons. Firstly, short frequent moves are identified by the number of times they occur in 1 year (and the total number of moves is calculated by multiplying by 10 to gain an estimate), and secondly, the longer moves made once or twice are recalled accurately due to the major changes in lifestyle inherent upon such moves. For example, when a domestic moves to a middle-class urban home or a man is employed to pan for gold in the climatically distinct jungle areas, these moves are memorable for the migrants. Further to the general questions, female migrants' information was confirmed by lifehistory interviews. Data collected in this way provides a 'snapshot' of migration over a decade, and is useful in outlining broad patterns of mobility. Such a pattern of data collection does not distort the overall patterns of moves in terms of agegroups (2). Data over 10 years thus provide a realistic picture of the migration patterns in terms of the gender and ages of migrants, while historical information presented here is derived from secondary sources and other studies carried out in local and similar areas.

As noted in the introduction, one of the major issues facing geographers interested in mobility studies is the lack of an adequate vocabulary to summarize the salient features of the various, and frequently numerous moves which exist in developing areas. Chapman and Prothero (1983) have suggested a classificatory system for rural-urban mobility in developing countries, in which the characteristics of the mover are considered alongside his/her commitment to the city (destination) and village (origin). Such a preliminary schema is crucial to an understanding of the complex population movements found in these areas, and will be used here as the basis for a series of definitions.

Chapman and Prothero's table, which is given here (table 4.1), is however insensitive to various aspects of migration in Peru which must be taken into

account in any meaningful taxonomy.

Table 4:1 Rural to urban population mobility in a Third World context

Firstly, an implicit assumption in their table is that the migrant is an adult, married male with a dependent family. Mobility in the Peruvian case as elsewhere in Latin America, is characterized by the involvement of family

members of all ages and both sexes as noted in the introduction. As outlined above, population moves are more usefully analysed in peasant economies as a household-based allocation of labour among various livelihood-guaranteeing ends, and it is therefore restricting (as well as misleading) to consider only one member of the unit (usually the presumed male head of household) as the sole or primary migrant. As the role of all family members is analysed, especially in terms of gender-related activities, such an assumption is clearly not useful, and an alternative (table 4:2) includes all family members engaged in movements from the village.

Secondly, as a consequence of their concentration on the (male adult) individual, Chapman and Prothero consider the purely personal aspects of relative commitment to the rural and urban areas. If the notion of mobility is widened to include movements which are part of a household-centred strategy, commitment must be analysed within the setting of the sharing of duties and responsibilities among household members, whether absent or present in the rural household unit. This is especially important in understanding the relationship of female migrants with their household of origin (see chapters 5 and 6).

Furthermore, Chapman and Prothero's table covers movements from rural to urban areas, with variation between moves being defined by the migrants' permanence in the cities. In the case of the case study community, as well as elsewhere in the Andes, rural-rural mobility also attains notable importance in the peasant economy (Brush 1980; Baca 1985; A.Fiovaranti 1982), and thus is a crucial element in the ordering of mobility types. An aspect related to this is the ownership of agricultural land in another area to that of origin, and relative commitment to these two areas (eg. Collins 1981). The ownership of two separated landholdings is managed by family members organized in such a way as to cover labour needs in both areas, under one livelihood strategy.

Table 4:2

In such a case, it is totally inadequate to talk of the individual migrant and his/her 'commitment' to one or other area, when different household members substitute for one another over the years, within the logic of a strategy of maintenance of the two (geographically) separate agricultural areas.

Given these provisos and qualifications, the following classification is offered as a working model for the description of migration from Kallarayan. The major dimension for the classification is geographical location, as this is a convenient shorthand for distinct labour markets. Within these areas, different types of population moves are identified on the basis of their relative permanence/temporary nature and the sex of the migrants. As shown in the table 4:2, gender is an important element in distinguishing mobility patterns. Temporary moves to Cusco and within the local area are predominantly male, while female migrants tend to be absent for longer periods of time. Consideration of the sex of migrants is only one aspect of identifying population flows from the village; for example, gender differences are minor in the population moves to the semi-tropical valleys of La Convención and Lares and to Lima, as the sexes take work for similar amounts of time in each case. Although the work undertaken by men and women is distinct in Lima, in the valleys both are employed in the harvest of the commercial crops.

The concept of commitment to area of origin, as used in this context, involves the responsibilities and duties assumed within the context of family and property relations. Thus, the 'permanent' migrants to Lima and Cuzco uphold duties towards family members in the community, as well as maintaining a complex life in the urban area. Commitment necessarily implies the consideration of cultural notions of responsibilities of both sexes towards the family, the household and property. For example, married male migrants moving temporarily into Cuzco are motivated by the demands for cash within their family, as well as by the labour requirements in agriculture. Female

migrants to Cuzco taking work as domestics face a different situation because they do not provide cash and are not perceived to work in agriculture, in the rural household and the nature of their 'commitment' is necessarily distinct. Commitment to the city may vary between generations as well as between the sexes (see chapter 6). Men who migrate into Cuzco on a temporary basis (weekly or fortnightly) may seek to make no foothold in the city for themselves, although subsequently they may use networks developed there to benefit the next generation, by sending their children to be educated in the city. In this case, children may become permanently settled in the urban area.

Membership of the community is an important aspect of this issue and in this context includes regular attendance at *asambleas*, participation in *faenas* and knowledge of communal affairs as well as registration for village elections. The first two criteria are those used in [†]statutes_^ regulating all Peruvian peasant communities in defining full membership of the village, and in some cases fines are imposed on those who fail to fulfill these criteria. The retention of full membership is especially important to the male *comuneros* and they emphasise their right to be village members. Women's status as *comuneras* is less bound up with these indicators of citizenship, as they are not expected to take an active role in the community (chapter 3). Membership, while of minor importance to the women's position in the village compared with the men, is more closely related to their presence in the village and their husbands' role.

Historical aspects of mobility in Cuzco department

Little is known about migration from the case study village before 1945, apart from those moves remembered by the oldest living inhabitants. One of the most common movements in neighboring villages was that down to the haciendas in the Sacred Valley at harvest-time, and occasionally at other times of the year. As Kallarayan was an independent community throughout the post-colonial period, its residents were not required legally to work in the haciendas.

It would appear however, according to oral traditions, that priests and court authorities in the Valley coerced peasants into labouring in haciendas on penalty of fines. Regular work was repaid by usufruct of a small parcel of land, a highly-valued commodity for the peasants because it was irrigated and free from frost. In other communities of the micro-region, land given in usufruct was paid for in labour and less often in cash (Baca 1982). Faenas on the large estates were repaid in h'urka, or food and drink. When men worked on their own land or the hacendados' fields in the Vilcanota valley, the women carried food down to them, a job which required a 6 hours round walk. Women did not generally engage in land-rental agreements with the landowners, but worked harvesting potatoes and de-leafing maize on family plots.

Road-building also employed peasants from Kallarayan and the neighboring villages. In the case study community, the eldest men recall working on the roads to Calca and the sub-tropical valley of Lares in the 1930's and 1940's, in return for h'urka (3). With the opening of the roads into the valleys of Lares and La Convención (in the 1940-50's), the demand for labourers in these agricultural areas expanded considerably, although for several centuries previously, labour from the Písaq-Urubamba region had flowed into these areas. In Kallarayan, it appears that a limited number of men and women walked to Lares during the early 1940's (which was a three day journey) to harvest coca and coffee, but they were a tiny minority in the village (4).

From the 17th century, labour was recruited from the peasant villages of Yucay and Maras-Chincheros to work in the tropical haciendas (A.Fiovaranti 1982). The shortage of labour was a continual problem in the development of the sub-tropical region and has been an issue since the early colonial period (Bowman 1920;34,75). At the beginning of this century, labour was provided by local labourers and seasonal migrants from the provinces of Anta, Calca and Urubamba (Baca 1985;36). Women were not uncommon among these migrants,

either as cooks for their families (Bowman 1920;31) or as labourers in the harvest of coca (Florez Muñiz 1946; Tristan Elorvieta 1948). Labour was recruited through relations of enganche (5), compadrazgo (A.Fiovaranti 1982) or through the labour relations prevalent in Sacred Valley haciendas (Baca 1982).

Migration to Cuzco, and other large cities such as Lima or Arequipa, was most probably negligible in the region of study during the first half of the present century. Frequent temporary movements to the departmental capital comprised the predominant type from several district capitals in Cuzco by the second decade of the 20th century (6). Temporary migration to Cuzco developed into 'semi-permanent' and permanent moves during the 1930's and 1940's in several parts of the department, as networks and work were found in the urban area. Construction demanded a male labour force while female employment in domestic service was growing slowly. Lima also began to appear as an important destination in this period: direct migration to Lima was established in Ollantaytambo and Colcha by the mid-1950's (Skeldon 1977;400) and gained in significance for young people in Kallarayan during the same decade. Migrants from Lima worked as domestic servants (the women, who made up the majority of those moving) or in army stores and trade (the men). Several orphans were sent from Kallarayan to Cuzco and Lima to live with families linked by blood or compadrazgo relations with their own.

Current mobility patterns in Kallarayan

As we can see in table 4:3, three destinations are now by far the most important in population movements from Kallarayan - the valleys of Lares and La Convención; Cuzco and Lima, while migration to Madre de Dios department and within the province are of secondary importance.

Table 4:3

Table 4:3

Migration from Kallarayan 1975-85, by sex age and destination

| DESTINATION | MALE | | | | | | FEMALE | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-------|-----------------------|
| | (Age groups - years) | | | | | | (Age groups - years) | | | | | | | |
| | 6-10 | 11-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51+ | 6-10 | 11-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51+ | Total | % of women > 10 years |
| Cuzco | 1 | 24 | 19 | 16 | 15 | 7 | - | 21 | 3 | 1 | - | - | 25 | 16.1 |
| Lima/ Arequipa | - | 7 | 3 | - | - | - | 1 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 1 | - | 14 | 9.0 |
| Valleys | 1 | 21 | 19 | 7 | 2 | 2 | - | 10 | 12 | - | 1 | 2 | 25 | 16.1 |
| Pto.M. | - | 3 | 4 | 3 | - | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 1.9 |
| Province | 1 | 9 | 13 | 8 | 7 | 4 | - | 3 | 2 | - | - | - | 5 | 3.2 |
| TOTAL | 3 | 64 | 58 | 34 | 24 | 13 | 2 | 40 | 24 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 72 | |
| % | 1.5 | 32.7 | 29.6 | 17.3 | 12.3 | 6.6 | 2.8 | 55.5 | 33.3 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.8 | (100) | |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

(adapted from Chapman & Prothero 1983;608-609)

| <u>Type of mover</u> | <u>Characteristics of mover</u> | <u>Commitment to city</u> | <u>Commitment to village</u> |
|----------------------|---|--|--|
| Commuter | Works in city but returns each evening May commute regularly (weekday) or spasmodically (marketing, etc.). | Little social or financial outlay. Limited contact with urban dwellers. | High. Family remains; retains socio-political Wages returned to village. |
| Seasonal-shuttle | Searches for work to augment meagre agricultural income. | Little investment; contact with other migrants. | Family remains; socio-political roles retained. Remits large share wages; May keep income source. |
| Target migrant | To city for limited period for specific purpose. | Moderate; may bring family; permanent accommodation. | Maintains links, visits letters; roles lost; remittances high. |
| Life-cycle stage | To city at >1 at specific stages of lifecycle. | As for target migrant. | As for target migrant. |
| Working life | Spends entire working life in city, but intends to return to village. | High; takes family; individual housing; Citizenship in city. | Links enough for eventual return; investments in land, housing. Some remittances and visits. |
| Permanent migrant | Committed to exchanging rural for urban life. | Total. | Very little. |
| Undecided migrant | Has no clear intention to stay in city or return ^{to} village. | Unknown. | Unknown. |

Cuzco

Cuzco is the destination for the majority of both male and female migrants (for the women it ranks equally in importance with the valleys of Lares and La Convención), although they participate in quite distinct labour markets as is indicated in the table 4:4.

Table 4:4 Employment taken by migrants to Cuzco

| <u>Male</u> | | <u>Female</u> | |
|-----------------|----|---------------|----|
| Construction | 24 | Domestic | 13 |
| Brickmaker | 14 | Cook | 6 |
| Porter | 14 | Student | 4 |
| Trade (various) | 15 | Trade | 2 |
| Mechanic | 8 | | |
| Waiter | 7 | | |
| Stonemason | 5 | | |
| Student | 5 | | |
| Agriculture | 4 | | |
| Miscellaneous | 8 | | |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

The largest group of men work in construction as general labourers or in the manufacture of bricks (adobes), and employment in construction accounts for a third of male migrant employment in the city. During the boom in construction in Cuzco (which occurred between 1952 and the early 1960's, when Cuzco was rebuilt after the 1950 earthquake and tourism began to gain in importance) demand and wages for labour were high and the men could travel in the expectation of finding work. Today by contrast, recruitment into construction is limited and depends to a greater extent on personal contacts. Despite the concentration of male migrants in construction-related work, their jobs are nevertheless more varied than the opportunities available to the women. Ten occupational areas are listed by the male informants compared with only five for the women as shown in table 4:4 (7). Furthermore, male labour market

participation includes several skilled jobs, whereas female work is unskilled and largely reproductive in nature. Some men for example work in skilled trades, such as car mechanics and stonemasonry, after learning these skills while apprenticed to kinsmen during their early teen years and then working sporadically in Cuzco in such trades throughout their married life. A few work in the market gardens on the southern outskirts of the city, where they labour in the fields as well as transporting products to the market. Clearly the men do not need to develop many new skills for this employment beyond those learned in the peasant economy, but openings to this particular labour market are restricted and highly competitive.

One unskilled occupation, but one which involves a number of men especially when younger, is that of porter (cargador), a job of long hours and uncertain remuneration (Condori 1979). Cuzco markets are characterized by the sight of men bent double with loads tied with ropes onto their backs. A few young men also work as assistants-cum-waiters in the numerous cheap restaurants in the urban area (table 4:4). Given the frequency of male migration into Cuzco and the economic structure of the city, it is not surprising to find that the men often take more than one job in the city over the course of their working lives. Ten percent of male migrants to Cuzco take two or more different jobs there, compared with the women who take only one job. The female migrants to Cuzco are overwhelmingly employed in a domestic and cooking capacity and just over 70% of them in the previous 10 years were engaged by urban families as domestic servants. In this capacity, they are responsible for a range of reproductive/service tasks such as cooking, washing, cleaning the house and childcare, which keeps them busy for long hours each day (13 to 15 hours is not unusual). They generally earn little, although they may receive clothes and equipment for school. Work conditions are generally poor (Sindicato de Trabajadoras del Hogar 1982) (8). Recruitment into domestic service is

informal - through notices in windows, personal contacts, and newspaper advertisements. In the village, personal contacts, especially through the teachers and urban compadres, are by far the most important means of finding work, although some women claim that they were recruited directly when they went into Písaq or Cuzco for the day.

Four of the women migrants are or were classified as students in Cuzco, involving the household in a considerable cash outlay, for equipment, uniforms and registration fees. Three of these migrated to continue their primary education, while one is a university student, training to become a secondary school teacher (9). In some cases, these girls go to school in the afternoons or evenings as well as work in the house of a relative or ward. The parents in the village value very highly the education received by their daughters and emphasize this aspect of the girls' lives, and not the fact that they are working. It is likely that the number of women migrants engaged in domestic work is thus higher than that indicated on the table.

Two women in the previous ten years have been engaged in trading in Cuzco, buying and selling agricultural products in bulk, either in the community or its neighboring area or in the city market and its resale. One woman who works in this way is married with young children, who are left with the grandmother in the village during her absence, whereas the other woman buys and sells in bulk from within Cuzco's markets, although the quantity she is able to buy depends on her variable capital. Her 9 year old daughter remains in the village where she is at school during her mother's absence. Marketing produce results in fluctuating earnings, as some days the women may earn up to \$3 while on others, they may only make \$0.50 and have to use capital to restart sales: the average takings are \$1-\$2 daily.

The type of employment taken by migrants in Cuzco influences in turn the amount of time spent in the city, and the total number of moves made to this

destination. As with the type of work, striking gender differences exist when we look at the timing and frequency of moves. Just under two-fifths of the men go to Cuzco for an average of 10 days at a time, and just under three-fifths of moves are for under one month's duration. By contrast, only 4% of female migration to the city is for under 1 month, and this is accounted for by one of the women engaged in marketing activities. Slightly over half of the migrant women go into Cuzco for one year, or for between three and four months, and in both cases this is a function of their employment in domestic service. Younger girls are recruited to work as muchachas during the school holidays (December to April), frequently by the school teachers themselves for relatives and friends, and subsequently the girls work approximately 3 months and return to the community to restart school (32% of the female migrants were in this group). Women who have left school or whose contract extends beyond the holiday period, are likely to remain in the urban household for a longer period of time. Nearly half of female migration to Cuzco is for periods of over 1 year, in contrast to only 17% of the male moves which last this long.

The male migration pattern in relation to Cuzco is that of frequent, short-term moves which are most usefully considered as part of a circulatory movement. The women however tend to migrate only once or twice to the city, and remain for a considerable amount of time. Over a third of the male migrants travel into Cuzco for employment up to 6 times every year, while a further quarter make the journey between 7 and 20 times. A small number (3.7%) commute between Kallarayan and the departmental capital every one to two weeks. While these multiple moves over the year are frequent, not all the male migrants have searched for work so consistently: a third have made only 2-5 moves during the previous 10 years. By contrast, all but one of the female migrants have moved into Cuzco only once or twice in the previous 10 years. One woman is still away, after a considerable amount of time (10).

The men migrating into Cuzco include both married and single men, although the former predominate and comprise 60% of the male migrants to the city. Men start to take work in Cuzco when single and continue to do so once married: as a consequence migration to this destination spans a larger age-range, from 11 to 50 years. Correspondingly, a much higher proportion of males over 10 years of age (11) move into Cuzco at least once in their lifetimes - half of men compared with only 16.1% of women. The contrast with the female migrants is striking - all but one of the latter are (or were at the time of the move) single women. Women would therefore appear to migrate to Cuzco only when single and this destination declines markedly in importance once the women marry. This is reflected in the ages of the female migrants: migration to Cuzco among women peaks in the 11-20 year agegroup, and declines sharply beyond this age (table 4:3).

It is difficult to compare wage rates among the migrants in Cuzco in relation to the prevalent wages for residents. Nevertheless, details on the migrants themselves are available (12). The porters can earn an average of \$0.57 daily, although this varies between nothing and \$1.22 daily (13). In most cases, the porters work for a series of conocidos (acquaintances) from whom they receive a small tip as well as food and even accommodation. Some porters by contrast buy their own food from their earnings, and sleep in rough quarters near the markets. Construction workers earn more than the porters on average: according to figures from the migrants from Kallarayan, they earn \$0.96 daily, although a considerable number receive over a dollar. The skilled work involved in stonemasonry is rewarded with higher remunerations still - an average of \$1.10 daily. These men receive food during the work and may often be allowed to sleep on the site. Otherwise, they tend to stay with godparents in the city, to whom they give gifts of agricultural produce in return for food and lodging.

Domestics earn under the male migrants' unskilled wage but as noted above

they also receive food and board in their employment. The average for those who are paid for work is \$17.80 monthly in Cuzco (14). There are even cases in which they received no cash remuneration for their work; of the 29 recorded cases of domestics from Kallarayan, 13% received nothing or only clothes in payment. Variations exist however among domestics of different ages and in different locations, whereby younger girls earn a 'tip' of under \$2 a month, and a few older experienced domestics may earn up to \$50 monthly. Cuzco offers higher wages than elsewhere in the vicinity; domestics from Kallarayan have been paid \$5-\$6 in Písaq and Huancayo, while a girl in Quillabamba earned only \$8.80 monthly. It should be noted that the wage rates for domestics in Lima are higher on average than those found in Cuzco, although here too wages are sometimes as low as \$12 monthly. One girl earned nothing for her work in Lima, but the average wage in Lima is approximately \$23, a full 30% more than Cuzco.

Increases in wage rates would appear to be a function of age, but the domestics usually have to move on to different households in pursuit of higher remunerations, although these may be minor improvements. These aspects are summarized in the case of one girl who started work in Cuzco at the age of 8 years on a \$0.61 monthly tip. The family with whom she was employed moved to Huancayo within a year, and she moved with them, seeing her wage rise to \$5.40 a month. By the age of 11 years, she returned to Cuzco where she worked in another house at \$9.30 a month, and when she took her last post at 18 years, she was earning \$10.35 in Lima with a different family again.

Lima and Arequipa

Migration to Lima (and Arequipa) although following the broad outlines of population movements found in Cuzco shows some variations with the latter, not least because of its relative unimportance in comparison with other destinations. Lima is the fourth most important destination for men in

Kallarayan, compared with women for whom it ranks 3rd, accounting for 6.5% and 9% of the respective populations over 10 years (15). The slight predominance of women confirms the pattern illustrated by available census data which shows that women make up the largest proportion of rural-urban population flows (Martínez 1980). Data for Kallarayan suggests that at least 30 people originally from the community are now in Lima, including young people who have been absent for several years and with no plans to return, and older couples who have children born in Lima. A large number of them work, or have worked, in one particular factory. The owner of this factory visits the village every few years in order to recruit young people, among whom the men work on the production line, while girls work as domestics in the owner's house. (One male migrant now settled in Lima worked in the army supply business, before creating a clothes retail outlet in a street market.)

The occupations of those migrants who returned to the community (and who are the focus of this study) are, or were, different to those of the permanent migrants. Unlike the permanent migrants, the men who have returned or whose family of origin remains in the village, have been occupied in trades such as marketing, tailoring, mechanics and as a labourer and army recruit. The number of occupations listed by the men is more limited than that found in Cuzco, and excludes unskilled labouring jobs. Employment in Lima is more highly skilled, as well as being more secure: only one man worked as a labourer, compared with over half the work in Cuzco which was of this type. Female employment in Lima follows closely the pattern noted above for Cuzco, although education is much reduced in importance in the capital (16). Domestic service remains the occupation for the majority of the women, and conditions are similar to those found in Cuzco (also M. Smith 1970).

Men and women both migrate to Lima for considerable amounts of time. This is a function of the distances involved, and of the cost of transport as well

as the type of employment taken in the capital. Male work in Lima requires investment on the part of the migrant in terms of time to learn skills and gain knowledge of the city, as well as to accumulate capital and/or goods. Given the length of absence and the distances involved, the total number of moves made by men and women to Lima is extremely limited. No migrant has migrated more than once to the coast, and a large proportion (three-fifths of the men and half of the women) were in Lima at the time of the interview. Half of the men who migrated to Lima in the previous ten years and subsequently returned, were absent for a total of 4 to 7 years, and a further third remained there for 2 years in all. The women were also settled in the capital for a lengthy period; nearly 85% remained for between one and 8 years, and of these, two lived there for over 7 years before returning to the community. Length of employment in domestic service is highly variable, but in the case of Lima the women remain for considerable times, either in one household or moving between jobs. Poor treatment encourages a high turnover, but age is another significant factor. Young girls starting work at 11 or 12 years old stay in domestic service until they are adult, especially if the employer has an order charging them to care for the minor (17) (cf. M. Smith 1971). Domestics of 18-20 years are likely to leave on marriage or on the birth of their first child, and move from the employer's home to take up street marketing work (Bunster & Chaney 1985). Of the two women who stayed in Lima only briefly, one helped relatives of her husband's in their street retail business, for 2 months, and the other was a young girl who had recently started work as a domestic at the time of the interview.

All of the migrants were single on moving to Lima, except the one woman noted above and subsequently, one of the men has married. This contrasts with migration to Cuzco where both married and single men take employment, but reinforces a pattern noted above for single women to migrate into the cities. In part the marital status of the migrants is a function of their age: male migrants

to Lima are between 11 and 30 years of age, while female migrants are in a wider age band, from 6 to 50 years of age. The fact that current age, rather than age at move, is given here is misleading to a certain extent as some of the women were 7 to 10 years younger when they made the move to Lima. The women are predominantly in the 21 to 30 years age group (and this includes both women who have returned and married in the community, and those who are still absent and single), although the younger age groups are not unimportant.

Semi-tropical valleys of La Convención and Lares

Lima and Cuzco are the major urban destinations for the migrants from Kallarayan, although, as noted above, the time spent in the two areas is distinct, both in terms of the work taken and the duration of absence. Rural-urban mobility is not however the only type of population movement from the community, and the semi-tropical valleys of La Convención and Lares constitute one of the major destinations. Second in importance among the various destinations for the men, and equal first for the women, the ceja de selva ('eyebrow of the jungle') areas provide employment for a range of ages of both sexes. A third of men over 10 years have moved to the valleys at least once, while the proportion of women is smaller (16.1%), so that they make up 68% and 32% of the total migration flow to this area respectively.

The nature of agriculture in the valleys, that is, the largely commercial production of coca, tea, coffee, cocoa and fruit, offers employment to both men and women. Since the eradication of malaria (towards the end of the 1940's), and the introduction of coffee production on the valley slopes, the demand for a seasonal labour force has grown (E.Fiovaranti 1974). Even at the present time, labour bottle-necks still occur (Interview Cooperativa Té Huyro, 1985). Peasants are recruited from the communities by enganchadores, who frequently use debt relations to guarantee their labour. The enganchadores, who may be the producers themselves or agents hired by them, return year

after year to the same communities and develop networks, at times reinforced with *compadrazgo* relations with the peasant families. The *enganche* contract may be verbal or written and generally involves the agreement on the number of days to be worked (usually 90 days), the sum of adelanto (advance payment of wages), and the place from which the truck will carry the workers to the valley.

The peasants are recruited for the harvests, although some (male) labour is required at other times of the year in the upkeep of the fields. All but one of the men were employed as agricultural peones (labourers), as was true for the women. Most men and women remain in the valleys for three months (the 90 days of the usual contract): nearly three-quarters of both sexes stay for this time. If the men do remain for longer, they are absent for 4 to 6 months, often because of an extension of their contract. Women tend to migrate to the valleys for longer periods of time - 16% were absent from the community for 7 months to 3 years in total. These women are employed as more permanent workers, as cooks, house-keepers or shop assistants (18).

However, in comparison with the sexual division of labour in other areas to which the villagers migrate, we find that the sexual division of labour in the harvest appears to be fluid, although slight differences between crop types exist. Women work in the palla or harvest of coca leaves, which occurs four times annually (E.Fiovaranti 1974; Serrano Camacho 1951) and some women become highly skilled at this task, working for better remunerations on piece work terms than other women, who work on a fixed-rate basis and set hours. These more expert female harvesters would appear to be residents of the valleys, and do not include temporary migrants. Women migrants also work in the cocoa harvest in December and the coffee harvest (February to April). Men participate in these tasks and indeed may form the largest part of the labour force in the latter, as they do in the tea harvest. Children as young as 9 years old are favoured at all harvests because of their lightness of touch and size,

making it easier for them to reach the low-growing bushes, as they work alongside the adults.

Wages in the valleys vary greatly from one area to another and from one worker to the next, due to the piece-rate system (al destajo). Women generally earn less than the men: sometimes for example, the men are on the piece-rate system and work an eight hour day, while the women are paid a standard amount (the same as that for children), which is lower than the average male wage. In cases of married couples from Kallarayan, the women earn only 60-70% of the male wage. Men earn between \$25 and \$50 for 3 months work, while the women earn from \$16 to \$39, depending on the area and their employer. Unusually, one couple who worked on land owned by their padrino each earned the same low wage - \$3.60 a month. On average, the male rate is now approximately \$18.40 monthly for married and single men, and the women earn \$13, while younger children of both sexes earn considerably less, at approximately \$5 a month.

Women are also expected to cook and clean clothes for the other (male and female) labourers and this consequently reduces the amount of time which they work in the fields. The women rise at 4-5am in order to cook breakfast, and go to the fields briefly before returning to cook a mid-day meal. They harvest in the afternoons again before leaving at 3-4pm to prepare the evening meal. A proportion of the women remain at the dwellings all day to cook and wash clothing, and they are generally the married women who travel to the valleys with their husbands. Just over a third of the women working in Lares and La Convención were married at the time of their move, and often were accompanied by young children who reduced their participation in field-centred tasks.

Among the male migrants, single men form the largest group, although they continue to work in both the harvests and in general field tasks (preparation of

fields, weeding, pruning of trees and so on) upon marriage. Nevertheless, with increasing age, they are not able to earn as well on the piece-rate system and some comuneros spoke of lower fixed wages for older workers. Consequently, the number of men migrating to the valleys falls after the age of 30 years, and for those over 40 especially (refer to table 4:3). The largest number are those in the 11-20 age-group. Women move to the valleys at a slightly later age - the 21-30 year olds are the most numerous. Interestingly, three women have moved to the valley when over 41 years of age: these women worked alongside their husbands in harvesting as they no longer have dependent children. Considering the total number of moves made by individuals to the valley, we note that the men tend to return many times to the valleys: 40% made over 3 moves to the valley in their lifetimes and the younger men are those who have tended to migrate only once or twice to the subtropical zones, but it is likely that they will return there in the future. By contrast, nearly 2/3rds of the female migrants to these areas have moved only once or twice, and over a quarter (28%) have been only once.

Among the men are several migrants whose moves are best understood in the context of the household's resources and livelihood strategies (see chapter 6). These men are involved in an almost continuous circulatory movement between La Convención and Kallarayan, between households which own land in the valleys in addition to that in the highlands. These units tend to consist of extended families, in which the labour needs are satisfied in both the subtropical and highland regions by the circulation of members between the two. For example, one man was born in the valleys and continues to hold plots of land there. He married a woman of Kallarayan, who continues to live with her family of origin. The comunero now moves frequently between the two zones and maintains his fields in La Convención with the help of his father and brothers ^{who} live there. He also takes his wife and her younger siblings to the

jungle for the harvests, and they transport highland products (such as potatoes, quinoa, ch'uñu) for sale in the lowlands. The pattern of circulation can thus best be understood as the strategy of two inter-related households and land-holdings (19).

Department of Madre de Dios

Migration to Madre de Dios department is a relatively minor destination for community members from Kallarayan overall. The men are employed here as gold panners (lavaderos de oro) in small and medium-sized enterprises which lie along the Madre de Dios, Iñambari and Colorado rivers. Migrants from Kallarayan earn on average \$33 monthly in the gold panning areas, which is nearly double the money to be earned in the semi-tropical valleys, and given that the labourers are provided with all food and lodging, they are able to save a large proportion of their cash earnings (20). The high wages of the area also extend to the few women who are economically active. One of the female migrants from Kallarayan working in Puerto Maldonado as a cook and shop assistant earned \$150 monthly, a good wage for any migrant, whether female or male.

Peons are often recruited by employment agencies acting throughout the Southern Andes, although with the decline in gold prices and production since 1980 only one agency remains active in Cuzco. Contracts are generally for three months at a set daily wage, basic accommodation and food are provided in addition, while the return journey is paid by the agency or the employer. Migration to Madre de Dios from Kallarayan is overwhelmingly a male movement (men outnumber women by three to one), and the sexual imbalance is notable too at the departmental level in Madre de Dios, where there are nearly three men to every two women (Belaunde 1984). There are limited opportunities for women in these areas: among the economically active population (as defined in the census), men outnumber women ten to one (Aznar

1979). Women may gain employment as cooks, and the two women from Kallarayan have been employed in this way, although they sometimes may help the men in the extraction of gold (Maenling n.d.).

The production of gold passed through a boom period between 1977 and 1980, and the number of casual labourers in the region increased to 20,000 out of a total workforce in gold-mining of 26,803 (Maenling n.d.). A large proportion of these came from the neighboring Sierra departments - 48% of immigrants originated in Cuzco, 10% in Puno and 14% in Lima (INE 1983). These migrants were largely peasants in their place of origin: over three-fourths of those surveyed who listed a secondary occupation to gold-mining, mentioned mixed farming (Aznar 1979;55). As the mining of gold has experienced wild fluctuations in the last 50 years, the ending of each boom has seen the return of migrants to the Andean villages and in the same way, a period of growth has attracted a new wave of migrants. Intense production between 1930-50 gave way to stagnation in the 1950's until new beds were discovered in 1962. Migration from Cuzco and Puno satisfied the demand for labour at this time among small scale producers using basic technology (Baca 1985) and again in the 1970's when prices and production rose dramatically (INE 1983; Maenling n.d.).

Although production has slowed since the peak year of 1980, migrants continue to find employment sporadically in this area. From Kallarayan, four-fifths of the male migrants to this region have moved between one and three times during their lifetimes, for approximately 4 months each time. One man has settled permanently in the gold-panning area, but he is relatively unusual (21). The migrants use this type of work as an opportunity to accumulate capital which is used in the village, or in a business based there. For example, several men have sponsored a religious fiesta with their earnings or bought capital goods for a wholesale business (managed by their wives). The one

woman who has returned from Madre de Dios to the community has been able to buy a sewing machine. This pattern of investment in large-scale purchases, applies whether the migrants are single (half of the male and all of the female migrants are unmarried) or married, and contrasts markedly with other migrants from other areas, only 20% of whom sent money to their families although they may have subsequently taken it to their villages (Aznar 1979;62). With a decline in the availability of work in this sector however, it is unlikely that this means of accumulation will continue to play the role it has in the past. Between 1980 and 1982, the number of peons declined by 55% in Madre de Dios, and indications would suggest that this trend is continuing (Maenling n.d.).

Intra-provincial moves

A more important movement of population in terms of numbers involved is the circulatory movement between the community and within the province of Calca, generally the Sacred Valley (22). The provincial area for our purposes includes the agricultural areas and small towns of the Sacred Valley and the peasant communities of the highlands. It is an area in which a variety of mobility patterns are found although clearly short-term frequently repeated movements predominate due to the accessibility of the region from Kallarayan. Migration within the province is significant for the men, of whom over a quarter take work here during their lifetimes. By contrast, only 3.2% of the village women over 10 years old become employed or continue education in the province and for every woman making such a move there are eight men.

The harvest of white maize in the Sacred Valley draws male peasants much as it did during the time of the haciendas, although now the workers are paid in maize in addition to food. The men are rarely absent for more than two weeks during a brief period in the early summer (May-June), but they are likely to return every year to the same landowner, with whom they may create *compadrazgo* relations. The work is paid in a variable quantity of white maize

which is highly valued by the peasants as it does not grow at higher altitudes, and which is transported immediately to the storehouse in the village. Men earn 10 to 40 cobs of maize for a days work, although the average is 20 cobs (approximately 6 kilos): the equivalent value of this maize in monetary terms is \$2.50 at 1985 prices. This makes work in the Sacred Valley a well remunerated one in comparison with other short-term labouring jobs for the male comuneros. It also compares favourably with the \$0.50 daily wage earned by the few peasants from Kallarayan who work in agriculture on the outskirts of Cuzco. Women are not usually recruited into this type of work.

The female villagers move within the province for very distinct reasons to those of the men. For example, two sisters were employed in a small township as domestic servants, recruited by a family linked to their own by *compadrazgo* ties. When one sister married and left the employer's house, her sister replaced her, while the eldest woman moved to her husband's community above the valley (23). In some cases, male and female villagers move into another peasant community as, for example, children are sent to relatives who take care of them and may send them to school. Such an arrangement may also arise because of the absence of the parents in the semi-tropical valleys, in which case the child(ren) most often remain with the grandmother, who may live in another community. Alternatively, a child is sent to live with an uncle or cousin in order to help in household chores, such as herding. This pattern is rarer and involved only one boy in Kallarayan in recent years. Children moving for these reasons may leave the community of origin for periods ranging from 6 months to several years, depending on labour requirements in the household and strategies of migration. Education is also a reason for migration within the province. As there is no secondary school in the community, all pupils intending to continue their education must move away. Most move to Cuzco while some go to the provincial capital of Calca. One girl spent nine years studying in

Calca, returning at weekends to the village where she continued to take responsibility for household tasks. Her sister joined her at the same school and now lives alone with their grandmother in Calca, although she too frequently travels to Kallarayan.

The men and women thus show distinct relations to the labour and educational opportunities within the local provincial area. Men frequently move for short periods of time, and repeat this move every year, and sometimes up to 2 or 3 times annually and are employed in the manufacture of ceramic rooftiles or in agriculture, whereby they earn approximately \$9 a month. Such work is considered to be a short-term alternative as wages are below the average for labourers in the semi-tropical valleys, the other major destination for men of this age. Single men make up forty per cent of male migrants within the province and this is accounted for largely by the rooftile makers, and some of the harvesters.

Conclusions

Population movements from Kallarayan in the last 10 years are summarized in the table 4:5, which illustrates the importance of migration to Cuzco and the semi-tropical valleys among both male and female migrants, for they account for over 70% of male and female flows. Moreover, for both men and women the ranking of destinations in terms of their relative importance is similar. However once occupations are considered, gender differences become apparent. In Cuzco, men and women's occupations are distinct: men tend to work in unskilled labouring work, such as construction and portering, whereas women are employed in private homes and service occupations for cooking, cleaning and childcare. The employment taken entails, in turn, differential wage rates, different lengths of absence, and distinct relations with the community and the household of origin. The household provides the context for understanding the migrants' positions in relation to the labour market and the family unit and why certain occupations are chosen.

Table 4:5 Migration destinations from Kallarayan, by sex

| | <u>Cuzco</u> | <u>Lima</u> | <u>Valleys</u> | <u>Pto.M</u> | <u>Province</u> | <u>Total</u> | |
|---------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-------|
| <u>Men</u> | | | | | | No. | % |
| No.moves | 82 | 10 | 52 | 10 | 42 | 196 | 73 |
| Length of absence* | | | | | | | |
| < 1 mnth | | 2-4 yrs | 3 mnth | 3 mnth | 2-5 days | - | |
| <u>Women</u> | | | | | | | |
| No.moves | 25 | 14 | 25 | 3 | 5 | 72 | 17 |
| Length of absence* | | | | | | | |
| 3m-1yr | | 1-8yr | 3m | 3yr | <1yr | - | |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | 107 | 24 | 77 | 13 | 47 | 268 | (100) |
| % | 39.9 | 8.9 | 28.9 | 4.8 | 17.5 | (100) | |

* Modal length of absence from community

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

By contrast, in migration to the semi-tropical valleys, gender differentiation is minimal for many of the variables. Both male and female migrants are temporarily employed in commercial agriculture, and are absent for equal amounts of time on average. Methods of recruitment are also identical and it is only when the marital status of the migrants is taken into account that the gender differences become apparent, and again the role of the household organisation of livelihood becomes important.

If male migration to other destinations (that is, apart from the tropical valleys) is analysed separately from the female, we note that male population movements are characterized by their temporary and circulatory nature and their high degree of integration into various urban and rural networks. Male moves are seasonal: from the coffee and tea harvests in the ceja de selva region, labour then shifts annually to the Sacred Valley. Some families organize the spatial distribution of their male labour so as to maintain two geographically separate landholdings. Such a pattern is possible due to the

continuation of male movements after marriage and the fact that men of up to 50 years of age participate in migration flows. In non-seasonal moves, male migrants are able to learn new skills through apprenticeships in the urban areas, which serve as the basis for secure work throughout their lives, whether carried out sporadically from the village or as a means of livelihood in the city.

By contrast, if we analyse the female migration from the community (excluding the semi-tropical valley moves), it can be noted that geographical mobility assumes a completely different character. Female moves are oriented towards an urban environment and are of a distinctly unseasonal nature (although school holidays play a minor role in patterning movements). The women are absent from the village for longer periods of time on average than the men and they are recruited into a *restricted number of job types*, which are largely related to maintenance and reproductive activities, as illustrated in table 4:6. They do not generally have the opportunity to learn new skills: they are not apprenticed in urban areas. The migration of women is limited to only one or two destinations almost exclusively as single women, as migration among married women is restricted. Female migration peaks in the 11 to 20 year age group and then declines sharply in the over-30 group.

Male and female mobility patterns characterize the community in two quite distinct ways. A comparison between the two sexes' migration, given here in a purely descriptive manner, highlights the limitations of analysing either an asexual migration pattern or only male mobility (e.g. Balan et al 1973; Bradfield 1973). Clearly, the main questions arise as to why such differences exist and how the two mobility types are interrelated. While certain variables appear to describe 'male' migration and other indices may be used to characterize 'female' migration, the reasons behind the patterns must be elucidated through an analysis of gender relations and work, and the operations of the households in integrating both.

Table 4:6

Occupations of female migrants from Kallarayan, according to destination

| | Destination | | | | | <u>TOTAL</u> |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | <u>Cuzco</u> | <u>Lima</u> | <u>Valleys</u> | <u>Pto.M</u> | <u>Province</u> | |
| Domestic/ | | | | | | |
| cook | 17 | 10 | - | 2 | 2 | 31 |
| Student | 4 | 1 | - | - | 2 | 7 |
| Trade | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | 3 |
| Assistant | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Waitress | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Labourer* | - | - | 22 | - | 1 | 23 |
| Office | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Child | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 2 |
| N.S. | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | 3 |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | 25 | 14 | 25 | 3 | 5 | 72 |

* Agricultural labourer

Source: Lifehistory information, Kallarayan 1985

It is only by analysing the male and female mobility patterns within the context of household organisation and strategies that the reasons for the gender differences in migration become apparent. Household labour allocation (within the community and external to it) is on the basis of gendered labour, that is, on labour which is valued and directed in certain ways on the basis of sexually-defined differences.

Gender roles (ranging from the low status daily chores to prestigious ritual sponsorship) are crucial elements in the organisation of labour time in the peasant households. Male and female behaviour and skills are clearly demarcated within the community, generating the notion of complementarity between the sexes. As a result of the organisation of labour within and between households, the demand on married women and men's labour varies over the annual cycle. Demand on male labour peaks at certain well-defined, relatively short periods of time, during which the agricultural tasks are carried out. By

contrast, married women are continuously busy with numerous domestic-based (and occasionally pasturing) responsibilities which are not concentrated in a particular period because of their very nature.

As a consequence, the women's mobility contrasts with the male patterns of migration within the conjugal unit: male migration takes place at regular, pre-arranged intervals during the annual cycle without jeopardizing agricultural production nor indeed the male role as the agricultural worker in the household unit. Married women's lives are not however so compatible with movements out of the community for long periods, reflected in the fewer moves made by female compared with male household members as in table 4:7.

Table 4:7 Number of distinct migration destinations by sex

| <u>Number of destinations</u> | % share | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
| 1 | 46.2 | 75.9 |
| 2 | 37.8 | 20.7 |
| 3 | 13.4 | 33.4 |
| 4 | 2.6 | - |
| TOTAL | (100) | (100) |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

Gender-specific forms of organisation thus result in differences in external labour market participation, and in distinct migration patterns for male and female villagers. Certain labour markets recruit women (domestic service is the prime example) and others men. The peasant women are not however a homogeneous category, and differences arise in the patterns of female geographical mobility when we consider the specific position of women in the peasant household unit, and the lifecycle stages which structure women's lives, points which we consider in the following chapter.

Notes

1. Mobility patterns have evolved over a considerable length of time; it seems probable that villagers were involved in moves to mining and other agricultural areas under the Inca empire (see Orlove 1985; Skeldon 1977;396), while the formation of reducciones under the early colonial administration (Gade & Escobar 1982) and the expansion of mining at this time (Fisher 1977; 43) brought with them the forced displacement of large numbers of peasants in the Southern Andes.
2. The one case in which it does appear to cause slight distortion is when consideration is made of the female migrants to Lima. In these cases, the age-range covered by the migrants appears to be much larger than is actually the case, and the length of the women's absence is crucial here, see below.
3. Under the Leguía government (1919-31), peasants were required to work in the road-building programme. Periodically since then, the peasants in the independent communities have provided a large share of labour power in road-building. They received no wages for this work, but food, alcohol and coca during the work parties (Thomas 1956:456).
4. This information was recalled by some of the oldest inhabitants of the community, who would have travelled to this area around 1941 to 1948.
5. Enganche (literally to hook or ensnare) is a verbal or written contract between a peasant and the enganchador (recruitment agent) who comes to the village to hire several young people, and pays their travel costs to the valleys. For a more detailed discussion of the economic rationality behind the continuance of the enganche system in the Peruvian situation, see Cotlear 1979. cf. Bardhan & Rudra (1986) for moral notions influencing labour mobility and recruitment patterns in Asia.
6. These district capitals include Ollantaytambo, Colcha, Yaurisque, Pillpinto and Sangarara, studied by Skeldon (1977;400), whose name for this type of movement is 'pendular'.
7. Data from the Juzgado de Trabajo (Work Tribunal) in Cuzco gives some indications of the work available to women in Cuzco generally during the period 1961-74. The Tribunal records cases in which the Court obliges the employer to pay back-dated social security payments and wages to employees. As a result, these figures can do no more than give an indication of a certain type of employment open to women. A large number of domestics and women engaged

in informal economic activities are not covered by social security legislation and are thus unrecorded in the Tribunal figures. Nevertheless, we gain some indication of employment of a more secure nature from this source.

In the early 1960's, there were several cases of women employed on haciendas around Cuzco, and domestic servants. The number of domestics, or women registered in private houses in the city (who are most probably servants), remains high throughout the period for which figures are available but are complemented by other, formal employment categories. For example, 'Comersa S.A.' a private company is recorded throughout the 1965-74 period, as are a smaller number of unidentified textile factories and hotels, banks and other white-collar occupations. Most significantly, the proportion of cases which are brought by domestics indicates the continued importance of this occupation for women at this time, as well as the poor relations and conditions of work prevalent in domestic service.

It would appear that with the high rate of inflation during the early 1980's, and especially the rise in food prices, the number of families taking on a domestic has fallen in recent years. Families are now less able to afford to keep another 'mouth' in the household, and despite the large amount of work done by a live-in domestic, there is a move towards the hiring of servants for set days on a fixed wage, and the domestic is expected to find her own accommodation (interview with Christine Gideau, founder of Sindicato de Trabajadoras del Hogar, Cuzco; 1985).

8. Legislation concerned with domestic servants does not fix a minimum wage (unlike common labour law), a fixed-length workday or a holiday (SUR 1984 no.19). As a consequence, wages are almost always under the rate fixed for other employment and in some cases, young girls are not paid until they have learned how to cook for urban tastes. Nevertheless, it is important to calculate the value of the board and lodging received by the muchacha (but see note above). In some cases, this would add considerably to the value of the monetary component of the wage, while in others the poor living conditions are a further demonstration of the muchachas' exploitation.

9. She is the only member of the community, either male or female, who has continued in higher education. Her parents have only three daughters (their one son died), and many close relatives in Lima and Cuzco. They see the future of their daughters as lying in the cities and have made every effort to support the girls in school. The eldest girl lives in a small apartment in Cuzco and needs cash for this and her maintenance. She returns to the village at weekends to

work with her mother, but has not taken a paid job to support her university education. Her sister is at secondary school in Calca, where she lives with her maternal grandmother.

10. Twelve permanent migrants, male and female, from Kallarayan to Cuzco have been traced. They include migrants with skills used in the informal urban economy, such as musical instrument manufacture, car mechanics, management of a chichería and carpentry. The women were mostly employed as domestics on arrival in Cuzco, and remained in the city on marriage. One sells chicha, one manages a small restaurant in San Sebastian and one trades foodstuffs between Cuzco and Quillabamba. One woman was married with one child when she moved into Cuzco at the age of 47 years, in 1972.

11. The age of 10 years has been chosen as the cut-off point, as children of this age start to take work in various areas (Cuzco, the semi-tropical valleys and within the province), as well as continue education outside the community. The population over 10 years is thus that group likely to be engaged in purposeful moves from the community.

12. All data on wages earned by migrants is derived from information for 117 moves, of which 61 were made by women.

13. Although the wages were taken in soles, (the unit of Peruvian currency during the fieldwork period), these have been converted into U.S. dollars in order to minimize the disruptions in costings caused by continuous devaluations and inflation.

14. If it is assumed that the muchachas work every day of the week, or the equivalent number of hours, they earn an average of \$0.59 daily, just over the average for male porters, but under the rate for other male jobs.

15. These proportions are calculated on the basis of total population over 10 years of age and thus includes that population which may have moved to various areas over their lifetime.

16. The one woman who migrated for purposes of education lived in Lima for 12 months in order to continue her secondary schooling but she was unable to register in school and worked with her aunt. She subsequently returned to Kallarayan.

17. In order that minors can work, a legal order is required from the Juzgado de Menores to fix work conditions, to guarantee the right to education and the right of the child to leave the position. Although these are rarely enforced, one of the comuneros in Kallarayan has arranged this order for some girls working in Lima and Cuzco. It is rarely taken for the boys under 18 years who work in Cuzco.

18. One woman was employed in Quillabamba in an office job. She was the daughter of a woman in the community, who had married another man (not the girl's father). The daughter lived in Cuzco, as a domestic and then moved to Quillabamba where, due to her upbringing and education, she gained entry into an occupation from which peasants are generally excluded. Also one case outside this general pattern is that of a married couple, who moved to a colonization project in Pucallpa which was organised by an Evangelical group. The colonizers, who included eight families from Kallarayan, cleared the land and grew tropical produce, such as bananas, yucca and chilies for consumption. The couple returned to the community after 3 years, as first the woman's mother and then her husband fell ill. They did not return to their land in the jungle as, they say, it is too costly to travel especially now they have three children.

19. A few similar cases exist in the community. One unmarried man works most of the year in the valleys on fields of fruit and coffee trees, returning occasionally to supervise his brother's work (carried out under an ayni agreement) on his plots in Kallarayan. His brother lives with his wife and child, and the men's mother, who retains her own fields. The first man repays his brother's work during the preparation of the muyus and by providing fruit. In yet another household, three brothers and one brother-in-law alternate residence in Kallarayan and Lares, where they hold 5 hectares of land under coffee and coca. The one married sister travels down to Lares to cook for the men, while their elderly mother remains in the community caring for her two grandchildren.

20. Maenling calculates labourers' wages in Madre de Dios in the range of \$48-\$57 monthly, which is above that recorded for migrants from Kallarayan. A probable explanation is that the latter are employed in some of the smaller mining enterprises. Another problem is my small sample size of four migrants.

21. Aznar in a survey of paid workers on Madre de Dios river found that 78.6% of workers did not contemplate establishing themselves in the area with their families (1979;61).

22. The semi-tropical valley of Lares, although technically in the province of Calca, is excluded as it has more in common with the valleys of La Convención with which it has already been considered. The city of Cuzco also lies outside this region.

23. This brings us to another type of movement, which is that between peasant communities, caused predominantly by intercommunal marriage. While not

involving large distances or a change in lifestyle, the movement between communities in the area can be important in understanding household strategies and the control over resources, and is considered at greater length in chapter 6.

Chapter FiveFemale migrants from Kallarayan

Gender-specific responsibilities and lifecycle stages associated with gender differentiate female migrants, according to household structure and strategies of labour allocation of the unit. Shifts in the migration patterns in the last 40 years are due to changes in external labour markets and secular economic transformation which are outside the peasant households' sphere of control, but which have led to a shift in labour allocation responses by the unit. Over the past 40 years, women have moved into the external labour markets at an increasingly younger age. Furthermore, more female villagers are moving in the 1980s than in the 1960s and 1970s, while more moves are made over their lifetimes. Despite this increased participation in the labour market (at wages below the male average), the last decade has also seen an increase in moves by female migrants to take up education opportunities outside the community.

Female migration within household livelihood strategies is analysed through a consideration of the age and birth order of the migrants on their first move to illustrate the complex relationship between women's general cultural role and the specific role elaborated within the context of household livelihood strategies and the structure of labour markets. It is noted that older female offspring contribute to their household unit, as do all migrants from female-headed households. Female migrants who are recruited into work through the intervention of their parents are younger than their counterparts who find work through their own initiative. Despite changes in the patterns of migration, in the 1980s the majority of women continue to migrate when single despite the massive increase in moves of all women. Restrictions on married women's mobility are embedded in the role of the married woman in the domestic unit.

To illustrate the range of patterns of female migration and the female

migrants' lives, summaries of three women's life-histories are outlined in order to introduce the patterns of female migration found in the community (1). Catalina (now 51 years old) is one of five women in the community who made their first move during the 1940s (the first decade for which we have life-history information) and now lives with her husband and young children in the village. María Luisa is of another generation - her moves were carried out in the late 1970's and 1980's, and despite the 40 years separating their migration experience, there are still many similarities with Catalina's story; for example, in the continued importance of the semi-tropical valleys as a destination. Both Catalina and María Luisa were single when they made their moves, and on marrying they have stayed in the community, while their husbands have either stayed (Catalina's husband) or have continued to migrate (María Luisa's husband). Dominga, our third example, is of the same generation as María Luisa but has continued to migrate after marriage although she too started to work outside the community when single. These three women, Catalina, María Luisa and Dominga, represent various facets of female population moves from Kallarayan and their stories, although unique to themselves, highlight common factors of the women who take work or education outside the village.

Catalina was born in 1934 (2) in Kallarayan where her parents held a few animals. She was an only child and was cared for by her mother until her death when Catalina was four years old. A cousin of her mother's, a woman who she called 'aunt', took Catalina and looked after her. This older woman had no family and the girl pastured the llamas, sheep and cattle. Catalina never attended school: there was no school in the community at this time and she was busy with her aunt's herds. So she was occupied until she moved to Lares in 1949 when she was 15 years old to work in the harvesting of coca and to cook for the other workers. The patrón was from Taray and hired 7 other people to work his fields. Catalina was one of the first villagers of her generation to

migrate to Lares and it would have been a completely new environment for her, in the humid, hot and fly-infested valleys. Furthermore, she was working with seven other workers who were unknown to her, although they were also Quechua speakers and came from the surrounding communities. She earned 100 soles a month for this work, and this allowed her to buy coca, coffee and fruit for her return to Kallarayan, which she gave to her aunt. These goods, especially the coffee and fruit, probably represented luxuries at this time. She migrated for work only the one time for three months, continuing to live with her aunt and to pasture the animals. When she was 22 years she started to live with her first husband, and had two daughters by him, before he died 11 years later. Her daughters both now live in Cuzco, one as a domestic and the other has her own house and family, although they also worked briefly in the semi-tropical valleys where Catalina visited them occasionally for a week at a time. On the death of Catalina's first husband, her eldest daughter was working in the valleys, while her youngest daughter continued living in the community.

She met her second husband, Andrés, who was from the same community and is 10 years her senior. Andres had never worked in the tropical valleys, although he remembers other comuneros leaving when he was a boy. He worked on the road-building programmes and carried products into Cuzco by donkey or llama. They now have two children, a boy (6 years) and a girl (8 years), who attend the village school. As well as pasturing her few sheep, Catalina spends her time weaving ponchos and mantas of which she sells one a year in Cuzco to supplement the family income. In the community, their fields are dedicated to the basic crops of the area, as well as barley (sold to the brewery) and a small amount of fodder. Andres is too old to work in Cuzco, he says, although he continues to work in the fields and carry produce to the capital for sale.

María Luisa is now 17 years of age and although married, she continues to live in a house with her mother and her younger sister. Between the ages of

8 and 12 María Luisa went to the village school, attaining 3rd grade and she is thus able to read and write on a limited basis. Before starting *servinakuy* recently (1984), María Luisa had migrated to a number of distinct destinations. In 1980, when she was only 13 years old she worked in Lares for 6 months, harvesting coca and cooking for two other workers who were also from Kallarayan. Recruited by an *enganchador*, she earned about \$12 per month. She used half of her earnings to buy clothes for herself, while the other half was given to her parents. After returning briefly to the family home, she moved again to Cuzco as a domestic for a large family. She was recruited by the teacher of the village school for one of the latter's relatives and in the city, she cooked and cleaned as well as looking after four children. Again she kept half the money and half went to her parents. After only 4 months, she returned to the community: her father had fallen ill and her mother wanted her, as the eldest child, to help them. Her father's illness did not last long, and María Luisa took work in Puerto Maldonado as a cook for the goldpanning workers. However, her father had a relapse and died, and within five months María Luisa was back in Kallarayan at her mother's request.

Her widowed mother, Flor, is still the senior woman in the household and as such remains responsible for the storehouse, the sale of animals and the organisation of cooking. Flor was born in 1926 in Patabamba, a neighboring community, where she pastured the family's animals and helped in the fields. As her mother and father died when she was young, she lived with her older brother in their parents' house. In 1964 she worked in Chaupimayo (La Convención) for four months as a harvester in the coffee and coca fields, and earned 500s. a month. She bought clothes for herself with her earnings and did not send remittances to the household as, she explains, her mother had died. However, she did return to the village at her brother's request in order to help in the fields. A few years later, she moved into her husband's house in

Kallarayan, soon after which she gave birth to María Luisa, and she has remained in the community since that time.

The household organisation is relatively complex and reflects the range of activities undertaken by members to guarantee livelihood. They grow potatoes, a little maize and beans and barley - the latter is sold in Cuzco. María Luisa spends much time pasturing their 10 sheep and one cow, as her younger sister is at school. Her conviviente Eduardo (24 years) works in Cuzco in a car-repair shop, earning money for working in the fields and for food. Knowing how to read and write, he was also elected as the secretary in the last community elections, but this does not generally prevent him from spending much of his time in Cuzco. He brings vegetables and various foodstuffs from Cuzco, as well as providing the cash required for working the fields. The household members decide together on the type and quantity of consumption goods required, and contribute to the labour requirements of the unit.

Dominga is the last of our case-history examples. Born in 1961, she was the second daughter although her mother subsequently had two children by another man. Dominga's father deserted her mother when she was pregnant with the girl. In the house she collected firewood and water, pastured the sheep and cows and learn to spin, and she was skilled in this task by the age of 8. When she was 10 years old she started school in Kallarayan and after 3 years, continued her education in Ccorao (as the school in the community did not go beyond 3rd grade), where she reached 4th grade. When she was 15 she worked in Lares for 3 months on the usual enganchadores' contract and returned with clothes for herself, her siblings and her mother. She went again to the harvest the following year, this time to La Convención for 3 months.

On returning to Kallarayan, she started to live with her husband, Jesús, in their own house, and soon after marrying she went again to the valleys to Occobamba to work with a friend of her husband's. She bought household items

with her money - pots, pans, blankets and a bed. She was pregnant at the time and gave birth to her first son when they returned to the village, and has not moved since this time to the valleys. Jesús now works in Puerto Maldonado for 6 months of the year, and sends her money with which to work the fields and buy food and clothes for their children. During her husband's absence, Dominga oversees the working of the fields and then moves to Cuzco with her children (she gave birth to another son), where she spends her time buying and selling agricultural produce to earn some more money. The household owns no livestock, and when Dominga moves away from the community, she only returns to oversee the agricultural work.

How representative are these women of other female migrants from the community? We shall discuss the historical evolution of migration from the community, in which it will be seen that the pattern of migration has changed notably in the last 40 years. The ordering of moves will then be analysed, and it will be shown that step-migration is of minor importance in the female population moves. Female migration has however expanded in terms of the number of moves made by individuals and in total numbers moving away from the community. Women are increasingly involved in urban opportunities, whether in the labour market or in education, and details of these moves are outlined below. We then turn to a consideration of the family position of the young women movers, with an analysis of the age and birth order in relation to their destination and the method of recruitment. Marital status is a crucial element in the distinction among female mobility patterns: married women's moves are differentiated from those of single women in terms of the length of absence, the presence/absence of husband and children, and the work taken.

The evolution of mobility patterns

In terms of their destinations, the three women whose histories were outlined, are illustrative of the change in the type of opportunities open to women during the forty years under consideration. Moves into the labour market in the 1940's were to the semi-tropical valleys of Lares (as shown in table 5:1): Catalina was one of three women who migrated temporarily to this coca and fruit-producing area (3).

Table 5:1 Female migration, according to destination and decade of move

| DATE | 1940-85 | | | | | TOTAL | |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------|-------|
| | Destination of move | | | | | No. | % |
| | <u>Cuzco</u> | <u>Lima</u> | <u>Valleys</u> | <u>Pto.M</u> | <u>Province</u> | | |
| 1940-49 | - | - | 5 | - | - | 5 | 3.9 |
| 1950-59 | 2 | 1 | 11 | - | - | 14 | 11.0 |
| 1960-69 | 2 | - | 23 | - | 1 | 26 | 20.5 |
| 1970-79 | 10 | 9 | 28 | 1 | 4 | 52 | 40.9 |
| 1980-85 | 7 | 2 | 20 | 1 | - | 30 | 23.6 |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | 21 | 12 | 87 | 2 | 5 | 127 | (100) |
| % | 16.5 | 9.4 | 68.5 | 1.6 | 3.9 | (100) | |

NB. This table includes all female migrants currently in the community (56 women).

Source: Lifehistory data, Kallarayan 1985

The women were employed as harvesters, and to cook for the other workers as occasion required, and generally were employed for 3 months. Employment contracts although not usually formalized were for 90 days, a period which has remained the same since this time. In this decade, transport links between the valleys and the communities were non-existent and consequently the women walked to their work in a 3 day journey.

As transport links have improved (today the construction of a road and numerous trucks provide easy access to this region), so Lares has continued to

be a major destination for women from the community along with the valleys of La Convención which were developed subsequently. The latter valley was opened for the expansion of commercial agriculture in the 1950's and 60s and attracted female migrants from Kallarayan from this time, overtaking Lares as the primary source of female employment in the valleys during the 1960s and 70s as a consequence of the continued (and growing) demand for labour in harvesting. Hence, Maria Luisa and Dominga are representative of more recent migrants to this area. Work conditions in the two areas are broadly similar: peasant women are employed in harvesting and cooking. Short-term employment is especially prevalent in Lares, where the average length of stay of village women is 12 weeks, whereas female migration to La Convención has tended to be more long-term. Moves to this latter destination are equally divided between 3 month moves, and those of 4 months to 1 year. Longer moves are made by women who take harvesting work, or a cook's job on smaller scale enterprises which are often owned or operated by kin.

The continuing importance of the semi-tropical valleys goes hand in hand with the emergence of a totally new rural destination, Puerto Maldonado, a destination which only started to receive female migrants at the end of the 1970s. The expansion of gold-panning, improvements in transport (the road from Cuzco to Puerto Maldonado was completed in the early 1970s) and the existence of an employment agency, all increased the demand for workers in the Cuzco area. Two women from Kallarayan were recruited into this area. Maria Luisa, whose history is given above, worked as a cook: she had been recruited by an enganchador who came into the community itself. In 1979, another young woman, Estrella, moved to Puerto Maldonado where she worked as a shop assistant for 3 years. She was recruited from Cuzco where she was in school, by a friend of her father's.

In contrast to the rise of Puerto Maldonado as a new destination, moves

within the province, largely consisting of moves into the community upon marriage, show no significant variation over the period 1940-85. The rate fluctuates between one and four cases in a decade (in the 1960s and 1970s respectively), but never accounts for more than 8% of all moves in any decade (4). One source of employment in the province for young women since the early 1970s (and presumably in earlier years although there are no recorded cases) is that of the shepherdesses for farmers in the Sacred Valley. While of only minor importance, this illustrates the relationship between the large landowners and the highland peasant communities (as also illustrated by the men working in the maize harvest, chapter 4). Young girls of 10-15 years of age are employed for several months to oversee the herds of animals of landowners with whom their families maintain *compadrazgo* ties.

While the semi-tropical valleys have continued to provide a significant source of employment to women from the community, an important change during the last 40 years is the increasing opportunities in urban destinations, as shown in table 5:1. Expanding from a fifth to nearly a half of all moves between 1950 and 1979, urban destinations have changed the picture of female migration. María Luisa's experience as a domestic is just one example of the many young women who have moved to Cuzco, Lima and other urban centres, especially during the last two decades. The departmental capital predominates as the single most important destination for women throughout the period under consideration and its migrants outnumber by two to one those who move to Lima, Arequipa and all other towns. Employment as domestics provides work for these women in a majority of cases, although education is also a reason for migration (see below).

Not only has the number of distinct destinations of migrants expanded in the last 40 years, the occupations taken by the women are increasingly varied. Discounting marriage as a motive for migration, we note in table 5:2 that the

number of occupations in which female migrants were engaged, increases from one in the 1940s to eight in the 1970s-80s. Harvesting retains its primary position over the 40 years, and conditions of employment have remained the same.

Table 5:2 The employment of female migrants 1940-85

| <u>Occupations</u> | <u>Date of migration</u> | | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------------|------------|
| | 1940s | 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s* | (%) |
| Harvesting | 5 | 4 | 21 | 20 | 22 (44) | 48.7 |
| Domestic | | 3 | 3 | 18 | 20 (40) | 33.2 |
| Education | | | | 6 | 4 (8) | 7.3 |
| Cook | | | | 2 | 3 (6) | 4.1 |
| Marketing | | | | | 2 (4) | 2.1 |
| Shepherdess | | | | 1 | 1 (2) | 1.6 |
| Office | | | | | 1 (2) | 1.0 |
| Colonization | | | | 1 | | 0.5 |
| Shop assistant | | | | 1 | (1) | 1.0 |
| Family dependent | | | | 1 | | 0.5 |
| <u>No. of distinct occupations</u> | 1 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 8 | 10 |
| <u>TOTAL (no.)</u> | 5 | 7 | 24 | 50 | 53 (107) | 193 |
| (%) | 2.6 | 3.6 | 12.4 | 26.0 | 55.4 | (100) |

* The figures for the first 5 years of the 1980s have been projected for the whole decade in order to be comparable with the other figures.

However, while women in the 1940's tended to leave to find work by themselves (and only one woman, Catalina whose history is outlined above, was recruited by a local landowner), in subsequent decades, the patterns of recruitment have changed considerably, as enganchadores have strengthened relations with the peasant communities and as more villagers have direct experience in the valleys. Thus, for example, in the 1940s Catalina was recruited by a local patron from Taray, but it is unlikely that she knew anything of the valleys, as

few other villagers had worked in this area. Her contemporaries who moved to Lares in this decade did so independently of parents and recruiters. Gloria left, she says, because of a disagreement with her parents and Blanca left her father's house, as her stepmother 'made her suffer'. Both of these women found work without intermediaries and although moving into an unknown area, later returned to the valleys. Indeed, Gloria returned in the early 1950s with four people, one of whom was her younger sister: this was the start of female migrants moving in groups of kin or female contemporaries to the valleys (5). By the 1970s, young female migrants are moving into this employment in small groups: they have heard about the work and the life from older girls or siblings, and may have travelled with the latter on their first visit. Women travelling in this way account for two-fifths of moves since 1970, as shown in table 5:3.

Table 5:3 Method of recruitment into harvesting work 1970-85

| <u>Method of recruitment</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Average age of recruit</u> (years) |
|------------------------------|---------------|----------|--|
| Enganchador * | 20 | 44.4 | 15.1 |
| Independent | 18 | 40.0 | 15.5 |
| Kin (especially husband) | 7 | 15.6 | 17 |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | 45 | (100) | |

* An enganchador is a recruiting agent

María Luisa and Dominga (whose cases were given above) were transported to the valleys by enganchadores, whose influence has spread in the peasant communities. The female migrants thus may travel with others from the same community or with workers from remoter areas. Recruitment by this means accounted for nearly half of female population moves to the semi-tropical valleys in the 1970s and 80s (6).

Briefly then, we note that during the 40 years of migration under

consideration, the number of moves has increased, and in so doing the nature of population flows have changed. In the 1980s, urban destinations are of notable importance, compared with in the 1940s and 1950s. The semi-tropical valleys continue to provide employment for women of the community, yet the number of distinct occupations taken by female migrants has increased markedly over the same period. We turn to analyse the rise in the number of moves made over the lifetimes of female migrants, during the period 1940-85.

The expansion in number of moves

By comparing María Luisa's and Catalina's lifehistories, we note a trend towards an increase in the number of destinations experienced by the individual women. Whereas Catalina worked only once in the valley of Lares, María Luisa migrated to 3 different destinations over the course of her career. Considering all female migrants, we note that this is a general pattern in which the number of distinct destinations experienced by recent migrants is greater than that for women in the previous generation, as shown in table 5:4. The number of women working in, or moving to, two or more destinations has increased from a quarter of migrants in the 1940s to over three-fifths in the 1970s, and in that decade just over a quarter of women made three or moves to different areas (7). The trend towards a more complex 'mix' of destinations would appear to be related to the increased range of opportunities available (and improved transport links) rather than solely the age of migrants. In the 1950s, several women made their first move to one area and then migrated to a different area in the 1970s or 80s. This should not obscure the fact, however, that the young girls who started their migration histories in the 1980s are as yet too young to have experienced a range of destinations. By comparing this data with that for men and women in the period 1975-85 (chapter 4; table 4:7), we note that women consistently migrate to fewer destinations than the male comuneros.

Table 5:4

| | <u>Number of distinct destinations by decade of first move</u> | | | | | <u>TOTAL</u> Number |
|----------------------------------|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------------------|
| | <u>Decade of first move</u> | | | | | |
| <u>No. distinct destinations</u> | 1940s | 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s | |
| 1 | 75 | 40 | 57.1 | 39.1 | 55.6 | 27 |
| 2 | 25 | 20 | 35.7 | 34.9 | 33.3 | 18 |
| 3 | | 40 | 7.1 | 21.7 | 11.1 | 9 |
| 4 | | | | 4.4 | | 1 |
| <u>TOTAL (N)</u> 4 | 5 | 14 | 23 | 9 | | (55) |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

The historical data shows however that nearly half of the women have migrated to two or more destinations, a figure closer to that of the male migrants in the previous 10 years.

Turning to a consideration of the total number of moves made by women (regardless of destination), the pattern does not vary significantly for women of different generations. Although the total number of moves made varies between one and eleven (8), the average number of moves made remains around 2.5 for each of the decades as shown in table 5:5. Women who first migrated during the 1980s are unlikely to have made many moves by the time of the interview: hence, the average number of moves made by women in this group is under the total average, at 1.9 moves.

There is however, a consistent decline in the average age of migrants when they first move, which accounts for one year's difference in age for migrants in the 1940s compared with their counterparts in the 1980s, as shown in table 5:5 (9). In this sense, Catalina and Dominga (15 years old when they moved initially) are relatively older than a large number of their contemporaries.

María Luisa, 13 years old when she first left the community, is typical of the girls of her generation. The mode of age of first move is consistently less than the average age over the period 1940-85, especially during the 1960s and 70s, when the average age is over one year greater than the mode. This difference declines in the 1980s when both values are around 13 years.

Table 5:5

| <u>Average age at first move, according to decade of first move, 1940-85</u> | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| | Total average number of moves | Average age at first move | Number (N=71) |
| 1940s | 2.75 | 14.25 | 4 |
| 1950s | 2.6 | 14.2 | 6 |
| 1960s | 2.57 | 13.4 | 14 |
| 1970s* | 2.4 | 13.4 | 25 |
| 1980s** | 1.9 | 13.2 | 22 |

* includes data for 3 girls currently absent

** includes data for 13 girls currently absent

Considering older than average female migrants, we note that the women who do not migrate before the age of 18 years account for fewer than 10% of female migrants and these women are evenly distributed over the period 1940 to 1980. No woman has migrated for the first time when she was over 21 years of age, and these older migrants do not generally take more than 2 moves away from the community. As we shall note below, these women move at a later age for a variety of reasons, related to their position in the family.

As the total number of moves made by female migrants has increased (although it does not compare with male migration patterns), there has been a consistent fall in the age of migrants on their first move. Young women who migrate from the community today leave at an earlier age, and are likely to move to more different destinations over their lifetimes than women of their mothers' generation.

Ordering of moves

Step migration can be defined as movements through rural destinations into urban areas, and then up the urban hierarchy. Among the peasant female migrants, step moves are not significant: nearly two-thirds of the migrants moved to only one destination over their lifetimes and furthermore, the semi-tropical valleys are the most significant destination for the women of the community, whether they are moving for the first or fifth time, as illustrated in table 5:6, which accounts for over half of the moves made, regardless of order. Cuzco is the second most important destination, regardless of order of move, although Lima accounts for an equal number of second moves as Cuzco. Interestingly, Puerto Maldonado (the 'newest' destination for women) is only a second or third destination, but does not appear as a woman's first destination.

Table 5:6 Relative share of destinations according to order of moves

| | <u>Destination of move</u> | | | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | |
|--------------|----------------------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|----------|
| | <u>Cuzco</u> | <u>Lima</u> | <u>Valleys</u> | <u>Pto.M.</u> | <u>Province</u> | <u>No.</u> | <u>%</u> |
| 1 | 10 | 5 | 35 | - | 5 | 55 | 46.2 |
| 2 | 6 | 6 | 19 | 1 | 1 | 33 | 27.7 |
| 3 | 3 | 1 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 20 | 16.8 |
| 4 | 1 | - | 6 | - | - | 7 | 5.9 |
| 5+ | | | 4 | | | 4 | 3.4 |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | No. 20 | 12 | 78 | 2 | 7 | 119 | (100) |
| % | 16.8 | 10.1 | 65.5 | 1.7 | 5.9 | (100) | |

Of the women migrating to one or more destinations, five fit our definition of step-movers, either in that they moved first to a rural place, and subsequently to an urban destination, or they advanced through the urban hierarchy. Dominga and Fransisca worked in Lares briefly before migrating to Lima as domestics: in each case the movements were unconnected and indeed the skills required in the two locations were quite distinct. Both women have since returned to Kallarayan. Another three women, while employed as domestics, moved through the urban hierarchy with their employers at

increasing distances from the village. For example, Rosita moved to Taray when she was only 9 years old to work in her madrina's house as a shepherdess. From here she was recruited by her madrina's neighbour whose daughter required a domestic for their house in Lima, to which she travelled directly and where she remained for a year before returning to the community. Rosita thus moved within a network of recruitment based on her madrina, through whom she found work in two areas. In a slightly different manner, Violeta moved to Lima as a domestic for a professional family. With this family (who recruited her in Cuzco as the Señora was originally from there) she moved to Trujillo, Huancayo and Huacho during the course of the 7 years she was employed. Violeta moved with her employers to areas increasingly remote from her community of origin.

In the third example, Rosina also moved up the urban hierarchy through work as a domestic, although in her case she was employed by two different families (and not one as in the example of Violeta). She first moved briefly to La Convención at the age of 17 years where she worked in a marketing venture for several years. At the age of 22, she found work as a domestic in Cuzco, but thought this work too hard as she held responsibility for 5 children. Within a year she left to take up work with another family who had only 3 children, and who were related to her comadre. They moved from Cuzco to Arequipa, taking Rosina with them. Again, godparenthood relations were important in the recruitment of domestics and explaining the moves of young peasant women to distant urban areas.

Although the number of independent moves made by female migrants in a step-wise manner is limited, I would tentatively suggest that the peasant female migrants move in a step-wise fashion insofar as their employers do so (10). That is, that women engaged as domestics, especially with a professional family, tend to move up the urban hierarchy as a consequence of their

employer's shifts in location, but otherwise their employment opportunities do not lend themselves to step-like moves (11). Such shifts tend to occur with domestic service rather than with harvesting/agricultural labouring, as the women depend on moving with their employers to stay in employment. This is illustrated by Rosita's case. After returning to Kallarayan from Lima, she found work briefly in Cuzco as a domestic, but three later moves were to Lares and La Convención. Step migration is thus found only for a minority of female migrants, and it is associated with domestic service for professional families (12).

Urban employment opportunities

The range of work in urban areas for the female migrants is limited compared with the male migrants (chapter 4) and is primarily in domestic service. However, the work taken by female villagers has become increasingly varied over the 40 year period under consideration: women in the 1980s have found work as shop assistants, as cooks and in petty commerce. While most employment is in Cuzco, in recent years women have also found work in different urban locations, such as the city of Puerto Maldonado and in Lima.

Domestic service was the fastest growing occupation for female migrants from the community: from only 3 recorded cases in the 1950's and 60s, the number of migrants working in this way jumped to 20 in the first five years of the 1980s, as shown in table 5:7. (This includes 13 girls who are currently absent from the village.) Its share of total employment has risen from 12.5% to over a third in the same period. In Catalina's generation of the 1940s, women from the peasant community were not recruited into domestic service, whereas María Luisa is one of many girls of her age group who have experienced this type of work since the 1950s.

Table 5:7

Recruitment of female migrants into domestic service 1950-85

| <u>Method of recruitment</u> | <u>Decade of move</u> | | | | <u>TOTAL</u> | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|----------|
| | 1950s | 1960s | 1970s | 1980s | <u>Number</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Compadres | 3 | | 6 | 6 | 15 | 34.0 |
| Others | | | 2 | 8 | 10 | 22.7 |
| Independent | | 6 | 1 | 7 | 16.0 | → |
| Teachers | | | | 4 | 4 | 9.1 |
| Family* | | 1 | | | 1 | 2.2 |
| Not specified ² | | 4 | 1 | 7 | 16.0 | → |
| <u>TOTAL (N)</u> | 3 | 3 | 18 | 20 | 44 | (100) |
| (%) | 6.8 | 6.8 | 40.9 | 45.5 | (100) | |

* includes siblings

Source: Lifehistory interviews, Kallarayan 1985.

Young women are recruited in a variety of ways, although compadres are especially important, either in employing villagers in their own houses or in finding a muchacha on behalf of neighbours and friends, as shown in table 5:7. Overall, compadres were responsible for finding work for a third of the domestics from Kallarayan, especially before 1980, and particularly in the 1950s. In the latter decade all domestics were recruited in this way. During the 1980s, it would appear that the teachers in the community school are taking over the role previously played by compadres. The teachers either employ girls in their home (especially during the school vacations) or act as 'scouts' for friends and relatives: their position is thus analagous to that of padrinos. María Luisa was recruited by a village teacher on behalf of a relative in Cuzco: her case is thus illustrative of more recent changes in the pattern of recruitment. Individuals unrelated (by blood or fictive kin ties) to the girls and their families account for nearly a quarter of agents or employers for domestic service jobs. These people include a range of individuals who come to the community or who

meet the girls during visits to Cuzco and Písaq. Women are employed via agents into domestic service and, as we shall see below, this accounts for the relatively young ages of migrants. Fewer than one girl in six finds work on her own, by talking to potential employers on trips to nearby towns.

Women have also been employed in a variety of other tasks since the mid-1970s, including office work (one woman), as cooks in pensiones (5 women), marketing (2 women) and as a shop assistant (1 woman) in Cuzco, Lima as well as Puerto Maldonado. The cooks are usually employed in small restaurants in Cuzco and the surrounding areas, such as San Sebastián: their work is in many ways similar to that of the domestics, except for its commercial setting. Taking one girl as an example; Estrella, who is now aged 19 years, works as a cook in a small pension in San Sebastián owned by a permanent migrant from Kallarayan. She lives with her brothers and father who rent a room in Cuzco. Estrella is the only one in the family to live permanently in the town as the rest of her family circulate between the village and the urban area on a short term basis. Before starting in the pension, Estrella worked as a shop assistant in Puerto Maldonado, between the ages of 14 and 17 years. Female migrants who work in marketing are generally older than the average urban migrant, and they use skills developed during their early adolescence. Among those migrants taking non-domestic work in urban areas, a small proportion of the workers find work on their own initiative. Strangers or friends of the family (not godparents) are the most important agents in job-location outside domestic service.

The employment of female migrants in urban areas has become more varied over the last 40 years, thus reflecting the general pattern for all female moves. Domestic service continues to provide work for the largest proportion of young women, who are recruited by a variety of intermediaries including godparents, teachers, kin and strangers. Other young female migrants who enter the city, do so in order to continue their education.

Moves for education

Although the village school has expanded in recent years and now includes classes up to 6th grade of primary education, young women have moved in increasing numbers out of the village to continue their studies elsewhere (although these numbers remain small in comparison with migration for other motives). From the early 1970s, ten young women have attended schools outside the village. The destination of the girls is a function not only of the availability of schools, but also the presence of relatives or compadres with whom they live while in education. Thus Gregoria lived with her aunt for 5 years in Cuzco while completing first to 6th grade of primary school. Her aunt paid for her schooling although it had been her father's idea to take her. In a similar fashion, Silvia moved to Cuzco when she was 10 years old: she had completed 2 years in the village school but her father thought that it would be better for her to continue her studies in a larger school, so she lived with her relatively wealthy padrinos and finished primary school by the age of 14.

Ana and María are two sisters who moved to Calca where their grandmother lived, and this element clearly influenced their parents decision to send them here rather than to Cuzco. The schools in Calca were also thought to be better than those in the village. Maria, the oldest of the two, was the first to move when she was 7 years old. Her grandmother lived alone so María was able to help around the house, until she was 12 years old when her parents decided that she should start secondary school in Lima. Although she moved to her aunt's house in Magdalena del Mar (Lima), registration for the school had closed and she spent one year helping her aunt with a street-based business before returning to secondary school in Calca. At 18, she moved to Cuzco to start at university where she is training as a secondary school teacher (13). Although she has relatives in Cuzco she lives in a rented room, paid for by her parents, as she needs quiet in order to study. Her younger sister, Ana, is still in Calca

where she moved aged 8 in 1976 to start primary and subsequently secondary school. She plans to enter Cuzco University when she is 18 to study mathematics. Ana and Maria's parents are unusual in the community in the extent to which they are able to pay for their daughters' education (14), but they are not exceptional in the degree to which they value schooling. Most parents want their children educated but are not able to afford teaching outside the community.

Education may be pursued while the girls are employed in another capacity, especially domestic service: six girls from the community have furthered their education in this way. Costs of schooling are paid by the girls themselves or by their employers, particularly when the latter are teachers themselves. However, as terms of employment in domestic service are short, the young women are rarely able to continue their schooling for a sustained period of time: one grade in school is all that they can achieve before returning to the village, where they may or may not re-enter school. There are exceptions however: women who are with the same employer and attend school for a longer period. Violeta (whose history was outlined briefly above) went to Lima when she was 14 years old for 7 years. After never having been to school in Kallarayan she knew no Spanish, but after 2 years she felt confident enough to attend night school where she reached 3rd grade before returning to the community. She now laments the fact that she is unable to use her writing and reading but hopes that her children should be able in the future to make the most of their education.

To summarize so far, it has been shown that in the 45 years under consideration, the patterns of female mobility have changed due to an increase in the number of women moving outside the community and to the shift from predominantly rural destinations to a mix of urban and rural destinations. Between 1950 and 1960, the number of moves made by individual women

doubled, and by the 1970s another doubling had occurred. In that decade, female mobility was at its peak: just over 40% of women moving for the first time did so between 1970 and 1979. As the group of female migrants grew and the number of individuals' moves expanded, so the range of employment types has become more complex, while education has emerged as a motive for migration in the last 10 years. Furthermore, women enter the external labour market now at an earlier age than 40 years ago. While such a pattern is due to the changing structure of the labour market in the broadest sense, the specifics of the individual women's migration histories can be analysed in terms of the households' livelihood strategy and their role within this. The age of migrants is a complex element in the analysis, and we turn now to a discussion of how age and birth order indicate the relation of the female migrant to the labour market.

Age and birth order of female migrants: independence and the labour market

Age at migration appears to be related most closely to the type of work into which the women are recruited. This is not however a function of the labour market per se: it is also a reflexive process by which the women, due to the stage in the lifecycle, their position in the household and the aims of the move, also migrate to a certain destination (among a limited set of opportunities). Parents may choose on their behalf, on a similar set of criteria. Thus, very broadly, we note that the women employed in the semi-tropical valleys are older than those employed in Cuzco or Lima as domestics, and in turn these groups are older than those who work as shepherdesses, or the girls moving to continue their education. Age is indicative of a number of factors which it is helpful to break down in order to understand relations with peasant household organisation, and to differentiate among the female migrants.

Taking age as an indicator of the range of variables (both endogenous and exogenous) which influence the participation of women in the labour market, we

find a range of age groups which characterize different subgroups of women, according to the reason for migration, the methods of recruitment and household structure and livelihood strategies. Considering the age at first move (which illustrates most clearly the factors we wish to explain, while it also allows for a consideration of the greatest possible number of migrants), we note that depending on the motive for migration, the average age of first moves varies between eight and one quarter years and 15.7 years. All the first moves made by women in the community were undertaken while they were single (see below for a consideration of married women's migration). Within these moves too we may note the influence of parental and enganchadores' control over the female migrants, as shown in table 5:8, as well as women's relative autonomy vis-a-vis the household unit.

The status of quasi-adulthood is important in defining the control women have over their own income and location, which is illustrated in the age at which women first migrate, and the control exerted over income. Clearly, the particular dimensions of the status depends on the family circumstances of the individual in question, but we may generally say that relative autonomy in some respects begins to be applicable to women of 14 to 15 years old, while adult status applies to those women of 18-20 years, especially to married women. This applies to all young women of the community regardless of migration experience. Over four-fifths of the women moving with some degree of independence were concentrated in the age group 14 to 20 years. Only two women moved before this age, and were located in households in which relationships and duties were unclear, as well as being subject to much stress and violence.

Within these age ranges, independence from household control is negotiated and is constrained by the woman's sense of responsibility towards the family economy, and her socialization within the unit (see section on kinship influences

Age at first move according to destination, method of recruitment and reason for migration

| Ave. age at first move | <u>Independent moves</u> | | | <u>Arranged moves</u> | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------|
| | <u>Valley</u> | <u>Domestic</u> | <u>Province</u> | <u>Valley</u> | <u>Domestic</u> | <u>Province</u> | <u>Family</u> | <u>Education</u> |
| 15.7 | 15.5 | 15 | | 13.25 | 13.3 | 9 | 9 | 8.25 |
| Range of ages | 10-20 | 15-16 | - | 8-16 | 12-16 | - | 7-11 | 7-10 |
| Number of moves (N=55) | 13 | 2 | 1 | 18 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 4 |

NB. In the case of four migrants (two urban domestics and two moving to the valleys) there is insufficient information. One woman moved into the community on marrying: she was 20 years old.

on behaviour in chapter 6). Women who migrate within the context of household control and decision-making move at a consistently younger age than those female migrants who, although they retain a degree of responsibility towards the unit, are old enough (in the eyes of the peasant community) to take work relatively autonomously. We shall see in the following section, and in Table 5:8

chapter 6 how household strategies and family structure influence the nature of female migration.

Migration into the semi-tropical valleys

Considering the destinations separately, we may analyse in more depth how the method of recruitment and household livelihood strategies in turn influence the age of initiation of women into external labour markets. Women moving to the semi-tropical valleys independently vary in age from 10 to 20 years old, although the majority move when over 14 years of age, as shown in table 5:9. Women whose earnings are contributed wholly or in part to the household are older than the average in the group. These women hold considerable responsibility towards the other household members, and their position derives in part from their family position: the women who contribute all of their earnings to the unit of origin are daughters of widowed mothers.

Table 5:9 Age at first move to valleys, according to method of recruitment and use of remittances

| | <u>Independent</u> | | <u>Type of move</u> | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------|----------|
| | <u>h</u> | <u>h+s</u> | <u>s</u> | <u>Arranged</u> | | |
| | | | | <u>h</u> | <u>h+s</u> | <u>s</u> |
| <u>Average age</u> | | | | | | |
| <u>at move</u> | 16.3 | 15.6 | 15.4 | 14 | 13.2 | 13 |
| <u>Age range</u> | 14-20 | 14-17 | 10-18 | - | 8-16 | 8-15 |
| <u>No. of moves</u> | 13 | | 18 | | | |

Key Use of remittances

h = remittances to household

h+s = remittances for self and household

s = remittances for self only

These families are those which rely upon remittances from children to be able to take part in the ayni labour exchanges (chapter 6). It is crucial to note that those migrants who donate their wages to the household are those who are in a position of having adult responsibilities as regards the unit, which are imposed upon them. Insofar as this applies, they substitute for an absent adult male, from whom it would be expected that all or most of the earnings would be returned to the household. These women have an average age of 16.3 years, (within the range 14-20 years).

The women who contribute to the household while retaining some cash for themselves are almost a year younger, at 15.6 years (with a range from 14-17 years). The largest proportion of these women are from households headed by a widowed woman, and the girls play a role similar to that of the girls above, whose principle duty is towards the household. However, the girls who keep part of their earnings are among the youngest of the family (compared with the older siblings above). Two factors influence their control over the cash earned, which are related to intra-household relations and strategies of the unit. Firstly, in female-headed households older siblings tend to play a central role in income generation for the unit (their income goes towards the maintenance of the subsistence base), and younger siblings therefore do not carry the burden of supporting the household, and give only part of their wages. However, this works in conjunction with another factor which is the relation between the youngest child and parents (only one parent in this case), which is one of affection and allows for indulgence towards the youngest. The parents are also aware of the demands which can be made on the chanako, for support and care in old age. These children are not released from the household at an early age, but are retained for longer than older siblings, and first move at an average age of 15.6 years, compared with an average of 14.3 years for older sisters.

This is supported by data for the female migrants who move with some degree of autonomy from female-headed households, as these girls retain all of their earnings for themselves. (Their average age is 16 years on first move.) These women are all the youngest of the family, as we would expect (although in one case, the girl lived with an elder married brother as her parents had died). Girls moving with a degree of autonomy are not all from widowed mother's families (and subject to the corresponding duties and expectations), as young women from nuclear families also move independently. In nuclear family units, the eldest children are the most likely to move, setting out with friends or contemporaries to the sub-tropical valleys, although in their majority they contribute to the domestic income. The girls who use their income for themselves fall into two main groups. There are those women who are adult and who are not the eldest child, and whose income is seen to be their own concern - these women are on average 17-18 years old. We note for this first group that as well as being independent as regards marriage, young women may also control their own work and income. The second group is much younger (10-11 years) and includes the girls whose family situation is insecure. In these cases, their mothers have died when they were young and the father has remarried. Relations between step-parents and children are often strained and frequently lead to physical mistreatment (see Bolton & Bolton 1970:63). It is not surprising therefore, in these circumstances, that girls as young as 10 years move to the valleys and that they retain their own wages.

We may note in summary that the women moving independently to the semi-tropical valleys do so on the assumption of a degree of independence from the household in terms of direct control over their labour. Depending on their position in the household they assume, too, various income-sharing responsibilities with the unit; these duties fall especially upon the eldest children and on all children in female-headed households. Responsibilities are

lessened among the younger (and particularly the youngest) sibling, with whom there exists a relation of indulgence. In nuclear family households, female migrants generally retain some of their earnings, while returning a variable quantity to the household of origin. In these households, their contribution is not as crucial to the maintenance of livelihood as in the female-headed households.

Among those recruited into work in the semi-tropical valleys by enganchadores or with the intervention of parents, we find that the average age is lower than that prevalent among the latter type of movers. Recruitment by an outside agent (such as the enganchador) tends to force down the age at which employment outside the community first occurs. That is, the labour markets recruit women who in the eyes of their own society are not fully adult and thus less likely to work outside the community on their own initiative. As a result, the age at which employment begins external to the community is brought down from 15 years (the youngest independent movers) to 13 years (the youngest arranged moves to the valleys), among all female migrants, a significant reduction. Again we find that the women who contribute all of their wages to the household are the oldest group, while those who keep their earnings are younger. Those who share their income between their family and themselves are in a similar position to their counterparts in the quasi-autonomous moves.

The labour market does of course benefit from such recruitment (15), but this would not be sufficient to explain the particular pattern of female mobility from the community as for every 2 'independent' moves there are 3 arranged migrations to the semi-tropical valleys. Endogenous factors also play a role in affecting the prevalence of this pattern among the village's households. Most girls moving in this way are from households in which both parents are present and working. The poorest households, regardless of family structure, are liable to need to supplement a meagre income with earnings from external labour

markets. As we have noted above this particularly affects the eldest sibling of the family. All of the girls whose income from harvesting work goes only to the domestic unit, are the oldest among their siblings, as are the majority of girls who share their wages between themselves and the unit. For example, María Luisa, the eldest girl, moved first at the age of 13 years. Because of their short-term absence, these girls may continue to work in the parental household for the greater part of the year.

In female-headed households, enganchadores push down the age of recruitment to a greater extent than the average. The need of these families for cash and the absence of an adult male to fulfill the wage-earning role, appears to be the major factor here. Girls from the female-headed households initiate work in the valleys at an average age of 12.3 years, below the average even for the moves of girls under parental control. These girls, in the majority of cases (two-thirds of this group) share their earnings with the household. Catalina (whose history was outlined above) was recruited at the age of 15 by an enganchador, for whom she worked briefly. On returning to Kallarayan, she brought foodstuffs for her aunt, as well as clothes for herself. At 15 years, she is older than the average for the young women of this group, but it must be considered that she was recruited in the 1940s, at a time when the enganchadores were first expanding their networks into the communities.

Responsibility towards the domestic unit of origin applies in female-headed households, it would appear, to all siblings - there is no marked trend for any sibling to contribute part of their income more frequently. While the contribution of this income is a crucial part of strategies concerning migration, another element is salient. During employment of this type, costs of reproduction are borne by the employer and hence reduce the burden on the rural unit. Among female-headed households, where resources are usually limited, such considerations tip the balance in favour of decisions to move.

Thus, female-headed households release the youngest children for valley work and make no claims against their earnings: these girls can be as young as 8 years old. In part, the relationship of indulgence would explain this pattern too.

Summing up this section on the age of migrants to the semi-tropical valleys, we have noted that migrants moving with some degree of autonomy from household control (while retaining responsibility in some cases) to this destination are consistently older than those actively recruited with the intervention of parents, into this labour market. It has been suggested that this is related to the effect of the enganchadores in recruiting women at a lower average age on their first move. However, variation within those two groups is relatively large. Differences between women within the groups depends on the family position of the female migrants, birth order and the strategies behind the moves. Eldest siblings migrate and make a contribution to the domestic economy, whereas younger children are more likely to retain their wages. Female-headed households are in a distinct position vis-a-vis the labour market: young women from these families (regardless of birth order) enter the labour market a full year before the young women of nuclear family households. In these units, eldest female children tend to give most or all of their wages to the domestic unit. The inter-play of exogenous and endogenous factors thus emerges to distinguish different female migrants, as well as households on the basis of structure and income-generating patterns.

Female migrants as domestic servants

When we consider the recruitment of women into domestic service (on their first move), similar elements are important. Women finding work in domestic service on their own initiative are older than those who are recruited (via parents or godparents) into this type of employment: the average ages are 15.5 and 13.3 years respectively, a decline of 14% in the average age. We note that, as in the semi-tropical valleys labour market, the girls moving autonomously

are within the age group at which villagers begin to attain adult status, whereas arranged moves tend to depress the age at which women enter this market, as shown in table 5:10. As with population moves aimed at the valleys, most girls find work via an intermediary, with whom they are likely to migrate at an early age (16).

Depending on the method of active recruitment into this employment, the age of the migrant also varies as shown in table 5:10. Girls who are employed by individuals unrelated to themselves or their families are among the oldest migrants into urban areas (at 15 years, which is close to the age prevalent among independent movers).

Table 5:10

Age of domestics at first move, according to recruitment method
and household structure

| | Type of move | | | | <u>N.S.</u> |
|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|---|------|-------------|
| | <u>Autonomous</u> | <u>Unknown</u> | <u>Arranged</u> Compadre Family | | |
| <u>Age (yrs)</u> | 15.5 | 15 | 14 | 13.2 | 14 |
| <u>Family type</u> | Both parents | | Both parents: 13.3 years Mother only: 13.0 | | |
| <u>No. (N=14)</u> | (2) | (1) | (4) | (5) | (2) |

Source: Family Economy Survey and lifehistory data, Kallarayan 1985

The relative autonomy of the women would appear to be the most important factor in this case, as other methods of recruitment are via their networks of kin and compadrazgo. Muchachas who find work with the help of compadres are young, and those from female-headed households are younger still. We find that women leaving female-headed households are consistently younger than those in nuclear households. Such a pattern is repeated (although the difference is minor) among servants who find employment through the intervention of kin, such as aunts, uncles, sisters and mothers, who are among the youngest entering

this type of employment, averaging about 13 years of age.

Employment in domestic service is rarer among women making their first move compared with moves to the semi-tropical valleys. In the former type of movement, girls are recruited into lower-paying work than in the valleys which allows for the continuation of education in some cases (see above) and the expansion of urban networks. Young women from female-headed households taking domestic employment are largely the youngest of the siblings. The proportion of girls from female-headed households is smaller in the case of domestics compared with the valleys: just under a quarter compared with nearly a half respectively. Two inter-relating factors, concerning the labour markets as a whole, impinge upon the household livelihood strategies which in turn affect these proportions. Firstly, the valleys allow the young women to earn a higher wage than is common for domestics, and thus they may contribute towards the family income (either directly or indirectly). Secondly, by working in the valleys, the women are absent from the household for a pre-arranged amount of time, which allows them to continue working in the household unit when required. It is of particular importance for these units to retain one child to help the widow. Although moving into the city reduces the reproductive costs in the unit (and affects the older female siblings especially), the younger child represents security in old age. It is a question of maintaining control over the youngest child, who more frequently migrate in short-term temporary moves.

Decisions about the migration of women from the community thus depend on the family structure and the strategies adopted by the household, given certain characteristics of the labour market opportunities. When sending female children to the semi-tropical valleys or as domestics, the household is concerned to weigh up the cash income generated (or saved in the case of girls whose maintenance is guaranteed but who can not donate earnings to the family economy) and the labour requirements of the unit. Women moving to these

destinations (and within the province [17]) are mostly at an age at which adult status (and responsibilities) begin to be taken on, and when labour market participation is an accepted option. In some cases, as we have seen above, recruitment into the labour market in an arranged manner (i.e. not dependent upon the woman's individual mature decision) reduces the age at which employment starts, especially among non-nuclear family households, where the need for cash from child employment is probably greatest.

Education and migration with the family

When the motive for migration by a female family member is education or to accompany an older family member, the girls on their first move are very much younger than those entering the labour market. They are the youngest among all female migrants at only eight years on average for those entering school outside the community, and 9 years for those moving for 'family reasons'. Female children of this age are dependent upon their parents and on their parents' decisions concerning their livelihood and location, a pattern which also holds for male children. Very young female household members move with other family members when it is an adult's decision to move. Rosita, who moved as a dependent with her mother and sister into the community, was only 9 years old. The other example is Susana who moved to Lima at the age of 7 years for 'family reasons'. She went to join her aunt with whom she stayed for six months. Susana was somewhat an exception to the youngest migrants: she did not accompany her parents, although it was her parents' decision to send her to the capital.

Girls who move from the community to take up education (or to continue it) on their first move are exceptional among the female migrants from Kallarayan, not least because they make up only 7% of all female migrants. Families who send their daughters for education are among the richest in the community, either in terms of land and animals or in terms of cash earned

outside (especially by the father). For the four women for whom data is available, all have high incomes (18). Moreover, all girls migrating for educational purposes are from nuclear families in which both parents are present and working, and where they are able to free the labour of a child for considerable lengths of time. (Because of their wealth too, they are in a secure position to call on labour under the *ayni* system.) There would not appear to be a significant pattern as regards the position among siblings of these girls (they include both older and younger children), nor as regards the total number of children in the family. These families are thus those households whose commitment to education for their children, as well as their ability to pay, is established. Nevertheless they are aware of, and attempt to reduce, the costs of sending a family member away from the community school. All of the young women continuing their education are lodged with childless relatives (frequently, it is one person living alone) where they pursue their studies, as well as carrying out domestic work on a limited basis.

Table 5:11

Characteristics of female migrants who pursue education (first moves)

| <u>Age</u> <u>at move</u> | <u>Residence</u> | <u>Family structure</u> | <u>Strata</u> |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 10 | Childless padrinos | Both parents | III (high income from migration) |
| 8 | Aunt | Both parents | n.s. |
| 8 | Grandmother | Both parents | I |
| 7 | Grandmother | Both parents | I |
| <u>Average</u> | | | |
| 8.25 yrs | Childless household | Both parents | High income |

Thus both María and Ana lived with their maternal grandmother for whom they were able to take on a number of domestic chores, and Estrella lived with her childless padrinos for whom she could cook and clean when required. Gregoria

lived with an aunt whose daughter had left home, and Luisa also took on a few domestic duties. Female migrants continuing their education away from the community are thus a relatively homogeneous group: with a secure and relatively wealthy family position they move into small households, where their labour around the household provides a useful contribution without interfering with their studies, as illustrated by data in table 5:11. In some cases, there is a blurring of the line between migration for education and child-fostering.

We have seen how age can be used as an indicator for a range of variables, both endogenous and exogenous to the peasant household. One of the endogenous variables is that of a young woman's adult status, which entails a choice of employment, location and marriage, and which is assumed by young female villagers from the age of 14 to 15 years. On the basis of the inter-relationship between this status and the labour market, we may distinguish three broad types of female moves. Firstly, the migration of young women from their natal household occurs from this age, with moves into the labour market and upon marrying. These women move relatively autonomously, but may have duties towards the household according to family structure and household strategies. (Very few girls move in this way before this age, and they are located in households in which their relationship with non-parental adults is stressful and perhaps violent.) The second broad group comprises women who are actively recruited into the labour market within the context of household decision-making and control - these young women are on average younger than the average for the first group. Household duties and household structure play a role, too, in distinguishing among these migrants. A final group is of those migrants whose location and moves are determined by the household; they have no choice in location. Moreover, they do not move to enter the labour market, but rather migrate as dependents with family members or to pursue education: these girls constitute the youngest group of the three.

These points are developed solely according to the age at first move made by the female migrants. When all moves are analysed, an important distinguishing feature among migrants is their marital status, to which we now turn.

The pattern of female geographical mobility and marital status

Migration by single women is by far the most significant component of female migration from the community: moves made by married women (that is, married at the time of the move) accounted for only 13% of all female moves from the community, and amount to one fifth of all migrants. Married women's migration is distinct from the unmarried female mobility on a number of points. Firstly, married women when they move away from the community do so for a shorter period of time than the single women on average: thus married women are absent for about 9.4 months compared with 10.1 months on average for the single women. These general figures however, obscure important differences among the women as regards the destination of their moves and the presence/absence of their husbands and family during the migration, as illustrated in table 5:12.

Table 5:12 Length of absence of married and single female migrants

| | <u>By destination</u> | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------|----------------------|------------|---------|
| | <u>Married female</u> | | | <u>Single female</u> | | |
| | Absence (months) | Number | Range | Absence (months) | Number | Range |
| <u>DESTINATION</u> | | | | | | |
| Lares | 3.25 | 5 | 0.3-8 | 3.5 | 47 | 1-24 |
| La Convención | 2.79 | 6 | 0.3-12 | 3.89 | 31 | 1-9 |
| Cuzco | 12 | 1 | - | 18 | 21 | 1-72 |
| Lima | 7 | 2 | 2-12 | 22.8 | 11 | 6-96 |
| Province | 36 | 2 | 24-48 | 40.1 | 6 | 3.5-108 |
| Pto. Maldonado | 1 | - | - | 20 | 2 | 4-36 |
| | 36 | 2 | - | | | |
| Total | 9.4 | 18 | | 10.1 | 118 | |
| (N=136) | | | | | | |

Average length of absence for married and unmarried women varies between one week to 15.8 months depending on the destination. Differences between the period of absence of the two groups of women is least when mobility is directed towards the semi-tropical valleys, as is shown in table 5:12. This is due to the structure of the labour market for harvesting and cooking, in which all women, regardless of marital status, are generally employed on a 90-day contract, and the average length of absence fluctuates around this figure. Nevertheless, married women are absent for a shorter period than their single counterparts.

Among migrants to other destinations, the difference between the groups remains and is especially marked in the case of moves to Lima and Cuzco, where the average differences are 15.8 months and 6 months respectively. Where the disparity is greatest, married women are divided among those who move for considerable lengths of time with their spouses (and families), and the women who are away very briefly but travel alone (table 5:13).

Table 5:13

Length of absence of married female migrants, travelling alone or with family

| | Length of absence | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|
| | <u>With husbands</u> | | <u>Without husbands</u> | |
| | Absence | Number | Absence | Number |
| Lares | 3.5 | 4 | 1.6 | 2 |
| Valleys | 5.3 | 3 | 0.25 | 1 |
| Cuzco | 12.0 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| Lima | 12.0 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Province | 24 | 1 | 48 | 1 |
| Pt.Maldonado | 19 | 2 | - | - |
| <u>Total</u> | 12.6 | 12 | 1.3 | 6 |

Source: Lifehistory data, Kallarayan 1985

Thus considering migration to Lima, the average length of stay for married women without their families is only 2 months, compared with 12 months for

women accompanied by spouse and children. (The average length of absence to this destination for single migrants is 23 months.) To Cuzco, single women move on average for 18 months at a time, whereas married women migrate to this town for only 12 months on average. One woman migrated without her husband (who was absent in Puerto Maldonado) but with her children to Cuzco for four months on average, but she is the only case of a woman moving here without her husband. The married women migrating to Cuzco do so accompanied by their families (with or without children).

To destinations such as Puerto Maldonado and within the province, the disparity among migrants of different marital status is relatively minor. To Puerto Maldonado, the married women migrated with their husbands (no woman migrated without her spouse), and were absent for periods similar to those among single women. Consequently, there is only one month's difference in averages between single and married female migrants. During moves within the province, married women migrating with their husbands are absent for less time than the single women. Among the women without their husbands, who move away for about 2 months at a time, there is one exceptional case. Rigoberta lived in Calca with her mother for 4 years while her husband lived in Kallarayan. They had met and married in Cuzco, where Rigoberta wished to continue to live. On giving birth to her first daughter, she moved to be with her mother and only after a considerable time could she be persuaded to move to the community. Excluding Rigoberta's case (because of its unusual circumstances) we note that married women travelling with their spouses are absent on average for 10 times the average for unaccompanied married migrants. Married women travelling alone were absent for about 1.3 months on average, whereas accompanied women travel for 12.6 months on average at a time. The latter are more frequent migrants from the community, accounting for nearly three-quarters of the married women.

Of the 15 women moving when married, only 10 had children at the time of the move, as table 5:14 shows. When children are taken with the migrants, they are most usually part of a family group which moves as a whole and where the move is anticipated to be long-term. For example, Guillerma moved to her husband's community with their young daughter. After two years, they decided to return to Kallarayan, where Guillerma was originally from, as she could not accustom herself to the other village. Similarly, Margarita transported her two youngest children to Pucallpa in the montana region where her husband and she were colonizing new land. Although this had been planned as a permanent move, she and her family returned to the village within three years.

Table 5:14 Children travelling with married female migrants

| | <u>With husbands</u> | <u>Without husbands</u> | <u>TOTAL</u> |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| No. moves | 11 | 4 | 15 |
| <u>With children</u> | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| 1 child | 4 | 2 | |
| 2 children | 1 | 1 | |
| <u>Age of child</u> | | | |
| under 2 | 4 | 2 | (6) |
| 2-4 | 1 | 1 | (2) |
| 4-7 | 1 | 1 | (2) |
| <u>Children remain in community</u> | | | |
| Grandparents | 1 | | |
| Husband | | 2 | |

Source: Family Economy Survey and lifehistory data, Kallarayan 1985

Moves with children and husband are frequent when the children are under 2 years old, when the babies are breastfed. Married women moving to the valleys, for example, take their youngest children who require constant attention. Even women unaccompanied by their spouses continue to carry children with them on their moves, especially when these children are breastfed. Andrea is an exception, in that she worked in the valley of Lares and

took her 4 and 7 year old children, while her husband remained in the community. Rigoberta, whose history was outlined above, is more typical. Women without their husbands are, however, more likely to leave their children with relatives in the peasant communities, especially when their migration is very short-term. Thus, children are left with husbands or parents, while older siblings may also take on this responsibility. Women who leave their children in this way are not absent for over 3 months, and do not repeat these moves.

The work carried out by married women during migration is also distinct to the pattern which is found among single women. Most married women who migrate are unlikely to earn a wage, and those who are employed are found in a limited range of occupations. Prevalent among the wage-earners are those married women who move to the semi-tropical valleys to work in harvesting and cooking in a similar manner to unmarried women. However, when the women have children and take a direct role in caring for them, their responsibilities shift from harvesting to cooking for the other workers. These women are employed exclusively for cooking, a job which allows them simultaneously to care for infants. Only one married woman was engaged in marketing, and she left her children with her husband for a week while she travelled to Lares to sell agricultural produce.

The other married women move with no income-generating expectations, but move into another household in which their tasks and duties are similar to those in the household of origin. A third of married women moved in this way, whether into another community (one woman also moved to the colonization project in Pucallpa) or an urban centre. In the latter case for example, Eusebia moved to Lima to be with her sister-in-law for 2 months, in order to help her in the small business, but she did not earn, explaining that she went to help out in the house while her cuñada established her trade. Eusebia left her youngest daughter, of 4 years, with two older girls and her husband.

To summarize, the married women move to locations in which domestic work, either remunerated or unpaid, is most common and significant. Married women are a minority group among the female migrants from the community, and usually move with their husbands. When they have young children, these accompany their mothers on longer term moves, or when the latter are employed in harvesting-cooking work in the valleys. Otherwise, in short-term moves, children tend to remain in the woman's household or with close kin. Married migrants remain for short periods of time outside the community especially when not accompanied by their spouses. Moves to the semi-tropical valleys are the exception as most women are subject to the same terms of contract as single women and all men. Mobility among married women is thus distinct from unmarried female migration in terms of length of absence, type of work taken and the presence of children.

Conclusions

Women's changing responsibilities over their lifetime, which were described in chapter 3 above, differentiate between women in terms of their participation in external labour markets, as well as defining groups of women in the community on the basis of their workload. However, this is only one factor which lies behind female migration flows. Other factors, both endogenous and exogenous to the community, interact to influence the selectivity of female migrants. Endogenous factors include the utility of female labour to the household at various stages of the individual's lifecycle and the developmental cycle of the household; the resources at the disposal of the unit; control of senior members over young women, as well as the value placed on education. Exogenous factors include methods of recruitment into employment, the types of labour required, and knowledge of job opportunities, all of which may be perceived as the contact of external labour markets with the community, that is, the facets of labour markets and education opportunities and means of social

advancement which most directly impinge on the communities. All of these factors interact to specify the nature of female migration flows and differentiate both between male and female migrants (chapter 4), and between female migrants.

How is the selectivity of female migrants related to the allocation of female labour in the peasant household? Gender differences in the division of household labour explain the distinct patterns of male and female migration from the community (chapter 4), while the nature of women's lives in the village and lifecycle changes in responsibilities (chapter 3) helps to differentiate among different groups of female migrants (chapter 5). But the question arises as to how the household uses gender as an organisational principle in its livelihood. Is gender a labour-allocating mechanism which is deeply embedded in the nature of household organization (an interpretation which emphasizes the distinctiveness and 'complementarity' of female and male roles in the village)? Or is gender one element which may be consciously articulated by household members to organize livelihood activities? We turn to investigate these questions by examining the relationship of female migration to the developmental cycle and to the relative wealth of household units, within the context of household kinship relations.

Notes

1. All names have been changed to protect the villagers' identities.
2. In common with many of the older residents of the communities, Catalina has neither a birth certificate nor an electoral card to confirm the year in which she was born.
3. Information from the lifehistories on moves in the 1940s is limited. It is likely that more women went to this area but have since died. If they were aged 15-20 years when they migrated (the average for the women for whom we have information) they would at present be 52-64 years old on average. Life expectancy in the Peruvian Sierra is however only 50 years, so it is probable that there is an under-recording of population moves for the period 1940-50 (see Brito 1983).
4. Women originally from elsewhere migrating to Kallarayan upon marrying, make up the largest share of these movements throughout the period. While during the 1940s and 50s women moved directly from their community of origin (usually near to Kallarayan), in later years women from more distant villages are marrying into the community, after meeting their husbands in the semi-tropical valleys, Cuzco or even in Lima. Alberta's case illustrates the pattern in the 1940s when she moved directly from Patabamba never having migrated to another destination. In 1960, her younger sister followed as her husband was also from Kallarayan. In the 1970s, a further 7 women joined their husbands, half of them moving directly from their place of origin, while four of them met their spouses when working away from the peasant communities. For example, Fransisca had worked in Lima for 3 years when she met her husband and returned to Kallarayan with him. She was from Seqerracay, a neighboring community only 5km. away. Rigoberta was from Calca but met her husband in Cuzco where she had worked as a domestic and where he was employed in the brewery company. The other female migrants had migrated to the semi-tropical valleys where they met their partners, a pattern which has continued into the 1980s. This compares with data from other Andean regions which suggests that marriage is the sole motive for immigration into some communities. In a village studied by Brush, marriage brought women and men into the community, although only on a small-scale (Brush 1980;214).

Marriage as the motive for the first move involves the oldest migrant; 20 years old. As marriage is a personal decision among the community members, (and the choice of partner; chapter 3) such a pattern conforms with the notion of migration of a relatively autonomous person ('a full social being' in Isbell's

phrase; 1978). Women of this age are independent of their parents to a greater extent than younger girls, and they are free from parental control, especially when it concerns such a personal decision such as marriage.

5. This is suggested tentatively as an evolutionary pattern: clearly lack of data does not allow us to draw firm conclusions.

6. The remaining 15% of female migrants working in the valleys are recruited into work by kin or *compadres* (this does not include women whose *enganchadores* become *compadres*, as occasionally happens), especially by their husbands who return to the valleys to work for a previous employer. The situation of married female migrants is considered below.

7. The one exception appears to be in the 1950s when the number of women making two or more moves reached 66%: this is accounted for by the women who first moved in that decade and who then migrated to a different area in the 1970s or 1980s.

8. Guillerma claims to have worked in the valleys of Lares and La Convención on a total of 10 occasions between the age of 10 and 31 when she married. After living a short time in Kallarayan, she moved with her husband to Tinta, her husband's homeland where she lived for 2 years before returning to settle permanently in Kallarayan.

9. This is the reversal of the pattern found in Mexico, where the age at first move among female peasant migrants has risen over the last 30 years (Young 1978).

10. An interesting comparison may be made with the conclusion drawn by Dietz (1976) who argues that step-migration to the cities did not reflect increasing job status in the city, although a high proportion moved from a low-status to a higher status manual job. He is clearly talking of male migrants, yet the conclusions would appear to be broadly similar in the case of the women.

11. This data may be compared with information on Nicaragua where step migration was equal in importance to direct moves made by women travelling between rural, urban areas and the capital city (Behrman & Wolfe 1984). Unfortunately in the Nicaraguan case, no details of employment types are given.

12. Clearly, as I am considering return migrants I can say nothing here about the permanent migrants who may have experienced step migration. Also, my data does not allow me to analyse the prevalence of step-migration in male mobility patterns.

13. Her case was mentioned briefly in chapter 4.

14. Their parents are in strata I, and are one of the richest families in the village in terms of land. They produce barley and potatoes for sale, which provides them with cash, as well as receiving remittances from relatives in Lima, Cuzco and the valleys.

15. The labour market obviously benefits from the recruitment of non-adult labour which is cheaper to hire (at 60-70% of the male rate), and which is easily supervised.

16. This finding is confirmed by data on the female migrants in their urban destination. In a survey of domestics in Lima, the median age for commencing work was 12 years. Among the girls who were first recruited by a *madrina* (half of the total) the median age fell to 11 years (Bunster & Chaney 1985:42).

17. Moves into the provincial labour market are minor, relative to migration resulting from marriage within this area (see note 3). These moves have only been recorded since the 1970s. Emilia and Hermalinda were both 15 years old when they were employed in the small towns of the Sacred Valley, the one as a domestic and the other as a shepherdess. Emilia found work independently, when she went to sell goods in Písaq and remained with the family for 5 months. Hermalinda was employed as a shepherdess by her mother's *madrina* from whom she received no wages. Both Hermalinda and Emilia conform to the general picture of women moving at an independent age, and although in Hermalinda's case her *madrina* was involved in her employment, this did not bring down her age at the first move.

18. Unfortunately, we do not have information on the resources held by Gregoria's parents.

Chapter SixFemale migration and household livelihood strategies

As argued in the introductory chapter, migration can be conceived as an activity which is structured by, and embedded in, the strategies adopted by peasant households for their livelihood (Wood 1981). Such a strategy involves the out-migration of household members to different destinations, for varying periods of time, including permanent moves. In the Latin American case, it has been shown that migration to urban and rural areas involves a strategy of bridging or linking the rural household to the city or other ecological levels where employment, resources and services are available and which are not found in the area of origin (Arizpe 1981; Young 1980b; Long & Roberts 1978; Smith 1976; Burchard 1974; Dietz 1976; Bourque & Warren 1981; Collins 1981; Aragon 1985). According to the division of labour in the rural areas and opportunities for employment, labour is released from the households for these purposes. Employment is not however the only purpose of migration as households may also send members into the city for education (Escobar & Beall 1982), for marriage (eg. Brush 1980), for trading (eg. Bromley 1984).

The allocation of labour in external markets and the migration of the unit's members is however only one aspect of household labour allocation procedures. Household organization is predicated upon the guaranteeing of livelihood, that is the survival of members and the reproduction of the unit. Individuals act within the unit and maintain their primary ties with it as they rely upon the income-pooling which takes place. In situations of non full-lifetime wage labour opportunities (as in Third World peasant and informal economies), individuals can hope to guarantee their own livelihood or maximise this only through pooling resources in the household. Subsistence is realized in these situations by cooperation between individuals. Given these precepts, household

livelihood can be seen to be guaranteed by the flow of resources into the unit and then between members to cover subsistence requirements. The household must be able to call upon individuals' labour and the resources they command, in order to organize the unit's continuance. It must be able to re-organize the labour at its disposal and thereby adjust livelihood aims to the conditions surrounding it and the resources to which it has access. As part of its reorganizational ability, it must be able to control labour and resources which are deployed outside the local area. The approach to migration developed here aims to understand the rationale behind the allocation of household labour in migration, and as such is fundamentally an economic model which explains migration within the context of an income-pooling household. Such an approach is of considerable utility in clarifying migration patterns in Andean peasant households, although the model does not aim to analyse the Andean domestic unit per se but to illustrate facets of its organization for subsistence.

Household labour allocation follows regular patterns, through which resources are generated for livelihood. The division of labour over the agricultural cycle is the primary example of this, yet is only one of several labour allocation procedures which take place in the unit. It recruits labour in order to cover subsistence requirements, through the normative value of the family (chapter 1, and see below) and through providing livelihood for individuals who must pool income to survive. The sexual division of labour provides a framework around which household labour is allocated in production and reproduction, along with age-related roles.

However, labour allocation decisions are not founded wholly upon the internal organization of the unit although these are the most highly elaborated in cultural beliefs and expectations. The household also evaluates the opportunity costs of the labour at its disposal: within the unit, its requirements in reproduction and production are assessed in relation to the external

possibilities (in the labour market, education and commodity markets) available, given the characteristics of the labour at its disposal. Household livelihood strategies and labour allocation procedures can be expected to evidence systematic patterns, provided by the age and sexual division of labour and by the external opportunities available. Livelihood is guaranteed in these situations by balancing community and external activities through which the household is maintained and recreated.

Kinship provides the means by which labour is allocated and the household maintained, and is vital to the realization of livelihood. These relations act as 'ground rules' for labour allocation decisions and for recruitment into the household. Household members' behaviour is informed by kinship norms which mediate household livelihood strategies: in this sense, kinship provides the idiom through which moral control is exerted by the household. Of course family relations are not free of conflict: individuals in some circumstances contest their obligations and similarly some individuals make greater demands than these relations allow. However, in livelihood strategies, kinship provides a framework for household organization in which obligations and duties between members are expressed in terms of family roles. These long-term relationships underlie the realization of livelihood strategies over time and space.

The household is not a capitalist firm, but a social entity which remains a coherent unit even when its members are hundreds of miles apart - thus it is insufficient to consider it solely in terms of economic calculations (1). In the community, as elsewhere in the Andes (Alberti & Mayer 1974; Isbell 1978; Lehmann 1982; Figueroa 1985; Bolton & Bolton 1975), kinship implies a relationship in which contact is guaranteed over the long-term, unlike work relations which must be activated and reinforced on a regular basis. One central element of kinship has been identified as longterm reciprocity (Bloch 1973). "The crucial effect of morality is long-term reciprocity, and that

longterm effect is achieved because it is not reciprocity which is the motive but morality" (Bloch 1973;76). Such long-term relationships, and the potential and actual conflicts which arise from the same, are of crucial importance in a consideration of the relations which maintain the household as a subsistence-organizing and income-pooling centre, in the Andean communities.

The expectations of kin derive their power from a complex of socio-cultural patternings, socialization and 'indeed perhaps instinct' according to one writer (Bloch 1973;75). At a fundamental level, women and men in the Andean communities recognize ties with rural kin and obligations towards them, while within this general pattern, two facets influence the specific nature of kinship relations between individuals. These are firstly the degrees of closeness of kin and secondly, gender-associated roles. Turning to the first aspect we note that relations between kin are structured by degrees of closeness: obligation and rights are greatest with close relatives, the immediate family, while responsibilities and expectations are lessened for more distant kin (also Lomnitz 1977 on Mexico). As a function of this process, membership of a household necessarily entails a set of expectations and obligations towards the other individuals in the unit. Domestic ties are the primary kinship relations for the villagers: obligations and economic decisions are expressed in the language of immediate family roles. Similarly, conflicts which disrupt livelihood organization are most likely within the household unit. As noted by Bolton and Bolton (1975), in one Andean community, the "non-fulfillment of expectations, rights and obligations inherent in the roles of the domestic group [the nuclear family]" generated the largest number of disputes.

The sexes face distinct conditions as regards their duties and rights in relation to other family members, as well as different resources to control and allocate for livelihood. Men have more power within the household to dispose of labour and resources than do the women, and due to a series of ideological

constructs and work practices, men make considerable demands on women's labour time (their control over women's resources is less certain) (cf. Mallon 1986:162). [Parents in turn exert control over their children's labour and resources (also Schmink 1984) and the degree of control depends on the sex of the offspring.]

The relationships developed with close family and between the sexes are combined and strengthened in the conjugal unit, which is the basis of the household. The conjugal relationship implies responsibilities and expectations of behaviour on both sides (2): the married men see themselves as maintaining their families on their earnings, either from outside the community or their fields inside, while women similarly explain that their husbands' earnings are for the unit's subsistence and that their own role is to remain in the rural household. The following quotes from male villagers from Kallarayan illustrate widely-held views in the community.

Raul 'Este trabajo, cuando tengo plata, voy comprando unas cositas. Mantener a la familia pues. El hombre hay que ser como, comprando por la familia, claro.' [With this work when I have money, I go to buy some things. To maintain the family. The man has to do this, buying for the family, sure]

Cristobal 'Mantenerme [con el sueldo], la ropa de la senora, los hijos, la mantención de los hijos, ahora ya teniendo familia. Pero cuando estuve soltero, no pensaba...la vida ha sido solamente para mi. [What about your brothers?] Cuando había un poco de necesidad de mis hermanos, entonces yo ayudaba también pues, claro a mis hermanos....Sobre todo, mantener a mi senora, a mis hijos...educar' [To maintain myself, the wife's clothes, the children's, the upkeep of the kids, now that I have a family; but when I was single I didn't think about it...life was just for me. When my brothers and sisters needed something, then I helped as well, for my brothers, sure ..Above all, to look after my wife, my children..educate them]

Juan 'Siempre los padres tienen que trabajar para mantener a sus hijos así. Y así, siempre se ha preocupado para que hagan sus estudios' [Always parents have to work to maintain their children. And also, they're always worrying that they'll do their studies]

Married women expect their husbands to contribute their wages to the household for the children primarily and themselves as Margarita explains.

Margarita [on her husband's earnings] 'Para mí nomás va, para mantener a los hijos, para comprar ropa para mis hijos' [It's just for

me, for the kids' upkeep, to buy clothes for the children]

Married women are expected to stay at home to maintain the rural unit, to protect the households' rights over property and to care for children. There is a marked break in the female villagers' behaviour after marriage, as Dominga explains.

Dominga 'Cuando hay soltera puede trabajar nomas afuera en el valle. Cuando tiene sus hijos no puede ir a donde sea, no puede ir. Siempre en la casa tiene que vivir. No puede ir con su esposo a donde sea, no puede. Yo de acá vivía yo en la casa a cuidar a mis hijos, a lavar las ropas de mis hijos, después cocinar. Eso no mas.' [When a woman is single she can work outside, or in the valley. When she has her kids she can't just go anywhere, she can't go. She always has to live at home. She can't go with her husband wherever he may go. I live here at home to look after my children, to wash the children's clothes, and then cook. Just that.]

Although married women generally carry out the responsibilities which correspond to their expected pattern of behaviour, a few women continue to migrate after marriage. When this occurs, it develops as part of a household strategy to guarantee livelihood, required by the precarious domestic economy. Although acting against the cultural ideals governing behaviour, the migration flows of married women have relatively regular features (chapter 5) which result from household livelihood strategies. Their participation in external labour markets is clearly related to strategies for gaining access to income or resources which are unavailable in the community, and for enhancing socio-political values held by the villagers (especially concerning a knowledge of Spanish, shown in Andrea's story, and experience of 'national' life). While most women's relation with livelihood strategies is consistent with their culturally-perceived role, when married women participate in migration, it arises as a function of livelihood aims which prevail over cultural norms.

Helena travelled to Quillabamba soon after commencing servinakuy with Jorge, who was also from Kallarayan. They remained in the valleys for 1 year, and Helena cooked and washed clothes for the 8 other workers who dedicated themselves to work in the fields. While she was in the valleys, she became pregnant and soon after their return to the community, she gave birth to their first child.

Since then she has had 8 children, 4 of whom died and she is settled in the village, occasionally undertaking the weaving of a poncho on commission. She only learned to weave after she married, as her sister-in-law taught her.

Andrea was born in Cuyo Grande, a community in the highlands on the far side of the Sacred Valley from Kallarayan. After migrating several times to the semi-tropical valleys of Lares she met her husband, Celso, and returned with him to Kallarayan where she lived with his family. After having two children, they built their own house and when the children were 4 and 7 years old, the entire family moved to the valley for 8 months. Andrea was occupied with cooking, harvesting coca and coffee and looking after the children. They returned to Kallarayan briefly, but left their eldest son in Lares where he was in school and happily settled. Andrea soon returned to Lares, this time without Celso (who continued his agricultural work) and she worked again in cooking and harvesting. On her return to Kallarayan after 3 months and the birth of their third child, Andrea and Celso decided to move permanently to the semi-tropical zone. Although Andrea does not like the heat there, they are better off and opportunities for the children are better. She proudly explains that their eldest son already speaks good Spanish. They plan to live working the 30 ha. of land owned by Andrea's brother.

Gregoria started *servinakuy* with Jesús when she was 16 years old. She had previously lived in Cuzco for several years in the house of a tia, and had worked in the semi-tropical valleys. She had thus shown her ability to work hard in a variety of situations. Soon after meeting Jesús, they migrated to Ccosnipata in the Department of Madre de Dios where she was employed as a cook for 10 workers, including her husband. Jesús had worked here previously and knew the area. Gregoria also had to care for her newly-born daughter who accompanied them, and after 2 months the family returned to Kallarayan. Since that time, neither Gregoria nor Jesús have migrated to Ccosnipata.

The majority of women undertake their marital role unquestioningly, although some remain in the community during their husbands' absence with regrets that their own work outside cannot continue. For example, Agripina migrated several times to the valleys of La Convención as a single woman but has now been told by her husband that only he will continue to migrate in search of income.

Agripina 'Mi esposo no quiere [que regrese al valle]...con las wawas pues...si lloran pues en el valle lo que estás recogiendo coca, para éste no te deja trabajar, la wawa pues llorando...Yo también estoy queriendo regresar y no quiere...El nomas va a regresar.' [My husband doesn't want me to (return to the valleys)..well with the kids..if they cry when you're in the valley, picking coca..they don't let you work, with the baby crying. Also I want to go back and he doesn't want me to. Just he's going back]

Marital relations are not solely informed by notions of mutual obligation, but are potentially conflictual. Women are subject to domestic violence when their husbands believe that they are not fulfilling marital duties. Violence is especially prevalent once the marriage has been formalized, as in the early stages of servinakuy offspring continue to maintain primary kin relations with their parents and take their problems to them (fieldnotes; also Bolton & Bolton 1975; Harris 1985:33). The problem of violence is also exacerbated by alcohol consumption (fieldnotes; Harris 1985). Nevertheless, women rely on a network of kin who may act on their behalf against violent husbands; as Bolton and Bolton (1975) have documented, parents, especially mothers, and sons attempt to intervene to protect women.

In summary, a model of migration as one element of rural household livelihood strategies can be abstracted out from household behaviour and explained in terms of labour allocation patterns and decisions concerning relative opportunity costs and the division of labour for the unit's survival. The participants' own views of household maintenance and their role in this process are not set by an abstract economic model but by kinship relations. Economic decisions within the household are not predicated upon contractual relations, but on kinship obligations and interactions.

The general conceptualization of household livelihood organization outlined above clarifies rural-based migration patterns, by suggesting parameters for labour allocation decisions and intra-household relations. Depending on the nature of labour markets and household livelihood organization, the sale of labour power entails the participation of particular members in migration flows. Demand for a certain type of labour in external markets pinpoints a specific household member but the allocation of this labour is a dialectic process, not determined solely by external labour demands. Internal organization of the unit, which is realized through the necessary allocation of a limited amount of

labour among reproductive and productive tasks, interacts with external labour demands to condition the type of worker which leaves the rural unit.

The sexual division of labour is a basic framework for livelihood strategy elaboration, and provides for the systematic allocation of labour within and beyond the household, and thereby places male and female members in distinct positions regarding their participation in migratory flows. The training and socialization of children in the peasant community result in the adoption of distinct strategies of the rural household in relation to participation in urban labour markets which offer different opportunities for the two sexes. Peasant women's participation in migration is structured by their gender-appropriate roles in the community and by the position of female peasant labour in external labour markets. According to the relative wealth of the household, different strategies regarding rural-urban links are organized and gender-specific patterns of migration develop.

Systematic patterns of household-migrant relations provide further evidence for the operation of household strategies. The return of cash and gift remittances to the rural unit contribute towards maintenance, and demonstrate the existence of an income-pooling household, to whose subsistence members contribute. Return migration of female migrants to undertake productive and reproductive work in their natal household is a further aspect of the process by which subsistence is realized. Strategies for domestic consumption are thus operationalized not solely by the sending out of members into external labour markets (thereby reducing consumption costs), but also by the continuation of relationships which allow for the flows of resources and labour into the unit when required.

Migration from the rural household is thus closely inter-related with the processes of labour allocation which function to provide livelihood. The characteristics of migrants are explicable in terms of the household assessment

of opportunity costs for the labour at its disposal, given requirements for its local reproduction and the resources available. Previous literature on household-based peasant migration has touched upon some of the economic and demographic influences on migration behaviour, by linking class differences and developmental cycle patterns to migration strategies (chapter 1). However, these models have tended not to examine the moral and emotive issues influencing behaviour. Socio-cultural expectations of family relationships in a variety of spheres structure the nature of labour allocation decisions, as well as the relationships between individuals which sustain the household. As mentioned in chapter 1, 'strategies' of livelihood are, in certain circumstances, systematized in a range of cultural practices which regularize responses by the unit's members. Notions of kinship are one aspect of these systematic practices, and are developed (and revealed) through expressions of family relationships. Cultural ideals of behaviour provide the context in which livelihood strategies develop, and furthermore provide a basis for behaviour in situations of socio-economic change.

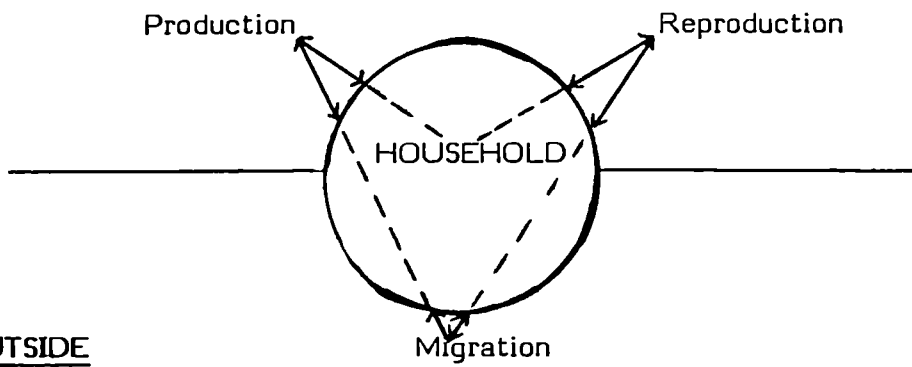
The household is a central ideological concept for the Andean villagers, who recognize and express a set of normative expectations in relation to their roles within this unit for livelihood. The economic model elaborated below examines the economic rationale and labour-allocating decisions within this salient institution, acknowledged by the peasants as centrally important in their lives.

Production, reproduction and migration

For heuristic purposes, we may distinguish three areas of activity for rural livelihood organization - production, reproduction and migration, which inter-relate in a dynamic way in order for the household to guarantee its subsistence, as indicated in the figure 6:1. These three aspects of livelihood are interconnected in such a way that changes in one element (over time or among

Table 6:1 Relations between production, reproduction and migration

COMMUNITY



OUTSIDE

COMMUNITY

different households) hold implications for the other two. The three components must be balanced in the household organisation of labour and resources in order to guarantee its reproduction over the short- and medium-term.

Production processes in the community are diverse, ranging from the cultivation of the household's plots, the allocation of labour for all stages of the agricultural cycle, to artisanal production and the pasturing of livestock. In Kallarayan, waged labour is not employed for these tasks due to the maintenance of traditional labour exchange agreements and the utilization of unwaged family labour, as explained in chapter 2. [In other communities if wages were paid at any stage of the agricultural cycle, this would be included in the sphere of production.] In the case of waged employment being available in the community itself, one could envisage the case in which migration patterns would change, as a shift in labour allocation or conditions of labour allocation, in one sphere predisposes changes in one or both of the other spheres. For example, if waged employment were available for male agricultural workers in the village itself we may envisage a reduction in the rate of male short-term migration from the village, as poor households could earn income from local work (cf. Schuman 1985; K.Roberts 1985;364). Migration initiated for other than purely income-generating reasons (that is for education, skills acquisition, forging links with distinct areas) would not necessarily change under these circumstances. Shifts in the opportunity costs of labour distribution between and within households influence patterns and motives for migration, according to wage rate differentials and livelihood aims. Social relations of labour would necessarily have to change substantially from their present pattern too, as labour exchange agreements between kin and neighbours are currently embedded in normative expectations and risk-alleviation procedures in the community. Similarly, the relations between female migration-reproduction

and production would not necessarily be transformed by the shift in the availability of male wage work, but in the hypothetical case in which local employment became available, a change in the allocation of female labour by the household could be expected, which may influence female migration patterns.

Reproduction in the above diagram is a term used to include the activities carried out in the domestic unit for the reproduction of labour power (Meillassoux 1981). The reproduction of labour power is one of three levels in the process of reproduction defined in order to clarify the scope of activities covered by the term 'reproduction' (Edholm, Harris & Young 1977). In their classic article, the authors identify three areas of reproduction which are social reproduction, the reproduction of the labour force (3) and biological reproduction. The reproduction of the labour force is of central importance to an understanding of household organization and labour allocation decisions. Within this particular process, two aspects may be identified and these are:

- a) The maintenance of the labour force
- b) The allocation of agents into positions of labour

The maintenance of the labour force includes the activities which are allocated to women in the peasant communities, activities such as cooking, washing, collecting firewood, childcare. As Edholm et.al. emphasize, women are producers as well as reproducers: in the community, women are socialized into undertaking productive activities such as animal pasturing, harvesting, and productive work external to the villages (Chapter 3, and b above). Thus the sphere of labour force reproduction is not automatically female, nor are workers in the sphere of reproduction of the labour force excluded from production. In other words, as the figure 6:1 suggests, labour must be allocated to reproductive tasks and in production thereby covering livelihood requirements of the unit. The means by which gender-associated roles and

work-skills are meshed with reproductive and productive tasks is one aspect of this labour process (4).

The re-creation of the sexual division of labour over the generations is a crucial element in the reproduction of the labour force, as Edholm et al. rightly stress. As noted at some length in chapter 3, the socialization of gender from an early age in the community perpetuates the sexual division of labour and the norms which sustain it. The spheres on figure 6:1 are thus not congruent with distinct individuals but are bundles of activities which are carried out through the allocation of specific types of labour, which are recreated at every generation through the social construction of gender. Gender is the primary means of distinguishing or allocating labour in most households, although in some situations age, marital status or seniority may be more crucial.

The tendency in the community households is to place responsibility for duties of production and reproduction on male and female members respectively (chapter 3). For reproduction, the vast majority of community households contain only one (female adult) worker and the remainder no more than 2 adult females, when the adult women are defined as married women, or once-married women with an (un)married woman over 16 years of age. A pattern of household organisation prevails whereby there are no more than two adult, married women in the household at any time who share household maintenance tasks. The cultural practice for reproductive labour to be given largely to one adult (or at the most two), and consistently to women, holds implications for the coordination of activities for livelihood, as we shall see below. Household decision-making is predicated upon the deployment of reproductive labour in this manner, but as implied in the diagram female labour may also be reoriented towards other livelihood spheres such as migration or production (chapter 3), according to household strategies for activity organization, if the amount of reproductive labour in the unit exceeds minimum requirements. Depending on

the productive base of the household and the developmental cycle stage, female labour is utilized by the unit in pasturing, education or wage labour migration, to give some examples, in situations conditioned by labour market structures, livelihood aims and cultural expectations.

This brings us to the third element of labour allocation, which involves the household in further decisions concerning the use of its available labour, that of migration. Migration includes moves out of the community of origin for reasons of work, education or other purposes, and may involve periods of absence ranging from weeks to several years and permanent moves. Migratory labour is distinct from household productive and reproductive labour in that it occurs outside the community. Its spatial separateness entails a series of organizational changes in the rural unit, in order to coordinate livelihood activities through time and space. The interlinking of activities within and outside the community engages the household in decision-making concerning the location of members, the synchronization of production and reproduction, and the setting of priorities in livelihood.

Frequently, migration is a supplement to local production, in that it supplies resources which are not available in the community; the degree to which community production needs to be supplemented clearly varies with resource availability, land-distribution patterns and culturally-determined living standards. Population moves may also be instigated for purposes beyond the subsistence requirements but for culturally-determined ends, which are perceived to be necessary for livelihood over the short or medium term, as for ritual purposes or for education (see chapter 1), and are part of strategies for future livelihood.

These three areas of activity, of production, reproduction and migration, are central to the household organisation of independent peasants in the Southern Peruvian Andes (5). By combining labour to cover the culturally-and

historically-perceived needs in these three areas, the household uses a finite number of resources (land and labour being the primary ones available to them, given their lack of access to capital) to fulfil reproductive/subsistence needs and social obligations. In other words, the household balances these activity fields with notions of the opportunities available in each sphere, and the possibilities afforded by the demographic structure of the unit.

Some households do not contain the labour necessary for participation in all activities required for their livelihood. Although the majority of Kallarayan's households organize available labour to release members in migration, a small number contain no migrants due to demographic factors: the youth of the children or the old age of the adult male result in the absence of labour to be deployed in external labour markets. In these cases, household composition constrains activities in the fields of production and migration, and their livelihood depends on reproductive labour and contributions of labour and goods from other units. As a consequence of their lack of migratory labour, they depend upon a balance of reproduction and production within the village and must turn to other activities to support their subsistence-oriented production: these strategies do not necessarily provide the cash otherwise earned by migrants, but they attempt to balance consumer needs in other ways.

Demographic composition constrains the allocation of labour in migratory flows only during certain stages of the developmental cycle, and as soon as these constraints are lifted, these households initiate strategies of labour movement. In other words, these households are not exceptions to the community pattern for households to cover subsistence requirements through a combination of production-reproduction-migration. In these households, the subsequent development of livelihood strategies to incorporate migration emphasizes the interrelationships between the spheres identified above, and the necessity to combine them for subsistence among all the community's

households. The households without migrants initiate our analysis of migration as a household strategy, by revealing the connections between production-reproduction-migration activities, the selectivity of migrants and livelihood organization.

These households comprise only 5.8% of the community total and include 3 relatively poor units headed by young widows, one elderly widow with her grand-daughter, and one elderly couple with young children. The widows' families are constrained by a lack of labour which could be productively deployed in migratory flows, as their children are under 8 years of age. Their position is further weakened by limited access to land in the community (due to the threat of dispossession) and the difficulties faced by these women in trying to cultivate their land. Given the sexual division of agricultural activities (described in chapters 2 and 3), which is based upon the participation of a married couple, widows are by definition placed in a disadvantaged position. Their labour is not accepted as equivalent to male contributions and they enter into a variety of sharecropping agreements by which they relinquish responsibility for production in return for half of the harvest. If they attempt to organize production, they face considerable problems in mobilizing labour - one woman complained "It's difficult to get people to work, so that is why I sharecrop my land". One widow cultivates her fields in conjunction with her sister, an arrangement which allows them both to repay male labour with cooking duty. Sharecropping is not however sufficient for subsistence and a variety of activities are adopted to supplement food crop production. Weaving, the treatment of tarwi (see chapter 3) and aid from relatives each provide supplements to a meagre income. Contributions from kin are generally irregular and include cash, agricultural produce and labour.

Although these households headed by widowed and separated mothers do not send out members into external labour markets while the children are under 8

years old (due to the lack of opportunities for such young workers) these households are subsequently those which send out female members at a younger age than is prevalent in nuclear family households (see chapter 5). Thus migration of offspring from young widows' households takes place at an earlier age than among nuclear units, that is as soon as wage-earning (and subsistence provision) opportunities become available for the labour at the unit's disposal. In these households, the young female migrants explain clearly that it was because of their father's death (or desertion) that they migrated.

Dominga: "When I was a child, [my father] did not look after me, and that's why I got to know the valleys as well. If my father had looked after me, well, I wouldn't have left. I was only with my mother. We [my sister and I] sent money so she could get the land worked. Yes, as my mother is a woman, she didn't have any means of earning money. We sent it from the valleys."

Margarita: "To help out I suffered a lot. I was going to the valleys, I went down with my husband when I was 19. Up till then, my sister and I had looked after our mother. To look after my mother, for that reason, I went to the valley. Because she's a widow, what was she going to use to look after me? My mother's a widow."

Child migrants of both sexes are released into migration at younger ages than in nuclear or extended households. The need to generate a family income which of course increases as the children grow, requires the adoption of a migration strategy for male and female children from an early age (6). The female members themselves recognize that they have to migrate to help maintain their widowed mothers, and their explanations of their moves highlight this point.

Apart from the households headed by the younger widows, one elderly couple and an elderly widow adopt other strategies in order to generate earnings. The family is in a distinct situation from the widows on two counts: their land-holding is relatively large (2 topos in all land-use types), and there is adult male labour with which to carry out agricultural work and repay male *ayni* work. The husband is now over 65 years of age and although he previously participated in temporary work in Cuzco, he has discontinued this, preferring to concentrate his

energies on the fields. His wife weaves clothing for sale and their children are too young (under 8 years) to participate in wage labour outside the community. By contrast, an elderly widow lives with her young grand-daughter and is occasionally provided with cash and labour for her fields by her married son who lives in the neighboring community of Patabamba.

Thus, the households which are most likely to lack migration earnings and to be constrained in their agricultural activities, are those with young children and where no male adult labour is present, due to death, desertion or old age of the husband. The adult female of the household is likely to undertake income-generating activities such as weaving in these circumstances. At this stage of the developmental cycle, children carry out a minimum of reproductive tasks and no productive activities and consequently, the bulk of the workload falls on the adult woman who does not leave the community (as this would represent the loss of her usufruct rights and hence her security) but must develop community-based income-generating schemes.

Reproduction and migration

The inter-relationships between the three livelihood spheres (of production, reproduction and migration) need to be clarified in order to illustrate the importance of household strategies in determining female (and male) migration behaviour.

The specific relationships between reproduction and migration are of central importance in a study of female migration from peasant households, given that the reproductive sphere is largely female. The activities which underlie the maintenance of the household unit on a daily and generational basis are numerous and diverse: they are activities which require the coordination of labour (female, child and occasionally male) with resources such as water, fuel, food, and time. The household unit must organize the maintenance of the labour force and biological reproduction in order to ensure its continuation.

Requirements in reproductive labour are not static however, and vary over the developmental cycle. The developmental cycle of the household (Goody 1973) distinguishes among the different phases of household labour supply according to the relative ratio of producers to consumers (Chayanov 1966; Harrison 1982), which holds implications for livelihood requirements and the organization of labour. It is worth examining the stages of the cycle in order to understand the reproductive work involved at each step, and the interrelationships between migration and reproduction.

The cycle commences with the creation of a new household unit containing a young married couple, whose labour is dedicated wholly to production. In some societies women may be restricted in the extent to which they may participate in production, and this clearly influences the producer:consumer ratio at the start of the cycle. Subsequently an early stage of the developmental cycle (both in the ideal model and in the community) concerns the addition of children to the unit. This period of low producer:dependent (consumer) ratios is exacerbated as female labour is increasingly dedicated to the raising of children (reproductive labour in figure 6:1) thus making it unavailable for either production or migration. As the children grow, the disposition of household labour shifts as offspring take over from their parents in a variety of activities, according to the division of labour by age and sex. Reproductive requirements at this stage are predominantly in the sphere of the maintenance of the labour force. At the stage of the developmental cycle when adult children are co-resident in the natal household, the number of producers is at its highest, and the unit is relatively affluent compared with other stages in the developmental cycle, while reproductive work continues in order to maintain the unit's labourers. Towards the end of the cycle, offspring marry and leave the original couple.

Such a highly generalized pattern of household formation, growth and

dissolution clearly varies over space and time. Nevertheless, it may be seen from this conceptualization of the developmental cycle that the changing availability of labour over the cycle holds implications for household production processes and demands on reproductive labour. Given the inter-relatedness of the activities of migration and reproduction with production, suggested in the above diagram, it could be expected that migration patterns vary over the developmental cycle. It has been shown for one Latin American case that a pattern of migration, called relay migration, can be linked to changes in the type and availability of labour over the developmental cycle. However, the nature of interrelationships between reproductive labour requirements and female migration has not been examined in any depth.

In the Mexican case study the removal of women from external labour markets and production in the early stages of the developmental cycle has been documented. Arizpe (1981) has described migration from the peasant household which involves different household members as the demographic structure changes over the cycle. A strategy of investment in the next generation occupies the female adult in childcare in the early stages, while male labour is dedicated to a combination of agricultural work and migratory labour in order to guarantee the unit's subsistence. As children grow, sons or daughters begin to take their father's place in migration, and as the older children marry and leave the unit so younger siblings substitute in turn. The practices of migration and reproduction in the peasant household are shown in this example to be interrelated, and to influence women's geographical mobility depending on the demands on their labour in reproduction, on a daily and generational basis.

Migration and production

The peasant households make use of available labour in the production of goods for use and exchange, yet the volume of labour required in this process depends on the level of technology and on the resource base, especially on land,

technology and livestock (Balan 1981; Peek 1980). These factors in turn influence the disposal of labour in migration. If the labour allocation in production is changed through a shift in the availability or conditions of the means of production (land, capital goods and technology), labour can be re-allocated among the three components (migration, production and reproduction) identified above.

Very little comparable work has been carried out which examines how transformations in technologies, production relations and class differentiation affect female migration patterns. Some of the material was considered in the introductory chapter; further data on the Philippines and Mexico illustrate the importance of these factors in understanding female population flows. As a result of a long-term secular shift in technology identified in Mexico, domestic manufacturing carried out by young peasant women was destroyed by industrial development in the urban areas, concomitant with the increased use of cash and factory-produced consumption goods by rural households (Young 1978). As a result of this process, young women were made redundant in the production processes of rural households, as they were no longer productive members and indeed became a burden on the limited subsistence base (Young 1978; Chapter 1). Young women were particularly selected out for migration as a consequence. Technological change may thus cause a gender-specific shift in labour allocation in the rural households (also Ahmed 1983; Nash 1977; Rogers 1980; Wilson 1982; Deere 1985).

Migration flows are not solely related to the technological aspects of production, but also correspond to the availability of the factors of production. The disposal of resources such as land and animals (for traction or transport) among households holds implications for the types and nature of production and migration decisions entered into, as noted in chapter 1. By analysing female migration flows to a secondary Philippines city, one case study demonstrates

the importance of these factors in clarifying the selectivity of female migrants as well as the motives for their moves. Trager (1984) identified several types of household strategies in action according to the relative wealth of the unit. Summarizing the results, we note that for the poorest households, the migration of a daughter was a basic survival strategy as the young woman supported the rural household by providing food or production inputs from the city. A group of middle-income families adopted strategies of upward mobility in which they educated daughters who subsequently entered urban formal sector employment. Remittances from these women remained relatively important for the household of origin - money sent back was used for the education of younger siblings. The middle and upper-class professionals also adopted a strategy of upward mobility (for the household and the female migrants) although because of their more secure economic base, remittances played a minor role in the domestic economy. In summary, the households adopt different strategies in relation to their economic base, and their strategies are structured within the context of overall limiting circumstances of economic security. All three strategies outlined result in the migration of young women, yet the young women's specific relationship with the rural household and their situation in the urban area depends on the household's resource base and its strategies.

However, in Trager's analysis there is no consideration of the influence of gender issues within the household in the choice of migrants, while the Mexican case notes only that the women are selected out of the household at an earlier age than the male members. In other circumstances, we may hypothesize that while women have different migration histories depending on the relative wealth of the unit, selective factors further act within the household to choose between male and female members for participation in population movements. That is, gender would be used in distinct ways as an organisational principle in migration strategies (and by implication livelihood strategies) according to

socio-economic level. In the Andean case, cultural criteria embedded in gender differences structure the migration patterns of households of varying resource bases, as we shall see at length below.

Production-reproduction relations

Reproduction and production are the local maintenance activities carried out by the household members, as noted above, and labour is deployed in these tasks through the sexual and age division of labour (chapter 3). As described above, the community households contain no more than two reproductive (female) workers, whereas they may contain up to four productive (male) labourers, according to the unit's resource base. The requirements in productive and reproductive activities are predicated upon distinct rationales, which determine the number of each type of worker. Reproductive requirements can be met by one, or at the most two, female member(s) whose responsibilities are set by the sexual division of labour and the social construction of gender. In contrast with the reproductive sphere, productive labour requirements are a function of the resource base of the unit and of the producer:consumer ratio.

Furthermore, with changing demographic composition over the developmental cycle, the amount and type of labour which can be deployed in production also varies. As a result, the household needs to utilize mechanisms to cover consumption needs by supplementing productive labour and resources. These methods for balancing consumption needs and productive means are related to the patterns of inheritance and household formation which are embedded in community organization. Specifically, during the initial stage of the developmental cycle in Kallarayan, a new unit receives only part of their inheritance on marriage and hence tends to be found among the relatively poorer households, as it relies upon a minimum of resources. As their parents die and siblings marry and receive their inheritance, the couple gains more

property. Clearly, the degree to which the later addition of property to the unit marks a significant improvement in the productive base of the household depends on the relative wealth of the previous generation. In cases where the amount of property inherited is notable, the household moves into the richer quartiles of the village at later stages of the developmental cycle. Labour is incorporated into the household workforce through birth and marriage, although there are also cases of adding labour through means such as coresidence of kin and compadres (eg. Bolton & Bolton 1974;156). The addition of such extra non-nuclear family labour allows the household to undertake a complex of activities in the fields of migration, production and reproduction, and to compensate for its demographic composition.

The division of production and reproduction activities are thus predicated upon the sexual (and age) divisions of labour: within this broad framework, the balance of reproductive and productive labour with consumption needs is achieved through social mechanisms which redistribute land and labour between units.

Summary

Thus far, we have outlined the nature of household livelihood strategies in which migration plays an integral role. Participation in population flows entails different household members according to the development cycle of the household and the economic base for its subsistence. Migration of individuals is part of a rural household's strategies for livelihood which are dynamic, changing with stages in the individuals' and household lifecycle and with technological advances as well as with shifts in labour market structure. The household remains a useful unit of study, due to its common resource base and the combination of productive, consumption and reproductive processes in one unit and the ability of one or more members to organise the others, as examined in more detail in chapter 1. Women are placed in a position in the household, due

to lifecycle stages and their access to resources, which generally frame their participation in household-organized activities and hence in migration.

The developmental cycle and migration in Kallarayan

As suggested above, the demographic composition of the household unit, as it varies over the developmental cycle, influences the organization of production, reproduction and migration, and the allocation of tasks to members. The selectivity of migrants from the unit is thereby clarified by an examination of the shifting of available labour among these livelihood activities during the cycle.

In Kallarayan, groups of households at various stages of the developmental cycle may be identified on the basis of household structure and age of household head, as shown in table 6:2. The table illustrates the pattern of household evolution (and dissolution) in the community in which married children generally remain in one partner's natal household until they have several young children. New households containing a young couple with no children are very rare in the community as new households are usually created after a period of co-residence with the parents (and siblings on some occasions) of one marriage partner. As children are born, the pressures to create a separate unit increase and the couple with young offspring leave the three-generational unit. Hence the marked increase in numbers between the first (stage i) and second (stage ii) groups, and the relatively small number of households in the final category, households with no co-resident children (stage vi). Some young married couples remain in the parental home until the death of the older generation - these are usually the chanako or youngest child of either sex who inherits the house and contents. The pattern of co-residence after marriage is explained by the organisation of inheritance and subsistence security in the community: the older couple benefit from the nearness of kin upon whom they can depend for sharing

work, and the young couple, due to the minimum amount of inheritance received initially, pools resources with the parental unit to maximize its subsistence base.

Table 6:2

The developmental cycle of households in Kallarayan, and average age of household seniors

| <u>Stage in cycle</u> | <u>Household structure</u> | <u>Average age of unit's senior *</u> | | <u>Number</u> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| | | <u>Rich</u> | <u>Poor</u> | |
| i. | New unit, young couple, no children | - | 19 | 1 |
| ii. | Children under 6yrs | 25.5 | 25 | 12 |
| iii. | Children 6-14 yrs | 36.2 | 35.9 | 25 |
| iv. | Children over 15yrs and single | 47.6 | 46 | 24 |
| v. | Offspring over 15yrs and co-resident | 55.7 | 56 | 19 |
| vi. | Unit with no co-resident offspring | 42 | 52 | 5 |
| <u>Total</u> | | | | (86) |

* Senior adult, male or female

Turning to table 6:3, we note that no significant size difference is found between the groups distinguished on the basis of relative wealth, although the richer households are consistently larger (by a small margin) than the poorer households. Among both richer and poorer households, the largest are those in the fourth stage (iv) of the developmental cycle, that is those households where at least one child is over 15 and single. Clearly as offspring marry, have their own children and move from the household, the unit declines in size as shown for stages v and vi. At this point two processes occur which have opposite effects on household size. Children marrying, spouses moving into the household of origin and the birth of 'grandchildren' leads to an increase in

numbers, while simultaneously other children are marrying and moving out of their unit of origin. The household tends to lose members overall rather than gain (despite the addition of 'grandchildren').

Table 6:3

Average size of household and migration of household senior,
according to developmental cycle stage and relative wealth

| <u>Stage</u> | <u>Average size</u> | | <u>Percentage of seniors who migrate</u> | |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------|--|-------------|
| | <u>Rich</u> | <u>Poor</u> | <u>Rich</u> | <u>Poor</u> |
| i. | - | 2 | N/A | 100 |
| ii. | 3.75 | 3.65 | 75 | 100 |
| iii. | 4.6 | 4.25 | 91 | 91* |
| iv. | 6.25 | 6 | 54 | 64 |
| v. | 5.85 | 5.45 | 80* | 50* |
| vi. | 2 | 1.5 | 100 | 0* |

* Excluding widows when senior of household

The pattern of migration over the developmental cycle is predicated upon household subsistence strategies which assess the consumption requirements in light of the producer:consumer ratio, the amount and type of labour at its disposal, and opportunities in external markets. Given the regularity of producer:consumer ratio shifts and reproductive labour requirements over the developmental cycle, with which are associated resource distribution patterns (arising from inheritance and residence traditions), it can be seen that livelihood is conditioned by the adjustment of the production-reproduction-migration complex to these regularities. Consequently, the characteristics of migrants in terms of age, family position and sex, can be seen to be closely related to shifting livelihood organization over the developmental cycle.

Table 6:4 Current participation in migration according to position in family and developmental cycle stage

N.B. Includes both seasonal and long-term migration, as well as frequent temporary moves to Cuzco. Key:3 husbands=3 families where only the adult married male migrates, etc.

| <u>Stage</u> | <u>Family migrants</u> | | <u>Poor</u> Total | |
|---------------|------------------------|--|----------------------|---|
| | <u>Rich</u> Total | | | |
| i. | 0 | N/A | 1 | 1 husband + wife |
| ii. | 4 | 3 husbands 1 husband + wife | 7 | 3 husband 4 husband + wife |
| iii. | 12 | 6 husband 2 husband + daughter 2 husband + son 1 daughter 1 husband + wife | 11 | 7 husband 2 husband + daughter 2 daughter |
| iv. | 13 | 5 husband 4 sons 2 son + daughter 1 daughter | 12 | 6 husband + children 2 husband 2 son + daughter 1 daughter 1 son |
| v. | 11 | 5 husband + children 1 son, dau. and son-in-law 2 son-in-law 3 son | 7 | 1 husband + children 3 son +/- or daughter 2 son + son-in-law 1 son-in-law |
| vi. | 3 | 3 husband | 1 | 1 husband + wife |
| <u>Total:</u> | | 42 | | 39 |

(+ 5 families with no migrants)

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

In the initial stages of a new household's existence, husbands migrate on a temporary basis in order to provide foodstuffs and cash for the immediate resource needs of the rural unit. Husbands constitute by far the largest group of migrants at this stage of the developmental cycle, as shown in table 6:4.

Among poorer households, wives may join their husbands on short-term moves into the subtropical valleys where the earnings of the couple are used to buy household construction materials and consumption items. As children are born, so the woman's geographical mobility declines (chapter 5) and she dedicates her time to the nurture and care of the younger generation. Even in the poorest households, women tend to reduce their length of absence with the arrival of children. While young, the children are resident almost exclusively in the rural household: exceptions are the few toddlers who accompany their parents on semi-permanent moves to the valleys or the children left with grandparents in the community during their parents' absence.

However, when the children reach the ages of 6 to 14 years they may start to migrate from the household into the labour market. The fathers continue to migrate - they are still active in the labour force at 35 years, and several short-term opportunities for labourers exist in the urban areas and in the semi-tropical valleys. Women, in their role as mothers, do not migrate at this stage but remain in the rural community to organise household maintenance. Children who start to migrate at this time are mostly daughters. This pattern is reversed by the time the children mature; when single children reach the age of 15, sons outnumber daughters in their propensity to migrate, as shown in table 6:4. Husbands are only rarely the sole migrant from the household at this stage of the developmental cycle, as they are joined by offspring in their search for cash contributions to the domestic economy.

When households include three generations of a family, at the fifth stage of the cycle (stage v), sons and/or sons-in-law make up the largest group of migrants: their contributions help to support both their natal families (parents, and siblings in some cases) as well as their spouse and children. Single daughters continue to play a role in the household at this stage, yet are a smaller group of migrants. In the final stage (stage vi), when no coresident

children are present, the husband regains his importance as the primary migratory labourer in the household. Although older and thus restricted in the type of work he may pursue, these married men migrate temporarily. In households where married children and their spouses are present, the older married men tend not to migrate to the same extent, as other household members can take over this contributory role.

This brief overview of the pattern of migration during the developmental cycle of community households illustrates several points which it is important to elucidate before continuing to consider the role played by relative wealth, gender and kinship in structuring migration strategies. The data support the household-based model of migration, by providing evidence for regular patterns of labour allocation as labour-availability shifts over the developmental cycle. When producer:consumer ratios change, livelihood strategies adjust by shifting labour among the reproductive-productive-migratory activities: consequently, migration characteristics differ as the type of labour and household composition alters. The sexual division of labour within the domestic economy structures the allocation of tasks to members and thus influences the relative numbers and ages of men and women in the migration flows.

We note a repeat of the pattern documented in Mexico, in which the men are replaced in the population movements by their children as the latter mature (see Arizpe 1981). A pattern of relay migration can be said to exist in the Andean community under study: as in the Mexican case, the rural household benefits from having sons and daughters who migrate seasonally and who are also available in the fields when required. Furthermore, in Kallarayan the newly married women spend their time and energies in raising the next generation, that is, the children who will at some point replace their father in the migratory labour stream. As a result, peasant women of the Andes experience a reduction in geographical mobility once they start to give birth

and dedicate themselves to childcare and house maintenance. Reproductive duties, given the prevalent cultural patterns and economic rationale, entail residence of a permanent nature in the peasant community after marriage and female participation in migration decreases at this stage of their life and the corresponding point of the developmental cycle. In considering the broad pattern of migratory flows over the developmental cycle, we note a loss of more daughters than sons from the unit in the early stages of the developmental cycle, indicated on table 6:5, which is consistent with information for urban areas in Peru, where female migrants are younger than the male (Martinez 1980). Why should female children be selected out of the rural household at an earlier age than their male counterparts? We turn to look into this aspect in terms of the relative wealth of the peasant households.

Table 6:5 Migration of family members by stages of the developmental cycle

| <u>Stage</u> | <u>No. of families</u> | <u>Generation 1</u> | | <u>Generation 2</u> | | |
|--------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| | | <u>Husband</u> | <u>Wife</u> | <u>Son</u> | <u>Daughter</u> | <u>Son-in-law</u> |
| i. | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - |
| ii. | 12 | 11 | 5 | - | - | - |
| iii. | 25 | 20 | 1 | 3 | 7 | - |
| iv. | 24 | 13 | - | 30 | 15 | - |
| v. | 19 | 3 | - | 19 | 9 | 6 |
| vi. | 5 | 4 | 1 | - | - | - |
| <u>Total</u> | 86 | 52 | 8 | 52 | 31 | 6 |

Source: Original research data, Kallarayan 1985

Class, gender and migration

Besides the influence on labour availability of changes over the developmental cycle, the quantity and type of non-labour resources also co-condition the nature of strategies adopted by the unit. The ability of the household to satisfy consumption requirements from local resources holds

implications for labour allocation decisions, and the characteristics of migration flows. According to the balance of productive resources in the unit and the availability of labour to exploit them, reproductive and migratory inputs are assessed. Given the differential opportunities for male and female members, both internal and external to the domestic unit, variations in the deployment of this labour can be hypothesized. Evidence suggests that the resource base of the unit (measured in terms of land and livestock holdings) distinguishes between households in terms of livelihood strategies, and thus the characteristics of migration flows from the unit. Male and female members participate in migratory movements on a differential basis, determined by the balance of reproductive-productive and migratory livelihood activities, depending on the domestic unit's resource base.

Table 6:6 Landholding and livestock ownership by strata

| | <u>Rich</u> | | <u>Poor</u> | |
|---------------------|-------------|------|-------------|------|
| | I | II | III | IV |
| Landholding (topos) | 3.95 | 1.81 | 1.15 | 0.49 |
| Livestock* | 10.94 | 9.3 | 6 | 7.2 |

*Includes sheep, cattle, llamas and donkeys (large animals).

In this analysis, we distinguish between two broad groups of households - relatively richer households in terms of land-holdings, and the relatively poorer group. The rich household hold approximately three times as much land as the poorer units and as livestock ownership correlates closely with land-holding in the community, these two groups represent relatively discrete categories according to community-based resources, as shown in table 6:6. In this section, we focus on strategies of household labour allocation along two dimensions: the developmental cycle (of which the effect on migration has been outlined above, and which is indicated by the numerals i through vi) in conjunction with a

consideration of relative wealth. Poorer households (indicated by a in the following section) are contrasted with the richer community households (b) in terms of their participation in migration flows.

i As outlined above, in the initial stages of household development, households are constrained by a lack of resources in the community due to the limited amount of goods received in inheritance and must look outside to earn cash for subsistence goods. Whether or not the unit is due to inherit property, the household is in these early stages largely forced to gain access to foodstuffs and cash through labour migration. Both men and women migrate for temporary periods to the semi-tropical valleys, for example. Remittances are divested in immediate subsistence requirements, as well as investment in the domestic unit on such activities as house building and the purchase of durable consumer items (such as beds, cooking utensils and tools). From the richer households, the male villagers who have learnt skills such as carpentry, masonry or mechanics during their childhood, are in a better position in the urban labour market to guarantee a higher and more secure income when taking up wage work outside the community. Generally, young couples prefer to co-reside with the parents of one spouse, in order to combine land and labour at the initial stages of the developmental cycle, when the birth of children demands a high level of consumption goods.

ii As children are born to the unit, women's participation in migration becomes restricted, as noted above in chapters 5 and 6. Especially among richer households, women cease to leave the community except for purposes of marketing. Male adult labour continues to be deployed by all households in subsistence agriculture and in temporary moves for cash and foodstuffs. Need for these items expands rapidly at this stage with the addition of younger

members of the household, and the low producer:consumer ratios result in pressures for continued participation in external labour markets by poorer women. Permanent moves into a rural area (such as a region of colonization) are an option for those households who expect to receive little or no land in inheritance in the community. These families also tend to have familial or religious connections with the area of destination. Married women move with their husbands and young children under this strategy. Other families, without access to these alternatives for whatever reason, tend to move seasonally into the semi-tropical valleys, despite the disruption which this is perceived to cause to agricultural work in the community and the health risks it entails for children. Women accompany their spouses in these moves, while children either remain with kin in the community, or if they are breastfed, taken by the women. Some households adopt strategies of semi-permanent migration by adult male labour into labour markets such as gold-mining in Madre de Dios department where cash income is relatively high and subsistence is guaranteed, and the wives remain in the peasant community to undertake production and reproduction responsibilities. Among the poor households, two-thirds of married women migrate to maximise income, as income shortfalls are anticipated and dealt with in various ways according to household-labour market links.

iii As the children mature, the eldest child eventually begins to take part in outside labour markets, although adult male labour continues to cover immediate consumption needs. Children, as they enter the labour market from the poor households, return a minimal amount as remittances, which generally consist of small quantities of food. Female migrants are generally younger than their male counterparts among both the poor and rich households, as illustrated in table 6:7. By working on a temporary basis in Cuzco or the Sacred Valley,

food supplements and small cash remittances are sent by the young fathers for the purchase of productive inputs (including seed, coca and alcohol for work parties). These patterns are evident from information on the use of remittances from migration (Appendix 2), in which richer households' male adults use their earnings for immediate consumption needs (largely foodstuffs) and/or for savings. By contrast, men of poorer households return over half of their wages to the domestic unit but only goods for working the fields are purchased.

Table 6:7 Age of female and male single migrants during household developmental cycle

| | <u>Age (years)</u> | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | <u>Richer</u> | | <u>Poorer</u> | |
| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
| i. | - | - | - | - |
| ii. | - | - | - | - |
| iii. | 12.25 | 12 | 12 | 10.8 |
| iv. | 17.2 | 17.9 | 19.2 | 17.4 |
| v. | 19.1 | 21.1 | 21.4 | 25.0 |
| vi. | - | - | - | - |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

However, in poorer households if income is higher, for example because women are working, the cash is put into a variety of uses such as buying clothes or durable household items or as capital for a small business.

Female-headed households, found exclusively in the poorer group at this stage of the developmental cycle (7), necessarily adopt different strategies for subsistence. Given the absence of adult male labour and a secure economic base in the community, their strategies involve other income-generating activities or cost-reducing responses. These women and their young offspring survive on a combination of activities including marketing (community-based

informal sales of urban consumer goods); a reduction of agricultural labour requirements (through the allocation of land in sharecropping and rental agreements); weaving of clothes for sale; the sale of livestock; and the aid of female relatives (gifts of food, sharing of food preparation). Household costs are further reduced in some cases by the move of a child into another home: child-fostering occurs among widows although it is not as frequent as child migration among the group of poorer households as a whole. It echoes child migration in terms of its main function which is to reduce reproduction costs in the unit by sending away a "non-productive" member.

iii a Poorer households Among nuclear-family poor households at the third stage of the developmental cycle, girls are selected out in migration more than boys: young boys are perceived as potentially productive in the household or more specifically in the fields, as land may be taken in sharecropping or rental agreements. By contrast, girls are "non-productive" household members as they do not work in the fields and their role in livestock supervision is minor compared with the adult female labour deployed in this activity. Female migrants in this group are the eldest of the children and enter the labour market as domestics for considerable lengths of time. Of the young girls leaving Kallarayan for this purpose all were absent for over a year, and had left the unit at the age of around 10 years. Although sons are less likely to migrate from the village, when they do so it is for reasons associated with reproduction cost-reduction strategies. They work as 'helpers' in urban areas for small shopkeepers for lengthy periods of time, and the amount of remittances returned to the rural household are of minor importance compared with the savings in reproduction costs.

iii b Richer households Among the wealthier community households a different pattern prevails as the strategies behind the migration of children are distinct and result in an alternative gender selection process to that found among poor

households. While male adult labour continues to play a similar role to that in poorer households, child labour is freed for radically different reasons between the ages of 6 and 14 years. Children are sent from the community in order to acquire skills which may be used in the urban labour market: both male and female children migrate for this purpose. We note cases of children entering urban schools for considerable lengths of time, or continuing education in the community school while training during the holidays. In the latter case, sons are sent during the long vacations from the community school to Cuzco or as far away as Lima as apprentices in car-repair workshops, tailors or bakeries, where they live with urban compadres or relatives. The eldest children are again the first to migrate, although they are soon joined by the second child on many occasions. Sons and daughters would appear to have equal opportunities in education and training, although evaluations of gender differences in terms of utility to the household appear to explain the length of absence, while opportunities in the labour market tend to be sex-segregated. Boys, although continuing their education and training, play a role in household labour requirements and for this reason their absence is limited to three months during the school holidays (during a period of the year when married men rely on each other, rather than family members, to carry out agricultural work). By contrast, daughters tend to remain outside the community for longer periods of time, as their labour is not a necessary input in household organisation. Moreover, as noted in the previous chapter, their labour inputs are used in the urban households where they are located for the period of their studies as these households are generally childless.

The strategies behind migration and the situation of children from richer community households is reflected in the pattern of remittances return among this group (Appendix 2), where children buy clothes for themselves with their earnings, or where children do not receive wages during training. Adult men,

however, continue to contribute their earnings from migration for the purchase of work-payment items including such costly goods as meat. As their children reach school age, they direct a proportion of wages into education while other cash is spent on consumer durables, clothes and radios. As children grow older, the pattern remains the same and offspring purchase school utensils, while older ones (both married and single) provide the household with foodstuffs, money (for seed etc.) and clothes.

To summarize the position of households at this point of the developmental cycle (iii), when children are aged 6 to 14 years, units adopt different strategies of subsistence and labour allocation according to their resource base. As a function of these strategies, male and female children participate in population flows on distinct bases. In rich households, as many children as possible are educated or given skills which are not available in the rural areas, and they can be released for this purpose from the peasant household because of its relative economic security. Male child labour may still be necessary in the rural areas, and thus released for shorter periods. Nevertheless, there would not appear to be discrimination in favour of either gender in fulfilling the educational goals of the households. Female children are not a burden on the richer households, where the subsistence base is relatively secure and indeed they may be retained by the unit for 'un-productive' tasks such as animal care and assistance in the domestic group. By comparison, in the poor households female children represent a drain on limited resources and migration for this group is a function of distinct criteria than that prevalent in the wealthier group. Daughters tend to be sent away for long periods as domestics, in conditions where neither skills acquisition nor earnings (although both are present in some cases) are as important as the impact on the reproduction costs in the rural household. Male children are released in similar conditions to the girls, although they are outnumbered four to one by the latter.

iv As the households develop and members mature, migration patterns shift without losing their gender-differentiated strategies, according to the relative success of previous strategies. In the fourth stage of the developmental cycle, the average age of the senior family member is 46 years while offspring are over 15 years old. In most of the village households, the senior male adults' labour plays a minor role in generating income outside the household as this role is assumed by sons and daughters who take his place in migration flows outside the community. The eldest child continues to play a major role in migration, although by this stage younger children also enter the labour markets. Second and third children (of both sexes) are now found among the migrants. [The birth order of female migrants throughout the developmental cycle as shown in table 6:8, illustrates this pattern.]

iv.b Richer households

In richer households at this point of the developmental cycle, sons make up the largest group of migratory labourers, approximately three-quarters of the total number of single migrants. Two types of strategies are developed by these households in which male migrants predominate. The first group (larger than the second by a small margin) consists of adult sons who combine temporary labour outside the community in various destinations, such as the semi-tropical valleys, Cuzco and the Sacred Valley, with agricultural work in the village.

By combining male labour in this way with agricultural labour requirements, households can dedicate resources to the expansion of production locally. Plentiful male labour in the household (for these households have several teenage sons) allows for the renting of land in the village, as cash remittances contribute towards the households' ability to repay ayni workers with coca, food and alcohol. In some cases, younger sons are not required to contribute to household costs from their migration earnings, and remittances are used by the

young men for their own purchases (of clothes, radios, watches etc), as production costs are covered by remittances from older children or by earnings from marketing crop production.

Table 6:8

Birth order of single female migrants, by wealth of household
and developmental cycle stage

| | <u>Richer</u> | | | <u>Poorer</u> | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| | <u>Eldest</u> | <u>Second</u> | <u>Third</u> | <u>Eldest</u> | <u>Second</u> | <u>Third</u> |
| i. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| ii. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| iii. | 1 | 2 | - | 4 | - | - |
| iv. | 2 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| v. | - | 3 | 3* | 1 | - | - |
| vi. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |

* includes fourth and fifth children of the same family

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

The second sub-group of male migrants is absent for longer periods of time, in situations similar to that noted for previous developmental cycle stages. These are the sons whose place in the urban informal economy is consolidated, and whose livelihood derives from a previously acquired skill. They are found as tailors and mechanics and in school. In some families, all sons of working age (15 and above) are absent for these reasons yet the household is able to compensate for the loss of their labour: labour for agricultural work is called upon under arrangements such as *mink'a*, *ayni* and reciprocated by giving workers a share of the harvest (8). Fathers remain in the community to organize and participate in production and take up short-term labouring work in the departmental capital. Remittances play a significant role in some cases in allowing the household to call upon labour in this way, although they are generally used for the education of younger siblings, a practice consistent

within the strategies adopted by households with a higher level of resources. Any wages earned by younger siblings are retained by them for school utensils and uniforms. Resident siblings, both male and female, have a high attendance rate in the village school - daughters especially are educated locally and as a consequence are less frequent participants in population moves. Daughters in this group are not expected or pushed to migrate - when they do so, it is not through economic necessity but rather through their willingness to experience areas outside the community and to earn income for themselves. Small gifts of foodstuffs to parents in the community are made by daughters during brief visits, while in fewer cases, food gifts are used for agricultural workers. Young women thus tend to retain the larger share of their own earnings.

Offspring of richer households tend to remain in the city, either if they consolidate a position in the urban economy (largely true of young men, although women who enter marketing are in a similar position) or if they marry into an urban household (predominantly young women) (9). Male employment in small-scale tailors workshops or car-repair centres, factories or bakeries provides a relatively secure livelihood as well as the means of improving the education of the next generation. The opportunities of an urban location are perceived as benefitting the family's children as well as the unit's current economic security. The rural household of origin maintain links with these married offspring by means of visits, gifts of foodstuffs (which flow in both directions) and clothes, and return visits to the community for rituals and festivals. Relatives in urban areas also provide accommodation to rural kin upon visits to the city for work purposes (temporary moves), or for official business (registration for elections, or of younger siblings in town schools). Food and gifts from rural areas are brought in regularly on these occasions, and urban kin thus benefit from cheap foodstuffs. In situations of emergency, the rural household activates linkages with the urban areas: money is sent back to

buy medical help for an elderly relative for example. The rural households benefit in various ways from the linkages created and consolidated during the early stages of the developmental cycle through its strategy of initiating and maintaining long-term rural-urban flows of labour and resources.

It might be expected that elderly parents would eventually move into the urban areas to join offspring who had settled there, as occurs in other areas of the Andes. However, in this particular case it would not appear to be the prevailing pattern, as the land-holding unit in the rural community continues to provide a basis for economic security ("There is always food to eat in the campo" as one informant explained), while emotional ties with kin in the rural area are strong, and are perceived to be a major support. Older household members are unwilling to break completely from their community, where close kin are located (10).

While marriage and settlement in cities is widespread among the sons, and to a lesser extent daughters of wealthier community households, marriage between members of different communities is also found and entails shifts in residence for one or other partner (11). Decisions regarding residence involve various gender-specific positions regarding property rights which result in the loss of property by non-resident women. As both partners receive property, marriage between two communities throws up certain logistical problems in terms of the organisation of production in two separate areas. In nearby communities, residence may be maintained in one community while production continues in both areas. For example, marriage alliances with male or female comuneros of the neighbouring villages of Seqaracay, Patabamba, Ccaccacollo or Llaquepata (see map in chapter 1) allow for the coordinated production of separate plots. When land is further away from Kallarayan, households must assess the utility and nature of the coordination of production. In the process of negotiation over household location, male rights over land are more

consistently maintained. Thus, non-resident married men maintain rights over land in disparate areas through various strategies, although their non-resident sisters tend to lose their usufruct rights. Means used by the men to organise production include arrangements made between brothers on the basis of *ayni*, in which the absent brother returns at certain stages of the agricultural cycle in order to demonstrate property rights and to repay work. While this type of arrangement is open to abuse by the resident partner, relations between brothers are more equitable than those between brothers and sisters, as only male labour is fully 'equivalent' in *ayni* agreements. Thus, while women may have rights in theory to land in the community of origin, their rights tend to lapse unless they are resident or if parents are alive and maintain usufruct on their daughters' behalf.

Households whose partners hold property rights in distant areas may adopt a strategy whereby women remain resident in their natal community and organise the cultivation of their land, while husbands migrate seasonally to their land or split production costs with male kin. In these cases, the households are careful to maintain a subsistence base which unites two areas, neither of which separately is sufficient for livelihood. Moreover, in some cases, the household manages in this way to combine production in ecologically distinct regions thus providing a wider subsistence base. For example, several households in Kallarayan (producing largely potatoes, maize and barley) have rights over land in the semi-tropical valleys of Lares and La Convención where cash crops (such as coffee, coca or tea) and food crops such as yucca are cultivated. Households engaged in this arrangement (which echoes relations identified elsewhere in the Andes, Collins 1981; A.Fiovaranti 1982) maintain a steady flow of resources between the two zones: male labour (the married men with rights in the semi-tropical area and their wives' siblings) as well as highland foodstuffs (which are costly in the valleys) move into the semi-tropical valley on a regular basis,

while cash and tropical crops move into the peasant community. Such patterns of resource movements evolve, in some cases, to include the movement of female household labour (of single or married women) into the tropical areas for participation in harvesting work (ties of kinship reduce the costs of this labour, and facilitate its recruitment). Fathers remain in the community to organize and participate in production and take up short-term labouring work in the departmental capital. Remittances play a significant role in some cases in allowing the household to call upon labour in this way, although they are joined in the labour market by their sons and daughters, although it is also possible to send children into education and into urban apprenticeship positions. Thus the pattern noted above for wealthier households to expand linkages with urban areas through a strategy of education and training of children is continued, facilitated by the presence of kin of the parents' generation in the urban areas.

To summarize the complex pattern of migration among the wealthier community households, at the stage of the developmental cycle when offspring marry (v.b.), we have seen that a proportion of male and female children marry and settle in the urban areas where their position in the urban economy is sufficiently well-consolidated to allow them to base their subsistence upon urban activities. Their links with the rural households however, remain important for the household of origin - they provide accommodation and information on the city for rural household members (12). Other married children have developed linkages with distinct ecological zones and their household strategies are developed in line with the movements of resources and labour to expand the subsistence base in both areas. Such strategies entail a high degree of mobility for household members, both male and female, as labour

is shifted from one site to the other and opportunities arise for commercial activity. These strategies depend upon the consolidation of male property rights and the coordination of production between brothers: although women protect their property when remaining in the community, they cannot do so from another village (except in the neighbouring areas). Although these women originate in property-rich households, they cannot secure their share of property when absent: brothers (either resident or absent) and resident sisters gain access to community land (13).

Finally, a group of households build on a foundation of community-based resources and on links developed with urban kin to guarantee subsistence and to provide for aged parents. Households in the wealthier group who are able to build upon resources in the village in conjunction with semi-tropical land develop a range of income-or potentially income-generating activities, from commercialization of high-altitude products in the lowlands or the city, to the education of children. Many of these strategies involve movements of household members between geographically distinct areas, and participation in a variety of labour and product markets. The security of rural households in terms of guaranteeing a subsistence base depends on these linkages: in cases of failure to achieve links with urban or tropical areas (through marriage or employment) the property in the village is divided among the remaining offspring, and as a consequence, some households enter the 'poorer' group with a less ample means of reproduction at their disposal.

iv. a Poorer households Households in the poorer group have a higher rate of permanent emigration than in the richer group. By the final stages of the developmental cycle, a third of offspring from all poorer units have migrated out permanently (including moves to another peasant community, where access to a larger stock of property is possible). Moves to the urban area are the most frequent and a gender-differentiated pattern occurs. More daughters than sons

are selected out from the poorer peasant households for permanent migration to the cities, as daughters who are sent to middle- or lower-middle class homes as domestics tend to marry and remain in the urban area. Their residence in urban areas is a function of their husbands' occupation, and his location: their own occupation is generally not a sufficient condition in the ability of a household to maintain itself in the town. While many terminate employment on marrying, a few married women continue to work as domestics, although they do so under 'live out' arrangements, while many women move into street marketing (Bunster & Chaney 1984). These single female migrants, although originating in a household with distinct strategies to the wealthier peasant women (who migrate to the city for education, a secure occupational position, and perhaps marriage), effectively occupy the same position in mobility patterns after marriage: they are the wives of men whose economic position in the urban areas is relatively stable (see below).

The situation is distinct for sons of these poor households, who have not had the opportunity to gain skills and resources in the urban areas with which to support their own household. The relatively few male children who are sent to Cuzco or Lima for work in urban households are found in marketing and labouring occupations. In marketing they work transporting or selling goods but are not in a position to accumulate capital with which to expand their own business, and serve as labourers in more wealthy families' concerns. As a result, they do not generally receive training which would allow them to consolidate their positions in the urban economy, in either the formal or informal sectors. A few men are however able to find steady work in the urban economy, despite their lack of training and their peasant origins. As for this small minority who have gained access to stable positions these work as labourers in, for example, state-owned institutions: in one case, a young man (now 22 years and married) works as a labourer in Electro-Perú, the state

electricity company, and has found a position for his younger brother in the same company.

If they are unable to find a relatively secure position, they are unable to marry and base their household in the urban area but return to the rural household where they are forced to adopt a strategy of expansion of the agricultural base and to carry out frequent temporary migration to the semi-tropical valleys and Cuzco. Households with sons (and occasionally sons-in-law) increase the land area controlled by the household unit by growing crops under sharecropping or rental agreements. Rent is largely paid in labour to households with little or no adult male labour, for example, widows with young or female children. Households with plentiful adult male labour can expand their resource base effectively in this way and in some cases control amounts of land (of all types) equivalent to some of the richest households. The strategy of increasing the land under cultivation is a temporary measure and as family members marry, sons and daughters are squeezed onto smaller parcels of land or into permanent migration to the informal urban economy. The labour used for working land in sharecropping shifts from a pattern in which brothers work together, to one of brothers-in-law sharing agricultural work, to one with sons, who take on this responsibility from a young age, as male household members mature and marry and household composition changes over the developmental cycle.

From some poor households, ultimately all offspring migrate permanently to the urban areas or to another peasant community (where the resource base is larger), leaving elderly parents in the village. In this sense, poor households are distinct to the wealthier households where at least one married child is present in the community (whether co-resident or not). In the former situations, the household is reduced to one or both aged parents, occasionally with a young child (under the age of 10 years). These households rent or sharecrop out a

large proportion of their land as its labour requirements are too great for the unit. Migration on a temporary basis is an option only if a male adult is present and widows must rely upon absent sons or daughters for food and cash requirements, as noted above. Reproductive duties are carried out by a young child who runs errands, collects water and fuel, and pastures any livestock. The majority of these children are female, and may be the widows' youngest child (boy or girl) or a grandchild or godchild (ahijada, always a girl) who is fostered for long periods of time and treated as a family member. The labour needs in terms of reproduction requirements are thus covered by the addition of a (female) child to the unit; productive labour is mobilized by *ayni* arrangements, for which absent offspring provide a large proportion of inputs (cash for food and coca; sometimes labour). These minimal households of a widow and young child are thus not viable units in the sense of containing within them the labour for reproduction, migration and production, but rely on their position in a network of labour and resource flows organised along lines of kin and *compadrazgo* relations.

Returning to a point mentioned above, we note that women cannot acquire skills comparable to male training, and this holds implications for the stability of female residence in the urban areas. Although in few cases they may develop the capital and skills to manage a commercial business, their opportunities for maintaining a household in the city are reduced. Hence, if they do not marry in the urban areas, which is in fact the most likely pattern, they return to the peasant community where they develop small-scale marketing networks. These businesses are founded upon limited capital from their past earnings or their parents, and are created initially from the households' harvests and production. Alternatively, if they have a child while based in the urban centres, they return it to the parents' rural household where it is raised and the women re-enter the urban economy as single women (for

example as live-in domestics).

The situation for single migrants is summarized in table 6:9. The access to a range of resources and opportunities found among the richer peasant households contrasts with the situation for poor households, whose strategies are founded upon responses to immediate subsistence requirements of the unit. More female children than male children leave from poor households, the reverse of the pattern for the richer households. Furthermore, these young women leave at an earlier age than both women from the richer households and men in the poorer group, and they are absent for longer periods of time. While education may be offered in some cases to the domestic servants, it is unusual for young girls, and it is generally a minor element in household decisions concerning the migration of female children.

Table 6:9 Education, training and work of female and male single migrants

| | <u>Richer households</u> | | <u>Poorer households</u> | | <u>Total</u> |
|------------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | |
| <u>Education</u> | 4 | 2 | - | 1 | 7 |
| <u>Training</u> | 13 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 25 |
| <u>Work</u> | 17 | 7 | 11 | 8 | 43 |
| <u>TOTAL</u> | 34 | 12 | 17 | 12 | 75 |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

By reducing consumption requirements households increase the producer:consumer ratio, thus securing a minimum of resources in the rural area. Male children are, by contrast, retained in the rural households in order to work the land. Households with single male children attempt to increase their productive base by expanding the amount of land under cultivation. Nevertheless, this strategy must be combined with frequent temporary moves by male household members to the semi-tropical valleys and Cuzco, in order to

earn cash for the working parties and consumption needs. Most notably among the poor households, we also find the migration of married women which is the reversal of the pattern among the richer households where women tend to be engaged in marketing after marriage, if they participate in any income-generating activity. In these circumstances, women take on a role of labour market participant which contradicts women's traditional situation. Among the poorer households, married women are found in migration flows at all stages of the developmental cycle, particularly in migration to the semi-tropical valleys.

Remittances

The livelihood of the rural household depends upon the coordination of resources generated in the spheres of migration, production and reproduction, as outlined above. Among the resources generated by the migration of members, the most tangible are remittances of cash and goods which complement locally-produced subsistence goods. [Other, more intangible, resources include fluency in Spanish, experience of urban life, education, political experience and employment contacts.] As noted in chapter 2, the community's households are not self-sufficient and must sell produce or labour for cash, which is utilized in the unit's reproduction. Household livelihood strategies are thus concerned to generate and retain control over cash in order to fulfill subsistence aims. Evidence suggests that livelihood organization is maintained through the regular return of migration earnings, in the form of cash and gifts.

Remittances to the household from migration earnings are embedded in principles of reciprocity at a normative level, as described by Bolton and Bolton (1975;51),

"when a family member works outside the community, she or he must send money and goods to their house. To not do so is to violate the legitimate expectations of domestic group members"

In practice, remittances are not returned consistently to those who have the 'right' to them, and differences exist in the propensity to return remittances to the rural household, as we shall see below. For example, single female migrants from Kallarayan give part of their earnings to their families more regularly than do the men. Cultural expectations in the use of remittances influence the return of cash by both male and female married migrants, whereas among single migrants the women are more likely to send remittances. The limited resources at the disposal of the female migrants and the nature of their position in external labour markets result in a pattern whereby long-term relations with the rural unit are mediated by cash remittances to a greater extent than found among male migrants. In other words, household livelihood is organised around the gender-differentiated return of migration-related resources, in which the domestic unit can call upon different types of resources according to the sex and marital status of the migrants.

Over four-fifths of the women who have migrated in the last 10 years gave all or part of their earnings, although their wages were generally lower than the men's (chapter 4). By contrast, nearly a quarter of the men contributed nothing to their families from the migration wages. The situation varies considerably from destination to destination, as we can see in table 6:10 (see Radcliffe 1985 for more detailed information on the type of remittances sent). The degree to which remittances are sent by both male and female villagers depends upon the nature of their work in relation to the community household and thus varies with destination.

From the semi-tropical valleys more men than the average bring remittances to the village: over four-fifths contributed to the family economy. By contrast, nearly three-quarters of male migrants to Lima were said not to help their natal families, despite the fact that in the majority of cases they did not have immediate family responsibilities in the Lima region. Married men

who migrate to Cuzco have responsibility to maintain their families, and as a result few do not bring any remittances to the household (9.5%).

Table 6:10

Remittances sent to Kallarayan: regularity and type of goods sent

By sex and destination

Migrants

| <u>Destinations</u> | <u>Male</u> | | <u>Female</u> | |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>% senders</u> | <u>Goods sent</u> | <u>% senders</u> | <u>Goods sent</u> |
| Lima | 28.6 | Clothes | 83.3 | Money (67%) |
| Valleys | 84.6 | Money (30%) | 100 | Clothes (30%) |
| Pto. Maldonado | 85.7 | Money (57%) | One case: brought clothes and cash | |
| Cuzco | 90.5 | Foodstuffs (30%) | 71.4 | Money (14%) |
| Province | 91.9 | Maize (73%) | Few cases: cash, food | |
| TOTAL | 76.3% | | 84.9% | |

Source: Family Economy Survey, Kallarayan 1985

Married men bring at least part of their earnings back to the community. Although the proportion which they bring depends on the employment situation, in the majority of cases the men take over a half of their wages. Over a third of the men working in Cuzco contribute to the household economy with foodstuffs, which they buy in the town and carry back to the village. A further third bring money with which their wives buy food. As the migration to Madre de Dios also involves men with family responsibilities, we find similar patterns for the sending of remittances. Although the data may be biased because of the small number of cases, over four-fifths of male migrants to this destination bring remittances.

By contrast, all female migrants to the semi-tropical valleys contribute in some way to the household, bringing back clothes both for their families and themselves. Female migrants who enter domestic service employment in the city return remittances to the rural unit. Despite their low wages and the

reduction in consumption costs in the rural household due to the young female's absence, the domestic economy's strategies extend to retaining control over their income. Except in cases where domestics receive no wages or when they are granted clothing as payment, the rural household continues to function as an income-pooling unit, to which the female migrants return their wages. Over three-quarters of domestics in Cuzco sent some form of remittances to their parental home, while only a quarter of the women in domestic service sent no remittances - as they did not receive a wage (in two cases) or were re-paid with clothes instead of cash. When they are able to contribute, they bring a variety of goods including clothes, food and money to the community. Foodstuffs are brought by those who earn some of the lowest wages, and those who earn a little above the minimum buy clothes.

Notions concerning conjugal relations and household organization influence the pattern of remittance return, and beliefs about kinship and family ties condition relations which link rural and absent household members. Household strategies for generating resources depend upon the maintenance of these relationships, through which the unit continues to act as an income-pooling subsistence base. The evidence suggests that the pattern of remittance return supports the model of household livelihood which informs household members' behaviour and the maintenance of the unit. Thus married migrants of either sex donate their migration earnings for the subsistence of the unit which is their prime responsibility. Single members who move into external labour markets have distinct duties, according to the resources they are able to offer to the unit and its requirements. Single female migrants receive low pay, but manage to contribute to the rural unit's income. By comparison, male migrants are more likely to be able to provide accommodation, information about employment and help with contacts, due to the nature of their position in the non-local economy. Women's employment opportunities in the city do not

usually provide the possibility of offering these resources to the rural unit.

Household livelihood is organized around the return of remittances, which allow it to complement locally-produced resources. Strategies of subsistence thus depend upon the continuity of relationships between the rural dwelling and the absent members, and are evidenced by remittance donations, which differ according to the gender and marital status of the migrants.

Return migration

Relationships with absent migrants, whether male or female, are such that these members can be called upon to redefine their position in household livelihood strategies as required. Due to the existence of ties between members which unite them over long distances, the household is facilitated in its reorganization of labour and resources in response to changing circumstances. As well as being capable of exerting control over migrants' earnings, as described in the previous section, household livelihood relies upon the unit's ability to reorganize the labour at its disposal. Not only does this process imply the reallocation of labour in the rural home, but also redistributing labour through space: the household organizes male and female labour in order to release members in migration, and crucially, also to recall them to the rural area when required. The pattern of female return moves in Kallarayan suggests that migration strategies developed by households are closely inter-related with livelihood aims, as control over the spatial distribution of labour allows the unit to cover subsistence activities. Return migration may be defined as movements back to the rural household from external areas, after a period of time not previously arranged or specified. Contract employment for fixed terms is thus excluded from a consideration of return migration flows, although it is mentioned briefly in order to provide comparative data on its relative importance.

The rural household's livelihood depends upon the balance of production,

reproduction and migration activities, in which resource flows between the rural unit and absent members are of great importance. The rural-urban linkages are multi-faceted, allowing for streams and counterstreams of labour and resources which provide valuable inputs to both the original household and, in some cases, the newly-establishing unit in the city. Thus, migrants who leave the community continue to retain goods in the community of origin, such as animals, tools and other belongings, and these allow the migrants to maintain control over their inherited land and relations of property ownership which represent security in old age (Altamirano 1985; 1980 pp266-278; Osterling 1978;95). Relationships between migrants and the rural household are evidenced by a range of resource flows, which extend from the sending of remittances through to the permanent return of absent members. Within this, temporary return visits are made to the community of origin largely for family reasons: the single most important reason for return to one village in the Central Andes was to help the family, although what this involved was not elaborated (Bradfield 1973;367), while 70% of migrants in one area of Lima had returned briefly to their home town for family matters (including funerals, weddings 31%), for holiday (28%), and to visit parents (26%) (Dietz 1976;34). Similar relationships are found in Kallarayan, as elsewhere in Latin America (see Lomnitz 1977).

Given the distinct responsibilities of male and female members, the reorganization of migrant-household relations clearly holds different implications for the genders. For example, migrants of either sex may be recalled on the death or illness of a parent, but their labour is deployed in distinct ways on their return. Male members return to undertake agricultural work, or return briefly only to re-enter external labour markets from where they send remittances for rural subsistence. When deciding on the organization of male labour, household assessment of the options available depends on the

productive resources at its disposal and on the opportunities available for its male labour outside the community. By contrast, female migrants return to undertake reproductive and productive labour in the unit and usually remain in the community. Their labour is deployed in traditional female spheres and either substitutes for, or increments other (married) female member's labour. In the coordination and reorganization of labour in production-reproduction-migration, female labour represents a number of specific options in household decisions regarding labour utilization: in the community, the sexual division of labour defines the activities which may be carried out, while external to the village female peasants are confined to a limited range of employment opportunities (chapters 4 & 5) (14). For these reasons, women are less likely than male migrants to re-enter the labour force, and household strategies are concerned to reorganize productive and reproductive labour within the community on the women's return.

As noted below, in some cases household allocation of female labour in community-based reproductive activities conflicts with the female migrants' own wishes. Cases exist of women with secure employment who have been unwillingly recalled to the rural unit, as labour requirements shifted. Although the female migrants express dissatisfaction with relinquishing their work, they nevertheless return to the rural area and commence the tasks assigned to them because of the kinship reciprocity through which their relationship with the unit is articulated.

In the case of female return migration, we are not dealing with the return of migrants who actively demonstrate an increase in status on their return to the community, a status derived from their work and migration experience outside (unlike many men). The return of migrants who capitalize upon their skills and contacts made outside the community, are most usually found in the small towns of the Andes where opportunities for education and the expansion of

marketing networks exist (see e.g. Guillet 1979). In Kallarayan, as elsewhere in the peasant communities of the Písaq area, these opportunities do not exist and migrants do not generally return for this reason. When villagers do return to the case community after a considerable period of absence, the means which are available to them for capitalizing upon their experience vary widely. The men are able to make use of skills acquired outside the community whereas women, due to their position as regards prestige relations (see chapter 3), are unable to use their skills in the same way. For example, although a number of women learn Spanish during migration, only the men are able to be elected into the village consejo using their Spanish as a status symbol of their migration experience. Women are not socialized into using Spanish in this way, and secondly they are not perceived as political actors. The status symbols which can be acquired in migration experience can thus be actively used by the male villagers, but not by the women. In the case of the women, it is more useful to consider the nature of migrant-rural household relations which structure the pattern of female residence in the community.

Detailed information on female return migration suggests that distinct relations are maintained by the two sexes with livelihood organization in this sphere, as in others described previously. However, more research remains to be carried out on the specific relationships developed by absent male migrants with their household of origin, to examine in more depth the nature of resources (such as job information, accommodation, knowledge of the city, capital for a new business) offered by male migrants and the context created for reciprocal exchanges. Here, attention is focussed on female return migration.

The female migrants who return to Kallarayan on a permanent or semi-permanent basis are all single women (15). While they are not married they continue to be considered as part of the rural household which may exert control over them. [By contrast, women who are married undertake

responsibilities for their own household and thus they are unlikely to return to the natal unit while their marital home survives.] The reasons for female migrants' return to the community are diverse, although the majority of cases are directly related to household livelihood organization. The reasons offered by the single (and a minority of married) female migrants for their return to the community are shown in table 6:11.

Table 6:11 Reasons given for female migrants return to the community

| <u>Reasons</u> | <u>All destinations</u> | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| | <u>Percentage</u> | <u>Number</u> |
| Not specified | (-) | 54 |
| End of contract | 25% | 16 |
| Parents' request | 18.5% | 12 |
| Married (1) | 11% | 7 |
| Parents' illness | 9% | 6 |
| Did not like work | 9% | 6 |
| Met husband (2) | 7.7% | 5 |
| Violence | 6.2% | 4 |
| Other | 13.8% | 9 |
| <u>Total</u> | (100) | 119 moves |

(1) Married women whose families are resident in the community.

(2) Women who return to the village to claim their own land, and/or whose husband is from Kallarayan.

Source: original research data, Kallarayan 1985.

Considering in more detail the reasons for return according to the destination of the female migrants, we note some consistent patterns which are listed in table 6:12. The most important reason for return to the community is completion of contract: return for this reason is related to livelihood organization only in the sense that the rural household receives cash remittances (section above) and serves as a base for subsequent moves. The women who return to the community after the completion of their contract are

almost exclusively hired as harvesters in the semi-tropical valleys for 90 days, after which time they expect (and are generally expected) to return to the rural household. The end of a contract can also be assumed to account for a large majority of the non-specified return moves, as these are mostly 3-month moves to the semi-tropical valleys, where contracts (either verbal or written) are common practice. Return migration after completion of contract does not entail gender-differentiated kinship expectations and is experienced equally by male and female migrants, who are employed on identical contracts.

Table 6:12

Reasons for return to the community: all moves of female migrants
by destination*

| <u>Reasons</u> | <u>Valley</u> | <u>Cuzco</u> | <u>Lima</u> | <u>Province</u> | <u>Pto.M.</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| N.S. | 45 | 6 | 1 | 2 | - | 54 |
| End contract | 14 | 1 | - | 1 | - | 16 |
| Request (1) | 6 | 4 | 2 | - | - | 12 |
| Illness (2) | 1 | 1 | 3 | - | 1 | 6 |
| Dislike work | 5 | - | - | 1 | - | 6 |
| Married (3) | 6 | - | 1 | - | - | 7 |
| Violence | - | 2 | 2 | - | - | 4 |
| Other | 8 | 3 | 2 | - | 1 | 14 |
| <u>Total</u> | 85 | 17 | 11 | 4 | 2 | 119 |

(1) Parents' request (2) Parents' illness or death (3) Family in community

* Data does not include women who are still absent, or moves in which women went directly from one destination outside the community to another.

Source: Original research data, Kallarayan 1985.

The return of married women to their families in the village and their domestic responsibilities is similar to that of married male migrants, although the length of absence and type of work undertaken differs for the sexes, as described in chapters 4 and 5. Return for this motive constitutes approximately 11% of female return moves, largely from the semi-tropical valleys. These two

types of return (contract completion and marriage) are relatively unproblematic as they are part of livelihood expectations, structured either by labour market requirements or by the migrants' unchallenged roles as married household members. The return of (male and female) migrants after a pre-specified period of time is clearly linked in most cases to livelihood, as local maintenance activities can be dovetailed with migration for a set period. The movement of large numbers of single and married men into the semi-tropical valleys during the slack agricultural season is a prime example of this coordination of activities. Similarly, married women return to the domestic unit to undertake the tasks considered to be their main responsibility. As explained in the previous chapter, these women are absent for shorter average lengths of time than the unmarried migrants, as household livelihood is organized around their continued residence in the rural unit and their reproductive (and to a lesser extent, productive) work.

Whereas the return of married and contract workers is part of household organization in which assessment is made of the necessary activities to be coordinated, a minority of return moves are prompted by conditions beyond the unit's control. Violence against single girls working in domestic service prompts, in some cases their return to the parental household or movement into a different position of employment, where they are not subject to such treatment. Physical mistreatment of domestic servants affects only a small number of household members, and is of specific relevance only to the pattern of female return migration. As a function of their concentration in domestic service employment, female migrants are more subject than male to these conditions which prompt their return to the village. The gender-specific situations which give rise to return migration are thus structured in this case by labour market conditions rather than by household livelihood organization, and this contrasts with other reasons for return which are elaborated below. The

four young women who left employment because of physical mistreatment, were all employed in urban areas as domestics. Despite their unhappiness under these circumstances, the migrants are sometimes in a position of being unable to return for a considerable amount of time, due to the high cost of travel to their home. For this reason their length of absence is sometimes greater than for other female return migrants. From Cuzco, they returned after an average of 3 months due to the proximity of the capital city and the ease and low cost of transport. By contrast, young women who returned from Lima for this reason were absent for 9 months on average. [Details on length of absence are given in table 6:13 for all destinations.] Three case histories illustrate their response to mistreatment.

Susana in 1957 worked in Cuzco as a domestic for an 'aunt' [tía in Spanish], receiving only clothes as payment. She returned to Kallarayan after 5 months, complaining that she had been beaten. She had also been physically mistreated at the age of 7 years, when as a domestic for another 'aunt', she lived for six months in Lima. She preferred to stay with her parents and two younger brothers in Kallarayan.

Vilma worked in Cuzco as a domestic in 1968, aged 15 years. She was working for a wealthy woman, "a real Señora", who although she gave her nice clothes, also physically mistreated her. After 2 months, Vilma could take no more and made her way back to her parents, and her older brothers and sisters.

Alicia was repeatedly beaten in her first two jobs as a domestic in Lima. When she first arrived in Lima aged 12, she worked for the padrinos of her mother, but ties of fictive kinship were insufficient to prevent them from hurting her. She returned to the village, but found work again a few months later and again was mistreated, so found a new job with the help of an aunt and settled happily with the new family.

When these migrants return, the household must reorganize the disposition of its members among livelihood activities. In cases where the subsistence base of the rural unit is relatively secure, the single returnees can remain in the community where they undertake cooking and pasturing activities. In other cases, the household requires the young women to re-enter the labour market (or in Alicia's case to move within the labour market). In all these examples, we note that livelihood strategies determine the response of the household to

labour market conditions and subsequently structure the type of work undertaken by the single woman after her return.

Other reasons for return (apart from contract completion, marriage and violence) are more directly linked with household livelihood strategies, in which male and female labour play distinct roles. The household must recast labour allocation decisions as a result of illness of a parent, death of parents, and demand for labour, all of which influence the pattern of female (and male) return migration.

Table 6:13

Length of absence of female migrants according to reasons for return
By destination

| <u>Reasons</u> | <u>Length of absence (months)</u> | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| | <u>Valley</u> | <u>Cuzco</u> | <u>Lima</u> | <u>Province</u> | <u>Pto.M.</u> |
| Not specified | 3.13 | 22 | 11 | 5 | - |
| End of contract | 3.6 | 3 | - | 3 | - |
| Parents' request | 4.9 | 2.9 | 18 | - | - |
| Illness/death | 36 | 4 | 26 | - | 4 |
| Did not like work | 1.8 | - | - | 2 | - |
| Married (1) | 5.8 | - | 2 | - | - |
| Violence | - | 3.5 | 9 | - | - |
| Other | 4.5 | 21.3 | 48 | - | 36 |
| <u>Total</u> | 7.5 | 7 | 14.3 | 1.3 | 4.8 |

(1) Married women with families resident in the community

Source: original research data, Kallarayan 1985

The illness of their mother, and to a lesser extent their fathers, is one reason offered by the female migrants for their return to the community. The illness of a parent prompted 9% of migrants to move back to the community, according to their own explanations. In some cases, return occurs after a considerable absence and entails the renunciation of a secure post with

reasonable remuneration, as the redistribution of tasks in the unit requires the labour of a reproductive worker, that is the single female migrant. When the primary reproductive worker (the mother) in the peasant household is ill, the necessary tasks must be re-allocated to other household members. However, as noted above, the tendency is for peasant households to maintain only one co-resident reproductive worker, and consequently when this one woman falls ill the family calls upon absent female members. The female migrants return to take on reproductive tasks, and they do so within the context of obligations towards kin. Furthermore, married female offspring are not expected to take on reproductive responsibilities in their natal household in addition to those of the marital unit. For this reason, single female household members return despite the fact that married siblings may be resident in the same community. Some case histories illustrate these factors.

Gabriela's father and mother separated when she was young and she feels closest to her mother who continues to live in Kallarayan, living from the substantial amount of property she controls. Gabriela had left the village at the age of 17 to work as a domestic in Cuzco, a job she found through the intervention of one of the schoolteachers. She liked the job, saying that she earned more there (\$19 a month) than she had previously in the semi-tropical valleys. After a year however, her mother fell ill and Gabriela returned to care for her, as her older sister was married by that time. "It's that my mother was ill here, so I left work" she explains. Subsequently she remained in the village as she met her present husband.

Josefina went to the village school for 5 years before travelling to Lima to start employment as a muchacha, when she was 16 years old. She enjoyed her work with her comadre who had paid her bus fare to the capital and \$13 a month, but her mother fell ill and sent for her after 6 months had passed. Josefina's older brother had already married and so the responsibility fell on her to care for her. "Preocupando de mi mamá me he venido. Mi mamá estaba mal" she explains. [Worried about my mother I came back. My mum was ill].

When the father falls ill, it is for slightly different reasons that the female migrants take up residence again in the rural unit. Their return would appear to be due to the importance of sharing the tasks of organising a household which has no available adult male labour, and the need to dedicate a greater

proportion of labour time to the cooking of food for ayni workers. In the case cited below, María Luisa was primarily recalled because she was the oldest of the children and was old enough to share responsibility with her mother for the domestic unit. As she has no brothers, she was the only person her mother could call upon. Her mother was also constrained by the fact that she is not from Kallarayan and relies upon her widowed sister and her own children (two girls) for much assistance (more details of María Luisa's history have been outlined in chapter 5).

María Luisa was working as a domestic for a relative of one of the schoolteachers, and sending half of her earnings home to the domestic unit, when her father fell ill and her mother asked her to return to help her in all of the domestic and cooking chores. Her father's health improved and María Luisa left the community a second time to take work as a cook in Puerto Maldonado on a higher wage. Her stay in the tropical area was cut short however as her father died and she returned to the village for the funeral. Since then she has married and settled in the community.

Women who return on the illness of a parent are found among either the oldest or youngest of the siblings, as the selectivity for their return depends on the age and marital status of siblings. The most important factor in explaining the return of particular individuals of both sexes to the village, even after a considerable period of absence, is the presence of siblings in the community, and the marital status and age of the latter. Resident single daughters tend to take over this role automatically whereas married brothers or sisters do not act in this way. Married siblings in the community are perceived to have primary responsibility towards their own spouse and children. By contrast, single siblings are those who return to their household of origin and take on household maintenance tasks.

The age of the siblings is clearly another important factor. During the early stages of the developmental cycle of the household, the first or second born (of either sex) are the only children who have the necessary skills to help ill or widowed parents. Later in the household developmental cycle, it is more likely

that the youngest or penultimate sibling returns to the parents' house as the other children are married. The role of the youngest child is precisely to care for her/his parents in old age and inherit their house and contents. The relationship between parents and their youngest child is expected, within the norms of kinship relations, to be one of closeness and affection and this role is played upon in these family circumstances.

The death of a parent (most usually the father) gives rise to similar responses by households, and family members are recalled. The death of the primary agricultural and temporary migrant worker in the family is the impulse for a variety of changes in strategies for livelihood as we have seen above, which aim to compensate for a lack of labour and earnings. As discussed above in the introductory section, when children are young, household livelihood derives from reproductive and productive work in the community until external wage opportunities for the offspring arise. By contrast, if the father dies later in the developmental cycle, household strategies differ. For example, sons return to the community in order to work the fields, although in most cases this is a temporary measure as they tend to migrate back to external labour markets and support the rural household with their work in the urban economy. By contrast, female members may be recalled not solely for productive reasons (unlike the young men) but in their capacity as reproductive workers. This is shown by cases in which single women rejoin the rural household after a considerable period of absence on the death of the father, even in situations where the sons are old enough to take part in production. In other words, female household members are required by the unit not purely to share domestic work (for example child-raising), although certainly this does occur in some families, but also to undertake productive tasks, such as animal herding and cooking for agricultural labourers, as illustrated by María Luisa's case.

The re-deployment of household labour among activities for livelihood

occurs in other situations apart from the loss of parental labour (through death or illness). Regular patterns of labour re-allocation, such as the agricultural production cycle, generate shifts in the disposal of household labour as do irregular situations such as the migration of other household members and the realization that previous strategies have to be re-thought, when workloads are too onerous on some members. For these and related reasons, female migrants explain their return as a result of their parents' request. Different patterns in household labour deployment emerge according to the labour markets involved and the resource base of the household.

Migration to the semi-tropical valleys is largely for a pre-determined period and thus, migrants who work in the valleys can be expected to continue to take part in the agricultural work in the highland community on a seasonal basis, and can return to dovetail their activities with shifting household requirements, as noted above. By contrast, women who work as domestics are absent for varying periods of time before their return. Such variability is clearly due to the response of the rural households to changing circumstances which require the return of female members. A few case histories are outlined.

Virgínia worked in Quillabamba as a domestic in her own sister's house and stayed there for six months before her parents asked her to return. Two years later, when she was 14, she found work as a domestic in Cuzco with the help of a comadre, but again her father requested her return and she was back in the village after 4 months absence.

Olga received 5 years schooling before taking her first job as a domestic in Quillabamba, at the age of 15 years. She was working for a rich family, and earned s/.150 (\$8) a month which represented a meagre wage in 1954. However, after 5 months her parents wanted her to be with them in the village to help them in the house and fields, so she returned with all of her earnings for the family and remained with them for over 10 years until she married, and moved to her husband's community.

Marcela and her widowed mother lived alone in Kallayaran sharing work in the pasturing of the herds of sheep and llamas. When Marcela was 12 years old, she joined her older sister in the house in Lima where the latter was already employed as a domestic. Although she earned no money, Marcela remained with the family for one year, but their mother wrote numerous letters to her complaining that there was no-one to tend the livestock and that she

was alone. Marcela returned to the community to live with her mother for several years, although she subsequently worked in Cuzco for 1 year at the age of 15. At this point her mother was not alone, as Marcela's brother and his new wife had recently settled in the village and could take responsibility for their mother, who joined their household.

Fransisca found work as a domestic in Lima for the family of her sister's sister-in-law, and left the village of Sequeracay where her parents managed a large herd of animals and a quantity of irrigated land. After two years in Lima, her parents wanted her to return to the village, and she did so with her new husband who originated in the neighboring community of Kallarayan. Her return thus involved activating her claims to land which could be combined with her husband's fields to create a relatively wealthy unit (the household is in strata I). Another factor in Fransisca's decision to return was her exhaustion after not receiving holidays of any sort since the start of work as a domestic.

Several common themes unite these case-histories. Crucially, the female migrants were drawn back to the rural unit in order to undertake community-based tasks, either in production or reproduction. Their removal from the labour market does not presage the cessation of work on behalf of the household, but is a result of the reorientation of livelihood organization, within which their role is transformed. In Marcela's example, previous livelihood strategies lead to the over-burdening of the one remaining worker, who subsequently recalled Marcela in order to share the pasturing and household tasks with her. According to the labour requirements of the rural domestic unit, the female members are recalled for varying periods of time - Virginia re-entered the labour market after 2 years while Olga settled in the community on a permanent basis. Clearly, the sequence of migration for a female household member is contingent upon the patterning of other members' activities. Marcela aided her mother in the household during the absence of her older siblings, although when her brother and his new wife took up residence in the community, she started domestic service employment. Household livelihood strategies, by determining the nature of work carried out by the unit's members, structure the movement of individuals in and out of the labour markets. Female return migration is thus one aspect of the rural household's

labour organization.

The decision to return, due to the multiple levels involved, contains different meanings for the migrants and the rural household, which in some cases gives rise to conflicts concerning the location of female household members. Nevertheless, household livelihood aims prevail over the individuals' wishes, and they structure the geographical mobility of members in the majority of cases. Although dissatisfaction is expressed by some women with the decisions made by the unit concerning their place in the household division of labour, they cooperate with the other members as their own subsistence over the long-term is secured by dovetailing their activities with household requirements. Valentina's and Alicia's stories highlight some of the factors involved.

Valentina was working as a domestic in a house in Cuzco. She was only 16 years old, but was earning s/.20,000 a month, a good wage at the time. She had found the work with the assistance of an aunt, who knew the city well and who did not tell her parents about her work, as Valentina had left home to look for work against her parents' wishes. After only a month at work, her parents came after her crying and begging her to come back with them. Valentina did go back to live with her parents, and managed a small-scale marketing business based in the community, which earned her something of the cash she wanted but at the cost of much hard work.

Valentina's case illustrates the methods used by parents to bring absent members back to the community. Given her relatively good education and the above average wages which she could earn in Cuzco, she was reluctant to return to the village, but kinship relations and specific livelihood strategies prevailed over her wishes. At a personal level, her position in the community is secure - she is due to inherit a considerable amount of property, both land and livestock.

Her situation contrasts with that of Alícia who also returned at the request of her parents, although after a lengthy period of absence during which she was able to secure work for herself. Alícia stood to gain much less than Valentina from her return to Kallarayan but was subject to pressure from kin to remain

with her mother. Alícia had worked for 5 years in Lima as a domestic in different barrios of the city. Her return was prompted by a letter she suddenly received which informed her of her father's death. Although wishing to remain in Lima, as she had a secure job which she enjoyed, contradicted the moral expectations concerning her responsibilities towards her mother and her younger brothers.

Alícia 'Esta vez mandaron carta que mi papá había fallecido. Porque tengo una carta me mandaron que 'vengas, deja [tu trabajo] nomas'. Con mi mamá nomas solita y mis hermanos eran pequeños todavía. Así, yo soy mayor de todos. Si, mi tía me dijo que regresara nomas y con estas familias pues me dijeron 'Cómo vas a dejar a tu mamá?' Por eso no me regresé [a Lima]" [This time a letter was sent saying that my father had died. Because I had a letter which they had sent saying 'Come home, just leave your work'. I was all alone with my mother, and my brothers were still small as I'm the eldest of all. Yes, my aunt told me just to go back [to Lima] but with my family, well they said 'How can you go and leave your mother?'. That's why I didn't go back to Lima]

Alícia was in an unusual position for the unskilled female migrants from Kallarayan, in that she had a secure job she was happy with (although her first attempts to find domestic work in Lima were disastrous; see above). She says of her work and her employers

"Si me gustó. Eran bien buena [sic] la Señora y el caballero. El caballero era del Cuzco. La Señora de otra parte era. No es de Lima" [Yes I liked it. They were really nice, the lady and gentleman. The gentleman was from Cuzco, and the lady from somewhere else. She isn't from Lima].

Her position in employment was consolidated by the security of having an aunt in Lima, with whom she developed close relations by visiting her on Sundays and holidays. She put great effort into finding her aunt who she subsequently visited every week.

"Después de allí, así he sabido [sic] a mi tía. Tengo mi tía en Lima, de allí sabía su dirección y buscando, buscando mas bien yo he ido a su casa. Qué me salía! ... Iba nomas donde mi tía. Como era cerca, de los domingos iba a donde mi tía. Después a las seis estaba en mi trabajo" [After all that, I got to know my aunt. I have an aunt in Lima and I knew her address and so looking, looking for her, I went to her house: what an effort! ..I just used to go to my aunt's. As it was close by, on Sundays I went to my aunt's. Then at six I was back at work]

In contrast to Valentina, she had few opportunities open to her in the village: with numerous siblings she could not expect to inherit much land, and she was not required for working the fields because of the presence of her brothers, but in cooking for the agricultural workers. After returning and being pressurized to stay with her mother against her wishes, she continued to migrate although for shorter periods and to areas closer to the community, which allowed the household to coordinate maintenance activities.

Valentina and Alícia's case histories suggest that households are able to mobilize female labour over long distances, for the organization of livelihood. Kinship relations and mutual obligations provide the context for migrant-household links in which household strategies prevail over individual choices on residence and employment.

Permanent migration of single women

A small number of single female migrants remain permanently in the urban centres: they contrast with both the single returnees (who marry in the rural area or who migrate again) and with female migrants who marry and settle away from the rural unit (16). Their situation is distinct due to the nature of their role in household livelihood strategies: as single women, they maintain primary kin ties with their unit of origin, and their participation in migration flows is understandable in terms of the household's strategies. These women have managed, because of household resources and plans, to settle in the town for lengthy periods of time (also Bourque & Warren 1981). The existence of a secure resource base in these cases, allows the unit to release labour for education which over the long-term leads to employment opportunities and to political capital, depending on the specifics of household strategies. However, the segregation of peasant female workers in labour markets limits the options available to the domestic unit in the deployment of its female labour, generally confining them to traditional sectors of employment. Household livelihood

continues to influence the female migrant's relationship with the rural unit however, as the women contribute labour and resources in a manner compatible with their migration.

Rosina attended the primary school in Kallarayan for 5 years as a girl, and reached 5th grade which gave her a good grounding in Spanish and literacy. When she was 22 years old, she moved into Cuzco as a domestic for a wealthy family. She earned the equivalent of \$20 a month, and returned a proportion of it to her parents. After a brief stay with this family, where she found she had a lot of work to do with the five children, she found employment with a smaller professional family with whom she lives in Arequipa. She earns more too - \$30 a month, a quarter of which she sends to her parents, via relatives in Cuzco who keep it until her father goes to sell produce in the departmental capital where he collects the remittances. Her son, now aged 6, lives with her parents in the community, where he attends the school. A large proportion of her money is spent on his school utensils and uniform.

Estrella worked her way up to 6th grade of primary school, including a period of 4 years when she lived in Cuzco with godparents (see chapter 5). She subsequently left Cuzco for 2 years in Puerto Maldonado where she was employed as a shop assistant, earning a high wage (\$150 monthly). From her earnings she bought a sewing machine on her return to Cuzco, and she started to make clothes for sale. However, this enterprise did not succeed and she turned her hand to marketing vegetables with the help of her father who worked as a labourer on the market gardens on the outskirts of the city, and had contacts with the traders. Currently she works in a cheap restaurant in the outlying barrio of San Sebastián as a cook and assistant to the woman who owns the establishment, herself originally from Kallarayan. In all it has been 10 years since Estrella lived in the community, although she frequently visits her parents and younger brother and sisters at weekends. In Cuzco she lives in a rented apartment which she shares with her older brothers (both married) and her father, who works much of the time in the town market. Her brothers live and work land in the community, but also spend time working in Cuzco during the slack periods of the agricultural cycle. Hence, there is usually another family member with Estrella in the tiny flat.

María is the best educated of the permanent female migrants (and indeed of any villager): when she was 7 years old she started primary school in Calca, a small town in the Sacred Valley where she lived with her elderly widowed grandmother. Hoping to start secondary school in Lima, she migrated to live with her aunt when she was 12, but as registration was closed when she arrived she worked instead with her aunt in her clothes marketing business. Her father recalled her after a year and re-registered in Calca where she completed up to 5th grade of secondary education. Her father complains that she was beaten to the one university grant by the daughter of the headmaster, but nevertheless, he has sent her to study to be a secondary school teacher in the University of Cuzco where she has nearly completed her training. She lives in her own small rented flat in the city, and lives on money given to her by her parents, both

of whom value education very highly for all of their children (all girls). She visits her parents at weekends and helps around the house, and during the holidays she lives with them in the village.

Considering these cases of single female migrants who are settled permanently (17) in the city, we note several points in common. Firstly, the women are relatively well-educated for the peasant women and although they do not generally use their education in their employment (with the exception of María), their skills in Spanish, reading and writing no doubt give them more confidence in the Spanish urban milieu. Moreover, the household is able to send its educated members into a greater range of employment positions than is usually the case for the female peasants. These positions tend to be more secure and more highly-remunerated, thereby affording larger inputs into household livelihood. Secondly they have close kin ties both with their natal household and with urban kin, allowing for the redistribution of resources and labour among members. The unit thereby retains links with the absent women, through which livelihood is realized. All these migrants make material contributions towards the rural unit's subsistence. Rosina maintains close relations with her parents by sending regular cash remittances (as do many long-term migrants) and through leaving her son with them. She visits the community at least once a year, usually during the fiesta of Virgen de Carmen, with gifts and money for her family. María and Estrella are both able to return briefly to the community at weekends and holidays, allowing them to keep in touch with the family and help out around the house.

Beyond these similarities in the situations of the female migrants, there are differences which highlight the nature of their relationships with rural kin which, as noted above, are related to household livelihood strategies. Rosina has re-entered the labour force as a single woman by leaving her son in her parents' rural household. She thus avoids the restrictions on employment of peasant women once they have a child or are married. Her position in the urban

area is the least stable of the examples given, as she has no particular skill and her work is that of single, or effectively single, women. The relative wealth of her parents means that her remittances to them need not be utilized in immediate subsistence requirements but are spent on her son's clothes and education. Access to cash for the household depends upon Rosina's employment as a domestic servant, although this position is precarious. The alternative means of generating cash are more problematic and have been discounted in this household's strategies: local production is dedicated to self-consumption rather than sale, and Rosina's elderly father is only able to undertake temporary wage labour on an irregular basis. Furthermore, Rosina's employment relies upon the rural unit carrying out childcare responsibilities. In this manner livelihood is guaranteed and the necessary inputs are generated to maintain the household.

By contrast, Estrella's relationship with her natal household is structured by her childless status, the skills she has acquired and the role of other household members in migration. In common with her siblings, Estrella has developed a number of skills in previous migration experience, as a result of her parents' strategies to give their children education and urban contacts. By combining Estrella's permanent residence in the city with accommodation requirements for other family members who make temporary journeys to the departmental capital, the household adjusts livelihood organization to benefit all members. Labour and earnings continue to flow back to the rural household, and maintain the resident members. Estrella's contribution is made largely through the help given by visiting to undertake domestic chores and by buying clothes. Her inputs are of considerable importance as the household commands a limited amount of land and her older brothers are now married with their own family commitments. In the future, it is likely that Estrella will marry and settle in the city and continue to provide accommodation for relatives who come to work

or study in the departmental capital.

Of the three migrants, María's position in the urban area is the most secure: her education should lead to permanent professional employment, as her parents dreamed. The household organization was strongly oriented towards providing the best possible education for their daughters and the consolidation of higher status employment positions than is the norm for community members. This strategy may eventually lead them to move the entire household into Cuzco on a permanent basis in order to send the two younger girls to higher education. At the present time, livelihood aims are satisfied by continued residence in the rural area but serious consideration is being given to organizing livelihood from an urban base. María's parents envisage settling in the city, where the two younger girls can continue in education, while maintaining control over foodstuff production via sharecropping arrangements. The strategy so far adopted by the unit, facilitated by the productive wealth at its disposal, to create high status secure positions for its members has been successful. Although María contributes nothing to family income, and indeed has received a large proportion of the unit's available income during the course of her training, the strategies developed were not aimed at gaining income from her migration (at least over the medium term) but to consolidate political power in the community and prestigious (and relatively well paid) employment in the urban area. The household is unique in the community in the extent to which it has been able to achieve its aims, although its aspirations are shared by other community households.

Relations between migrants and the household

It has been argued that female migrants return remittances to the rural household on a more regular basis than do the men, and that furthermore they return to the community in response to demands from kin and, unlike the men,

subsequently remain in the rural area. Household strategies serve to link rural and urban areas and maintain relationships which allow for the redistribution of labour and activities from the subsistence centre of the rural community. Due to the circumstances faced by peasant women compared with the men, their relationships with the rural household necessarily entail different obligations and resource distribution. Women, despite their low wages, are expected to contribute cash and goods to the rural unit whereas male (single) migrants tend to develop links mediated by exchange of employment information, contacts and offers of accommodation. Only some female migrants, such as Estrella, are in a comparable position. When household livelihood strategies are reorganized, absent male and female members represent distinct opportunities in the reallocation of labour and responsibilities. Female return migration arises as the rural unit requires reproductive, and to a lesser extent, productive labour in the community itself: female migrants return in order to undertake local household maintenance tasks. In some cases, their return conflicts with their ^{own} income-generating and livelihood aims (education and an urban lifestyle being the most frequent of their goals), but is realized as a part of household strategies for livelihood organization.

As we have seen, the concept of household livelihood strategies, by which the household balances consumption requirements by allocating resources in production-reproduction-migration, provides insights into the demographic-economic rationale behind labour allocation. By considering the household livelihood strategies adopted by community units, we have illustrated how household strategies are revealed in the dynamic combination and recombination of production, reproduction and migration activities over the developmental cycle and with economic differentiation. Strategies aim to mesh these elements in order to ensure the unit's overall aim of survival. Within these strategies, cultural precedents and labour market opportunities interact

to generate recognizable patterns of household labour organization, which determine the selectivity of migrants from units of different composition and class bases, as well as influencing the patterns of female return migration. When women describe and explain their own movements, numerous points of similarity arise between the explanations given by the female migrants themselves, and the patterns suggested by the analysis of household livelihood strategies.

However, there are female migrants whose movements are not understandable within the compass of strategies of the household unit. A minority of single women move independently of household labour allocation decisions taking work in a variety of external labour markets. These single women appear to migrate independently of household decisions and act as autonomous agents taking work in a variety of temporary peasant labour markets. They usually travel in groups with female relatives or friends from the same community. Clearly, these women are responding to the wider opportunities available to them in a specific socio-economic situation; they know about the (short-term, lowpaid) work in the semi-tropical valleys and they do not have immediate responsibilities in the village. Nevertheless, their return to the community after an average of three months illustrates their insecure position in external labour markets and highlights the conditioning effect of labour market structures on patterns of female migration from the case study community.

Carmen, typical of these migrants, explains her migration to the semi-tropical valleys saying,

"I just went to the valleys... I wanted to know what the valley was like... My [female] friends knew, they were happy and said 'Let's go'".

It is difficult to estimate the numbers of women (and men) who participate in this type of move. From an examination of lifehistory data for the women, we

can identify 9 cases, which indicate the approximate extent of this type of migration (7-8% of total female migration by destination), as illustrated in table 6:14. These moves influence the relations between parents and children, as they provide the young single members with a means of disrupting the unit's plans for the allocation of labour. Recruitment into harvesting work can be carried out without parental knowledge or involvement; indeed, young women are known to have migrated to the valley directly from the Sunday market without their parents' knowledge or approval.

Table 6:14

Migration of single female household members outside household strategies

| | <u>Destination</u> | |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | <u>Valleys</u> | <u>Cuzco</u> |
| Number | 6 | 3 |
| Average age (yrs) | 17.2 | 15 |
| % of total | 8% | 7% |

Source: Migration lifehistories, Kallarayan 1985.

In summary, only a small minority of women migrate independently of household livelihood strategies, in pursuance of experience and their own income. By disrupting labour allocation decisions in the unit, they contrast with the majority of single household members and all married women, whose migration participation is structured by household strategies for the organization of available labour.

Conclusions

The relationship between female migrants and their households of origin have been considered in terms of labour allocation over the short- and medium-term and this approach has offered insights into the productive rationale behind the deployment of male and female labour to various ends. However, the relationships maintained between migrants and the rural household is not one of

purely economic-demographic calculation, but also one in which notions of kinship influence actions and decisions.

Within the two broad groups of households defined on the basis of relative wealth, we note differences among the household strategies according to the specifics of household composition, the nature of their links with urban areas, and the particularities of household decisions and strategies. While these two groups may be distinguished on the basis of land-holdings and livestock ownership and they are groups with two distinct strategies of migration with different gender selection procedures, they are similar in that they are all placed in a similar position vis-a-vis the markets for produce and technological improvements, both internal and external to the community. Their position reflects the poverty of the community as a whole, and the peasantry's position regarding access to land and local wage and education opportunities in the regional and national economy. Thus the households are constrained by the economic situation prevalent in the peasant communities which provide an arena for their actions.

Nevertheless, the household livelihood strategy approach to the study of migration is of considerable utility in explaining selectivity of migrants over the developmental cycle and with economic differentiation. In the balancing of household reproduction and production requirements, migration is a central part of household livelihood: only 4 households out of a total of 86 have no member who migrates. Livelihood strategies are concerned to interlink the practices of production, reproduction and migration upon which maintenance of the unit depends. The balancing and reorientation of strategies takes place within the peasant household, which is the income-pooling and labour-reproducing institution in the communities and which provides a subsistence base for non-fulltime workers. Livelihood strategies evolve in the conditions set and recreated by national and regional labour markets which are divided by class

and gender. The structure of labour markets and livelihood opportunities influence how the household unit decides how to balance the community-based resources (land and labour being the most important) and external opportunities. The household approach thus provides some important insights into the dynamics of labour allocation in rural Andean areas.

Female migration is predicated almost exclusively on household livelihood strategies, which determine the selectivity of young single migrants as well as poor married women. Gender socialization and gender-associated evaluations of labour are thus shown to be integral to the implementation of household livelihood strategies. In the allocation of labour among various ends, the household makes use of pre-conditioned and pre-evaluated categories of labour to carry out necessary tasks and to guarantee subsistence over the medium and short-term. Gender provides a means of household organisation, through which livelihood is guaranteed.

Gender relations do not however create prefixed categories of labour on which decisions are based, but are one criterion by which the household evaluates the necessary tasks and wider opportunities available to it within socio-economic constraints. Although using gendered labour in a manner which is systematized in cultural practices, the households are not unaware of the role played by gender in the organization of livelihood. Household members are cognizant of the opportunities (and lack of them) for male and female peasant labour both internal and external to the village. The question raised at the end of the previous chapter - whether gender is a deeply embedded cultural pre-given, or is one element consciously articulated by household members - is thus answered. Households use gender consciously as an organizational principle in the development and implementation of livelihood strategies. Gender organization consistently acts as a basic principle (although interrelated with marital status, age and household composition) and as such is subject to

reorganization as circumstances require. Accordingly, in some situations household strategies override the norm for married women to remain in the community. In other situations where wage labour markets develop for young peasant labour, female migrants take these openings independently of the expected sexual division of labour in the household.

Rich and poor households use gendered labour in distinct ways, resulting in migration flows distinguished in their use of female and male household labour, as a result of the various options open to them in livelihood organization. Female labour in poorer households represents a drain on consumption and women are more likely to migrate in order to reduce the reproductive costs of the unit. When women play a productive role in migration they are generally the married women who, due to the insecure nature of household subsistence in the community, join their husbands in the external labour market although under conditions distinct to those for both single women and the married men. By contrast, in households with a larger resource base, female members represent different possibilities (as well as responsibilities). In wealthier households, female migration is often best understood as a function of the units' strategies for the expansion of urban-rural linkages and the value placed on education. All households are aware of gender relations and what they represent in terms of labour organization and allocation, both internal and externally to the community.

The women's own explanations of their participation in population moves provide a means of viewing the 'household' as a site for the ordered allocation of responsibilities and labour within the unit's organisation. The female peasants' participation in migration is a function of gender relations and household strategies, and these aspects come out in the women's own words. Furthermore, there are no contradictions between how the women explain their moves and how the concept of household livelihood strategies assists in

explaining the deployment of female labour in migration. Household livelihood strategies are based upon women acting within a series of roles over their lifetimes, with which are associated particular labour responsibilities and mobility patterns, while households make use of female labour according to the combination of available labour in the unit.

Gender socialization, and kinship relations tend to create predictable patterns of labour organization which are used by households, but these are not immutable. As households become differentiated and as they pass through the developmental cycle, the allocation of gendered labour shifts according to wider labour market and security conditions within the demands of household livelihood. The household approach to migration provides a framework with which to analyse these patterns, while the analysis of gender relations clarifies the criteria by which production, reproduction and migration are realized in the peasant unit.

Notes

1. The concept of moral influences on behaviour in response to economic need derives from the important works of E.P.Thompson and J.Scott, who although emphasizing the political behaviour of the poor in 18th century Britain and S.E.Asia respectively, point the way forward to a consideration of the moral notions in operation in peasant economies. In the context of peasant economics, a more explicit discussion of the moral and kinship influences on behaviour attempts to locate the peasants' own views on social relations and obligations among the South-east Asian peasantry (Scott 1976). Scott's thesis on the moral economy develops into a discussion of how these notions explain the lack or otherwise of peasant rebellions in South-east Asia, while Thompson's concern is also with the political activities of the rioters against food-price rises (Thompson 1971).
2. For example in Chuschi a peasant community in the Central Andes, the marriage ceremony includes an explanation to the newly-wed couple of the rights and obligations of each spouse (as separate individuals) vis-a-vis kin and other ayllu members (Isbell 1974;143).

3. These two types of reproduction are termed secondary and primary reproduction respectively by Evers et.al. (1984).

4. Social reproduction, according to Edholm et.al. is a concept which conveys the reproduction of the conditions for social production in its entirety. In other words, it represents the totality of relations and material conditions through which a society is constantly created and recreated. In the Southern Peruvian Andes, the context is set for the social reproduction of the peasant communities by the modern nation-state, the commercial and productive relations of capitalism as well as by cultural influences from indigenous culture and external forces.

The final category of reproduction is that of human or biological reproduction, the "production of new human beings" which Edholm et.al. identify as "a separate production process" (1977;11). In other words, biological reproduction has a given socio-cultural setting in which women's reproductive powers are constructed and related to other social processes and practices (Petchesky 1980). In chapter 3, we considered briefly the social context for human reproduction in the peasant community.

5. In other words the peasants whose rights to land are regulated outside the market, but who are located in designated comunidades campesinas or similar groups.

6. Young boys are also sent under similar circumstances to earn cash for households which lack adult male labour. For example, Adalberto explains "Before, I had never been to Cuzco. When my father died, only then did I go to Cuzco to work. When I was 12 years old, my father died...First I just worked in the street [as a porter]...I brought money back for working the fields".

7. As mentioned above, widows are subject to pressure from extended kin to give up their land, and this would account for their relative poverty. Another related factor may be that widows do not receive inheritance from their husbands' kin although previously due to do so. Some of these households comprise women abandoned by their husbands, in which case they receive all the land of the household.

8. Mink'a (where workers are repaid with food and coca on the day of the workparty) does not create future obligations, unlike ayni, but is a means of gaining access to labour which is repaid without reciprocal labour.

9. Cases exist of couples who marry and live in urban areas for several years and then return to the community. Marriage into an urban household is therefore provisional: the household returns to the rural area according to its

access to resources and security in both areas.

10. Youssef (1975) mentions widows in Latin America migrating to the urban areas from their rural homes (also Caroline Moser pers.comm; and Fawcett et.al. 1984). The general interpretation given is that the widows move to the cities because job opportunities in the rural areas are few in comparison with urban labour markets. Social factors are also involved: the widows are emancipated from rural ties, and there is support available to them from extended kin or married offspring in the urban areas. The widows tend not to remarry and have a lower rate of labour market participation than single or divorced women (Youssef 1975;107-109). According to my sources, this would not appear to be a prevalent or potential pattern in the community. However, due to the methods of data collection, and the fact that I was working with resident families who could inform me of the absent household members, I may have underestimated this type of movement. When I did record cases of entire households moving from the community, it involved young, newly-married couples who moved to the semi-tropical valleys leaving behind parents and siblings, neither of whom expected to follow them permanently.

11. In previous chapters, these changes in location are not enumerated as migration flows, as their purpose is not wholly economic or educational. The dynamics behind the moves are important at this stage however in elucidating the livelihood strategies pursued by households.

12. In times of *environmental disruption*, such as during the 1982-83 drought, urban kin provide cash for new seed, to which the rural household would not otherwise gain access. The urban relatives also guarantee for themselves a supply of basic foodstuffs under these circumstances.

13. It could be argued, although I have insufficient data to support this hypothesis, that it is in fact due to the permanent migration of female household members that these households maintain their resource base, such that they are among the wealthier households. Historical information on migration and property transfers would be necessary to expand this idea.

14. The female peasant migrants enter a labour market outside the community in which their position is extremely insecure. They do not generally have access to means of skill acquisition (unlike many men, whether or not these receive formal education) and illiteracy disadvantages a larger proportion of women than men in their search for jobs in Lima (Bunster & Chaney 1985;45). Moreover, the wages earned by female migrants are low in comparison to the average male wage and are generally inadequate for subsistence. Male wages

were 20% higher than female monthly earnings in 1981 (INE 1984). Moreover, women are segregated into limited sectors of the economy which are generally lower paid (McEwan Scott 1985; COTREM 1974; Bunster & Chaney 1985). By the early 1970's, women were increasingly disadvantaged in factory employment because of the social security laws reducing the participation of pregnant women in formal sector employment and which tended to concentrate women into full-time but 'marginal' (ie. non-regulated informal) employment (Lowder 1973). Although the available female labour force increased in size between 1972 and 1981, more women entered the informal labour market, especially in the services sector, than formal sector employment (INE 1984;27-34). Furthermore, a woman's participation in the labour market effectively ends upon marriage or upon the birth of her first child (M.Smith 1973; Bunster & Chaney 1985). By contrast, men are able to develop the skills and/or contacts necessary for the consolidation of a relatively secure economic position, which may be continued after marriage, and as a consequence their economic security is generally guaranteed and they are able to settle in the city.

15. In her study of female migrants in Mexico, Young (1978) mentions that the female migrants are more likely to return to the peasant household than are the men, but unfortunately no explanations are offered for this pattern.

16. It can be hypothesized that female migrants settle permanently in the urban areas as a result of marriage. Their livelihood is secured by marriage to a man whose position in the labour market is consolidated. However, much research remains to be done on the importance of marriage and crucially, the formation of a new household unit, in structuring the permanence of female migration flows. For similar cases in other areas of the Third World, see Rubbo (1975) on women in Colombia who in the towns have no land and so are forced to unite with someone with economic security, however fragile: as a result they marry the male plantation workers (p.341). Also Pittin (1984;1308); Izzard (1985;278); Bourque & Warren (1981;204).

17. When Maria finishes her training, it is likely that she will be sent to a rural school. In her case therefore, the move is permanently away from her village, although it may lead her to other rural locations.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions

Summary of results

Data from the case study of Kallarayan in the Peruvian Andes has illustrated substantial differences between male and female peasant migration patterns. These differences arise in a number of spheres, such as the age and marital status of migrants, the destinations of movements and the distances travelled. The average age of female migrants is below that for male migrants, as the female population flows commence among a younger age-group, and peak at 11-20 years, after which they decline in importance. By comparison, male rates first develop among slightly older agegroups, although they continue for a larger proportion of men's lifetimes than the female. Related to the age-groups of female and male migrants is their marital status - while female migrants are predominantly single and reduce their participation in external labour markets upon marriage, the male peasants' migration continues subsequent to marriage. As a consequence of these patterns, the number of destinations experienced by male and female migrants over their lifetime differs. Male migrants experience a greater number of distinct destinations, in both urban and rural areas, whereas women tend to migrate to a smaller number of destinations which are largely urban.

All these aspects of community-based migration rates are influenced by the structure of external labour markets. The nature of such markets constrains the opportunities for male and female peasant migrants, and determines the range of jobs open to them. Female migrants are restricted largely to the sphere of reproductive tasks, such as in domestic service, waitressing and cooking, whereas the male migrants are found in a wider range of occupations. The jobs undertaken by the female and male migrants in turn influences the

duration of their absence from the community. Different labour markets, through their spatial distribution and internal structure (one aspect of which is the gender division of labour), determine the length of absence of migrants and the type of employment undertaken. The facets of the labour markets interrelate to structure the way in which the household has to adjust to labour requirements internally. When women leave the community, they are absent for longer periods than the men who tend to make shorter, more frequent moves. Women whose employment opportunities are located in Lima and the major cities move over long distances and are subsequently absent for months or years. By contrast, male migration flows are of a circulatory nature, developing in response to local opportunities in rural areas and the departmental capital, entailing absences of several weeks to a few months on average. Household subsistence organization must be dovetailed with the external labour market patterns.

These substantial differences in migration flows highlight the importance of considering gender in the description and analysis of population movements. The particular characteristics of male migration in Kallarayan are similar to those noted for male peasant migration flows in other areas of the Southern Peruvian Andes. Female population flows have not been analysed for the Southern Peruvian region and thus no comparable data exists. Nevertheless, information from census data and case studies in urban areas suggest that the pattern described for Kallarayan is not at variance with the characteristics of the female migrants at their point of destination. For example, census data for Lima highlights the youth of female migrants, and their early insertion into labour markets, particularly in the services sector (see chapter 1).

Importantly, data from the case study reveal the changes in female migration flows over time. In the past forty years, female migration from Kallarayan has changed substantially: the average number of moves made by

any one peasant woman in Kallarayan has risen over this period, as the age-span over which they migrate has lengthened, with female migrants now commencing their moves at an increasingly younger age than their counterparts forty years ago. As the peasant women have been increasingly drawn into external labour markets, the nature of their participation has changed. They currently enter a more diverse range of occupations than ever before (although fewer opportunities are available to them than for the male migrants), and the number of women who now migrate to undertake education, although small, is larger than in previous decades. However, one characteristic of female migration flows which has remained stable over the period under consideration is the unmarried status of the great majority of the women. Marriage generally marks the end of their migration experience, and when married women's migration does occur they are restricted to largely unremunerated reproductive tasks, or service employment in the tropical valleys.

The evolution of female migration patterns over the last 40 years illustrates the changing sexual division of labour at regional and national levels, and the increased opportunities for waged employment for peasant women. Nevertheless, one aspect has remained relatively unchanged during the same period: marital status continues to act as a fundamental element in labour market participation. Both historically and currently, female population flows are internally differentiated, varying with the employment taken, marital status, motive for migration and length of absence. The tendency for census data to obscure differences between the female migrants, because of the collection of data on an aggregate level, negates these crucial distinctions.

Given the gender-differentiated patterns of migration, the question arises as to how they are interrelated. It has been suggested that to examine the interrelationships of male and female migration, the concept of household livelihood strategies is helpful. Labour allocation in the spheres of production,

reproduction and migration by the peasant household result in the deployment of male and female labour in different activities, and thus give rise to gender distinctions in migration flows. Analysis of the allocation of labour by the household in response to two dynamics (demographic and economic) has illustrated the importance of gender as a consistent principle of household organization. Over the developmental cycle of the households (the demographic variable), the use of female and male labour in migration flows follows a relatively stable pattern, whereby the children, both male and female, replace the father in external labour markets. While female migration tends to cease upon marriage and the assumption of duties in the domestic unit, male movements persist and are supplemented by the migration of offspring. A specific situation arises in non-nuclear households which results in a distinct pattern, explicable within the context created for livelihood options available. In these units, female migration commences among a younger age-group than in nuclear households, as sustenance inputs are required and no adult male labour is present to supply them.

The allocation of household labour over the developmental cycle is complicated by a consideration of the differentiation of peasant households, and thus the allocation of gendered labour by units with unequal resource bases. Among relatively richer community households, female members are placed in employment with opportunities for education or skills acquisition, resulting in lengthy absences from the community. Male members of these households are provided with the means of consolidating a secure position in the community or the city, depending on apprenticeships in skilled trades or on a substantial amount of land in the village. By contrast, male and female offspring of poorer households have a different relationship with external labour markets and educational opportunities. Female children are released from the unit into domestic service (the most common long-term employment for female

peasants) at an early age and are absent for long periods, thereby reducing the costs of reproduction borne by the rural unit. Once married, poorer peasant women are likely to continue migrating, as the household's community-based resources do not allow for adequate subsistence. They enter the labour market under different circumstances than single women, and their contributions to the unit's income is crucial for livelihood. Male migrants from poorer households are employed in unskilled labouring work, with little long-term security. Male and female permanent migration is more frequent among poorer households than among the richer community households, and highlights the importance of class differentiation in migration experiences.

A model of migration based on the household thus reveals how the peasant household uses female and male labour in livelihood strategies, in the organization of production, reproduction and migration. These are flexible elements of organization and develop in response to demographic and class differentiation, and within the cultural patterning for the sexual division of labour. The household-strategies approach clarifies the specific patterns of labour allocation which give rise to female rural-urban migration from Andean peasant communities, and the relations between migrants and the rural unit which determine the characteristics of migration flows and the return of earnings. Female labour is utilized in the peasant unit in diverse activities (including production, reproduction and migration), according to livelihood decisions. The participation of female household members in migration thus arises as one element of subsistence coordination by the household, which combines community-based and externally-generated resources to cover consumption requirements. In situations of wage labour insecurity (characteristic of peasant economies, and the Peruvian economy and of especial salience for women), the household provides a subsistence base for individuals who cooperate to guarantee livelihood over their lifetimes. The language of

kinship provides the expression of mutual obligations and economic roles which underlie the rationale of labour allocation in the unit, as well as resource-pooling practices.

Methodological and theoretical implications

The links between gender as an organizational principle and household livelihood have been examined in the case study. By incorporating gender relations into household models of migration, the nature of population movements from the unit are clarified, and characteristics of migration flows (such as selectivity, distance, return migration) explained. Moreover, the household approach can bring gender relations to the centre of research into household economics and low-income groups' survival strategies. Its utility for migration research lies in elucidating the interrelationships between male and female population movements, and the selectivity of female migration flows, by analysing the regular patterns in the allocation of gendered labour. In other words, it has been illustrated for one case that gender relations provide a systematic basis for household organization, in which migration is one element.

The methodological and theoretical issues generated by such a study hold implications for a range of social science concerns, especially migration studies, geography and gender, and Andean studies.

Approaches to migration

The household-based approach to migration has not been explicitly developed before in work on female migration in the Third World. As noted above, the placing of gender relations in the heart of the household approach provides important insights into the selectivity of migrants from the unit, and increases the information on regularities of behaviour which have been recognized in peasant households, such as responses to demographic cycles. Gender relations are basic to an understanding of the labour-allocation

decisions within the household, which give rise in turn to distinct migration flows for male and female members. The approach to migration, which departs from the simple analysis of household coordination for livelihood, clarifies the interrelationships which link male and female migration, as well as explaining the rationale behind these differences. Distinctions between the sexes' migration flows do not arise solely as a function of sex-segregated labour markets (with differential wage rates), but originate in the rural-based coordination of livelihood activities which relies upon the synchronization of male and female labour. In circumstances of precarious income, the release of household members into external labour markets is not determined exclusively by the opportunity costs of available labour (although members are cognizant of the opportunities for them), but also by minimum requirements in rural productive and reproductive activities. Male and female members, due to the sexual division of labour, take on different responsibilities in the domestic unit which structure their relationship with external labour markets. The household-based model is thus appropriate for the analysis of male and female migration in situations of income-pooling livelihood units. In the Andean peasant communities, these units are created through kinship relations, and the norms and expectations of family provide the idiom for cooperation over the long term.

Moreover, the household approach to migration complements other models of migration, by revealing the role of the household as a mediating institution between the individual and socio-economic structures. Thus, by providing information on the criteria by which labour is deployed in the rural household, this approach deepens our understanding of rural-based migration and overcomes the limitations of neoclassical models. As suggested by the equilibrium model, labour allocation decisions are made with the rational assessment of available opportunities: what is revealed by the household model, and which is not

featured in the neo-classical models, is that the assessment of opportunities takes place for reproductive, productive and migratory labour. This allows the household approach to examine the dynamics in shifts between spheres and to relate these to other criteria apart from wage rate differentials. The case history has amply demonstrated that minimum requirements in subsistence-oriented production and in reproductive spheres determine the deployment of family labour, and only then do external labour markets influence labour-utilization decisions in an interactive manner, according to the composition of the unit and its specific livelihood aims.

The household approach also throws explanatory light upon the specific relationship maintained by migrants with their unit of origin. In the case history, data on remittances and return migration provide support for the existence of livelihood strategies which link areas of distinct opportunities. While previous research on peasant migration in the Andes has shown that migration is necessary for providing inputs for energy-scarce highland areas (Collins 1981), a detailed examination of the means by which this was organized around the sexual division of labour and household priorities, has been lacking. The household-based approach could be usefully extended into other areas of the Andes, to examine the degree to which peasant household organization is predicated upon similar rationales in other economic and geographical areas.

This model of migration is of particular utility in explaining migration in circumstances of non full-lifetime wage labour, in other words the situation which characterizes peasant economies and Third World informal sectors. The case study has applied the household approach in a peasant community where access to cash depends upon the sale of labour and produce outside the immediate area. Dimensions of household livelihood organization would differ in other circumstances depending on the spatial configuration of wage labour and product markets. For example, local wage labour opportunities (such as

those arising from the 1969 Peruvian Agrarian Reform and the creation of cooperatives) change the parameters of livelihood coordination, by transforming the spatial distribution of family labour and the dovetailing of their activities. Moreover, under conditions where individuals' survival is not dependent upon the pooling of resources in the household, the role of the latter in coordinating livelihood diminishes. Migration patterns in these situations may take on different characteristics, either as individuals respond increasingly to wage rate differentials (in which case neo-classical approaches would be more appropriate in analysis), or as labour market re-structuring, both socially and spatially, determines population movements (when structuralist models would be useful). However, it remains to be seen to what extent these processes are occurring throughout the Andes, and elsewhere in the Third World either independently or together, and their impact on household livelihood organization. Clearly, such an analysis would need to examine the experiences of different regions, according to spatial distribution of wage labour opportunities and the historical evolution of peasant-capitalist relations.

There is currently a gap in our knowledge, which if filled would provide a link between rural-based studies and urban-centred migration research. This lacuna concerns the process by which households shift from being rural-based, to operating from within the urban milieu. Available evidence suggests that this process has been a highly irregular one in Peru, and indeed that the locus of income-pooling may shift between rural and urban locations during the developmental cycle of the unit. Furthermore, it has been tentatively suggested above that female permanent settlement in urban areas is a function of marriage. The household livelihood strategies model provides some important insights and concepts for such a study, as well as raising questions about the nature of resource flows, the organization of employment opportunities in the city, and perhaps most importantly, a means of approaching

the study of low-income shanty town dwellers in Latin American cities. These groups' mostly self-organized efforts to provide themselves with housing, services and employment have been the focus of much research, which has provided stimulating material. The household survival strategies approach can perhaps provide a new perspective on their organization.

Andean studies

In the Andes, regional labour markets and distinct agrarian structures give rise to a multitude of different migration patterns, only some of which have been described. The Kallarayan example thus provides details of one part of the demographic shifts which characterize the Peruvian situation. Massive rates of rural-urban migration have transformed the demographic structure of Peru since the Second World War, resulting in a shift of the country's population from rural to urban areas, and from the Sierra to the coast. The Peruvian Andes are characterized by a high degree of labour mobility, not only in terms of permanent rural-urban moves but also of return migration. With the increased diversification of the rural household economy, labour mobility achieves greater dimensions than was common in the developed world during its industrialization (B.Roberts 1981). Information on the Peruvian experience of industrialization and urbanization suggests that the floating labour force survives through the combination of wage employment, informal sector activities and, in some cases, subsistence foodstuff production. Such a labour market structure reduces demands, by both workers and industrialists, on the state for infrastructure and intervention, although it heightens the insecurity of livelihood for the poorest groups in conditions of triple-digit inflation and limited formal sector opportunities, which have prevailed during the recent past in Peru. The case study from the Cuzco region outlines some aspects of this process of economic development, and illustrates the extent to which women's labour is integral to labour mobility patterns and to low-income groups'

survival. Women's paid and unpaid work is combined with other maintenance activities in a manner which has profound implications for work patterns, housing priorities, fertility decisions, agricultural development and services provision. The expansion of information on women's roles in these fields is thus vital to a fuller understanding of the contemporary reality of Peruvian development.

Despite the importance of long-distance movements by young women within this process of urbanization, little research has been carried out on the rural context for female migration. By detailing the position of women in local and national labour markets, the case study provides a small increment to knowledge on Andean women. Previous research on this topic has tended to emphasize their changing role in the agricultural sector (as nonwage, family and proletarian labour), and is thus complemented by research on external (largely urban) labour market participation. The case study also counters a tendency, noted above, for studies of Andean rural migration to concentrate on male population movements to the exclusion of female flows. The importance of collecting data on male and female migration patterns, which differ so notably, is highlighted by this study. More work remains to be done in different regions with distinct agrarian structures and local labour markets, in order to examine the extent to which the relationships described above, between the household and gender-differentiated migration, hold under other situations.

Aside from theoretical and policy issues which are generated by the case study, the information collated also advances our knowledge of the Andean peasant household, which has provided a new focus of research interest in recent years (eg. Orlove & Custred 1980; Sanchez 1982; Figueroa 1983; Gonzales 1984). These studies have either limited their concerns to the purely economic aspects of household maintenance, or have analysed the household as an unproblematic unit of labour organization. The case study shows up the

limitations of this type of analysis by detailing the ideological and cultural influences in such fields as gender roles and the normative expectations of kinship behaviour, as well as revealing the internal dynamics of household decision-making. Much more research could be carried out on the internal organization of the household, and the parameters for change in different socio-economic contexts.

Geography and gender

The case study demonstrates once again the importance of incorporating the dimensions of gender into geographical enquiry. Women's experience can no longer be ignored, not least for reasons of intellectual rigour and completeness. Moreover by analysing the processes of production and reproduction, and gender relations, insights are gained into male spatial behaviour. In other words, the incorporation of gender into geography has explanatory validity for the spatial behaviour of both sexes. Research into gender relations offers the possibility of advance beyond 'making women visible' to the point where male-female relations are visible and provide important insights into a range of theoretical concerns in the fields of housing, development, migration, urban structure and employment.

The social and spatial patterning of reproductive and productive labour has provided a stimulating research topic in recent years to geographers interested in analysing the social relations behind spatial structures (eg. Gregory & Urry 1985; Massey 1984). One central issue is the patterning of gender relations. "Whatever the historically specific formulation of productive and reproductive work, it becomes embodied in the spatial patterning of the city and region. This patterning forms the concrete context for the development of spatial behaviour of both men and women" (Mackenzie 1980;48). Research in this field of geography is at a preliminary stage, and data is being collected for the development and elaboration of theoretical frameworks (Foord & Gregson

1986).

The Peruvian case study thus provides empirical data with which to compare the experiences of the developed world, an area which has been the focus of most research up to the present. In the peasant households, women's burden in productive and reproductive work, childcare responsibilities, participation in waged and non-waged family labour, provide points for contrast and similarity with the position of women in the developed world. These parallels and discontinuities need to be examined in more depth by geographers, within a theoretical framework (yet to be developed), which links reproduction-production processes with spatial organization in other areas of the developed and underdeveloped worlds.

In terms of methodology, the incorporation of the peasant women's own words into the analysis of gender relations and migration behaviour is an element of considerable utility. Although requiring sensitivity in interpretation, analysis of women's subjective experience allows for a reformulation of previous analytic categories of gender relations and for the development of geographical methodologies and typologies with which to describe both male and female lives (Mackenzie 1986). Lifehistories, analysis of the social construction of gender, and ethnographic methodology provide a possible means of generating new concepts in fields of geographical enquiry such as migration, demography, urban development (eg. McDowell 1980; Breugel 1973), and historical geography (eg. Davidoff et.al. 1974).

Policy issues

As noted previously, the Peruvian Sierra is an area of extreme rural poverty. The incoming (1985) government under APRA's Alan García announced its intention to divert resources to increase agricultural production in the highlands, especially in the departments of Cuzco and Puno, in an effort to

alleviate hardship. A consideration of women's role in peasant households, and an assessment of the impact of change on women should be central to the development and implementation of policy proposals. An increasing amount of interest has been expressed in Peruvian peasant women in recent years, by both national and foreign researchers, and the body of available information is expanding slowly. However, government and international bodies frequently work with composite, macrolevel data, such as census information, which obscure regional differences and short-term changes, as well as categorizing parts of women's lives in a manner unhelpful to an understanding of the nature of their work. The prime example is that of census definitions of rural women's occupation: changing definitions of work resulted in markedly different measures of women's participation in agriculture from 1940 to 1981 (Deere & León 1982). In-depth studies in various Andean regions have revealed the inadequacy of these measures: by contrast, they have enumerated the high degree of participation of rural women in a wide range of agricultural tasks.

The case study of Kallarayan highlights another aspect of rural women's work, which is not adequately enumerated in census data - their participation in wage labour markets outside the local area, and the important role played by women in rural household income-generation. By providing remittances on a more regular basis than male migrants, the female household members contribute vital cash income to the rural units. Despite their low wages and restricted job opportunities, peasant women's participation in wage labour is a central aspect of household livelihood. More work needs to be undertaken to calculate, for different classes and regions, the extent and nature of women's contribution to peasant household income.

Moreover, the case study documents the high degree to which peasant women relate with and are integrated into regional and national economies: their lives are not bounded solely by domestic and rural responsibilities.

Younger women especially are part of wider social and economic networks, which link rural and urban areas, the coast and the Sierra, peasants and the new urban classes. It is misleading therefore to perceive them as isolated, traditional rural dwellers: their experiences of wage labour relations, of markedly distinct geographical areas, often hundreds of kilometres apart, and the nature of their responsibilities in the rural unit, all militate against a simplified picture of peasant women in the Peruvian Sierra. Much work remains to be done on the interaction of the facets of rural women's lives with the changing economic and social structure of the country. The utilization of their labour time, control over productive resources, the development of skills and employment experience, are all aspects of household organization which shift with economic development and with governmental (and private institutional) intervention. Unfortunately, the impact of these changes on women's livelihood and status is frequently left unexamined, with detrimental effects on the individuals and households involved (see Babb 1976; Galer et.al. 1985; Deere 1985; Congreso de Investigación 1982). The implications for the female half of the population of policy implementation needs to be incorporated as a basic element of development planning, in fields as diverse as credit extension plans, employment creation, health programmes and social measures.

At various points throughout the thesis, female-headed households have been mentioned, especially in relation to their livelihood insecurity and hardships in providing for young children. Existing institutions in the peasant communities could be mobilized to provide income for this disadvantaged group - money and foodstuffs could be distributed by the *asambleas* on a rotation system. Similarly, income-generating schemes such as artisanal and food-preparation cooperatives could be organized around the already-existing networks in order to provide necessary inputs of cash into these households.

The pattern of urbanization and migration which has developed in Peru in

the last few decades looks set to persist. Despite governmental efforts to stem the flow of peasants from the highlands by attempting to reform tenure or to increase agricultural productivity, they have had a marginal impact on livelihood organization. Efforts by rural households to maintain linkages between rural and urban areas would appear to be evolving as a characteristic of the Peruvian situation, in which state intervention is minimal. Low-income groups will continue to rely upon occupational diversity to cover subsistence needs: in the short term, government intervention to reduce inflation and maintain price stability for basic foodstuffs assists indirectly in maintaining the poorest in rural and urban areas. Nevertheless, reinforcement of price controls is most effective in the capital resulting in greater regional inequalities between Lima and the provinces in this, as in other, spheres. Over the long term, government interventions to improve living standards could most usefully be directed at minimum wage legislation, full provision of social security, and stable agricultural pricing systems. These measures would allow for greater quantities of resources to enter the redistribution networks between poor households, and enable them to develop alternative livelihood strategies, such as the education of members, according to their own priorities. The high degree of geographical mobility is unlikely to be directly influenced by such long term measures, and any explicit programme to halt or reduce it would probably be unsuccessful.

Nevertheless, the female migrants could be provided with several immediate improvements in work conditions. Domestic service employment is currently exempt from many legislative controls on, for example, the number of hours worked, annual holidays and pay levels, a lacuna which could be rectified with comparative ease by the new government. Furthermore, refuges from exploitative employers could be provided to the domestics who are subject to mistreatment at a minimal cost to the country. Suppression of the young

women's rights and their isolation in the employers' homes would be minimized by the provision of basic shelter and orientation on their arrival in the city. Cuzco has particularly urgent needs in this respect, although similar conditions are found throughout the country.

Whatever the nature of government and private institutional reaction to these problems, peasant women will continue to move from the remote communities of the highlands into the geographically diverse and rich regions of Peru, and their impact on social and economic relations will endure.

APPENDIX ONE: Methodology and Data Analysis

The methodology of the research study involved 5 sections, each of which will be outlined in turn, to be followed by a brief description of the analysis used. Fieldwork was carried out in Cuzco department, Peru, from August 1984 to September 1985, on grants provided by the Department of Geography, and Faculty of Social and Environmental Studies, University of Liverpool, as well as the Population Investigation Committee, London School of Economics.

Fieldwork

The fieldwork entailed the following parts:

- a) Lifehistory interviews of female migrants
- b) Family Economy survey of community households
- c) Indepth interviews
- d) Participant observation
- e) Data collection from secondary sources

I was introduced into Kallarayan, the case study community, in September 1984 by an independent development project, which had been working in the area for over a year, and which was known to the comuneros. The choice of community in which to carry out fieldwork was based on a rapid appraisal survey (in the first half of September) of the neighboring peasant communities (comunidades campesinas) in which assessment of the degree of female migration was made through informal interviews. It was originally hoped that a comparative study of two communities could be made: one community with a high rate of female migration compared with one with a low rate of female migration, where perhaps there were alternative income sources. For lack of time and questions of logistics, only one community, Kallarayan, was chosen as the case study community. Residence in the community for approximately 12 months allowed me to work with the villagers, especially the women, and to share all aspects of their lives. The 'feel' for the community and the women's

Figure A:1

Female migrant lifehistory questionnaire

Name: Place of interview: Family no.:
Date of birth: Date of interview: Language of interview: [Q./Sp.]

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Age</u> | <u>Residence</u> | <u>Education</u> | <u>Family history</u> |
|-------------|------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| [year] | 1-6 | [name; | [place; grade] | [births of siblings; deaths; |
| | 7 | rural/urban] | | marriages] |
| | 8 | | | |
| | 9 | | | |
| | ... | | | |
| | 59 | | | |

| <u>Household</u> | <u>Employment</u> | <u>Tasks</u> | <u>Wages</u> | <u>Comments</u> |
|----------------------|------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|---|
| [parents marital] | [type; no. of co-workers; | | [per week/month] | [method of or recruitment; family decisions; reasons for under- taking/completing work; relation with household; use of wages] |

The sequence of questions generally followed the pattern given below, with variations according to the age and particular circumstances of each woman.

*

Q1. Where were you born? Where were your parents living when you were born? How old are you now? Do you know the year of your birth?

Q2. When did you start to help around the house? Who did you help and what duties did you perform?

Q3. Have you ever gone to school? When did you begin at school? Were you living in the same place?

Q4. At the time you left school/ when you were at school - were you paid for work or did you work away from home? That is, did you earn money to help your family? Did you work at all before leaving school?

Q5. When did you take your first (next) job? Where were you living at that time? Did you live with your parents?

Q6. What was your work? What were your duties? (Exploration of ideas about work, how recruited, etc.)

Q7. Were you self-employed, worker, employee or employer?

Q8. Domestic service: what type of household did you work in? Were the people you worked for relatives of yours or your family? How much did you earn per month?

Agriculture: what type of farming work did you do? What crops were grown in the farm, or what type of livestock kept?

Other: what were the nature and conditions of work?

Q9. How many people worked there? Were any of them people who are now in this household? Were any of them relatives?

Q10. Do you remember how much you earned in this work? Did the wages increase during your employment?

Q11. Did you take another job after this? When did you start this work?

Where were you living then? Did you return to the community before taking this work? (return to Q.6.).

Q12. Up until this time, did you have any children? If yes, where were they living? Did you look after them? If not, who took care of them, during the day or over longer periods?

Q13. Up till this time, were you single? If not, (ie. servinakuy, conviviente or married) when did you start this relationship? (From here till the end of the interview, the interviewee is asked about her work changes with the birth and deaths of her children, and the start/finish of convivencias/marriages).

Q14. At the time of your first child's birth/start of servinakuy, where were you living? With which relatives were you living? What duties did you have in the household? Did you have any work which brought in some money (for you personally or for the household)?

Q15. During all of this time, did you have any illness that hindered your work for any period of time? Are your parents still alive today? If so, where do they live? If not, when did they die?

*

Only two women did not complete the interview; one woman was extremely ill at the time of the interviews, and another woman refused to be interviewed, giving no reason for her refusal. However, from the family economy survey (see b. below) we know that she migrated to harvest tea for 5 months; worked as a cook in the valleys several times and that she was employed in Cuzco for 5 months, when she was single in the late 1950's and the early 1960's. This information was not added to the remainder of interviews as there was insufficient information on the ages of the woman during the moves, and the circumstances surrounding them.

b) The Family Economy Survey was used to gain an idea of population,

economic organisation and resource distribution in the community. Eighty-six families completed the interview, whose form is given in diagram A:2. One or two (and on some occasions more) family members were interviewed, usually a male and a female adult, often the married couple, although sometimes, an adult single child would respond. Interviews were largely conducted in Spanish by the researcher working alone. In households where no Spanish was spoken, the interviews were conducted in Quechua with translations relayed by members of the development project, who were well-known and liked by the villagers. Information from the Family Economy Survey (F.E.S.) was complemented in the case of 16 households by information which was collected in 1983 by French researchers on agricultural organisation (1). One family did not respond to the interview, by avoiding the researcher. No explicit reasons were given for the refusal. A couple of other households also remained un-enumerated in this survey as they moved from the community to take up (permanent?) residence in another community. It is estimated that there were no more than 90 families in the community during the period of fieldwork.

*

The following is the procedure broadly maintained during the family economy survey.

1. In this interview, we are going to discuss the whole family, people who are in your immediate family. This includes then, people who do not live here but who are working elsewhere. We will include anyone who you think is part of the household.
2. First we will go through the whole family, noting people's names, and where they work/live and what work they do (self-identification). Has anyone left the community to live, work or study? When they are away, do they send money or goods: what goods do/did they send?
3. We now talk about the resources that belong to the household. What animals

Figure A:2

Family Economy Survey

Family number: Migrant women: yes/no
Date of interview: Language of interview: (Q./Sp.)
Family members [Name of primary informant(s)]

Name Age Family position Current work Place of work Migration

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4. (etc.)

Resources

Animals: Cattle Sheep Pigs Llamas Donkey Others

Number:

Shepherd:

Land: Riego Secano Muyu Total

(Ha.s)

(no. parcels)

Crops:

Skills:

Family members who know how to

speak Spanish:

read and write:

weave:

others:

Remittances of cash and goods

Who sends the remittances?

Who receives the remittances?

Name Recipient Use of remittances

Purchases: (recent)

Land redistribution

Land rented: type

quantity:

owner:

Land sharecropped: type:

quantity:

owner:

Agricultural work

1. Planting:

Aporque:

Harvest:

2. Women working in the fields:

Children working in the fields:

Commercialization

Product:

Person selling:

do you have (species)? How many do you have of each? Who pastures them?

You also have fields: how many fields do you use/own, in riego, secano, and the muyus? How much of these do you work this year? Do you work land by sharecropping - do you give out land or work other's land? Do you rent land, and what type?

What do you grow in your fields? Do you sell any of the produce, which products are sold?

4. Above we asked about the money and goods brought back or sent to you by family outside. Do you remember what this money was used for? How often does X [named household member] send money/goods? What other costs are there in migration? Do the migrants have to rent a room in the city/pay their travel costs/buy food? What proportion of their wages approximately do they return? Did you ask them to send/bring back money/goods?

5. How is agriculture organised? Who took part in the planting, aporque, barbecho, harvest, and weeding? Did you ask other workers, in ayni or minka to work with you?

Was there any time this year when the women of the family (named) worked in the fields alone?

What did the children (named) do in the fields? What work do they do for the family (pasturing livestock, collecting water or firewood, running errands)?

What products are sold and by whom? Who most usually goes to Cuzco/Pisac with the products? Who buys the goods for the household?

*

c) The in-depth interviews were carried out towards the end of the fieldwork period once the greatest degree of trust had developed. Twelve interviews were carried out with families randomly chosen from among those containing female migrants (both single and married), a total of 53 households. All households requested to do so agreed to participate in this interview, which

lasted 2 to 3 hours on average. The female migrants were interviewed, as was at least one male household member, usually the husband or the father of the migrant. The interview was deliberately loosely structured, allowing the respondents to develop the points they thought important, although the areas of interest (for the researcher) included the organisation of timing of migration; the allocation of tasks in the household; the use of income earned elsewhere; control of women over earnings; education and expectations of children; views held by the villagers on migration, agriculture, household organisation; the perceived role of married and single men and women; the ease of finding work in urban/rural areas or for male/female, young/old migrants; wage differentials; transport costs; relative advantages of different migration destinations; decisions on length of absence, use of remittances, organisation of agriculture; future plans for individuals/households; and so on. All interviews were recorded on a small tape recorder, and retained for later analysis, although interviews were replayed to respondents on their request.

*

Particular areas of interest during the interview were the following, in a random order according to the development of the interview session.

1. Who earns more when they migrate - the men or women/ - the young people or older (married)? Why? Where is it easiest/hardest for men/women, young/old to find work? Why?

How does work outside the community compare with selling produce? Which earns more money - why, when? Can your family earn both ways, why not/how?

In which months do the male villagers/you migrate most? Why is that? Is it different for the women? When do the women migrate most, and why?

2. Who in the family sends/sent money/goods when they work outside? What did you do with this money? How did you know what to do with it? Who needs it most? When family members do not give money, why not - are they told to

keep money, or is there no issue? Did you know what your remittances were used for? If you were to earn more money, what would you do with it?

3. The organisation of the household when member(s) is(are) absent: labour in the household, fields, with the animals, commercialization of products. Why do you organise this way? What happens to the children? Do they work outside too?

Why do people come back to the community? Is there any difference for men and women? Are they away for different lengths of time - why? Who knows how long they'll be away?

4. Does it cost anything to migrate away? Who pays for this (using specific examples)? Who gives the money necessary? Do you need experience to get work outside? What kind of experience do you need? Was it difficult/easy to learn the work? What other things did you think of working in? Did you know what kind of work it would be? Who had told you about it?

5. Do you expect your children (young) to work outside the community? What do you think they will do? Why? A lot of people leave Kallarayan to work outside the community: why do you think that this is so? Is work outside/migration different for single/married people, and men/women? Why?

*

All of these questions were adapted to the specific circumstances of the interviewee's household structure and migration history, within the context of information gathered in the previous two interviews. Many interviews developed beyond the questions given here to general discussions on issues of most interest for the interviewees.

Other sources of information

- i. Juzgado de Trabajo (Work tribunal) in Cuzco keeps records of the cases brought before the courts relating the non-payment of social security or wages. The cases are brought by the employees, at the completion of employment. Data was collected on the cases of female employees between 1961-1974 and a record taken of the employer and place of employment. While this data is extremely limited, it offers some information on the type of employment opportunities available to women over these years. Since 1975, the certification of domestics (one category of female employment) has been carried out by the Sub-dirrección de Trabajo Regional, from which no data was collected. (See chapter Four notes for the analysis of this data.)
- ii. Interviews One interview was carried out with a member of the Domestics union, Cuzco (Sindicato de Trabajadoras del Hogar) on the work conditions and changing position of domestic servants since the late 1960s. Interviews were also completed with administrators at the COCLA, Quillabamba and the Cooperativa Té Huyro, Huyropata, (both in the province of La Convención) on the opportunities and conditions of employment for highland migrants.
- iii. Local parish records in Písaq and Taray provided information on births and deaths in Kallarayan over the twenty year period 1964-1985. Records were made by sex of children, and by sex and age of deceased. It is probable that the records under-enumerate the vital statistics of the community, and their reliability must therefore be tempered by the expectation of a high degree of inaccuracy.
- iv. Padrón de Electores de la Comunidad is a record of all comuneros, male and female, over the age of 18 years and is compiled every 2 years before the community elections. The lists give the sex, name, date of birth, marital status, number of children and occupation for every comunero able to vote. (Generally, the men are registered as farmers and the women as housewives.)

These tables are produced by the Ministerio de Agricultura, Región Agraria XX, Cuzco and provided a useful complement to information from the Family Economy Survey, as well as a check on the latter.

v. Secondary sources on labour market structure, historical development of the region, socio-cultural aspects of the region and so on, were consulted in the Universidad Nacional de San Antonio de Abad, Cuzco, the research institute Bartolomé de las Casas, and in local archives.

Analysis

Family Economy Survey data was placed on the IBM mainframe computer in the University of Liverpool and analysed using the SPSSX statistical package.

Lifehistory and indepth interviews were analysed ^etogether manually, in conjunction with the fieldnotes from participant observation.

In the tables in the main body of the thesis, the source of the information (whether F.E.S. or Lifehistory) has been indicated. Data presented in chapters 2, 3 and 4 are largely derived from the Family Economy Survey, while information in subsequent chapters is from the lifehistories, in-depth interviews, and participant observation.

*

Notes

1. I wish to express my thanks to Annette Salis of CEDEP-Ayllu for making this information available to me.

APPENDIX TWOUse of remittances

Key: H=husband, W=wife, S=son, D=daughter, SL=son-in-law

N.I.=no information, (s)=single (m)=married

Richer households

| <u>Developmental</u> | | <u>Person</u> | <u>Use</u> |
|----------------------|-----|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| <u>cycle stage</u> | | | |
| i. | | - | - |
| ii. | 1. | Widow: | no migrant |
| | 2. | H: | half for food |
| | 3. | N.I. | |
| | 4. | H: | Food |
| iii. | 1. | H and W: | work fields |
| | 2. | H: | food |
| | 3. | H: | food, money |
| | | S: | (s) for clothes? |
| | | D: | (s) (nothing sent) |
| | 4. | H: | food |
| | 5. | H: | food and meat, clothes and radio |
| | 6. | H: | household goods |
| | 7. | H: | food, education |
| | 8. | H: | food, clothes |
| | 9. | H: | work fields, <u>chicha</u> |
| | | D: | (s) (no tip) |
| | 10. | N.I. | (sons) |
| | 11. | H: | work fields |
| iv. | 1. | H: | food, clothes, cash |
| | | S: | (s) (nothing) |
| | | S: | (s) clothes for family |
| | | S: | (s) (nothing) |
| | 2. | H: | food |
| | | S: | (s 21) food |
| | | S: | (s 18) work fields |
| | | S: | (s 12) (no tip) |

3. D: (s) N.I. on tip
H: work fields, money
4. H: food, cash
D: cash (clothes for self)
5. H: cash (food)
D: (s 22) little food
S: (s 25) little food
S: (s) cash (clothes for self)
6. D: (s) work fields
S: (s) work fields
S: (s) fields (clothes)
7. D: (s) (nothing)
S: (s) (nothing)
8. H: food
S: (clothes for self)
9. S: (s) cash
10. S: (s) cash, clothes, food
S: (s) clothes and food
S: (s) school utensils
11. N.I.
12. H: work fields, education
13. H: fields, clothes
- stage v. 1. D: N.I.
H: cash, food
2. SL: food, cash
3. H: food, coca
4. S: (m) some cash
S: (s) food
5. H: cash
D: seed and food
S: (s) clothes (tailor)
D: (m) (brings food from other community)
6. H: Radio, clothes, cash
W: N.I.
7. H: Food, cash
S: (s 16) own schooling
S: (s 13) own schooling

8. S: (m) cash, some clothes
S: (s) cash
S: (s) own schooling
9. S: (s) fields, clothes
S: (s) household goods
10. SL: fields, food
11. S: (s) food, cash
S: (m) food, cash
S: (s) food, cash
S: no goods.
- stage vi. 1. H: cash, clothes, food
and fields.
2. H: N.I.
3. H: food, cash

Poorer households

| <u>Developmental cycle stage</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Person</u> | <u>Use</u> | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|---|
| i. | 1. | H and W: | Household items | |
| | ii. | 2. | H: | capital for business, clothes, food and fields |
| | | 2. | H: | food |
| | | 3. | H: | cash for fields |
| | | 4. | H: | cash for fields, cargo |
| | | 5. | H and W: | household items |
| | | 6. | H: | work fields |
| | | 7. | H: | food for children |
| 8. | H and W: | clothes, food | | |
| iii. | 1. | Widow: | no migrant | |
| | 2. | D: (s) | sends little H: food | |
| | 3. | D: (s) | (no earnings) | |
| | 4. | D: (s) | very little food | |
| | 5. | H: | clothes, food, chickens | |
| | 6. | H: | N.I. | |
| | 7. | H: | food | |

8. H: food
9. H: clothes
10. H and W: food, clothes
11. H: food
S: (s) (nothing)
12. H: N.I.
13. H: food
14. Widow: (no migrant)
- stage iv.
1. D: (s 19) little food
S: (s 21) (Army: no cash)
D: (s 16) (nothing)
2. H: food
3. H: food
D: (s 15) little food
4. H: food
S: (s 18) (earnt tip)
5. H: food, clothes
S: (s 16) food
D: (s 20) N.I.
6. D: (s 19) some cash, fields
S: (s 17) food
H: fields
7. H: food
S: (s 17) food, fields
S: (s 18) school goods for sister
8. H: food
S: (s 28) little food
9. Widow: (absent son sends *nothing*)
10. S: (s 23) clothes
D: (s 16) (clothes for self)
11. D: (s 18) some food
- stage v.
1. H: food, clothes
2. S: (m) food and workers
3. SL: food
S: (s 18) (clothes for self)
S: (s 20) (cash for self)
S: (s 16) (cash for self)

- 4. H: cash
 - 5. H: fields
 - 6. H: food
S: (s) cash, food
 - 7. S: (m) (nothing sent, parents do not want)
 - 8. S: (m) food, cash
D: (m) food, clothes
D: (s) (clothes for self)
S: (m) food
- stage vi.
- 1. Widow: no migrant
 - 2. S: (m) (absent) few clothes

GLOSSARY of Spanish and Quechua terms

Q - Quechua Sp - Spanish

- adelanto Sp. Advance payment made to migrant workers by agents.
- ahijado/a Sp. Godchild, name used by godparents, compadres.
- al destajo Sp. Piece work in harvests in the tropical jungles.
- añu Q. *Tropaeolum tuberosum*, Andean tuber grown in muyus known as mashua.
- aparcería Sp. Sharecropping system, under which land owner and the sharecropper each receive half of the harvest.
- aporque Sp. Stage in agricultural cycle, covering (potato) plants with earth, from aporcar.
- arriendo Sp. Rental of land in the community, for money or work.
- arveja Sp. *Pisium sativum*. Pea grown in irrigated land.
- asamblea Sp. Communal meeting convened every month by village leaders.
- ayllu Q. 'Generic term signifying corporate group with head' (Isbell 1978).
Community under Inca empire.
- ayni Q. Reciprocal labour arrangements within the community, taken on by men and women.
- bayeta Sp. Baize cloth used for traditional peasants' clothing.
- campo Sp. The countryside.
- canchón Sp. Enclosed garden near the house in the peasant communities.
- cargo Sp. Ritual position of responsibility, ritual sponsorship
- Carnaval Sp. Important fiesta lasting several weeks, part of build up to Easter.
- coca Q./Sp. *Erythroxylon coca*; leaf used as mild stimulant. Leaves are chewed with ash from certain plants, and an alkaloid is released which relieves hunger and tiredness. Leaves are also important in various rituals.
- compadrazgo Sp. Godparenthood. Fictive kinship relations between godparents of children, also found at marriages and at first haircutting.
- comunero/a Sp. Member of a Comunidad Campesina, a term used to describe resident peasants.
- comunidad campesina Sp. Legal landholding entity recognized under the 1920 or 1969 legislation, formerly an Inca ayllu.
- conocido/a Sp. Literally 'an acquaintance', a friend of the family.
- consejo Sp. Committee in community.
- conviviente Sp. Partner before formal marriage, name for male and female partners.
- corte de pelo Sp. First haircutting of children, opportunity to gain godparents, also rutuchikuy (Q.)

cuñada/o Sp. Sister- or brother-in-law.

curandero Sp. Healer in peasant community.

cuti Q. Small hook-like hoe made of wood with a metal blade.

chanako Q. Youngest child of either sex, in nuclear family; receives the house from parents.

charqui Q. Dried llama meat for storage.

chaquitaqlla Q. Footplough dating from Inca times.

chicha Sp. Maize beer brewed by the women.

ch'ullu Q. Knitted cap worn by men and male children.

ch'uñu Q. Freeze-dried potato prepared using the frosts and hot days of the dry season and stored.

dirigente Sp. Community or union leader.

encomienda Sp. Early Spanish labour grant system, with duty to convert the peasants to Christianity.

enganchador Sp. Recruiting officer for producers in the semi-tropical valleys and gold-mining areas, who visits the peasant communities on a regular basis.

faena Sp. Communal work party.

haba Sp. Vicia faba or broad bean, a high protein leguminous plant grown in irrigated and unirrigated land.

hacienda Sp. Landed estate, landed property: the hacendado is the landholder.

hurk'asqa Q. Sponsor in festival, help for major sponsor.

ichu Q. Long grass from puna used for roofing houses.

jalca Q. See suni.

lliqlla Q. Woven shawl worn by the women, also known as manta (Sp.)

madrina Sp. Godmother.

mark'a Q. Household storage area, either in a separate building to the house or within the main dwelling. A woman's domain.

mayordomo Sp. Sponsor of a religious festival in the communities; Steward-manager in the hacienda.

minifundista Sp. Smallholder farmer, usually owning under 5ha of land.

mink'a Q. Labour in exchange for food, coca and alcohol.

misti Q. Name for mestizo (Sp.), or mixed blood.

muchacha Sp. Literally 'girl', name for domestic servant.

muña Q. Wild plant with natural insecticidal properties, used for potato storage.

muyu Q. Unirrigated land cultivated in rotation for three years, followed by 4 years fallow.

negocio Sp. Business, usually used to describe a small commercial venture.

obraje Sp. Textile workshop.

ollucu Q. Andean tuber grown in the muyus.

padre Sp. Priest in Catholic church.

padrino Sp. Godfather. Plural is used to denote godparents of either sex.

parcialidad Sp. Community. Communal land became private property in the 1820's and became known as parcialidad (Kaerger 1899).

patron Sp. Boss or patron.

pensión Sp. Small urban restaurant and boarding house.

pico Sp. Hoe-like tool with metal blade and wooden handle.

pongueaje Sp. Labour system whereby peasants were obliged to organize and pay for a work party on their lands within the hacienda.

pueblo joven Sp. Literally 'young town', shanty towns around cities.

puna Q. Grassland above 4000m, a cold and windy area.

quechua Q. Mild climate ecological zone, seasonal rainfall, largely free from frosts, at 2300 to 3500m. Gives its name to the indigenous language and people.

queñua Q. *Polylepis incana*, Tree species native to quechua, suni zones.

quinua Q. *Chenopodium quinoa*, high protein Andean pseudo-grain grown on irrigated land.

quishwar Q. *Buddleia incana*, Tree species native to quechua and suni zones.

reducción Sp. Forced concentration of native population under the authority of a township in the early Colonial period.

sauco Q. *Sambucus peruviana*, tree native to quechua zones, produces berries.

secano Sp. Unirrigated land cultivated for 2-3 years, then left fallow for 2-3 years.

servinakuy Sp./Q. Term used to describe a period of trial marriage among the community members.

Sierra Sp. Highland Andean region, generally defined as land over 2000m.

sol Sp. The unit of Peruvian currency. Also means sun, hence the name inti in Quechua for the new currency. One inti is 1,000 soles.

suni Q. Ecological zone, 3500 to 4000m cold climate, grains and tubers grown here.

tarwi Q. *Lupinus mutabilis*, High protein and fat Andean grain, leguminous plant.

tage Q. Storehouse for household production, also mark'a.

teniente gobernador Sp. Authority in peasant communities, designated by the local judge; acts as police and justice in villages.

topo Q. Measure of land area. In Cuzco, it is generally agreed to measure 2,784 m², but it also sometimes has a meaning in hours of work. A topo is equivalent to 0.69 acres.

trago Sp. Alcoholic drink. Used in Kallarayan to denote the 85% proof industrial alcohol drunk on all occasions.

trueque Sp. Exchange or barter system.

varayok Q. Literally, the holder of the staff, or rod. Traditional authority of the peasant communities, designated by the Spaniards and abolished under the Agrarian Reform.

vocal Sp. Spokesperson in community affairs, or similar institution.

wawa Q. Baby or infant.

wayra Q. Wind, or name for first-born boy.

yucca Sp. Root crop grown in jungle area.

yunga Sp. Another name for the jungle area, also montaña.

yunta Q. Oxen-pulled plough.

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