A RESEARCH PAPER

Number 70
December 1976

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LAND TENURE CENTER

AN INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION ON SOCIAL STRUCTURE, RURAL INSTITUTIONS, RESOURCE USE AND DEVELOPMENT

U.S. ISSN 0084-0815

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R. P. No. 70
U.S. ISSN 0084-0815

SOME STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN: THE CHILEAN HACIENDA*

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*Paper presented at a conference on Women and Development, held at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, 2-6 June 1976.

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The purpose of this paper is to analyze some of the structural constraints on women's participation in agricultural production. These structural constraints are understood to be the consequences of a particular interaction between a land tenure system and a form of family organization. It is this interaction which largely explains the alienation of women from agricultural production.

The data analyzed are drawn from Chile, and they refer primarily to the contemporary, i.e., post-1935, period. The data concern male and female participation in the agricultural labor force, as recorded in general and agricultural censuses. Both the methodology and the analytic framework would seem to be applicable to other cases. Nevertheless, this paper is written as a case study.

At the descriptive level, the trends in Chilean agricultural employment are clear.

Since 1930, the relative weight of the agricultural sector has declined, especially in relation to the service sector. The rate of labor force absorption in agriculture has declined steadily. Nevertheless, the labor force absorption rates for men are considerably above the rates for women.

Since 1935, there have been important changes in the relative weight of different occupational categories within the agricultural labor force. The relative and absolute numbers of individuals employed as permanent, resident workers on large estates declined; the absolute number of people employed as temporary, wage laborers increased; and the absolute and relative numbers of people confined to the smaller farms as proprietors and unremunerated family members increased.

During this same period, the occupational distribution of the male and female agricultural labor force became increasingly dissimilar. Women were disproportionately displaced from permanent, resident employment on large estates. They were not absorbed into temporary wage labor; rather, they were increasingly confined to the smaller farms as unremunerated family members.

These trends will be examined in some detail in the body of the paper. In general, however, it is clear that there are some important similarities

between the changes experienced by men and women; furthermore, it is clear that there are some important differences.

The interpretation advanced in this paper requires two basic steps. The first step is to account for the similarities in the evolution of the male and female labor force. This directs attention to the land tenure system, as the basic determinant of rural class structure.

The second step is to account for the differences in the evolution of the male and female labor force. This directs attention to the family structure, specifically to the possibilities of alienating women from social production and restricting them to domestic production and social reproduction.

The argument, in broad outline, is as follows: The land tenure system which dominates the Chilean countryside denies the opportunities for independent, gainful employment to the majority of the rural population and makes an important sector of the population dependent on permanent and/or seasonal labor within the large estates. The under-exploitation of these estates generates a demand for labor far below the supply available. Wages remain low, while a reserve labor force remains available.

In this context, certain categories of people are defined out of the primary labor market. The young, the old, and the female are the most readily identifiable groups. Furthermore, it is possible to displace all three by passing responsibility for their maintenance to their families. This practice is consistent with the structure of Chilean families and with the cultural and legal precepts which define the husband as the provider.

There are several consequences of this artificial reduction in the size of the primary labor market. Potential employers can expect to contend with a more docile labor pool, composed largely of heads of household with several dependents. Heads of household, competing in a tight labor market, are vulnerable to voluntary and involuntary unemployment. Nevertheless, within the family they enjoy the privileged position of sole supporter. This provides the objective conditions for patriarchy. Whereas women and children no longer need to expose themselves to exploitation, they may have to accept oppression as the price of their maintenance.

The alienation of women from agricultural production has the consequences of restricting them to the spheres of domestic production and social reproduction. In these capacities, rural women perform many economically relevant tasks. Nevertheless, a principal characteristic of these tasks is that they do not provide women with an independent source of support.

There are definite structural constraints on the participation of women in the Chilean agricultural labor force. These constraints are due, in part, to the particular type of land tenure system and, in part, to family structure. The first source of constraints is best understood in terms of social class; the second source of constraints, in terms of sex.

Some Characteristics of the Chilean Land Tenure System

Chilean agriculture has been dominated since colonial times by the latifundio. The latifundio is based on the private ownership of the means of production and its concentration in the hands of very few individuals. The near-monopoly of productive resources by the traditional land-owning class is the basis for the class structure in rural areas. This structure also consists of a rather restricted class of "middle peasants," with land sufficient to employ and maintain their families, a large class of "poor peasants" (usually called minifundistas), owning or renting land insufficient to employ and maintain their families without outside agricultural or non-agricultural employment; and a large class of "landless peasants" who must work on the land owned by others in order to maintain themselves and their families.

The dominance of the latifundio in agriculture is a common phenomenon in the Third World. The extent of domination, however, differs from country to country. In the case of Chile, the domination of the latifundio is almost total.

The literature on the Chilean latifundio is both extensive and sophisticated.[1] One central theme of analysis is the disparities among the resources which the Chilean latifundio commands, the productivity which it achieves, and the employment opportunities which it affords. These disparities exist in all the major agricultural zones of Chile, but they are especially pronounced in the Central Valley, which is the agricultural heartland of the country.[2]

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1. See, for example, "Chile's Agricultural Economy: A Bibliography," Mimeo. (Madison, Wis.: Land Tenure Center Library, July 1970). This bibliography lists only the holdings of the Land Tenure Center Library, yet it is eighty-five pages long.

The word latifundio is used in this paper in the following sense: "Latifundia: any large farm. For the purpose of this study any farm which includes enough agricultural land to support more than 12 workers at prevailing living levels and to utilize their labor supply during most of the year using prevailing farm practices in the region will be considered as latifundia." Comité Interamericano de Desarrollo Agrícola, Land Tenure Project, "Relationships Between Land Tenure and Economic and Social Development in Latin American Agriculture: Project Summary," Mimeo. (7 September 1962), p. 3.

2. The Central Valley contains only 29 percent of all land devoted to agriculture. Nevertheless, it contains 39 percent of the country's arable land and 76 percent of the irrigated land. The Central Valley accounts for 45 percent of the nation's agricultural production. It produces 68 percent of the fruits, wines, and vegetables; 46 percent of dairy products, 45 percent of cereals and grains; and 29 percent of the cattle. The major centers of urban population are also in this zone, and agricultural producers have relatively easy access to transportation and marketing facilities.

(cont.)

Within the Central Valley, very large estates represented only 7.6 percent of all agricultural properties (1955). Nevertheless, they occupied fully 88 percent of the total area and controlled 77.8 percent of the irrigated land. By contrast, very small farms which were insufficient to maintain a family represented 48.1 percent of all agricultural properties. They occupied only 0.5 percent of the total area and controlled 1.9 percent of the irrigated land.[3]

Even within the category of very large estates, there was further concentration of productive resources. The 1,067 farms of the greatest productive potential represented only 1.7 percent of all agricultural properties. They occupied, on the average, 47 percent of all the land in the Central Valley after all land had been converted to standardized hectares and each standardized hectare represented equivalent qualities of land.[4]

Disparities in productivity were also pronounced. Very large estates contributed only 66.6 percent of total agricultural production in the Central Valley. The discrepancy between resources and productivity reflects, in large part, patterns of land use--fully 69 percent of all irrigated land in the Central Valley, most of it occupied by the latifundio, was kept in artificial or natural pastures.

Disparities in employment also exist. Very large farms contained only 48.3 percent of the population active in agriculture. The sub-sector of farms of the greatest productive potential provided residency to only 23.4 percent of the rural population.[5] The very smallest farms contained 15.2 percent of the population active in agriculture.

Addressing this problem in the more general Latin American context, CIDA (Comité Interamericano de Desarrollo Agrícola) researchers noted:

> Serious estimates need to be made of the misallocation of labor that is created by existing tenure systems. Unfortunately, sufficiently detailed data were not gathered in the CIDA country studies to permit such calculations. To have an idea of the magnitudes involved, the average land per worker on the family scale farms in each country may be used

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Comité Interamericano de Desarrollo Agrícola, Chile: Tenencia de la Tierra y Desarrollo Socio-Económico del Sector Agrícola, Segunda Edición (Santiago: Talleres Gráficos Hispaño Suiza, Ltda., 1966), p. 44. Hereafter identified as CIDA-Chile.

3. Ibid., p. 47.

4. Ibid., p. 148.

5. Ibid., p. 47; Cristobal Kay, "Comparative Development of the European Manorial System and the Latin American Hacienda System: An Approach to a Theory of Agrarian Change in Chile" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sussex [England], 1971), Table C-2, "Some Characteristics of the Sampling Population," p. 233.

> as an index. If this "desirable" land/labor ratio prevailed among minifundia, only 700,000 of the 4.4 million workers on subfamily scale farms in six of the countries studied (excluding Peru), would be required. If the family-scale land/labor ratios were applied to only half the land in the large-scale exploitations (on the generous assumption that half the land was of no economic potential) resources exist for employing 25 million additional workers in the six countries. These admittedly rough estimates indicate the tremendous pressure on the land in minifundia and the ample possibilities for improvement of land and labor use on the large units.[6]

Following these suggestions, one can make an estimate of labor underutilization on the largest farms in the Central Valley. On family-sized farms in Chile, there were, on the average, 1.1 irrigated hectares per person employed in agriculture. The 1,067 farms of the greatest productive potential in the Central Valley occupied 304,610 standardized hectares, i.e., land expressed in equivalencies of the best irrigated land in the zone. If these farms had employed 1.1 workers per standardized hectare, 1.7 percent of all the agricultural properties could have absorbed slightly less than half the entire population active in agriculture.

CIDA-Chile attempted a different sort of estimate, whose purpose was to calculate the excess agricultural labor force.

Researchers estimated the number of people in each farm-size category who were not actually employed on farms of that size. These numbers they subtracted from the population recorded to have been employed, the difference being the number effectively employed. Thereafter, they considered the level of production actually achieved and, using the labor estimates of the Ministry of Agriculture, they calculated the number of full-time workers necessary to achieve that production. This estimate was the necessary labor force. The difference between the effective and necessary labor force was identified as the excess labor force on each size category of farm.

In this way, CIDA-Chile concluded that fully one-third of the economically active population in agriculture was unemployed--there were 173,100 excess workers in a total agricultural labor force of 664,200. The largest number of excess workers resided on the very largest estates, but substantial numbers resided on farms in all size categories.[7]

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6. Unión Panamericana, Secretaría General de la Organización de los Estados Americanos, Comité Interamericano de Desarrollo Agrícola, Land Tenure Conditions and Socioeconomic Development of the Agricultural Sector in Seven Latin American Countries, UP-G5/058 Rev. (CIDA, May 1966), p. 21.

7. CIDA-Chile, "Chile: Número de Hombres/Años Efectivos en la Agricultura, Según Tamaño de las Exploitaciones, 1955," Cuadro XI-8, p. 152.

This estimate has been criticized as too high. Nevertheless, there is no debate that the Chilean agricultural labor force is underemployed. Nor is there debate on the issue that Chilean agriculture has not realized its potential production and that higher levels of productivity would require higher levels of agricultural employment.

Crosson demonstrates, in a very sophisticated study, that Chilean agriculture could have profitably employed more of all nonland resources, including labor. He assumes that higher levels of labor utilization could be achieved by reducing the effective underemployment of labor already employed. This, however, would not be sufficient to obtain the labor required to achieve agricultural potential. Additional workers would have to be employed, in specific combinations with other agricultural inputs.[8]

Crosson does not provide separate production functions for farms of different sizes, although it would be especially interesting to see the standardized regression coefficients for labor in the production functions for the largest estates. Concerning labor utilization on large estates, other types of data are available.

The single best source of data comes from a panel study of a sample of very large estates, drawn from the population of farms of the greatest productive potential in the Central Valley. Smith has analyzed some of the basic changes in the pattern of labor utilization on these farms, and several of the more descriptive conclusions are important here.[9]

The absolute levels of labor utilization on farms included in the panel were low--40.2 days worked per basic irrigated hectare in 1965-1966 and 48.2 days in 1970-1971. The fact that labor inputs could be increased 20 percent over five years and the fact that most of this increase occurred among workers already resident on the farms suggest the extent to which existing labor was effectively underemployed.

This increased use of labor between 1965 and 1970 occurred in a specific political context--the initiation of agrarian reform under the administration of Eduardo Frei. Differences in labor utilization by tenure category in 1970-1971 were pronounced. Increased utilization of labor was

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8. Pierre R. Crosson, Agricultural Development and Productivity: Lessons from the Chilean Experience (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), Chapter 4. Crosson's critique of the CIDA-Chile estimate of agricultural unemployment appears on pp. 38-40.

9. Stephen Michael Smith, "Changes in Farming Systems, Intensity of Operation, and Factor Use Under an Agrarian Reform Situation: Chile, 1965/66-1970/71" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1974). The farms which fell into this sample were drawn from the universe of 1,067 farms of the greatest productive potential in the Central Valley. The sampling procedure is described in J. David Stanfield, "Methodological Notes on Evaluating the Impact of Agrarian Reform in Chile's Central Valley," Mimeo. (Santiago, 1973).

highest on farms which had been reformed--seven times higher than on farms which had been sub-divided into private parcels and three times higher than on farms which continued to function as large, privately owned enterprises.10 Land reform, both its implementation and its threat, was clearly an impetus to higher levels of labor utilization.

The distribution of labor by occupational category is also important. Several types of workers are employed on very large farms, and they can be categorized along two dimensions--whether they are permanent or temporary, and whether they are resident or nonresident.

Permanent, resident workers are of two types. There are empleados who perform supervisory functions and who are further identified by the nature of their tasks. There are inquilinos who perform specialized or nonspecialized tasks. These workers usually receive a wage, paid in cash and/or in kind, access to a small amount of land for independent production, and the right to live in one of the houses within the farm boundaries.

Temporary, resident workers usually live in the house of empleados or inquilinos. They may be the unmarried children of the head of house, a relative, or an unrelated person. Regardless of kinship, they are usually identified as voluntarios or obligados. They constitute the resident, reserve labor force for the central enterprise.

Temporary, nonresident workers are employed at times of peak demand for agricultural labor. They may come from small holdings adjacent to the estates, from nearby villages or cities, or from rural or urban areas at a considerable distance from the estates. They are usually called afuerinos to indicate that they come from outside the farm boundaries.

Permanent, nonresident workers are very rare. They must live within commuting distance to the farm. Although they are permanently employed, they do not receive access to housing or land. They are a type of permanent afuerino.

Large farms employ these four basic categories of labor, but actual employment is preferentially allocated to the resident labor force. That

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10. "The changes which took place in total and resident labor use were statistically highly significant among the tenure categories. The same was true of these labor variables in 1970/71. Furthermore, when the 1965/66 fundos were divided according to the tenure category into which each went, significant differences in total and resident labor use were also found.
. . .
"Increases in total labor use took place on all tenure types. The increases on the fundos and hijuelas were quite small compared to those on the reserves and asentamientos. The reformed farms had the largest increase in total labor--29 percent larger than the reserves, three times larger than the fundos, and seven times larger than the hijuelas."
Smith, "Changes in Farming Systems," pp. 183-185.

is, the opportunities for temporary, nonresident employment on large farms are very limited.

Smith's analysis reveals that temporary, nonresident workers had more employment opportunities on farms which had not been reformed by the 1970-1971 agricultural year. Temporary, nonresident labor represented 19.8 percent of all labor on private, unexpropriated farms; 18.8 percent on private, subdivided farms; 10.9 percent on reserves left to the former owner after reform; and 8.6 percent on reformed farms.[11]

What is particularly important is the fact that in no tenure category does temporary, nonresident labor perform more than 20 percent of all farm labor. This suggests the utterly marginal character of seasonal employment opportunities within the large estates. In this connection it must be emphasized that Smith's sample of farms is representative of the very largest estates in the Central Valley. The population of farms from which the sample is drawn occupies fully 46 percent of the zone, when all land is expressed in standardized hectares. Given this control over productive resources, these farms are an important potential source of employment for resident and nonresident workers alike. Nevertheless, their actual use of labor resources is low and the employment opportunities they afford to nonresident workers is lower still.

This is a principal context within which the evolution of the Chilean agricultural labor force can be examined. The disparities among control over productive resources, levels of productivity, and the utilization of labor within the latifundio largely explain the relative stagnation, even the decline in some regions, of employment in those occupational categories employed almost exclusively on very large farms. The counterpart is the growth of other occupational categories and the concentration of population disproportionate to resources outside the latifundio.

The Evolution of the Chilean Agricultural Labor Force: A Sectoral Analysis

One of the principal characteristics of the agricultural sector in the Chilean economy has been its inability to absorb in productive activities, the demographic increase of the rural population. Consequently, the proportion of the economically active population engaged in agriculture has declined at the same time that rural-to-urban migration has occurred on a large scale. In 1930, agriculture employed approximately 38 percent of the total economically active population; by 1960, it employed only 26 percent. In 1930, the population of Chile was 50.6 percent rural, by 1960, it was only 34.7 percent rural.[12]

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11. Ibid., p. 137.

12. Johannes Sadie, Población y Mano de Obra de Chile, 1930-1970, E/CN.CELADE/A.5 (United Nations, Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía, 1962), pp. 63, 26. Sadie's monograph is based on his evaluation of the

One way to describe changes in the employment of the economically active population is in terms of labor force absorption. One considers the absolute increase of the economically active population between two points in time, and one calculates the proportion of the total increase which was absorbed by different sectors of the economy. Because the labor market is segregated along sex lines, it is customary to compute separate rates of labor force absorption by sex.

The economically active population of Chile is predominantly male. The relative weight of women in the total labor force has increased slightly from 19.3 percent in 1930 to 24.5 percent in 1960.[13]

Likewise, the agricultural labor force is predominantly male. Women represent less than 10 percent of the population actively engaged in agriculture, according to general population censuses.[14]

Chilean censuses and his subsequent correction of the data. All demographic data are presented in ten-year intervals by extrapolating the corrected data to a uniform date. Because of these modifications, Sadie's figures vary somewhat from those reported in the censuses themselves. The monograph seems to be the most adequate approximation to the evolution of the Chilean population and labor force.

A recent study links the land tenure system to rural migration. "A basic premise is that the nature of productive organization of latifundios has 'conditioned' the cost, use, availability, and development of land to the extent that social and economic opportunities for the majority of the rural-agricultural population have been stifled. Accordingly, it is argued that a large proportion of rural-agricultural labor is likely to be subjected to limited employment opportunities owing to the institutional system of land tenure and, in combination with rapid population growth, conditions of economic stress are likely to evolve followed by high rates of rural emigration." R. Paul Shaw, "Land Tenure and the Rural Exodus in Latin America," Economic Development and Cultural Change 23 (October 1974): 125. See also, R. Paul Shaw, Land Tenure and the Rural Exodus in Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Peru (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1976).

An interesting aspect of Shaw's research is that the dependent variable is provincial rural male labor force emigrants. The thrust of this paper is consistent with Shaw's argument. It diverges only in its insistence that the limitations imposed by the land tenure system are even more pronounced for women than for men.

13. Sadie, Población y Mano de Obra de Chile, p. 40. The relative constancy of female economic activity is reflected in other figures also. In 1940, approximately 24 percent of age-eligible women (i.e., ten years or older) was economically active; in 1960, this figure had risen to approximately 25 percent. (p. 56)

14. Sadie calculates that women represented 6.0 percent of the agricultural labor force in 1930, 7.9 percent in 1940, 6.5 percent in 1950, and 6.7 percent in 1960. (Ibid., p. 63) He notes that there are considerable disparities between the general and agricultural censuses with respect to

Given the predominance of males in the general and agricultural labor force, the pattern of labor force absorption for them is particularly important. Table 1 provides the basic data.

Table 1. Increase in Male Labor Force Absorbed by Sector: 1930-1960

	1930-1940	1940-1950	1950-1960
Agriculture, forestry, hunting, and fishing	42.7%	14.5%	5.9%
Mining	8.2	2.1	-0.7
Manufacturing	26.7	27.2	16.6
Construction	-1.0	14.9	4.0
Electricity, gas, water, sanitary services	-0.6	3.3	2.2
Commerce	2.9	14.7	12.7
Transport, storage, and communications	3.3	6.8	9.4
Services	16.8	16.9	64.0
Activities not well specified	7.7	0.5	-14.0
Total	100.0%	99.0%	100.1%
Absolute increase	200,900	302,400	359,200

SOURCE: Calculations based on Sadie, Cuadro 34, "Distribución de la Población Activa por Sexo y por Rama de Actividad Económica," p. 63.

It is only during the period 1930-1940 that the agricultural sector absorbs a substantial proportion of new entrants into the male labor market. Between 1940 and 1950, agriculture is fifth--industry, service, construction, and commerce all absorbed more men than agriculture. By the period 1950-1960, the service sector is far more important than any other in terms of absorbing new male workers. Overall, the rates of labor force absorption of men into agriculture dropped from 40 percent (1930-1940) to 15 percent (1940-1950) to 6 percent (1950-1960). Although the absolute numbers of men employed in agriculture continued to increase, the rate of absorption continued to decline.

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the number of women enumerated as economically active in agriculture. Nevertheless, he argues that the female labor force is so predominantly urban that one could increase estimates of female employment in agriculture with little effect on the trends observed. See his discussion on pp. 55-57 and 37-42.

Similar data for the labor force absorption of women are available and are presented in Table 2. Throughout this period, it is the service sector which consistently absorbs the highest proportion of entrants into the female labor force. The absorption of women into agriculture was minimal. The highest rates of absorption occurred during the decade 1930-1940, but the rate of female absorption into agriculture was approximately one fourth the rate of male absorption into agriculture. During the next decade, i.e., 1940-1950, there was a net loss of agricultural employment for women, followed by a modest gain.

Table 2. Increase in the Female Labor Force Absorbed by Sector: 1930-1960

	1930-1940	1940-1950	1950-1960
Agriculture, forestry, hunting, and fishing	8.7%	-3.2%	2.3%
Mining	0.6	0.2	0.3
Manufacturing	13.3	38.9	19.7
Construction	-0.4	0.6	0.2
Electricity, gas, water, sanitary services	0.0	0.1	0.1
Commerce	8.9	14.3	11.0
Transportation, storage, and communications	-0.2	1.6	1.4
Services	43.3	81.2	72.7
Activities not well specified	25.8	-33.7	-7.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%
Absolute increase	169,200	126,500	136,900

SOURCE: Calculations based on Sadie, Cuadro 34, "Distribución de la Población Activa por Sexo y por Rama de Actividad Económica," p. 63.

These data demonstrate that the Chilean agricultural sector offered relatively few employment opportunities for men and negligible opportunities for women. Consequently, one may conclude that the agricultural sector performed poorly for men and worse for women. How poorly can be suggested by a close examination of data provided by the agricultural censuses.

The Evolution of the Chilean Agricultural Labor Force: An Occupational Analysis

Agricultural census data allow one to analyze some of the major changes which occurred within the agricultural labor force between 1935 and 1965. During this time, the employment patterns of men and women active in agriculture became increasingly dissimilar. This fact emerges only with the close analysis of occupational distribution by sex over time.

Ordinarily, one begins the analysis of changes in employment by sex by considering general increases or decreases over time. In the particular case of the Chilean agricultural labor force, this leads one to the misleading conclusion that no change especially prejudicial or beneficial to women's employment was occurring between 1935 and 1965.

Ordinarily, one continues the analysis by considering the pattern of growth of different occupational categories. In the Chilean agricultural labor force data, one notices immediately the absolute and relative decline of those occupational categories which are employed as permanent, resident workers on the latifundio. Most students of the Chilean agricultural labor force comment at great length on this trend. Nevertheless, the analysis stops here, and researchers have failed to consider both the regional and the sexual variations in this trend.

When one considers changes in occupational distribution by region and by sex, some rather startling trends emerge. Within the Central Valley, practically all the permanent, resident jobs on the latifundio were lost by women. This trend emerges only after a step-by-step analysis of agricultural census data.

The first step in the analysis is to consider the absolute growth of the economically active population engaged in agriculture between 1935 and 1965. (See Table 3.) The agricultural censuses report that the agricultural labor force nearly tripled between 1935 and 1965. The absolute increase reported was 560,000 people. Most of this growth occurred in the male (81.9 percent) rather than in the female (15.9 percent) labor force.

The agricultural censuses report that women represented between 16 percent and 20 percent of the total agricultural labor force during this period. If approximately 16 percent of the new jobs in agriculture were filled by women, this would correspond well to their relative weight in the labor force.[15]

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15. The agricultural censuses consistently report more women active in agriculture than do the general population censuses. The magnitude of this difference, however, is not constant. In both 1955 and 1965, the agricultural censuses counted nearly three times as many women active in agriculture as the general population censuses from five years before. The 1935 count, however, was only one and a half times the 1930 count.
(cont.)

Table 3. Distribution of the Economically Active Population in Agriculture by Sex: 1930-1965

Year	Total EAP in Agriculture	Male	Female	% Female
1935	318,211	263,979	54,232	17.0
1955	664,240	530,584	133,656	20.0
1965	878,718	735,505	143,213	16.3

SOURCES: 1935--Chile, Dirección de Estadística y Censos, Censo Agropecuario (1935/36), pp. 121, 143, 177, 178; 1955--Chile, Dirección de Estadística y Censos, Tercer Censo Agrícola-Ganadero, 1955, Tomo 6, Resumen General del País, Cuadro N° 9, p. 15; 1965--Chile, Dirección de Estadística y Censos, IV Censo Nacional Agropecuario, Año Agrícola 1964-1965, Resumen del País, Cuadro N° 6, p. 15.

(n. 15 cont.)

The disparities between the general and agricultural censuses suggest that the more specialized census developed more adequate methods of enumerating women engaged in agriculture than the general population census. The trend toward increasing rather than decreasing disparities over time suggests that the agricultural census may have also developed better methods of enumerating women, especially those engaged in unremunerated family work. With discrepancies of these magnitudes, it is difficult to place much confidence in either data source. On the other hand, it is unlikely that women engaged in agriculture were overenumerated in either census. Consequently, the agricultural census can be considered a conservative approximation to the number of women engaged in agriculture at different points in time.

There are additional disparities in the enumeration of the male agricultural labor force counted by the agricultural and general population censuses. The disparity between the 1930 and 1935 censuses is most pronounced, when the 1935 agricultural census reports approximately 200,000 fewer male agriculturalists than the 1930 general census. The most reasonable assumption is that the 1935 agricultural census figure is low. This, in turn, affects the estimate of total increase in agricultural employment --the artificially low figure for male agriculturalists in 1935 reflects itself in a high absolute increase of agricultural employment between 1935 and 1965.

Alternative calculations can be made, based on different assumptions. If one accepts the agricultural census figures as they stand, approximately 15 percent of the 560,000 person increase in agricultural employment occurred among women. This figure is reasonably consistent with the sex composition of the agricultural labor force, as reported by the agricultural censuses.

Alternative estimates can be made by adjusting the male agricultural labor force for 1935 upwards to conform better to the 1930 Census. One can assign an additional 100,000 and 200,000 men to the 1955 agricultural labor

The agricultural census data demonstrate that women maintained their low levels of economic participation in agriculture between 1935 and 1965. It appears that women were being incorporated into agricultural production at a rate approximately equal to their relative weight in the agricultural labor force. This suggests that no change especially prejudicial or beneficial to women's employment in agriculture was occurring between 1935 and 1965.

These figures do not reveal any of the shifts within the agricultural labor force. Especially important are the changes in the distribution of the agricultural labor force by occupational categories.

Between 1935 and 1965, the relative weights of different occupational categories changed dramatically. Within the agricultural labor force as a whole, one notices different patterns of change for different occupational categories. In general, the growth of the Chilean agricultural labor force between 1935 and 1965 took place exclusively within occupations which were not traditionally employed as permanent, resident workers on the latifundio. This pattern is intelligible in view of the earlier discussion of the extensive use of both land and labor resources within the latifundio. (See Table 4.)

The permanent, resident work force employed almost exclusively on large farms is represented by two occupational categories--Supervisory and Administrative Personnel, and Permanent, Resident Workers. The relative weight of both occupational categories decreased markedly between 1935 and 1965. In the case of the Permanent, Resident Workers, this relative decrease also represented an absolute decrease in their numbers.

The occupational category Other Workers experienced an absolute but not relative increase between 1935 and 1965. This category consists primarily of people who would, in principle, be available for temporary employment within the latifundio. They are landless workers, available for temporary, resident (voluntario) or temporary, nonresident (afuerino) employment on farms of all sizes.

(n. 15 cont.)
force. These additions reduce the overall change in agricultural employment between 1935 and 1965 by the same magnitude, i.e., to total increases of 460,000 and 360,000 instead of 560,000. If one then accepts the levels of female employment as reported in the agricultural censuses, one calculates higher gains in female employment. One estimates that women filled 20 percent and 25 percent of the new jobs in agriculture between 1935 and 1965.

These calculations suggest the range within which increases in the female agricultural labor force probably occurred, i.e., between 16 percent and 25 percent of new jobs were filled by women. This suggests that women were becoming incorporated into agriculture at a rate which equaled or exceeded their relative weight in the agricultural labor force. That is, between 1935 and 1965, women maintained their low levels of participation in the agricultural sector.

Table 4. Distribution of the Total Agricultural Labor Force by Occupational Category, 1935-1965

Occupational Category*	1935	1955	1965
Supervisory and administrative personnel, including overseers	9.0%	6.9%	3.4%
Permanent, resident workers (inquilinos and inquilino-medieros)	31.8	12.4	8.8
Other workers	27.9	31.1	26.0
Proprietors and unremunerated family members	31.3	49.6	61.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Absolute number	318,211	644,240	878,718

*The agricultural censuses have changed the occupational categories for which they report personnel. These modifications are usually not accompanied by extensive explanations of how and why occupational categories were changed. Consequently, one has to rely on a generalized knowledge of Chilean agriculture, collapsing and translating the actual occupational titles reported into approximately equivalent categories.[16]

SOURCES: 1935 Agricultural Census, pp. 121, 143, 177, 178; 1955 Agricultural Census, Cuadros Nº 10-13, pp. 16-21; 1965 Agricultural Census, Cuadros Nº 6.1-6.3, pp. 16-23.

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16. The Chilean agricultural censuses report personnel by occupational title. These differ, however, in the number of occupational titles for which data are reported separately. Because the more detailed listings are not identical over time, occupational titles were combined into approximately equivalent categories for presentation in this paper. The four occupational categories were created from the following occupational titles: 1. Supervisory and Administrative Personnel, including overseers--1935--Empleados; 1955--Administradores, Técnicos y Oficinistas, Obreros Especializados, Personal de Vigilância; 1965--Administradores y Empleados, Personal de Vigilância. 2. Permanent, Resident Workers--1935--Inquilinos; 1955--Inquilinos e Inquilino-Medieros; 1965--Inquilinos e Inquilino-Medieros. 3. Other Workers--1935--Peones, Gañones o Afuerinos que no son Miembros de la familia de inquilinos y empleados, 1955--Obreros, Peones y Afuerinos, Medieros; 1965--Otros Trabajadores. 4. Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Workers--1935--Peones o Gañones Miembros de la familia de inquilinos y empleados; 1955--Patrones y familiares; 1965--Productores y familiares no remunerados. 1935 Agricultural Census, p. 686; 1955 Agricultural Census, p. xxiv; 1965 Agricultural Census, pp. xix-xxiii.

The occupational category Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Members grew in both relative and absolute terms between 1935 and 1965. Most of this growth occurred within the small farm sector, where the amount of land available would not be sufficient to employ and maintain a family. Consequently, many of these people would also be available for temporary employment on large farms.

In this context, the data presented earlier on employment patterns within the largest farms of the Central Valley become important. On Smith's panel of farms, employment was allocated preferentially to the resident work force. There are both economic and historical reasons for believing that the employment of temporary labor should have been as high or higher in 1970-1971 than during earlier periods of time.[17] That is, there are reasons to believe that the large farm sector has consistently preferred to employ resident as opposed to nonresident workers. At the same time that the employment of permanent, resident workers was decreasing, the growth of the agricultural labor force was continuing in occupational categories whose possibilities for full-time, productive employment in agriculture were limited by the land tenure system.

The evolution of the female agricultural labor force can be described in somewhat similar terms. What seems particularly important, however, is that the relative growth of different occupational categories is different. Between 1935 and 1965, the occupational composition of the total and female agricultural labor forces became increasingly dissimilar. In 1935, the female agricultural labor force was distributed among occupational categories in approximately the same proportions as the total labor force. By 1965, however, the distributions were very different. (See Table 5.)

Within the total agricultural labor force, there was an absolute and relative decline in the two occupational categories employed almost exclusively as permanent, resident workers on large farms. The same decline

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17. Smith's analysis of variance indicates that the use of temporary labor decreased on reformed farms and increased on those which had not yet been reformed. ("Changes in Farming Systems," Table V-8, p. 184.) His explanation of the increased use of temporary labor on the nonexpropriated farms emphasized the threat of agrarian reform on labor recruitment policy.

"The greater the number of resident workers on a farm, the greater the potential for labor troubles. This is even more of a possibility during a period of increasing unionization of labor. When the additional factor of an agrarian reform is present with its possibility for labor input into the expropriation decision, the decision of owners to minimize their use of resident labor is apparent." (p. 139)

This argument is explicitly historical because it refers to the impact of the agrarian reform law rather than to traditional economic factors which might make temporary labor preferable to permanent, resident labor. That is, political considerations increase whatever economic advantages temporary labor might enjoy. Consequently, one may assume that the employment levels of temporary labor are higher on the nonreformed farms than they would have been in the absence of agrarian reform.

Table 5. Distribution of the Female Agricultural Labor Force by Occupational Category, 1935-1965

Occupational Category*	1935	1955	1965
Supervisory and administrative personnel, including overseers	--	1.0%	0.8%
Permanent, resident workers	38.0%	2.9	1.6
Other workers	23.9	8.4	12.7
Proprietors and unremunerated family members	38.1	87.5	85.0
Total	100.0%	100.1%	100.1%
Absolute number	54,232	133,656	143,213

*The occupational categories for the female agricultural labor force were created in the same way as for the total agricultural labor force. Consult the note accompanying the preceding table for a full explanation of the procedure.

SOURCES: 1935 Agricultural Census, pp. 121, 143, 177, 178; 1955 Agricultural Census, Cuadros Nº 10-13, pp. 16-21; 1965 Agricultural Census, Cuadros Nº 6.1-6.3, pp. 16-23.

occurred within the female agricultural labor force, but it was considerably more abrupt.

Within the total agricultural labor force, there was an absolute increase in the number of landless workers. Among women, the increase was negligible.

Within the total agricultural labor force, there was an absolute and relative increase in the number of proprietors and unremunerated family members. Among women, this increase was so large that practically the entire growth of the female agricultural labor force occurred among unremunerated family members.

The Number of the Decrease in Female, Permanent, Resident Workers

Each of these trends can be examined separately, beginning with the decrease in the occupational category of Permanent, Resident Workers. This decrease is particularly important because it is an occupational category within which workers have minimal assurance of employment and, consequently, income throughout the year. Although wages for this occupation are low, by both national and absolute standards, they permit workers to maintain a family at least at the subsistence level. Furthermore, the decline in this

occupational category has attracted much attention among students of Chilean agriculture, who have not examined the decline within regions and between the sexes.

Table 6 presents the data on the decrease in the number of permanent, resident workers by sex for the entire country.

Table 6. Chile: Loss of Inquilino and Inquilino-Mediero Jobs by Sex, 1935-1965

	1935	1955	1965
Economically active population in agriculture			
Total	318,211	664,240	878,718
Male	263,979	530,584	735,505
Female	54,232	133,656	143,213
Inquilinos and inquilino-medieros			
Total	107,906	82,367	73,753
Male	87,316	78,531	71,510
Female	20,590	3,836	2,243
Change			
Total		-25,539	-8,614
Male		-8,785	-7,021
Female		-16,754	-1,593

SOURCES: 1935 Agricultural Census, pp. 121, 143, 177, 178; 1955 Agricultural Census, Cuadros Nº 10-13, pp. 16-21, 1965 Agricultural Census, Cuadros Nº 6.1-6.3, pp. 16-23.

The agricultural censuses report the largest number of inquilinos and inquilino-medieros in the 1935 agricultural labor force. The majority (80.9 percent) were male; the minority (19.1 percent) were female. By 1965, the number of inquilinos and inquilino-medieros had dropped by 34,153. The vast majority (97 percent) of the jobs remaining in 1965 were held by men.

Women had clearly been displaced as inquilinos and inquilino-medieros between 1935 and 1965. Although they represented less than 20 percent of this occupational category in 1935, they lost fully 53.7 percent of all the jobs lost.[18]

18. These calculations hinge on the relative reliability of the count of female inquilinos in the 1935 agricultural census. There are problems with this census, especially because it seems to underenumerate the male

Table 7 presents the data on the decrease in the number of permanent, resident workers by sex for the Central Valley. Again, the largest number of inquilinos and inquilino-medieros is recorded by the 1935 agricultural census. The majority (85.5 percent) were male, a slightly higher percentage than for the country as a whole. By 1965, the number of inquilinos and inquilino-medieros had dropped by 8,929, considerably below the drop recorded nationally. The vast majority (98.5 percent) of the jobs remaining in 1965 were held by men.

Table 7. Central Valley: Loss of Inquilino and Inquilino-Mediero Jobs by Sex, 1935-1965

	1935	1955	1965
Economically active population in agriculture			
Total	181,877	269,788	424,623
Male	163,583	242,143	385,578
Female	18,294	27,645	39,045
Inquilinos and inquilino-medieros			
Total	55,884	47,368	46,955
Male	47,753	46,052	46,257
Female	8,131	1,316	704
Change			
Total		-8,576	-413
Male		-1,701	+199
Female		-6,815	-612

SOURCES: 1935 Agricultural Census, pp. 121, 143, 177, 178; 1955 Agricultural Census, Cuadros N° 10-13, pp. 16-21; 1965 Agricultural Census, Cuadros N° 6.1-6.3, pp. 16-23.

Within the Central Valley, women had been displaced from jobs as inquilinos and inquilino-medieros on a tremendous scale. They lost fully 83.2 percent of all the jobs lost within this occupational category.

By 1965, there were very few women left in the occupational category inquilinos and inquilino-medieros. In the country as a whole, their numbers had dropped to a little more than 2,000; in the Central Valley, there were a mere 700.

The dimensions of the problem in the Central Valley become clearer if one considers both occupational categories which are employed almost exclusively on large farms as permanent, resident workers--administrative and supervisory personnel, and permanent, resident workers. The reason for considering the administrative and supervisory category is that it also

The loss of jobs in the occupational category inquilinos and inquilino-medieros was not distributed evenly throughout the country. In the Central Valley, which is not only the agricultural heartland of the country but also the region in which the traditional labor system developed, the absolute number of inquilinos and inquilino-medieros remained relatively constant between 1935 and 1965. Despite the relative constancy of employment in this occupational category, women lost relatively more jobs within the Central Valley than in the country as a whole.

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agricultural labor force. The amount of underenumeration forces one to consider the possibility that the count of female inquilinos is an overenumeration and that the subsequent drop in female inquilinos is an artifact of the artificially high base line.

It is highly improbable that women who were not inquilinos were recorded as such. The word inquilino has been used in Chile since the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is used in only one context--the occupational title for one of the traditional categories of permanent, resident workers on the latifundio. It is a word which people use correctly--it is almost unthinkable that an individual would label him/herself or be labeled by others as inquilino if the actual job title were other. This would be a mistake of considerable magnitude, that even uninitiated foreigners are unlikely to make.

The word inquilino is so widely understood that other occupational categories in the 1935 census are defined in relation to it. "Unremunerated family members" are defined as economically active members of the family of inquilinos and empleados." "Other workers" are identified by job title (e.g., peones, gañones, afuerinos) and by the fact that they are "not members of the family of inquilinos and empleados."

If a woman were economically active, the census provides three clear alternatives. If she were an inquilino in her own right, she would be so classified. If not, she would belong in either the unremunerated family member or other worker category, depending on her relationship to the inquilino in whose house she lived.

Under these circumstances, one would not expect the overenumeration of female inquilinos in the 1935 agricultural census. Rather, one would expect the more common problem of underenumeration--incidentally of female inquilinos but especially of "other workers" and "unremunerated family members."

What these methodological, almost linguistic, considerations imply is that the magnitude of the loss of inquilino jobs by women, as computed from agricultural census data, is probably not an overestimation. The displacement of women from inquilino jobs occurred on a major scale, a fact which has gone unnoticed in professional commentary.

For a discussion of the historical origins of inquilinaje, especially linguistic considerations, see Mario Góngora, Origen de los Inquilinos de Chile Central (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1960). For a discussion of the loss of inquilino jobs, see Alexander Schejtman M., El Inquilino de Chile Central (Santiago: ICIRA, 1971); Kay, "Comparative Development," especially pp. 113-116.

represents stable employment throughout the year. Traditionally, these jobs are more prestigious and better paid than those of inquilinos. Furthermore, it is possible that within this occupational category there has been a growth of administrative, almost clerical, tasks which might be assigned to women. If this were true, women's loss of jobs in direct production might be at least partially offset by gains of jobs in indirect production.

Table 8 provides the relevant data for women in the Central Valley. Unfortunately, the table is incomplete because the 1935 agricultural census does not provide any figures for female empleados.[19]

Table 8. Female Permanent, Resident Workers in Central Valley, 1935-1965

	1935	1955	1965
Female inquilinos and inquilino-medieros	8,131	1,316	704
Change		-6,815	-612
Female administrative and supervisory personnel	N.A.	202	412
Change		N.A.	+210
Female permanent, resident work force	8,131	1,518	1,116
Change		-6,613	-402
Total female labor force	18,294	27,645	39,045
Change		+9,351	+11,400

SOURCES: 1935 Agricultural Census, pp. 121, 143, 177, 178; 1955 Agricultural Census, Cuadros N° 10-13, pp. 16-21; 1965 Agricultural Census, Cuadros N° 6.1-6.3, pp. 16-23.

19. The tabulations of the 1935 agricultural census excluded all women from the occupational category empleados. The census questionnaire did not explicitly indicate that the category empleados was reserved for agricultural production workers with this occupational title. In fact, the questionnaire format probably encouraged the erroneous reporting of women employed in rural households as maids (empleadas domésticas or more simply empleadas) in the production category empleados.

The agricultural census takers later decided to exclude all female empleados, assuming all of them to be maids. This practice, they asserted, would not bias the enumeration of the female agricultural labor force since there were practically no women employed in production as empleados. 1935 Agricultural Census, "Personal Ocupado," p. 34. The employment section of the census questionnaire appears on p. 694.

Between 1955 and 1965, however, there is a small increase in the employment of women as administrative and supervisory personnel. Nevertheless, this increase does not offset the decrease experienced by women in production as inquilinos and inquilino-medieros. Furthermore, the increase is tiny (1.8 percent) in comparison with the total increase in the female labor force of the Central Valley.

The losses experienced by Chilean women in the permanent, resident occupations require explanation. This explanation must be placed in the context of the general decline of employment in these occupational categories, but it must also account for the disproportionate losses experienced by women as opposed to men. There are two major kinds of explanations which might be valid.

One possible explanation is predicated on the fact that there is considerable internal differentiation within the occupational category inquilino and inquilino-mediero. During many historical periods, the occupational title inquilino was followed by a qualifier to indicate a person's rank, specialization, and/or benefits. Most of these linguistic distinctions have dropped from current usage, but the variation within the occupational category persists.[20]

In this context, it would not be surprising if a division of labor along sex lines coexisted with the internal differentiation. In fact, this is what one could expect. In this connection, it is possible that the specific types of jobs assigned to women were abolished, for example, by mechanization.

It is impossible to evaluate this explanation. So little attention has been given to the agricultural activities of female inquilinos that one would hardly suspect from secondary literature that they ever existed. The only predominantly female activity which suggests itself is milking cows, and it is possible that the mechanization of milking displaced many female inquilinos. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that all, or even most, of the jobs assigned to female inquilinos were abolished by milking machines. Task-specific mechanization might account for some of the disproportionate loss of jobs assigned to female inquilinos, but the evidence to evaluate the argument is not available.

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20. There are substantial differences among inquilinos in the nature of the work they perform (specialized and nonspecialized) and the amount and source of income. Specifically, differences exist among and within farms with regard to the amount of crop land to which inquilinos have access, the number of animals they may pasture, and the type of payment in kind they receive (e.g., firewood, bread, beans, milk, etc.). Several people affiliated with the Chile Project at the University of Wisconsin have been analyzing the determinants of these differences in terms of both the farm-level variables and the individual-level variables. This research is, as yet, in unpublishable form.

The alternative explanation emphasizes discrimination. The disproportionate loss of female inquilino and inquilino-mediero jobs could be a function of discrimination in both hiring and firing. The absolute loss of inquilino jobs, especially between 1935 and 1955, suggests that some people may have been fired. It is probable that when a landowner decided to replace permanent, resident workers with machinery and/or with other types of workers, s/he chose to fire women as opposed to men. Were the figures available, discrimination in firing would probably account for relatively few of the jobs lost by either women or men.

There were more possibilities to reduce the number of permanent, resident workers by selective hiring. It is likely that female inquilinos who died or retired were not replaced at all. If they were replaced, it would almost certainly be by a son rather than by a daughter. It is likely that some male inquilinos who died or retired were not replaced. If they were replaced, it is likely that a son would "inherit" the job. It is most unusual that a woman be allowed to take over her deceased or incapacitated husband's job. There are a few such cases, but they are implicitly short-term solutions---until the older woman dies or until a male child is old enough to assume the job.[21]

It was possible to discriminate against women, especially in hiring, because the landowner could select new permanent, resident workers from such a large pool of available labor. The choice of a man over a woman could easily be justified on the grounds that he was responsible for the support of himself and a family. A woman, on the other hand, could be supported by her family. The ideology to justify discrimination was and is clearly present in Chile.

It is not possible to know whether the disproportionate displacement of women from permanent, resident occupations resulted from a combination of technological displacement and discrimination or whether it was a consequence of discrimination alone. What is clear is that, given the magnitude of the displacement, discrimination against women had to have been occurring.

The Relative Constancy of Women in the Occupational Category "Other Workers"

Within the total agricultural labor force, the relative weight of the occupational category "Other Workers" varied between one-fourth and one-third of the population engaged in agriculture between 1935 and 1965.

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21. A research team directed by Marion Brown and J. David Stanfield of the University of Wisconsin conducted extensive field research on a sample of farms of the greatest productive potential in the Central Valley of Chile. The research team interviewed a 25 percent random sample of the work force on 215 functioning farm units, with respect to the 1970/71 agricultural year. Of the 1,216 workers who fell into the sample, only 4 were women.

(Refer back to Table 4.) The largest single occupation within this category is that of afuerino, itinerant agricultural wage laborer. Their numbers increased from approximately 95,000 in 1935 to 217,000 in 1965. This represented approximately one-fifth of the increase in total agricultural employment.

At the national level, relatively few women were absorbed into this growing occupational category. (Refer back to Table 5.) In 1935, the relative weight of female employment as "Other Workers" was approximately equal to the relative weight of this occupational category for the agricultural labor force as a whole. Between 1935 and 1955, there was a precipitous drop, followed by a slight rise between 1955 and 1965. Nevertheless, by 1965 the relative weight of women employed as "Other Workers" was about half their proportion of the 1935 female agricultural labor force.

The relative decrease in female employment as "Other Workers" was accompanied by a slight absolute increase. Over a 30-year period, there was a net increase of 5,000 women employed as afuerinos. That is, of the total increase in itinerant, agricultural wage labor, only 4 percent occurred among women.

The pattern within the Central Valley diverged in some respects from the national norm (see Table 9). In 1935, approximately the same proportion of women were categorized as "Other Workers" in the Central Valley as for the country as a whole. Between 1935 and 1955, there was a drop in relative employment, followed by an increase between 1955 and 1965. The trend within the Central Valley parallels the national trend, but the weight of this occupational category in the female labor force of the Central Valley remained considerably above the national levels. In both 1955 and 1965, "Other Workers" represent twice as large a proportion of the female agricultural labor force in the Central Valley as in the country as a whole. This suggests that employment as "Other Workers" was relatively more important to women in the Central Valley than to women in other agricultural regions of Chile.

Nevertheless, within the Central Valley, employment in this occupational category was predominantly male. Whereas women represented 15 percent of "Other Workers" in 1935, they represented only 5 percent in 1965. Since women constituted 10 percent of the agricultural labor force of the Central Valley in 1965, they were underrepresented among "Other Workers."

The single largest occupation within this category is that of afuerino. Consequently, in order to explain the absolute and relative low levels of female employment as "Other Workers," one would have to account for women's economic inactivity as agricultural wage laborers.[22]

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22. The best known study of rural migrants is Hugo Zemelman, El Migrante Rural (Santiago: ICIRA, 1971). This includes a few case studies of women, but there is no analysis of the employment possibilities open to women in the countryside. Shaw's studies, cited in footnote 12, likewise do not address this issue.

Table 9. Distribution of the Labor Force in the Central Valley by Occupational Category and Sex, 1935-1965

Occupational Category	1935 Male	1935 Female	1955 Male	1955 Female	1965 Male	1965 Female
Supervisory and administrative personnel, including overseers	10.7%	N.A.	6.7%	2.1%	3.9%	1.1%
Permanent, resident workers (inquilinos and inquilino-medieros)	29.2	30.8%	19.0	4.8	12.0	1.8
Other workers	28.4	27.1	48.9	18.1	49.3	25.4
Proprietors and unremunerated family members	31.7	42.2	25.3	75.0	34.8	71.8
Total	100.0%	100.1%	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%
Absolute number	163,583	26,425	242,143	27,663	385,578	39,045

SOURCES: 1935 Agricultural Census, pp. 121, 143, 177, 178; 1955 Agricultural Census, Cuadros N° 10-13, pp. 16-21; 1965 Agricultural Census, Cuadros N° 6.1-6.3, pp. 16-23.

There are several types of explanations which would seem reasonable. One type of explanation would emphasize discrimination. It is possible that women applied for jobs as afuerinos and were not hired. The job market for temporary agricultural labor in Chile is very tight. Especially in this context, one would expect employers to hire men for the few jobs which existed.

Other explanations would emphasize self-selection. One element of this argument might be cultural. There is definitely a strong element in Chilean folk culture which equates the afuerino with the roto (or broken one). Ever since the Wars for Independence and the "pacification" of the frontier, the rural migrant has been associated with lawlessness, irresponsibility, thievery, and an undisciplined, even dissipated, life style. Even into the 1960s, it is clear that at least one stream of permanently migrant labor could be well described in such folk terms--los torrantes. Falabella describes la huella as exclusively, even aggressively, male and decidedly lumpen.[23] Certainly, no "respectable" woman could join this stream.

23. Gonzalo Falabella, "Desarrollo del Capitalismo y Formación de Clase: El Torrante en la Huella," Revista Mexicana de Sociología 32 (enero-febrero, 1970): 87-118. For a more historical discussion of rural migrants, see Mario Góngora, "Vagabundaje y Sociedad Fronteriza en Chile:

Given this dominant, cultural definition of what migratory agricultural labor implies, it is possible that rural women would not consider any form of migratory labor as a viable alternative. On the one hand, the objective possibilities for employment are restricted. On the other hand, many rural women have family responsibilities. Short-term, seasonal employment, close enough to home to return there in the evenings, would seem a viable way of combining employment and homemaking responsibilities for many rural women. But jobs with such characteristics are inherently marginal, more marginal indeed than those which might be alternatives for men. Such employment might be sufficient to supplement family income, but it could hardly permit women to support a family. Women whose circumstances force them to support a family would confront an overcrowded and male-dominated labor market. They would be compelled, as so many men are, to consider migration for general economic reasons, but they would experience the additional "push" attributable to their sex. Given the absence of employment alternatives adequate to maintain a family, it is not surprising that women are underrepresented in the rural population. Whereas women constituted 51 percent of the total population, they represented only 46.9 percent of the rural population (1960).

The Concentration of Women in Unremunerated Family Labor

Within the total agricultural labor force, the growth of the occupational category "Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Members" was substantial between 1935 and 1965. Within the female agricultural labor force, however, practically all the increase in employment occurred within this occupational category.

The agricultural censuses reveal that approximately one-third of the total agricultural labor force was "Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Members" in 1935. By 1955, this occupational category represented one-half of the population employed in agriculture, by 1965, 60 percent. That is, the relative weight of this occupational category nearly doubled over thirty years. (Refer back to Table 4.)

In absolute terms, the number of "Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Members" increased five fold, to more than 500,000 people by 1965. That is tantamount to saying that the small farm sector absorbed a disproportionate amount of the increase in the total agricultural labor force. In 1955, 33.7 percent of all "Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Members" were enumerated on plots of less than 10 hectares, 57 percent on farms of less than 50 hectares.[24]

Siglos XVII a XIX," Cuadernos del Centro de Estúdios Socioeconómicos 2 (1966): 1-41.

24. The text deliberately reports calculations based on the 1955 rather than the 1965 agricultural census. It appears that different criteria were used in 1955 and 1965 to identify "agricultural properties" and to place them in size categories. This problem was identified during the course of

Because of the resources they command, many of these farms provide marginal existences for the families that work them. Many individuals are forced to seek employment outside of agriculture or on larger farms. Consequently, CIDA-Chile estimated that approximately half the population recorded on the smallest farms was actually employed on those farms. Even after considering these transfers, researchers estimated that the same levels of production could have been achieved by only 41.8 percent of the effective work force.[25]

In a very general sense, the occupational category of "Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Members" is the rural counterpart to the urban service sector. Individuals may continue to be absorbed into production on small plots of land, but demographic increases do not necessarily reflect themselves in proportional increases in productivity. Small holdings function to retain a large population in the countryside, providing subsistence which might be problematic in cities and serving as a reserve labor force for the large farm sector.

In this context, the concentration of the female agricultural labor force in this occupational category becomes meaningful. (Refer back to Table 5.) In 1935, women were only slightly overrepresented among "Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Workers." By 1965, however, fully 85 percent of the total female agricultural labor force fell into this category. Whereas the weight of this occupational category doubled for the agricultural labor force as a whole, it nearly tripled for the female labor force.

Another way to consider these data is in terms of the labor force absorption. Between 1935 and 1965, the female agricultural labor force increased by 88,981 women. During the same time period, the absolute increase of female "Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Members" was 121,731 women. This represented 137 percent of the total increase in the female agricultural labor force.

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the author's research on the distribution of regalía (land ceded to permanent, resident workers on the latifundio) by farm size.

The 1965 agricultural census apparently used two different criteria for assigning regalía to farm-size categories. In most cases, regalía assigned within a farm was tallied as an independent productive unit. In other cases, regalía was recorded in the size category of the farm within which it was located. These contradictory practices make it impossible to tease out the "internal minifundio" from the classical or "external minifundio." Consequently, the 1965 agricultural census data on farm size cannot be used for most analytic purposes.

Other problems of comparability between the 1955 and 1965 agricultural censuses are discussed in Norma Chinchilla and Marvin Sternberg, "The Agrarian Reform and Campesino Consciousness," Latin American Perspectives 1 (Summer, 1974): especially 107-108.

25. CIDA-Chile, pp. 151-154.

Within the Central Valley, there was a similar concentration of women in the occupational category "Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Workers." (Refer back to Table 9.) In 1935, more than 40 percent of the female population active in agriculture fell into this occupational category; in 1965, the relative weight had increased to 70 percent. The latter figure is below the national average. Similarly, the relative weight of this occupational category for men in the Central Valley is below the national average. This suggests, again, regional differences within the agricultural labor force. Whereas agricultural wage labor was relatively more important for both men and women in the Central Valley, employment on small holdings was relatively more important in the Southern Agricultural Region of Chile.

Nevertheless, within the Central Valley, the growth of female employment in agriculture was concentrated among "Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Workers." Between 1935 and 1965, the female agricultural labor force increased by 12,620 women. The increase within the occupational category "Proprietors and Unremunerated Family Workers" was 16,883 women, or 138 percent of the total increase. The rates of labor force absorption into this occupational category were almost identical within the Central Valley and within the country as a whole.

These figures merely summarize the trends evident in earlier discussions. Women were displaced from other occupational categories, not absorbed into others, leaving unremunerated family labor as the principal form of agricultural employment.

Although the agricultural census does not distinguish between "Proprietors" and "Unremunerated Family Members," it is possible to assert that most women would fall into the unremunerated family member category. This assertion derives from the Civil Code which regulates marriage and property.[26] Under Chilean law, both male and female children may inherit property, but the legal status of married and unmarried women is different. Upon marriage, a woman's property passes to the control of her husband, except if special contracts are drawn up beforehand. Families are likely to protect a married woman's property only if the property is substantial and if control within the maternal line is an important business consideration. Consequently, one would expect to find such pre-marital contracts only among the wealthiest families in Chile. The relative absence of economic incentives and the relative inaccessibility of legal services in the countryside would militate against such pre-marital contracts among

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26. Chile, Código Civil, Edición Oficial (as of 31 August 1964) (Santiago: Editorial Jurídica de Chile, 1964). The legal regulation of marriage is specified especially in Título IV, "Del Matrimonio," and in Título XXII, "De las Convenciones Matrimoniales y de la Sociedad Conyugal." Article 132 indicates that: "the potestad marital is the set of rights that the laws grant to the husband over the person and goods of the woman." Article 135 establishes the common property of goods and indicates that the husband administers those of the wife, according to the regulations established in Title XXII of the same code.

smallholders. Consequently, the usual provisions of the Civil Code would be operative. The husband would be the legal proprietor and the wife the unremunerated family worker.

This legal distinction of statuses may or may not reflect the actual allocation of work within small holdings. Unfortunately, research on this topic is extremely inadequate. Much more research has been conducted on the large-farm sector of Chilean agriculture than on the medium- and small-farm sectors. Nevertheless, it is probable that the level of "self-exploitation" necessary to maintain small holdings is great.

It is clear that the smallholder sector provides seasonal labor for medium- and large-size farms. It is also clear from survey research that the absolute levels of employment available to nonresidents are low within the largest farms. A smallholder seeking employment as an agricultural day laborer would be compelled to accept work when it was available, even if the timing conflicted with the demands for production on the small holding. This would itself be problematic since within a single geographic region, peak work periods are likely to be the same for all farms, regardless of size. If the men from the smallholder sector accept employment at peak times on larger farms, the women must pick up the slack within the small holding. If the women also secure seasonal employment, the family must shoulder a double burden to maintain production on the plot which it owns or rents. In this sense, the level of "self-exploitation" to maintain small holdings is likely to be great in the Chilean context.

At the most general level, one can conclude that Chilean agriculture has provided minimal employment opportunities for both men and women. The growth of the agricultural labor force has occurred primarily in the most marginal occupational categories--itinerant agricultural wage labor and proprietors and unremunerated family workers. For women, this pattern has been more pronounced. Women were disproportionately displaced from those few occupational categories which would permit them to maintain themselves and support a family. They have been restricted to the most marginal agricultural occupations, in which women might contribute to the support of a family but be completely unable to maintain a family independently. Even the growth of these marginal agricultural occupations has been limited. One seeks an explanation for these trends in the structure of Chilean families.

Some Economic Aspects of Family Organization

The Chilean countryside supports a very large population which is economically inactive on a permanent or temporary basis. The size of this economically inactive population is a function of certain demographic characteristics operating within the institutional context of the Chilean land tenure system, which will not absorb more than a certain number of people in gainful employment. Nevertheless, the economically inactive population still exists, and those who are not self-supporting must be supported by others. In the absence of the welfare state, the only alternative is the family. That is, the family bears the costs of maintaining people who are,

in principle, perfectly capable of supporting themselves but are prohibited from doing so because of the land tenure system and the constraints it imposes on production. In this sense, families of smallholders and landless peasants bear a double burden--that of maintaining with their labor the social class composed of large property owners and that of maintaining the economically inactive members of their own social classes.

There is nothing peculiar to the Chilean context that economically active people support the economically inactive within families. Indeed, this aspect of the economic function of families is often discussed, especially in terms of the "insurance" which families provide to dependent members. Ordinarily, the insurance function of families is analyzed in positive terms, which emphasize the inability of the young, the old, and the incapacitated to maintain themselves by their efforts alone.

It would seem useful, however, to go beyond the positive aspects of the insurance function and consider the ways in which this function can be attenuated. Families can absorb into the domestic economy those who cannot be absorbed into the public economy, thereby taking pressure off the state to pursue policies of full employment and/or social security.

The economic dependency ratios within families can be increased, often with considerable sacrifices on the part of the families. Even if there is no increase in productivity such that one person produces considerably more than s/he needs for self-support, families can maintain dependent individuals by lowering their standard of living. They may be compelled by circumstances to do precisely this. This situation, however, generates contradictions within the family itself.

The precise nature of these contradictions would vary among families. Nevertheless, one can imagine that two of the principal dimensions along which variation would occur would be rural-urban residence and social class. To suggest some of the possible contradictions, one can consider the case of the families of permanent workers living within the large estates of Chile.

The preceding sections of this paper have emphasized the alienation of women from agricultural production in Chile. The relative weight of women in the agricultural labor force has been low throughout the period for which data are available. Furthermore, the changes apparent in the occupational distribution of the female agricultural labor force represent a definite deterioration in the ability of women to obtain those sorts of agricultural jobs which would allow them to support themselves and a family. The counterpart of the low levels of economic activity and the negative changes in occupational distribution is the increase in the number of rural housewives.

It would seem that women were defined out of the primary agricultural job market which, in the Chilean case, is that for permanent, resident workers on large estates. The most striking of the occupational changes was the disproportionate displacement of women from these jobs. One would expect, however, that the displacement of women would have been accompanied by the displacement of two other groups--the young and the old. The

simultaneous displacement of all three would substantially reduce the number of people competing in a tight labor market. Furthermore, all three groups could be displaced in such a way that families would be forced to maintain them. One cannot displace prime-age males with the same immunity.

Unfortunately, the data to evaluate the triple displacement hypothesis are most incomplete. The data on women have been presented earlier; the data on the young are available only in the last two agricultural censuses. (No data are available on the elderly.)

By 1965, the Chilean agricultural labor force was predominantly adult --97 percent of the men and 93 percent of the women were fifteen or older. The relative weight of adult males increased 5 percent between 1955 and 1965; the relative weight of adult females increased 15 percent during the same decade.[27] This suggests that young people were still being displaced from agricultural production in the late 1950s and that the tasks assigned to young women in particular began to be assigned to adult workers. By 1965, however, the agricultural labor force was overwhelmingly adult, a fact which is consistent with the hypothesis.

This pattern is also consistent with what is conventional wisdom about the employment practices on large farms. One of the informal criteria for securing employment as a permanent, resident worker is being a married head of house. This would tend to eliminate the young, the old, and the female. That this was a pervasive practice is suggested by attitudes on reformed farms. Temporary, resident workers expected as a matter of course to become permanent, resident workers with rights to land upon marriage. The failure to question the relationship between marital status and permanent employment with access to land suggests how pervasive the practice was of giving preference to married heads of house.[28]

This practice developed in a context in which the husband was legally responsible for the financial affairs of the family. It probably became an even more acceptable practice after the Decreto con Fuerza de Ley 245 (1953), which established a generalized fund from which workers drew income supplements for dependents. Basically, the fund operates so that employees with few or no dependents subsidize those with many. An employee can receive a supplement, above and beyond the wage or salary, depending on the

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27. 1955 Agricultural Census, Cuadro Nº 9, "Personal que Trabaja en las Explotaciones Según Sexo y Edad," p. 15; 1965 Agricultural Census, Cuadro Nº 6, "Personal que Trabaja en las Explotaciones Según Sexo y Edad," p. 14.

28. The Agrarian Reform Law (Capítulo II, Artículo 71, f) specifies that beneficiaries of the agrarian reform must be married or unmarried heads of house. This requirement was widely interpreted as meaning that an unmarried man would pass automatically from socio to asentado upon marriage. That this was the dominant interpretation of the law emerged clearly in fieldwork conducted during the course of the Chile Project. Chile, Ley de la Reforma Agraria Nº 16,640 (Santiago: Editorial Jurídica de Chile, 1967).

number of legal dependents and the number of days worked during the month. Under this system, a person who is permanently employed on a full-time basis can receive complete payment of the asignación familiar. Employees with more irregular work can claim asignación familiar on a pro-rated basis according to the number of days worked.[29]

The asignación familiar provided financial incentives for workers to legalize marriages and to "recognize" children, even those born out of wedlock. Consequently, one notes that the number of legal marriages in Chile is quite high--approximately 3 percent of stable unions are consensual.[30] From the workers' point of view, the asignación familiar represents an important source of income, especially for large families in the lowest income categories.

From the employers' point of view, large families represent no financial liability. The number of legal dependents that workers might have is irrelevant to the amount which employers pay into the general fund. The employers' contribution is a specified 48 percent of wages. Consequently, employers can set a low wage, make low contributions to the general fund,

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29. The operational aspects of the asignación familiar were explained to me by Eduardo Abbott, a Chilean lawyer, whose specialty is labor legislation and in that capacity served as the legal representative for several unions. He insisted that the existence of this law did not mean that employers complied with all its provisions. Rather, compliance was more complete in the larger, unionized, industrial establishments. Similarly, in the countryside, payment of the employers' contributions reflected the ability of the workers, frequently organized through peasant unions, to impose compliance on the owners.

By the time that the Chile Project team was doing fieldwork on the largest estates in the Central Valley (1971-1972), rural compliance was probably higher than at times in the past. We had occasion to note that workers maintained their libretos. The interview schedule called for the worker to provide a family census. Frequently, the men interrupted the interview at this time to look for their little book. When they returned, they dictated the names and ages of children directly from this record. For social reasons, it might not be necessary for a father to keep his children straight; for economic reasons, however, the libreto was al día.

30. The relative number of consensual unions is higher in rural areas than in urban areas--4.0 percent of rural women and 3.1 percent of rural men report consensual unions as compared to 2.7 percent of urban women and 2.9 percent of urban men. By contrast, between 40 and 50 percent of the adult population (defined as people 12 years of age or older) is legally married: rural women--46.7 percent; urban women--43.1 percent; rural men--40.1 percent; urban men--49.1 percent. Reported calculations are based on: Chile, Dirección de Estadística y Censos, Población del País: Características Básicas de la Población, Censo 1960 (1964), Cuadro Nº 11, "Población Urbana por Estado Civil, Según Grupos de Edad y Sexo," p. 18; Cuadro Nº 12, "Población Rural por Estado Civil, Según Grupos de Edad y Sexo," p. 20.

and still permit workers to maintain families because of the additional per-capita income provided by asignación familiar.

In rural areas, it is to the advantage of the landowner to settle families rather than single individuals on the estate. Families represent a reserve labor force available during times of peak demand, but the landowner need employ only one person on a permanent basis to have preferential access to the labor resources of the permanent worker's family.

This practice has a long history. Some documents which outline the internal regulations on large farms during the latter half of the nineteenth century have survived. They indicate that landowners had easy access to the labor of all family and nonfamily members living in the houses of the permanent workers. Access to this labor was an important part of the internal regulations, and some specified in detail the demands made on the wives of permanent workers.[31]

Historically, such labor was unremunerated or paid at rates considerably below the going rate. Currently, such labor is covered by the legal minimum wage. Nevertheless, the majority of the able-bodied people living in the houses of permanent workers are employed sporadically. When they work is determined by the labor requirements of the central enterprise rather than by their willingness to work.

Survey research data reported earlier indicate that employment on large estates is allocated preferentially to the resident labor force. This is very important to families. The link that this underemployed population has to work is the permanent worker. This link operates in two senses--the permanent worker not only represents the stable income for the family, he also permits other family members to earn income through temporary, seasonal employment. Should the permanent worker lose his job, the family loses both sources of income.

From the point of view of the landowner, this situation would seem to have few drawbacks. The families of permanent, resident workers are

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31. A document from 1875 explicitly included the wives of inquilinos among those residents of inquilino households who were required to work in times of labor scarcity. The wives of second and third class inquilinos were obligated to bake bread, prepare meals for those working in the fields, milk cows, make butter and cheese, shear sheep, sew and mend sacks, winnow wheat, and work during planting and harvesting. "It is not possible to excuse women from work during times of labor shortage because the owner would find himself obliged to limit his work. On the other hand, the advantages of making women earn their own living are well-known; for an inquilino, [the women] are onerous to maintain considering their limited income and they [the inquilino families] will become able to better their conditions uniting the efforts of all [the women]." Manual José Balmaceda, "Manual del Hacendado Chileno (1875)," reprinted in António Corvalán, et al., Antología Chilena de la Tierra (Santiago: ICIRA, 1970), p. 70.

absolutely dependent on the continued employment of one person. They live within the farms, in what is essentially a village, under the watchful eye of the landowner or his representative. Little of importance can pass undetected. Economic retaliation for political or union activity could be swift and sure. Economic rewards for being a "good peasant" can also be dispensed in a visible manner. The landowner has considerable scope within which to exercise social control since the situation approximates that of a "total institution." One of the few disadvantages that this situation might pose for the landowner is that he be required to resolve some problems which arise among tenant families.

The simple fact that the entire family depends on a single job for both permanent and seasonal income is a basic contradiction between the worker and the landowner. At the same time, the centrality of the permanent worker's job provides the objective basis for patriarchy within the family. Being the source of family livelihood, directly and indirectly, allows the permanent worker to claim everything from special considerations to unquestioned obedience within the home. His home is his fiefdom, modest though it be.

The permanent worker is also the administrator of the subsistence plot which is traditionally granted on large farms. For the landowner, a worker's access to land allows the employer to pay lower wages than necessary to maintain the worker and his family.[32] For the worker, this land represents an important source of income in kind, so its exploitation must be properly managed.

Under most circumstances, the permanent worker who makes this land available to the family is also the person most competent to administer it. The peasant enterprise is, therefore, yet another sphere in which the permanent worker dominates. He either does most of the work himself or assigns it to family or nonfamily members living in the house, on rare occasions, he hires outside wage labor to exploit the land.

There is tremendous variation within large farms in the amount of production permanent workers achieve on equivalent sized plots. This suggests that production varies mostly according to the levels of self-exploitation to which permanent workers subject themselves and their families. One would hypothesize that the level of self-exploitation is higher as the size of the family dependent on the land increases.[33]

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32. Two recent articles which argue this position are: Alian de Janvry, "The Political Economy of Rural Development in Latin America: An Interpretation," American Journal of Agricultural Economics 57 (August 1975): 490-499; Carmen Diana Deere, "Rural Women's Subsistence Production in the Capitalist Periphery," Journal of Radical Political Economics 8 (Spring, 1976): 9-17.

33. This hypothesis is an extrapolation of Chayanov, who writes: "The amount of the labor product [defined as 'the increase in value of the material goods which the family has acquired by its work during the year'] is

Ordinarily, the permanent worker's wife is only incidentally involved in direct agricultural production. Increasingly alienated from jobs as a permanent, resident worker in her own right, she is confined to tasks of domestic production and social reproduction.

In the area of domestic production, many of the rural woman's traditional activities have been taken out of the household and transferred to factories. Nevertheless, she continues to perform important tasks such as tending the barnyard animals, preparing food for storage, and processing agricultural products (such as milk, in the event that the family has cows or goats). The scope of these tasks depends on the scope of the peasant enterprise and its production.

Even if the wife herself works on the lands to which the family has access, she may or may not regard this as agricultural work. We were struck in interviewing women on large estates by the number of women who defined even planting and harvesting as homemaking rather than agricultural work. It is probable that their husbands also regard such activities as marginal to agricultural production and an extension of homemaking responsibilities.

What was particularly striking in the occupational histories of these women was their inexperience in agricultural employment. Of the 325 women interviewed on large farms, slightly less than half were never employed and only 25 had worked in the agricultural sector. The rift between the work experiences of these women and their husbands was profound. It would be extremely difficult for these women to understand the day-to-day experiences of their husbands, who worked all their lives in the field. Furthermore, it would be difficult for these women to develop the requisite agricultural skills to compete with men on an equal basis for outside jobs and to contribute substantially to domestic agricultural production. Whereas, from the point of view of the family, it is economically irrational that

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mainly determined by the size and composition of the working family, the number of its members capable of work, than by the productivity of the labor unit. . . . The degree of self-exploitation is determined by a peculiar equilibrium between family demand satisfaction and the drudgery of labor itself." A. V. Chayanov, "On the Theory of Non-Capitalist Economic Systems," in The Theory of Peasant Economy, eds. D. B. Thorne, B. Kerblay, and R. Smith (Irwin: American Economic Associations's Transaction Series, 1967), p. 6. This argument is a constant theme in Chayanov's writing, although his more famous hypothesis is that the amount of land at the disposal of peasant families follows a cycle parallel to that of the natural history of the family.

Consistent with this approach is that of Galeski, who argues that "the special characteristics of the peasant farm as a production unit . . . is the fusion or (more exactly) the identification of the enterprise (i.e., the commodity-producing establishment) with the domestic economy of the family household." Boguslaw Galeski, Basic Concepts of Rural Sociology, translated by H. C. Stevens (Manchester, Eng.: University of Manchester Press, 1972), pp. 10-11.

women not be trained to make maximum contributions to agricultural production, neither the women nor their daughters were being groomed for agricultural tasks. The prestige and power of the head of house within the domestic agricultural enterprise does not come without costs--maintaining women less productive than they might be and thereby either lowering the family's standard of living or passing the burdens of agricultural production to the men.

On Chilean estates, women are confined very much to the house. There are ideological strictures against socializing, although the social geography of large farms is conducive to visiting among the women. Within their own houses women are responsible for all the tasks of social reproduction--all those things which renew on a generational and day-to-day basis the ability of family members to continue to work.[34] These tasks require hard work during long hours, especially where the most modest conveniences are absent. Consequently, the woman is confined both ideologically and objectively to isolation, broken mostly by the ties that she develops with her daughters.

For however little the wife of the agricultural worker understands about his work, he understands as little about hers. Whereas the worker may feel responsible for retaining the job which maintains the family, the wife is basically responsible for stretching the income in cash or in kind to cover the needs of the family. Should the permanent worker lose his job, the tasks of social reproduction remain basically the same for his wife. Consequently, the focus of concerns between husband and wife--the one on production and the other on reproduction--necessarily generates contradictions within the family.

Finally, what is clear is that the social reproduction of the family depends on the economic contribution of the head of house. Women, for the sake of themselves and their families, must tolerate whatever kind of treatment happens to come down from the head of house. Alternatives are conspicuous by their absence. It is no exaggeration to say that it is practically impossible for a woman to maintain herself and a family in the Chilean countryside without an adult male, either a husband or a child. That is, for a woman to continue in the countryside, she must live largely at the expense of and with the consent of a man.

Given the isolation of women within their families, it is not surprising that one hears more complaints about the conduct of men within their same social class than about the general socio-economic situation of the countryside. This is not the sphere in which women encounter oppression and exploitation. Their daily experiences are one of oppression within the family, which goes by the name of machismo.

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34. This distinction follows that of Wally Seacombe, "The Housewife and Her Labour under Capitalism," New Left Review 83 (January-February, 1973): 14.

For machismo to flourish, one needs the kinds of family situation and economic situation such as those described in this paper. As long as these situations persist, one will find differences in the life experiences of men and women, which will translate themselves more or less directly into ideological differences. Whereas both men and women have similar stakes in the transformation of the economic order, their stakes in the transformation of the family are clearly different. Even so, there is a common ground. The attenuation of the insurance functions of families poses contradictions for both men and women. The psychological gains from machismo might well be offset by the liberation of women and their incorporation with other adults into production. This would be possible only in the context of a revolution which would liberate the productive forces in the countryside, increase agricultural productivity, and expand the opportunities for employment for everyone.