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AGRIPINA: DOMESTIC SERVICE

AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT

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This paper forms part of a study on poor women in the labor force in Lima, Peru: "La Madre Trabajadora," The Working Mother. The collaborators are Ximena Bunster B., Chilean anthropologist; Elsa M. Chaney, North American political scientist; Hilda Mercado Avalos, Peruvian sociologist, and Gabriela Villalobos, Peruvian social psychologist. Funding was provided by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, National Institutes of Health (Grant No. 1 R01 HD08352-01), the Social Science Research Council, the Smithsonian Institution's Interdisciplinary Communications Program, and the local office of the Ford Foundation in Lima.

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Introduction

The large household still sleeps. After lighting the fire for the morning coffee, Agripina[1] slips out the side door -- only when she is serving does she step onto the mirror-like floors of the family living quarters unless she is cleaning or polishing them -- and walks hurriedly through the damp Lima dawn to the corner bakery to buy the breakfast bread. If the breadman had arrived early enough, she would have loped down the walk at his whistle, saving herself one of several trips she will make today to the corner "chino" [Chinese grocery store], bakery or the drugstore on errands for different members of the family. Agripina buys two dozen round French rolls, still warm from the oven, and slips them into her string bag.

Agripina's day has begun. It will last from 5:30 or 6:00 a.m. to at least 10 p.m., and often past midnight if she has to open the gate for a late-arriving family member. Except for a short period after washing luncheon dishes for the large mid-day meal, she will be on her feet and on call to cook, clean, launder the ropa chica [hand laundry], serve, wash dishes, sweep the walks, water the garden and run errands. This morning she has had time only to splash cold water on her face (the servant's small bathroom does not have hot water, since it is believed that servants waste it, her toilet lacks a seat, and her shower cubicle has no curtain), and slip into her faded mandil, a uniform of striped cotton. It has been only three years since Agripina cut off her long braids, but her bronze skin and dark hair still proclaim her Quechua ancestry.[2]

Agripina is 18 years old, and she has completed 3 years of primary schooling -- probably all that she will attain because, although she herself does not yet know it, she is pregnant. Ahead of her lies a hard year when her furious patrona -- "Como se te ocurría que te ibas a quedar acá con un niño?" [Whatever made you think you were going to stay on here with a child?] -- will fire her, she will give birth at the free Lima Maternity Hospital, be turned away by other patronas who will not hire a maid with a child and finally, in desperation, will try her hand at street selling. Soon you will find her at a busy downtown intersection, her 3-month old baby slung over her back in the colorful manta of the sierra. Shyly she will offer the small leather coin purses she has made herself from scraps begged at a shoe factory. She will have to keep a sharp eye out for the municipal police who will chase her away -- or at least confiscate her wares -- for selling without a license.

For Agripina there is no going back. She arrived in Lima five years ago with her madrina [godmother], leaving home at her mother's suggestion to ease the situation on the chacra [small peasant holding] where there never was enough of anything: food, clothing, space, opportunity for schooling, salaried employment. Her schooling was cut short because her parents could not afford to buy her notebooks and school supplies. Her home is near a remote sierra village, two days and two nights by bus, another day by horseback. Her present job is her third employment in Lima; the other two also have been in housework. In her first job, which lasted two years, she was not paid because she was apprenticed to her madrina -- a fictive or sometimes real aunt or female relative initiates

the "recién bajada" [greenhorn or hillbilly, literally "recently descended" from the mountains] into Lima ways, teaches her Spanish and gives her a rudimentary instruction in housekeeping tasks. Now Agripina earns $30 a month, and she has been working since she was 12 years old.

Agripina is a composite, a demographic profile of the typical doméstica de todo servicio [maid of all work] in Lima, Peru. She has been created from data gathered from several sources (Censo Nacional del Perú 1972; Figueroa Galup 1975; Gianella 1970; Rutte García 1973; Smith 1971; and my own study carried out in 1975). But Agripina's sisters -- similar in age, rural origin and work history -- climb the rain-slicked hills of Bogotá's residential districts or walk the shady, gracious old streets of the barrios altos [literally, the upper suburbs, the middle- and upper-middle class residential areas] of Santiago.

Agripina is the only composite in this study; the other women are among 50 interviewees whose stories detailed here are their own. While the number of my interviewees is relatively small, my group matches closely the age, schooling, employment, and migratory characteristics of maids in a systematic sample taken in metropolitan Lima by Figueroa Galup (1975), as well as migrant women in several other studies carried out in recent times. For details on how the interview group was chosen, see Appendix I; for an account of how the methodology in the study was created and employed, see Bunster (1977).

Agripina is a significant figure: aside from the intrinsic drama of her life, she symbolizes the persistence in Latin America of a traditional labor market of large dimensions which, or so conventional development

theory told us, should long ago have begun to atrophy. She also symbolizes the disadvantaged place of women within this sector; pressure on the traditional labor market by men who cannot find modern sector employment forces women into the least desirable jobs in the casual labor market. For two valuable discussions on migrant women's special problems in the urban labor market, see Arizpe (1977) and Jelin (1977).[3]

Agripina's situation also has important implications for development because the presence of so many Agripinas in the urban traditional labor market may be an important factor in continued population growth. One of our findings is that women in urban marginal occupations simply are not exposed to modern values, attitudes or information and do not adjust their fertility downward at the rate many demographers assumed would be the case. Most women's jobs in the urban traditional sector pose much less of the role conflict which analysts assumed would be a side-effect of women's entry into the labor force, automatically inducing them to produce fewer children. Some domestic servants, for example, are allowed to live in if they have only one child, or to bring a small child along to their employer's home. Street sellers or market vendors commonly have their small children by their side as they sell, with older children joining them -- often still in their school uniforms -- in mid-afternoon.

Another factor is suggested by Safa (1978:14) in a comparative study she is carrying out with Heleieth Saffioti in São Paulo, Brasil, and in a New Jersey factory town. She hypothesizes that women in

Third World Countries continue to have large families in urban settings because they need children to earn cash. In Brasil she says, there is little incentive for women to reduce their family size, "since there is only a small chance that their children will be able to enter the skilled labor force anyway." Infant mortality also is high, so that many children are needed to assure that some grow to adulthood. In Peru, an estimated 30 percent of all deaths occur in the first year of life.

The principal focus of the present study is not, however, upon the potential developmental or demographic effects of woman's incorporation into the economy, as important as these questions may be. Rather, an attempt has been made by the four investigators to approach the problem of women in Latin America from the perspective of the women themselves; our central concern has been that the women's situation would be revealed as fully as possible for the women's own sake, and not because women may be the instrumental means towards general development goals.

One clear indication that women's status has not been considered primary is the fact that most information we have about them is a by-product of population and labor market studies.

As Graciarena (1975: 27-29) points out in a perceptive article, even the most recent studies focussing directly on women have been undertaken because of belated awareness that women's employment behavior, participation, fertility -- and even their legal status -- may be crucial variables in the development enterprise; the women themselves have been of secondary concern. In the present study, then, we wish to give a voice to women, especially poor women, and to reveal their lives

(insofar as we, as outsiders are able to do so) as they themselves define their problems, fears, desires, and hopes for the future.

This study deals with the situation of migrant women in Lima, the capital and largest city of Peru. However, recent studies of women in several other metropoli[4] reveal that rural female migrants to other Third World cities face the same sets of limited options and the same experience of being relegated to the lowest-paid, lowest status jobs in the traditional sector as their Peruvian sisters.

What stands out in these studies -- and is confirmed in our own investigation -- is the fact that the migrant experience for women differs in significant ways from that of men. It is a central hypothesis of the present study that modernization, particularly in urban environments, far from increasing female opportunity, actually narrows the number of options for women in Latin America, especially for migrant women, and further, that their options are more restricted than for either migrant or native-born men. Indeed, a well-documented demographic fact is that, as a group, migrant men often fare <u>better</u> in the city than men who were born there.[5] As will be demonstrated, the migrant woman's initial employment possibilities are reduced to domestic service, street vending, market selling (for a relatively small number if/when they accumulate sufficient capital), factory work (again in a small percentage) and begging.[6] It is interesting to note that the occupational opportunities for women who are recent migrants to Mexico City are very similar (Arizpe 1977:33-36).[7]

About one-third of the total labor force in Lima is concentrated in just two occupational groups in the lowest strata of the service sector,

both characterized by low productivity and low wages: sellers, mainly ambulantes [street sellers] and service workers, principally domestic servants. Women are in a slight majority in the first occupation (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 1976), and overwhelmingly in the majority in the second, since 47 percent of service workers are domestics and of these, 90 percent are women (Villalobos 1975, Cuadro III-3 and III-4:35-36).

Not only are more women found in the lowest paid, lowest status jobs in the traditional sector (while men dominate the modern sector with its better salaries, greater job security, pensions, health services and union protection), but they are more likely to remain there. Some males -- among them significant numbers of migrants -- move out of the traditional sector to better employment; any movement of women tends to be lateral. For example, several studies (de Sagasti 1974; Mercado 1977; Testa-Zappert 1975) show that women move from domestic service to street selling or begging, but rarely to factory employment and almost never to white collar work. In the studies carried out in conjunction with my own, Villalobos (1977:3) found that 77 percent of the factory workers she interviewed had begun their work in the industrial manufacturing sector, an indication of the lact of mobility into factory jobs, and only three obreras in her study had been domestic servants. But 90 percent of Mercado's street vendors had been domestic servants first.

A second hypothesis to be explored in this study is a corollary of the first: not only do modernization and the associated phenomenon of rural to urban migration narrow the opportunity structures for women, but the inability of poor women in most Third World countries to control

their fertility also accounts for their relegation to the lowest jobs in the traditional labor market. To better explore these questions, we chose to study women in four occupations who are mothers, many of them the major providers for dependent children. Of the domestic servants studied, 6 were married (one had separated); 17 were living in consensual unions and the remaining 26 were madres solteras, single mothers supporting their children in most cases, even though some maintain sporadic relationships with men -- sometimes with the same man over a long period of time.

Their situation illustrates a problem of growing dimensions in the Third World -- women alone who must provide for their children with little or no help from an adult male. Sometimes to carry out their responsibility they must put their children to work. Women left behind in the rural areas face similar problems -- sometimes seasonally, sometimes for years on end, sometimes for good -- as men migrate to plantations, mines, oil fields or cities in search of work. Some estimates place the female-based household at one-third of all households world wide.

Women get locked into traditional jobs not only because of prejudices against hiring cholas[8] for modern sector occupations, but also because sooner or later most women will become pregnant whether or not they are in stable unions. As in Agripina's case, this fact further closes off the slim options they had in the first place. The woman does not have any choice in the matter; in lands where poor women have little access to or knowledge of contraceptives, one accepts the number of children God sends. It is therefore not surprising, as noted above, to discover that so many street sellers first worked as domestic servants;

practically the only opportunity for a servant-mother whose patrona refuses to keep her is to take to the streets: either to sell some kind of commodity, to sell themselves, or to beg.

Before going on to explore in more detail the servant's life in contemporary Lima, domestic service will be discussed in relation to development, then examined in historical perspective.

Domestic Service: A Transitional Occupation?

Several years ago Coser (1973) characterized domestic service as an "obsolete vocational role," and showed how the servant gradually disappeared as Western societies modernized and as formally free labor replaced ascriptive assignment to work roles. In Latin America, it had been assumed not only that domestic service was a traditional occupation, happily fated to disappear with increasing industrialization , but also that domestic service was transitional for the person, especially the migrant, who would be socialized through it, learning new attitudes and behaviors appropriate to the urban culture. In a few years, the typical domestic would move on to a better job in the modern sector or marry a factory worker, lower police officer, or even a petty bureaucrat, passing occasionally into the upper strata of the lower class (but never into the middle class. See especially Smith 1971, Ch. V).

Indeed the whole topic of domestic service has been regarded as transitory and unimportant, even by those engaged in women's studies; no matter if presently it is the largest occupational category for women in the Third World, if it is rapidly disappearing, why bother to study it?

Perhaps domestic service also has been overlooked as a topic worthy of study because we forget that even in so industrialized a nation as the United States, domestic service was the leading occupation in every census from 1870 through 1940 inclusive; only in 1950 did stenographers, typists and secretaries counted together outnumber paid household workers among U.S. women in the labor force (Baxandall, Gordon and Reverby 1976: 406-7). Broom and Smith (1963) express the classic view, characterizing domestic service as a "bridging occupation," which, they say, facilitates first horizontal then vertical mobility (quoted in Chaplin 1969:12).

As a result, there is scarcely any literature on the subject, and as far as servants in past times are concerned, even less is known. The major contribution has been Smith's unpublished doctoral dissertation; in spite of Figueroa's and my basic disagreement with her main thesis that domestic service functions as a vehicle for the woman migrant's upward mobility, hers must be recognized as the most comprehensive work to date. Another major contribution will be Chaplin's collection of articles on domestic servants, still being edited. Lockhart's (1968) chapter on women in colonial Peru to 1560 and Burkett's doctoral thesis (1975) provide some information. When they are published, Figueroa Galup (1975) and Hewett's (1976) studies will be major additions to the literature. A provocative article suggesting some of the principal questions still to be addressed on the topic is Jelin (1977).

One of the principal findings of my own study is the fact that servants in Latin America are not -- either as individuals or as a group -- moving out of the household to become the "servants in the office," as women workers did during the World War II years in the United States. Rather, proportions of domestics and other women workers in the lowest paid, least productive non-agricultural jobs in the service sector are increasing in Latin America and other Third World regions for a variety of structural and social reasons. Figueroa Galup (1976:43-43) and Nett (1966:439) concur in characterizing domestic service as a "permanent" occupation under current conditions in Latin America. These conditions are not likely to change in the near future because even if some countries are able to accelerate their industrialization, capital-intensive modes of production do not generate sufficient employment.

Moreover, as Nett (1966:439) observes, servitude is not solely a function of economic conditions, but a complex institution of Latin American societies which exists for reasons other than the "vast reserve of unskilled human labor" available. Theories of social stratification suggest that to feel superior to some others may be a basic human need; Figueroa Galup (1976:44) points to the psychological and cultural functions of the servant which "reafirma palpablemente el mayor status de sus patrones" [reaffirms in a palpable manner the superior status of her masters]. Figueroa goes so far as to speculate that a dominance/dependency syndrome may exist not only in terms of Peru's international economic relationships, but may also respond to the need to dominate or be dominated which she sees as a basic pattern of the Peruvian personality.

Not only are the proportions of those who engage in domestic and other low-status service remaining constant, but the persons who are doing this work are in no sense "transitionals" on their way to becoming "moderns"; rather, they form a new sub-universe of workers who apparently may never escape from low-income occupations.[10] Thus, our investigation adds to the accumulating evidence that Third World development does not necessarily replicate all the historical stages of modernization as it occurred in the advanced Western nations.

The complex factors generating rising rates of world wide unemployment and "underemployment" and the hypertrophy of the service sectors of developing countries have been analyzed by many scholars.[11] Capital-intensive production technologies in agriculture and mining push people out of traditional occupations with no possibility of more than a small number being absorbed either by the new mechanized agricultural enterprises or by the modernized urban manufacturing and service sectors. In Peru, most campesinos [peasants] who have land at all are smallholders, excluded from the benefits of the new cooperatives created by the agrarian reform. A highly unequal distribution of income also persists; whatever reforms the present military government has carried out have been primarily in the modern sector which accounts for two-thirds of the GNP but employs only one third of the labor force (Fitzgerald 1976:94, 105).

Webb (1974:29) confirms that about 60 percent of the urban labor force works in traditional employments. Further, he documents the fact that women are found disproportionately in this sector, and that they earn less than men -- facts often overlooked in development studies. Indeed, his analysis of Lima and 7 cities shows that the urban traditional

sector has a much higher proportion of women (40 percent female) even when domestic servants are excluded than the modern sector (18 percent female). He attributes this not only to the flexibility and ease of entry that characterizes the traditional labor market, but to "the social discrimination that reserves more stable and higher-wage modern sector jobs for men."

In 1970, one-third of persons in the urban traditional sector occupations earned $23 a month or less, while only 12 percent earned $116 or more. In contrast, a third of those in the modern sector earned $116 or more (Webb 1974: 39). Women, however, earned less than their male colleagues in the urban traditional sector. Among the self-employed, for example, women's incomes averaged only $30 per month, versus $70 for men. Domestic servants earned an average of $31 per month, versus the $50 per month average wage for the sector (Webb 1974: 33-34).

Domestic service thus has not turned out to be an occupation in transition. From the domestic's own perspective neither does domestic service appear to be transitional for the person who exercises it. We do not know the distribution of women in terms of years on the job, nor the destiny of those who leave the labor market. Yet limited data from my own and Figueroa Galup's (1976:42) job histories puts us in disagreement with Smith's findings that women in domestic service better their position either within the occupation itself -- by calculating their job moves to better neighborhoods and/or moving from todo servicio [maid of all work] to cook, which almost always pays better -- nor by using the occupation as a vehicle for upward mobility out of the servant class.

The Servile State in Historical and Juridical Perspective

Neither in its historical nor contemporary aspects does the reality of the servant role in Peruvian society (or in most of Latin America for that matter) bear much resemblance to the cosy world of "Downstairs" in the British Broadcasting Company's popular series, "Upstairs, Downstairs." Nor does the female servant's daily life much resemble the adventures of Latin America's most popular heroine of the lower classes, the Indian servant María, diffused through television and the telenovela [photos with captions] and comic book versions as "Simplemente María." In this modern fairy tale, a servant maid from the sierra of an unidentified Latin American country, after much suffering -- including giving birth to an illegitimate child fathered by an upper-class medical student who abandons her -- becomes a seamstress, learns designing and finally emerges as as international figure in haute couture, meanwhile finding happiness in marriage with a humble, honest and upright (and handsome) school teacher who had befriended her through her years of struggle.[12]

In order to understand the position of the servant in the Lima labor market, it is necessary to understand something of the historical and juridical reality of the servant's position in Peruvian society. Such an exploration does not at all negate the demographic and structural reasons for the persistence of the servile state, which remain primary: yet such a consideration does serve to round out the picture.

The basic fact about the servant in Peru and other countries of Latin America is that she (since only 10 percent of servants in Peru are

male, the feminine pronoun is appropriate) still is linked far more to the patrimonial dispensation of Peru's past than to the modern system of contract labor. My study and Figueroa Galup's demonstrate that all but a few privileged servants live, for all practical purposes, in a preindustrial, patriarchal society. This world is inhabited to a degree by all women, minors, indigenous persons and imbeciles, but the maid servant is very near the bottom (only prostitution and begging are perceived by women themselves to be lower occupations; see Heyman 1974:81). Thus, the servant throughout Latin American history--most often racially and/or culturally distinct from the master class--has subsidized the classes above her, permitting even modest Spanish households to live in a style which would be beyond their means if there were not a servant class. As Chaplin has observed (1970), any measures to upgrade servant status and to bring servants under legislation governing the modern labor sector are resisted by the dominant classes.

Lockhart (1968:150) notes that even though Spanish women were not numerically a large group in the first two generations after the conquest of Peru (1532 to around 1560), there were sufficient numbers to give a "Spanish mold" to Peruvian society. In the early 1540's, there was only 1 Spanish woman for every 7 or 8 men; by 1555, they numbered about a thousand, including the thoroughly Hispanisized <u>moriscas</u>, <u>mulattas</u> and <u>mestizas</u> [Spanish-Arab, Spanish-Negro and Spanish-Indian women] who "passed" because of the shortage of women in the colony.

The wives of Peru's <u>encomenderos</u> [those to whom a group of Indians literally had been "recommended" -- from whom the Spaniards extracted work in return for "civilizing" the Indian and instructing them in the Catholic faith] early set the tone of the society with their large staffs of servants.

Central to the duties and ambitions of the encomendero, says Lockhart (1968:21) was the casa poblada, literally, an occupied or peopled dwelling, where his obligation was to maintain a perpetual "open house" -- that is, "a large house, a Spanish wife if possible, a table where many guests were maintained, Negro slaves, a staff of Spanish and Indian servants, and a stable of horses." The casa poblada was the largest single element in the dream of the lordly life to which all Spaniards aspired.

According to Lockhart, however (1968:159). "even artisan's and merchant's wives could come nearer that ideal than might be imagined." None of those persons who, in Spain, would have been considered poor and plebeian, were without servants in Peru "to call them señora and relieve them of the burden of daily housekeeping," he says. Even humble women thus had servants to whom they taught Spanish ways: "the household of one almost indigent Spanish woman of Lima could stand as a paradigm of Spanish Peru: herself, her Negro slave, her Indian servant, and a mestiza orphan girl." (Lockhart 1968: 169)

Indeed it was the fate of many mestizo children to enter the servile state; according to Lockhart (1968: 164), illegitimate children "received sustenance, education and affection, but were seen in the light of servants." Indeed, the term criada [from criar, to raise, today used exclusively to mean "servant" -- and considered demeaning by servants themselves] originally meant a person adopted into a colonial family and reared as a family member; in Latin America the criada appears to be somewhat analagous to Ariès' young servants of the same period:

> At the heart of this complex network [of the "big house" of the 17th century, big in the sense, he says (p. 395), that it was always crowded and had more people in it than little houses] was the resident group of children and the servants. The progress of the concept of childhood in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries and the moralists' mistrust of the servants had not yet succeeded in breaking up that group. It was as if it were the living, noisy heart of the big house. Countless engravings show us children with servants who themselves were often very young.... There was not a great age difference between the children of a big house and the servants, who were usually engaged very young and some of whom were foster-brothers and members of the family....The servants and apprentices were placed on the same footing as the children of the family. Sons of houses went on performing domestic functions in the 17th century which associated them with the servants' world, particularly waiting at table (1962:396).

Such a practice appears not only to be very common in colonial Peru, where the wives of encomenderos (no orphanages existed) often took in many children to raise who were not their own. Lockhart (1968:164) documents the collection of doña Francisca Jiménez who by 1548 had

> ten children alive and with her; two by her first husband, three by her second, and five by her third. She also was raising the mestizo daughter of her second husband, who acted as her maid.

It may be that just as in medieval Europe at that time, before the idea of service had become degraded (from the 17th century on, according to Ariès [p. 396]), the servant who so often had blood ties with the family upon which he/she was dependent, was not yet regarded as the menial the person in service later became.

The "lordly dream" of Spanish colonial Peru never has really been relinquished by Peru's dominant classes, only scaled down. It

still is possible for even the most modest lower-middle class or or upper-lower class home to have at least one servant. (Such a situation is perceived both by Figueroa's and my own interviewees to be the worst possible situation, since the maid-of-all-work in a poorer home is in danger of being the most exploited and paid substantially less in the bargain).

Legislation enacted by the Velasco government in 1970 at least officially lifted the servant (renamed "trabajador de hogar," homeworker) from the anomalous position (s)he had occupied for centuries. Weekly holidays (24 consecutive hours) and yearly vacations (15 days with salary) were mandated, and servants for the first time came under social security legislation. Yet no provisions whatsoever were made for enforcement of the new laws, and the only recourse servants have (even if they know of its existence) is a small office in the Ministry of Labor where one lone, harrassed male lawyer with no support staff tries to deal with the complex professional and personal lives of the maids and male servants. This office has no power to sanction infractions of the domestic service laws; the factory worker, in contrast, has an elaborate juridical structure within the ministry of his/her protection. Ironically, the most important provision of the new legislation -- that the servant is entitled to 8 hours of rest in each 24 -- has been widely interpreted by patronas as a license to exact 16-hour workdays from their maids; many have convinced themselves that this is what the new law allowed. While the weekly salida [day off] appears to be rather widely observed, and many servants also now demand and receive their yearly vacation, the

new social security provisions are not widely observed. For one thing, the patrona must go with her maid to arrange inscription, and as with all bureaucracy, the process is time-consuming. The enrollment also requires one's birth certificate, a document not often easily accessible to a woman from a distant province where records, in any case, may not be kept with much care -- or where her birth simply was never recorded.[13] Moreover, the maids themselves often do not wish to be enrolled because one-half of the social security payment is deducted from their already-small salaries. Only 7 of my 50 interviewees had ever been enrolled, and this exactly reflects the findings of Figueroa Galup (1975:39).

A logical question to ask, at this point, would be: Why have servants not organized themselves and long ago rebelled against the conditions of servitude under which such large numbers of persons have lived? This topic will be treated in detail in Part II. In brief, however, the isolated nature of the servant's work -- each one, or each small group separated from the other's workplace -- militates against any attempts to form <u>sindicatos</u> or labor unions. Servants have few opportunities to meet together because of non-coincidence of free days and lack of meeting places. Moreover, a servant often has difficulty in conceptualizing her/his fellow and sister servants <u>as a class</u>; Figueroa and I both noted in our interviewing that questions asked about the general situation of servants often would be answered -- even if the questions were framed in terms of servants-as-a-group -- in the singular. Many of our interviewees simply had never thought in terms of shared problems and shared solutions as a way to ameliorate the conditions

of servitude. Most say they prefer to work alone and few say they have friends they trust. They like to stay in the house, and if they go out on their days off, they generally go to visit relatives in one of the barriadas [marginal areas].

However, the major reason why the situation does not improve is structural. A constant supply of young Indian women, uneducated and untrained for any occupation, arrives from the sierra; the servant maid remains a readily-available commodity purchasable for a very small price. Jelin (1977:132-34) speculates from existing data that large numbers of young women in the age groups 14-29 arrive in the cities of Latin America looking for work; from the other side, domestic service in Latin America is an occupation filled principally by recent young migrants. An analysis of advertisements in the Lima dailies carried out by Del Valle (1976:72) in 1973 and 1974 shows that demand for servants fluctuated from a high of 28 percent of all employment opportunities for women during the first 3 months of 1974 to a low of 21.7 percent in the last 3 months of 1973. Job opportunities for women professionals never went above 3.2 percent of the ads. In contrast, the high for males in domestic service employment offers was 5.2 in the last 3 months of 1973, while men had their major opportunity in blue collar work -- about 43 percent of all offers for employment for men during the 2 years.

In the next section of Part I, we turn to a more detailed examination of the migrant situation, especially as it affects the woman migrant's employment opportunities.

Lima, City of Kings and Migrants

Lima, called the City of Kings because it was founded in 1535 on the religious festival commemorating the arrival of the Three Kings at the Manger in Bethlehem (Epiphany, January 6), might today more accurately be called the City of Migrants. As Martínez, et al. (1973: 34) observe, those who live in the central part of the city have the sensation they are moving in an environment dominated by dark-skinned provincials. Older women often keep their distinctive hairstyles and dress, even after long years of residence in the city.

Some 40-45 percent of Lima's present population came from other parts of the country (Macisco 1975: 5; Gianella 1970:14); yet the Lima workforce is 61 percent migrant (reflecting the fact that so many people come to the city to work). Jelin (1977:131) has reviewed the major migration studies, and concludes that for Latin America as a whole, more women migrate to the cities than men -- reversing earlier trends. Since the great bulk of the migrants who came in each decade were in the 15-25 year age group, and since over one-third of all migrants living in Lima today arrived since 1961, they also are overrepresented in the workforce because they still are overwhelmingly in the economically-active age group. Table 1 shows the migrant population of Lima by decade of arrival, while Table 2 gives the composition of the population by age group, comparing the Lima-born to the migrants. (One caution in reading the tables should be mentioned: the fact that one-third of the total population of Lima is shown as

[Tables 1 and 2 about here.]

TABLE 1

MIGRANT POPULATION OF LIMA SHOWING
DECADE OF ARRIVAL

		To 1940	1941-50	1951-60	1961-70
Total	1,249,600	217,200	248,400	348,300	435,700
%	100	17.4	19.9	27.9	34.8

Source: Martínez, et al. Cuadro No. 3, p. 21

Table 2

NATIVE AND MIGRANT POPULATION OF LIMA
BY AGE

Age	Native	Migrant	Total
0-14	33.1	5.8	38.9
15-29	13.8 (19.3)	15.8 (27.8)	29.6 (47.1)
30-44	5.5	12.0	17.5
44 & over	4.1	9.9	14.0
	56.5	43.5	100.0

Source: Martínez, et al. 1973: Cuadro 9, p. 35.

dependent persons 14 years of age or younger tells us nothing about the relative fertility of the Lima born vs. the migrants, since all migrant children born after their parents arrival are, of course, "native born," i.e. counted with the children of Lima natives.)

Not all migrants to the city come from the remotest rural areas; only about 13 percent do so (Martínez et al. 1973:79-80).[14] In contrast, nearly 40 percent were born either in a provincial or departmental capital. Another 45 percent, however, do come from district capitals; since these often are very small places (more than 70 percent have less than 600 inhabitants), then it is not inaccurate to say that the majority of migrants to Lima are rural (Martínez, et al. 1973:81).

The fact that large numbers of these migrants are campesinos [peasants] from the Andean sierra known as the "Mancha India," literally the Indian stain, greatly affects their fate and prospects after their arrival in the city. My group of interviewees who come from 20 of Peru's 24 departamentos [in Peru, the larger divisions are departamentos; the subdivisions within the departamentos, provincias] reflect roughly the proportions of migrants to Lima documented in the recent extensive national survey of migration of Martínez et al. (1973:75); in each case, well over 60 percent come from the sierra. The principal difference, as Table 3 shows, is that domestic servants (the same tendencies are reflected in the Smith and Figueroa Galup studies) tend to come from more remote Andean areas; Cuzco, for example, accounts for the highest proportion of servants in both the Figueroa Galup and my own study, while it was

thirteenth in terms of the percent of migrants it has contributed to the general population of Lima by 1970. [Table 3 about here.]

Very few women born in Lima become domestic servants; indeed, there is a marked tendency for women migrants themselves to make a distinction between work for serranas and work for limeñas [for hillbillies and women native to Lima]. "Soy serrana, y por eso soy vendedora [I'm from the mountains and so I'm a seller]" is a typical phrase of the market woman and street sellers, while the three coastal women who were among the domestic servant interviewees were ashamed to say what work they did. "Este trabajo es para serranitas," one explained [this work is for little hill girls].

For the past 40 years, the migration pattern for both women and men has been the "salto directo" [literally, "direct jump"], that is, the migrant has set out directly for Lima from his/her place of origin. This has been the tendency no matter whether the place were a remote sierra village, an intermediate-sized town, or a provincial capital (Martínez 1973:55). Women are slightly more inclined than men to go directly to Lima, probably reflecting their perception that their employment possibilities are even more restricted in the provinces than in the capital. In the Martínez study (Table 19: 60), only 26.6 percent of women had first tried out another place (and therefore had worked outside the home) before migrating to Lima. My domésticas match this national sample almost exactly: 27.6 percent had made intermediate stops on their way to the capital, usually only one;

Table 3

DEPARTMENT ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS IN TWO STUDIES
OF DOMESTIC SERVANTS, COMPARED TO
MIGRANTS IN THE GENERAL POPULATION
Lima, Peru (1970)

CEPD STUDY[1] All Migrants (M/F)				Domestics (F only)					
				Chaney Study			Figueroa Study		
Department	Type	Rank	%	Department	Rank	%	Depart.	Rank	%
Ancash	(TR)	1	10.3	Cuzco	1	14.9	Cuzco	1	14.6
Ayacucho	(S)	2	8.0	Ancash	2	10.6	Ayacucho	2	10.9
Lima	(C)	3	7.9	Ayacucho	3	8.5	Ancash	3	10.3
La Libertad	(TR)	4	7.5	Arequipa	4	8.5	Cajamarca	4	10.3
Arequipa	(S)	5	7.0	Apurimac	4	6.4			
Piura	(C)	6	6.6	Junin	4	6.4			
Junin	(S)	7	6.3	Cajamarca	5	4.2			
Cajamarca	(S)	8	5.5	Huancavelica	5	4.2			
Apurimac	(S)	9	5.4	Huanuco	5	4.2			
Lambayeque	(C)	10	4.7	La Libertad	5	4.2			
Ica	(C)	11	4.6	Ica	5	4.2			
Huancavelica	(S)	12	4.2	Lima*	5	4.2			
Cuzco	(S)	13	3.9	Piura	5	4.2			
Huanuco	(S)	14	3.6	Amazonas	6	2.1			
Puno	(S)	15	3.0	Cerro de	6	2.1			
Balance			11.5	Lambayeue	6	2.1			
				Loreto	6	2.1			
				Puno	6	2.1			
				San Martin	6	2.1			
				Tarma	6	2.1			
				Unknown	6	2.1			
TOTALS			100.0			100.0			

Source: Martínez *et al*.1973, Cuadro 32, p. 75.

* Lima department; 3 interviewees from Lima city

of those who did stop, in every case but one they worked for a time in the district or provincial capital nearest to their home. Macisco (1975: 68-69) also found that three-quarters of the women who had worked as domestic servants before their arrival in Lima had gotten their experience in relatively small towns.

About one-half of the women in my survey group came from agricultural families; most of their fathers farmed (and many still do) a small subsistence plot or, in several cases, were attached to haciendas. Of Figueroa Galup's domésticas, 40 percent had campesino parents (1975: 35). Hewett (1974: 3 -- this data is preliminary) also found that half of her domésticas were daughters of agriculturalists. So far as other occupations of parents are concerned, among the fathers of my interviewees there are several chauffers, construction workers, laborers and a miner, a policeman, a hotel busboy, a stevedore, two weavers and a member of an Andean conjunto [band]. Figueroa's fathers, in contrast, included a few professionals, a judge, a justice of the peace and a teacher; understandable, she says, when one takes into account the high rates of illegitimacy in the sierra.

Although 34 percent of their own mothers were reported by my interviewees also to work or have worked in agricultural tasks, another large percentage (22 percent) were said to have been housewives only. It is highly probable, however, that many of the mothers had also engaged regularly in farm labor. Only six mothers of interviewees had been domestic servants.

Nearly one-quarter of the father's occupations (and/or present residence) were unknown to the respondents; Figueroa (1975: 37), who observed the same ignorance about their fathers among her interviewees, believes that this accurately reflects the disconnection which often ensues after some years, in spite of the fact that many migrant women try to preserve their links with their "tierra" [literally, "land" -- the popular name for one's place of origin]. Among my own group of domésticas, only one-half had journeyed back to their native towns even once, a fact which would seem to belie the notion that servants return frequently enough to become role models or even change agents in their own rural communities (Smith 1971: 402-10).

In places where significant numbers of migrants come from nearby provinces (the majority in Hewett's study [1974:3] of domestics in Bogotá came from the adjacent departments of Cundinamarca and Boyacá), a much higher rate of return might be expected. Indeed, Hewett (1976: 85) finds her thesis that this would be so "very amply verified"; after a few years in the city, many domestics return to marry and live in their home villages because they say, "in the country at least one eats" (1976:70). In Colombia, which has 9 intermediate-size cities, there is much less direct migration in any case to the primate city of Bogotá; in Peru, since the second city, Arequipa, has only around 140,000 inhabitants, the majority of the migrants come from places a great deal farther away. Many of my group of domésticas live in places separated from Lima by at least

several days' journey on inter-provincial buses; the fare represents a large sum for servants, a crucial ingredient in their decision to postpone and postpone again a trip home. Distance is only one factor; there is also the fear servants (quite justifiably) have of losing their jobs if they go off on vacation. Many patronas routinely hire replacements for vacationing maids because they do not want to bother taking on temporary household help.

Contact with one's native place may, however, be preserved in other ways: it is the rare servant who does not have a least some "familias" -- many use the plural term to mean both near and distant relatives -- in the city. Most often these do not include parents; in both the Figueroa sample and in my own group, parents most often did not follow a daughter to the city; of ten with one or both parents in Lima, eight had come to the capital with their families as small children.

Links also are preserved through the provincial clubs and through the folkloric dances and other social events held in the Lima Coliseum or in the Campo de Marte (a large, open park in Jesús-María, one of the working-class/lower middle-class districts of Lima) which attract many younger, single migrant women (see Doughty [1970] for a description of the provincial club network). Only one of my own group -- all, it must be remembered, are mothers -- frequents any of these gatherings, but evidence from other studies shows that many maids without children do so.

Finally, even if not as many migrants do go directly to the barriadas or marginal shantytowns on their arrival in Lima, as once

was supposed (only 10 percent of my interviewees and 12.7 percent of Figueroa's [1975: 32-33] went first to live and/or work in a barriada) almost all aspire one day to acquire their own terreno [building lot] there. Migrants gravitate to marginal areas of the city when they are ready to build, often seeking out relatives or friends from their home province in order to cushion the worst features of city life. As Lomnitz (1975) has demonstrated, this penetration of the city by groups of campesinos who hang onto their cultural values is, in fact, from the migrants' perspective not regressive, but an adaptive strategy for survival in a new environment which provides no welfare, unemployment insurance, adequate health care or day care facilities. As my chief informant, Hermalinda, put it one day, "When we don't have anything to eat, we go down to my uncle's or down to my sister's to eat." ("Down" is literal for Hermalinda. As one of the latest invaders, she lives near the top of the cerro [hillside], about a half-hour's walk from her sister's house near the highway.)

The poor have thus outwitted those development experts who saw the extended family as a brake on change -- and the nuclear family as the ideal. The constant demand that what one earned should be shared with kin, it was thought, would prevent the poor from accumulating savings. Instead, the importation of the rural world to the city, including the continued existence of the extended family, may be the real key to why the poor are able to survive in the city against such terrible odds.

As Macisco (1975: 64-68) points out, the employment situation of migrants before they set out for the city gives certain insights into their economic situation and, indirectly, into their motives for moving to the city. In his own study of migrants to Lima, he found that 60 percent of the male, but only 25 percent of the female migrants had been employed before arriving in the city (although he cautions that many more women might have been looking for work in their home place); of the latter, 37 percent had worked, chiefly in the small towns, as domestic servants. Immediately before leaving for Lima, however, 80 percent of the males were unemployed.

My own group is not typical in that 21 of the 47 women migrants (or nearly one half) <u>had</u> worked before going to the city (and 17 of these had done domestic service of some kind). In addition, many said they helped their parents on the <u>chacra</u> [small landholding], although the most typical answer of those who had not had outside employment was "helped my mother in the house." My group is also atypical in that most migrated at a very young age specifically to become domestic servants (the median age of migration/first job is 12 years old). Most women who leave the countryside for Lima are, of course, "passive" migrants, accompanying their parents or husbands; although many hope to work in the city, employment is not their primary motivation in migrating. Among both men and women, those in the younger age group (20-24) are much more likely to be single and to arrive in Lima unaccompanied , especially if they are from the small towns, while men and women in the 25-34 age group, particularly if they come from the larger provincial cities, are accompanied by both

spouse and children. One interesting finding in the Macisco study (1975: 65-66) is that a fairly large number of older women came to Lima with children but without husbands.[15]

Most of my domésticas came from large families; the average number of children in those families is 5.4. As in Hewett's study (1974:3) birth order appears to have little to do with migration, since about one third of my group were the eldest in the family, another third were middle children, and the final third were the youngest. Sometimes an elder daughter had to wait until a younger sister could take over the care of smaller brothers and sisters before she could migrate. In contrast, the majority of Figuerca's sample were middle daughters, and they often followed other family members but did not initiate the movement towards Lima (1976: 38).

Hewett (1976: 70-72) disagrees with the common notion that daughters migrate because there is not enough to occupy them in their native place. Women, she says, can keep busy because female tasks are always plentiful: the preparation of food (making the traditional arepas [a kind of tortilla] is especially arduous in Colombia); washing and caring for the clothing, looking after the animals, helping with the ploughing, sowing and harvesting (as well as collecting firewood, carrying water and looking after the younger children, tasks not mentioned by Hewett). Why, then, do they leave if they have useful work at home?

It is true that women in the countryside, single and married, young and old, are engaged in productive work. Indeed, because

of the heavy out-migration of men, there often is a shortage of laboring hands in rural areas. However, several recent studies indicate that even when women do engage in productive labor, they do not necessarily gain control over their earnings even when their men are absent. Often when husbands migrate, they leave their affairs and land in the hands of male relatives who do not migrate.

Unmarried daughters could keep busy enough in the countryside, but they are the least likely to earn either recognition or wages from their work. Indeed, it has been suggested that rural families may encourage daughters to go to the city to earn cash, part of which they expect to be sent back to help the family. Since my interviewees all needed their wages for their children, my own data do not give any hints about whether daughters do, in fact, send remittances back home. Several said they had done so in the past. Considering the difficulties in communication and the unreliability of the mails in Peru, however, I personally doubt that much money gets back on a regular basis, even from maids who are single. What does happen is that the young woman going to her tierra on a visit saves up so that she can take with her the many gifts she will be expected to bring.

In recent years, increasing attention has been given to the negative effects of urbanization on women's economic, social and political status. When women migrate to the city, many of their productive functions are taken away, to be carried out in factories, food processing plants, laundries, and dry cleaning establishments. Even their primary role in providing their familiy's educational, health and

recreational needs, is drastically reduced. The argument is made that women in pre-industrial hunting and gathering societies, as well as in peasant cultures, have a more equal, if still secondary status because their contributions to the household economy are so crucial -- and are recognized as such.

This view is tempered by other studies which show it is not the extent to which women contribute to the economy which determines their status, but the extent to which they control resources and earnings. Several recent studies on women in peasant communities, two of them on women in the Peruvian sierra (Bourque and Warren, 1976 and Deere 1976) argue that concern over women's greatly diminished participation in production under modern Western capitalism has been accompanied by a tendency to romanticize and idealize the women's position in pre-capitalist modes of production. As Deere (1977: 52-55) documents the women's situation in Cajamarca, Peru the appropriation of women's labor time only appeared less severe than the appropriation of the labor time of the male colono [sharecropper on a hacienda]. Besides the obligation of serving, by turn, two to four weeks in the hacendado's house (which meant oftentimes cooking for 20-30 workers, a task requiring the women to rise at 3 a.m. to begin the long process grinding the maize for the noonday meal), the women also often had permanent charge (assisted by the children) of the hacienda's animals, as well as being on call to help out in the mingas [work parties], for example, to shuck the hacienda corn. Additionally, they could be

required to grind and prepare the corn or barley flour for the hacendado's house, make chicha [a fermented corn drink] butter, cheese and often were expected to spin the hacienda wool into thread.

For Deere, the situation of women under modernization thus remains contradictory:

> That the transition from servile to capitalist relations of production should both improve and deteriorate the socio-economic condition of the women directly and indirectly involved, is the logical outcome of an uneven process of social and economic change.
>
> For the mass of rural women who rid themselves of servile obligations, principally the unlimited commitment of their labor time, there is an absolute decrease in the potential and effective length of the working day as the surplus labor time which was appropriated by the hacendado is eliminated. It was noted, however, that women's servile obligations were the last to be done away with, either as wife or as worker.
>
> For the women who are proletarianized with the development of capitalism, the form of exploitation changes, but continues, as the value of what they produce in the production process is appropriated by the nascent capitalist class. There is little doubt, however, that the wage relationship is superior to the unlimited demand on women's time which took place under servile relations of production. The most important advances for women's work are the right to remuneration and the right to legal recourse for abuses of the length of the working day. (Deere 1977: 66).

The Bourque-Warren and Deere studies, incidentally, both note how women's prestige and power <u>did</u> increase in economic and political affairs in the two rural areas of Peru (Mito in the first study, 1976: 92; Cajamarca in the second study, 1977: 63) from which men had migrated in such numbers that there was no alternative to the women's assuming control over the land and even taking political responsibility. However, Bourque and Warren (p. 95) conclude that, even so, "the critical nature of women's contribution to the economic unit is not sufficient to accord her an equivalent place with men in the enjoyment

of wealth and status in the community."

Under these conditions, it is not difficult to understand why women desire to leave the countryside and go to the city; for younger women such as those in my interview group, there is no question about their chief motive for leaving home: it is the desire to work in paid employment, and the decision to go directly to Lima reflects that fact. Not only is Lima perceived to be the center of opportunity, but for women and men alike the shrinking opportunities in the countryside, coupled with population growth, means that the decision to seek employment "almost automatically carries with it the decision to migrate" (Figueroa Galup 1976:28). Only one of my doméstica group came to Lima on a lark; she came with relatives who decided to visit the city after the harvest and decided to stay behind. Nine others came -- most at an early age -- with their families, and one recent migrant had come with her husband after the earthquake in the Central Sierra. Another three fled maltreatment: one the sexual advances of her stepfather after her mother's death, and the other two (Zulema and Aurelia) the beatings of their male "employers" to whom their mothers had given them at the ages of 10 and 7 years respectively. Zulema escaped almost immediately from a man whom her mother gave her, telling her "this is your father, when it wasn't my father," and went to work carrying bricks in Arequipa, before making her way to Lima. Aurelia was never paid anything, so the title of employer is by courtesy only. Such cases of involuntary servitud are not at all isolated, as the institution of "madrina" detailed below shows. Many sierra families, it should be pointed out, give away

their children because they cannot afford to take care of them and hope they will have some opportunity in the city. Several of my interviewees came to Lima because they were pregnant, and the need to work was particularly urgent:

> Alicia: Yo me he separado de mi esposo porque mi esposo se fué con otra mujer. Por ese motivo me vine a Lima, en la sierra no me podía mantener, mi esposo no me mandaba nada, me vine sola...[I had separated from my husband because he ran off with another woman. That was the reason I came to Lima, in the sierra I couldn't support myself, my husband didn't send me anything, I came alone...]

> Victoria: Yo viajé a Lima con una tía de la señora de acá. Me vine porque tuve mi bebé, me parecía trabajo criar allá y le dije a la señora que me trajera y me trajo. [I came to Lima with the señora's aunt (her employer's aunt). I came because I had my baby, and it seemed to me hard to raise (it) there, so I asked the señora to bring me, and she brought me.]

> Edelmira: Yo me vine con una señora aquí, yo me vine porque no tenía lo económico y para mantener a mi hijito yo no tenía, él (husband) se fué con otra mujer. Me vine con dos meses de estado acá a Lima. [I came with a señora here, I came because I didn't have anything, I didn't have the means to support my little son, I didn't have anything, my husband went off with another woman. I came here when I was two months pregnant.]

The remaining three quarters of my interviewees migrated with the intention of working; extremely revealing is the fact that only three mentioned that they also came with the hope of combining study with work.

> Eusebia: Quiero trabajar y ganar un poco más. [I want to work and to earn a little more.]

> Regina: Viajé porque querría trabajo, mis papás eran pobres yo querría ganar algo. Casualmente estamos trabajando para hacer el año de mi papá. [I came because I wanted to work, my parents were poor, and I wanted to earn something. As a matter of fact, we're working now to observe my father's anniversary (to celebrate a mass on the first anniversary of her father's death.)]

> Hermalinda: Mi tía me trajo para trabajar. Porque allá como estaba estudiando, y mis papás no ha tenido para comprarme los cuadernos, no? Y ellos me ha mandado aquí para trabajar y saber si poder seguir estudiando y trabajando. [My aunt brought me in order to work. Because up there I was studying, and my parents didn't have anything to buy my school notebooks, you see? And so they sent me here to work and to find out if it was possible to continue studying and working.]

> Emilia: He viajado con otra señora que me trajo, porque tenía 15 años entonces, la señora me puso un montón de ideas y me dijo que aquí la vida era mejor, con la ilusión de ganar dinero. [I came with the señora who brought me here (to work for her), because I was 15 years old then, the señora had put a pile of ideas in my head and she told me that life was better here, I came with the illusion of earning money.]

One half of the migrants (24 of 47) in my group already had their positions as domestic servants assured before they arrived in Lima. It is common for city women who have rural connections to go to the provinces to recruit young girls to work for themselves and their friends. Sometimes servants from a provincial hacienda or "big house" are promoted to serve in their employer's Lima residence. All my interviewees with one exception (Alicia, p. 36) had either travelled to the capital with their tías (aunts, in all but one case a courtesy title only), their madrinas (godmothers, the female sponsor at baptism or marriage, but a term of address often used for any women who "adopts" a little girl and initiates her into the servant role) or by future patronas.

Hardly any of my group migrated alone, and this is the standard pattern; as Hewett (1976:88) observes, the notion that prostitutes are recruited among innocents who arrive at the inter-provincial bus stations probably is a myth. While we know little of the history of prostitutes, the scant evidence we have suggests that women may turn

to prostitution as other job opportunities are closed -- and that "the life" simply is not open to many migrant women at any stage since they are not perceived as attractive. What our evidence does show (confirmed by Figueroa's study) is that girls at least rarely leave their native villages without some sort of sponsorship.

> Alberta I: La señora con quien trabajaba me trajo. [The señora with whom I worked (in the provinces) brought me.]
>
> Aurelia: Prácticamente vine sola en compañía de una tía, mejor dicho, una señora. Yo me he crecido desamparada sin familia. Mi mamá me entregó a Señor _____, de 7 anos, y me maltrataba duro. [I came practically alone in the company of an aunt, or rather, a señora I grew up abandoned, without a family. My mother gave me to Señor _____ at 7 years old, and he abused me badly.]
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> Carmen: Vine con una tía, la hermana de una señora de San Martín. He llegado en San Martín de mi provincia con una tía, bueno, no muy familiaria, digo "tía" de todas maneras. Mi mamá me ha mandado, me viene por medio de un papel firmado, por el guárdia civil, no? una partida o algo. Mi mamá se conoció la familia. [I came with an aunt, the sister of a señora of San Martín. I arrived in San Martín (a Lima suburb) from my province with an aunt, well, not really a relative, but I'll call her "aunt" anyhow. My mother sent me , I came by means of a paper that was signed by the civil guard (minors must have permission of the local police constabulary to travel to another town without their parents), you see, a document or something like that. My mother knew the family.
>
> Alberta II: Yo estaba en la hacienda, la señora me encontró allí, me encontré con ella y me dijo para venir, y luego habló con mi mamá .... Yo no vivía con mi papá, él vivía en otra hacienda. [I was at the hacienda and the señora (the owner) ran into me there, I met her and she talked to me about coming and then talked to my mother...I didn't live with my father, he lived on another hacienda.]

> Barbara: Me niñez pase hasta los 9 años en Sicuani, y después vine a Arequipa, me crié con mi madrina, no puso al colegio, le ayudaba en todo a mi madrina, por eso no tengo estudio. [I spent my childhood in Sicuani, but when I was nine I went to Arequipa, my madrina raised me, she didn't put me in school; I helped her out in everything, and for this reason I haven't studied.]

> Faustina: Viajé a los 7 años con una hermana que se había casado, me trajo para acompañarla a Arequipa, de allí me robo una señora como a los 11 años y me trajo aquí. [I went to Arequipa when I was 7 years old to be with a married sister, and from there when I was about 11 years old a señora kidnapped me and brought me here.]

Once she has arrived in the capital, the young woman is taken immediately to her new home (almost all work as live-in maids at first). The next section explores in detail what happens to the young migrant in Lima.

The Domestic Servant In The Lima Labor Market

There are good reasons for migrants to go directly to Lima; the city is not only perceived to be, but is the center of whatever opportunity exists in Peru -- not only for work (hopefully steady work in a factory) -- but for education, health care, housing and other amenities of life which have become the aspirations of the poor on the move throughout the world.[16]

Almost three-quarters (71.6 percent) of the industrial establishments employing 5 or more persons are located in Lima-Callao, and 65 percent of all industrial workers in Peru work in the greater Lima metropolitan area. In 1970, 90 percent of banking, 65 percent of retail trade and one half of the national wealth were centered in Lima (Weiss 1976:22).

Many studies show that what migrants want most is a factory job. Some succeed in finding one; while almost two-thirds of the economically-active residents of Lima are immigrants, 73 percent of the industrial labor force is made up of migrants, confirming again the now well-established demographic fact that migration is "selective," that is, the most capable and energetic persons tend to migrate. (A reminder: the high "success rate" of migrants vs. natives in the industrial manufacturing sector must be interpreted in the light of two facts: (a) the small size of the sector and (b) its relative stagnation -- and the consequent restricted opportunity for migrants and natives alike to find jobs in industry.)

It is true that in the last two decades the economically-active population in metropolitan Lima has grown slightly faster than overall population. But it is important to note the sectors in which workers find job opportunities and to estimate the degree, not so much of outright employment, as of disguised unemployment and underemployment, and of income differentials.

Even though the industrial sector in Peru has grown, it is very weak, even incipient (Suárez 1975:28). As Webb has noted, some urban blue collar activities classified as "modern" pay less than some jobs in the urban traditional sector. Productive capacity is centered mainly in soft and intermediate goods. While these sectors indeed are labor-intensive, still the capacity of the industrial manufacturing sector overall has been too limited to absorb the tremendous numbers of both native Limeneans and migrants who would

like to work in it.

Moreover, one author of a recent survey (Suárez 1975:4) has characterized at least 60 percent of the industrial manufacturing activities as "artesanal" in character. Coupled with the large numbers of people who are forced into unproductive service occupations and street-vending, she estimates that these workers account for an incredible 42 percent rate of un- and underemployment in metropolitan Lima today.

Table 4 shows how the industrial labor force is distributed, contrasting Lima workers to workers in the rest of the country by present occupation and place of birth. Table 5 shows the distribution of natives and migrants in the industrial labor force by sex. The tables do not reveal the thousands upon thousands of migrants who cannot find the factory job of their dreams, but survive by picking up a few days' casual work here and there, mainly in construction -- or who are underemployed in one of the many jobs which have proliferated in recent years in the service sector.[17] [Tables 4 and 5 about here.]

What the last table does reveal is the fact, central to our study, that the industrial labor force is dominated by male migrants The industrial sector itself is almost 86 percent masculine. Not only do many more male than female migrants find opportunities in the industrial sector, but the relatively small size and low absorptive capacity of industrial manufacturing also has the effect of pushing men into better-paying, more secure service occupations, thus forcing women into the lower echelons of the

Table 4

PERUVIAN INDUSTRIAL LABOR FORCE

LOCATION OF PRESENT OCCUPATION

BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Regions/ [BORN IN]	Presently Working in Lima	
Lima	natives	27%
	North	21
	Center	37
	South	14
	East	--
		100
Country	Presently working in	
	Lima	65
	North	10
	Center	12
	South	9
	East	4
		100

Source: Ministerio de Indústria y Turismo 1975, Vol. 1, Cuadro 11 - 16, p.75.

Table 5

PERUVIAN INDUSTRIAL LABOR FORCE

DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES/MIGRANTS

BY SEX

Lima				Eight Cities*			
NATIVES		MIGRANTS		NATIVES		MIGRANTS	
Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
27.3	25.7	35.6	16.6	27.8	23.5	29.0	15.4

*Trujillo, Chiclayo, Piura, Arequipa, Cuzco, Puno, Iquitos, Lima.

Source: Martínez, et al. 1973, Cuadro 83, p. 171.

tertiary sector, and specifically into domestic services. In other words, women migrants have almost no opportunity to land factory jobs; at the same time, the condition of the Lima labor market means that the opportunities are also restricted for women because they are competing with men for jobs in the service sector. In Latin America as a whole (Arizpe: 1976: 42), 64.5 percent of working women are in the service sector, yet they constitute only 34.1 percent of labor within it, and this overwhelmingly domestic service. (In Peru, the figures are 68 percent and 38.7 percent respectively.) Thus, Arizpe contends (ibid.),

> male labor that should in theory have entered industrial employment, has instead pressured the sector which in developed countries is predominantly female: the services.

It must also be remembered that while 16 percent of migrant women who work are in industrial manufacturing in Peru, female factory workers tend to cluster in the smaller establishments or function as piece-workers in their own homes (COTREM 1974:3). A study of occupational status of men and women in non-professional jobs, chiefly in the service sector, shows that there is one woman for every two men; however, if the lowest status jobs are taken into consideration, then there are two women for every man (COTREM 1974: 2).

It is true that both men and women migrants share common disadvantages related to their Indian or cholo racial background, their rural origin, and their lack of skills and education. Moreover, both sexes suffer from the same disadvantage that they were not socialized to city ways; this makes it difficult for them to compete for the scarce jobs with those who were born and/or grew

up to Lima.

Yet men and women do not start out exactly equal when they compete for jobs in the Lima labor market. Female illiteracy rates in the countryside are a startling 70 percent of all those who cannot read or write; many women when they arrive in Lima speak only their native Quechua or Aymará, while most men know at least the rudiments of the Spanish language because it is the males who traditionally have dealt with the dominant society insofar as the Indian family has been obliged to do so. Many Indian men also have served in the armed forces where they were taught to read and write. Women also have been socialized to remain subservient and silent, at least towards the world outside (within the home they may exercise considerable power within certain well-defined boundaries having to do with the home and children). While the male peasant also has been dominated, the campesina has been doubly subordinated: by the dominant Spanish society, and by her own father and uncles, brothers, mates, and oftentimes, her grown sons.

Moreover, as was pointed out in the introduction, women lack opportunity in the city because modernization and urbanization tend to segregate the job market ever more rigidly into a relatively wide range of "male" occupations in the modern sector, and a much narrower range of "female" occupations, many in the traditional sector. Overall, 23 percent of all Peruvian women of working age (15-44 years) are in the labor force; but only 8.43 percent of persons in higher administrative and managerial posts (government and non-

governmental) are women (COTREM 1974: 2). In non-professional occupations, however, the proportion of women rises to 32.5 percent.

A young woman from the provinces consequently has hardly any choice but to go to work as a domestic servant, and 42 percent of migrants 14-19 years of age are found in this occupation (Martínez 1973:170).

What do women earn in domestic service? Pay is low, understandable because so many uneducated, very young women are available. Among my own interviewees, the youngest was brought to work in Lima at the age of six, and the median age was 11 years for those who began work through recruitment by a tía or madrina, a full year younger than the median age of commencing a first position when all the domésticas in my study were taken into account. Younger servants often are not paid in their first years of work, or are paid very little. It is assumed that they are amply recompensed by receiving food, clothing and shelter while they learn their trade and the ways of Lima. Among my interviewees, it was typical to receive no more than S/200-400 in a first job ($5 to $8 a month). These "salaries" often were termed "propinas," [tips]. Recalling Ariès' observation that in earlier centuries servants were not paid, but rewarded.

> Barbara: Bueno acá como ya era grande, yo me vine a los 15 o 16 años, me di cuenta que debía ganar algo porque mi madrina no me pagaba y como esta muchachita yo no sabía y por eso me vine...una señora me dió mi pasaje y dirección como vine, esto en San Isidro. [Well, here since I was now grown up, I came here at about 15 or 16 years of age (she worked from the age of 9 in Arequipa with her madrina who did not pay her), I realized that I ought to be earning something since my madrina didn't pay me anything and as a very little girl I didn't know any better and

for that reason I came...a señora gave me my busfare and her address and that was how I came, and that was in San Isidro (a district of Lima).]

María II incidentally, who came from the house of the employer for whom she still works at the age of 11 -- she is now 28 -- has never received any salary. The señora always says that María is just like a family member, and has everything she wants and needs. It is difficult for one not acquainted with the situation to understand the passivity and fear of a person like María who to this day has never gotten up the courage either to demand a wage or to find another position, although she long ago realized that other servants do receive a salary for their work.

Conditions in the Lima labor market pose the question of upward mobility, touched upon earlier. The issue is complex, but a careful evaluation of the data we have -- and the conclusions of other studies -- leads us to conclude that there is very little movement out of the traditional labor market. The Martínez, et al. study cited above (1973) shows that for women migrants as a group, longer residence in the city is correlated to holding higher level jobs. For those who have been in the city one year or less, fully one-half work in domestic service, while less than 16 percent find opportunity in the industrial manufacturing sector. Conversely, women migrants with ten or more years' residence in Lima are much less likely to be found in domestic service if they work: only 7 percent work as domestics, while 33 percent are in the industrial sector. proportion is also, of course, influenced by age and education levels.

However, such percentages must be interpreted with caution. They cannot be taken to mean that there is a great deal of job mobility for the individual migrant. This is the erroneous interpretation Martínez and his colleagues make of their own data, and Smith and Figueroa also commit the same error of mistaking such figures to indicate intra-generational job mobility. For one thing, such percentages do not show the occupational history of the individual respondents; we do not know what those living in the city for longer periods did as first occupation. They may have been better educated or from the larger towns, and gone immediately into factory work. In the absence of numbers, we do not know if the "survival" group still working is large or small. Moreover, women with longer residence in the city are older, and older women often will not be hired as domestic servants.

A much more accurate picture emerges when we look at the data from a recent labor force mobility study of Suárez (1975). This study asks the same respondent what he/she did as a first occupation on arrival in Lima, and what is his/her present occupation. These data are given as Table 6. Table 7 gives the Suárez stratification scheme and the median income for each occupation.

What becomes clear is that the domestic servant probably will not move out of domestic servitude of his/her own free will, nor will this movement come in the near future. For one thing, the economic structures give them very little opportunity for doing so. If female domestic servants like Agripina do move, they will either leave the labor force entirely to set up housekeeping with husband or

Table 6

MOBILITY BETWEEN FIRST OCCUPATION
AND PRESENT OCCUPATION ACCORDING TO SEX

Strata of Origin: First Occupation	Strata of Present Occupation	Total	SEX	
			Men	Women
Highest**	Highest	83.3	83.6	82.3
	Medium High	7.6	6.4	11.8
	Medium Low	4.2	5.4	-
	Lowest	4.9	4.6	5.9
Medium High	Highest	11.6	16.5	3.3
	Medium High	73.5	63.3	91.0
	Medium Low	9.5	15.1	3.3
	Lowest	5.4	7.1	2.4
Medium Low	Highest	2.9	3.1	1.8
	Medium High	9.7	10.3	6.6
	Medium Low	70.7	71.0	69.5
	Lowest	16.7	15.6	22.1
Lowest	Highest	3.5	4.6	1.6
	Medium High	9.2	12.0	4.7
	Medium Low	24.3	35.6	5.7
	Lowest	63.0	47.8	88.0

Source: Suárez, Cuadro No. 32, p. 61.

** See Table 7 for classifications by occupation (next page)

TABLE 7

STRATIFIED OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

(with median income 1975)

Lima

Occupational groups	% female	Median Income
Highest		
1. Professionals	27.7	$177
2. Managers-Administrators	15.4	179
Medium High		
3. Technicians	42.8	119
4. Office Workers	43.9	83
Medium Low		
5. Conductors	1.7	78
6. Skilled and semi-skilled workers	24.0	68
Lowest		
7. Unskilled workers	2.9	67
8. Sellers	52.4	53
9. Workers in service occupations	71.0	38
10. Agricultural workers*	19.5	N.A.

Source: Suárez, Cuadro 2, p. 16.

* This group includes agricultural, hunting and fishing occupations, which, in Lima, is a very small category (hardly 1.8% of the labor force).

conviviente [common law spouse], or they will move laterally into street vending.

There is little evidence that the domestic servant makes any rational calculations about learning her trade in order to move on to a better neighborhood to improve her position or to increase her prestige. Figueroa's study shows that servants by and large continue to work in or near the neighborhood where they first "land" after migration. My own study reflects the same tendency. Servants say they would like to work in San Isidro, Miraflores, Monterrico (in that order), but their actual moves are more likely to be made by chance. They move to a nearby household because a señora stops them on the street and offers them a few more soles. Or they move to another house simply because conditions have become intolerable in the first ("La señora me gritó demasiado [the señora yelled at me too much]").

Part II, the domestic servant's attitudes to her job and aspirations will be further probed. A section will deal with her family life and affective relationships. Finally her restricted participation in the larger world -- in education, local politics and community affairs, and her tenuous links with the larger political system of Peru -- will be examined.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Only first names are used here to protect the respondents' identity; however, we always used the formal "Señora" and "usted" in our interviews with domestic servants.

[2]The Quechua and Aymará are the two major indigenous groups in present-day Peru.

[3]There are those who see the urban traditional labor market with its large migrant component as responding to and, however crudely, regulated by modern sector expansion -- and thus "functional" for development. Others see the persistence of an urban traditional sector as a symptom of national malady and thus "dysfunctional" for development (for example, Quijano 1970 and 1971; Castells 1973). Richard Webb (1973, 1974 and 1975), who tends towards the former position, nevertheless documents the persistence of domestic service as a low-paid occupation for women in Peru, an exception to other urban traditional occupations where he shows that income has tended to improve over time, even in some cases surpassing what either blue or white collar workers earn in the modern sector.

[4]Arizpe, Mexico City, 1975 and 1977; Boserup, Asian and African cities, 1970; Bryant 1976; Chang and Ducci 1977; Ducci et al., Santiago, 1974; Elizaga 1970; Hewett, Bogotá 1976; Lomnitz, Mexico City, 1975, and Safa, San Juan, 1974.

[5]Among the studies are Balán 1969; Browning and Feindt 1970; Cardona and Simmons 1975; Herrick 1965; Muñoz et al., 1972; Webb 1974 and Wilkening 1968. Cardona and Simmons review studies (pp. 22-23) showing that selectivity of migrants is, however, decreasing in recent times.

[6]Perhaps prostitution might also be included here, for the few migrant women who are considered attractive. Data on prostitution is hard to come by, however, and no studies have been done. Prostitution is legal in Peru and classified as an occupation; the numbers are, however, hidden in the category "other services" in the 1972 census.

[7]Arizpe (1976: 38-39) documents almost identical occupational options for Indian women migrants to Mexico City; they appear, however, to be more restricted by custom to certain endeavors than Lima migrants. For example, the Mazahua women almost always sell

fruit, while the Otomi women specialize in begging.

[8]"Half-breed," but in Peru also meaning an Indian migrant who has put off at least to some extent Indian ways, yet is not fully acculturated to the dominant Hispanic society's standards.

[9]Servants in Western Europe an[illegible]ited States did not, of course, disappear because of cha[illegible] the French, German or North American character. New economic needs, giving the servant class other options, transformed the rigid social hierarchies in these world areas. Still, one might argue that nothing else except change in economic structures has been effective in doing away with servitude; even a Civil War did not better the lot of U.S. blacks who had to wait for the economic opportunities generated by World War II to move in significant numbers into modern sector occupations. Legislation, introduced in Peru in 1972 to improve the life of servants, has had little impact; measures to form labor unions of domestic workers or to make the upper classes more conscious of conditions in which their servants live are no more effective.

[10]Quijano (1971: 1). Webb (1974: 30-31) also challenges the assumption that the traditional sector acts as a "receptacle" for migrants in search of modern sector jobs. He uses data for Lima and 7 other Peruvian cities surveyed in 1970 to show that average length of residence is similar for migrants whether they work in traditional or modern employment: 15.3 and 16.9 respectively. Moreover, both the urban traditional and urban modern sectors had the same proportion (63 percent) of migrants in their labor force. Where Webb disagrees with most interpretations -- including Quijano's which he specifically criticizes -- is in what he regards as their overly pessimistic view of opportunities and incomes in the traditional labor market.

[11]Among them, Amin 1974; Browning 1972; Cardoso and Reina 1969; Cardoso and Faletto 1969; Dos Santos, et al. 1969: Edwards 1975; Furtado 1970; Galbraith 1971; Gianella 1970; Hinkelammert 1970; Martínez, et al. 1973; Nun et al. 1967; Quijano 1971.

[12]The popularity of María, and her wide influence are shown in, among other manifestations, the number of servant maids who -- when asked about their aspirations for themselves or for their daughters -- put "costurera"[dressmaker] at the head of their list by a wide margin over other occupations. This topic will be explored below.

[13]The refrain, "Recién estoy sacando mis documentos," [I've recently been getting my documents together] was a common response

to the query about whether an interviewee was insured.

[14]Defined as an isolated house in the country (2.4%); a shack on a hacienda (2.2%); or a caserio comunidad [out-buildings on a hacienda for farmhands, grouped together] (8.4 %). According to this survey, only 2.7 percent of the migrants to Lima are of foreign origin.

[15]He notes that close to one-quarter of women presently 35 or over in his sample came to Lima without husbands but with one or more children -- the proportion being about the same regardless of the size of place of previous residence. This compares to only 5.8 percent of males of the same age who migrated to Lima without wives.

[16]It would be hard to exaggerate the almost primordial desire of Peruvian women (and men) of all classes to have their own terreno and to erect some kind of habitation on it, even if the house is nothin more than a choza or reed hut. Indeed, in the Martínez study (1973: 44) of rural out-migration, one-quarter of the women said their major reason for migrating to the city was to have a better house. The housing and family situation of women in the Lima workforce will be dealt with in Part II of this report.

[17]I realize that this assertation flies in the face of conventional economic wisdom which assumes that such jobs come into existence because the people who do them are simply responding to real demands, real needs. Yet I tend to agree with Arizpe (1977 :34) who observes that " a street vendor who sells what she just bought in the market two blocks away is not fulfilling a real demand. It is reasonable to suppose that if they had other alternatives, these women would not engage in such activities."

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NOTE: This is Part I of a two-part report on domestic servants. Part II will deal with the servants' work and family life; their aspirations for themselves and their children, and with the constraints on their participation in political life, community organizations and services.

Three other groups of working mothers were studied by my collaborators: ambulantes [street vendors]; comerciantes del mercado [women who sell in stalls rented in the municipal markets], and obreras [factory workers].

The same methodology was employed in interviewing for all the groups (See Bunster, "Talking Pictures and Visual Mode," Signs: Journal of Women and Society Vol.3 No. 1). An equivalent questionnaire was developed so that comparisons could be made among the interviewees in four occupational groups. The team is indebted to Ellan Young, photographer, and Carmen Pimental Sevilla, clinical psychologist, for their assistance in the methodological aspects of the study, and to Jeanine Anderson de Velasco, for her generous collaboration both on the methodology and interviewing. The team also owes a debt to Dr. Arnaldo Cano, Director of the Centro de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo, who gave our project a "home" in 1975, for his interest and encouragement.

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