PNAAQ 776
IAN: 36115

# THE IMPACT OF AGRARIAN REFORM ON MEN AND WOMEN IN HONDURAS

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NOTE

This is a preliminary report designed to meet local project planning needs. Thus, detail on specific settlements and communities is included. However, in order to produce a more synthetic and more generally useful study, analysis and interpretation of the data continues. A final monograph will be available from the Population Council in the summer of 1985.

Grant no. AID/OTR-g-1841
PIO/T no. 3007101-3007328
Project no. 930-0078-930-0068

September, 1983

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study of the impact of agrarian reform on men and women in Honduras includes two parts: (a) a survey of 32 asentamientos throughout the country; and (b) an in-depth study of four asentamientos: Nueva Choluteca in Patuca, Zamora in Bajo Aguan, Los Colorados in Choluteca, and Santa Ana in El Tablon and of two communities of origin: the village El Tablon and the village El Penon.

The survey of 32 asentamientos was necessary because of the great ecological and organizational variation among asentamientos. The main findings of this survey were:

1. The type of farming system individual, collective, or mixed as well as the particular mix between individual and collective style of land cultivation is a crucial determinant of the type of asentamiento and of the life chances it offers its members. This is so because the type of farming system more or less determines the organizational structure of the asentamiento and its access to credit and to some extent to technical assistance. Mixed farming systems with one-half to three-fourths of the land cultivated collectively and the remainder divided into individual lots represent the best types of farming system for Honduras, reconciling as they do the peasant preference for individual land with the economic advantages of collective farming. Asentamientos without collective farming do not organize into cooperatives or precooperatives and thus tend to remain outside ongoing development efforts .

2. In some asentamientos members have less than 7.5 manzanas of land and do not, therefore, qualify to organize a cooperative: less than the 6 in

others members have manzanas which has been calculated to be the minimum viable amount of land or even less than the 5 manzanas mandated by the Agrarian Reform Law.

3. The existence of women's groups seems to be related inversely to men's degree of formal organization. Thus, most active women's groups are found in asentamientos in which men have decided not to cultivate the land collectively and are not organized in pre-cooperatives or cooperatives. Women's groups in this context of poorer asentamientos represent women's efforts to help the families survive.

4. Women heads of household as regular members of asentamientos (socias) are rare. In most cases, only one or two female heads of household are members.

5. Male agronomists and male INA promotores interact only with men and set up courses for men while INA promotoras interact with and inform women.

Through the above information regarding the characteristics of asentamientos, this first survey helped set the criteria that guided the selection of asentamientos for the in-depth study. These criteria were: (1) the type of farming system - individual, collective, or mixed (2) the existence of a women's group (in the present or the past); (3) a range of access to technical and financial assistance from high to low.

In total 98 households were interviewed, 70 in asentamientos and 28 in the two communities of origin. Seventy five households had both an adult man and adult women present. Fifty three of these households were in asentamientos and 22 in communities of origin. Of the remaining 23 households, 6 were female-heads of household (mujeres solas); 8 were men

without wives (hombres solos; and 9 were men temporarily separated from their wives. In Los Colorados and Patuca, all households were interviewed while in the other settlements the interviewed households represent a stratified sample according to the criteria of the study.

The main findings of the in-depth study are the following:

1. 46 percent of the interviewed women were active in agriculture, primarily sowing, hoeing, harvesting, and weeding.

2. Women in communities of origin have access to more land than women in asentamientos but whether or not they cultivate this land themselves depends on the strength of prevailing stereotyped beliefs about women's ability to cultivate land.

3. Women in communities of origin as well as asentamientos own not only chicken and/or hens but pigs and/or cows as well and would like to have more animals including pigs and/or cows.

4. Although most women believe that women are able to make decisions about crops if they are trained in agriculture and acquire experience, they are not usually consulted by their husbands about what to sow or when to sow individual plots.

5. Because most women earn small sums of money at irregular times which they tend to spend immediately to buy food they are usually not able to estimate their yearly income (though once the data are pieced together it is often significant).

6. The majority of women control the income they earn and some also control their husband's income.

7. Women predominantly use their money to buy food but also to cover different household expenses, to buy clothes and medicine, and to pay for

health care.

8. In the communities of origin and in one asentamiento Los Colorados, the husbands are rarely the sole breadwinners. In 40-50 percent of the cases the wives are co-breadwinners with their husbands.

9. There is great variation with regard to quantity and variety of food produced and bought in different asentamientos and communities of origin.

10. Daughters and sons make significant labor contributions to their mothers with regard to help with domestic work. Daughters also contribute labor in childcare, much more so than sons.

11. Daughters' income contributions to their mothers are made mainly by doing work for their mothers that helps them earn more money. Sons economic value to mothers, on the other hand, is high since most unmarried sons give all or a part of their earnings to their mothers. Furthermore, when a mother has no husband, sons often provide significant support.

12. Regardless of the type of produce, when women are the producers of a particular product they most often market it themselves. When, however. they produce a product together with their husband, it is the husband who most often markets it.

13. Girls and boys have equal access to schooling in asentamientos, while in communities of origin girls have less access to schooling than boys.

14. Boys' labor responsibilities with regard to fetching firewood are greater in asentamientos than in their communities of origin while girls' labor responsibilities in this transition increase vis-a-vis fetching water.

15. Many asentamiento members own land outside the asentamiento and in the case of some asentamientos, 29 percent of the members own 1 1/2 to 6 or more manzanas outside the asentamiento.

16. The variation in men's incomes is considerable from asentamiento to asentamiento In one asentamiento, El Tablon, most men earn as low an income as most men in one of the communities of origin, El Penon. in Zamora, however, no one earns as low an income as the majority of men in the above two settlements.

17. Husbands, regardless of level of income, make a moderate financial contribution for food. However, only husbands above a minimum income make substantial financial contributions with some frequency. Furthermore, more husbands spend money for personal luxuries (liquor, soda, cigarettes, women) than for agricultural investments or savings.

18. About one-third of husbands underestimate their wives' income and in two-thirds of these cases the wives earn at least 300-1,000 lempiras or more a year.

19. Most men accept women's working and earning income as convenient and necessary since the men are not always able to earn a sufficient income for all needed expenses.

20. With regard to men's attitudes toward women's groups and women's ability to work in groups, although most men can see the potential advantages of women's groups they are considerably influenced by the mostly negative experiences with actual women's groups in their community. Therefore, only the men in Nueva Choluteca, Patuca are more positive toward women's ability to work in groups because of the more positive image of active women's groups in the community.

21. With regard to men's attitudes toward women's ability to be members of asentamientos, most of them reflect the negative spirit of the agrarian reform law. The presence of three socias in Zamora seems to be a notable

difference. It is only in this asentamiento that one-third of the men think that there is room for men and women in asentamientos and that women can work in teams with men.

22. There are twice as many functionally illiterate men in communities of origin than in asentamientos. Moreover, members of the high-income asentamiento Zamora are much better-educated than all others: none of the members is illiterate; two-thirds are literate (can read and write) and one-fourth of them have completed 4-6 grades. It seems, therefore, that a certain degree of educational selectivity is operating for farmers benefiting from the agrarian reform, especially in favored asentamientos.

23. Men in asentamientos have greater access to information about improved agricultural techniques and far greater access to agricultural, managerial and organizational training than men in communities of origin. There is, however, considerable variation between asentamientos and in some asentamientos, for example Los Colorados, men have access to few courses.

24. Men more often than women report "modern" illness behavior: that is, going to doctors, hospitals, or health centers when they are ill rather than staying home.

25. The large majority of men in all asentamientos feel that their situation is better since the agrarian reform than it was before.

In view of the above findings, the degree to which the agrarian reform has met its objectives can be evaluated as follows:

1. The objectives of the agrarian reform with regard to the equitable distribution of land to the landless do not seem to be entirely met. Some

agrarian reform families have less than the 6 manzanas considered the minimum viable amount of land; other agrarian reform families own land outside the asentamientos (even sizable pieces of land) while there are more landless peasants in communities of origin than in asentamientos; resources in terms of credit and technical assistance are very unequally distributed among agrarian reform farmers and between men and women; and women have less access to land and work opportunities in asentamientos than in communities of origin.

2. Agrarian reform seems to be successful in equalizing boys' and girls' access to schooling but not men's and women's access to agricultural, organizational, and managerial training.

3. The results of the implementation of the agrarian reform law show that female heads of household do not benefit equally with male heads of household from agrarian reform. In fact, women household heads have very rarely benefited and then only if there were grown-up sons to perform agricultural tasks.

4. Also, the impact of the agrarian reform has been more beneficial to men than to women since women have received little or no training or other technical assistance for the women's groups and no technical assistance or credit for their income-generating projects. Yet women are often co-breadwinners, or at any rate find it necessary to contribute a substantial part of the food for the family.

5. The impact of the agrarian reform is much more beneficial to literate farmers who chose asentamientos with good ecological conditions and who produce export crops consistently where their production is assisted by the government, than to illiterate farmers who had no choice but to accept

land in unfavorable ecological regions and were left to struggle with little outside assistance.

At the conclusion of this study, a number of alternate agrarian reform strategies are presented which aim to

(i) diminish social and economic inequalities between agrarian reform farmers in more and less privileged asentamientos,(ii) diminish inequalities between men and women, and (iii) extend the benefits of agrarian reform to female as well as male heads of households.

Finally, the basic principles, the key issues and the appropriate techniques for the study of the impact of agrarian reform and other types of resettlement schemes are spelled out for planners.

# I. INTRODUCTION

## A. General Description of the Country and the People

Honduras is the second largest country in Central America and the third most populated in the area. Although it has only 32 inhabitants per square kilometer (1979 Demographic Yearbook, 1980), this figure is misleading in that it does not allow an accurate assessment of population density, in view of the limited capability of the land to sustain the population. In fact, only 33 percent of the national territory is considered cultivable and large areas are not suited for human habitation because of harsh climate or because they lack access facilities (Plan Nacional de Reforma Agraria, 1974; Blutstein, 1971). Besides, there is considerable internal variance in the density of persons per square kilometer, -- for example,there is a higher density found in the Cortes and Francisco Morasan departments due to migration to the fast growing cities of Tegucigalpa, Comayaguela, and San Pedro Sula (U.N. Fund for Population Activities, 1978). Rugged, mountainous territory in the interior, and inclement weather on the coastal plains have discouraged an even settlement of the population throughout the country. It has also made the development of a national network of communication and transportation difficult. Most of the population is concentrated in the nine westernmost departments. The five departments of the Central region have a low population density and the Eastern zone, which includes the three remaining departments, is sparsely populated. With over 70 percent of the population rural (UN 1979 Demographic Yearbook, 1981), a high degree of

competition for land exists in the more densely populated regions.

According to the Government Master Highway Plan, one-third of the country's cultivable land is not accessible by all-weather roads. In 1978, Honduras had 8.304 kms. of highways and roads, only 19 percent of which were paved. Furthermore, about one-fourth of the rural population live more than a kilometer away from a usable road. In comparison to the rest of Central America, Honduras has fewer roads and the lowest ratio of roads to both area and population (Statistical Yearbook for Latin America, 1979, 1981; Honduras Rural Roads, 1981).

Overall real GDP growth rates have been relatively high: 6.1 percent in 1976, 5.8 percent in 1977, 7.9 percent in 1978, and 5.1 percent in 1979, but about half of such growth was offset by population growth (which is estimated at 3.5 percent per year) as indicated by the following growth rates of per capita GDP at constant 1970 dollars: 2.6 percent in 1976, 2.0 percent in 1977, 4.1 percent in 1978, and 1.4 percent in 1979. However, although the average rate of growth of per capita GDP was 2.5 percent during the four-year period between 1976-1979, this rate represents a remarkable recovery since 1974 and 1975, when the rates fell to -3.2 and -5.2 respectively (Economic Survey of Latin America, 1979, 1981).

The Honduran economy is built on a base of agriculture, forestry, and some mining. But the primary sector's share of total output has been slowly declining while the secondary sector has been increasing its contributions to the GDP. This trend is reflected in the growth of employment in manufacturing, which has gone up to 115,295 in 1977 from only 52,961 in 1974 (UN 1979 Demographic Yearbook, 1981). The single largest components were: agriculture, 28.3 percent (down from 32.8 percent in 1970), manufacturing,

15.8 percent (up from 14 percent in 1970); and commerce, finance, and insurance, 17.2 percent (up from 16 percent in 1970). Main crops were bananas, sugar cane, maize, African palm, and coffee beans. Main industries were food and beverages, textiles and clothing, wood, and chemicals (Economic Survey of Latin America, 1979,, 1981).

Honduras' economy depends heavily on foreign trade, which accounts for more than 40 percent of the country's GDP. Principal export crops are coffee and bananas, which in 1979 represented 27 percent each of total exports. In the last ten years, the country has lessened its dependency on a single export product: in 1970 bananas represented 43.4 percent of total exports and coffee represented only 15 percent. At the same time, there has been an increase in the export value of both crops. In 1976, bananas brought in $107 million into the country's economy and in 1970, $200 million. Coffee, on the other hand, brought in $100 million in 1976, and $197 million in 1979. In general, the agricultural sector is responsible for the generation of more than 80 percent of the foreign exchange received by the country. On the other hand, the rate of growth of import volume averaged 20.7 percent in the period 1977-1979. In 1979, machinery and transport equipment represented 30.8 percent of total imports; manufactured articles, 29.5 percent; fuels and lubricants, 13.8 percent (almost doubling its participation in total imports, from 6.7 percent in 1970); and chemicals, 15.5 percent (Economic Survey of Latin America, 1979, 1981).

According to the 1974 Census, 2,656,948 people lived in Honduras; in 1979, the U.N. estimated that there were 3,500,000 people. Most of these people live in rural areas, as reflected by the fact that since 1974, only 35 percent of the population has been living in urban areas. This

comparatively low level of urbanization reflects the dominance of the agricultural sector in the Honduran economy and is associated with a higher level of fertility among rural women and with young populations living in rural areas. The annual rate of increase of the total population in 1979 was estimated at 3 percent and the crude live-birth rate was estimated at 43.9 per thousand in 1977. Infant mortality was 31.4 per thousand in 1976; the respective rates for male and female infants were 33.8 percent per thousand and 28.8 percent per thousand. Life expectation for the period 1970-1975 was low, that is, only 52.4 years for males and 55.9 years for females (UN 1979 Demographic Yearbook, 1981).

According to U.N. data, 65 percent of Honduran households live in absolute poverty, or with an income below 1,726 lempiras per year (Economic Survey of Latin America - 1979, 1981). The USAID field mission in Honduras, using the "nutritionally-at-risk" standard, has estimated that in 1978, 64 percent of the urban population and 90 percent of the rural population were poor. A total of 2.9 million people did not earn enough to purchase the minimum diet which was estimated to cost $300 per capita in urban locations and $220 in rural conditions (Country Development Strategy Statement, 1980).

In explaining the reasons for widespread poverty in Honduras, the USAID Mission in Honduras points out that among other factors, land is unequally distributed both in terms of quality and quantity. This unequal distribution of land and income is clearly shown in the following findings of the USAID Agricultural Sector Assessment regarding the composition of the rural population. In 1978, small farmers practicing traditional agriculture in plots of 1 to 35 hectares with an average annual per capita income of $135 represented 35 percent of the rural population. The landless poor make up 47

percent of the rural population and are occasional laborers in a variety of sectors (although half of them earn some income on micro-farms of less than one hectare) and earn an average yearly per capita income of $63. The agrarian reform farmers represented only 9 percent of the rural population and incomes varied significantly among them. Finally, 9 percent of all farmers were medium-sized and large farmers with market-oriented production and sizable incomes (Country Development Strategy Statement, 1980). Those living in asentamientos receiving intensive government assistance earned an average annual per capita income of $450 and those living in asentamientos without such assistance earned an average income of $106 per capita. However, since most agrarian reform families live in asentamientos with little access to assistance, 90 percent of them fall below the poverty line; that is, below the $220 annual per capita in 1978.

Although the agrarian reform has had as its goal the diminution of extreme social inequalities, its implementation seems to create and reinforce new social inequalities. One-third of the better-educated farmers resettled in lowlands have received all types of government assistance because of the better agricultural potential of the land on which they settled. The other two-thirds of agrarian reform farmers, however, who are less well educated, have resettled on highlands, and have often had to cope with severe ecological constraints, while receiving little or no economic and technical assistance that would allow them to move away from subsistence agriculture (Country Development Strategy Statement, 1980). In this way, those already privileged by education and good quality land are further favored by being

granted the assistance needed to turn their land into successful enterprises (empresas), while those who need assistance most are left alone to struggle to survive.

The problem of rural poverty in Honduras is of tremendous dimension, clearly, placing the country as the second poorest in the Western Hemisphere, after Haiti (ECLA, 1981). Landlessness and unequal access to land or modern agricultural information and inputs are not the only indications of rural poverty. Illiteracy and lack of training are extensive, especially in the rural areas and among women. In 1974, 60 percent of the rural men and 78 percent of the rural women over 15 years of age were illiterate. Another crucial aspect of Honduran poverty is the lack of sufficient numbers of men and women trained as agricultural extension workers, as well as the lack of adequate transportation that would enable those already trained to reach farmers, especially in the highlands where they are badly needed. Finally, another aspect of poverty is the low status of women in Honduras, especially in the rural areas, as will be discussed below in detail.

## B. The Status of Women in Honduras

Within the context of the great social inequalities prevailing in the rural areas, another set of inequalities further curtails the life chances of the underprivileged. Sex inequalities are not only evident in rural women's access to literacy and schooling, but are pervasive in all life sectors and are maintained and reinforced by cultural norms and institutionalized mechanisms and processes.

The rural women of Honduras work very hard at home and in the fields and

contribute a sizable percentage of both the food consumed by the family and the income to buy food. On the basis of interviews with individuals who work with rural people in general as well as with rural women, the Agricultural Sector Assessment of the USAID Mission in Honduras concluded that: "It is not uncommon for the cash or subsistence income contributed by the women in the form of eggs, cheese, fresh or processed fruit, vegetables, or small animals to be the principal food source for the family during periods of grain shortage" (Agricultural Sector Assessment for Honduras Annexes, 1978). The women's contributions, however, remain largely "invisible" to social scientists and policy makers.

One of the institutionalized ways by which women's work contributions remain invisible is through the official statistics. In Honduras, as is true for most Latin American countries, the census statistics grossly underestimate women's economic participation, mainly by not counting those rural women working as unpaid family workers as economically active. Thus, the 1974 Census of Honduras reports that 13.1 percent of all women are in the labor force and only 8 percent of all women over the age of 10 living in rural areas are economically active. Even more striking is the fact that the same census reports that only 1.9 percent of the women in Honduras are economically active in agriculture. While there is considerable variation in the extent to which women work in the fields as unpaid family workers according to the type of crops grown, in practically no rural area is their participation as low as recorded by the Census. This discrepancy is seen in Jamastran where cotton and tobacco are cultivated, and women represent an important source of labor in cultivation and harvesting. In Comayagua, as vegetables begin to be cultivated where irrigation has been introduced, women

begin to take on a central role. In addition, women raise small animals such as pigs, chickens and laying hens (Agricultural Sector Assessment for Honduras Annexes, 1978).

The agrarian reform laws, and even more their actual implementation at the settlement level, have accentuated women's dependence on men since in fact very few female heads of household have become asentamiento members. This reality, coupled with the fact that most rural women live in common-law rather than legal marriages, which tend to be quite unstable, further underlines women's dependence on men. According to the 1974 Census, in 55 percent of rural couples the women were living in "free union" relationships with a man rather than in legal marriages. Also according to the same national statistics, 13 percent of all rural households are headed by women and another 13-14 percent are de facto female-headed households due to male labor migration (Agricultural Sector Assessment for Honduras Annexes, 1978).

Most women in rural communities, villages and asentamientos are members of Housewives Clubs, which are usually promoted by the National Agrarian Institute (INA), the Ministry of Natural Resources, the Junta Nacional de Bienestar Social (JNBS), the National Association of Honduran Campesinos (ANACH) and other institutions. Some of these institutions offer technical assistance in the form of training courses but they seldom offer credit for the small income-generating projects of the groups. Thus, a great degree of frustration and failure is the frequent outcome of these constraints (Agricultural Sector Assessment for Honduras Annexes, 1978).

In view of the above, family planning efforts may not be very successful with landless and agrarian reform women, unless important changes in institutionalized mechanisms and processes take place that increase women's

direct access to land, paid employment, credit, training, and decision-making power. Only in this way can the rural Hondurenas begin to gain self-confidence and a degree of autonomy that would allow them not to depend on sons for security.

## C. A Brief History of Agrarian Reform

Early in the 20th century, the United States Government undertook to protect the territorial integrity of Honduras against England's attempts to permanently seize the Bay Islands and the Mosquito Coast in the North that the Englisn had previously occupied. This marked the beginning of American business investments in Honduras which, during the 30's and 40's, led to American domination of the banana plantation economy in Honduras, from the production stage to commercialization in overseas markets. These American banana companies -- the United Fruit Company, the Standard Fruit Company, and the Cuyamel Fruit Company -- owned large tracts of land on the Caribbean Coast, provided the single source of qualified and relatively highly paid rural employment in the country, and generated most of the foreign exchange required for the country's international transactions.

Before World War II, it was possible for American companies to own a huge share of the most fertile land in Honduras because land was not yet scarce. This was so because the population was still small, subsistence farmers had easy access to land, and internal demand for agricultural produce kept pace with domestic supply. Large landowners, both foreign and domestic, were able to expand their holdings by legal and illegal means without

arousing much opposition since the rural frontier could still accommodate the peasant population. After the War, however, internal demand increased as a result of rapid population growth and land became more scarce and, therefore, more valued.

Before World War II, land in Honduras was also occupied by a large number of El Salvador nationals who had been entering Honduras illegally since the 1930's and had been occupying lands illegally (Mundigo, 1972). Over the years, the number of Salvadoreans in Honduras grew steadily and their importance to the domestic economy increased as well. The Honduran National Census of 1961 counted 38,002 Salvadorean residents in Honduras. Nine years later the figure was estimated at 300,000 although more moderate private estimates put the amount at about 100,000 (Mundigo, 1972). At first, the Salvadoreans, who were mostly peasants, settled on uncultivated lands, which were forested or mountainous and far from the markets, and did not affect the interests of the local population. Later on, however, as the pressure for land increased, INA decided in 1969 to enforce certain clauses of the Agrarian Reform Law to induce Salvadorean peasants to leave Honduras. INA's campaign against the Salvadorean peasants was intensified, encouraging the Honduran populace to get involved in the identification and ousting of Salvadoreans, and in retaliation El Salvador's army crossed into Honduras on July 14, 1969. A cease-fire was forced upon the contenders by the Organization of American States under the leadership of the United States five days later. In the process, the Salvadorean peasants in Honduras were subject to a massive land expropriation without compensation. Also, it is important to note that the support that the peasants' organizations gave the military during the war enhanced their bargaining power in the internal

conflict for land with other competing classes.

An important factor responsible for the increased demand for land was the growth of the market for agricultural products. In the post-World War II period, transportation began to improve and foreign markets opened up for cotton, meat, and other products. Thus, both land and labor became much more valuable for large farmers who could penetrate the foreign and growing Central American urban markets. Large farmers, therefore, began evicting the campesinos from national or ejidal land (or at least to deny rental) at a time when the rural population was increasing. This was the beginning of the struggle for available land resources (White, 1976; and Durham, 1979).

The conflict between peasants and large landholders brought into action other elements of the society, namely the church, the political parties, the army and the urban industrial and commercial elites.

The shortage of native priests forced the Catholic Church to bring in foreign-born priests to serve the Honduran communities. Many of them, coming from affluent societies, such as the United States, Belgium and Canada, were appalled by the local rural conditions of extreme poverty and exploitation. Some became active in promoting community development and social awareness inspired by the social welfare systems of their countries of origin, and by the social teachings of the European church. Church influence was exerted through a combination of organizations and institutions that included the Delegates of the World, that is, community leaders in charge of day-to-day religious services; the radio schools, which operated through a national network of monitors and learning teams that met regularly; training centers that prepared peasant leaders for the various rural organizations in their area; and housewives' clubs that gave women a chance to get together and work

on projects of their own. The official support of the church of the peasants' right to the land and the participation of some priests in the organization of peasants' groups brought accusations of "outside agitation," "communism," and "subversion" on the church. In reality, a combination of church activism with appeals for political changes by progressive parties, and the pervading influence of modern means of communication with their content of non-traditional life styles, had the effect of raising the social "consciousness" of the rural lower classes.

In the 1960's, the organization of university students in Tegucigalpa mobilized the leaders and the ideas that originated the Christian Democratic Party. Though small, the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) had a strong influence in the organization of the peasant movement and supported the peasants' demand for land distribution and improvement of rural life. In 1964, it inspired the foundation of UNC.

In 1961, ANACH appeared with support funds and assistance from the Regional Inter-American Organization of Workers (Organización Regional Inter-americana de Trabajadores). ANACH claimed a larger membership than UNC and has been a vehicle for peasants' complaints and demands.

The former director of INA, Colonel Mario Maldonado, claims that of the ten agrarian laws issued, the most far-reaching among them were those of 1962, 1972 and 1975 (Maldonado, 1981). The decree law No. 2 of 1962 was passed as a result of increased domestic and international pressures. It had no significant impact on the structure of rural land ownership, rural employment or agricultural production, and no financial and technical support was provided for reforms to take place. When it was replaced in 1972, it had benefited only 9,076 families with grants of 34,961 hectares, of which only

27,107 hectares were considered arable (Maldonado, 1981). Despite the small impact it had, the 1962 law was much opposed. The president of the United Fruit Company tried to enlist the help of the U.S. Department of State to render the law ineffective by publicly announcing that the agrarian reform did not have the approval of the American government (Bernstein, 1966). Combined pressure from the foreign fruit companies and the local organizations of landowners achieved a modification of the law ten months after it had been approved. This modification made the law ineffective. Furthermore, after the coup d'etat of Lopez Arellano in 1963 and until 1968, officials of the National Agrarian Institute (INA), the rural police, and local politicians generally collaborated with large landholders in the evictions of small cultivators (White, 1976).

From 1969 to 1973 land occupations (or invasions) became a frequent and widespread practice among land-hungry peasants. It was their last recourse to get the agrarian reform process moving. The civilian government at the time was unable (or unwilling) to overcome the opposition to the agrarian reform. In December of 1972, the military came back to power with the support of the peasants' organizations and the urban elites linked to the modern sectors of the economy who were interested in reforms that would increase the consumption capability of larger sectors of the population.

The Decree Law No. 8 of December 26, 1972 was an emergency measure, with the following main features: 1) the peasants were given access to idle or partially cultivated land under a forced-lease arrangement but the value of the lease could not exceed one percent of the declared (for income-tax purposes) value of the land; 2) a special fund was set up in the National Development Bank to finance credit for beneficiaries of the land reform plan;

3) the peasants were given the right to technical assistance and marketing assistance free of cost; 4) preference was given to groups of peasants that would undertake collective farming, thus pooling efforts and resources for agricultural production. As a result of the application of this law, from January 1973 to January 1975 511 agricultural settlements were created with the participation of 18,502 families, in an area of 79,552 hectares, of which 58,969 hectares were arable (Maldonado, 1981).

The Decree 8 of 1972 was meant, however, to be a transitional measure. Thus, after two years of discussions with peasants' organizations, landowners' associations and official agencies, the government issued Decree Law No. 170 on January 14, 1975.

In summary, the agrarian reform laws have been passed more as a response to the demands of the peasants than as a purposeful decision by the country's elite to modernize the national economy and the social structure. At times violence has been an important factor in advancing the peasants' rights as well as in maintaining the authority of the government.

One respondent in the asentamiento "3 Ases" in Olancho described the way the group occupied its land as follows: "The landowners were not cultivating the land, so we came in and took it. The landowners complained to the government in Tegucigalpa. From there, they came on a plane but we were together and held our cutlasses up in the air and the plane went away."

A woman leader of the asentamiento San Juan de Linaca in Jamastran told the early history of their community this way: "At first we sowed beans in the land we had occupied. Two months later lieutenant Trejos brought 500 cattle to pasture on our bean crop, but the cattle didn't damage it so the landowners sent their day laborers to spread salt on the land. The cattle

ate our crop and there came many months of hunger and misery. The men took to the mountains for their lives and the women stayed behind. They thought that being women, nobody would dare to hurt them and they started to fence off the occupied land. But they sent the soldiers to put down the fence. When the women saw this, they took courage in their hearts and with cutlasses in their hands kept rebuilding the fences that the soldiers were destroying."

D. The Goals of the Agrarian Reform.

The objectives of the agrarian reform can be summarized as follows:

1. To ward off the agrarian conflicts that result from the contradictory needs of the owners of large latifundia, the small farmers and landless peasants, and the rural laborers;

2. To substantially raise the rate of growth of agricultural income, and to attain fundamental changes in the distribution of agricultural income so that the quality of life for the rural population may improve;

3. To efficiently use production factors -- especially labor -- in order to attain higher employment and better pay;

4. To increase agricultural productivity by means of a technology adequate to the resources available in the country so that there is global and structural equilibrium in domestic production (Plan Nacional de Reforma Agraria, 1977).

The Agrarian Reform Law is a tool of change for the rural economy in Honduras. It has attempted to unify the status of owner, entrepreneur and laborer. The land grants were intended to help the peasant family escape poverty and become capable of sustaining its members. For this reason the

land title is granted to the head of the household who in most cases is the male. This, however, does not exclude women, since, according to paragraph 81 of the Agrarian Reform Law, women that support a family, be they single women or widows, receive preference for land grants, and male heads of household come second. Single women who do not support a family, however, are treated differently despite the fact that single men over 16 years old can receive title to land (Decree No. 08 of 1972 substituted by Decree 170 of 1975). According to a study of the social and economic status of women in Honduras (undertaken by three Hondurenas: an economist, a sociologist, and a lawyer), the reason for this discriminatory approach was of an "economic nature." "Equality of rights for single men and women," they claim, "would end up increasing the seriousness of the agrarian problem, and more land would be needed for distribution not even among family groups but also for distribution among men and women peasants as individuals" (Estudio sobre la participación de la mujer en el desarrollo económico y social de Honduras, 1977). One wonders how it is that well-educated women can endorse such rhetoric that makes little sense and only helps sustain sex inequality.

At the time of promulgation of Decree no. 8 of 1972, the quantified goals of the agrarian reform to be accomplished by the end of 1978 (5 years later) were to settle 120,000 peasant families in an area of 600,000 hectares. However, by the end of 1977 only 26,000 families had been settled on 125,000 hectares (Agricultural Sector Assessment for Honduras, 1978).

The last agrarian reform law is the already mentioned Decree No. 170 of 1975. Its main features are:

1) The stated goal to give land to more than 120,000 peasant families, granting each an extension of 5 hectares on average, within the framework of

collective farming enterprises.

2) A limit in the maximum size of land that an individual owner can have. The limit varies between 100 hectares and 2000 hectares depending on the quality of the land and the geographic location. Larger land areas can be expropriated if they are not being efficiently exploited under the owner's direct control.

3) Plots smaller than five hectares can also be expropriated for the purpose of adding them to other pieces of land in order to form a larger, more viable farm unit.

4) Land of any size can be expropriated at any time if it is idle.

5) Landless agricultural workers and tenant farmers have a preferential right to land being distributed.

6) There are three types of beneficiaries of land distribution: farmer families (Unidades agricolas familiares), peasant cooperatives (cooperativas campesinas), and collective farming enterprises (empresas asociativas campesinas). The latter form will be preferred, and the agencies that implement the agrarian reform law will give them preference.

7) Cash crops that are important for export will be given special consideration. Thus, land cultivated with banana, sugar cane, African oil palm, coffee, pineapples, citrus, and tobacco are exempted from land reform constraints, if they are efficiently exploited.

The National Development Plan for 1979-1983 included the following objectives in the agricultural sector: increasing per capita income; improving the distribution of that income; increasing and sustaining increased production levels, and decreasing unemployment in the sector. The government planned to achieve those objectives by continuing to support the

Agrarian Reform Program as one of its important policies. For this purpose the Program aimed to recruit 10,000 families a year for participation in the settlement of expropriated lands or of those that would pass into government hands within the following years (Honduras, Country Development Strategy Statement, 1980).

The discrimination of the agrarian reform program against women, even those who are heads of households, is exemplified by the disastrous conditions of the "Asentamiento Campesino de Mujeres, La Coroza No. 2," the only peasant settlement in which women as a group have attempted to be beneficiaries of the agrarian reform law.

In 1976, a Housewives' Club that was operating in the villages of Santa Eduviges and La Coroza changed its constitution to become a peasant group whose membership was restricted to women, and applied to INA for a land grant on a 108 hectare plot that was reserved for a housing project. Their application was denied and they received, instead, in 1980 a gift of 50 manzanas from a local latifundium owner. As a matter of fact these 50 manzanas were not viable either for agriculture or for housing construction.

This asentamiento has 37 women members, and it includes a total population of 189 persons. A study conducted by INA and ILCA in 1979 reported that women members and their daughters had very limited sources of income-generating employment in the asentamiento. Seventy-three percent of the female population spent their time doing household chores, 14 percent worked in agriculture, and 13 percent worked outside of the asentamiento as laborers, sellers of homemade snacks like tortillas, and as small traders.

One-fourth of school-age children attended school but not regularly, while the rest did not attend school at all because of extreme poverty

conditions, illness, late arrival at the village, or plain opposition of parents to their children's schooling.

The most common illnesses were grippe, diarrhea, asthma, skin rash, and malaria, and these occurred especially among children between 1 and 5 years old.

Most frequent causes of death were dysentery, parasitic infections and other conditions that affect the digestive and respiratory organs. Child mortality was 30 per thousand in the asentamiento. Nutrition was very poor as a result of a diet formed basically by carbohydrates. More than half of the members of asentamientos reported regular consumption of some food source of protein, and less than a quarter consumed any source of vitamins and minerals. During a visit to the asentamiento, it was observed that the majority of children under 5 were malnourished, with a considerable number of 0-2- year-olds suffering from acute malnutrition. Health status was further endangered by the fact that there was no supply of drinkable water, while only 4 out of 26 house units had latrines, and there was no access to electric power.

The participation of the women and adult daughters in income generation was limited.[1] Only 27 of them earned between L.28.00 and L.150.00 a month.

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[1] There are, however, many things that could be done to improve women's income generation ability and the family nutritional status. For example, the area is well suited for keeping goats. The women could be partially subsidized and given credit to buy goats and be given training about the proper care of goats, including some basic training for illnesses.

The case of this asentamiento of female-headed households raises important policy questions as to whether the Honduras government through INA should initiate a program specifically aimed at organizing female heads of household into groups, at distributing land to them that is fit for agriculture and at offering them well coordinated technical assistance in all relevant areas.

Husbands and older sons, on the other hand, worked as tenant farmers or masons in nearby villages and managed to earn more income (Diagnóstico Sobre Las Condiciones Socioeconómicas del Asentamiento Campesino de Mujeres La Coroza No. 2, 1979. Asentamiento Campesino de Mujeres La Coroza No. 2, 1979).

## II. ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

The design of the study and the analysis of the data have been undertaken within a theoretical framework of class and sex stratification which allows the examination of the impact of agrarian reform on different class and gender groups. Stratification systems rank people according to a salient criterion, be it social status (income, social origin, occupation) or gender and thus grant them differential rights, privileges and duties. Members of privileged groups (high social status people or men) tend to have considerably greater access to valued resources than others and are empowered to make crucial decisions about their lives and the lives of less privileged people. Stratification systems obtain and maintain institutional legitimacy through laws and policies that treat members of privileged groups preferentially and justify these members' dominant status by religious, traditional, moral and/or pseudo-scientific ideologies and beliefs (Safilios-Rothschild, 1982a; 1982b). These two stratification systems operate in all societies and are particularly powerful and rigid in Honduras. The evidence for these assertions is the existence of sharp social inequalities with regard to land ownership and family income. Commercial farmers with more than 35 hectares control 57.2 percent of the land and represent 3.3 percent of farm families. At the other end of the social scale landless laborers represent 44.3 percent of farm families (or 47 percent of the rural population). In between, traditional farmers have 1-35 hectares and represent 43.1 percent of farm families but the large majority of them have less than 5 hectares. More in detail, traditional farmers have 149,012 hectares, 124,747 (or 83.7 percent) of which are parcelled in pieces of less

than 5 hectares (1974 Agricultural Census). Furthermore, with regard to family income, landless laborers have an average per capita income of $50-63, which places them well under the poverty line (calculated by USAID to be approximately $250 annually per capita in 1978) while the majority of traditional farmers with less than 5 hectares also fall well below the poverty line, since their average per capita income rarely rises above $100-120 (Agricultural Sector Assessment for Honduras, 1978). Thus, the majority of the population lives below the poverty line.

With regard to the sex stratification system, on the other hand, all socioeconomic indicators examined, such as the persisting invisibility of women's labor and income contributions, and the existence of powerful and clear-cut beliefs about women's biological inferiority and women's social, economic, and psychological dependence on men, all clearly point to women's limited direct access to resources and to the existence of institutionalized mechanisms and beliefs that sustain such limited access.

Since men and women are affected by both stratification systems, additional hypotheses define the relationship between the two systems. According to these hypotheses, in societies such as the Latin American societies, in which the social stratification system is well structured and rigid and there are few avenues for upward social mobility except possibly through marriage, high social status is sufficiently powerful to neutralize gender status (Safilios-Rothschild, 1982a). Thus, high status women in societies like Honduras are entitled to equal access with men to valued resources such as food, health care, education and different types of training, important and high-paying positions and even political positions. This equalization of access comes about as a result of there being a surplus

of income sufficient to provide sons and daughters with food, health care, education and different types of training. Also, women enjoy equal access with men to land, positions, and even political power since in this way the labor requirements of expanding social and economic structures are met by high social status members (men and women) rather than by lower social status men (Safilios-Rothschild, 1982a).

At the other end of the social spectrum, however, the scarcity of resources implies the necessity for hard choices, since it is impossible to satisfy all family members. Within this social context in which the needs and requirements of some family members must be sacrificed in order for at least a few family members to be able to survive and have access to education, training, and paid employment, sex stratification becomes intensified (Safilios-Rothschild, 1980; Horowitz, 1979). It is among low-income urban and rural families whose valued resources are scarce that there is evidence of greater female than male malnutrition and undernourishment (Pillsbury, 1978; Cosminsky, 1972). There are also sex inequalities in access to education and training as well as to paid employment, agricultural extension information (Staudt, 1979), credit, and participation in peasants' associations or other types of organizations (Safilios-Rothschild, 1980).

Furthermore, when labor is scarce, it is women's and, even more so, young girls' labor that is predominantly used for the most time-consuming and least prestigious and/or rewarded tasks (Safilios-Rothschild, 1980). Thus, in rural areas in most developing countries where labor is scarce, young girls and women fetch water, carry fuelwood, make food, weed, and help with sowing and harvesting. In Honduras, as in most other Central American

countries, it is the tradition for sons and less often for fathers to carry fuelwood, but otherwise women and young girls work much longer hours than men performing all other needed tasks. Here is an area in which the operation of age stratification is also important since women can pass on the excess workload delegated to them by men only to their daughters. on a very important immediate labor utility for their mothers with serious demographic implications.

Since the present study aims to examine the differential impact of the agrarian reform in Honduras on men, women, and to a lesser extent boys, and girls, the above theoretical framework provides the appropriate basis for the conceptualization of the central issues. Among the Honduran peasants, scarcity of resources is chronic, and gender represents a convenient stratification criterion. In addition, age represents an additional stratification criterion superimposed on gender, thus leading to the hypothesis that girls represent the group to which most responsibilities and fewer rights and rewards are delegated.

Since the agrarian reform represents a unique opportunity to gain access to land and possibly also technical assistance, the stakes are high, and within the extreme scarcity context of rural Honduras it can be expected to become the battleground for the operation of the sex and social stratification systems. One of the concrete consequences of sex stratification is evident in the fact that the agrarian reform law specifies that single men can have access to land but not single women, thus underlining the priority granted to men by society. Women can participate in the agrarian reform only if they are heads of households with children. This law underlines rural women's lack of autonomy and their dependence either on

their husbands or on their children. Furthermore, in the actual implementation of the agrarian reform we can expect that women will rarely be allowed direct access to land due to the widespread beliefs according to which women cannot cope with the very strenuous agricultural work and, therefore, cannot pull their weight as members in an asentamiento. Therefore, only an insignificant number of women heads of households may be accepted as socias in asentamientos, mainly when they have adolescent or older sons who can perform their share of agricultural work. Again, this allows women to have access to land only indirectly through men (their sons). In this way low-income women's dependence on sons clearly spells out the crucial value of sons for mothers since they represent the only security for women in a context in which legal marriage is rare and the possiblity of desertion by men considerable. It is, therefore, important to examine the extent to which agrarian reform has helped women living in asentamientos by providing them technical assistance so that they can escape the squeeze between labor and income dependence on children and lack of access to means of production.

Social stratification can also be expected to play an important role by possibly leading the implementation of the agrarian reform to deviate from its idealistic goals of distributing land to the landless and of increasing the family incomes of the rural poor. These deviations may take place in different ways:

(1) Literate and better educated small farmers tend to be better organized in active peasant organizations and to often represent local organizations at a regional level. Because of their educations and organizational positions, those farmers are higher in the social

stratification system than landless laborers. These farmers have access to information regarding the relative desirability of various asentamientos because of such factors as size and quality of available land, probability of clear title to land, and availability of technical assistance due to a potentially high productivity area. Thus, these farmers are able to make better informed choices as to whether or not they should join a particular agrarian reform group or a particular asentamiento than are illiterate and landless or marginal farmers who do not understand very well the processes and implementation of the agrarian reform and who seldom have a variety of choices. Furthermore, educated and organizationally well-connected farmers can organize and lead their own group and, thus, assure good land and the greatest share of profits for themselves.

(2) It is also possible that despite the egalitarian methodology of the agrarian reform regarding the distribution of land and the distribution of profits, the system may break down due to the application of particularistic (rather than universalistic) criteria based on kinship and/or friendship which again may favor the better-off rather than the poorer farmers since the former rather than the latter are in power positions. This particularistic treatment may also apply to decisions concerning the possibility for unmarried sons to stay on in the asentamiento as full-fledged socios.

The application of the above analytic framework leads to a two-fold examination of comparative access to valued resources such as land, agricultural inputs, credit, information and training, income, food, health care, and organizational participation. The two-fold comparative analysis of access involves the comparison of men's and women's access in villages (communities of origin) and in asentamientos. Because the four asentamientos

which have been studied represent different organizational and farming systems, the two-fold comparative analysis of access to resources will be carried out separately for each asentamiento. To the extent that is possible, comparisons will also involve boys' and girls' access to education, employment, and income and their share of work responsibilities in communities of origin and asentamientos in comparison to fathers' and mothers' access to the same resources. These cross-generational comparisons are, however, seriously hampered by the recentness of the agrarian reform peasants' experiences that have taken place in villages in the pre-reform era.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the policy implications of a class and sex stratification analytic framework allow us to examine the extent to which a major development intervention such as the agrarian reform can succeed in its economic goals if it does not include equal provisions for women's access to land and technical assistance. In other words, it raises the following basic questions, some of which we will attempt to answer in this study: Does agrarian reform increase or decrease women's access to land for cultivation and to other income sources? Can the family's access to food improve when the women's ability to cultivate land and/or to earn an income decreases? Do husbands' contributions for food increase with the level of their income? Does the amount available for food increase linearly with the wife's income? Can wives' income increase substantially without sustained technical assistance (including credit) to womens' groups as part of the agrarian reform?

## III. METHODOLOGY

### A. Setting the Research Context: The Typology of Asentamientos

In Honduras, there are 1,554 asentamientos created through the agrarian reform dispersed in different parts of the country, with very different climatic factors and land quality as well as leadership quality and management style. The considerable variation in types of asentamientos is compounded by the fact that the asentamientos have received different degrees of technical assistance and that some of them have active women's groups while others do not. This variation in the types of asentamientos dictated the study of 32 asentamientos, which allows the placement of the more in-depth studies of four asentamientos in the context of an asentamiento typology.*

The 32 asentamientos sampled were chosen on the basis of the following criteria: (a) location in the geographic regions where agrarian reform has been actively pursued; (b) representation of collective, individual, and mixed types of farming in different ecological regions; (c) access to AID credit through the Development Bank; and (d) the existence of organized women's groups. The stratified sample was chosen on the basis of available lists of asentamientos from INA (December, 1978) and AID (May, 1980) and from lists of women's groups and projects available from INA (December, 1980) as updated with the help of INA regional staff members.

The survey was carried out during the months of February and March 1980

*The complexity of the agrarian reform in Honduras made it impossible to consider low-cost methodology for the assessment of impact since the assessment of the impact of the agrarian reform in the entire country requires extensive as well as intensive studies.

and it consistently included interviews with at least one asentamiento leader and at least one woman resident of the asentaminto. In most cases, responses were checked and amplified through additional interviews with other members. The asentamientos chosen were located in seven different departments, namely, Copan, San Pedro Sulla in Cortes, Choluteca, Comayagua, Jamastran in El Paraiso, Aguan in Colon, and Olancho.

The survey showed the following important trends with regard to the different types of asentamientos in Honduras (for more details see Appendix I):

(a) In some asentamientos members have less than 7.5 manzanas of land and do not, therefore, qualify to organize a cooperative; or less than 6 manzanas calculated to be the minimum viable land; or even less than the 5 manzanas mandated by the Agrarian Reform Law.

(b) In most cases, women regular members of an asentamiento (socias) were rare. The typical picture was for one or two female heads of household to be members. In rare cases, such as in the asentamiento Tierra Blanca in Choluteca, where 18 percent of the members were women or the asentamiento Flores de Mayo in Copan, where 12 percent of the members were women, these socias did not work the land themselves. Instead, sons and/or paid laborers did the agricultural work. Despite the fact that these findings suggest that the percentage of women members is not a very important characteristic of asentamientos, the decision was taken to use it as a secondary criterion to be used only in the final selection among several asentamientos fulfilling the primary criteria.

(c) The type of farming system, individual, collective, or mixed, as well as the particular chosen mix between individual and collective styles of

land cultivation was a crucial determinant of the type of asentamiento because it also determined the organizational structure of the asentamiento and its access to credit and technical assistance. Mixed farming systems with half to three-fourths of the land cultivated collectively and the remainder divided into individual lots represent the best types of farming systems, reconciling as they do the advantages of collective farming in terms of credit and technical assistance with the peasants' preference for individual plots. Asentamientos with no collective farming (mostly concentrated in Choluteca) are not organized into cooperatives or precooperatives and, thus, tend to remain outside ongoing development efforts. The type of land cultivation chosen, therefore, represents a very important criterion to be used in the selection of the four asentamientos for in-depth study.

(d) The existence of women's groups seems to be related negatively to the men's formal organization. Active women's groups are found more often in asentamientos in which men have not formed a pre-cooperative or a cooperative than in asentamientos in which men are formally organized. Thus, active women's groups are more often found in asentamientos in which men decided not to cultivate the land collectively but instead to retain only individual lots and cultivate without access to credit. Women's groups in this context of the poorer asentamientos represent efforts to help the families survive. The existence, therefore, of women's groups is also an extremely important criterion for the selection of the asentamientos.

## B. Selection of asentamientos

On the basis of the above information obtained from the survey of 32 asentamientos, the set of criteria for the selection of the asentamientos for the in depth study were:

1. The type of farming system - individual, collective, or mixed;

2. The existence of a women's group at present or in the past in all asentamientos;

3. A range of access to technical and financial assistance from high to medium to low.

According to these criteria, the different regions where there are asentamientos can be classified as follows despite considerable intra-regional variation:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Jamastran, Copan, Olancho, and Comayagua | a. Predominantly collective farming system.<br>b. Active women's groups, especially in Olancho and Jamastran.<br>c. Medium degree of financial and credit assistance. |
| 2. Choluteca (except San Bernardo and Moravia) | a. Originally collective farming.<br>b. Active women's group.<br>c. Low degree of financial and technical assistance. |
| 3. Bajo Aguan<br>Choluteca: San Bernardo and Moravia<br>Guaymar (North Coast) | a. Predominantly collective farming system with optimum collective-individual mix.<br>b. No active women's groups (only in the past).<br>c. High degree of technical and financial assistance. |
| 4. Patuca (Olancho) | a. Originally predominantly |

collective farming system, now moving toward individual.

b. Active women's groups

c. No technical or financial assistance.

From the first category, the Jamastran region was chosen because women's groups in this region have received a greater degree of technical and financial assistance from national and international organizations than anywhere else. From the third category, Bajo Aguan was chosen because it represents the par excellence region in which men have formed well-organized cooperatives and empresas which receive a high degree of consistent technical and financial assistance.

1. Selection of the asentamiento in the Jamastran Valley

Information in centrally kept records about women's groups tends to be very inaccurate because continuous changes are taking place. Dependable information is normally only obtainable from promoters working at the local level. Thus, national level information was corroborated with the help of the local promoters from the National Agrarian Institute. It was reported that women's groups were being financed in the following asentamientos in the region: Santa Rita in Jamastran, Santa Ana in El Tablon and L'Esperanza in Linaca. According to the INA promoter, the group in Linaca had been functioning well, but was having great internal problems at the time. In the El Tablon village, on the other hand, there were two women's groups, each with their respective projects. The decision was made to select El Tablon and to study both women's groups functioning in the area since the area included an asentamiento and a conveniently located adjacent community of

origin.

## 2. Selection of the asentamiento in Choluteca

In the case of Choluteca, in the absence of systematic records or files for each asentamiento, the criteria considered important for the purposes of this study were explained to two of the more knowlegeable INA promoters who identified communities that met these criteria, namely: that the group is an average one (not the very best or the very worst); that the farming system should preferably be mixed (i.e., part individual and part collective); that it receives some financial and technical assistance; and that there is a women's group.

## 3. Selection of the asentamiento in Bajo Aguan

After talking to the INA sub-director for the region and a promoter, a list was compiled of the groups with a greater degree of technical and financial assistance than others and Zamora was selected because it was believed to also have some women members (in fact it has three socias).

## 4. Selection of the asentamiento in Patuca

There are approximately twenty asentamientos in Patuca. However, since these asentamientos are dispersed and isolated, information about them is limited. Only one of the INA promoters in the Danli office had visited them a few times. On the basis of his information, it was possible to eliminate

one group (Nueva Palestina) since it had received much more assistance than the others. Some asentamientos were inaccessible and getting there and staying there would have been difficult in the short time available, and others were very new and the members would have had few experiences to relate. The group that best met the conditions of the study was Nueva Choluteca because it had not received any technic assistance, it had a predominantly individual farming system and an active women's group.

## C. Selection of the Community of Origin

Originally, we had planned to select a community of origin in Copan or Lempira because we thought that many members in the Bajo Aguan asentamiento would have come from a community in one of those two regions. However, during the interviews in Zamora, it was noted that very few people had come from the same community of origin. Additionally, many people had passed through a number of other asentamientos before coming to the asentamiento in Bajo Aguan.

In Patuca, on the other hand, all of the families studied were from two municipalities in Choluteca (Orocuina and Concepcion de Maria) and two neighboring villages (El Penon and El Cerron). Of these two, El Penon was chosen because other families from there had also emigrated to participate in other asentamientos. Additionally, one of the investigators had been there on previous occasions and this contact would make it easier to obtain information and to accelerate the pace of the work.

The other community of origin chosen, as we have already seen, was the village El Tablon, from which came the greatest majority of members in the

asentamiento El Tablon.

## D. Selection of Respondents

Because of the considerable variation in the characteristics of the different asentamientos and villages included in the study, the selection of respondents also varies to some extent. In the asentamiento Los Colorados in Choluteca, for example, where there were only 12 couples, all of them were included in the study as were two single men.

In El Tablon, on the other hand, where there are two women's groups and an asentamiento as well as a community of origin, and women are group members from both the asentamiento and the community of origin, respondents had to be selected from all of the six following categories:

1. Member of Santa Ana women's group - husband member of asentamiento.
2. Member of Santa Fe women's group - husband member of asentamiento.
3. Member of Santa Ana women's group - husband a peasant in village El Tablon (community of origin).
4. Member of Santa Fe women's group - husband a peasant in village El Tablon (community of origin).
5. Not a member of a women's group - husband member of asentamiento.
6. Not a member of a women's group - husband a peasant in village El Tablon (community of origin).

Since, however, we were very interested in studying the women's group, all members in both women's groups and their husbands were interviewed as well as a random number of couples from the fifth category. Similarly, for

families in the village of El Tablon where neither the wife was a member of a women's group, nor the husband was a member of the asentamiento (category six), a list was compiled with land ownership (see detailed descriptions of asentamientos). The larger landowners were eliminated since they were not considered to be potential beneficiaries of land reform. The others were given numbers, and respondents were randomly selected for interviewing.

In Bajo Aguan, a list was made of asentamiento members. Members without wives were omitted, and families to be interviewed were randomly selected after sub-dividing the sample into approximate age-groups so as not to bias the sample toward younger or older age groups.

In Nueva Choluteca, Patuca, the intention was to interview all the men and all the women. This, however, was not possible in two cases due to lack of time and because one of the women was away visiting her family in the community of origin.

In El Penon, the community of origin, a list was compiled of all the residents in the village and their approximate land-holdings and age. Since there were no large landowners, all were given numbers and respondents were randomly selected.

It must also be noted that special efforts were made in El Penon and in El Tablon, the communities of origin, to ensure that all single women living alone or with young children would be interviewed. This number, however, was very small because it was found that in these communities most younger single women go to the cities (with or without their children) to work; older single women live with their married children; and some young mujeres solas may go back to live with their parents.

## E. Sample Description

The table below presents the number of men and women interviewed in each community by marital status:

| Name of Community | Couples | Mujeres Solas | Hombres Solos | Temporarily Separated Men | Total No. households | Total No. Respondents Men | Women |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| El Tablon (village) | 8 | 1 | -- | 2 | 11 | 10 | 9 |
| El Penon | 14 | 3 | -- | -- | 17 | 14 | 17 |
| Zamora | 13 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 20 | 19 | 14 |
| Patuca | 10 | -- | 2 | 3 | 15 | 15 | 10 |
| Los Colorados | 12 | 1 | 2 | -- | 15 | 14 | 13 |
| El Tablon (asenta.) | 18 | -- | 1 | 1 | 20 | 20 | 18 |
| Total | 75 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 98 | 92 | 81 |

In total, therefore, 98 households were interviewed, although in only 75 of these households was there a couple. In nine of the households, only the husband could be interviewed because the wife was reported to be temporarily away from the community, most often visiting her parents. These husbands were included because the interviewer was told that the wives would return soon. In view of the fact, however, that this absence was sometimes longer than a month, it is not clear whether in all cases it was a temporary separation, or whether it was a more permanent one that had not yet reached the final decision stage or that had not yet been accepted by the man as such. In addition, six mujeres solas and eight hombres solos were interviewed. In asentamientos one finds several men living alone either because they never married or because they are widowed or divorced.

In Los Colorados all of the households and in Patuca 15 out of 17 households were interviewed. In the remaining asentamientos and in the rural communities of origin, a sample of households was interviewed according to

the directions described earlier in detail about each settlement.

F. Interview and Questionnaire Format.

Since a major goal of the study was the in-depth examination of the impact of the agrarian reform on men and women, two important methodological decisions had to be made from the beginning: (a) to interview men and women separately; and (b) to include primarily open-ended questions that would allow the assessment of the impact of the agrarian reform on the respondents from an objective as well as from a subjective point of view. The first methodological decision is based on earlier research evidence indicating that there are substantive and systematic differences between husbands' and wives' responses to the same questions (see, for example: Safilios-Rothschild, 1969). The second methodological decision is based on the accumulated research experience of the principal investigator as well as that of a large number of researchers who have found that, particularly in the context of cross-cultural research and with regard to important and relatively controversial issues, it is misleading to rely primarily on structured, closed questions.

With regard to the questionnaire format, it must first be noted that largely the same questions were asked of husbands and wives, a practice that allows the comparison of answers, for example, regarding husband's income or wife's income as assessed by husbands and wives. There are a number of questions, however, that were asked only of husbands or only of wives, for example, questions relating to women's organizational participation and experience with and participation in women's groups; these were only asked

of women. Questions, on the other hand, such as those relating to agricultural practices and agricultural production, marketing, and income received from selling of produce from collectively farmed land in asentamientos, were only asked of men since women did not play an important role in those activities and knew very little about collective farming (although they contributed considerable labor to these agricultural activities). In addition, questions relating to access to and division of labor regarding predominantly "feminine" tasks such as fetching water or washing clothes were only asked of women.

Extensive pretesting of different question formats and question sequences undertaken by the principal investigator and the research team of a man and a woman interviewer led to several revisions of questions and questionnaire formats until their final form was obtained (see Appendix II).** Different questionnaire forms were prepared not only for men and women but also for men in asentamientos and men in communities of origin, as well as for women in asentamientos and women in communities of origin. An important question cluster added to men's and women's questionnaires in communities of origin was one relating to their attitudes toward and experience with agrarian reform and life in asentamientos.

## G. Field experiences: Introduction and Entry into Communities

**It must be noted that although at the beginning of the study, it was thought to be extremely important for a woman interviewer to interview women respondents and a male interviewer men respondents, during the course of the study it was found that interviewing skill was more important than gender. Thus, some interviews with women were in fact conducted quite successfully by the male interviewer.

An official introduction of some sort substantially facilitated the cooperation of the campesino groups. It reduced the need to give individual explanations of one's purposes and also the suspicion about one's possible devious intentions. Letters of introduction were made out by AID and these were given to representatives of the campesino organization in the cases of Los Colorados, Choluteca and El Tablon. In the case of El Tablon, the campesino organization, ANACH, also provided interviewers with a covering note, after receiving an explanation of the purpose of the study and the agency by which it was financed. The note was then given to the asentamiento's president who also required a detailed description about what we were going to do and what benefit it could bring to the members. In the case of Zamora (Bajo Aguan), this procedure was not followed, and the introduction was made through an INA promoter (after talking to the sub-director of the local agency).

Finally, the Nueva Choluteca group in Patuca was not affiliated with any official organization. Introduction was therefore made through the local priest whom the interviewers knew well and through various members of the group with whom the interviewers were acquainted.

## H. Interview Duration

The durations of the interviews for both men and women were quite variable, depending on the communicativeness of the respondent and the number of questions that were applicable. For example, interviews with people with only few children or very young children were much shorter than those with people who had many children, including wage-earning children. However, on

the average both men's and women's interviews were carried out within a period of four hours (per interview).

Men and women, of course, had other things to do and were rarely prepared to sit down and talk about their life and opinions for four successive hours when they were receiving no immediate pay-off. The interviews, therefore, had to be carried out while the woman was cooking, sweeping, taking care of children or working in her backyard or while the man was working in the fields or in his backyard.

It is important to clarify that the two interviewers (a man and a woman) lived in each asentamiento or village for about 3-4 weeks. This allowed them to become acquainted with the life in the different settlements as well as with practically all the families and to be able to carry on informal conversations that helped clarify, complement, or verify answers obtained during the interviews.

## I. Specific Comments About Particular Questions

Although in most cases respondents gave frank and truthful replies, in some questions some difficulties were encountered and they are discussed below.

1. Women's agricultural work. Since there had been some evidence that in some districts of Honduras such as Copan, the percentage of women involved in agriculture is many times higher than the official census statistics indicate (Buvinic, 1980), special attention was paid to this question. Casual observations in villages and asentamientos had also indicated that many women

worked in the fields. The original question: "Trabaja usted en los cultivos?" (Do you work in the fields?) was consistently answered negatively during the pretesting even when we had seen the women the same day working in the fields. In discussing this with the women, it became evident that most often they did not define their work in the fields as "work." This was primarily due to the fact that the official norms dictated agricultural work as men's work which cannot be performed by women. Thus, within this societal context, for women to state that they work in the fields would indicate a masculine failure since the only women who may have to work in the fields are female heads of household. Furthermore, the seasonal nature of women's agricultural work and the regularity of their domestic and childcare duties, coupled with the fact that most often men make agricultural decisions without consulting the women, makes it easier for women to view their agricultural work more as a component of wifely duties than as work.

During discussions with the women it was, however, ascertained that when asked what agricultural tasks (tareas agricolas) they helped with, they would usually list them. In some cases, however, it was necessary to probe by referring to the prevalent agricultural tasks in the area before a complete listing could be obtained from the women. If, for example, the interviewers knew that women in the community help in the harvesting of coffee, they would ask a particular woman specifically whether she goes to pick coffee.

2. Women's income. During pretesting it became obvious that it would be very difficult to obtain valid and complete information about women's income, especially since the study could not go on for a long time in the same asentamiento to enable interviewers to obtain income variations monthly,

weekly and seasonally. First, it became clear that many women had no concept of earning an income or of how much income they earned, partly because they earned small sums once in a while and partly because they usually spent it immediately to buy food. Thus, although they earn an income, they can maintain the desirable illusion for themselves and their husbands that they do not earn an income or not much of an income. Second, seasonal, monthly and weekly variations complicate the picture so that in the absence of any type of bookkeeping, women are not able to make even an estimate of their yearly income.

In view of the above difficulties and of the fact that financial constraints did not allow us to extend the duration of the study, questions were devised that included: (a) a detailed list of all possible income sources such as selling chicken and/or eggs; selling produce surplus; working as agricultural laborers in the asentamiento; selling foodstuff; women's group activities, etc; (b) detailed questions about animal ownership and by-product utilization for consumption and sales; (c) questions relating to the amount of money sons and daughters give to their mother while they live with them or after they have migrated; and (d) questions that allow women to account for seasonal variations in income from "good" months to "medium" months to "bad" months. The final estimation of women's income was based on all information obtained from all sets of questions and on prices for produce at the time of the sale (double-checked with price information obtained from husbands). Of course, in many, if not most cases, wives are not aware that they earn the level of income that was estimated from pieced together information. This explains why, as we shall see in the discussion of findings, a number of women reported that they had no personal income in the

direct question about income despite the fact that they were in fact earning an income, as assessed on the basis of their answers to questions relating to specific sources of income.

Despite our awareness of the problems involved and our precautions, women's income may still be underestimated to some extent. It may not be possible to obtain complete and valid data unless a community study were to spread over a year, involving 2-3 sets of interviews during different seasons, and unless it also were to include teaching peasant women how to keep an elementary, simple account of the money they earn and the money they spend.

3. Sex stereotypes. Peasants had some difficulty responding to questions related to sex stereotypes mainly because in the respondents' minds the interviewer was associated with other promoters and technical assistance functionaries who visit the group and who have often expressed progressive views about women's work, intelligence and the capacity to make decisions. Also, in all the communities promoters had made attempts to form women's groups which had carried out some agricultural activities. Consequently, a male respondent in particular may have been sometimes unwilling to express a conservative opinion about women's abilities that he thought would make a 'bad impression' on the interviewer. Thus, in order to obtain valid answers, the interviewers had sometimes to engage the peasant in a conversation around the progress of women's projects and to get him to analyze the reasons for success or failure. Through this technique, it was possible to obain detailed and truthful answers reflecting the peasants' opinions.

4. Illness and disability. Disability tends to be underestimated in the answers. This is due to the fact that illness reduces not only the time spent working, but also affects one's productivity while working. This is equally true for housework and field-work. A woman who is sick may still do some cooking and washing (her clothes) but she may refrain from doing tasks that require more effort -- i.e. making tortillas or washing other people's clothes. The period of "taking-it-easy" (la dieta) is often longer than the period of sickness.

5. Expenditure Information. Monthly expenditure is difficult to calculate in a rural context, especially in a one-shot interview, because it is closely related to the availability of home-produced food and to the possibility of making purchases (i.e. having money to spend). Additionally, purchases are often made piecemeal so that a sum of ten lempiras might be spent in ten or twenty different purchasing occasions. The solution was to structure the question so that the respondents could choose between alternative sums, for example, "more or less than five lempiras" spent for weekly food expenditure.

It was easier to obtain estimates of the costs of large items of expenditure -- such as house building or medical costs, since these represent sums which had to be budgeted.

6. Men's Income. In addition to the questions included in the questionnaire, a number of other techniques for obtaining information (such as informal discussion with the farmers) were used in order to supplement and validate the information about men's income. In general, this income was

calculated by adding cash income and the value of produce consumed by the family. Fluctuations in the price of agricultural products made it necessary to inquire about the price at the time of sale.

In the agrarian reform groups, adequate records are sometimes kept by the treasurer, including money paid in wages. In the case of El Tablon, however, an attempt to obtain such information from the records proved impossible because of the group's complicated bookkeeping system as well as in the case of Zamora, because of the nonsystematic and chaotic bookkeeping system.

In the case of agricultural production income, it proved fruitful to go out to the field where the farmer was working and begin a conversation about agricultural techniques and yields and then ask to explain and show off his own production system.

In was also necessary to find out in advance what production activities different farmers carried out before interviewing them, so that these activities could be asked about specifically. Furthermore, comparisons of the men/women interviews proved useful in some cases and on this basis, it was sometimes necessary to return and collect additional facts.

7. Collective work versus individual work. Collective work has been imposed on the groups by all support agencies. Consequently all outsiders are assumed to be in favour of collective work, and in some cases people were afraid to admit the existence of individual plots. Additionally, people often expressed their preference for collective work on the basis of resources being made available to them for this type of work, not because they genuinely preferred to work collectively. Therefore, the interviewers,

being sensitive to the possible existence of bias in this area, tried to tap the farmers' real attitudes and preferences during informal discussions held at night in somebody's home or at the community store.

## IV. FINDINGS - WOMEN'S ANSWERS

### A. Women's Perceptions of Agrarian Reform, Life Options in Asentamientos, and Living in Asentamientos.

1. Women's views about agrarian reform and life in asentamientos. The majority of women (74 percent) living in communities of origin (El Tablon and El Penon) prefer to live in these communities rather than in asentamientos. Among the women living in El Penon, one would go to an asentamiento if her mother would follow; one would like to go to an asentamiento with her children; one did not know that women can be members of an asentamiento, but now that she knows she would like to go; one went to live with her family in an asentamiento but there were too many problems and they came back; and one was once ready with her family to move to an asentamiento but things did not work out on the asentamiento side.

Women's opinions of the agrarian reform are generally positive although some of them are not entirely sure that they understand what it all means. One woman views the collective work taking place in asentamientos as a form of communism! Despite, however, the fact that women in abstraction view agrarian reform as "good," most of them see that either there are no (or not many) benefits for campesinos or that only some campesinos benefit. Finally, with regard to their views as to whether or not agrarian reform has benefited women, they are divided: some feel that only some women benefit or that nobody benefits.

When, furthermore, women who live in villages were asked what they think of collective work, almost half of them offered no opinion. Of those who

answered, about half saw collective work as positive because the results of such work are better and tasks are done faster. About another half, however, saw collective work as negative because time was wasted in meetings or because they felt that the equal distribution of profits regardless of amount of work done was unfair to those who worked hard.

2. Women's perceptions of work opportunities for men and women in community of origin and in the asentamiento. Most women (71 percent) perceive that men's work and income-generating opportunities are greater in asentamientos than in communities of origin and only 10 percent feel that they are lesser. Only in El Tablon do women take a dim view: half of them think that work opportunities for men are the same and only 38 percent of them think that they are better.

Only 39 percent of the women, on the other hand, feel that there are more work opportunities for women in asentamientos than in communities of origin. Almost half of the women (47 percent) felt that women's work and income-generating opportunities were the same in asentamientos and communities of origin and 14 percent that they were lesser. Women in Zamora had the least gloomy outlook: three-fourths of them felt that women had more work opportunities in the asentamiento, most probably because of the canning and packing plants. In Patuca and El Tablon, three-fourths of the women felt that work opportunities were the same, while in Los Colorados, one-third felt that opportunities were better and 22 percent that they were worse.

3. Attitudes toward living on a permanent basis in an asentamiento. In response to a direct question, practically all women in asentamientos reported that they prefer living in an asentamiento than in their community of origin. Their comments, however, tend to qualify and explain their yes-or-no answers. Some women explain, for example, that they want to stay in the asentamiento because they have roots in it by having built a house and by having planted trees, this answer being much more frequent in the case of El Tablon (in one-fourth of the cases) and in Patuca (in one-fifth of the cases). Other women explain that they do not want to leave the asentamiento because constant moves do not lead anywhere, this answer given by one-third of the women in Los Colorados and one-fourth of the women in Zamora. In Los Colorados, on the other hand, one-fourth of the women seem to have only a tentative commitment to the asentamiento so that they can see themselves leaving it, if their husbands find a job elsewhere or if there are land ownership problems or food production falls below a subsistence level. It is also interesting to find that 43 percent of the women in Zamora are not strongly attached to the asentamiento and would move if their husband or son would find work somewhere else with a higher pay; these women say that they sometimes feel like leaving. This may be due to the fact that more than half of the families have been in Zamora for three years or less and more than one-third of the families for two years or less.

4. Mothers' preferences as to sons' future plans. It is interesting to find that most mothers do not categorically prefer their sons to stay on in the asentamiento where they live nor do they make plans for their sons. Actually no mother in Patuca wants her son(s) to stay on in the asentamiento but instead, most mothers either say that their sons will decide on their own

when they grow up, or that they want their sons to study in the city. In Los Colorados, 42 percent of mothers want with different degrees of intensity their sons to stay on in the asentamiento; in Zamora 36 percent of the mothers do so; and in El Tablon 30 percent do so. Another 42 percent of mothers, in Los Colorados, say that it is up to their sons to decide and another 17 percent say that their sons will go where the jobs are. In El Tablon, one-third of the mothers say that their sons will go where the jobs are; 15 percent that it is up to the sons to decide; and an additional 15 percent think that if their sons are intelligent they will go to the city. It seems, therefore, that despite the emotional attachment of mothers to their sons and their desire to keep them for greater security, they are conflicted because they also wish to see their sons get ahead and they do not always have a high opinion of the asentamientos. As a result they tend to stay open and flexible concerning their sons' future.

5. Mothers' preferences as to daughters' future plans. Overall there is a greater tendency for mothers to prefer that their daughters stay on in the asentamiento than is true for sons, most probably because their aspirations for sons tend to be higher than for daughters. Thus, in Patuca, for example, where no mother prefers her son to stay on in the asentamiento, 44 percent of the mothers prefer that their daughter(s) stay on while the remaining 54 percent of mothers leave it up to their daughters. Similarly, in Zamora 43 percent of mothers would prefer that their daughters stay on while 36 percent of them want their daughters to go to the city to study. In El Tablon, however, only one-fourth of the mothers prefer that their daughters stay on in the asentamiento and in Los Colorados, only 18 percent of the

mothers.

6. Whether women can remake their lives more easily in asentamientos or in communities of origin. On this topic women's opinions are divided. Fifty-five percent of them think that it is easier for women to remake their lives in the asentamiento than in the community of origin because in asentamientos women can cultivate land; there is plenty of food and other people will help; there are more work opportunities; and women can apply for membership to the cooperative. Forty-five percent of the women, however, answered that it is easier for women to remake their lives after divorce or widowhood in the community of origin because there are few or no work opportunities for women in asentamientos. When the data are disaggregated by settlement, we find that 78 percent of the women in Patuca and 73 percent of the women in Zamora think that it is easier for women to remake their lives in the asentamiento. In the asentamiento El Tablon, however, women take a dim view of women's opportunities and 86 percent of them think that it is easier for women to find work in communities of origin or towns. It seems, therefore, that many women in El Tablon are disillusioned with the life and the opportunities offered in this asentamiento for young men as well as for themselves. Finally, in Los Colorados there are insufficient data but two out of the four women who answered the question think that it is easier for women to find work in the asentamiento and one woman thinks that the chances are the same in the asentamiento or the community of origin.

B. Women's Access to Land

1. Land available for cultivation by women. With the exception of one woman in the village El Tablon who has no land to cultivate, all other women have access to some land. Three-fourths of the women in the village El Tablon have access to land to cultivate, but in the village El Penon, women rarely own land but instead cultivate most often their husband's land or the land of other family members (mother's, father-in-law's, brother's land). Similarly in the asentamiento El Tablon, all women have access to some land to cultivate. Sixty-one percent of the women report that they cultivate the collective land as well as a backyard or an individual lot. The women who do not belong to the women's groups usually cultivate a houseplot and a backyard or only a backyard. Similarly in the other asentamientos, all women have access to some land to cultivate even if it is very small, be it an individual lot, the backyard and the individual lot, the houselot, or the houselot and the backyard.

With regard to the amount of land available for cultivation by women, women in the village of El Penon seem to be the most well off since two-thirds of them have from 1-6 manzanas (and one-third have 2-6 manzanas). Women in the village El Tablon, however, have much less land than do women in El Penon. Half of them have 1/4-1/3 of a manzana; the remaining two-thirds have no land and one-third have 1-1.14 manzana. Women in asentamientos, on the other hand, have much less land than women in communities of origin. In Patuca, for example, the large majority of women (88 percent) have only a fraction of a manzana and in El Tablon, 83 percent of the women have only a fraction of a manzana. For Los Colorados and Zamora, there is insufficient information. It seems, therefore, that the agrarian reform has not made adequate provisions for women to have access to some land to cultivate crops

for family consumption and/or sale. Thus, women in asentamientos seem to have less access to land than in communities of origin.

## C. Women's Involvement in Agricultural Work

1. Women's agricultural Work. 41 percent of the women reported that they do not do any agricultural work and another 13 percent reported that they worked in the past. But almost half (46 percent) of the women were active in agriculture. These women are not, however, equally distributed in the different rural areas (see Table 1). Very few women are active in agriculture in El Penon, Los Colorados, and Zamora. The reasons, however, for women's low degree of involvement in the three settlements are different. In Zamora this is mostly due to husbands' high income and to the existence of nonfarm paid employment for women in the asentamiento. In the other two settlements, however, it is due to the prevailing patriarchal values that label agricultural work inappropriate for women.

In the village El Tablon, however, three-fourths of the women and in the asentamiento El Tablon practically all women are active in agriculture. Finally, in Patuca half of the women are active in agriculture. But although there is considerable variation in the extent to which women are active from settlement to settlement, the overall 46 percent rate raises serious questions about the 1.9 percent rate of the Census and spells out the need for a careful reassessment and measurement of women's activity in agriculture in Honduras.

Those who report that they are at present doing agricultural work, are most often involved in the following activities: sowing (59 percent of the

women); hoeing (41 percent); harvesting (39 percent); and weeding (22 percent). In several cases, women are involved in more than one activity, e.g. harvesting, sowing, and hoeing; or hoeing and harvesting. In the asentamiento of El Tablon where the large majority of women are actively involved in agriculture, 56 percent of women are involved in hoeing; 50 percent in sowing; 50 percent in harvesting, and most of them are involved in two or all three of these activities. In Patuca, on the other hand, women are only involved in sowing.

Women are most often involved in sowing corn, beans, and vegetables and less often in sowing rice, onions, bananas and fruit trees. They are also most often involved in harvesting beans, corn, vegetables and less often in harvesting coffee and palm fruit.

2. Who cultivates the land. Although information has been given in only two-thirds of the cases, there are some interesting differentials for other settlements except Patuca and Los Colorados for which there is insufficient information. In the village of El Penon, in the majority of cases (64 percent), it is the husband who cultivates his wife's land. In Zamora, only in about one-third of the cases (36 percent) does the husband cultivate the land of his wife, and in an additional two cases he does so primarily with the help of hired help. In the remaining cases the wife cultivates her land. In the asentamiento El Tablon, however, practically all land available to wives is cultivated by them.

3. Women's ownership of land in community of origin and plans to buy land. Before coming to the asentamiento, almost half (47 percent) of the women had

some land. This was more so for women in Zamora, 54 percent of whom had land, and less so for women in El Tablon, only one-third of whom had land before. None of the interviewed women living in asentamientos own land now in their communities of origin except for one woman in Zamora who owns land which is not (she claims) cultivable. With regard to plans to buy land, 42 percent of the women in Zamora have such plans, as do about one-fourth of the women in Patuca.

4. Animal ownership. Animal Ownership is often contested by husbands and wives when the answers of husbands and wives are jointly examined. The conflicting reports are sometimes based on the fact that women look after the animals and feel, therefore, that they can claim them while men, on the other hand, produce (or buy) the grain that women use to feed the animals and, therefore, feel that they have a legitimate claim on the animals. Furthermore, it is not always possible to determine which of the two owns the animals because they have been acquired with the work and savings of both husband and wife (ellos son trabajo de los dos). In general, however, wives tend to own chickens, hens, and turkeys, and husbands tend to most often own cows and mules while pigs are either owned by husbands or are jointly owned by husbands and wives. More in detail, in the village El Tablon in most cases, wives own chickens and hens as well as pigs while cows belong to the husband. In El Penon, practically all women own chickens and/or hens (or ducks) and pigs are either jointly owned by husbands and wives (in one-fourth of cases) or are owned by the husband or children (in 30 percent of the cases). However, it is important to note that in 30 percent of the cases in which women own chickens, the men also claim ownership of at least some. In

Patuca, again, practically all women own chickens and/or hens or turkeys. Pigs, cows, and horses are in two-thirds of the families owned jointly by husbands and wives, and only rarely are horses or cows owned only by men. Similarly, in Zamora, all women own chickens while pigs and horses are with no exceptions jointly owned by husbands and wives. In the asentamiento El Tablon, there are few families that own other animals than chickens, which are women's claim. In the four families in which other animals (pigs, cows, or donkeys) are also owned, they are either jointly owned or one of the two spouses owns them. Finally, in Los Colorados, in 42 percent of the families husbands and wives own pigs and cows jointly and in one-third of the families women own pigs and less often cows.

The above findings have important implications for women's projects in that such projects do not have to be stereotypically chicken projects as is usually the case but can instead include pigs and/or cows.

5. Who looks after animals. In most settlements the women most often together with the children take care of the animals. In the communities of origin, in practically all cases wives take care of the animals themselves or with the aid of children. In Los Colorados, in 69 percent of the cases; in Zamora, in 54 percent; and in the asentamiento El Tablon, in 67 percent of the families the wife looks after the animals alone or with the help of children. In Patuca, however, the same pattern is true only for 40 percent of the families. In the majority of the remaining families, the wife looks after some animals -- usually hens and chicken and sometimes also pigs - and the husband and children take care of the other animals, namely, cows and horses.

6. Reasons for animal attrition. The most prevalent cause for attrition for chicken is plague (in 56 percent of cases), especially in Zamora where all women report this as the sole cause. Other important causes of attrition for all animals are: stealing in 21 percent of the cases and wild animals in one-fourth of the cases.

7. Women's desire for more animals. When women were asked whether or not they would like to have more animals, half of them answered that they would like to have more animals and the other half responded that they would not. The majority of the women who want more animals (64 percent), would like to have pigs in addition to chickens and one-third of them would like to have cows in most cases in addition to pigs. Only three women would like to have horses. There are some variations by settlement, however, that must be noted. In Zamora, the majority of women want pigs (69 percent) and/or cows (62 percent); in the asentamiento El Tablon and Los Colorados most women (59 and 50 percent respectively) want to have more pigs but fewer want cows (29 and 25 percent respectively) most probably because there is no appropriate forage for cows in the area. Finally, in Patuca half of the women want pigs and another 40 percent want more chicken, ducks, geese and turkeys while only one woman wants a cow. These findings clearly suggest that appropriate projects for women could involve pigs and/or cows.

The women who gave reasons for their desire for more animals (39 percent of those who want more animals) said that animals could be sold to cover emergency expenses but also that they provided additional food. One woman viewed feeding pigs an investment through which she could then buy a

cow for milk.

The women, on the other hand, who do not want more animals gave mainly the following reasons: they do not have money to buy animals (one-third); it is hard to keep them because there is no place (one-fourth); and they have many illnesses and she does not know how to treat them (one-fifth). It is interesting to note here that from a programmatic point of view, these reasons suggest that projects that would provide groups of rural women with training in animal management and diseases as well as credit could very well entice them to keep more animals for family consumption and income.

8. Women's beliefs concerning women's ability to cultivate land. Despite prevailing cultural norms according to which agriculture is a man's job, only 17 percent of all interviewed rural women categorically state that women are not able to cultivate land. Almost half of them (47 percent) believe that women can perform some agricultural tasks such as hoeing, sowing and harvesting, but not other tasks such as driving oxen, fumigating, driving machinery and other heavy work because they do not have the required strength. The remaining women either believe that some women can and others cannot; or that all women can cultivate land; or that they can cultivate land but they must first learn how to cultivate it. Turning now to variations in different settlements, we find that only in El Penon and Los Colorados is the stereotyped view that women cannot cultivate land held by about one-third of the women, while it is insignificant in the other settlements. On the other hand, the least stereotyped view that women can cultivate land or that they can cultivate it if they first learn how, is found more often in Zamora (half of the women) and the asentamiento of El Tablon (29 percent of the women).

Since in the asentamiento El Tablon the majority of women are involved in agriculture, it is not surprising to find that they hold the least stereotyped views on this topic. Finally, the view that women can hoe, sow, and harvest but not perform heavy, strenuous agricultural tasks is held mostly by women in the village El Tablon (71 percent of the women); Patuca (63 percent of the women); and the asentamiento El Tablon (64 percent of the women).

9. Decision-making regarding individual plots. The trend is clear-cut and similar for communities of origin and asentamientos alike: women are not usually consulted by their husbands about what to sow or when to sow in individual plots. The husbands decide on their own and some of them inform their wives of their decisions so that they can send them the meal to the fields, or so that they can prepare the needed seed, or so that they may get up before dawn. Joint decisions of some kind are rare and are found only in Patuca, where they constitute almost one-third of the cases. In all asentamientos, on the other hand, about half of the husbands who do not consult their wives in decision-making, inform them of their decisions mainly because they want them to provide needed supportive services.

10. Husbands' attitudes toward wives' involvement in agricultural work. It is interesting to note that despite the cultural expectation that women cannot do agricultural work, the 36 women in our sample who work in the fields predominantly (two-thirds of them) report positive attitudes on the part of their husbands. Of course, six of these women are female-heads of household (mujeres solas) but of the remaining 30 women only six (20 percent)

report disapproval on the part of their husbands and half of them are located in the village of El Penon. The others report that their husbands approve and/or help them, work with them, and occasionally substitute for them in their work. It is interesting to note the contrast between husbands' negative attitudes in El Penon and husbands' positive attitudes in the village El Tablon where two-thirds of the husbands help their wives with their work. It seems that patriarchal values are much more powerful and operative in El Penon than in El Tablon.

11. Women's beliefs regarding women's ability to make decisions about crops. Again, although the prevailing cultural norms dictate that agriculture is a man's job, only 21 percent of the women believe that women are not capable of making such decisions. One-half of the women, on the other hand, believe that women are able to make decisions about crops if they are trained in agriculture and if they acquire experience regarding such decisions. The remaining women either believe that some women can make such decisions and others cannot or that all women are able to make crop decisions. Turning to a detailed analysis by settlement, we find that for Zamora and Patuca there is insufficient information. In the asentamiento Santa Ana of El Tablon, no woman holds a stereotyped belief: about one-third of them believe that women can make decisions about crops with training and experience and the others believe either that all women can make such decisions or that at least some women can. In Los Colorados, half of the women hold the stereotyped views that only men can make decisions about crops and the other half believe that women can make these decisions with training and experience. Finally in the village El Penon, one-third of the women

believe that only men can make decisions about crops and two-thirds of them believe that women can make these decisions with training and experience. It seems, therefore, that agricultural training could make agricultural work more acceptable and accessible to women and as such, it represents the needed handle for change.

12. Women's beliefs regarding women's ability to adopt and apply new ideas. Although many women did not answer this question primarily because they had difficulty understanding it, the available information indicates that one-fourth of the women who answered it think that some women can understand and apply new ideas and others cannot; one-fourth of them think that all women can adopt and apply new ideas and offered examples of such behavior; and another ten percent of the women think that some women can learn and apply new ideas and skills. Thus, only 30 percent of the women who answered categorically think that only men are able to understand, evaluate, adopt and apply new ideas in agriculture. It is interesting to note that all women in the village El Tablon think that women can understand and apply new ideas.

In summary, women's attitudes about their ability to actively participate in agriculture indicate that their involvement in agriculture could increase significantly if they were provided with agricultural training and information.

D. Women's Income

1. Control of income. The data show that some women are so little aware of the income they earn at irregular times and in very small quantities, that when asked how much income they earn, some respond that they have no personal income despite the fact that their own answers to specific questions regarding income from different sources indicate that they do indeed earn an income. The highest percentage of women (39 percent) reporting no personal income is found in the community of origin El Penon where the majority of them (70 percent) in fact earn an income ranging from a few to 500 lempiras per year. In Zamora, however, a little more than one-third of the women do not earn an income, while the highest level of income is earned by women living in the village El Tablon where 63 percent of the women earn 300 to over 1,000 lempiras per year (see Table 2).

With regard to the issue of control of income, on the other hand, the highest percentage of women (85 percent) reporting that they control all the income they earn was found in Los Colorados, while 50 percent of the women in the village and asentamiento El Tablon reported the same pattern. It is interesting tc observe that in the asentamiento El Tablon women seem to fall in one of the two extremes; either they report having no personal income (40 percent of them) - while in fact 20 percent of them earn an income but are not defining it as such -- or they control all the income they earn (50 percent of them), 28 percent of them earning 300 - 1,000 lempiras per year. In Patuca and El Penon, more women (45 and 31 percent respectively) report that they spend their money for household expenses and they do not consider, therefore, that they control their income.

When women were asked whether or not they can control their husbands'

income, only 39 percent of them answered. Of those who answered, 30 percent reported that their husbands turn over to them all wages and the women control this income. This pattern is more frequent in El Tablon, village and asentamiento, and in Patuca, than in other settlements. In most other cases, the husband gives his wife money for food and/or other expenses on a regular or irregular basis but does not turn all his wages over to her.

2. Who controls income from sales of animals and eggs. Women's responses to this question suggest that women interpreted the word "animales" as chicken because the word "eggs" followed. Hence, the large majority of them (67 to 100 percent) responded that they alone control this income. Most probably, however, this income is only the income from the sale of chicken rather than of any other type of animal such as pigs or cows which also often are owned by husbands.

3. Sources of women's income. One frequent source of income for women is the sale of eggs which can be found in all areas and usually yields less than L.50 per year and in only one-fifth of the cases L.51-99/year. Another sex-stereotyped source of income is the sale of foodstuff prepared by women which usually yields less than L400/year and most often L.100-199, especially in the rural community El Penon. Yet another stereotyped source of income for women is the sale of animals, mostly chicken and hens, yielding in half of the cases less than L.50/year, especially in the asentamiento El Tablon. A higher income yielding source is the sale of brooms and straw mats which takes place only in the villages of El Tablon and El Penon and the asentamiento El Tablon, the income ranging from L.500 - 1,400 in the village

of El Tablon and from L.200 - 1,000 in El Penon. Less stereotyped sources of income for women include: (a) wages from work in or off the asentamiento, accessible to women only in the asentamiento Zamora and El Tablon; (b) share of profits from women's projects yielding very small sums, predominantly in Patuca; (c) a share of sons' wages which most often ranges up to L.200/year; (d) services such as, sewing (two women in Patuca and one in Zamora) or laundering in the asentamiento of El Tablon, none of these services yielding more than L.250/year; and (e) sales from groceries and other domestic products yielding mostly small sums and reported infrequently in all locations.

4. Seasonality and women's coping strategies with seasonal income fluctuations. Due to the climatic variability of different regions, the most difficult months vary with the geographic location of the asentamiento. For Nueva Choluteca, Patuca, situated in Olancho, the wet summer months are the difficult months, when many roads are closed and food and other supplies often become scarce. The same is true for El Tablon in Jamastran. For Los Colorados, located in Choluteca in the South, spring as well as summer months are extremely hot and dry and constitute the difficult months. Finally, in Zamora, located in the tropical Bajo Aguan, the winter months are hot and dry and may represent for some people difficult months with less supplies and vegetables available.

Women cope with seasonal hardships by saving when they can and as much as they can. When they have some surplus from their own income, they try to save some money. Otherwise, when all their own money is spent on food or other household expenses, they try to save some money during the months that

everybody in the family is earning money or their husband gives them some money to be saved. Women in Los Colorados, however, report that they are not able to save because they are poor and there is never a surplus. Most of the women in Zamora (69 percent) and in Patuca (55 percent) save some money for the difficult months and a few women also invest some money in agricultural operations. Similarly, in El Tablon, 81 percent of women try to save some money but only half of them save on a regular basis. Only in Zamora do women show a "modern" behavior in terms of some of them using institutional channels for savings such as banks, but also by reporting that in difficult times they may resort to credit.

5. Use of women's income. In all cases, women predominantly use their income to buy food. In addition, some also buy clothes, medicine, and pay for health care and a variety of household items. Very rarely (only 7 percent of them) do women invest their income in productive assets (coffee trees) or save it.

6. Who sells animals and eggs. It is noteworthy that in El Penon, only 25 percent of the families sold some animals during the previous year. In the asentamientos, on the other hand, animals are sold much more often: 62 percent of the families in El Tablon and about four-fifths of the families in Patuca and Los Colorados sold some animals during the previous year.

In half of the families in all settlements, the woman sells animals and eggs. This high percentage may be, however, due to the fact that many women respondents may have identified "animals" only with chicken since eggs were also mentioned in the question. In the other half of the families, the woman

consistently sold chicken and hens but pigs were usually sold either by the husband alone (in half of these cases or one-fourth of all families) or by the husband with the agreement of his wife (in one-fourth of the cases or one-eighth of all families). When we examine individual settlements, we find that in the majority of the families in El Penon (53 percent) and the asentamiento El Tablon (78 percent) women sell animals and eggs while in Patuca they do so in 56 percent of the families; in Zamora, they do so in 40 percent of the families; and in Los Colorados, only in one-third of the families do women sell animals and eggs. In Patuca, in one-third of the families the husband sells the pigs and the woman the chicken and hens; but in Los Colorados the husband in half of the families sells the pigs alone without the consultation and agreement of his wife.

7. How is income from sales of animals and eggs spent. Since little more than one-third of the women answered this question, only the overall picture will be examined. As could be expected, two-thirds of the women use the money to buy food and in a few cases they also buy clothes or medicine. In the remaining cases, they use it to pay household expenses except for three cases of interest: one woman in Zamora and one in Los Colorados reinvested some of the money to buy animals or to buy a backyard and one woman in Los Colorados bought a handmill.

8. Marketing of women's produce. In El Penon produce is predominantly sold by husbands (46 percent) and less often by wives (23 percent) while in almost one-third of the couples either the husband or the wife sells the produce.

As we shall see, however, in the next section, based on men's answers wives are able to market the produce they have raised by themselves. This information is, however, quite limited since it is available from communities of origin. It is interesting to note that in most cases, women's produce is not sold bit by bit locally. Instead, either traders come to the house with cars to buy it or the produce is carried to town on muleback (69 percent of the cases).

9. Women's income before and after joining the asentamiento. Despite women's perceptions of few work opportunities for women in asentamientos, women's reports and estimates of changes in their income after joining an asentamiento show that: in 42 percent of the cases their income did not significantly change; in one-third of the cases their income increased to some extent; and in one-fourth of the cases their income decreased. There are, however, important variations among women living in different asentamientos. As could be expected, most women (58 percent) in El Tablon report that they experienced an income decrease after coming to the asentamiento while only one-fifth of them experienced an increase. In Los Colorados, on the other hand, most women (58 percent) experienced an income increase and none experienced an income decrease. In between these two extremes is Patuca, with 40 percent of the women experiencing an income increase and 20 percent an income decrease, and Zamora, with only one-fourth of the women reporting an income increase and 17 percent an income decrease (most of them - 58 percent - report no change in income). We must keep in mind, of course, that changes in women's income before and after coming to the asentamiento are relative to the prevailing conditions in the

community of origin and those prevailing in the asentamiento and with the woman's ability and/or willingness to avail herself of existing opportunities. Changes in her income, therefore, do not solely reflect the extent to which income-generating opportunities exist in the asentamiento.

10. Animals women had before coming to the Asentamiento. The women who are now living in Zamora have in many ways different backgrounds than the other women and one of these ways is that almost half of them did not keep animals before coming to the asentamiento. Another third of them kept only some chicken and hens. Also more than one-third (36 percent) of the women who are now in the asentamiento El Tablon did not keep any animals before; another third of them kept only chicken and hens; and about one-fourth of them kept hens, chicken, and pigs. In Patuca and Los Colorados, one-third of the women kept chicken and hens and about one-third kept chicken and/or hens and pigs before coming to the asentamiento; the others either did not have any animals or they had mules and/or cows in addition to chicken, hens, and/or pigs.

## E. Women's Subsistence Contributions

1. Who contributes money for food. Most of the families (two-thirds or more) spend 1-24 lempiras per week for food. In the communities of origin, however, from 40 (in El Tablon) to 50 percent (in El Penon) of the families spend only 1-10 lempiras per week for food. The husband as the main breadwinner is reported in only 40 percent of all families and is the prevalent trend for Patuca and the asentamiento El Tablon, where in 56 percent of the families the husband provides all money for food as well as in

Zamora, where the same is true in 62 percent of the families. In Los Colorados, on the other hand, the breadwinning function is either shared between husbands and wives (in 39 percent of the families) or between fathers and sons (in 23 percent of the families) and husbands carry it alone in only 23 percent of the cases. In the communities of origin, the husband is rarely the main breadwinner, this is the case in only one-third of the families in El Tablon and in 13 percent of the families in El Penon.

The image of male breadwinner is reinforced, however, when sons' contributions for food are added to those of fathers since then in two-thirds of the families in the asentamiento El Tablon and in the village El Tablon, fathers and sons are the breadwinners. In El Penon, however, in about two-thirds (63 percent) of the families husband and wife share the food expenses and in the village of El Tablon, in one-third of the families the same pattern holds true. It is also interesting to note that in 44 percent of the families in Patuca and 31 percent of those in Zamora, husbands and wives share food expenses. It seems, therefore, that in villages as well as in some asentamientos sons and wives play a very important breadwinning role.

Cross-cultural evidence (Safilios-Rothschild and Dijkers, 1978) suggests that patriarchal values become more enforced when men are not the sole breadwinners and women contribute substantially to family income. It can, therefore, be expected that in the settlements in which men share the breadwinning function (Los Colorados, Patuca and El Penon), the men will attempt in different ways to strengthen their threatened superiority by adhering to and by enforcing patriarchal values.

In the communities of origin, a more detailed question was asked regarding wives', daughters' and sons' cash contributions for food. The

answers showed that in about 40 percent of the cases the wife contributes either all she earns or an amount between 13.50 -18 lempiras/week. In El Penon, three-fourths of the wives contribute for food but about half of them contribute only 2-3 lempiras/week. Daughters' contributions are of no consequence since in only two cases in El Tablon do they occasionally contribute 20 lempiras/month. Sons, on the other hand, help more often than daughters (in 60 percent of the cases in El Tablon and 39 in El Penon) but their help is not regular and as it depends on whether or not they are able to find ways to earn.

2. Animals consumed last year by the family. With the exception of two families in the asentamiento El Tablon and one in the village El Tablon, all other families consume at least some chicken and hens. The greatest degree of animal consumption is reported in Patuca and Zamora where about half of the families consumed between 35-55 hens and chicken or about 20-25 hens and chicken and two pigs and another 15-20 percent of families consumed about 10-15 hens and chicken and a piglet. The least consumption, on the other hand was reported in the asentamiento El Tablon, where one-fourth of the families had no animals and 55 percent of the families consumed less than 10 hens and/or chicken and in Los Colorados, where all families reported consuming 10 or less hens or chicken. The communities of origin tend to situate themselves in between the higher and lower animal consumption levels with El Tablon being more similar to the asentamiento El Tablon and with El Penon showing an intermediate consumption level with 43 percent of the families consuming less than 10 hens or chicken, and 29 percent of the families consuming 10-15 hens and chickens and a piglet.

3. Women's crops for family consumption. Whenever women cultivate a piece of land alone or with the help of their husbands, the maize, beans, vegetables, and fruits that they most often grow are for family consumption. Only in four cases may they sell a small part, mainly when the cultivated plot is part of the women's plot in the asentamiento El Tablon.

F. Access to Food

1. Food produced now. Maize is the basic food produced by practically all families and in all settlements, villages and asentamientos. Beans are the second most important food produced by practically all families and in all settlements except for Los Colora dos, where sorghum replaces beans, and Zamora where the majority of the families (69 percent) produce beans. Sorghum, on the other hand, is an important food for El Penon where 59 percent of the families grow it. In Patuca, rice is produced by eight out of ten families and yucca by six out of ten families while potatoes and coffee are produced by four out of ten families. Coming now to vegetables and fruits, they are most often produced in Patuca (50-60 percent of the families); and Los Colorados (30-40 percent of the families).

2. Where is food produced. In Patuca, (100 percent), Los Colorados (60 percent) and Zamora (92 percent), the food is predominantly produced in the individually owned land. In El Tablon, however, only in 11 percent of the cases was the family's food produced only on individually owned land. Most of the food was produced on different pieces of land; in 37 percent of the

families, food was produced in collectively owned land; and in 68 percent of the families, food was produced in collectively owned land as well as in individually owned land and/or in land owned by the women's group or in the backyard.

3. Food items most often bought. In all settlements at least half of the people buy beans, rice, lard and coffee. Beyond those basic necessities, there is great variation by settlement and by family depending on income available for food. Zamora and Patuca seem to be the better off asentamientos in terms of food variety and in terms of the percentage of families that can afford this variety (see Table 3). Thus, in Patuca 40 percent of the families buy meat and 30 percent buy fish; 40 percent buy vegetables; 20 percent buy powdered milk; and all families buy onions and condiments. In Zamora, 43 percent of the families buy meat and onions; 57 percent buy pasta; 36 percent buy powdered milk and potatoes; 36 percent buy vegetables and tomato paste; and 21 percent of the families buy butter. Since we have already seen that families in Zamora and Patuca also consume more animals than in other asentamientos, clearly these two settlements enjoy the best standard of living at least in terms of food.

At the other extreme, families in El Penon and Los Colorados seem to have the poorest food variety since only less than one-fourth of the families can buy vegetables, one-third of the families in Los Colorados and none in El Penon can buy meat; and nobody or hardly anyone can buy milk in either settlement. El Tablon falls between these two extremes. In the asentamiento El Tablon, 44 percent of the families buy meat and pasta but few families buy vegetables. In the village El Tablon, there is a good variety of food items,

including cheese, butter and tomato paste but only one-fourth of the families buy meat. It is also worth noting that one-fourth of the families in the village El Tablon and one-third of the families in El Penon have sometimes no other food than tortillas and salt.

4. Food produced before coming to the sentamiento. When the type of food produced by the interviewed families in their community of origin is compared with the type of food produced now in the asentamientos, we find the following differences: (a) in Patuca, about the same percentage of families produced in the past and produce at present maize, beans, rice, vegetables, coffee and yucca but more families produce fruits and sorghum now (no family produced sorghum before); (b) in Los Colorados, the improvement in food production is significant since more families now produce maize, sorghum, vegetables and fruits (no family produced fruits before). It must also be noted that there are two families in Los Colorados that did not produce any food in the past, one family because they lived in the city and the other because they were landless and worked as agricultural laborers; (c) in Zamora, no family produces rice now while about half of the families produced rice in the community of origin and no family produces milk now (while two families produced milk in the past); and (d) in El Tablon, there were very few changes except that no one produces fruits now.

5. Access to food before and after. When women were asked what food is not available in asentamientos, those living in Patuca (the most isolated asentamiento in Olancho) reported that meat and fruits as well as some vegetables (squash, cabbage, yucca, onions) were not always available. Half

of the women living in Zamora, where they are not allowed to keep livestock, also report that milk and milk products such as cheese and ice cream as well as meat are not available or are in short supply.

When, on the other hand, women were questioned about changes that had come about in the quantity of food since they moved to an asentamiento, those living in El Tablon predominantly (65 percent) said that there was no change in the quantity of food since these individuals did not change place of residence. Five women, however, (or 24 percent) felt that there was less food in the asentamiento. Two-fifths to one-half of the women in Los Colorados and Patuca feel that there is more food available in the asentamiento than before, while one-third of them report that there is less food than before or that important food items such as milk and meat or meat and fruits are not available. In Zamora, on the other hand, an asentamiento with considerable access to credit and technical assistance, improved conditions are reflected in women's answers, most of whom (70 percent) state that there is more food available since productivity is higher in the asentamientos than it was before.

6. Who decides what to buy. Buying decisions seems to rest primarily with the women since in 60 percent of families they decide what is needed and how much should be bought. Women's decision-making dominance with regard to buying is, however, more prevalent in Zamora and the asentamiento El Tablon, where 83 and 64 percent of the women respectively make these decisions, than in Los Colorados and the village El Tablon (where this is true in 50 percent of the cases) or Patuca (where this is true only in 38 percent of the cases). In the remaining families, either the husband decides or they both decide.

It is important to note, however, that in half of the families in Patuca and in one-third of the families in Los Colorados men decide what to buy while in Zamora, in no family does the man decide what to buy. It seems, therefore, that families in Patuca and Los Colorados tend to be more male-dominated than in other settlements. As we saw earlier these are two of the settlements where we would expect to find men being dominant over women and decision-making is an appropriate testing ground.

7. Who does the shopping. Most often (in 44 percent of the cases) the shopping is carried out by the husband or the wife possibly with the assistance of the children; in one-fourth of the cases, it is carried out by the wife alone; and in one-fourth of the cases, by the husband alone. Again it is interesting to note that in 40 percent of the cases in Patuca, and in one-third of the cases in Los Colorados, the husband does the shopping while in Zamora and in the asentamiento El Tablon, this is rare. Furthermore, in only 20 percent of the cases in Patuca and 17 percent of the cases in Los Colorados the wife does the shopping alone while in Zamora, in 54 percent of the cases and in the asentamiento El Tablon, in 24 percent of the cases the woman does the shopping alone. Finally, shopping is done by the husband, wife, and/or children in almost half (47 percent) of the families in the asentamiento El Tablon. It seems, therefore, that Patuca and Los Colorados are the most male-dominated asentamientos in our sample. In the communities of origin, on the other hand, shopping is predominantly shared by all family members.

G. Access To Health Care

1. Women's health status and access to health care. 28 percent of all interviewed women report at least one miscarriage but childbirth does not seem to constitute an important disability for most women: only five women reported staying in bed and not working for a month or 40 days. The most common illnessses reported by women are: grippe, malaria, a variety of infections, and fever that in many cases may be a symptom of undiagnosed and unrecognized malaria. Three-fourths of the women reported that their symptoms and/or illnesses such as fever, headache, low back pain and malaria were chronic. In the case of malaria, some specified that although chronic, it was especially severe during the rainy season. Some other symptoms and/or conditions reported to occur more often during the rainy season are: grippe, fever, infections and diarrhea. Of all symptoms and illnesses, malaria causes the longest and most frequent work disability lasting for a period of two weeks to a month each time it recurs.

When the mother is sick and cannot perform household tasks, in 43 percent of the cases daughters alone and/or with another family member (husband, sons, mother) perform these tasks. The second helper in order of importance (in one-fourth of the cases) is the mother or the mother and the mother-in-law with or without hired help.

With regard to access to health care, most women (two-thirds) dislike going to a hospital. Instead, they prefer to see private doctors, midwives, or folk health practitioners. The rare times that a hospital is visited, the women's or their children's conditions are serious (epilepsy, chronic bronchitis) or cannot be taken care of by folk health practitioners.

Health centers seem to be more acceptable than hospitals except in the

asentamiento El Tablon, where about one-third of the women have never visited or have not visited the health center for a long time. An additional 38 percent of them think poorly of the services offered by the health center in terms of lack of medicines, long waiting periods, or poorly qualified personnel. Most of the women (48 percent), however, report that they visit the health center for their children's illnesses and in Zamora, they also attend the "healthy baby program." Only three women reported that they go to the health center whenever they are sick.

## H. Daughters' Labor and Income Contributions

1. Daughters' labor contributions. Daughters start to help with domestic work from a very early age. In all settlements except Zamora, girls begin to help with domestic work before they are 7 years old in half or more than half of the families. The highest percentage of families in which girls begin to help at such an early age is found in Patuca (see Table 4). In Zamora, on the other hand, in almost two-thirds (64 percent) of the families girls begin to help when they are 7 or older. The fact that girls begin to help later may be due to the higher incomes enjoyed in Zamora that allow the families to hire help for different time-consuming household tasks. In this way, very young girls do not have to be unduly taxed. Similarly, in the El Tablon asentamiento, girls begin to help when they are 7 or older in most families despite the fact that most mothers are actively involved in agricultural work.

With regard to the nature of the domestic tasks performed by girls the most common are: fetching water, sweeping and, less often, errands and

milling corn or making tortillas. In all families in Patuca, girls fetch water; in 85 percent of the families in El Penon they do so; in 64 percent of the families in Zamora; and in only about half of the families in Los Colorados and El Tablon, girls fetch water. In the village El Tablon, however, 88 percent of the girls carry water. While in some of the settlements the distance to the water is small (10-15 minutes or less), in El Penon the distance to the stream is half an hour and the distance to some wells, one hour. Similarly, in Los Colorados, the distance to the stream is one hour and to some wells half-an-hour. In Zamora, on the other hand, girls are as often involved in sweeping (64 percent) as they are in carrying water while between 40-46 percent of girls in all other settlements help with sweeping.

With regard to child care tasks, girls become involved at a very early age. This trend is more accentuated in the village of El Penon, where in 46 percent of the families girls begin to help perform such tasks before they are 7 years old; in Los Colorados where in 55 percent of the families girls begin to help when they are 6; and in Zamora, where in 56 percent of the families girls begin when they are 5 or 6. In El Tablon, on the other hand, village and asentamiento, in about two-thirds of the families girls start helping later on when they are 7, 8, or older (see Table 4). It is not clear why in El Tablon girls begin to help later than in other settlements.

What is interesting to note is that in seven cases (or in one-fourth of the cases in which daughters were at the age at which they could look after children), the mothers report that their daughter(s) do not like to look after the babies and/or do not know how to do it properly.

With regard to daughters' involvement in agricultural work, while there

is limited information available, it seems that girls do not usually get involved in this type of work until they are 12 or 13 years old and for some types of tasks, such as harvesting coffee, not until they are 17. The agricultural tasks that daughters perform are most often: harvesting, weeding, sowing and hoeing, that is, the same tasks that mothers also perform.

Clearly, therefore, daughters' most important labor contribution is help with mothers' domestic tasks even more than with childcare, especially, fetching water, sweeping and going for errands which starts earlier in the communities of origin, Patuca and Los Colorados than in Zamora and El Tablon.

2. Daughters' income contributions. Most of the daughters (62 percent) start earning an income by the time they are 15 and a few start as early as 8. The majority of girls (67 percent) begin to earn an income as domestic workers (maids, cooks, nannies). Only a few (19 percent) can earn an income by doing some kind of agricultural work such as harvesting (mainly coffee) or washing jicaro seed, while another fifth of girls work in agricultural work but are not paid since they are helping their mothers earn a higher income by doing the work. The actual income they earn is very low: 44 percent of them earn less than 30 lempiras per month and another 44 percent, 30-60 lempiras/month; only two girls earn 120 lempiras per month.

The situation does not improve considerably with daughters' regular jobs from which they earn a regular income. Half of the girls assume such a job by the time they are 15 and they predominantly (two-thirds of them) do domestic work as nannies, cooks, or housemaids. The remaining one-third does agricultural work -- coffee harvest, jicaro seed washing, fruit harvest.

Their income is, however, somewhat higher since two-thirds of the daughters earn up to 60 lempiras per month and the remaining one-third earn 75-180 lempiras per month. It is interesting to note that in the tradition of women's unpaid work, 39 percent of the mothers who give information about the nature of their daughters' work report that their daughters' work is not remunerated. Finally, with regard to remittances, only 16 percent of daughters who are away send a regular sum to their mothers and another 26 percent of daughters occasionally send money (or food) to their mothers.

3. How is daughters' income used. Not only do many fewer daughters than sons make money (making less of it when they do) but also fewer daughters than sons give all or half of the money they make to their mothers. Only two of the 23 daughters who make money give it all to their mothers while one-fifth of them give almost half to their mothers. Furthermore, the majority of those daughters who give regularly a good share of what they earn to their mothers are in the asentamiento El Tablon. Otherwise, daughters, as a function also of their small and irregular earnings, either give to their mothers a part of their earnings or they help out occasionally with what their mother needs. It must also be taken into consideration, however, that girls help their mothers earn more money by helping the mothers with such work as making brooms or strawmats, agricultural work or baking.

## I. Sons' Labor and Income Contributions

1. Sons' labor contributions. As is true for most countries (Safilios-Rothschild, 1982c), boys in Honduras begin to help with domestic

work somewhat later than girls. Thus, only 44 percent of all boys begin to help before they are 7 years old but another 20 percent of the boys begin to help with domestic work when they are 7. Only in the communities of origin and in the El Tablon asentamiento, do sons begin to help before they are 7 in half or more than half of the families (see Table 5). In Los Colorados, on the other hand, in about two-thirds of the families sons begin to help when they are 7 and the same holds true for Zamora. In Patuca, the age at which sons begin to help is even more delayed: in 57 percent of the families sons begin to help when they are 8-14 years old.

Sons most often fetch firewood (in 55 percent of the cases) and water (in 57 percent of the cases); and less often run errands (in 22 percent of the cases), sweep (18 percent) and grind corn (16 percent). Sweeping is by no means a stereotyped masculine task and it is interesting to note that most of the boys whose mothers report that they sweep (6 out of 10) are concentrated in the asentamiento El Tablon where in 46 percent of the families boys sweep.

It is also interesting to note that boys' and girls' domestic tasks are not sex-stereotyped except for fetching firewood which is labeled as a masculine task.

When it comes, however, to help with childcare sex stereotypes come into force. Very few girls do not ever help with childcare or are seen by their mothers as uninterested or unable to perform the tasks (Table 4). About one-third of the mothers, however, in the village El Tablon and Los Colorados (the settlements with patriarchal values) and about one-fifth of mothers in El Penon and the asentamiento El Tablon report that their sons do not help with childcare, either because they are uninterested or because they do not

know how to perform the tasks (Table 5 ). When, however, sons help with childcare they do it more often when they are very young and tend to not help so much when they are older, after the performance of such a task becomes more clearly sex-inappropriate. Some mothers made explicit comments to the effect that only girls and not boys should take care of children or that boys are not careful with children and do not take good care of them. Thus, in the communities of origin, Los Colorados and Zamora, in half or more than half of the families sons begin to help before they are 7 but in Patuca and El Tablon, they do not help until they are 7 or older. The older pattern of help with childcare when it comes to boys in Patuca and El Tablon tends to signify low sex-stereotyping evidenced also in the fact that mothers in El Tablon ask sons to sweep.

Coming now to help with agricultural work, in more than half of the families sons begin to help with agricultural work by the time they are 10 and in two-thirds of the families by the time they are 12. There is some variation, however, in that in more families in El Penon and Patuca sons start helping by the time they are 9 than in other settlements, where in most cases sons help when they are 10 or older (Table 5).

With regard to the nature of the agricultural tasks sons perform and help with, the most frequent are the following: weeding (in 30 percent of the families), sowing (in 21 percent), harvesting (in 21 percent) and hoeing (in 18 percent of the families).

2. Sons' income contributions. The range of sons' paid jobs is impressively larger than that of girls mainly because boys can get paid agricultural work in the asentamiento as well as in villages and can become socios when they

are 16 years old, regardless of their marital status. Thus, in 47 percent of the families sons are involved in paid agricultural jobs such as day labor, clearing land, and harvesting since their work in asentamientos is paid and is paid at the much higher rates reserved for men from the time they are 14 or 15. In addition sons can be policemen, mechanics, and socios in asentamientos. Sons' better opportunities for paid employment are even more evident when the income earned by them is examined. In almost half of the families (48 percent) sons earn 4-15 lempiras per day (one son in Zamora earns 1,000 lempiras) and only one son 15 years old is not paid because he is helping his father. There is, however, considerable variation by settlement. In the asentamiento El Tablon, 57 percent of the sons earn 4-15 lempiras/day; in Los Colorados, about half of them earn 4-15 lempiras/day; but in El Penon, 80 percent of sons make 2-3 lempiras/day while in the village El Tablon, practically all sons make 4-6 lempiras per day. In addition, it must be noted that slightly more than one-fifth (22 percent) of the boys in asentamientos earn 7-15 lempiras/day while not one boy earns the same amount of money in the communities of origin. Thus, while young men seem to make relatively less money in villages than in asentamientos, all sons earn more money than all daughters mainly because daughters are excluded from paid agricultural work.

What is even more remarkable is the early age at which sons begin to earn money: in slightly more than one-third of the families, at least one son is earning money before he is 12 and in 43 percent of the families when he is 12-14 years old. In fact, half or more than half of the sons begin to earn an income from agricultural work by the time they are 12 years old in the communities of origin, especially in the village El Tablon where 86

percent of the sons earn an income by the time they are 12. In the asentamientos, however, where, as we saw, sons begin to help with agricultural work a little later than in villages, they begin to earn an income later as well. Thus, in Los Colorados, most sons (80 percent) begin to earn an income when they are 15 or older and in the other asentamientos, most sons begin to earn when they are 12-15 years old. What is very important to underline is the fact that in about half of the cases, the agricultural tasks sons perform when they begin to earn an income such as weeding, harvesting, sowing, hoeing, etc. could be as easily performed by girls, if equal access to these paid agricultural tasks was allowed to boys and girls. Due, however, to the sex differentials in access to paid agricultural work, while 44 percent of the girls earn less than 30 lempiras/month when they begin to earn an income, only one-fourth of the boys earn such a low income.

When it comes to earning a regular income, most boys begin to earn such an income at 15 and their jobs are mostly paid agricultural work, coffee harvesting being the most frequent job, especially in the communities of origin.

When sons are away, their record of sending remittances is not very good: 62 percent send no remittances. The others send occasionally from 10-100 lempiras. Also, it is important to note that most (three-fourths) sons help their fathers earn more income by helping them with agricultural work. Only one-fourth of them help their mothers earn more income by helping them with broom-making or by fetching materials for strawmats or by doing work in the women's plot. Practically all sons who help their mothers earn more money live in the asentamiento El Tablon. Thus, sons tend to help their

mothers more often by giving them money and their fathers by helping them with agricultural work that helps them earn more money. It is interesting to note, however, that both the mother-son and the mother-daughter relationships seem to be closer in the asentamiento El Tablon than in other settlements with respect to income contributed by sons and daughters to mothers.

3. How is sons' income used. Sons tend to give at least a part of their income to their mothers, at least as long as they are not married and are still living with their family. Thus, sons in Los Colorados and in the asentamiento El Tablon tend to give all their money to their mother much more often than sons in other settlements: half of the sons in Los Colorados and 40 percent of the sons in asentamiento El Tablon give all the money to their mothers while 29 percent of the sons in the village El Tablon and no sons in the other settlements give all their money to the mother. Of course, it must be noted that in most cases when all the money is handed over to the mothers, a big part of this money is used by the mothers to buy what their sons need. In El Penon, on the other hand, in 43 percent of the families mothers report that their sons give them half of the income they earn and in an additional 29 percent of the families, that their sons give them an unspecified part of their income. The fact that sons tend to give all or a part of their earnings to their mothers as long as they are not married is extremely significant because it underlines the economic value of sons to mothers.

## J. Access to Fuelwood and Water

1. Distance from fuelwood in communities of origin and asentamiento. When

the women were asked whether fuelwood was nearer in the asentamiento than in the community of origin, those living in Patuca (80 percent) answered that it was nearer; in Los Colorados, more than half answered that the distance was the same since they came from the same area and 39 percent coming from other regions answered that the distance was shorter now; and two-thirds of those living in Zamora answered that the distance was greater. Finally, in El Tablon, since the asentamiento members lived in the same area before, the distance remained the same. This perception of the distance was cross-validated by asking them the time that it took to walk to fetch wood before and after they came to the asentamiento. The two sets of data showed a high degree of agreement.

2. Who fetched Wood before and after joining the asentamiento. Fetching wood is the husband's and/or the children's responsibility. Women are seldom involved and are less involved in asentamientos than previously in their community of origin--as is true for Los Colorados and Zamora. Also the data show that as members of the extended family (fathers, mothers, sisters, etc.) are no longer available in asentamientos to help with arduous and time-consuming tasks, children shoulder these responsibilities more often than before. In the case of fetching wood, boys more than girls tend to assume this responsibility. Thus, while in the past no son and/or daughter shouldered this responsibility before in the communities of origin, in 14 percent of the cases now the sons shouldered this responsibility and in another 14 percent of the cases sons and daughters share the responsiblity. Furthermore, while in only 9 percent of the cases in the past sons helped predominantly their father to fetch wood, now in almost one-fourth (23

percent) of the cases sons help with fetching wood. Thus, sons' labor contributions have increased since the families moved to asentamientos with regard to fetching firewood and daughters continue to help with this task but much less often than sons.

3. Distance from water in communities of origin and asentamientos. Overall the distance from the source of water is shorter in asentamientos than in communities of origin. Thus, in the members' communities of origin, in 29 percent of the cases the water was at a distance of a half-hour or an hour but now in the asentamientos, only in 8 percent of the cases do the members have to cope with some distance. In the asentamientos, either there is running water or a tap in the backyard as is true primarily for El Tablon (in 83 percent of the cases) or the distance to the tap is 5 minutes or less as is true in Zamora. In general, the access to water has improved for those who moved to asentamientos.

4. Who Fetched Water in Communities of Origin and in Asentamientos. In communities of origin the woman herself fetched water in more than half of the families (55 percent). This pattern particularly is true for women who live now in Zamora and in the asentamiento El Tablon. After coming to live in an asentamiento, however, fewer women (49 percent) carry out this task alone and more daughters shoulder the responsibility, namely in 23 percent of the cases (instead of 13 percent in the villages before) they perform this task alone. In addition, while only 8 percent of the daughters in the communities of origin help other family members fetch water, twice as many do so in asentamientos. In asentamientos, therefore, daughters assume a greater

responsibility for fetching water on their own or as aids to other family members.

5. Washing Clothes. In the majority of cases (84 percent), the woman washes the clothes alone; daughters do the washing only in 8 percent of the cases and help their mothers in another 6 percent of the cases. When, however, the woman is busy, in 30 percent of the cases daughters and stepdaughters do the washing.

K. Women's Relationship to Parents

1. Frequency of trips to visit parents. As could be expected women who visit their parents most often find themselves in asentamientos which are near or adjacent to their community of origin as is the case of El Tablon. There, 80 percent of the women visit their parents daily or weekly. Similarly, in Los Colorados, half of the women who are from the region visit their parents daily or once a week and another 25 percent visit them twice a month. In the case of Zamora, while 54 percent of the women visit their parents daily or once a week, 38 percent of the women never visit or hardly ever visit their parents, the last visit dating 6, 8 or 13 years ago. In Patuca, the reported relationship between daughters and parents is even weaker since half of the women report visiting their parents only seldom or hardly ever (the last visit dating back to 6, 8 or 13 years) and another 25 percent reports visits once a year. Similarly in the village El Penon, one-third of the women report visiting their parents once a year and 22 percent visiting them once a month. The main reasons reported for infrequent

visits on the part of daughters in all settlements are that parents live far away and it costs too much money for the travel but also that women cannot leave their families and children and go away for a long journey. It must be also noted that in most cases parents live with the women's married or unmarried brothers and/or sisters so that they are in fact living and to some extent being taken care by other offspring.

The detailed data describing how the women's parents are supported are revealing. Whenever the father is dead and the mother is living with a son and/or daughter, it is predominantly (in 65 percent of the cases) the son who supports her and in the rest of the cases, the son and/or daughter. Only in one case was it reported that the widowed mother supported herself. When the mother has remarried, the second husband supports her. Thus, women's dependence on husbands and sons is clearly underlined.[1] Furthermore, in view of the considerable marital instability of the "common law" unions in rural Honduras and the fact that husbands most often die before their wives since they are often much older, it is clear that sons represent the most reliable social security for women's old age.

2. Help wives give their parents. Overall more than one-fourth of the wives (28 percent) do not help their parents although many of them would like to but are not able. Another fourth help their parents by sending them money when they can, although the sums are small (3, 5 or 10-15 lempiras) and 30 percent help them by sending them produce: maize, beans or other food. The

1 It is also of interest to note that in one-sixth of the cases, the parents live in the asentamiento (mainly in Zamora and Patuca) and the father is a socio.

disaggregation of the data by settlement shows that most of the women who do not help their parents are either in Patuca (43 percent) or in Zamora (42 percent) and less often in El Penon (one-third). This is not surprising since, especially in Patuca and El Penon, as we saw, the daughter-parent relationship is often very weak. Most of the women, on the other hand, who help their parents with produce and food live either in Los Colorados (half of the women) or in the asentamiento El Tablon (46 percent) and less often in El Penon (42 percent). Finally, those who help with money when they are able live predominantly in Patuca (43 percent) and less often in Zamora and the asentamiento El Tablon (one-third). It seems, therefore, that women in El Penon, Los Colorados and the asentamiento El Tablon help their parents predominantly with produce while in Patuca and Zamora, either women tend to be alienated from their parents and to not help at all or their relationship is quite close and they help them with money, if they are able.

## L. Husbands' Income

1. Husbands' income as reported by wives. Wives did not always have a clear or complete picture of their husbands' income. This was particularly true in Los Colorados, where in 44 percent of the cases wives gave insufficient information on the basis of which to even estimate the husbands' income. According to the wives, husbands had the higher incomes in Zamora where 55 percent of them earned L.1,251-7,200/year and 54 percent of them earned more than L.1,051. At the other extreme, most of the husbands in Patuca (63 percent); half of the husbands in Los Colorados; and 43 percent of the husbands in the asentamiento El Tablon earned less than 850 lempiras per

year. But the poorest men (according to their wives) were those living in El Penon, when four-fifths of them earned less than 650 lempiras/year.

When the wives' answers regarding the husbands' income were compared with the estimated husbands' income based on husbands' answers to several questions, in only 22 percent of the cases were the two sets of data matching. In almost three-fourths of the cases (72 percent), wives seriously underestimated their husbands' income, most often by 1,000-2,000 lempiras and sometimes by as much as 3,000 lempiras, most probably because husbands hide some of their income from their wives in order to be freer to spend it as they wish. Only three out of the 53 wives who answered slightly overestimated their husbands' income.

## M. Comparison of Marital Instability in Asentamientos and Communities of Origin

Only about half of the interviewed women compared the frequency of desertions in asentamientos and communities of origin. Of those, only 37 percent had come to an asentamiento from a village and could compare frequencies. About half of them (47 percent) felt that there were fewer or no desertions in communities of origin and that formal marriages were more common. Another 29 percent reported that the frequency of desertions in the two types of settlements was the same; and in one-fourth of the cases, they reported that there were more desertions in the community of origin. It is interesting to note that women respondents in Patuca were divided: half of them thought that there were fewer and the other half that there were more desertions in the community of origin. In Los Colorados, however, no woman

felt that there were more desertions in the community of origin. Instead, half of them thought that there were about as many desertions in the community of origin as there were in the asentamiento and the other half felt that there were fewer desertions in the community of origin than in the asentamiento.

## N. Women's Formal Education and Training.

About half the interviewed women (48 percent) had not attended school or had not completed the first grade and 45 percent of the women, had completed 1-3 grades. Since, however, some people who do not complete 4 grades become functionally illiterate, we find that only 36 percent of the women can read and/or write and this percentage includes the small elite of 7 percent of the women who have finished four or more grades. It is also interesting to note that in Patuca only one woman cannot read or write.

With regard to training, Table 6 shows that women do not fare very well. This holds true whether we look at organizational, agricultural or general training in health, cooking, family relations, or human motivation. El Tablon seems to be the most favored area followed by Patuca, although in Patuca, the courses offered are general informational courses that do not provide women with specific skills that can enhance their income-generating ability. And even in El Tablon, village and asentamiento, about two-fifths of the women have not had any course. Women, therefore, seem to have very limited access to this crucial resource.

O. Boys' and Girls' Access to Schooling

The information obtained from the mothers shows that boys have greater access to schooling than girls. Thus, while 22 percent of all boys were not attending school, 28 percent of all girls were not attending school. This difference, however, is entirely due to the fact that girls in communities of origin have much less access to schooling than boys: 47 percent of the girls in communities of origin do not attend school, most often because they must take care of younger siblings and/or attend to housework while only 29 percent of boys do not attend school. In asentamientos, however, the same percentage - 17 percent - of boys and girls do not attend school. Furthermore, practically all boys and girls who do not attend school are in Los Colorados and the asentamiento El Tablon.

Furthermore, in communities of origin there are more girls than boys (25 versus 17 percent) who are kept from school in order to do errands, to look after the baby, or when the mother is ill. The difference in asentamientos is, on the other hand, very small (17 versus 14 percent). It seems, therefore, that in asentamientos boys and girls have much more equal access to schooling than in communities of origin.

P. Comparative Women's Age at Marriage Before and After Coming to an Asentamiento. Before coming to the asentamiento, women reported that half of the women were getting married when they were 15-17 years old and one-fourth of them at ages 18-21. After coming to the asentamiento, however, only 22 percent of the women were reported to marry at ages 15-17 and 47 percent did so when they were 18 and over. It seems, therefore, that the move to the asentamiento, at least according to the women's answers, has

brought about an important delay in the age of women's marriage. Due to the demographic consequences of such a delay, it is crucial to investigate further why in the asentamientos Santa Ana in El Tablon, Zamora in Bajo Aguan and Nueva Choluteca in Patuca women's age at marriage is delayed, while in Los Colorados it is not.

## V. FINDINGS - MEN'S ANSWERS

### A. Men's Attitudes Toward Agrarian Reform and Collective Work; Participation in Agrarian Reform Groups; and Attitudes Toward Life in Asentamientos.

1. Attitudes toward Agrarian Reform. Most of the men in communities of origin who were asked what they thought of agrarian reform reported that they find it good and necessary although a few registered reservations which had to do with the lack of availability of credit or inputs at accessible prices. Of course, this is a very general question, and therefore not a very useful one. The men's attitudes are better portrayed in more specific questions discussed below.

Most of the men interviewed in the village El Penon (more than two-thirds) and half of the men in the village El Tablon had never taken part in migration and/or occupation of land. Despite the fact that very few of the interviewed men in El Penon took part in migration and/or land occupation, they overwhelmingly hold positive attitudes toward agrarian reform. Two-thirds of them believe that the land reform has benefited the peasants, and the other one-third believes that it has benefited peasants by supplying promoters and credit or that it has benefited them in other regions than their own. Similarly, in the village El Tablon two-thirds feel that agrarian reform has benefited at least some farmers in some ways. When, however, they were asked "who has benefited more from land reform," the answers of respondents from El Penon became much more qualified in that two-thirds of them believed that some peasants benefited more than others;

in half of the cases they are the organized peasants and in the other cases, they are peasants belonging to particular groups with which they are familiar. It is interesting to note that one-sixth of them believe that no one benefited. The views of 40 percent of the men in the village of El Tablon, on the other hand, -- most probably because of their negative experiences and information about the adjacent asentamiento -- include negative comments about the corrupt peasants or the group leaders who only benefit as well as critical comments about asentamiento members' inability to take full advantage of the help extended to them.

The contrasting attitudes of the interviewed peasants in El Tablon and in El Penon may be better understood in the light of the agrarian reform related experiences of the peasants in the two villages. In El Tablon, three-fourths of the farmers had joined the asentamiento but left because the pay was too small, or because they were expelled for working outside the asentamiento, or because they had disagreements with the group leaders. Also in El Tablon, many families joined the local asentamiento but most of them came back, while in El Penon, many families (the reports ranging from 9-25 families) left to take part in agrarian reform and only 1-2 families came back. In El Tablon, the interviewed men report that families came back because they were not earning money or because they encountered difficulties, a prominent difficulty being the distribution of profit regardless of the amount of contributed work and food-for-work. Thus, the reported reasons focus on management problems that defeated the purpose of the agrarian reform. It is also interesting to note that the peasants in El Tablon believe that those who tried to join the local asentamiento do not differ in any way from those who did not, thus, further generalizing the reported

experiences. In El Penon, on the other hand, only one-fifth had left an asentamiento to which they belonged. Furthermore, the reported reasons for the families who left the asentamientos they had joined tend to be more idiosyncratic, such as illness or bad climate and unwillingness to move along with the group to another site or not liking the group. Thus, clearly peasants in El Penon have been exposed to more positive experiences with agrarian reform than those in El Tablon.

Despite the negatively colored experiences from the local asentamiento, two-thirds of the peasants in El Tablon would like to move to another asentamiento, especially if it had good land. More than two-thirds of the peasants in El Penon, on the other hand, preferred to stay in their village, predominantly because they had their own land. The land ownership data that we will examine in detail later on show that half of the peasants in El Tablon are landless peasants while only slightly more than one-fourth (26.7 percent) of the peasants in El Penon are landless (See Table 7). Furthermore, when the men were asked whether or not they thought that their sons should participate in the agrarian reform, practically all peasants in El Tablon answered affirmatively although in more than one-third of the cases they made their answer contingent on the extent to which the local asentamiento would improve its performance. In El Penon, on the other hand, parents' opinions were divided in that more than half (55 percent) left the decision up to their children; of the remaining peasants some felt that their sons ought to make their own living and others felt that it would be good for their sons to have some land to cultivate.

2. The process and implementation of agrarian reform. As is usual for traditional societies, the most frequent source of information (in one-third of the cases) about the particular asentamiento into which they eventually moved were friends and relatives. Second in importance was INA and the church (16 and 15 percent respectively) and the president of the group (13 percent). Farmers in each asentamiento, however, had relied primarily on different sources of information. In Nueva Choluteca, Patuca, two-thirds of the men had heard about the asentamiento from the church that helped organize and settle the group. In Los Colorados, half of the men found about the asentamiento from friends and relatives and the other half from a variety of sources. In El Tablon, slightly less than one-third of the farmers found out about the possibility to obtain land in the area through the agrarian reform from the president of the group and 37 percent of them from group meetings. This can be well understood in view of the fact that the agrarian reform group was organized in the same area in which they were living. Finally, those in Zamora obtained information more often than others from INA personnel (in 42 percent of the cases) solely or also from friends and/or relatives. Thus, only in Zamora did a sizable percentage of farmers receive official information from INA personnel, information which in most cases tends to be more substantive and accurate about the asentamiento than information from other farmers. Also it is interesting to note that more than one-fourth of men who are in Zamora learned about the asentamiento from relatives who were already socios in Zamora and, therefore also had at their disposal accurate information about the asentamiento.

In 40 percent of the cases, the men lived in the same community where

the asentamiento was formed although this holds true only for two asentamientos, namely for practically all (94 percent) of the men in El Tablon and more than half of the men (55 percent) in Los Colorados. Otherwise, members most often moved to the asentamiento from the beginning with their families, except in Zamora, where 44 percent of the men came at first alone leaving their families behind. Once the men had moved to the asentamiento, there was no trial period except for Zamora where almost three-fourths of the men underwent a trial period of about two months. One of the five men who did not undergo a trial period was a founding member but it is not clear why the other four members did not have to undergo a trial period.

With regard to the payment of a membership fee at the time of admission to the asentamiento, the reported practices vary. Nobody reports paying a fee in El Tablon and only one man reports paying a membership fee of 25 lempiras in Patuca. In Los Colorados one-fifth of the members report paying a membership fee and another fifth report having to make a contribution to ANACH. Finally, in Zamora, 39 percent of the members report paying a membership fee. Probably having or not to pay a membership fee may have to do with the stage of the asentamiento development at which a member joined but other idiosyncratic factors may enter as well.

In Patuca, with the exception of one member, they are all founding members and in Los Colorados and El Tablon about two-thirds of the members are founding members. In Zamora, however, due to a high degree of turnover only one member is a founding member who helped organize the peasants who took over the land formerly owned by the United Fruit Company.

A number of different activities led to the men's participation in the

agrarian reform. In Patuca, the majority of members (80 percent) attended church meetings in which agrarian reform issues and strategies regarding land acquisition were discussed, and waited in Nueva Palestina for one year or more before being able to occupy the present land (for more details see Appendix III). In Zamora, more than half (53 percent) of the members applied for admission to the asentamiento and slightly less than one-third were brought there by INA. In the case of El Tablon and Los Colorados, where all or many lived in the same community, attendance of group meetings was the most usual initial activity that led to membership. More than one-fourth of the members in both asentamientos, however, applied for admission.

More than half of all members (57 percent) have had no other experience with asentamiento life besides the current one. This holds true for all members in Los Colorados and for practically all members (93 percent) in Nueva Choluteca, Patuca. In Zamora, however, almost half (47 percent) of the members have had previous experiences with asentamiento life and cooperatives. Most of them had been members of another asentamiento before and had left it because it was not doing very well (no credit or bad harvest) or because it was disbanded. In only one case was the member expelled from the previous asentamiento. One other member in Zamora had previously organized a group that settled in an asentamiento and of which he was the president. Finally, in El Tablon, probably because of the nearness of the community of origin, one-fifth of the members have left the asentamiento once to attend to personal business only to return, usually after a year. And another ten percent of the members had previously been members of another asentamiento which was not doing well.

3. Attitudes toward management style and life in Asentamientos. The large majority of men agree that it is good to pay members equally as long as they work equally hard. This issue, however, is quite controversial since many farmers complain that not everyone pulls his weight in asentamientos. In fact, more than one-third (36 percent) of the members in Los Colorados feel that one way to ensure that equal pay for equal work is enforced is to pay members for tasks performed.

Also, collective work is not palatable to many peasants in Honduras. 60 percent of the members in El Tablon, 42 percent in Zamora, and 36 percent in Los Colorados clearly declare that they prefer an individual farming system. The majority of members in Los Colorados (64 percent) and almost half of the members in Zamora (48 percent) are, however, realistic about the fact that collective work is essential for obtaining credit and helps get work done faster although they would prefer to combine collective work with individual work in the family plot for subsistence crops.

When asked how life could be improved in asentamientos, the majority (80 percent) of members in Los Colorados, more than half (56 percent) of the members in El Tablon and 41 percent of the members in Zamora think that this can be achieved through group and/or personal efforts. In Patuca, on the other hand, half of the members think that improvement can be made through group and/or personal effort and support from agencies. The content analysis of relevant comments made by members also shows that the large majority of members in Patuca (79 percent) feels quite dependent on help provided by agencies because such agencies have many needed resources at their disposal. Peasants in Patuca tend to feel that group effort is not sufficient to overcome the ecological and other types of constraints and difficulties they

face. Only one-third of the members in Los Colorados and 29 percent in Zamora feel, however, that they need the help of agencies.

4. Commitment to the asentamiento as permanent residence. Because asentamiento members do not always view their membership as a permanent commitment and may abandon it if this membership does not yield a satisfactory income, some questions were asked which aimed at tapping the peasants' degree of permanent commitment to the asentamiento in which they live. These questions included whether or not members had made long-term commitments by planting trees and by making costly house improvements.

With regard to planting fruit trees, all members in Patuca have planted fruit trees while three-fourths of members in Zamora and El Tablon have done so. In Los Colorados, however, only about one-fifth of the members have planted fruit trees while another one-fifth did not since they were not sure they were staying permanently. More than half (57 percent), however, of the members tried to plant fruit trees which died because the soil was poor or because there were termites. In Zamora, only four members are not growing trees because they do not own their house or land or because they feel that the cooperative is a government project that may not be permanent.

Coming now to house improvements, we find that more than three-fourths of all asentamiento members have made some kind of home improvement since they joined the asentamiento. This is particularly true in Patuca, where with only one exception all farmers have made house imrovements but less so in Zamora, where 68 percent of the farmers have made house improvements. In Zamora, it must be pointed out that one-fourth of the members do not want to make improvements in their house either because they do not own it or because

their house is an INA house which they feel is not worth its price. Most of the new houses, however, have been built in Patuca, where almost half of the members built a new house three years ago and another one-fourth built a house last year, and in El Tablon, where 40 percent of the members built new houses. In Zamora, on the other hand, all home improvements have been small, costing less than 200 lempiras while in Los Colorados the majority of the improvements have costed less than 200 lempiras.

It seems, therefore, that building a new house in the asentamiento is the clearest indication of definite commitment to live in the asentamiento. Most of the Patuca members and a considerable percentage (40) of the El Tablon members have made such a commitment. Home improvements, on the side, especially less costly improvements, may not necessarily indicate a high commitment. The degree of commitment to an asentamiento may also tend to increase with the length of time members stay in it. Thus, 87 percent of the members in Patuca have stayed 5 years and 86 percent of the members in Los Colorados have stayed 7 years. In Zamora, however, where there has been considerable turnover, 53 percent of the members have been there for three or less years (and 37 percent for less than 2 years) and 37 percent of the members in El Tablon have been there for 3 or less years. It is, therefore, quite possible that newcomers have not yet made a definite commitment to the asentamiento, even when their income is quite high, as is true in Zamora.

B. Men's Access to Land.

1. Land ownership. There are sizable differences across asentamientos but also among members with regard to the size of individually owned land. In El

Tablon, all members own 1 - 1 1/4 manzanas while, at the other extreme, two-thirds of men in Patuca own 8-9 manzanas and the other third owns 4-7 manzanas. In Los Colorados, practically all members own between 1-2 1/2 manzanas; and in Zamora, slightly more than one-fourth report less than one manzana, more than half (58 percent) report 1 - 2 1/2 manzanas, and a few report 4-5 manzanas.

These data suggest that although in El Tablon and Los Colorados, all members own equal size land, in Zamora and Patuca, some members have more land than others. In Patuca, some members have smaller plots because they choose to spend considerable time working someone else's land in the asentamiento (See Appendix III). In Zamora, the variation in the individual land comes from the fact that one manzana is cultivated by the cooperative tractor free of charge but additional manzanas must be cultivated at the owner's cost. Thus, some members can afford to have more individual land and hire laborers to cultivate it (see Appendix III).

The quality of the soil in the individually owned land also varies considerably from asentamiento to asentamiento. In Patuca, the soil is fertile but some of it is flat and some is on slopes. In Los Colorados, the land is arid and mostly flat but in Zamora, the land is flat and fertile. Finally in El Tablon, the soil is clay, most often heavy clay, and the land is flat.

The large majority of asentamiento members did not inherit any land. In this respect, they resemble peasants in communities of origin. Many more members of asentamientos, however, have bought land than peasants in communities of origin, this being more true for members of Patuca and Los Colorados (see Table 7). Furthermore, 40 percent of the members in Patuca

and a few in Zamora sold land before coming to the asentamiento but it is not entirely clear that they sold it in order to qualify for membership. In some cases, the land was too far from the asentamiento and they did not consider it very practical to keep it.

What is striking and difficult to explain is the high percentage of members who still hold land outside the asentamiento, especially in Los Colorados and El Tablon. In Los Colorados, only one member does not have land outside the asentamiento and almost two-thirds (64 percent) have land of one manzana or less. What is even more difficult to explain is:

(a) How can 14 percent of the members in Patuca; 29 percent in Los Colorados; 15.9 percent in Zamora; and 21 percent of the members in El Tablon who own 1 1/2 - 6 and over manzanas of land outside the asentamiento maintain their membership in an agrarian reform group? This is even more striking when we consider that one member in El Tablon has 50-60 manzanas; one in Zamora has 83; and one in Los Colorados has 7.5 manzanas.

(b) How it is possible to find half of the peasants in the village El Tablon and more than one-fourth (27 percent) in El Penon to be landless while only 7 percent in Los Colorados and 21 percent in the asentamiento El Tablon have no land outside the asentamiento?

Land ownership among peasants who benefited from agrarian reform is a controversial issue and it is quite possible that out of fear to lose membership in the asentamiento some of them may have not reported that they have land outside the asentamiento or they have not reported all the land they own. Yet despite this possible underestimation of land owned outside the asentamiento, the data show considerable such ownership among members. Our data suggest that agrarian reform does not seem to strictly benefit

landless peasants. A number of serious policy questions can be asked concerning the implementation of the agrarian reform law: Is landlessness a basic requirement for participation? How can it be justified that peasants sell their land in order to qualify for participation? And how can socios own land outside the asentamiento?

2. Feelings about sons' inability to inherit land. While many asentamiento members did not answer (especially in Los Colorados and Zamora), many of those who answered in Patuca and El Tablon (38 percent) feel confident that once the land is paid for, sons will be able to inherit land. Another fifth of asentamiento members feel that the important thing is that sons can join the group even when they cannot inherit land.

C. Access to Modernizing Agricultural Inputs and Technology.

1. Access to improved seed. The majority of men in all settlements used local rather than improved seed but there were some important variations by settlement. Thus, all men in El Penon and Los Colorados used local seed but somewhat more than half of the men in Patuca, Zamora, and the asentamiento El Tablon used local seed as well as half of the men in the village El Tablon. It is important to point out that almost half (47 percent) of men in Patuca, 39 percent of the men in Zamora and 22 percent of the men in El Tablon used improved seed. In Patuca, however, practically all farmers used improved seed only when it came to coffee but not for other crops.

2. Access to fertilizers. When it comes to fertilizers there is a high

degree of uniformity in that all men in all asentamientos and in El Penon do not use fertilizers. The only exceptions were one farmer in Los Colorados and 43 percent of the farmers in the village El Tablon.

3. Access to pesticides. Pesticides seem to be more accessible to male farmers than fertilizers, especially in some settlements. Thus, while almost all (92 percent) of the farmers in Zamora and the large majority of the farmers (80 percent) in Patuca do not use pesticides, all farmers in Los Colorados, two-fifths of the farmers (42 percent) in El Penon and in the asentamiento El Tablon, and half of the farmers in the village El Tablon used some kind of pesticide.

4. Access to herbicides. It seems that there is a negative relationship between the use of pesticides and the use of herbicides. Thus, in Zamora where only two farmers use pesticides, two-thirds of the farmers use herbicides and in Patuca, where 80 percent of the farmers do not use pesticides, 40 percent of the farmers use herbicides. In Los Colorados, on the other hand, where all farmers use pesticides the large majority of them (85 percent) do not use herbicides and similar trends hold true for the villages El Tablon and El Penon, where 75 and 86 percent of the farmers respectively do not use herbicides. The only exception to this reverse relationship between farmers' use of pesticides and herbicides are farmers in the asentamiento El Tablon where despite the fact that less than half of the farmers use pesticides, no one uses herbicides. Of course, herbicides may be regarded by peasants more as a luxury than a necessity (especially since women and children can do the weeding as unpaid workers).

5. Use of agricultural machinery. Since the use of agricultural machinery requires the expenditure of considerable collective capital, it is not surprising to find that individual farmers in the village El Penon cannot afford to use any machinery. The same is true for all farmers in Patuca and the majority of farmers (78 percent) in the asentamiento El Tablon. In Zamora, however, more than half of the farmers and more than one-third of the farmers in the village El Tablon use a tractor. The majority of the farmers (almost two-thirds) in Los Colorados, on the other hand, use oxen, and 29 percent use a tractor or a tractor and oxen.

6. Access to means of transportation for marketable produce. In this area, since the pooling of resources required in order to have access to more efficient transportation than carrying produce on one's back can be facilitated in asentamientos, farmers in asentamientos, as might be expected, fare better than peasants in villages. Thus, men in Zamora use the cooperative's truck to transport their produce to the market and farmers in Los Colorados use a hired ox-cart while farmers in Patuca predominantly (two-thirds of them) use the cooperative-owned mule and sometimes also carry produce on their back. In the asentamiento El Tablon, however, the hired pick-up truck does not seem to cover the farmers' needs (only less than one-third of them report using it) since 44 percent of them carry their produce to the market on their back and/or by mule. In the village El Tablon, on the other hand, almost all farmers carry produce to the market on their back and 43 percent of the farmers in El Penon do the same while the others either carry produce with a mule,or by a combination of carrying some

on their backs and some with a mule. In half of the cases this mule is the farmer's or it belongs to a member of their extended family and in the other half of the cases it is a hired mule. It seems, therefore, that with the exception of El Tablon men in asentamientos have access to somewhat more efficient transportation means for the marketing of their produce than do farmers in communities of origin.

7. The diffusion of improved agricultural techniques. Undoubtedly the agronomist is the key person for the diffusion of modernizing agricultural techniques since slightly more than half of the men (53 percent) report that he was their most important source of information. There are, however, important variations from settlement to settlement. In Los Colorados almost all farmers (93 percent), and in El Tablon, (village and asentamiento) three-fourths of the farmers report that the agronomist is the most important source of information; but only somewhat more than one-third of the farmers report the same in Zamora (37 percent), while 29 percent in Patuca do so, and only a few (14 percent) do so in El Penon.

The second most important source of information is other farmers (in 19 percent of cases); in the case of Zamora other farmers are more important than the agronomists since they are mentioned more often (in 42 versus 37 percent of the cases). In the village of El Penon, other farmers are mentioned in 29 percent of the cases and promotores de agricultura (agricultural extension workers) in 14 percent of the cases while another 29 percent of farmers declare that they know nothing about modernizing agricultural techniques. In Patuca, more than one-third of the farmers and in the village El Tablon, one-fifth of the farmers report that they know

nothing about improved agricultural techniques.

It is important to underline that with the exception of the one-third of the farmers in Patuca, farmers in other asentamientos are aware of improved agricultural techniques, while in the two villages, about one-fourth of men did not know anything about improved agricultural techniques.

8. Agencies sponsoring the diffusion of improved agricultural techniques. The Ministry of Natural Resources was the agency that predominantly sponsored the diffusion of improved agricultural techniques, except in Patuca where INFOP and A.C.P.H. were the most important agencies and in El Penon where A.C.P.H. was also important.

D. Men's Income

1. Total income. The data on men's total income represent estimates based on reported income from different sources and on reported prices of produce at the time of the interviews. The obtained estimates indicate that in general men living in asentamientos earn a higher income than men living in the villages included in the study (Table 8). However, this overall trend tends to mask great income differentials in the studied asentamientos and the fact that men living in the asentamiento El Tablon have as low an income as men living in the village El Penon. Almost all men (93 percent) in El Penon and the large majority of the men (85 percent) in the asentamiento El Tablon earn less than 2,000 lempiras per year and 75 percent of the men in the village in El Tablon earn the same amount. In Patuca 40 percent and in Los Colorados half of the men earn less than 2,000 lempiras per year but no one

in Zamora earns such a low income. Furthermore, more than half (53 percent) of men in Patuca and more than one-third (37 percent) of the men in Zamora earn 2,000-2,999 lempiras per year and slightly more than one-third of the men in Los Colorados earn 3,000- 4,999 lempiras per year. Only in Zamora do about two-thirds (63 percent) of the men earn more than 3,000 lempiras per year; more than half of these men (58 percent) earn as much as 5,000 or more lempiras per year. Thus, the highest income is earned by men in Zamora followed by only some men in Los Colorados.

2. How husbands spend their money. In addition to food, health, housing and clothing expenditures, men most often (in 43 percent of the cases) mention personal luxuries such as liquor, cigarettes, soda drinks and women, and less often mention agricultural investments (in 32 percent of the cases). In addition, one-fifth of the men mention spending money to hire labor and another 15 percent to buy consumer goods such as a radio, a bicycle or furniture, which other family members in addition to the men might also enjoy.[1]

The detailed Table 9 shows that husbands spend less money for food in the communities of origin and in Los Colorados than in the other asentamientos. The fact that more (82 percent) of the men in Zamora than anywhere else spend more than 800 lempiras/year for food can be explained in terms of their higher income. Almost half, however, of the men in El Tablon, a low-income asentamiento, also spend more than 800 lempiras per year on food, but only one-third of the men in Los Colorados, the asentamiento with

1 Although a grown son may occasionally use the father's bicycle, some would argue that it represents a personal rather than family-oriented consumer good.

the second highest income, do so. Men's level of income, therefore, cannot explain this striking difference.

With regard to health expenditures, it is again striking that less than one-third of men in Los Colorados spend more than 100 lempiras/year for health while 40 percent in El Tablon and 57 percent in Patuca do so. The information on housing expenditures cannot be meaningfully examined without information regarding the recentness of house building. In Patuca, for example, the fact that only one-third of the men spend more than 100 lempiras per year can be explained in view of the fact that almost all have built a new house recently.

Finally, there is little variation regarding clothing expenditures.

It is interesting to note that men's income is invested in agriculture (including buying animals) in Zamora and Los Colorados where men have the highest incomes while personal luxuries are most often bought in Patuca and Zamora.

3. Food produced for consumption. Men produce for subsistence mainly maize, beans, sorghum and rice in order of frequency. In all asentamientos practically all men produce maize for subsistence while about half of the men do the same in the surveyed villages. Beans are produced for consumption by practically all men only in Patuca, by two-thirds of the men in the asentamiento in El Tablon and by one-third of the men in El Penon. Sorghum, on the other hand, is produced by all men only in Los Colorados and by two-thirds of the men in El Penon but not in the other settlements. Rice for consumption is primarily produced in Patuca (by 53 percent of the men) and in the village El Tablon (one-third). In general, it seems that more men in the

Patuca asentamiento produce a considerable variety of food items for consumption than in other asentamientos including maize, beans, rice, pigs, fruits, yucca and milk.

4. Money contributed by husbands for food. Husbands who do the shopping as is true for Los Colorados do not give to their wives any money for food. Men in Zamora, on the other hand, more often leave the shopping to their wives (in 47 percent of the cases) or share it with them (in 21 percent of the cases). More than half (53 percent), therefore, of the husbands in Zamora give their wives 10-50 lempiras per week for food (none gives less than 10 lempiras) and another 16 percent give their wives half of all their earnings. In El Tablon, on the other hand, where men shop as often as wives and men share shopping with wives, almost half of the men (47 percent) give their wives up to 19 lempiras per week for food and another 16 percent give their wives all their earnings. Finally, in Patuca where wives shop more often than husbands (47 versus 33 percent), almost two-thirds of the men (64 percent) give up to 19 lempiras per week to their wives for food. It seems, therefore, that while the husband's level of income determines the amount of weekly contribution, whether or not the wife does the shopping, especially the shopping for groceries, determines whether or not the husband gives any amount to the wife for food.

When husbands' cash contributions for food were examined in the light of their level of income, we found that up to 19 lempiras/week food contribution is about equally contributed by husbands of very low, medium and high income. But a food contribution of 20 and over lempiras/week was made mostly by men earning 2,000 lempiras and over/year (in 77 percent of the cases) and only by

some (23 percent) of the men with less income.

## E. Wife's Income and Food Contributions (According to Men's Answers)

1. Women's income. According to men's answers, slightly less than one fourth (23 percent) of women have no income and slightly less than one half (47 percent) of those who do earn an income earn only up to 200 lempiras per year. More than half (53 percent) of the women, on the other hand, earn 200-900 lempiras per year. In other words, two-thirds of the women who earn an income earn only up to 300 lempiras per year. There are, however, considerable variations by settlement. All men in the village El Tablon and in Los Colorados report that their wives earn an income, while about one-third of the men in Zamora and Patuca (29 percent), one-fourth of the men in El Penon, and one-fifth in the asentamiento El Tablon report that their wives do not earn an income. The highest income, on the other hand, for wives is reported by men in the asentamientos Zamora and El Tablon, where 64 and 60 percent of the men respectively report that the women make 200-900 lempiras per year; and in El Penon, where more than one-third of the men report the same level of income. The lowest level of income for wives is reported in Los Colorados where 60 percent of them are said to earn less than 200 lempiras per year and none over 300 lempiras.

When the husbands' answers regarding wives' income were compared with the estimated wives' income based on women's detailed answers, the two sets of data matched in 56 percent of the cases. When the answers were not matching, the husbands had a tendency to underestimate their wives' income (in 31 percent of the cases) and very seldom to overestimate it (in 14

percent of the cases). Husbands mostly tend to underestimate their wife's income when she makes 300-500, 500-1,000 or over 1,000 lempiras a year, this being the case with most husbands in Los Colorados, who do not like admitting the size of their wives' financial contributions. In almost two-thirds (64 percent) of the cases in which husbands underestimate their wife's income the estimated income falls in these categories. It must be noted, however, that many men did not answer this question and in some cases, there is no information because we were not able to interview the wives or because they did not have wives. Thus, the above analysis is based on 36 sets of matched answers.

Coming now to the sources of wives' income, men perceive baking and selling foodstuffs as the major source (reported in 47 percent of the cases in which women earn an income); selling chicken and/or eggs (in 30 percent of the cases); selling strawmats or brooms (9 percent); and the sale of pigs and/or turkeys (7 percent) as other sources of income. There are few variations by settlement except that income derived from the sales of chicken and/or eggs is mainly reported in the village El Penon and in Los Colorados and income from selling strawmats or brooms is only reported in El Penon.

2. Women's food contributions. Men predominantly report that their wives make the sex-stereotyped food contribution of eggs and chicken, especially in the village El Tablon, Patuca, Los Colorados and Zamora. In the asentamiento El Tablon, however, more than one-fourth (27 percent) of the men report that their wives contribute cash and another 27 percent that they contribute vegetables. When, furthermore, husbands were asked to attach a money value to their wives' food contributions, very few answered (only 8 men) so their

answers cannot be meaningfully analyzed.

F. Sons' Income and Labor Contributions.

1. Sons' present income. The first son's income is most often (in 60 percent of the cases) reported to be below 1,000 lempiras/year. In Los Colorados, however, in two-thirds of the cases in which there is an adult son, fathers report an income of more than 1,000 lempiras/year and the same is true in 57 percent of the cases in the asentamiento El Tablon. Only 10 men report having an earning second son and half of these families with a second son earning more than 1,000 lempiras/year are again concentrated in Los Colorados and the asentamiento El Tablon. It is interesting to note that sons (71 percent) give half or a good part of their income to their mother and keep the rest for themselves. In only two cases do they give a part of their money to their mother and a part to their father and in one case they give half of their money to their father and the rest they keep for themselves. Clearly, therefore, sons represent a very important income source for women not only when the women are old and usually widows but even earlier and while the husband is alive. This fact has very important demographic implications since it underlines women's economic dependence on sons, a dependence which in a context of high infant and child mortality spells out women's motivation for high fertility.

2. Son's history of income generation. In most cases sons begin to earn an income either when they are 12 (in 28 percent of the cases) or between 13-14 (in 31 percent of the cases). There is, however, some variation by

settlement. In the communities of origin, sons tend to begin earning earlier than in asentamientos. In El Tablon, in 60 percent of the cases sons begin to earn when they are 8 or 9 and in the remaining cases when they are 12, while in El Penon all sons begin to earn when they are 12-14 years old. In the asentamiento El Tablon, on the other hand, sons begin to earn an income when they are between 12-14 years old in only 44 percent of the cases and another 44 percent do so when they are older. Similarly, in Los Colorados, in 57 percent of the cases sons begin to earn when they are 12-14 years old and in 29 percent of the cases they do so when they are older.

When it comes, however, to the age when sons begin to earn a regular income, only in 14 percent of the cases do they begin when they are younger than fourteen years old; in 29 percent of the cases they begin when they are 14 or 15. In other words, almost half of the sons (48 percent) begin to earn a regular income when they are 14, 15 or 16 years old. Again, sons in the asentamiento El Tablon begin to earn a regular income later than in other settlements since in 44 percent of the cases they begin when they are 17 or older while in Los Colorados, practically all sons start earlier and only one son is reported to have started when he was 17.

With regard to the source of sons' first earnings, in two-thirds of the cases in all settlements the source is agricultural work such as coffee or fruit harvesting, weeding, and other agricultural work in the asentamiento. Agricultural work inside and outside asentamientos is also the main source of sons' regular income. It must be noted, however, that young sons up to 12 help their fathers with agricultural work without pay and even after 12 or even 14, about one-third of them in Patuca and 29 percent in Colorados work as unpaid family workers.

Finally, sons' level of salary when they begin to earn an income is low: in almost one-third of the cases it is less than two lempiras/day; in slightly more than one-third of the cases (36 percent) it is two lempiras/day; and in another third, it is 2 - 3.5 lempiras/day. When sons earn a regular income, on the other hand, more than two-thirds of them (71 percent) earn 2-3 lempiras/day and 29 percent earn 4-6 lempiras/day.

3. Sons's labor contributions. Sons contribute labor in agricultural work mainly in harvesting, weeding, sowing, and hoeing from the time they are 6 years old in the communities of origin and from the age of 7 in the asentamientos. Weeding is the first agricultural task that sons perform when they are 7 in Los Colorados (in one-third of the cases). By the time sons are 8 years old, half of them help with weeding in Los Colorados and El Penon, and one-third of them do so in Patuca. In Zamora, on the other hand, the earliest age at which sons begin weeding is 9 and then only in one-third of the cases does this take place. In El Tablon, village and asentamiento, sons are very slightly involved in weeding (see Table10). In general, in the village El Tablon, in half of the cases sons are performing agricultural tasks by the time they are 10. In El Penon, however, in almost one-third of the cases sons begin helping when they are 11 or older (see Table10).

In all the asentamientos, sons most often begin to help later than in the communtities of origin: in asentamientos, two-thirds or more of sons begin helping with agricultural work when they are 9 or older. In Zamora, almost all sons (92 percent) begin helping when they are 9 or 10 while in Los Colorados and El Tablon, half or more sons begin to help when they are 11 or older (see Table 4).

4. Sons' labor contributions in fetching fuelwood. Slightly over one-fourth of men (22 percent) report that sons entirely shoulder the responsibility of fetching fuelwood and in another five percent of the cases the sons helped the father, the mother, or a laborer. Sons helped most in Los Colorados where they shouldered the responsibility completely (39 percent of the cases) and in Patuca, (where they did so in one-third of the cases).

G. Men's Attitudes Toward Women's Work, Women's Groups, Women's Ability to Do Agricultural Work and to Become Socias.

1. Men's attitudes toward women's work and making their own money. Men are overwhelmingly positive about women's work and income generation. Only 11 out of 87 men (13 percent) do not want women to work either because they feel that work involvement would make wives neglect their housework duties or because they feel that men must provide everything so that women do not have to work. Another seven percent of men feel that it is acceptable for women to work as long as they are not working in the fields but instead do more "appropriate" work such as teaching, baking, or preparing food for boarders. But what is very important is that more than two-thirds of all men (69 percent) not only accept without any qualifications women's work and income-generation but also find it convenient because men can thus worry less about food and other household expenses; and necessary since the cost of living has gone up and men are not always able to earn a sufficient income for all expenses. The percentage of "acceptance" is even higher in Zamora (79 percent) and in El Penon (86 percent) than in other settlements.

When men were asked whether or not they would allow their wife to work and make her own money, only 12 percent of them answered negatively. When, however, their detailed comments to this question were content analyzed the resulting picture is more complex in terms of the qualifications and restrictions they place on women's nature and setting of work. Forty-one percent of the men report that their wives are working and earning an income but they either work at home (baking, growing pigs for sale, washing clothes, making brooms or strawmats) or they operate small stores. Another 8 percent of men (all of them in Zamora) report that their wives work in the packing plant whenever there is an opening; and another 5 percent would support their wives in starting a small business such as a small store. There are, however, some important variations by settlement. In the communities of origin, half of the women are reported as working and earning an income. In Patuca, 46 percent and in Los Colorados 44 percent of the women are reported working, while the percentages for Zamora and El Tablon are 35 percent and 29 percent respectively. In Zamora, however, another 35 percent of the women are reported as working in the packing plant whenever there are openings. In Los Colorados, as could be expected from the most patriarchal settlement, husbands more often (in 44 percent of the cases) than in other settlements place limitations on women's work in that it must involve tasks which are not heavy and/or which are performed only at home, Finally, some men in the asentamiento El Tablon seem to be negatively disposed toward women's paid work since an equal percent of men (29 percent) report that their wives work and earn an income and that their wives do not work because they themselves can support the family or because wives have too much housework to do. And another 17 percent of men

in El Tablon report that their wives do not work because they have young children to take care of.

The fact that the large majority of men in asentamientos are able to accept the fact that they need their wives' income to supplement food and household expenses has very important policy implications. And although men may perceive women's work and earnings and income as a part of a woman's wifely duty, this attitude opens the door wide for the establishment and support of well-organized and well-managed women's cooperatives that can provide women with a steady income. Of course, it must always be taken into consideration that men's attitudes may change rapidly if women begin to earn substantial sums of money on a regular basis that cannot be kept invisible anymore, and thus begin to be more threatening to men's sense of superiority.

2. Men's Attitudes Toward Women's Groups. More than half of the men (59 percent) have a positive attitude toward women's groups because they believe that there are some advantages such as access to outside help (in terms of food, etc.), women's access to new skills, or some income. One-fourth of these men, however, believe that women's groups have advantages only as long as women stay away from agricultural projects.[2] Almost one-third of the men, on the other hand, feel that women's groups are a waste of time because they usually fail, either because women cannot work with other women and end up fighting or because one member takes advantage of the others and, thus, women do not manage to earn an income. While in view of the examined histories of women's groups there is an element of truth in such a negative

2. It is important here to clarify that men do not consider sericulture and poultry projects as agricultural projects.

outlook, it must also be remembered that men's cooperatives have a good share of the same problems and that technical assistance can help women's groups reduce difficulties through management training. It is interesting, therefore, to note that men who have been most exposed to the beneficial results of training and technical assistance, such as those living in Zamora, recognize (32 percent of them) that women's groups need training and other types of technical assistance in order to succeed. But even in Zamora, another 42 percent of men consider women's groups a waste of time, probably because of the negative experience with the women's groups in this settlement (see Appendix III).

The above data can be clarified in view of what men think about women's ability to work in groups. Two-thirds of the men think that women cannot work in groups because they are impatient and they fight too much; or because they are jealous and self-centered and cannot coordinate activities; or because they lack the ability to do the work. The only group of men who think more positively about women's ability to work in groups are those in Patuca, half of whom think that women can work in groups or that they have the same problems as men. This is probably due to the fact that in Patuca, there is a very active women's group which, although it has had its ups and downs, has generated some income for the women (see Appendix III). This may be to some extent influencing men's attitudes.

Furthermore, men's attitudes toward women's ability to manage money is also relevant since women establishing women's groups must be able to manage money. Men are much more positive about women's ability in this area than in many others since more than half of them in all settlements believe that women can manage money, in fact sometimes better than men. It is important

to note, however, that the only settlement in which some men (39 percent) hold negative attitudes toward women's ability to handle money is in the asentamientc El Tablon.

It is interesting to note that most men hold positive attitudes toward women's groups in the village and the asentamiento in El Tablon (71 and 64 percent respectively) but only half of the men in El Penon hold positive attitudes while the other half of the men (46 percent) think women's groups are a waste of time because they usually fail. In Los Colorados, very few men (18 percent) think women's groups have advantages and 30 percent of them think women's groups are a waste of time but in Patuca more than two-thirds of the men (73 percent) think women's groups have advantages. Finally, in El Tablon men correctly point out the fact that sometimes the promoted projects for women are wrong, such as the rabbits project for which there was no market since people in Honduras do not like (and are not used to) rabbit meat.

When men were asked whether or not they would allow their wives to join women's groups, slightly more than one-fifth of all men (22 percent) answered that they would not allow them to join women's groups. There is however, considerable variation. 44 percent of the men living in El Penon and Los Colorados, none of the men in the village El Tablon and in Patuca, and only a few in the asentamiento El Tablon (17 percent) would not allow their wives to join women's groups. The content analysis of their more detailed comments further shows that less than one-fifth of the men (19 percent) would not allow their wives to join women's groups, mainly because they want them to stay home and take care of young children and housework. These opposing men are concentrated in El Penon (40 percent of men in the village), Los

Colorados (38 percent) and in the asentamiento El Tablon (30 percent). The highest percentage of women active CAC members, on the other hand, is reported in Patuca (two-thirds), the El Tablon village (half of the women) and in the asentamiento El Tablon (30 percent). It is interesting to note that 46 percent of the men in El Penon and 39 percent of the men in Zamora report that their wives were actively involved in CAC's in the past, mostly with negative experiences. Finally, in Zamora where women have opportunities for paid employment, 28 percent of the men report that their wives do not want to join a women's group.

In summary then, the asentamiento El Tablon seems to be inhabited by the most conservative men, almost half of whom do not allow their wives to work because they want them to stay home and take care of their children and housework. Also, despite their very positive attitude toward women's groups, based on the actual performance of the two women's groups in the area, only 30 percent of the husbands report their wives to be active CAC members while slightly more than one-fourth do not allow them to join these groups.

With regard to men's attitudes toward women's groups, the most negative ones seem to prevail in El Penon and in Los Colorados. It is doubtful that it will ever be possible in El Penon to organize a women's group since half of the men think it is a waste of time and 40 percent of them would not allow their wives to join it. Furthermore, in 46 percent of the cases the wife used to be a CAC member in the past but had predominantly bad experiences. In Los Colorados, the husbands' negative attitudes are matched by the wives' negative attitudes fostered by the existing group's problems and failure to generate income (see Appendix III).

In Zamora, the earlier bad experience with a women's group and the

existence of the citrus packing plant which provides women with several months of paid employment seem to be responsible (in addition to husbands' high income) for men's negative attitudes toward women's groups and for women's lack of interest in such groups.

The policy implications of these findings seem to be that there is a need to strengthen the women's group in Los Colorados with technical assistance so that it can manage to generate income for the women before they become totally discouraged. The women's groups in El Tablon (which is also open to women from the village) and in Patuca should also be strengthened with training for the women and other types of technical assistance in order to sustain their positive image.

3. Men's beliefs about women's ability to do agricultural work. Men's answers to the questions on whether or not women are able to cultivate land are predominantly qualified since they think women are only able to do "lighter" work and not the heavier tasks that only men can do. There is, however, an ambivalence in many answers, especially in Zamora and the El Tablon area, in that men feel that women could do all agricultural tasks but that they should not since "they do not have the strength." It seems that the reality with which men are faced, especially in the asentamiento El Tablon where practically all women cultivate the land, is clashing with the cherished cultural stereotype of feminine weakness and helplessness. Men in Los Colorados seem to be the most open-minded regarding women's ability in this area since 43 percent of them feel that women cannot cultivate the land because they are unaccustomed or have not been taught how rather than because they are not able to do it.

Coming to women's ability to make decisions about crops, men's beliefs tend to be much more positive than about women's ability in other areas. Forty-four percent of the men, concentrated in Patuca (71 percent), Los Colorados (50 percent) and the asentamiento El Tablon (44 percent) think that some women can make such decisions depending on their education, upbringing and intelligence. All men in Zamora, however, and more than half of the men in the asentamiento El Tablon feel that women can make such decisions, especially if they have experience and training. The fact that more than half of the men in the asentamiento El Tablon admit that training and experience can help women make decisions about crops has important policy implications since this suggests that agricultural training for women represents an important and acceptable handle for change.

4. Men's attitudes toward women as socias. It is interesting to find that the spirit of the agrarian reform laws in Honduras according to which women are allowed access to land and to asentamiento membership only when they are female heads of households (that is, when they have children but no husbands), tends to be reinforced in men's comments. Thus, almost half of the men (46 percent) who comment on the issue state that they would agree that women could become socias if they had children and no husband (or anybody else) to support them. Fifty-five percent of the men in Patuca and 73 percent of the men in El Tablon respond in this way. The fact, however, that this qualification clearly reflects the agrarian reform law raises a very important question: Does the law reflect the male peasants' attitudes or did the law help shape their attitudes? Also it is very important to point out the fact that it is only in Zamora where there are three women socias, that

more than one-third of the men think that there is room for men and women in asentamientos and that women can work in teams with men.

This issue provides an excellent example of the type of issues that cannot be researched with yes or no structured survey questions. When men were asked a structured question as to whether or not women can be socias, only 14 percent answered negatively. Their comments, however, greatly qualify their positive answers, often turning them in fact to negative answers. Almost half of the men, for example, who answer positively qualify their answers by stating that women should be allowed to become socias only if they have sons and preferably grown up sons who can replace them, otherwise they can temporarily try to fulfill their responsibilities until their sons replace them.

Finally, when men were asked whether or not they thought that women members in asentamientos worked as hard as men, 43 percent of the men thought that women cannot work as hard as men and can perform only a number of easier tasks. Another 29 percent of the men thought that women socias must send their sons or hired laborers to perform all agricultural tasks or the heavier agricultural tasks that they cannot perform. Only slightly more than one-fifth of the men thought that women can do most of the agricultural tasks or that some women (such as the socias in their asentamiento) can work very hard although it may be necessary sometimes for the men to help them and most of these men (58 percent) were located in Zamora where there are 3 women socias.[3]

The variations by settlement show that in Zamora men hold the most

[3] It is of interest that only one man in the El Tablon asentamiento thinks that women can perform agricultural work better than men.

positive attitudes toward socias since 39 percent of them think that women can do most of the tasks or that some women can work very hard but 61 percent of them think that women cannot work as hard as men and are able to perform only the easier agricultural tasks. Men in Los Colorados, on the other hand, hold the most negative attitudes since they all think that socias must either send their sons or hired laborers to perform all tasks (two-thirds) or the heavier tasks (one-third). Men's attitudes in Los Colorados do not come as a surprise since they tend to hold the most patriarchal values. In between these two extremes are men living in the El Tablon asentamiento, 31 percent of whom think that women should send their sons or hired laborers for the heavier tasks and 31 percent of them who think that women cannot work as hard as men when it comes to the heavier tasks. Finally, in Patuca 62 percent of the men think that women cannot work as hard as men and 20 percent of them that their sons or hired laborers should replace them.

5. Extent to which men involve wives in decisions regarding land cultivation. Almost half of the husbands (48 percent) only inform their wives of their decisions while another one-fifth (19 percent) ask their wife's opinion and/or listen to their wife's opinion regarding land cultivation. The latter more egalitarian pattern is more prevalent in the asentamiento El Tablon (in 46 percent of the cases), in the village El Tablon (75 percent) and in El Penon (39 percent). This surprisingly egalitarian pattern in the asentamiento El Tablon may be due to women's greater involvement in agricultural work in this than in other asentamientos. It is interesting to note that in most settlements, husbands report a more egalitarian decision-making pattern than wives.

## H. Men's Active Participation in the Cooperative and Attitudes About Its Management

1. Men's participation. Since the study included all members or a large number of the asentamiento members, it is not surprising to find that among the interviewed men are the current presidents and vice-presidents of all asentamientos; the treasurer of Patuca and Los Colorados; and the secretaries of Patuca, Los Colorados and Zamora. In all, 19 percent of all interviewed men hold some kind of office. In addition, another 30 percent of the men are in charge of specific responsiblities such as the vigilance committee, marketing, representation in the regional cooperative, the educational committee, the coordination of work, the consumer cooperative, the representation of the cooperative in the oil plant (in Zamora) or are members of the administrative or vigilance committee. The greater degree of distribution of responsibility for specific tasks among members is found in El Tablon and Patuca and somewhat less in Zamora and the minimum in Los Colorados where the officers seem to hold in their hand all specific responsibilities.

When asked whether or not they would like to be managers, 59 percent of the men answered negatively. It seems, therefore, that the majority of the men in asentamientos do not want to shoulder managerial responsibility. In Zamora, however, 45 percent of the men and in Patuca 47 percent are willing to become managers.

2. Attitudes toward cooperative managers. When men were asked to evaluate

the performance of the cooperative managers, half of them gave a positive evaluation without qualifications. Of course, here it must be remembered that more than one-third of these men who give positive evaluations are managers who are not going to evaluate themselves poorly, thus there is a source of bias in these answers. However, about one-fifth of the men gave managers a clearly negative evaluation because they felt that they did not work hard enough or that they made bad decisions or were not democratic. Another 14 percent of the men were ambivalent since they felt that the managers were trying to cope but made errors or that they needed more training in order to be effective or that some managers were responsible and others were exploitative. The remaining ten percent of men felt that the management had changed only recently and it was too early to tell.

Variations by asentamiento showed that the men in Los Colorados and Patuca held the most positive attitudes: two-thirds of the men in Patuca and three-fourths of the men in Los Colorados evaluated the management positively. Men in El Tablon, at the other extreme, are the least positively inclined toward management: 40 percent of them evaluate managers negatively and another 10 percent give them ambivalent evaluations. Finally, in Zamora, 39 percent of the men evaluate managers positively but 44 percent give ambivalent rather than negative evaluations, most of them emphasizing the need for more managerial training.

Again, a structured question forcing respondents to state whether or not they are satisfied with their managers showed of how little value such survey type questions are for the understanding of such important issues as satisfaction with management. According to the answers to this structured question, one-fourth of the men were dissatisfied with management while the

above detailed analysis of the answers to the open-ended question shows the existence of a higher degree of dissatisfaction and ambivalence toward management as well as the reasons for these negative evaluations.

When men were asked whether or not they thought that managers were interested in the cooperative's welfare, less than one-fourth of them (22 percent) answered negatively, another 9 percent were ambivalent and half of them felt that managers were interested in the cooperative's welfare. A striking finding in the asentamiento El Tablon was that 47 percent of the men felt that managers were not interested in cooperative welfare. From many different points of view, it seems that a fraction of men (from one-third to one-half) in El Tablon are dissatisfied with how things are going in the asentamiento.

When, on the other hand, men were asked whether they would elect the same or different managers, one-fifth of them answered that they would elect different ones. Finally, when they were asked in what ways the managers they would elect instead of the present ones would be different, two-thirds of the men responded by giving the specific characteristics of the "new" managers. Thus, again it seems that structured questions tend to decrease the extent of reported dissatisfaction with managers. Instead, a number of different open-ended questions can better assess the extent and nature of existing problems and dissatisfactions. The open-ended question regarding the characteristics of the managers they would rather elect instead of the present ones allow respondents to indirectly mention the shortcomings of present managers. More than one-fourth (29 percent) of the men said that they would elect managers who could read and write and who would be responsible, these answers being more frequent in Los Colorados (in 46

percent of the cases) and Zamora (in 36 percent of the cases). Finally, in more than half of the cases, men would elect responsible and honest managers who would work hard for the group interests, especially in El Tablon where 71 percent of the men feel unhappy about their present management and would like to see these changes take place.

I. Organizational Membership.

Men living in the village El Tablon are almost all (80 percent) members of the local ANACH group while the majority (79 percent) of the farmers in El Penon do not belong to a peasant organization and only two belong to UNC. When asked why they do not belong to a peasant organization, almost half (46 percent) of the farmers in El Penon who are not members said that they did not feel the need because they had some land to cultivate and were not, therefore, interested in the agrarian reform. The others either did not like the organized group or did not like organizations in general or they were very young when groups were organized and migration for land took place.

With regard to patronato membership, we find considerable variation by settlement. In Los Colorados, half of the farmers are members of a patronato in charge of school construction, maintenance and furnishing. In Patuca and Zamora, on the other hand, no one is a member of a patronato and a few are members in El Tablon (one-fifth), and the villages.

J. Men's Background

1. Men's education. Almost two-thirds of men in the communities of origin but only 38 percent of the men living in asentamientos had not completed any

grade of schooling. Also, while almost one-third of the men (32 percent) in the communities of origin are totally illiterate and cannot even sign their names only half as many (16 percent) of the men living in asentamientos are totally illiterate. It seems, therefore, that there is a clear selectivity operating in the farmers who benefit from agrarian reform at least in terms of literacy. Since, however, illiterate farmers tend to be the poorest, it seems that the poorest farmers may benefit from agrarian reform less often than less poor farmers.

Variations by asentamiento, furthermore, show that farmers living in Zamora have in comparison to farmers living in the other asentamientos the highest educational achievements. None of these farmers is entirely illiterate, two farmers (10 percent) can sign their name, and more than two-thirds of them are completely literate (can read and write well). In addition, one-fourth of all farmers in Zamora have completed 4-6 grades. The only other asentamiento with a high degree of literacy is Patuca where two-thirds of the farmers are literate but the remaining third is entirely illiterate. The lowest level of literacy, on the other hand, is found in Los Colorados where only slightly more than one-third (36 percent) of the members are literate, this level of literacy being lower than the 46 percent level of literacy prevailing in the communities of origin.

It seems, therefore, that farmers benefiting from agrarian reform in Zamora, the high income asentamiento, are even further selected in terms of literacy and educational achievements than campesinos in other asentamientos (with the exception of Patuca). The examination also of the occupational background of members before joining asentamientos showed that one-fourth of the Zamora members were independent farmers before joining the asentamiento.

No member in other asentamientos was an independent farmer without having also to work as a day laborer or without working on his father's land (the latter being true in 53 percent of the cases in Patuca). These findings raise significant policy questions about the implementation process of the agrarian reform.

2. Men's training in agriculture. Table 11 shows clearly that agrarian reform benefits men with regard to agricultural training and managerial, organizational skills. Almost two-thirds of men (64 percent) in communities of origin have not had any course, although most of those men are in El Penon where only two out of the 14 farmers have received any training. In the village El Tablon, on the other hand, three-fourths of the farmers have received courses, this difference between the two communities of origin with respect to access to training most probably due to the fact that El Tablon is adjacent to the asentamiento and the peasants can take advantage of courses offered there.

Among asentamientos, Los Colorados seems to be the asentamiento in which farmers receive a fewer number of courses than in other asentamientos. In addition, in Los Colorados, most probably due to the widespread illiteracy, four members report attending courses but are not able to even mention the title of the courses and declare that they cannot remember anything of what they learned. Patuca, on the other hand, seems to represent the asentamiento where all members have had access to one or more courses.

Most of the training in asentamientos is provided by INA and INFOP although DIFOCOOP also provides courses, primarily in El Tablon and Patuca, as does ACPH, which provides courses only in Patuca.

## K. Health Status and Work Disability

1. Health status and illness behavior. Only 15 percent of the men report no illness during the last year and most of them live in the El Tablon asentamiento where one-fifth of the men report no illness and in Zamora where 31 percent of the men report the same. Men's most frequent illnesses were fever (43 percent), which could be due to undiagnosed malaria or a variety of other conditions, and which was most often reported in El Penon (50 percent) and the asentamiento El Tablon (43 percent); flu which was reported in 31 percent of the cases and most often in El Tablon, Zamora, and Patuca; and malaria (18 percent) which was most often reported in Los Colorados where one-fourth of the men reported its recurrence during the past year.

With regard to illness behavior, the most usual response (reported by 21 percent of the farmers) is to not work and to stay home or to take pills and other medicine (reported by 24 percent of the farmers). Surprisingly, another 17 percent report going to a private doctor; 10 percent go to the hospitals; and another 10 percent to the health center. Therefore, more than one-third (37 percent) of all farmers report a "modern" illness behavior. This type of more modern illness behavior is more often reported by farmers in Patuca (43 percent), the asentamiento El Tablon (40 percent) and El Penon (one-third). It must be clarified that peasants in Zamora infrequently report this type of "modern" illness behavior because one-third of them have excellent health and another third most often suffer from a flu that does not warrant specialized medical treatment. In Patuca, another 36 percent of the

farmers report simply not working and staying home as a response to illness and in the asentamiento El Tablon, another 30 percent of the farmers report the same. Finally, taking pills and other medicine is most prevalent in El Penon where 58 percent of the farmers resort to them when ill.

With regard to seasons of higher incidence of illness, slightly less than one-third of the men (30 percent) report August through October and another 20 percent report the single month of November. The season of August - November seems to be the high illness season since half of the men report it as such. Furthermore, November seems to be a particularly bad month for El Tablon since three-fourths of the men in the village and 59 percent of the men in the asentamiento report it as a bad month for illness. In Los Colorados, on the other hand, October through January seems to be the high-illness season while in other settlements there is no particular bad season.

2. Work disability and income curtailment due to illness. Three-fourths or more of the farmers did not lose any work due to illness during the month previous to the interviews. This held true for all settlements except El Penon where almost half of the farmers (43 percent) did lose 2-3 work days during last month; one farmer lost 4-7 days. When the reference period is one year, only 17 percent of all farmers claim to not have lost any work days due to illness and these are concentrated in Zamora, El Penon, and the asentamiento El Tablon (from 25-29 percent in each). More days due to illness are lost by farmers in Los Colorados, the asentamiento in El Tablon, and Zamora than in Patuca and the village El Tablon (60 percent) and Zamora (47 percent).

In most cases (58 percent), when a farmer is sick and he cannot work, no one substitutes for him, especially in the village and asentamiento El Tablon (88 and 70 percent respectively), Patuca (two-thirds), and Zamora (69 percent). In Los Colorados, on the other hand, in 36 percent of the cases, a son (without pay) and in another 36 percent of the cases a paid laborer replaces the farmer in his work. Finally, with regard to the level of earnings when farmers are sick, in most cases (62 percent) they remain constant but in the remaining one-third of the cases they are diminished.

## L. Men's Subjective Evaluation of Their Situation Before and After Joining the Asentamiento

The large majority of men in all asentamientos feel that their situation is better now in the asentamiento than it was before they joined. There is, however, some variation by asentamiento. Almost all the men in Patuca and Los Colorados feel that their situation is better in the asentamiento because they have land, food, animals and more income to pay expenses. In Zamora, 79 percent of the men feel that their situation is better in the asentamiento and more than half of them evaluate the asentamiento positively not only because they have land, food, and more income but also because they have access to credit, supplies and outside help. One-fifth, however, of the men in Zamora feel that their situation now is the same as it was before they joined the asentamiento. Finally, the only men dissatisfied with agrarian reform seem to be concentrated in El Tablon where one-third of the men feel that their situation in the asentamiento is worse than before they joined. Thus, men are in agreement with their wives since we saw that about one-third

of the wives were also quite disappointed and dissatisfied with the conditions in the asentamiento.

## M. Fathers' Educational Expectations for Children

1. Educational expectation for sons. Fathers have high educational expectations for their sons: 71 percent of them expect their sons to graduate from elementary school and another 13 percent would like them to have secondary education. However, as could be expected on the basis of the fathers' comparatively higher educational background and higher income, fathers in Zamora have the highest educational expectations for their sons, namely, 39 percent of them expect their sons to get secondary educations (and one father wants his son to get a university education). In Los Colorados, on the other hand, more than one-fourth of the fathers (29 percent) would settle for their sons completing 2-3 grades which does not guarantee even functional literacy.

With regard to other training that fathers would like their sons to have, more than half of them (54 percent) would like their son to learn a skilled trade such as, carpenter, mechanic, builder and only slightly more than one-third (35 percent) would like them to get agricultural training. Variations by settlement, furthermore, show that only one father in the village El Tablon and two fathers in the asentamiento El Tablon want their sons to become trained in agriculture. Almost all fathers in the village El Tablon and 70 percent of the fathers in the asentamiento El Tablon want their sons to obtain a skilled trade and one-fifth of them want them to become trained for office work or as professionals. In Zamora, even more fathers

(one-third of them) want their sons to obtain training for office work or as professionals. It is mainly in El Penon and Los Colorados that half of the fathers would like their sons to get agricultural training and somewhat less so (43 percent) in Patuca.

2. Educational expectations for daughters. Fathers' educational expectations for daughters are almost identical as those for sons. Again one-third of fathers in Zamora would like their daughters to have secondary education (and one to have university education) and more than one-third (36 percent) of fathers in Los Colorados would settle for a second grade education which does not guarantee functional literacy.

When it comes, however, to additional training which they would like their daughters to have, all similarities with expectations for sons end. Only in five percent of the cases is some kind of agricultural training mentioned. In almost half (46 percent) of the cases fathers want their daughters to become dressmakers, this trend being true for El Penon (69 percent), Patuca (57 percent), Zamora (47 percent) and the asentamiento El Tablon (42). In Los Colorados, on the other hand, almost three-fourths of the fathers want their daughters to be secretaries or teachers and slightly more than one-third of the fathers in the village El Tablon and in Zamora have the same aspirations.

It seems, therefore, that fathers do not have plans to train their daughters in agriculture. Probably if women's involvement in agricultural production increases because of agricultural training and could be proven to be profitable, fathers' aspirations may be changed.

## N. Marketing of Produce

1. Men's subjective evaluation of marketing facility before and after joining asentamiento. All men living in asentamientos find that the marketing of produce is better in asentamientos mostly because they can get better prices, there is more competition and more buyers, and communication is easier.

2. Marketing patterns of produce of different family members. Regardless of the type of produce, when women are the producers of a particular product they most often market it themselves (in four-fifths of the cases). In the remaining cases, the children market the produce. When, however, women have produced a particular product jointly with their husbands, in most cases (64 percent of the cases) husbands tend to own the produce and to market it themselves.

It is interesting to note that women market most often pigs and piglets, bread, and eggs. Certainly marketing pigs does not fit the stereotyped image of women in Honduras.

## VI. POLICY IMPLICATION OF FINDINGS

The policy implications of the findings will be discussed from different points of view. First, the discussion will focus on the extent to which the agrarian reform seems to be fulfilling its objectives. Second, the focus will be more sharply on the differential impact of the agrarian reform on men and women. Third, we will attempt to suggest alternative strategies that can be used with the agrarian reform families in order to improve the lives of these families; as well as alternative strategies that can be used in ongoing new land distribution projects to landless agricultural laborers and tenant farmers.

### A. Extent to Which the Objectives of the Agrarian Reform Have Been Met

This study can examine the extent to which some objectives of the agrarian reform have been met, namely:

a. The extent to which landless agricultural workers and tenant farmers have been given priority as beneficiaries of the agrarian reform. Or in other words, the extent to which the most poor peasants have benefited from the agrarian reform;

b. The extent to which agrarian reform families have been given adequate land (in terms of size and quality) that with proper technical and financial assistance can allow them to improve their income and standard of living;

c. The extent to which female-headed households have had equal access to land and benefited equally from agrarian reform along side male-headed households.

The evidence that we have examined in chapter V based on men's answers has indicated that the first objective (to give priority to landless agricultural workers and tenant farmers) has been met only to some extent. As would be expected and as we have seen, there are more landless peasants in communities of origin than in the asentamientos and there are important difference in degrees of landedness in the asentamientos.

With respect to the size of the land accessible to each agrarian reform family, in some asentamientos members have less than the 6 manzanas that has been established as the minimum for survival (White, 1972). Although most of asentamiento members own one manzana or less than one manzana outside the asentamiento and only between 14-29 percent of them own 1 1/2 manzanas or more (outside), the data still raise critical questions about the implementation process of the agrarian reform: Why have the landless not been given priority? How can asentamiento members who own several manzanas outside the asentamiento remain as members? Also the evidence that several peasants sold some manzanas of land in order to qualify as socios in Zamora suggest mechanisms exist to hide this information or that such practices are condoned. These data suggest other areas of inequity. The strong evidence of a literacy bias among peasants benefiting from agrarian reform further increases the possibility that the poorest campesinos may not have been given priority and that in some cases they may have been entirely bypassed by the agrarian reform, especially since the poorest campesinos are less systematically integrated into peasant organizations than better off campesinos.

With regard to the second objective vis-a-vis support to the

asentamientos, the evidence from the first study reported on the "extensive" study of asentamientos as well as from the in-depth study of the four asentamientos has shown that there is great variation in the extent to which technical and financial assistance is provided to different types of asentamientos. It is clear that asentamientos with a collective farming system which are also usually organized into precooperatives or cooperatives have access to credit while asentamientos with an entirely or primarily individual farming system do not qualify for credit. Whether or not agrarian reform farmers will adopt a primarily collective or individual farming system is a decision which is up to the farmers and they are under considerable pressure to go collective and credit access is linked to their decision. Peasants in Honduras, however, resist collective farming partly because they are afraid that some farmers will not work as hard as others but will still receive an equal share of produce and profits with the others.

Technical assistance also varies considerably but is not dependent on the existence of collective farming or of a cooperative. Some regions, however, such as Aguan, Copan, Choluteca, and Comayagua tend to be more favored than other regions.

Thus, the amounts and conditions of credit vary considerably among asentamientos as well as the degree of productive utilization of such credit. In some asentamientos (such as Los Colorados), access to credit over a period of years did not help increase production or improve the lives of the members.

In summary, therefore, it can be concluded that in asentamientos in which the families (a) have more than 6 manzanas of good land (or ideally, more than 7.5 manzanas, the minimum for qualifying for the establishment of a

cooperative); (b) have decided to farm half or more than half of the land collectively; (c) have access to credit and technical assistance, and (d) reasonably good climatic conditions affecting crops -- the incomes and the lives of these families have improved due to the agrarian reform. And since the evidence that higher incomes are enjoyed by members of the Zamora asentamiento in Bajo Aguan who are also the better educated socios with a background of being earlier independent farmers, it seems that those campesinos enjoying economic improvements from the agrarian reform are not the most disadvantaged campesinos. For example, socios like those in the low income asentamiento of El Tablon earn only as much of an income as the farmers in the village El Tablon, half of whom are landless.

Our findings, therefore, confirm the findings reported in the USAID Country Development Strategy Statement of 1980 according to which the better educated farmers joined asentamientos with the better land for agriculture and the most favored ones in terms of government assistance (Country Development Strategy Statement, 1980). It is quite possible, therefore, that unless the flow of technical and financial assistance is at least equalized between the most and least promising asentamientos, illiterate agrarian reform farmers will remain poor and economic inequalities will become even sharper among agrarian reform farmers.

Coming now to the third objective regarding the access of female headed households, the evidence is overwhelming that female heads of households have not been given priority over male-headed households, as the agrarian reform law specified, or equal access to land with male heads of households. Although 13 percent of rural households were found in 1974 to be headed by women (widows or divorcees), only in 2-3 asentamientos of the 32 surveyed did

the percentage of socias came close to this figure. And in these cases, the women were accepted because they had grown- up sons who could be relied upon to perform the agricultural tasks; or the women had to hire laborers to perform the "heavier" tasks that they were supposed to be unable to perform themselves. Thus, women are discriminated against twice within the context of the agrarian reform: once by having their access to land made conditional upon their having children to support and second, in the implementation by the fact that their acceptance as socias is conditional on their having grown-up sons (12 and over) who can substitute for them in agricultural work. In this way, the agrarian reform law and its implementation clearly underlines the dependent status of women upon sons in the absence of a husband and reinforces the existing powerful sex stratification system. At the same time, the value of children and especially of sons for women is substantially enhanced and family planning may, therefore, encounter additional resistance among peasant women in Honduras.

The attempt of a group of female-headed households to organize and petition for land under the agrarian reform and the denial of their petition is a very significant indication of the fact that female-headed households are not treated equally with male-headed households by the agrarian reform law. How many organized groups of male-headed households were flatly refused land when they petitioned INA?

## B. The Differential Impact of the Agrarian Reform on Men and Women

In the previous section, a fundamental differential impact of the agrarian reform on men and women has already been discussed with regard to the differential treatment of male- and female-headed households. We can now

examine how the lives of men and women in families who live in asentamientos have been differentially affected by agrarian reform. Since in the previous section we examined the improvements in the economic conditions of the campesino families through the agrarian reform in terms of the traditional criterion of the men's economic improvements, we shall concentrate now on the extent to which women's access to means of production has been altered by the agrarian reform. Important means of production for the campesinas in Honduras are: land to cultivate; agricultural information and training; organizational training; credit; off-farm opportunities for paid employment; and technical assistance with the organization of women's groups and the marketing of their products. With regard to women's access to land, the data indicate that women in asentamientos have access to only a small fraction of a manzana of land to cultivate while in communities of origin they have access to much more land. Whether or not, however, women cultivate this land depends largely on the extent to which patriarchal values prevail that preclude agricultural work for women.

When it comes to information and training, the survey of the 32 asentamientos clearly showed that male promotores interact only with male peasants and female promotoras only with women. Furthermore, since the agronomists are all men and they usually interact only with men, women come in contact only with INA promotoras who mainly assist and inform women about organizational matters but who know very little about agriculture or bookkeeping.

Women's access to credit is tied to their membership in women's groups and none of the women's groups included in this study had had access to institutional credit. Members of women's groups have no training in

bookkeeping and no understanding of the difference between cash inflow and profit and they tend, therefore, to identify all earning with profits without being able to calculate the costs of the project inputs including their own labor. This fact has many important implications for the type of women's involvement in and experiences with women's groups as well as for the outcome of income-generating projects. Because women do not calculate the cost of their labor, they do not have reasonable expectations for the rates of return for their labor from contemplated projects. They tend, therefore, to accept any type of suggested project without much scrutiny regarding its marketability and profitability and are grateful to receive any money after months of hard work. Also, because they do not understand anything about bookkeeping, they are not in a position to check the accounts of the women's group and become, therefore, vulnerable to exploitation by the few educated women who often become the leaders of the group. But even when they are not in fact exploited by the women leaders, their lack of understanding of the accounts and their dissatisfaction with the low level of profits makes them suspicious that the women leaders may be misappropriating the funds and conflicts usually ensue.

Although the majority of rural women in the asentamientos are illiterate, a fact that poses serious problems to training efforts in bookkeeping, the task is not impossible. While illiteracy increases the complexity of the problem, projects undertaken in African countries such as, Sierra Leone have shown that it is possible to teach women managerial and bookkeeping skills with pictorial teaching aids in combination with literacy (Safilios-Rothschild, and Ikegame, 1981). Even if this type of training does not enable all women to master the skills, they can learn enough to

understand how the books are kept, to have a better control of their labor and income-generating ability and to function better in women's groups.

At present women as we saw hardly ever receive bookkeeping or agricultural training (except some limited training) in El Tablon while women in other asentamientos have not received any type of training that can help the management of the women's groups or that can enhance the income-generating ability of women individually or collectively.

Clearly, therefore, while the agrarian reform has equalized boys' and girls' access to schooling and has opened up wide opportunities for the training of men (see Section V), it has not done the same for the training of women. Women, however, spend most of their money on food and are in some asentamientos important co-breadwinners with men. The majority of the husbands also agree that it is acceptable and necessary for women to work and earn an income since it is difficult for them to earn a sufficient income to support the family. Despite this acknowledged need for women in asentamientos to earn an income and the important role of this income for the availability of food, no sustained efforts are made to give women the needed skills and effective organizational framework that would enable them to earn a more regular and substantial income. Also the income-generating projects that are most often proposed to women tend to be sex-stereotypic, poorly researched for their marketability and profitability, and poorly funded, if at all. The policy implications of these findings are clear and imperative. They will be discussed in more detail in the suggested alternative strategies for the agrarian reform.

## C. Suggested Alternative Strategies for the Agrarian Reform

The suggested alternative strategies for agrarian reform refer to men and women who have already participated in the agrarian reform as well as to men and women who are potential participants in future agrarian reform undertakings.

1. Suggested alternative strategies for agrarian reform men and women. A set of alternative strategies can be suggested to aid and improve the living conditions of agrarian reform men and women, especially in low-income asentamientos. With regard to men, the following strategies are suggested:

Men in asentamientos which face severe ecological constraints such as poor soil and unpredictable and inclement weather as well as organizational problems should be provided with financial assistance and regular and intensive technical assistance with regard to crops and improved agricultural inputs, and organizational matters. Furthermore, the information and advice they receive on crops and/or livestock should be based on the best farming systems research available for areas with similar ecological conditions. The implementation of this strategy implies that a commitment is made at the national level to utilize a greater share of resources and trained manpower to improve the productivity and the living conditions of the poorer agrarian reform farmers. The rate of return of these productive investments may not be as high as investments in asentamientos with favorable ecological conditions and with better educated and trained farmers. If, however, the goal of the agrarian reform is to decrease social and economic inequalities for the sake of social welfare and political stability, a better distribution of resources between the well-off and the less well-off agrarian reform farmers is essential.

With regard to women already living in asentamientos, the following alternative strategies are suggested:

a. INA should make a considerable effort to provide some more land for women to cultivate in all asentamientos. This could be achieved either by allocating some of the idling or not intensively cultivated land in the asentamiento to the women's group or when necessary and feasible through the acquisition of land. In view, however, of the widespread stereotypic beliefs according to which women can only perform the "lighter" agricultural tasks, such efforts to increase women's access to land should be carefully preceded by women's intensive agricultural training. Through such training, it would be possible to break through the constraining stereotypic beliefs since many men and women believe that women may be able to cultivate the land <u>if they are taught and become experienced</u>. As we have seen, women's failures to productively cultivate a piece of land allocated to them by the men (as, for example, in Zamora) helps further reinforce stereotypic beliefs and the vicious cycle is not broken.

b. Undoubtedly the key strategy for women is TRAINING FOR ORGANIZATIONAL AND PRODUCTIVE SKILLS. Women in asentamientos must be trained regarding: improved agricultural techniques; maintenance and health care of chicken, pigs, small ruminants and cattle; organizational-managerial issues; bookkeeping and marketing. Otherwise, their efforts to organize women's groups will continue to be frustrating and abortive and their failures will reinforce the existing negative stereotypes against women and will solidify sex inequalities. Without training that enables them to have a well-functioning organizational framework for a collective effort, women will not be able to earn a dependable and substantial income needed for the

survival of their families. It must be remembered at this point that women's groups are more frequent and crucial in low-income asentamientos in which men are engaged in little or no collective farming and where the ecological conditions are not the most favorable.

The implementation of such training strategies for women imply that:

-A commitment is made at the national level to distribute somewhat more equitably resources between men and women in view of the important bread-winning function women play, especially in non-affluent asentamientos.

-Male agronomists are sensitized and required to offer training courses to women in all agricultural subjects. Furthermore, the Honduran Government could request FAO, the World Bank, USAID, SIDA, NORAD and other international and bilateral aid organizations to send women agricultural experts to assist the government in these efforts.

-Male organizational and bookkeeping teachers are also sensitized and required to give such training courses to women.

-A commitment is made at the national level to train women agronomists and trainers in organizational and bookkeeping skills.

Through the better training of women that will facilitate the functioning of organization units, women's groups will qualify and will be in the position to ask for and handle credit. However, credit has to be made available to women. The 500,000 lempiras credit fund for women's groups set up by BANADESA is grossly inadequate. Bilateral aid organizations can be asked to grant funds for credit specially allocated to women's groups.

Furthermore, better preparation of and continuous technical assistance to women's groups would help increase the probability that credit funds for women's groups could begin to operate as revolving funds.

## 2. Alternate Strategies Suggested for the Future Implementation of Agrarian Reform.

One basic and obvious strategy involves the organization by INA of groups consisting of illiterate and landless agricultural laborers and tenant farmers to benefit from agrarian reform. A stricter enforcement of these requirements for beneficiaries is essential.

Another crucial strategy refers to the effective inclusion of women heads of households in the agrarian reform. First, there are some indications that many peasant women are not aware that women heads of households qualify as beneficiaries of the agrarian reform. INA and the Ministry of Natural Resources should undertake through their promotoras to inform women heads of households that according to the agrarian reform law, they not only have equal rights to land but in fact have priority over men heads of households and that these agencies would support them in their efforts to be admitted to existing asentamientos.

Second, INA should help organize and train landless women heads of households in preparation for admission to existing asentamientos or newly created asentamientos exclusively for female-headed households. INA officials could explain to the leaders of existing asentamientos that special efforts have been made to train landless women heads of households so that they are able to perform all agricultural tasks and so that they know

improved agricultural techniques. Possibly also at the beginning, the admission of several women heads of households in an asentamiento could carry as an incentive the provision of some requested and desirable service or resource. As a backup strategy, however, INA should also entertain the idea of setting up one or more women's asentamientos as demonstrations which do not have to cope with the most adverse ecological conditions for women heads of household and of providing the members of these asentamientos with adequate training facilities as well as with other technical and financial assistance.

Third, there is a need to pass a new amendment to the agrarian reform law that allows single women 16 and over equal access to land with single men 16 and over. Such an amendment may be necessary in order to help break down stereotypic beliefs concerning women's ability to cultivate land. It is doubtful that a significant number of single peasant girls 16 and over would take advantage of the amendment so that the economic repercussions of the amendment in terms of land requirements may be minimal. But an important change could be expected in men's attitudes (and to some extent women's attitudes as well) which tend to reflect the spirit of the agrarian reform law.

In summary, the agrarian reform cannot be successful in diminishing sharp social and economic inequalities unless sex inequalities are also diminished and a considerable redistribution of resources between agrarian reform farmers and between men and women takes place.

## VII. KEY QUESTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF AGRARIAN REFORM AND OTHER TYPES OF SETTLEMENTS

Although in Appendix II the detailed questionnaires used are presented, it is important to highlight the important areas and issues that must be researched in all studies of the impact of agrarian reform and other types of resettlements. Of course, the final form of questions may vary considerably from country to country and they can be arrived at only through careful pretesting in each society. There are, however, basic principles, key issues and appropriate techniques that hold true for all societies.

The first basic principle refers to the need to examine the impact of the agrarian reform on men and women,on different generations, and on families in different socioeconomic classes in terms of land ownership, literacy, education and training, and income. The second basic principle is the need to study groups of people participating in the agrarian reform or other types of resettlements in a number of regions in the country selected to represent different ecological and socioeconomic areas. Finally, the third basic principle is to compare men and women who have participated in the agrarian reform (or resettlement program) with men and women who are from the same region and from a similar socioeconomic background but who did not participate.

The key issues to be researched on the other hand are:

1. Men's and women's access to land for cultivation and the nature of barriers and constraints to greater access to land. In most cases, it is important to understand not only what are the nature of the contraints to women's access to land for cultivation but also what are the possible handles

for change. This requires the use of unstructured, open questions and the use of skillful probing by well-trained and experienced interviewers who have the opportunity to live among the interviewed people for some time.

2. Men's, women's, boys', and girls' opportunities for paid employment in agriculture as well as in nonfarm employment. This area must be carefully researched, as must be the reasons for any of the groups' lesser access. In this area, both objective and subjective data are very important. In fact, in some ways whether or not respondents think there are greater or lesser work opportunities may be be more determinant of whether they stay in the new settlement or not than the objective situation. The subjective assessment tends to incorporate attitudinal constraints that are not always known and exploration of the discrepancy between the objective and subjective situation can be revealing. These constraints may be the husbands' refusal to allow their wives to do agricultural work in a settlement in which the only opportunities for paid employment are in agriculture. It is then important to investigate the reasons for this refusal as well as the conditions that would convince husbands that it is acceptable for their wives to work in agriculture.

3. Men's, women's, boys', and girls' income, related to the second area of research girls' income, is an extremely difficult issue to research with an acceptable degree of accuracy especially among peasant women and in societies in which patriarchal values dictate that men must earn the income to support their wives and children. First, very careful pretesting and observation can show what questions are the most appropriate in order to be able to investigate all women's sources of income and to obtain important seasonal variations. The longer the period (with a minimum of a month) that

the interviewers can stay in the studied area, the better the quality of the obtained data. In this context, it is very important for the interviewers to ascertain all potential sources of income for men and women and the market price of produce and other products made in the area in order to be able to assess men's and women's total income since men and women alike seldom know what is their usual annual income.

It is also important to collect information regarding men's and women's subjective evaluation of the nature of changes that occurred in their income as a result of the change in settlements because again it is this subjective evaluation that may be the key to their satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

In addition to ascertaining the total income earned by men, women, boys and girls, it is also extremely important to investigate who controls the income earned by which family member and how every member's money is used. Since women spend most of their money for food and household expenses, whether or not women can control the income they earn and also all or some of the income of their husbands and children may make considerable difference in the nutritional status and welfare of the family. Whether or not increases in husbands' income are related to the size of their money contributions for food may also be crucial to the family nutritional status.

4. Men's and women's (of all ages" access to education and training. Another important area is training referring to specific skills that can enhance their organizational and income-generating ability as well as training that helps improve their lives in other ways (e.g. health, nutrition, etc.). It is important to assess the extent to which training is sex stereotypic in that men receive predominantly organizational and agricultural training while women receive mostly health, nutrition, and

family education training. Such a stereotypic sex differentiation that does not enhance women's income-generating ability may have serious implications in societies and regions in which women share the breadwinning responsibility with men and in which the nutritional status of the family largely depends on the income they make.

5. Men's and women's access to information about improved agricultural inputs and techniques and from what agents it is received represents another area with important policy implications. If, for example, the pattern found in many societies is replicated, namely, that male agronomists and extension agents interact only with male peasants and female extension agents with female peasants, it is important to examine the extent to which male and female agents are equally able to provide males and females with the training they need in order to function effectively in different types of organizational structures and to be productive in their income-generating endeavors.

6. Changes in food availability. These must also be studied when families change settlements. The family may no longer be able to produce some foods that were central in their diets and may or may not be able to produce or buy acceptable alternatives.

7. Changes in settlements may involve more or less access to health centers, hospitals, health auxiliaries and physicians because of different distances or conditions for health care.

8. Also, changes in settlements may involve more or less time spent in fetching water and/or fuelwood and in going to a stream or river to wash clothes. Increase in time needed for these essential amenities may have

serious implications for the younger generation's work responsibilities and their ability to attend school. It is, therefore, important to collect detailed data concerning sons' and daughters' labor contributions, the age at which they begin to make these contributions, and the implications of these labor demands on their schooling.

9. Since in most societies men's and women's projects and endeavors are separate, it is important to examine separately the functioning of and difficulties encountered by men's and women's groups as well as the access of these groups to credit and the existing constraints and difficulties regarding credit.

10. Changes in settlements may also facilitate or make marketing of produce and other products more difficult. It is, therefore, important to study who markets what and whose products, in what types of markets and at what distance; and what objective and subjective changes in marketing patterns have taken place in men's and women's products.

11. Finally, it is important to study the extent to which men and women have made a commitment to the new settlement in terms of being willing to live through difficult times when the crops are not so good or other adversities arise as well as in terms of willingness to make permanent investments such as building new houses or making substantial improvements. Finally, it is crucial to probe for the factors responsible for a greater or lesser commitment to the new settlement.

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## GLOSSARY

ACPH: Associación Cooperativa Profesional Hondurena - Professional Cooperative Association of Honduras.

ANACH: National Association of Honduran Peasants.

Asentamiento: Peasants' settlement on land granted by agrarian reform agencies.

BANADESA: National Bank for Agricultural Development (Banco Nacional de Desarrollo Agrícola).

BANAFOM: National Development Bank (Banco Nacional de Fomento).

CAC: Club de amas de casa (Housewives' club).

CCTI: Centro Cooperativo Industrial (Cooperative Center for Technical Training).

Carga: Measure of weight equivalent to 256 lbs. in Danli and 200 lbs. elsewhere.

CTH: Central de Trabajadores Hondurenas (National Center for Technical Training.

CDP: Christian Democratic Party.

CARITAS: Catholic Relief Service.

DIFOCOOP: Dirección de Fomento Cooperativo (Directorate for Cooperative Development).

ENA: Escuela Nacional de Agricultura (National Agricultural School).

FECORA: Federación de Cooperativas de Reforma Agraria (Federation of Agrarian Reform Cooperatives).

FEMUCH: Federación de Mujeres Campesinas de Honduras (Federation of Peasant Women of Honduras).

FUNDEHSA: Fundación Hondurena para el Desarrollo (Honduran Development Foundation).

Hombre Solo: Male head of household who has no wife or permanent companion.

INA: Instituto Nacional Agrario (National Agrarian Institute).

INFOP: Instituto Nacional de Formación Profesional (National Institute for Vocational Training).

JNBS: Junta Nacional de Bienestar Social (National Institute for Social Welfare).

Manzana: Unit of area equivalent to 0.7 hectares.

Mujer Sola: Female head of household; the word implies a woman who has no husband or male companion to support her.

Patronato: Group of neighbors that join efforts and resources to undertake a project for the welfare of the village or the settlement.

PDC: Partido Democrata - Christiano (Christian Democratic Party).

PROCCARA: Programa de Capacitación Campesina para la Reforma Agraria (Agrarian Reform Training Program).

PRONAEE: Programa Nacional de Educación Extraescolar (National Program for Non-formal Education).

Promotor(es); Promotora(s): An employee or a volunteer worker of a government agency or of a private organization that acts as a contact between his/her employer and the community for the purpose of delivering information and services.

RRNN: Ministerio de Recursos Naturales (Ministry of Natural Resources).

Socio/Socia: Member of an "asentamiento".

Tarea: Measure of work done. Standards vary from place to place. Usually it refers to a task that can be finished in a day by an average worker.

UNC: Union Nacional de Campesinos (National Union of Peasants).

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Table 1. Women's Involvement in Agricultural Work (in percentages)

| Involvement in Agricultural Work | SETTLEMENT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Village El Tablon | El Penon | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | Asentamie El Tablon |
| Do not work | 25.0 | 81.2 | 50.0 | 38.5 | 57.1 | 5.6 |
| Work in backyard | | | | | 7.1 | 16.7 |
| Work in backyard and women's group land | 37.5 | | | | | 16.7 |
| Work in individual plot | | | | 15.4 | | |
| Work in own land and women's group land | | | | | | 5.6 |
| Work in women's group land | 37.5 | | 20.0 | | | 50.0 |
| Work in individual and collective plot | | 6.2 | 20.0 | | | 5.6 |
| Work in individual plot and women's group land | | | 10.0 | | | |
| Work in husband's plot | | 6.2 | | | | |
| Total women working in agricultural work (N = 36) | 75 | 12.4 | 50.0 | 15.4 | 7.1 | 94.4 |
| Had worked only in the past | - | 6.2 | - | 46.2 | 14.2 | - |
| TOTAL N | 8 | 16 | 10 | 13 | 14 | 18 |

Table 2. Women's Income by Settlement (in percentages)

| Income Level | SETTLEMENT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Village El Tablon | El Penon | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | Asentamiento El Tablon |
| None | 25 | 11.8 | 10.0 | 7.7 | 35.7 | 22.2 |
| Below L.100/yr. | - | 17.6 | 30.0 | 14.3 | 14.3 | 22.2 |
| L.100-200/yr. | 12.5 | 23.5 | - | 14.3 | 14.3 | 5.6 |
| L.201-300/yr. | - | 11.8 | 20.0 | - | - | 22.2 |
| L.301-500/yr. | 25.0 | 17.6 | 10.0 | 14.3 | 14.3 | 11.1 |
| L/501-1,000/yr. | 12.5 | 17.6 | 30.0 | 21.4 | 21.4 | 16.7 |
| Over L.1,000/yr. | 25.0 | - | - | - | - | - |
| N | 8 | 17 | 10 | 13 | 14 | 18 |

Table 3. Food Items Bought by Families in Different Settlements (in percentages)

| Food Items | SETTLEMENTS | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Village El Tablon | El Penon | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | Asentamiento El Tablon |
| Beans | 50 | 82 | 80 | 92 | 50 | 50 |
| Rice | 100 | 94 | 20 | 85 | 79 | 84 |
| Lard | 75 | 59 | 90 | 69 | 79 | 78 |
| Coffee | 63 | 50 | 60 | 85 | 50 | 89 |
| Maize | 50 | 29 | - | - | - | 28 |
| Vegetables | 25 | 24 | 40 | 23 | 36 | 22 |
| Potatoes | 25 | 18 | - | - | 36 | 17 |
| [illegible]a | 38 | - | 60 | 8 | 57 | 44 |
| Powdered Milk | 13 | 12 | 20 | - | 36 | 17 |
| Meat | 25 | 6 | 40 | 31 | 43 | 44 |
| Onions and Condiments | 75 | 70 | 100 | 31 | 43 | 67 |
| Tomato Paste | 38 | - | 30 | - | 36 | - |
| Fish | - | - | 30 | 8 | 7 | - |
| Cheese | 25 | - | 20 | - | 7 | 6 |
| Butter | 13 | - | - | 8 | 21 | 6 |
| Soda Drink | - | - | - | - | 14 | - |

Table 4: Age at which daughters begin labor contributions according to mothers (in percentages*)

| Age & Type of Work | SETTLEMENT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Village El Tablon | El Penon | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | El Tablon Asenta. |
| **A. Domestic Work** | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | 9.1 | |
| 4 | | | | | 9.1 | |
| 5 | 12.5 | 18.2 | 28.6 | 12.5 | 9.1 | 30.0 |
| 6 | 50.0 | 36.4 | 42.8 | 37.5 | 9.1 | 20.0 |
| 7 | | 27.3 | | 37.5 | 27.3 | 20.0 |
| 8 | 25.0 | 9.1 | 14.3 | | 18.2 | 10.0 |
| 9 | | 9.1 | | | 9.1 | 20.0 |
| 10+ | 12.5 | | 14.3 | 12.5 | 9.1 | 10.0 |
| Total N | 8 | 11 | 7 | 8 | 11 | 10 |
| **B. Childcare** | | | | | | |
| 4 | | 9.1 | 12.5 | | | 11.1 |
| 5 | 12.5 | 9.1 | 12.5 | | 11.1 | 11.1 |
| 6 | 12.5 | 27.3 | 12.5 | 55.5 | 44.4 | 11.1 |
| 7 | 37.5 | 9.1 | 12.5 | 22.2 | 22.2 | 11.1 |
| 8 | 25.0 | | 25.0 | 11.1 | 11.1 | 22.2 |
| 9 | | 18.2 | 12.5 | | | 11.1 |
| 10+ | | 9.1 | | | | 22.2 |
| She never had to/ she did not do it well | 12.5 | | 12.5 | 11.1 | 11.1 | |
| Total N | 8 | 11 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| **C. Agricultural Work** | | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | 33.3 | |
| 7 | | 33.3 | | | | 50.0 |
| 9 | | | | | | 50.0 |
| 10 | 100.0 | | | | | |
| 12+ | | 66.6 | | 50.0 | 66.6 | |
| She did not help | | | | 50.0 | | |
| Total N | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 2 |

* The percentages do not add to 100 because some families have more than one daughter (N represents the number of families).

Table 5: Age at which sons begin labor contributions according to mothers (in percentages*)

| Age & Type of Work | SETTLEMENT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Village El Tablon | El Penon | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | El Tablon Asenta. |
| **A. Domestic Work** | | | | | | |
| 4 | | 12.5 | 14.2 | | 20.0 | 18.2 |
| 5 | 25.0 | 12.5 | | 9.1 | | |
| 6 | 25.0 | 25.0 | | 27.3 | 20.0 | 45.5 |
| 7 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 28.4 | 36.4 | 20.0 | 18.2 |
| 8 | 12.5 | 37.5 | 14.2 | | 10.0 | |
| 9 | 12.5 | | 14.2 | 9.1 | 10.0 | 18.2 |
| 10+ | 12.5 | 12.5 | 28.4 | 18.2 | 20.0 | 18.2 |
| Total N | 8 | 8 | 7 | 11 | 10 | 11 |
| **B. Childcare** | | | | | | |
| 3-4 | | 10.0 | 16.7 | 9.1 | 12.5 | 9.1 |
| 5 | 16.7 | 10.0 | | 9.1 | 12.5 | 9.1 |
| 6 | 33.3 | 30.0 | 16.7 | 36.4 | 25.0 | 18.2 |
| 7 | | 10.0 | 16.7 | 9.1 | 12.5 | 9.1 |
| 8 | | 30.0 | 16.7 | | 25.0 | 27.3 |
| 10 | 16.7 | | 16.7 | | | 9.1 |
| Do not help | 33.3 | 20.0 | 16.7 | 36.4 | 12.5 | 18.2 |
| Total N | 6 | 10 | 6 | 11 | 8 | 11 |
| **C. Agricultural Work** | | | | | | |
| 6 | 12.5 | 25.0 | 16.7 | | | |
| 7 | 12.5 | 25.0 | | 25.0 | 25.0 | 22.2 |
| 8 | | | | | 25.0 | |
| 9 | 12.5 | 25.0 | 33.4 | | | 22.2 |
| 10 | 37.5 | 12.5 | 16.7 | 25.0 | | 44.4 |
| 11 | 12.5 | 12.5 | | | | |
| 12+ | 12.5 | 12.5 | 33.4 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 44.4 |
| Total N | 8 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 9 |

* The percentages do not add to 100 because some families have more than one son. (N represents the number of families)

Table 6: Women's Access to Training (In percentages*)

| | SETTLEMENT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Type of Training | Village El Tablon | El Penon | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | El Tablon Asenta. |
| Rabbits | | | | | | 28 |
| Vegetable growing | 50 | 6 | 10 | — | — | 28 |
| Cooperativism and Organization | 63 | — | 10 | — | — | 22 |
| Bookkeeping | 25 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Agriculture | — | — | — | — | — | 17 |
| Literacy | — | 12 | 10 | — | — | 6 |
| Midwifing | — | — | 10 | — | — | — |
| Cooking, Family Relations, etc. | 38 | 18 | 90 | — | 14 | 28 |
| No Training | 38 | 65 | 20 | 100 | 86 | 44 |
| Total N | 8 | 17 | 10 | 13 | 14 | 18 |

* The percentages do not add to 100 because some women have received more than one course.

Table 7. Men's Land Ownership History (in percentages) *

| Land Ownership | SETTLEMENT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Village El Tablon | El Penon | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | Asentamiento El Tablon |
| A. Land Inherited | | | | | | |
| None | 100.0 | 60.0 | 66.7 | 71.4 | 79.0 | 84.2 |
| Less than 1 manzana | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1 - 2 | - | 20.0 | 26.7 | 28.6 | 5.3 | 10.5 |
| 3 - 5 | - | 13.3 | - | - | 5.3 | - |
| 6 and over | - | - | 6.7 | - | 10.5 | 5.3 |
| B. Land Bought | | | | | | |
| None | 62.5 | 53.3 | 80.0 | 71.4 | 63.2 | 47.4 |
| Less than 1/4 manzana | - | - | - | - | 5.3 | 10.5 |
| 1/4 - 1 | - | 13.3 | - | 7.1 | 10.5 | 21.1 |
| 1 1/2 - 2 | 37.5 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 14.3 | 10.5 | 5.3 |
| 3 - 5 | - | 6.7 | 6.7 | - | 10.5 | 15.8 |
| 6 and over | - | 13.3 | 6.7 | - | - | - |
| C. Land Sold | | | | | | |
| None | 87.5 | 86.7 | 66.7 | 85.7 | 73.7 | 57.9 |
| 1 - 2 manzanas | 12.5 | - | 13.3 | 7.1 | 10.5 | 5.3 |
| 3 - 5 | - | - | 13.3 | 7.1 | 5.3 | 5.3 |
| 6 and over | - | 6.7 | 6.7 | - | 10.5 | - |
| D. Land Held Now (Outside the Asentamiento) | | | | | | |
| None | 50.0 | 26.7 | 86.7 | 7.1 | 73.7 | 21.1 |
| Less than 1/4 manzana | - | - | - | 21.4 | 5.3 | 15.8 |
| 1/4 - 1 | 12.5 | 13.3 | - | 42.9 | 15.8 | 42.0 |
| 1 1/2 - 2 | 25.0 | 26.7 | 6.7 | 7.1 | 5.3 | 10.5 |
| 3 - 5 | - | 20.0 | - | 14.3 | 5.3 | 5.3 |
| 6 and over | 12.5 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 7.1 | 5.3 | 5.3 |
| TOTAL N = 80 | 8 | 15 | 15 | 14 | 19 | 19 |

* The percentages in some categories do not add to 100 because of missing information in a few cases.

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Table 8. Husbands' Income based on Men's Answers (in percentages)

| Income Level | SETTLEMENT | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Village El Tablon | El Penon | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | Asentamiento El Tablon |
| Less than L.1,000 | 25 | 43 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 25 |
| L.1,000-L.1,999 | 50 | 50 | 40 | 36 | 0 | 60 |
| L.2,000-L.2,999 | 13 | 7 | 53 | 7 | 37 | 5 |
| L.3,000-L.4,999 | 13 | 0 | 7 | 36 | 26 | 5 |
| L.5,000 + | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 37 | 5 |
| Total N = | 8 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 19 | 20 |

Table 9: How is Husbands' Income Spent

| Type and amounts of expenditure | Communities of Origin | SETTLEMENT | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | El Tablon |
| **Food** | | | | | |
| Less than L.800/year | 85 | 46 | 67 | 18 | 53 |
| More than L.800/year | 15 | 54 | 33 | 82 | 47 |
| **Health** | | | | | |
| Less than L.100 | 67 | 43 | 71 | 46 | 60 |
| More than L.100 | 33 | 57 | 29 | 54 | 40 |
| **Housing (repairs, construc.)** | | | | | |
| Less than L.100 | 25 | 67 | 50 | 60 | 36 |
| More than L.100 | 75 | 33 | 50 | 40 | 64 |
| **Clothing** | | | | | |
| Less than L.100 | 80 | 89 | 63 | 67 | 89 |
| More than L.100 | 20 | 11 | 38 | 33 | 11 |
| Agricultural Investments | —* | 13 | 50 | 35 | 8 |
| Hired Labor | —* | 20 | 25 | 24 | 8 |
| Consumer goods[1] (radio, bicycle) | —* | 20 | none | 18 | 15 |
| Personal luxuries[1] (liquor, soda, cigarettes, women) | —* | 53 | 20 | 41 | 8 |
| Savings | —* | 7 | none | 12 | 8 |

*No information regarding additional uses of men's income was obtained from communities of origin

1. As consumer goods were classified items may be used by other family members as well as by the man.

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Sons' Labor Contributions in Agricultural - According to Men's Answers (in Percentages)

| Activity | Age he begins to help | Village El Tablon | SETTLEMENT El Penon | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | El Tablon |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Harvesting | 6 | 10 | | 7 | | 15 | 10 |
| | 7 | | 8 | | | | |
| | 8 | 10 | | | 6 | | |
| | 9 | 20 | | 7 | | | 10 |
| | 10 | 10 | | | | | 5 |
| | 11 | | 8 | 7 | | | |
| | 12+ | | | | | | |
| Weeding | 7 | | 8 | | 19 | | 5 |
| | 8 | 10 | 23 | 33 | 13 | 23 | 5 |
| | 9 | | | | 6 | 8 | |
| | 10 | | 8 | 11 | | | 5 |
| | 11 | | | | 13 | | |
| | 12+ | | 8 | 11 | 13 | 8 | |
| Sowing | 6 | | | | | | |
| | 7 | | | | | | |
| | 8 | | | | | 15 | |
| | 9 | | | | 6 | 8 | 5 |
| | 10 | | 8 | | 13 | | 10 |
| | 11 | | | | 6 | | 5 |
| | 12+ | | 8 | 22 | | | |
| Hoeing | 7 | | | | | | 5 |
| | 8 | 20 | | 11 | | 15 | |
| | 9 | 10 | | | | | |
| | 10 | | | | | | 20 |
| | 11 | | | | | | 10 |
| | 12 | | | | | | |
| All agricultural work | 8 | | | | | | |
| | 9 | | | 11 | | | |
| | 10 | 10 | | | | | |
| | 11 | | | | 6 | | |
| | 12 | | 7 | | | | |

* Since many families have more than one son helping with agriculture and the same son may help with several tasks while other families may have no son or no adult son, the percentages were calculated in terms of the number of responses (corresponding to one son) given in each settlement.

Table 11: Farmers' Access to Training in Communities of Origin and Asentamientos

| Type of Course | Communities of Origin | Patuca | Los Colorados | Zamora | El Tablon |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bookkeeping | — | — | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Cooperativism | 2 | 16 | 4 | 9 | 10 |
| Vegetables | 1 | 4 | — | — | — |
| Veterinary/Cattle related | — | 2 | 5 | — | 1 |
| Crops | 1 | — | — | 1 | — |
| Agrarian Reform | 2 | — | — | — | 3 |
| Agriculture | 2 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 2 |
| Rice Production | 3 | 1 | — | 2 | 13 |
| Organization/ Management | 1 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| Citrus Cultivation | — | — | — | 2 | — |
| African Palm Cultivation | — | — | — | 2 | — |
| Sesame Production | 1 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Basic Grains | — | 3 | — | — | 1 |
| Maize Cultivation | — | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Melon Cultivation | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Rice and Vegetables | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Tractor Maintenance | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Coffee Production | — | 3 | — | — | — |
| Beans Cultivation | — | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| Commercialization of Production | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Total number of courses | 13 | 39 | 18 | 30 | 42 |
| No Course taken | 14 | — | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| One Course Only | 3 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 6 |
| Two or More Courses | 5 | 12 | 7 | 11 | 12 |