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APPENDIX I

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

TOWARD A TYPOLOGY OF ASENTAMIENTOS IN RURAL HONDURAS

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ASENTAMIENTOS IN RURAL HONDURAS

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## TOWARD A TYPOLOGY OF "ASENTAMIENTOS"

### I. Methodology.

The 32 "asentamientos" sampled were chosen on the basis of the following criteria: (a) that they are located in the geographic regions where agrarian reform has been actively pursued; (b) that they include asentamientos with collective, individual and mixed type of farming in different regions; (c) that they include settlements which have received AID credit through the Development Bank; and (d) that they include asentamientos with organized women's groups. This 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) and updated with the help of INA regional staff members.

The survey was carried out during the months of January and February 1980 and it consistently included interviews with at least one asentamiento leader and at least one woman resident of the asentamiento and in most cases responses were checked and amplified through additional interviews. of the sample is as follows:

The geographic distribution of the sample of 32 asentamientos is as

follows:

- 3 cases from the department of Copan in the West
- 3 cases from San Pedro Sula in the department of Cortes in the North-West
- 6 cases from the department of Choluteca in the South
- 5 cases from the department of Comayagua in the South-West
- 5 cases from Jamastran in the department of El Paraiso in the South-East
- 5 cases from Aguan in the department of Colon in the North-East, and
- 5 cases from the department of Olancho in the East

The overall distribution according to the three great administrative zones in which the country is divided is as follows:

- 6 cases from the Western zone
- 16 cases from the Central zone
- 10 cases from the Eastern zone

All "asentamientos" were established between 1964 and 1980, and the majority (63 percent) of those sampled were established between 1973 and 1978, that is during the period following the second law of land reform issued by the military government that came into power in 1972 with the support of peasant organizations (See Table 1). In more detail, one-third of asentamientos were established during the 1974-75 period which was the most active period of Agrarian Reform. Another third of the asentamientos were established between 1964 and 1972, when land invasions were at their peak and just after the first law of land reform had been approved. Four asentamientos (9 percent of the sample) were established in 1969 coinciding with the tenure of Rigoberto Sandoval, (a well-known activist-official) as head of the Agrarian Reform Institute (INA - Instituto Nacional Agrario) and with the unsettling of the El Salvadorean peasants. And only two asentamientos were established in 1979 and 1980, when a military concept of

national security replaced the policies of social modernization and economic development that had constituted the guiding principles of the state's action during the previous years.

[Place Table 1 about here]

Despite the existence of agrarian reform laws, in most cases the peasants acquired the land by forceful occupation and only in about one-third of the cases the process was peaceful. Peacefully acquired land was the case in La Angostura, Jamastran and in Pozo del Padre No. 1, where the land was bought in 1971 by the peasants. In other seven asentamientos located primarily in Copan, Aguan, and Choluteca INA chose the land and gave it to the peasants in 1975.

In the cases of forceful occupation INA was directed by law to determine whether or not the land was legally owned by the affected landowner. If the owner had no clear legal title, INA had the authority to sanction its occupation by the peasants. This authority was, however, limited by the fact that landowners who had fenced off public lands at least ten years before, who economically exploited the land, and who claimed up to 200 hectares had a preferential right to be acknowledged as legitimate owners. If the landowners had a legal title to the estate, INA could purchase it and resell it to the peasants or could order the armed forces to forcefully evict the peasants. In any case, INA had to intervene in order to grant a clear title of ownership either to the established landowner or the contending peasants. In one asentamiento in Copan INA and the peasants worked out a compromise. The peasants chose the land and INA advised them to fence the land off and occupy it unless a landowner filed a complaint. Since no one did, INA granted them the land in 1974. In another asentamiento in Choluteca, the

peasants, wishing to act within the spirit of the law, asked INA to grant them land in a region where a single landowner controlled several villages. INA responded by initiating legal action but because of legal obstacles no decision was taken in favor of the peasants. Finally, in 1969 the peasants got tired of waiting for INA's decision and occupied the land. This time it was the landowner's turn to wait for INA to act. Nine years later, the peasants received provisional title to the land, suggesting that INA had either reached some sort of agreement with the landowner to buy him off, or else that the landowner had no legitimate title on the land.

Regarding the title of ownership, the interviewed peasants seem to lack a clear understanding of the complexity of this matter. Those who bought the land can be assumed to hold the title of their land. Among those who originally received the land from INA, only two acknowledge holding the title and the rest of them do not say whether their title was being processed or that they do not have any title to the land. However, 34 percent of those asentamientos in which land was occupied acknowledge that they have since received the title from INA; while in 13 percent of the cases their title was still in process at INA's offices. The lack of peasants' clear-cut understanding of their status as owners, or tenants, or "de facto" settlers may be explained by the complexity of the laws on ownership and transference of real estate, that in Honduras, like everywhere in Latin America, are strongly influenced by the Spanish imperial laws of the colonial days and by the technicalities developed during the Republic. In addition, the bureaucratic language of INA's decisions might make very little sense to poorly educated peasants.

The size of the asentamientos included in the sample ranges between 28

and 1341 "manzanas", 1) manzana=0.7 hectares, the average size being 332.5 manzanas per unit, 56 percent of the asentamientos fall between 28 and 163 manzanas while two asentamientos have 350 and 415 manzanas each; three asentamientos have 200 and 240 manzanas; and 28 percent of the asentamientos have between 620 and 1341 manzanas. It is noteworthy that in nine asentamientos, most of them concentrated in Aguan, larger than average plantation-like asentamientos have been sponsored by the Agrarian Reform policy makers.

The membership size in the asentamientos sampled ranges from 7 to 136 members. Membership is understood as a family right to a share in the asentamiento, either to a proportional part of the production and/or earning when the land is subject to communal exploitation, or to an individual plot for each single family. The family is represented by the head of the household, who may be the husband/father or the mother — either single, widowed or divorced. While single women without children had no right to land, single men without children who had right to land are seldom found in asentamientos, unless they are living with their dependent widowed mothers.

As it could be expected, there are very few cases of women members (socias) in the 32 sampled asentamientos. When women are members, their participation ranges from 3 to 18 percent of total membership. In half of the cases, women account for less than 6 percent of the members and in the other half, women represent between 9 and 18 percent of the members. It is interesting to note that it is in Tierra Blanca in Choluteca that we find the highest membership of women (Table 2), while in Aguan where asentamientos receive more technical and financial assistance than in other regions, there are no women socias. In addition to Tierra Blanca, a higher proportion (12

percent) of socias was reported in Flores de Mayo in Copan where widows and deserted wives were accepted but do not work the land themselves. Sons and/or paid day laborers do the work. As we shall see later on, negative sex role stereotypes according to which agriculture is not a job for women seem to be responsible for the rejection of women as socias.

[Place Table 2 about here]

Another aspect worth noting is that in 72 percent of the asentamientos sampled there has been a reduction in membership from its original size at the time of the establishment of the settlement. This diminution of members that has already been observed by other analysts, can be as high as 80-91 percent, or even higher when we focus on the total number of original members that has dropped out. In three cases, however, there has been no change in total membership and in six cases, there has been an actual increase. In one case, membership increased by one and a half times, in another, it underwent a sixfold increase. The importance of patterns of group evolution deserves a detailed analysis of the data which will be undertaken in the following section.

### III. Evolution of Group Size

High rates of membership turnover in the agrarian reform settlements have been observed in several studies (Rush and Suarez, 1976). In our sample we found that in only three asentamientos namely, La Libertad No. 2 in San Pedro Sullá, Voluntades Unidas in Aguan and 12 de Noviembre in Choluteca

started between 1973 and 1976, all the original members remained. In one of those cases, Voluntades Unidas, membership had actually doubled afterwards. But in twelve of the remaining 29 cases, membership declined permanently because some of the original members left (Table 3). In twenty cases, more than half of the original members had dropped out of the asentamiento for one reason or another especially in Copan, Aguan and Jamastran. In Union San Francisco, Aguan and only one of the original members of the asentamiento remained. In seven cases, desertion of original members ranged between 25 and 50 percent, and in two cases a little over one fifth of the early membership had left. but only the asentamientos in San Pedro Sula have had the lowest rate of desertion. It must be noted that in some cases leaving is not voluntary but forced by the rest of the group on members who do not adapt to the demands of collective work or who fail to comply with the system of rules that regulates the life of the group.

[Place Table 3 about here]

In addition to the turnover of original members, there is also turnover among newcomers, that is, new members who join the group either to replace someone that has already left or to increase actual membership.

The remaining members explain as follows why the others have left:

1. Some peasants have difficulty in adjusting to collective work: This is expressed in comments like "They wanted to work on their own," they didn't want to help the group," "they were individualists," "they didn't want to work collectively." (This explanation was mentioned in eleven cases).
2. There are peasants who have difficulty in accepting hardship and risk: they are unable to cope with their new condition as independent farmers. "They didn't want to work the land," "they were afraid of large neighboring landholders," "they didn't want to pay a loan back," "they wanted personal loans and didn't get them," "the land was too poor for them," "we lost the crop," "the

asentamiento's lands were far from their homes." (This explanation was mentioned in 16 cases).

3. Some peasants prefer steady wages: This explanation (given in five cases), usually implied also that the deserters were not as worthy as their peers. Expressions such as "they rather sell their lungs (or breath) to the landowner" express the low regard in which the peasants who cope with the hardships of their asentamientos have for those who instead accept a regular salary together with a continuous dependence on a landowner.
4. The collective nature of many asentamientos imposes additional strains in the lives of the peasants since it requires the successful implementation of a set of rules intended to strengthen the links that keep the group members together. Some people find it hard to accept demands on their free time, or their income, or their life styles. This refusal to comply with internal rules was alleged in five cases by expressions such as: "they didn't like to attend the group meetings," "they didn't complete their assigned tasks," "they missed work on communal lands for three days in a row," "they didn't pay their admission fees at all," "they were quarrelsome" or "they were drunkards." (This explanation given in six cases)
5. Other reasons include cases of illness; one case of conflictful membership in a peasant organization that requires them to work somewhere else; and one case in which the members joined the group only to help it out during the early stages of confrontation with authorities and influential landowners.

With regard to criteria used by the group to reject new members, the following three basic criteria to screen applications for additional membership were used:

1. Perceived antisocial personality traits such as laziness, selfishness, opportunism, drunkenness, quarrelsomeness, thievery and the like are reasons that prevent a group from accepting new applicants in its ranks. Paying attention to these features of an applicant a group forecloses the chances of future desertions and/or expulsions on grounds of inability to work in collective undertakings or of refusal to comply with internal rules. This was the most commonly mentioned basis for a decision to reject a new member's application used in 8 out of 19 asentamientos.
2. The candidate's failure to comply with admission requisites such as lacking recommendation letters from asentamientos to which the applicant belonged in the past; failing the trial period; or having bad records in other asentamientos, were reasons to turn down an application in 5 out of 19 asentamientos.
3. Lack of land: in seven of the asentamientos, members realized that they had too little land to sustain an additional family.

Additional infrequent responses include: (a) allegations that applicants are activists in peasants' organizations, in which case there is a conflict between regular work in the asentamiento and active duty in the peasants movement; (b) one case in which former members of the group attempted a comeback and were not accepted because in the past they had not been up to the group's standards of work. And (c) in another case applicants came from a different region and the current members were afraid that if accepted, the new arrivals may pull out with no warning thus leaving the group worse off than before.

#### IV. Style of Operation

The style of operation in an asentamiento is determined by the way the land is allocated, the degree to which the members organize into formal groups and the type of decision-making followed by the management.

##### a. Collective-Individual Use of Land:

In implementing agrarian reform preference has been given to cooperative arrangements for the exploitation of lands assigned to land reform projects. Accordingly, there has been a policy to encourage collective exploitation of the land despite the fact that it does not always correspond to peasants' preferences. Peasants have grown individualistic during centuries in which they have had to rely on their own and on their family's energies for the exploitation of the land although they may occasionally join forces to help each other in the peak season or in the most arduous tasks of farming.

Besides, their social model of personal success is the rich, independent landowner, whom they have encountered in real life. Membership in a prosperous cooperative does not usually fulfill peasants' aspirations. Instead, a cooperative is something he has to settle for and get adjusted to for survival. Of course, there are social and economic advantages in the cooperative approach for land reform settlements but most peasants are not yet accustomed to and impressed by the cooperative way of farming and management. The considerable number of cases in which peasants leave an asentamiento because they have difficulties in adjusting to collective work is an indication of the fact that cooperatives represent a new mode of production which has been imposed upon them. It is interesting to note that in our sample, the adjustment to collective work was more critical in groups in which more than 50 percent of the original members dropped out than among those with a lower rate of desertion.

In order to obtain the advantages resulting from collective land cultivation without frustrating the individualistic needs of socios, a compromise has been often achieved in most asentamientos by dividing the land two blocks: one which is worked collectively, and another apportioned in equal lots among the members of the group. In our sample, there are five asentamientos in which all land is cultivated individually, three of which are located in Choluteca (Table 4). In another five asentamientos all land is collectively exploited and the members have no individual plots. Two of those asentamientos with exclusively collective farming are in Choluteca, two in Olancho and one in Copan. In the majority of cases, however, that is, in 22 out of 32 asentamientos, the peasants chose a mix of individual and collective farming. In six asentamientos, the peasants reserved much less

than a quarter of the land for individual farming, the highest concentration of those asentamientos (3 out of 5) found in Aguan. In the asentamientos of the rest of the regions — except for Choluteca where the two extremes predominated — between one-fourth and half of the land was reserved for individual farming. The most workable compromise seems to be that of practicing collective farming in at least half and up to three quarters of the land, turning the rest over to individual farming. In this way, it is possible to secure the advantages of collective farming with regard to access to agricultural credit and inputs without entirely losing the benefits of individual farming.

[Place Table 4 about here]

It is also interesting to add that in nine out of the 32 asentamientos there was a lot reserved for the women to cultivate. This lot was intended to allow them to earn some income through collective work.

It must be noted that an asentamiento is not automatically a cooperative. It must have substantial collective farming and the management must receive cooperative training.

b. Formal Organization:

In reviewing the organizational framework of land reform projects, Parsons (1976) describes the differences between cooperatives and "asentamientos" as institutions. During the activist years that marked Rigoberto Sandoval's tenure as Director of INA, the official policy was to encourage the establishment of cooperative farms. About 1971, the government withdrew the support it had lent to the agrarian reform but in December 1972

there was a change in official attitude expressed in Decree No. 8 of that year. Under the provisions of this law, INA was authorized to take over private lands that were not effectively utilized and make them available to settlers on a two year lease agreement. Peasants had, thus, access to privately owned lands as well as and to public lands and INA sponsored settlements by informally organized peasant groups. During this period, each group had the opportunity to decide how to organize farming activities namely, through collective, individual or mixed land exploitation. When a group chose group farming, their organization was very much like that of a cooperative farm, though not identical. After the Agrarian Reform law of 1975 both systems coincided.

The first difference between an asentamiento and a cooperative farm is that the former received the land for a maximum time of two years while the latter were permanently settled either on national lands or on lands which INA had purchased. The second difference was that an asentamiento lacked a "recognized legal personality" as a cooperative and, therefore, could not act as an autonomous entity in matters of law. This meant that asentamientos as such did not qualify to apply for loans from the National Development Bank unless their applications were secured by INA, which was seldom the case because of the limited nature of funds available to INA.

In our sample we found 15 cooperatives, and 7 pre-cooperatives, or groups in different stages of organization towards a cooperative. While the decision to farm collectively is essential to the organization of a cooperative, the relationship between the two is by no means perfect. In 20 asentamientos the campesinos farm at least one-third of the land collectively and are organized in a cooperative or a pre-cooperative and in six

asentamientos they farm from 41-100 percent of the land collectively but have not organized into a cooperative or pre-cooperative (Table 5). Most (four out of five) of the asentamientos, on the other hand, in which there is no collective farming there is also no cooperative organization with the exception of San Blas, Comayagua where there is a pre-cooperative. In the case of San Blas, members work collectively in order to be able to obtain credit but they prefer to work on their own. In the six asentamientos, on the other hand, in which there is collective farming but no cooperative or pre-cooperative, this anomaly is due to the fact that they do not meet the requirements for such an organizational structure due to small membership (less than 12 members) and/or small size of land per member (less than 7.5 manzanas per member).<sup>\*</sup> Despite this inability to meet organizational requirements, some of these asentamientos have managed, however, to obtain credit on the basis of their collective farming (e.g. Three Ases).

[Place Table 5 about here]

### c. The Decision-Making Process

A group that works in an agrarian reform settlement faces a number of decisions that affect their life as a work community and as an economic unit. Such decisions are: admission of new members, selection of crops for collective and for individual lands, and land allocation. Usually decisions are made within the group, although influence exerted by outside groups may

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\* It should be noted that the requirement of at least 7.5 manzanas per member is not arbitrary. It has been established that 6 manzanas is the minimum for survival (White, 1972).

sometimes play an important role. Decisions may be made by the entire assembly of group members, or by elected officers, or by a coordinator or labor manager, or by drawing lots, or by each member on his own. The managing of individual lots is left up to the families that farm them, although there are a few cases in which the assembly selects the crops to be planted in those lots. Outside influences may be exerted through INA, the Federation of Agrarian Reform Cooperatives (FECORA), and the National Development Bank (BANAFON).

Regarding admission of new members, in eleven out of thirteen asentamientos it was the entire assembly of group members that decided the fate of newcomers' applications. It must be noted that in the case of Voluntades Unidas in Aguan, the cooperative accepted some candidates that INA had submitted for consideration.

The selection of crops to be planted in communal lands is in most cases (in 23 out of 26 asentamientos) an assembly decision. In six cases, INA took part in the decision-making process but in five of them the assembly discussed and agreed on INA's suggestion. In the sixth case of Del Valle, Aguan, INA's decision to cultivate African oil palm and citrus was implemented without further discussion. In two out of the 26 cases namely, in La Angostura and Santa Rita, Jamastran the decision was imposed on the cooperative by BANAFON and FECORA as a condition for the approval of a loan needed by the cooperative for cotton cultivation.

Decisions on crops to be grown on individual lots were usually left to the family involved and only in two cases, Barrio Suyapa, Copan and Guayabito No. 2, Olancho, the decision was made by the group assembly.

As for land allocation for collective or individual farming there are

many different procedures by which the decision is made. In 9 asentamientos, decisions were made by casting lots; in 2 asentamientos in Copan decisions were made by agreement among the elected officers of the cooperative; in Voluntades Unidas, Aguan decisions were left up to a coordinator or labor manager; in 7 asentamientos, land reserved for individual farming was distributed according to the order of appearance of a member's name on the roster; in five asentamientos each member was allowed to choose the lot he wanted to farm; in two asentamientos, land was assigned by majority vote of members; and in one asentamiento, the cooperative member chooses a lot and the assembly approves his selection.

This above review of decision-making patterns shows that peasants favor group participation in decisions which have an impact on their collective work and do not tend to delegate or rely on a sole representative of the group or to be affected by outside influences.

#### IV. Farming Systems

##### a. Crops and Livestock

Although there are some important differences between crops in communal and individual lots, corn is the predominant crop in both types of lots. It is only in the communal land of Del Valle and Union San Francisco in Aguan and in El Porvenir in Choluteca that corn is not cultivated. On the other hand, cash crops such as palm oil is only cultivated in the communal land of all asentamientos in Aguan and citrus in three out of 5 asentamientos and in

no other of the surveyed asentamientos. Thus, the crops cultivated in the communal land of Aguan stand apart from those in other regions underlining the advantaged status of these asentamientos. Another important cash crop, cotton, is cultivated in three asentamientos in Olancho (Table 6).

[Place Table 6 about here]

In the individual lots, where often women take a very active role, we find many more than one or two crops and a variety of fruits, vegetables as well as onions and chile. Cashew as a cash crop is, however, cultivated in three out of six asentamientos in Choluteca.

With regard to livestock, poultry and pork can be found almost in all asentamientos and cows can be mostly found in Olancho (4 out of 5 asentamientos), Jamastran (3 out of 5 asentamientos) and Choluteca (3 out of 6 asentamientos) and in two asentamientos in Comayagua. Livestock is most often kept in the backyard and/or individual lot and only in six asentamientos is also kept in communal land. Only in San Blas, Comayagua there is a special lot reserved for animals.

b. Agricultural Machinery Used. Only in seven asentamientos peasants do not use agricultural machinery (Table 6). These asentamientos are concentrated in San Pedro Sula (two out of three) and in Choluteca (three out of six). The agriculture machinery most often used is a tractor (in 24 asentamientos), and a plough and a rake (in 11 asentamientos each one of them). This machinery, however, is owned by the peasants only in the five asentamientos in Aguan which enjoy sufficient credit and in two asentamientos in Olancho (Santa Cruz del Potrero and San Marcos No.3) which have also received large loans. In practically all asentamientos, agricultural

machinery is only operated by men.

### C. The Use of Labor

1. The Work Force. The farm labor force on the asentamientos consists of three groups of people: heads of the families who are members (socios) of the asentamiento, other family members, and hired help. The participation of these different groups in the activities of an asentamiento, and whether family members are paid for their work or not, varies greatly among the asentamientos sampled. Membership in the asentamientos, as it was discussed earlier, usually involves the entire family although it is the head of the family, who exercises the rights of membership, and who is primarily responsible for working and maintaining farm production. This, however, is not exclusively a male duty. When women are accepted as members of the asentamiento, they are expected to work as hard as their male peers. They can only escape this responsibility when they send in their place their adult children or a hired man that they must pay themselves.

Additional labor is provided by the socio's family members such as wives and children, and on occasion even other relatives such as cousins, nephews, and in-laws. Finally, outside labor may be hired when additional work is required during planting or harvesting. The basic idea, however, is that asentamientos created through agrarian reform must be self-sufficient in terms of labor requirements and that outside help may be hired only when needed for specific tasks or to compensate for short-term manpower shortages.

In asentamientos with collective farming, we found that in four cases work was not required from wives and children and no outside workers were ever hired. In nine cases, it was reported that women were required to work on communal lands, although most probably this participation of women in collective farming activities is more widespread than reported. With respect to children's work, in nineteen asentamientos it was reported that girls and boys from as early an age as seven were engaged in farming activities. In ten cases, only boys performed certain farming tasks in collective lots; in two cases both girls and boys participated; in La Providencia de Oriente, Jamastran only girls were mentioned as being involved in farming activities; and in six cases children's gender was not specified. Given the broad range of tasks that must be carried out in a farm and the differences in the efforts they demand, we can also expect a broad range in the age distribution of working children.

The distribution of tasks in communal lands tend to follow a certain degree of specialization among family members. Husbands and adult males in general undertake the more permanent activities of farming, wives and adult daughters fill in during the peak season and all children fill in menial jobs whenever their help is needed. However there are many differences from one case to another. Husbands form the permanent force in collective farming: they are in charge of machine operation, land clearing, ploughing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, and applying herbicides and pesticides, harvesting African oil palm and other crops difficult to pick as well as of general upkeep and vigilance of the fields. Women take on themselves to prepare the soil for ploughing, to harvest (especially corn, beans and cotton), to

shuck the ears of corn and to clean and sort out the grain. Women also help with the clearing the land of herbs and bushes, with weeding, and with planting. In rice plantations, women also are in charge of thinning the seedlings and bending them onto the soil.

Children in turn help in every farming operation which is not regarded as too strenuous. They are specially active in thinning out rice seedlings, in harvesting, in clearing the land with cutlasses, in the preparation of herbicides and pesticides, and in fertilizing. In some cases, sons twelve and over replace their father whenever they are sick.

Regarding work in individual lots, it seems that most of the farming is carried out by children helped by their parents. There were only two asentamientos in our sample where neither wives nor children work in the individual lots. In 24 asentamientos that reserved lots for individual exploitation children participated in farming activities and in 9 of them wives were also enlisted as farmhands. Girls were less often reported as being part of the farm workforce (in three asentamientos) and in seven cases no sex distinction was made regarding the working children. There is no clear cut pattern as to the age at which children should start performing farm tasks. In our sample there are only two cases of six-year old children who are reported working on their parents' lots and in the other cases there is a scattered age distribution from eight to eighteen years. Regarding distribution of tasks, there is also no pattern of specialization among the members of the family. In some cases husbands do everything from clearing the land to cropping, with children filling in when their work is needed; in other cases, it is the children who do the work and their parents help in their spare time; and in some cases, everybody works, doing whatever is

needed when he/she goes to the fields.

2. The Pay. Pay in the sampled asentamientos for work performed in the collective lands is based either on the unit of agricultural work called "tarea" or on a day's work. The "tarea" is defined in terms of area covered by workers, or in terms of the number of trees or plants growing in a given area, or in terms of sacks filled with fruits of a given crop. For example, in a plantation of African oil palm and citrus a "tarea" would mean weeding, pruning and cleaning an area planted with 32 trees; in another asentamiento growing African oil palm the "tarea" refers only to 25 trees. In asentamientos growing rice a "tarea" relates to a work done in an area of 30 to 40 square yards. Informants describe in some detail what constitutes a "tarea" in different asentamientos ranging from work accomplished in an area of 6 to 35 square yards. When the work unit is measured in terms of number of trees in a given area or in terms of grain or fruit collected, it is possible for a worker to complete an average of one to three "tareas" per day depending on the individual's skill. A seasonal harvest picker, for example, is expected to complete five to eight sacks per day or an average of a "quintal" which is equivalent to two tons.

Actual salaries vary from asentamiento to asentamiento depending on the type of crop and on whether they apply to the male members of an asentamiento, to their wives, to their children, or to hired labor (Table 4). In 7 cases (primarily in Jamastran), it was reported that the adult male members paid 4.00 lempiras a day; in two asentamientos in Olancho, they were paid 5 lempiras/day; in 4 cases, the pay was 3.00 lempiras a day; in two cases it was 3.00 lempiras per "tarea"; and in one case it was 4.00 lempiras

per "tarea". In Aguan, however, the pay was low, 3 lempiras/ tarea or 3 lempiras/day except for Aguan where socios were paid five lempiras/day.

Wives were not always paid for their work in communal lands. In only four of the nine asentamientos in which wives are reported to work in the communal land they are paid for this work. In two cases they were paid per day (at a rate of 3.00 and 4.00 lempiras, respectively) for all types of tasks they performed; in three cases they were paid per "saco" (one lempira per sack) or per "quintal" (four lempiras for every two tons), suggesting a remuneration limited to the cropping season. Children's work, on the other hand, is reported to be paid in only 10 cases out of 17 and pay rates for their work vary widely. In one case, children were paid only 1.50 lempiras per day; in another, they received 2.00 lempiras per day when under 12 years old and 4.00 per day if older than 12. In one case girls of 7 or older are paid 2.50 per day and in another, boys older 7 are paid 5.00 lempiras a day.

Outside hired labor is used in twelve asentamientos and wage rates vary according to region and type of crop. In two cases in Aguan, where the main crop is African palm oil, hired labor was paid three lempiras per tarea; in two rice plantations, it was paid four lempiras per tarea. In most cases, however, salaries are calculated on a day's work basis. Thus, in two asentamientos in Copan the wage rate ranged between 4.00 and 5.00 lempiras a day; in two Choluteca asentamientos wages were 3.00 lempiras a day; in Olancho, as in Aguan, they ranged from 4.00 to 5.00 lempiras; and in Comayagua they stood at 4.00 lempiras a day.

#### V. Access to Credit and Technical Assistance

More than two-thirds (22 out of 32) of the asentamientos had access to some credit but the size of credit ranged widely from only 7,000 Lempiras (\$3,500) to 700,000 Lempiras (\$350,000). The largest amounts of credit were available to asentamientos in Aguan but also to two asentamientos in Jamastran and two in Olancho. With regard to the type of crops, Table 7 shows that palm oil, citrus and cotton are the crops for which credit is most consistently available.

[Place Table 7 about here]

Table 5, however, shows that whether or not the campesinos in the asentamientos are organized into a cooperative or pre-cooperative is the determining factor for access to credit. However, in the absence of a cooperative or a pre-cooperative, a high degree of collective farming can often be conducive to obtaining credit as is true in the case of Los Tres Ases in Alanchó with 100 percent collective farming; The Liga Campesina Fatima in Comayagua and Cuyali in Jamastran with 60 and 66.6 percent collective farming respectively; but not in the case of Las Liconas in Comayagua with 90 percent collective farming.

Table 8 presents data on the credit history of the different asentamientos indicating the following trends:

(a) Long-term agricultural loans (10-20 years) have been only granted to Aguan asentamientos despite the fact that their repayment history has not been very good due to floods, hurricanes, or embezzlements of funds.

(b) Default of payment due to natural disasters, misappropriation, or mismanagement of funds does not seem to affect the settlements' ability to attract further loans.

(c) The lowest interest rates have been obtained by asentamientos in Jamastran and slightly higher by those in Aguan.

[Place Table 8 about here]

With regard to organizational assistance received, Table 7 shows that in about one-third of the asentamientos no such assistance was ever available. The assistance (predominantly provided by INA) aimed usually to help the campesinos organize into a cooperative or pre-cooperative and to teach them how to run these organizations except for Del Valle in Aguan where the assistance consisted of information about credit management. The most favored asentamientos seem to be those in the regions of Aguan, Copan, and Choluteca and the least favored one in Jamastran, although three out of five asentamientos in Jamastran have managed to organize into cooperatives.

It must be noted that the relationship between receiving organizational assistance and the existence of a cooperative or pre-cooperative is by no means perfect. Table 5 shows that in five cases in which no organizational assistance was made available, there is no cooperative or pre-cooperative. In four cases, however, although organizational assistance was made available there is no organization mainly because the campesinos have decided against collective farming. Finally, in five cases there is a cooperative although no organizational assistance was made available, possibly because the campesinos had already sufficient organizational knowledge from their peasant organization.

Half of the asentamientos had received some kind of technical assistance, most of the favored ones (four out of five) concentrated in Choluteca (five) and Comayagua (Table 7). INA and RRNN equally frequently offer technical assistance either separately or in conjunction and the most frequent type of technical assistance extended is pest control. It must be

noted that the access to technical assistance does not seem to be related to the existence of a cooperative or precooperative. Table 9 also presents detailed information regarding the frequency of visits during the last year (Jan. 1, 1980 - Jan. 31, 1981) on the part of a variety of community agents and the nature of assistance extended to asentamiento members. Health agents (all men) seem to seldom visit asentamientos even those which are located far away from health centers and could use their services. Sampled asentamientos in Aguan, for example, are located far from health centers, as we shall see in the next section, but only one received one visit from a health agent the previous year.

[Place Table 9 about here]

Women INA agents (promotoras) visited much more often asentamientos in some regions but not in Aguan where only two asentamientos received one visit during the previous year. The most frequently visited settlements were those in Olancho, particularly Santa Cruz de Potrero No. 1; those in Choluteca, especially 12 de Noviembre and Liga San Rafael; and San Blas in Comayagua. The purpose of the visits is mostly organizational either trying to organize a women's group, to discuss organizational issues and increase women's organizational skill or agricultural information regarding collective projects of vegetables and/or cashew-trees. In few cases, nutrition education is also a part of the visit.

Men INA agents (promotors) addressed themselves to male peasants helping them with organizational and cooperative matters and problems and with credit management and in a few cases, they also provided some agricultural information. The most frequently visited regions were: Comayagua, Choluteca, and Olancho.

Coming now to visits from agronomists, INA and RRNN sent out male agronomists so we will examine the visit pattern jointly. Again agronomists interacted only with male peasants and visited most frequently asentamientos in Olancho, Jamastran and Choluteca. More specifically, the most frequently visited asentamientos were: El Porvenir, Liga San Rafael and Camorra in Choluteca; San Marcos No. 3 and 3 Ases in Olancho; Angostura and Santa Rita in Jamastran; and Pozo del Padre No. 1 in Comayagua.

It seems, therefore, that:

(a) With two notable exceptions of a male INA agronomist in San Blas, Comayagua who organized an agricultural course for women and one in San Juan de Linaca, Jamastran who worked with the women's group, male promotors and agronomists interact only with male peasants. Thus, the only source of agricultural information and skills for women are the INA promotoras who usually do not have an agricultural background.

(b) The most favored regions by all types of agents seem to be Olancho and Choluteca but Jamastran asentamientos are also frequently visited by agronomists.

Finally, with regard to training programs, in about two-thirds of the asentamientos there were (or have been) some kind of training programs most often open only to men. These training programs usually consisted of farming techniques concerning specific crops such as vegetable, rice, corn, palm, cashew and training in operating agricultural machinery (including tractors) and were most often offered by RRNN, INFOP, and/or INA. Women had access to training, primarily about vegetables, in only five asentamientos.

## VI. Access to Services and Facilities

a. Access to firewood and water. In the large majority of asentamientos

people have to go long distances in order to find firewood. Only four asentamientos - two in Aguan, one in Jamastran, and one in Comayagua - are located in less than ten minutes walking distance from firewood sources and in two cases firewood is bought (in La Confianza by the cooperative). The distance from home to firewood is the longest for Choluteca and Olancho asentamientos where the primary responsibility for collecting firewood is reportedly up to husbands. In Olancho asentamientos the distance is often so great that it is given only in terms of driving time ranging between 20 minutes and an hour (Table 10).

[Place Table 10 about here]

When it comes to the distance between home and water, it is on the average much smaller than the distance from firewood but the frequency of trips is so many times greater that bringing water can be in fact a much more time-consuming activity than collecting firewood. In about one-third of the cases, however, there is running water at home or there is water at one, two or three minutes distance as is most often true for Copan and San Pedro Sula, and to a lesser extent for Choluteca, Jamastran and Comayagua. What is an important fact to take into consideration is the fact that primarily women (and daughters) are responsible for fetching water and washing clothes so that these two activities must be examined jointly. In general, it is in Olancho asentamientos that men's and women's time is severely taxed in order to provide the family with the basic needs of firewood, water, and clean clothes. In a few other asentamientos such as La Angostura in Jamastran women are severely burdened having to spend 6 hours/week in order to collect firewood; 3.5 hours/week for water; and 2 hours/week for washing clothes; or a total of 11.5 hours/ week.

b. Access to roads, schools and health centers. With regard to access to main roads, about one third of the asentamientos are located by the road; more than one third are at a distance of 10'-30' and only 4 asentamientos are far from a road (Table 8).

The situation with health centers seems to be more serious, especially in Jamastran, Olancho and Aguan where the distance ranges up to 3 or 4 hours on foot or an hour by car (in 3 Ases in Olancho). Schools, however, seem in general to be accessible except for La Angostura in Jamastran where the school is one hour away on foot.

## VII. Women's Organizations

In the majority of the asentamientos in our sample, (18 out of 32 or 56 percent), there was some kind of women's organization most often a Club de Amas de Casa that is, a housewives' group (Table 11). In an additional three asentamientos, there was a group in the past that had dissolved. The distribution of these women's groups is uneven. The tendency is for more such women's groups to exist in lower-income areas such as Choluteca (in 4 out of 6 asentamientos) and Olancho (in 4 out of 5 asentamientos) than in better off areas such as, Aguan (in 2 out of 5 asentamientos and the one group is an inactive one) and San Pedro Sula (in one out of three asentamientos). In addition, as expected we find a high concentration of women's groups in Jamastran (in 4 out of 5 asentamientos) because many international and national organizations have paid attention to the creation

of income-generating activities for women. The existence of women's groups seems to be related to the lack of men's formal organization. Thus, we find that there are many more women's groups in asentamientos in which men have not formed a pre-cooperative or a cooperative (in 7 out of 10 cases) than when men have become formally organized (in 12 out of 22 cases). This tendency tends to at least partially reflect the fact that no formal organization of members takes place in asentamientos in which the decision has been made not to cultivate the land collectively but instead to retain only individual family lots, thus, having no access to agricultural credit. Indeed, we see that in four out of five asentamientos in which such a decision was taken, women are organized into groups in order to help their families survive. In all cases, the objectives of these groups were economic but they did not always involve agricultural production. More than half of the groups (11 out of 18) involve productive activities such as farming a lot collectively, poultry production, bee keeping and may use the sale of homemade products as an important source of income in addition to members' fees. Few among those, however, have attracted outside financial help (only three) so that they all remain struggling self-help efforts. Most of the women's groups were initially organized by INA except in Olancho where FEMUCH was the stimulus. Their membership is usually around 12-15 members. There is, however, a consumer cooperative with 17 members; a farming housewives' group with 27; a farm/poultry housewives' group with 18; and a corn farming consumers' cooperative with 19 members.

[Place Table 11 about here]

What is very striking is the prevailing negative attitudes of men (in 23 out of 32 asentamientos or in 67 percent of the cases) toward women playing

an independent economic role. Undoubtedly, this is the most important reason for which more women do not join existing groups and there are no more women's groups.

#### VIII. The Family Budget

The information gathered on this topic can be expected to be of low reliability since it is quite difficult for the campesinos to think in terms of averages. Some trends can be observed such as, wives' relative greater tendency to not earn an income in regions such as, Aguan and San Pedro Sula in which husbands can earn a relatively higher income than in other regions. There is also the tendency for wives in the less "developed" regions such as, Choluteca and Olancho and the more "organized" regions (with respect to women) such as Jamastran to earn a considerable proportion of the total family income (Table 12). This proportion ranges from more than one-half in Santa Rita, Jamastran, to one-third in Los Ciriltes, Choluteca and Camorra, Choluteca, to one-fourth in El Porvenir, Choluteca, in Guayabito No. 1, Olancho and San Juan de Linaca and Jamastran. It is also worth-while to mention that it is in Jamastran than in 4 out of 5 asentamientos it is reported that wives contribute 50 (in 3 cases) to 66 percent of food expenses and 20 to 66 percent of clothing expenses.

[Place Table 12 about here]

With respect to sources of wives' income, the most frequently reported ones are: agricultural work (in 12 cases); homemade snacks (in 9 cases); and domestic work (in 7 cases).

Children are also reported as making important economic contributions

through agricultural work, but the available data are inadequate and unreliable to provide us with a clear picture. The detailed data collected in the in-depth interviews presented in the second part of the study provide a wealth of information on the subject of daughters' and sons' economic and labor contributions.

#### IX. Attitudes toward Women's Agricultural Roles and Income Generation

As we have already seen, the overwhelming trend (in 67 percent of cases) is for husbands to hold negative attitudes towards women's access to independent sources of income. In an additional two cases (7 percent), husbands could accept their wives earning an income as long as the husbands received and controlled this income (Table 13).

[Place Table 13 about here]

When the managers of the different asentamientos were asked why more women were not included as members in the settlements, the most frequent answers were: (a) women or more women did not apply for membership (in 11 cases); and (b) farming is not a suitable occupation for women (or women are not capable of farm work) - in 10 cases. Only the managers in Voluntades Unidas, Aguan admitted that the organizational efforts in INA had been directed solely to men.

Looking now to the nature of the circumstances under which a woman was admitted as a socia, we find that most often this occurred when her husband (who was a member) died or deserted her - in 8 cases. In an additional two cases, the woman took over the right of a departed or a minor son; and in another two cases, the woman was in extreme need presumably because of her

husband's death or desertion. In one case, the woman bought her membership right and in two cases, the woman was admitted because she had a vocation for farm work or was a hard worker.

Finally, prevailing attitudes toward women's active involvement in agriculture are also reflected in comments made regarding women's ability to operate machinery. One theme revolves around women's lack of training and experience with machinery (in 7 cases); another revolves around the fact that women cannot operate machinery because it is too heavy work (in 4 cases); and another deals with the fact that operating machinery is a man's job (in 4 cases).

Table 11 also shows that in many asentamientos women and children have another time-consuming task: carrying lunch to the men in the fields which are often one hour distances from home. In Copan, for example, where the fields are at a distance of 30'-40' wives or wives and daughters carry lunch to the men. It seems, however, that in most asentamientos (except in Aguan) when the distance from the fields is one or one-and-a-half hours, wives' task is shared by boys as is true in Choluteca, Olancho, and Comayagua. It is important to keep in mind that women shoulder this duty in addition to water carrying and cloth washing, thus, often spending a large part of the day walking.

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TABLE 1. -

## BASIC GROUP DATA

Name of Region	year esta- blished	Acquisition of land			Current status of Ownership			Land Size "Manzanas"	Group Size			Women's organizations
		pur- chased	forced occup.	INA	title	In Process	No title		T&P	M	F	
El Sisin	Copan	'75						80	37	37		yes
Flores de Mayo	Copan	'68						147	50	44	6	no
Barrio Suyapa	Copan	'74	X	X	X			350	60	58	2	no
Buenavida	S.P.S.	'74	X	X				160	26	22	4	no
3 de Noviembre	S.P.S.	'76	X		X			60	15	15		no
La Libertad No.2	S.P.S.	'79	X				X	77	12	12		yes
Del Valle	Aguan	'78	X				X	697	86	86		yes
Union San Francisco	Aguan	'74	X				X	644	18	18		no
Pasoaguan	Aguan	'75		X	X			835	12	12		no
Voluntades Unidas	Aguan	'75		X	X			620	31	31		no
La Confianza	Aguan	'70		X				1341	76	76		yes
Tierra Blanca	Choluteca	'69	X		X			1190	136	111	25	yes
El Porvenir	Choluteca	'78	X	X	X			163	12	12		no
Los Ciriles	Choluteca	'75	X		X			34	12	12		yes
12 de Noviembre	Choluteca	'73	X					236	45	41	4	yes
Liga San Rafael	Choluteca	'69	X					700	47	43	4	yes
Canorra	Choluteca	'75			X			60	10	9	1	no
Santa Cruz del Potrero No.1	Olancho	'69	X					200	21	20	1	yes
San Marcos No.3	Olancho	'73	X		X			138	17	17		yes
Lincoln Coleman	Olancho	'80	X					240	37	36	1	yes
Guayabito No.1	Olancho	'78	X		X			130	11	11		yes
3 Ases	Olancho	'64	X					48	7	7		no
La Prov. de Oriente	Jamastran	'76	X	X				800	19	19		yes
La Angostura	Jamastran	'71	X					415	26	26		yes
Santa Rita	Jamastran	'69	X				X	625	39	39		yes
San Juan de Linaca	Jamastran	'72	X		X			150	60	58	2	yes
Oryali	Jamastran	'73	X		X			70	14	14		no
Liga Campesina Fatima	Comayagua	'74	X					100	16	16		yes
San Francisco de Cane	Comayagua	'75	X		X			55	12	12		no
Poza del Padre No.1	Comayagua	'71	X					152	37	35	2	no
Las Liconas	Comayagua	'77	X	X				28	7	7		no
San Blas	Comayagua	'75	X		X			92	16	15	1	yes

TABLE 2. - Tierra Blanca: List of Women Members

<u>Number</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Has Husband</u>	<u>Who Uses Land</u>
1	39	no	sons
2	35	yes	husband
3	30	no	sons
4	60	yes	son
5	32	yes	husband
6	56	yes	son
7	38	no	brother
8	20	yes	husband
9	50	yes	husband
10	19	no	alone (she) - pays day laborers
11	24	yes	husband
12	46	yes	husband
13	56	no	son

Since 1969, the land has been parcelled out for individual use on a yearly basis - though some members have worked some parcels for considerably longer. Originally there were approximately 30 members - some because they had children but no husbands, some because their husbands did not have the necessary documents and some because their husbands were not Honduran.

The number of women members has declined, although some new ones have entered (to do this, a quota must be paid and the land is parcelled out according to the capacity to cultivate it). The group divided, and some of the women joined the other group. Other women ceased to be members when their husbands obtained their documents or when their sons were old enough to become members (16 years old). None of the women work the land themselves, though one pays day-laborers.

The majority of the members are from the nearby village of Tierra Blanca, and many have additional small plots in the surrounding hills. Very little of the group's land is worked collectively, and in this case, only about fifteen members participate.

Table 3.

## EVOLUTION OF GROUP

Name of Asentamiento	Name of Region	Actual Group Size	Original Members	Number of members who dropped out	Percent of original members who dropped out	Reasons for deserting group	Screening criteria for new members
El Sisín	Copan	37	45	28	62.3	1	—
Flores de Mayo	Copan	50	30	25	83.3	2	1
Barrio Suyapa	Copan	60	46	10	21.1	2	3
Buenavida	San Pedro Sullá	26	18	5	27.7	1,2,4	2
3 de Noviembre	San Pedro Sullá	15	24	9	37.5	2	NI
La Libertad No.2	San Pedro Sullá	12	12	0	0	—	—
Unión S. Francisco	Aguan	18	18	17	94.2	2	1,2
Pasoaguan	Aguan	12	35	33	94.2	2	NI
Voluntades Unidas	Aguan	31	16	0	0	2	NI
La Confianza	Aguan	76	86	79	91.8	2	NI
Tierra Blanca	Choluteca	136	250	124	47.6	5	3
El Porvenir	Choluteca	12	25	13	52.0	1,3	2
Los Ciriles	Choluteca	12	27	15	55.5	2	1,3
12 de Noviembre	Choluteca	45	45	0	0	—	—
Liga S. Rafael	Choluteca	47	118	71	60.1	1,4	3
Camorra	Choluteca	10	18	16	88.0	1	NI
Santa Cruz del Pitirero	Olancho	21	36	15	41.6	4	4
San Marcos No. 3	Olancho	17	40	23	57.5	5	1
Lincoln Coleman	Olancho	37	82	45	54.8	1,2	NI
Quayabito No. 1	Olancho	11	20	16	80.0	4	4
3 ASES	Olancho	(20)7	80	70	87.5	—	—
La Prov. de Oriente	Jamastrán	19	26	10	38.2	3	3
La Angostura	Jamastrán	26	32	20	47.6	1,2	1,2
Santa Rita	Jamastrán	39	150	121	80.6	2	1,3
S. Juan de Linaca	Jamastrán	60	22	16	72.7	2	3
Oyali	Jamastrán	14	80	66	82.5	3,5	NI
Liga Campesina Fatima	Ocmayagua	16	45	29	64.4	4,5	4
S. Francisco de Cane	Ocmayagua	(18)12	60	43	71.6	2,3	NI
Pozo del Padre No.1	Ocmayagua	37	46	9	19.5	1,3	2
Las Liconas	Ocmayagua	7	15	8	53.3	1,2	1
San Blas	Ocmayagua	16	29	13	44.8	1,2	NI

Criteria to reject new arrivals:

- 1) Perceived antisocial personality traits (thieves, lazy, selfish, opportunist, quarrelsome, drunkards).
- 2) Failure to comply with admission requisites (lacking recommendation letters from other projects, failing trial period, bad record other projects)
- 3) Insufficient land
- 4) Other

Reasons for deserting settlement:

- 1) difficulty in adjusting to collective work
- 2) difficulty in accepting hardship/risk
- 3) preference for steady wages
- 4) refusal to comply with internal rules
- 5) other

NI = No Information

TABLE 4. -

## STYLE OF

## OPERATION

	T A S K S					Organizational Structure	Affiliation to peasants' organizations	Male Members	P A Y		
	Comm'l Wives	Lands Children	Individual Wives	Lands Children					Wives	Child- ren	Hired labOr
El Siain	no	boys>12	no	boys	Coop.	FECORAH	no salaries				
Flores de Mayo	yes	boys>10	no	no	Pre-coop.	ALCON	4.00/day		>12 yr/4 tarea	4.50-5.00/day	
Barrio Suyapa			no	boys>9	No coop.	Ind.	no salaries		3/day	4-5.00/day	
Buenavida	yes	boys&girls>14	yes	10	Pre-coop.	UNC	no salaries	no pay	no pay	6.00/day	
3 de Noviembre	no	boys>12	no	boys>12	Coop.	UNC	no salaries		no pay		
La Libertad No.2	no	boys>18	W/g	boys>18	No coop.	UNC	no salaries	no pay	no pay		
Del Valle	no	boy>12	no	yes	Coop.		3/tarea	no pay	no pay	3.00/tarea	
Union S. Francisco	no	NI	no	boys>8	Coop.		3/tarea	no pay	no pay		
Pasoaguan	no	no	no	boys>11	Coop.	FECORAH	3.00/day	no pay	no pay		
Voluntades Unidas	no	no	no	boys>10	Coop.	ANACH	3.00/day	some pay	some pay		
La Confianza	yes	> 10	no	boys>12	Coop.	FECORAH	5.00/day	1.00/saco	1.00/saco	3.00/tarea	
Tierra Blanca			W/g	boys>6	No coop.	UNC		no pay	no pay		
El Porvenir	yes	> 7	yes	yes	Pre-coop.	FECORAH	3.00/day	3.00/day	> 12 yr/3/day	3.00/day	
Los Ciriles	no	boys>15			Pre-coop.	FECORAH	4.00/day		4.00/day		
12 de Noviembre			W/g	boy>15	No coop.	Ind.	no salaries	no pay	no pay		
Liga S. Rafael			yes	yes	No coop.	UNC	no salaries	no pay	no pay	3.00/day	
Camorra	no	no			Pre-coop.	ANACH	no salaries		no pay		
S. Cruz Potrero No. 1	no	boys>7	no	boys	Coop.	ANACH	5.00/day		> 7 yr/5/day		
S. Marcos No.3	yes	yes			Pre-coop.	UNC	4.00/day		>12 yr/4/day	4.00/day	
Lincoln Coleman	no	boys>9			No coop.	UNC	no salaries		<12 yr/2/day		
Guayabito No.1	no	girls>7, boys 12	no	boys>15	Coop.	UNC	5.00/day		no pay		
3 Ases	no	boys>8			No Coop.	ANACH	3.00/day		2.50/day..Boys	no pay	
La Provid. de Oriente	yes	>10	yes	> 6	Coop		4.00/day	NI	1.50/day	5.00/day	
La Angostura							4.00/day	4.00/quintal	NI	4.00/tarea	
Santa Rita	yes	girls>10	no	boys>12	Coop	FECORAH	4.00/day	4.00/ quintal	NI	4.00/tarea	
S. Juan de Linaca	yes	yes	no	boys	coop	FECORAH	4.00/day	no pay	no pay		
Quyali	YES	>12	Yes	Yes	Coop	ANACH	no salaries			4.00/day	
Liga Comp. Fatima	no	no	no	no	No coop		4.00/tarea		>10 yr/4/tarea		
S. Francisco de Cane	NI	boys>10	NI	boys	No Coop	UNC	no salaries		NI		
Pozo del Padre No.1	no	no	no	boys>12	Coop	ANACH	no salaries		no pay	4.00/day	
Las Liconas	no	no		boys>18	Coop	ANACH	no salaries	no pay	20.00/week		
San Blas	no	no	yes	14	No Coop.	ANACH	no salaries				

Pay: Del Valle tarea= 32 trees (average 1-3/day)  
 La Confianza saco= 5-8 sacks per day  
 tarea= 25 plants  
 La Angostura quintal= 2 tons per day  
 tarea= 30-40 yards  
 Santa Rita tarea= 35 yards  
 Liga Compesina Fatima tarea= area of 6x6 yards

TABLE 3. - PROGRESS OF ASSET...

Name of Asentamiento	Name of Region	Year estab.	% of land collectively farmed	type of organ.	type of commercial crops	Exist. of women's organs.	Access to credit	to Organizational Assis.	to Tech. Assist.	Size of cultivable land/member
El Sisin	Copan	1975	50.0	Coop	corn, rice, beans	yes	yes	yes	yes	2.2
Flores de Mayo	Copan	1968	50.0	Pre-coop	corn, beans	no	small	yes	no	2.0
Barrio Suyapa	Copan	1974	0.0	no coop	none	no	yes	yes	yes	4.2
Buena vida	San Pedro Sula	1974	56.6	pre-coop	corn, beans	no	no	yes	no	2.3
3 de Noviembre	San Pedro Sula	1976	62.5	coop	corn	no	small	yes	no	2.7
La Libertad No.2	San Pedro Sula	1979	55.5	no coop	corn, beans	yes	no	no	no	2.3
Del Valle	Aguan	1978	82.0	coop	palm oil, citrus	yes	yes*	yes	yes	6.9
Union S. Francisco	Aguan	1974	95.0	coop	palm oil, citrus, coconut, plantain	no	yes	yes	yes	23.9
Pasoaguan	Aguan	1975	2.6	coop	corn, palm oil	no	yes	yes	no	63.8
Voluntades Unidas	Aguan	1975	60.9	coop	corn, palm oil, citrus	no	yes*	yes	no	10.1
La Confianza	Aguan	1970	71.4	coop	corn, beans, rice, palm oil	yes	yes*	yes	no	4.1
Tierra Blanca	Choluteca	1969	0.0	no coop	none	yes	yes	yes	no	0.0
El Porvenir	Choluteca	1978	65.7	pre coop	cashew, rice, watermelon, cantelope, sesame	no	yes	yes	yes	6.3
Los Ciriles	Choluteca	1975	100.0	pre coop	corn, rice, cotton	yes	yes*	yes	yes	2.8
12 de Noviembre	Choluteca	1973	0.0	no coop	none	yes	no	yes	yes	4.8
Liga S. Rafael	Choluteca	1969	0.0	no coop	none	yes	no	yes	yes	7.5
Camorra	Choluteca	1975	100.0	pre coop	corn	no	yes	yes	yes	6.0
Santa Cruz del Potrero no. 1	Olancho	1969	68.5	coop	corn	yes	yes*	yes	yes	9.5

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Name of Asentamiento	Name of Region	Year estab.	collectively farmed	type of organ.	common crops	organs.	credit	Assis.	Assist.	land/member
Quayabito No.1	Olancho	1978	80.0	coop	corn, cotton	yes	small	no	no	9.1
San Marcos No.3	Olancho	1973	100.0	pre coop	corn, rice, cotton	yes	yes*	yes	yes	6.3
Lincoln Coleman	Olancho	1980	41.0	no coop	corn	yes	no	no	no	6.5
3 Ases	Olancho	1964	100.0	no coop	corn, cotton	no	small	no	yes	6.9
La Providencia de Oriente	Jamastran	1976	37.3	coop	corn, beans	yes	yes	no	yes	3.5
La Angostura	Jamastran	1971	74.6	coop	cotton	yes	yes*	no	yes	12.1
Santa Rita	Jamastran	1969	43.6	coop	cotton	yes	yes*	no	no	7.1
S. Juan de Linaca	Jamastran	1972	50.0	coop	corn, beans	yes	no	yes	no	2.3
Oyali	Jamastran	1973	66.6	no coop	corn, maicillo	no	yes	no	no	3.0
Liga Campesina Fatima	Comayagua	1974	60.0	no coop	corn, rice	yes	small	no	yes	5.0
S. Francisco de Cane	Comayagua	1975	72.7	coop	corn	no	yes	yes	no	4.6
Poza del Padre No.1	Comayagua	1971	68.0	coop	corn, onions, tomato	no	no	no	yes	2.7
Las Liconas	Comayagua	1977	90.0	no coop	corn	no	no	yes	yes	2.9
San Blas	Comayagua	1975	0.0	pre coop	none	yes	no	yes	yes	2.6

TABLE 6. - FARMING SYSTEM

## LAND USE

Name of Asentamiento	Total No. of members	Ttl. area of culti-vable land	% culti-vable land	Land per member (cultivable)	% of land cultivated by group	Size of indiv. lots (mnz)	C R O P S	
							Communal lands	Individual lots
El Sisin	37	80	100.0	2.2	50.0	1.0	Corn, rice, beans	Corn, rice, beans, plantain, Cassava, sugarcane
Flores de Mayo	50	100	68.0	2.0	50.0	1.0	Corn, beans	Corn, beans
Barrio Suyapa	60	250	70.0	4.2	0.0	5.0		Corn, beans, sugarcane cassava, mango, pineapple, gourd-tree
Buena vida	26	60	37.5	2.3	56.6	1.0	Corn, beans	Plantain, cassava, chile cucumber, pumpkin
3 de Noviembre	15	40	66.6	2.7	62.5	1.0	Corn	Corn, beans
La Libertad No.2	12	27	50.0	2.3	55.5	1.0	Corn, beans	Corn, beans, Avocado, lime, coconut, papaya, mango, cocconut
Del Valle	86	596	85.6	6.9	82.0	1.25	Palm oil, citrus	Corn, beans
Union San Francisco	18	430	93.4	23.8	95.0	1.0	Palm oil, citrus cocconut, plantain	Corn, beans, sugarcane cassava, mango, pineapple gourd-tree
Pasoguan	12	1094	91.6	91.16	2.6	1.5	Corn, palm oil	Corn, beans
Voluntades Unidas	31	313	70.6	10.0	60.9	1.0	Corn, palm oil, citrus	Corn, beans, rice, cassava coffee, plantain
La Confianza	76	313	32.6	4.0	71.4	1.0	Corn, beans, rice palm oil	Corn, beans, rice, cabbage tomato
Tierra Blanca	136				0.0	5-6.0		Corn, sorghum, sesame, (cassava, tomato, chile, watermelon, cantalope, cashew)
El Porvenir	12	76	46.6	6.3	65.7	2.0	Cashew, rice, watermelon, sesame, cantalope	Corn, maicillo cashew, cassava
Los Ciriles	12	33.7	100.0	2.8	100.0		Corn, rice, cotton	
2 de Noviembre	45	215	91.0	4.7	0.0	4.5		Corn, maicillo rice, sesame

Family Livestock

Kind	Land where kept	Restrictions on ownership	MACHINERY USE		
			Type	Owned by Asient.	Leased
Poultry, cows	Indiv.		1	yes	
Poultry, Pork	at home	crop protec.	2		yes
Poultry, pork	Indiv.		none		
Horses, cows	communal/ Individual		3		yes
Poultry, pork	at home	crop protec.	none		
Poultry, pork	communal/ Individual		none		
Poultry, pork	at home	crop protec.	3	yes	
Poultry	at home	fields afar	4	yes	
Poultry, pork	at home	fields afar	4	yes	
Poultry	at home	crop protec.	4	yes	
Poultry, pork	at home	none	4	yes	
Poultry, pork, cows	indiv.		none		
Poultry, pork	at home	crop protec.	4		yes
Poultry, pork	at home	crop prot.	5	yes	
Poultry, pork, cows	Indiv.	none	3		yes

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LAND USE

Name of Asentamiento	Total No. of members	Ttl. area of culti-vable land	% culti-vable land	Land per member (cultivable)	% of land cultivated by group	Size of indiv. lots (mnz)	C R O P S	
							Communal lands	Individual lots
Liga San Rafael	47	350	87.5	7.4	0.0	3.5		Corn, maicillo plantain, cassava, cashew
Camorra	10	60	100.0	6.0	100.0		Corn	
Santa Cruz del Potrero	21	200	100.0	9.5	68.5	3.0	Corn	Corn
San Marcos No.3	17	108	78.0	6.3	100.0		Corn, rice, cotton	
Lincoln Coleman	37	240	100.0	6.4	41.0		Corn	
Guayabito No.1	11	100	76.4	9.0	80.0	1.3	Corn, cotton	Corn
3 Asas	7	48	100.0	6.8	100.0		Corn, cotton	
La Providencia de Oriente	19	67	8.0	3.5	37.3	1.8	Corn, beans	Corn, beans
La Angostura	26	315	75.0	12.0	74.6	3.0	Cotton	Corn, beans
Santa Rita	39	275	44.0	7.0	43.6	2.0	Cotton	Corn, beans
San Juan de Linaca	60	130	93.3	2.3	50.0	1.0	Corn, beans	Corn, beans
Oyali	14	42	60.0	3.0	66.6	1.0	Corn, maicillo	Corn, maicillo
Liga Campesina Fatima	16	80	80.0	5.0	60.0	2.0	Corn, rice	Corn, beans, rice
San Francisco de Cane	12	55	100.0	4.5	72.7	1 1/4	Corn	Corn, beans, maicillo

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Family Kind	Livestock: Land where kept	Restrictions on ownership	MACHINERY USE		
			Type	Owned by Asient.	Leased
		none	none		
		none	none		
	at home	none	none		
	Indiv.	crop prot.	6	yes	
	communal	crop prot.	4	yes	
	at home	crop prot.	none		
	at home	crop prot.	3		yes
	at home	fields afar	3		yes
	communal/ Individual		6		yes
	Indiv.	crop prot.	7		yes
	Indiv.	crop prot.	7		yes
	Com'l.		2		yes
	Com'l-Ind.		8		yes
	Com'l.	crop prot.	3		yes
	at home		3		yes

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L A N D U S E

Name of Asentamiento	Total No. of members	Ttl. area of culti- vable land	% culti- vable land	Land per member (cultivable)	% of land cultivated by group	Size of indv. lots (mnz)	C R O P S	
							Communal lands	Individual lots
Pozo del Padre No.1	37	100	66.6	2.7	68.0	1.0	Corn, onions, tomato	Corn, onions, tomato
Las Liconas	7	20	71.4	2.8	90.0	1/4	Corn	Corn
San Blas	16	42	45.6	2.6	0.0	1 1/2		Corn, beans, watermelon

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Family Kind	Livestock: Land where kept	Restrictions on ownership	MACHINERY USE		
			Type	Owned by Asient.	Leased
Poultry, pork	at home	crop prot.	3		yes
Poultry, pork horses, cows	Special lots re- served for ani- mals		3		yes
Poultry, pork			3		yes

1. tractor, furrow press, thresher, irrigation pump
2. tractor, thresher
3. tractor
4. tractor, plough, rake
5. irrigation pump, fumigator
6. tractor, rake, plough, cultivator, sower, fumigator
7. tractor, plough, rake, cultivator
8. tractor, rake, plough, sower

DEGREE OF CREDIT AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

	CREDIT		Purpose	Organizational Assistance		Technical Assistance		TRAINING PROGRAMS		Participants
	Source	Amount		Source	Kind	Source	Kind	Source	Kind	
San Juan de Lirio	NONE		corn, beans	INA	coop.		none	RRNN	planting fertilizing	no info.
Oyali	BANAFOM	26000	machines, corn	none			none	INPOP	planting	1 loan.
Liga Campesina Fatima	BANADESA	10000	seed	none			RRNN	farming	—	none
San Francisco de Cane	BANAFOM	12527	Bomb	INA/ ANACH	coop.		none	—	none	
Pozo del Padre No.1	none			none		Ite/ RRNN	farming	RRNN	corn, rice onions	"socioes"/ M
Las Liconas	none			INA	organizing	RRNN	pest control	INA	Farming/ accounting	"socioes"
San Blas	none			INA	organizing	RRNN	crops control	RRNN	soil protection	"socioes"

+ Loan granted to three cooperatives working together

TABLE 7. -

## DEGREE OF CREDIT AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

	CURRENT CREDIT		Purpose	Organizational assistance		Technical assistance		TRAINING PROGRAMS		Participants
	Source	Amount		Source	Kind	Source	Kind	Source	Kind	
El Sisun	BANADESA	20000		INA/ UNC	Coop.	INA	vegetables		None	
Flores de Mayo	BANAFOM	7000		INA	General	no			None	
Barrio Suyapa	BANADESA	16000		INA/UNC	General	INA/RRNN	general		none	
Buena Vida	NONE			INA	Coop.	INA/RRNN	general	no data	Yuca-vegetables	HMC
3 de Noviembre	BANADESA	7000		INA	Coop.	no		INFOP	vegetables	H
La Libertad No.2	none			none		no		INA	general orientation	W
Del Valle	BANADESA	100000	Palm/ citrus	INA/ RRNN	credit management	INA	general pest control fertilizer	INFOP		H Mc
Union S. Francisco	BANAFOM	10000	Corn	INA	Coop.	INA			Palm/machinery	
Pasoaguan	BANAFOM	16000	Land recla./corn	INA	organizing	no		INFOP	machine operation	
Voluntades Unidas	BANAFOM	463000	Palm/ citrus	INA	organizing	no		INA	Palm/ tractor	"socios"
La Confianza	BANAFOM	700000	Palm	PRO- CARA	organizing	no		INFOP/ RRNN/ INA	Tractor/ suelos	"socios"
Tierra Blanca	FUNDESA	20000	Cashew	INA	Organizing	no		RRNN/ INA	no data/cashew processing	M/W
El Porvenir	BANAFOM	33000	Rice	INA/ FECCORA	organizing coop.	INA/ RRNN	farming/ pest control	RRNN	agricultural	"socios"
Los Cifiles	BANAFOM	65000	Sugarcane	FECCORA/ INA	coop.	ACTINSA/ RRNN/INA	crop selection	CACHOL/ INFOP	machinery/ vegetables	socios/ W
12 de Nov	none			INA	organizing	INA/ RRNN	crop selection	—	none	
Liga San Rafael	none			INA	organizing	INA/ RRNN	Pest control	—	none	
Camorra	BANADESA	20000	cashew	INA	organizing		IN/ RRNN	Pest control	—	none
Santa Cruz del Potrero No.1	BANADESA	101000	Rice						general accounting	"socios"
San Marcos No.3	BANADESA	430000	Cotton, corn, squash						agriculture machinery	H Mc
Lincoln Coleman	none			none			none	INA	vegetables	W
Quayabito No.1	BANADESA	7000	corn	none			none	INA	general	socios
3 Aves	BANADESA	8000	cotton	none			RRNN	pest control	INA	rice/ corn
La Providencia de Oriente	CARACL	37000	corn	none			RRNN/ puasco corp.	general/ bomb tools	—	none
La Angostura	BANAFOM	665000+	cotton	none			INA	pest control	—	none
Santa Rita	BANAFOM	665000+	cotton	none			none	no info.	vegetables	W

## CREDIT HISTORY

Name of Settlement	Source of Credit	Amount	Purpose	Year	Interest	Term	Fully Paid?	Being Paid?	Reason for default
El Sisin	BANADESA	25000		1979	12	1 yr.	yes		
	BANADESA	20000		1980	12	1 yr.		yes	
Flores de Mayo	BANAFOM	12000			12		yes		
	BANAFOM	9000			12		yes		
	BANAFOM	7000		1980	13				
Barrio Suyapa	BANADESA	16000		1979	11	8 mon.	yes		
	BANADESA	16000		1980	13	1 yr.		yes	
Buena Vida	None								
3 de Noviembre	FUNDESA	800		1977	12	5 mon.	yes		
	BANADESA	6530		1978	12	1 yr.	yes		
	BANADESA	6000		1979	12	1 yr.	yes		
	BANADESA	7000		1980	12	1 yr.		probably	
La Libertad No.2	None								
Del Valle	BANADESA	100000	Palm/ citrus		11			yes	
Union S. Francisco	BANAFOM	100000	Palm/ citrus	1977	11	20 yr.			
	BANAFOM	100000	Palm/ citrus	1979	11	20 yr.			
	BANAFOM	10000	Corn	1980	11	1 yr.	no		Flood
Pasoaguan	BANAFOM	35000	Clear land	1976	11		no		Embezzlement of funds
	BANAFOM	4400	Basic grains	1977	11		no		Hurricane
Voluntades Unidas	BANAFOM	22000	Basic grains	1976	9	6 mon.	no	yes	Flood
	BANAFOM	263000	Palm	1977	11	20 yr.			
	BANAFOM	200000	citrus	1978	12	20 yr.			
La Confianza	BANAFOM	59000	Banana	1971	9	10 yr.	yes		
	BANAFOM	700000	Palm	1974	11	11 yr.			
Tierra Blanca	FUNDESA	20000	Cashews		12	4 yr.	no	no	Lack of technical assist. FUNDESA failed to buy out production
El Porvenir	BANAFOM	2600	Sesame	1979	13	1 yr.	yes		
	BANAFOM	27000	Rice	1979	13	1 yr.	yes		
	BANAFOM	18000	Watermelon	1979	13	1 yr.	yes		
	BANAFOM	33000	Rice	1980	13	1 yr.		yes	
Los Ciriles	BANAFOM	19900	Watermelon	1976	11	1 yr.	yes		
	BANAFOM	38000	Cotton	1977	11	1 yr.	yes		
	BANAFOM	14000	w/sesame	1978	11	1 yr.	yes		
	BANAFOM	65000	sugarcane	1979	14	5 yr.		yes	
12 de Noviembre	None								
San Rafael	None								
Camorra	BANADESA	20000	Cashews/ rice	1978	12	44	no no	no no	Technical advisor failed Flood
Santa Cruz del Potrero No. 1	BANADESA	81000	Irrigation	1977	11	7 yr	no	no	The irrigation expert hired (military man) knew nothing
	BANADESA	20000	Corn	1980	14	1 yr			
San Marcos No. 3	BANADESA	165000	Corn Sorghum	1979	12	1 yr	no		
	BANADESA	108000	Cotton	1980	12	5 yr			
	BANADESA	107000	Corn Sorghum	1980	12	1 yr			
	BANADESA	50000	Cotton	1980	12	1 yr			
Lincoln Coleman	None								
Guayabito No. 1	BANADESA	7000	Corn/cotton	1980	14	1 yr	no		Flood
3 Ases	BANADESA	7000	Corn/cotton	1978	11		yes		
	BANADESA	5000	cotton	1979	11		yes		
	BANADESA	8000	cotton	1980	12			yes	

Name of Settlement	Source of Credit	Amount	Purpose	Year	Interest	Term	Fully Paid?	Being Paid?	Reason for default
La Providencia de Oriente	BANADESA	9000	Corn	1976	12				
	BANADESA	5000	Clear land	1977	12	4 yr	yes	yes	
	BANADESA	16000	Corn	1977	12	1 yr	yes		
	CARAOL	21000	Corn	1980	14	1 yr	yes		
	CARAOL	16000	Corn	1980	14	1 yr	yes		
La Angostura	BANAFOM	110000	Clear land	1971	8				
	BANAFOM	150000	Cotton	1971	8				
	BANADESA	150000	Cotton	1973					
Santa Rita	BANADESA	200000	cotton	1972	2		no	no	Drought Flood Flood
La Angostura/Santa Rita/Ideas en Marcha	BANAFOM	550000	cotton	1978	14		yes		
	BANADESA	600000	cotton	1979	14		yes		
	BANADESA	665000	cotton	1980	14			yes	
S. Juan de Linaca	BANAFOM	10000	Corn/beans				yes		
	CARAOL	2500	corn/beans				yes		
S. Francisco de Cane	BANAFOM	12500	Equipment	1980				yes	
San Blas	BANAFOM	30000	Tomato/onion/ watermelon	1980				1 yes	

Table 9. - VISITS TO ASIENTAMIENTOS BY DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMMUNITY AGENTS

Jan. 1, 1980 - Jan. 31, 1981

Settlement	Region	Type of Agent	No. of Visits	Gender of Agent	Nature of Assistance
El Sisín	Copan	Promotor- INA	1	Man	Cooperative matters/ Credit Management
		Promotora - INA	1	Woman	Vegetable cultivation/ Nutrition
Flores de Mayo	Copan	Promotor - INA	4	Man	Organizational Orientation
Barrio Suyapa	Copan	Health Agent	1	Man	Health discussion
		Promotor - INA	1	Man	Information
		Promotora - INA	1	Woman	Attempted to organize woman's group
		Agronomist - INA	1	Man	Crop information
		Agronomist - RRNN	1	Man	Crop information
		Promotor - INA	3	Man	Organization Orientation
Buena Vida	S.P.S.	Promotora - INA	2	Woman	Health Education
		Agronomist - INA	2	Man	Improved agricultural practices
		Agronomist - RRNN	4	Man	Improved agricultural practices
		Promotor - INA	2	Man	Agricultural information
3 de Noviembre	S.P.S.	Agronomist - INA	2	Man	Agricultural information
		Agronomist - RRNN	1	Man	Agricultural information
La Libertad No. 2	S.P.S.	Promotora - INA	4	Woman	Organizational information/ Health Education/Horti- cultural course
Del Valle	Aguan	Promotora - INA	3	Woman	Tried to organize them/ taught them to sew
		Promotor - INA	3	Man	Cooperative organization and problem solving
Unión San Francisco	Aguan	Health Agent	1	Man	Environments and health education
		Promotor - INA	4	Man	Organizational information/ Agrarian Reform
		Agronomist - INA	1	Man	Fertilizers, plant diseases
Paso Aguan	Aguan	Promotor - INA	1	Man	Organizational matters
		Promotora - INA	1	Woman	Organizational orientation
Voluntades Unidas	Aguan	Promotor - INA	1	Man	Organizational matters/ Work survey
La Confianza	Aguan	Promotora - INA	1	Woman	General orientation instead of organizing women's group
		Promotora - INA	1	Woman	General orientation instead of organizing women's group
Liga Tierra Blanca	Choluteca	Health Agent	3	Man	Distribution of medicine (Malaria)
		Promotor- INA	3	Man	Organizational problems/ Information re: cashew trees
		Promotora - INA	2	Woman	Information re: products and marketing of cashew tree products
		Promotor - JNBS	2	Man	Environmental education

Table 9. - VISITS TO ASLTIAMIENTOS BY DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMMUNITY AGENTS

Jan. 1, 1980 - Jan. 31, 1981

Settlement	Region	Type of Agent	No. of Visits	Gender of Agent	Nature of Assistance
El Porvenir	Cholteca	Health agent	2	Man	Health education/infant nutrition
		Promotor - INA	1	Man	Organizational and crop orientation
		Promotora - INA	1	Woman	Trying to organize a women's group/Health ed.
		Promotor - JNBS	1	one man, one woman	General orientation
		Agronomist - RRNN	6	Man	Technical assistance re: plantation
Los Ciriles	Cholteca	Promotor - INA	1	Man	Agrarian reform and related issues
12 de Noviembre	Cholteca	Health agent	1	Man	Malaria vaccines
		Promotor - INA	6	Man	Organizational orientation
		Promotora - INA	6	Woman	Organization of a consumer cooperative/Organizational courses
		Agronomist - INA	1	Man	Cashew - tree cultivation
		Agronomist - RRNN	1	Man	Cashew - tree cultivation
Liga San Rafael	Cholteca	Promotor - INA	6	Man	Cashew - tree cultivation
		Promotora - INA	6	Woman	Organizational discussion/Cashew tree cultivation
		Agronomist - INA	1	Man	Cashew tree cultivation
		Agronomist - RRNN	1	Man	Cashew tree cultivation
		Provincial promotor	6	Man	Teaching them how to sow
		Promotor - INA	1	Man	Surveys
		Agronomist - INA	6	Man	Cashew tree cultivation
Camorra	Cholteca	Promotor - INA	1	Man	Surveys
		Agronomist - INA	6	Man	Cashew tree cultivation
Santa Cruz de Potrero No. 1	Olancho	Health Agent	2	Man	Constructing latrines
		Promotor - INA	4	Man	Maintain a well-organized group
		Promotora - INA	24	Woman	
		Promotor - JNBS	1	Man	Not much help
		Agronomist - INA	2	Man	To clear land to sow
		Agronomist - RRNN	1	Man	To clear land to sow
		Promotor - INA	1	Woman	Vegetable growing/Nutrition
San Marcos No. 3	Olancho	Promotor - INA	1	Woman	Vegetable growing/Nutrition
		Agronomist - INA	6	Man	Cotton cultivation
		Promotor - FEMUCH	2	Man	To open wells
Lincoln Coleman	Olancho	Health Agent	1	Man & woman	Blood Samples
		Promotor - INA	4	Man	Organizational or productive problem solving
Guayabito No. 1	Olancho	Promotor - INA	2	Man	Discussions of different projects
		Promotora - INA	4	Woman	Organizational training/Agricultural projects
		Promotor - JNBS	1	Woman	Nutrition education
		Agronomist - INA	1	Man	Crop examination
		Agronomist - RRNN	1	Man	Crop examination

Table 9. - VISITS TO ASENTAMIENTOS BY DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMMUNITY AGENTS Jan. 1, 1980 - Jan. 31, 1981

Settlement	Region	Type of Agent	No. of Visits	Gender of Agent	Nature of Assistance
3 Aves	Olancho	Health Agent	1	Man	Health education re: childbearing
		Promotor - INA	1	Man	NI
		Promotora - INA	2	Woman	Trying to organize women
		Agronomist - INA	4	Man	Credit management
Providencia de Oriente	Jamastran	Agronomist - RRNN	4	Man	Sowing information
		Agronomist - RRNN	4	Man	Crop cultivation
		Peace Corps	4	Man	Income-generating activities for women/ Water pump/Crop cultivation
		Promotor - INA	4	Man	Group problem solving
		Promotora - INA	1	Woman	How women to obtain land/ Vegetable growing/advantages of collective work
		Agronomist - INA	15	Man	Sowing, pesticides, fertilizers, marketing
		Promotor - INA	4	Man	Group problem solving
Santa Rita	Jamastran	Promotora - INA	1	Woman	Infant nutrition/Women's income-generating activities
		Agronomist - INA	4	Man	Nutrition
San Juan de Linaca	Jamastran	Agronomist - RRNN	4	Man	Fumigation (pesticides)
		Promotor - INA	4	Man	Organizational and group problem solving
		Promotora - INA	4	Woman	Organizational skills
Cuyali	Jamastran	Agronomist - INA	1	Man	To work with women's group
		Health agent	2	Man	Child immunization
		Promotor - INA	1	Man	Help with group problems
		Promotor - JNES	1	Man	Gave them food
Liga Campesina Fatima	Comayagua	Agronomist - RRNN	1	Man	Maize storage
		Health Agent	2	Man	Blood samples
		Promotor - INA	6	Man	Maintain organized group
		Promotora - INA	1	Woman	Tried to organize women
San Francisco de Cane	Comayagua	Agronomist - INA	1	Man	Crop cultivation/ Credit obtaining
		Promotor - INA	1	Woman	Trying to organize women's group
		Agronomist - RRNN	1	Man	Crop inspection
Pozo del Padre No.1	Comayagua	Health Agent	1	Man	Wells and latrines
		Agronomist - INA	8	Man	Crop visit
		Agronomist - RRNN	8	Man	Crop visit
Las Liconas	Comayagua	Promotor - INA	4	Man	Organizational skills
		Promotora - INA	2	Woman	Tried to organize women's group but never came back
		Agronomist - RRNN	1	Man	Pesticides
San Blas	Comayagua	Promotor - INA	1	Man	Cooperative organization
		Promotora - INA	6	Woman	Helped women to organize
		Agronomist - INA	1	Man	Course for women
		Agronomist - RRNN	1	Man	Crop inspection

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TABLE 10 --

## ACCESS TO SERVICES AND FACILITIES

Name of Settlement	FIREWOOD			WATER		CLOTHES WASHING		TRANSPORTATION			HEALTH CENTER		School Distance frm home
	Distance frm home	Trips/ week	Who goes?	Distance frm home	Trips/ Day	Distance frm home	Times/ week	Distance frm main road	COST		Distance by foot	by car	
El Sisin	2h	4	H	4'	10	30'	2	by road	1	1/cargo	30'		5'
Flores de Mayo	1h	2	H	at home		10'	2	30'	1	3/cargo	10'		10'
Barrio Suyapa	It's bought			at home		5'	2	10'	1	12 reales/cargo	10'		30'
Buenavida	1h	2	H	at home		at home		1h	1	1/cargo	15'		15'
3 de Noviembre	2h	3	boys > 10	1'	2	1'	3	30'	0.50	2/cargo	30'		2'
La Libertad No.2	1h	6	boys > 12	at home		at home		10'	0.50	1/cargo		15'	5'
Del Valle	1h	6	boys & H	at home		at home	2	15'	no transp. avail.		20'		5'
Union San Francisco	5'	6	boys > 7	5'	8	1h	4	by road		1/cargo	3h	20'	5'
Pasoaguan	10'	6	W & H	10'	6	1h	4	20'	1.50	1/cargo	4h		5'
Voluntades Unidas	1h	6	H	10'	20	30'	1	by road	2	1/saco	30'		5'
La Confianza	Cooperative		provides it	1'	6	10'	4	5 klm.	1	1/cargo	20'		20'
Tierra Blanca	2h	5	boys & H	3'	12	5'	6	30'	.60	1/cargo	30'		20'
El Porvenir	1h30'	1	H	2	8	1h	2	30'	.70	1.25 quintal	30'		20'
Los Ciriles	3h	6	H	at home		at home		by road	1	1/cargo	10'		5'
12 de Noviembre	1h	6	H	15'	6	15'	2	20'	.60	1/cargo	1h		10'
Liga San Rafael	4h	1	H	5'	5	5'	3	30'*	.60	1/cargo	30'		30'
Camorra	1h	6		at home		at home		by road		15/van	45'		10'
Santa Cruz del													10'
Potrero No.1	1h	20	H	10'	7	30'	1	by road	1.	1.50/cargo	2h	20'	15'
San Marcos No.3	4h	2	H	20'	5	20'	3	5 klm.	1.50	1/cargo	1h30'		3'
Lincoln Coleman	1h30'	3wks/1		at home		1h	2	1h	1.50	1/cargo		30'	5'
Guayabito No.1	1h30'	3	H	15'	6	15'	3	no data			5'		5'
3 Ases	2h	3	H	3'	4	3'	6	2 klm.		2/cargo		1h	3'
La Providencia													30'
de Oriente	2'	enth/1		1'	10	at home	6	by road	1.50	2/saco	3h		30'
La Angostura	1h	6	W	30'	7	1h	2	by road	1.50	2.50/quintal	1h30'		30'
Santa Rita	2h	6	H	at home		at home		by road	1.50	2.50/quintal	1h30'		1h
San Juan de Linaca	2h	6	boys & H	at home		at home	6	by road	1.50	1/cargo	10'		5'
Cuyali	30'	3	H	5'	4	15'	2	by road	.50	1/cargo	3h	15'	5'
Liga Campesina Fatima	25'	3	H	30'	10	at home	6	1h	1.50	1.50/cargo	1h		5'
S. Francisco de Cane	1h	6	H	at home		20'	6	20'	.75	.75/cargo	1h		2'
Pozo del Padre No.1	20'	1	H	at home		at home	6	1h	.60		5'		4'
Las Liconas	30'	3	H	2'	6	2'	3	2'	.50	1.50/cargo	2'		10'
San Blas	5'	4	W & H	30'	2	3'	6	45'	.50	1.50/cargo	1h30'		5'
											1h30'		30'

Name of Settlement	Nature of Organization	Objective	Member-ship	Reasons for Restric. Membership	Initial Organizers	Source of Resources	Women's Evalu.	Men's attitude women's organs.
El Sisin	housewives club	farming lot	11	-lack social awareness	comm. dev.- INA	none	group functions well	-neg.; women's role -pos.; mutual benefit
Flores de Mayo	none							-pos.; mutual benefit
Barrio Suyapa	none							-pos.; mutual benefit
Buena Vida	None- in past							-neg.; women's role
3 de Noviembre	none							-neg.; women's role
La Libertad No.2	housewives club	Gen. improvement	11	-It's a waste of time	comm. dev.- INA	snacks/fees		-neg.; women's role
Del Valle	housewives club	Econ. improve.	12	-husbands don't allow them -troubles among women	Comm. dev.- INA	credit/own production		-neg.; women's role
Union S. Francisco	None							-neg.; women's role
Pasoaguan	none- in past							-neg.; women's role
Voluntades Unidas	none- in past							-neg.; women's role
La Confianza	Production (agri.)	Better life	7	-they don't like work	themselves	none		-pos.; mutual benefit
Liga Tierra Blanca	Housewives club	Improv. Environ.	10	-they need time at home	Catholic Chur.	outside help	group functions well	-neg.; women's role
El Porvenir	None							-pos.; mutual benefit
Los Ciriles	housewives club	farming			wives of former membs.	fees/out-side help	group functions well	-neg.; women's role
12 de Noviembre	consumers coop.	corn farming	19	-trouble among women	Comm. Dev.- INA	homemade products	group functions well	-neg.; women's role
Liga S. Rafael	housewives club	mutual help	13	-husbands don't want -won't want children -husbands don't want	wives of leader	none		-neg.; women's role

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Name of Settlement	Nature of Organization	Objective	Member-ship	Reasons for Restric. Membership	Initial Organizers	Source of Resources	Women's Evalu.	Men's attitude women's organs.
Camorra	none							-pos.; mutual benefit -neg.; women's role
Santa Cruz del Potrero No. 1	housewives group	Gen. Improvement	10	-grass roots organ. is Communist/don't like work	FEMUCH	homemade products		-neg.; women's role
S. Marcos No.3	housewives group	Consumer coop.	17	-don't like work in organizations/organizs. are Communists	FEMUCH	fees	Group works well	-neg.; women's role
Lincoln Coleman	housewives group	farming	27	-don't like work in organizations/organizs. Communists	FEMUCH	fees	Group works well	-neg.; political cons
Guayabito No.1	housewives club	poultry prod.	10	-lack organizational awareness	FEMUCH	homemade snacks/fees		-neg.; women's role
3 Ases	none							-pos.; mutual benefit
Prov. de Oriente	housewives group	poultry prod.	12	-husbands don't want -have childre	women on vol. work	Peace Corps.		-pos.; mutual benefit
La Angostura	housewives group		17	-don't want to belong to organization	Comm. dev.- INA	homemade products	group works well	-neg.; women's role
Santa Rita	housewives group	farm/poultry	18	-don't like work	Comm. dev.- FAO	poultry	group works well	-neg.; women's role
S. Juan de Linaca	Women's Committee housewives club	Comm'ty dev. bee keeping	8	-don't like work	Comm. dev.- INA	fees	groups work well	-neg.; women's role
Oyali	none			-don't agree on type or organization	Comm. dev.-			-neg.; women's role
Liga Campesina Fatima	Women's Group	Improv'ment of living	16	-don't want to join organization	Comm. dev.- INA	none	Group has not been estab.	-positive
S. Francisco de Cane Pozo del Padre No.1	none							-positive
Las Liconas	none							-neg.; wom.'s role
San Blas	housewives club	farming	10	-don't like farm work				-positive

TABLE 12 -

## THE FAMILY BUDGET

	Wife's income sources	Children's income sources	Family Expenses		Husband's share		FAMILY INCOME			
			Food L/week	Clothing L/year	Food	Clothing	Husband	Wife	Children	
El Sisin	sale of poultry	none	30	400	100%	100%	1200s	6 ea		
Flores de Mayo	Domestic service	Agri. work	30	400	100%	100%		1 d	3 day	175m
Barrio Suyapa	Agri. work		30	200	75%	100%		10 w	F/25 M/30 w	95w
Buena Vida	None	Factory work	40	300		100%			30w	3220y
3 de Noviembre	Homemade snacks	none	15	100	100%	100%	5w			
La Libertad No.2	Dom. Services		35	150	80%	80%		250y	500	2000y
Del Valle	Homemade snacks									
	Agri. work	Agri. work	40	200	40%	50%		400y	400	3500y
	Seamstress									
Union S. Francisco	None		60	400	100%	100%				
Pasoaguan	None	Agri. work	50	300	100%	100%	9d		3d	
Voluntades Unidas	Dom. Services	None	20	200	100%	50%	6d		6d	12d
La Confianza	Agri. work	Agri. work	60	300	75%	75%	6d	100y		
Tierra Blanca	Selling fruits	Agri. work	50	400	75%	100%	9d	6d	2d	17d
El Porvenir	seamstress		40	500	100%	100%		100y	100y	465y
Los Ciriles	Homemade snacks	Agri. work	40	400	75%	100%		432y	432y	1728y
	Agri. work		40	400	75%	100%		490y	F/240 M/300y	1530y
12 de Noviembre	Homemade snacks	None	40	400	85%	85%		100y		740y
	Selling fruits									
Liga San Rafael	Selling farm Prod.		30	300	75%		3d	100y	100y	800y
	Dom. Services									
Camorra	Dom. Services	Factory work	15	300	50%	90%		300y		950y
Santa Cruz de Potrero	Homemade snacks	Agri. Work	50	500	80%	80%		250y	800y	3175y
S. Marcos No.3	Dom. Services	Agri. work	50	400	75%	75%		450y	450y	3000y
Lincoln Coleman	Dom. Services	Agri. work	30	300	66%	50%		4d	M/250y	1800y
	Agri. Work									
Quayabito No.1	Homemade Snacks	Agri. Work	35	400	75%	75%		350y	250y	1500y
3 ASES	Agri. Work	Agri. Work	30	200	80%	100%		250y	150y	1500y
Prov. de Oriente	Homemade Snacks	Agri. Work	20	150	50%	50%		100	quin/ 4	1000y
	Agri. Work							quin/ 3 mnth/4	3 mon.	
La Angostura	Agri. Work	Agri. Work	30	400	50%	66%		300y	200y	1600y
Santa Rita	Agri. Work	Agri. Work	35	500	50%	20%	4d	800y	400y	1500y
San Juan de Tinaca	Agri. Work	Agri. Work	50	600	80%	80%				
Cuyali	Dom. Services	Agri. Work	25	200	66%	66%				
Liga Campesina Fati.	None	None	20	150	100%	100%		234y	F/150 M/200y	1000y
S. Francisco de Cane	Dom. Services	Agri. Work	20	150	80%	33%			250y	800y
Pozo del Padre No.1	Homemade snacks	None	30	300	90%	90%		100y		1000y
Las Liconas	None	Agri. Work	20	200	100%	50%		100y		1500y
San Blas	Agri. Work	Agri. Work	20	200				200y	Harv. seas./20 w	800y
									200y	1000y

TABLE 13. -

## SEX ROLE ATTITUDES

NAME OF SETTLEMENT	LUNCH TIME AT THE FARM		HUSBANDS ATTITUDES ON INDEPENDENT SOURCES OF WOMEN'S INCOME	REASONS FOR EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FROM MEMBERSHIP IN SETTLEMENTS	REASONS TO ACCEPT WOMEN AS MEMBERS IN SETTLEMENT	REASONS FOR EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FROM OPERATION OF MACHINERY
	Who brings lunch to work line?	How far is work line from home?				
1. El Sisin	W	30'	Negative: women's role	-She isn't capable of farm work -She must look after house		-They haven't been taught -We women are afraid
2. Flores de Mayo	FC/W	40'	Negative: women's role	-Farming is not a proper work for women	-Husband's death -Husband run away	-Women are not strong as men to handle machines
3. Barrio Suyapa	W	30'	Negative: women's role	-They have not applied for membership	-One was a widower to a member -One bought her membership right	
4. Buena Vida	C>10/W	30'	Negative: women's role	-Haven't applied for membership	-They are equal to men -There's no difference	-Don't know how to work with them
5. 3 de Noviembre	MC > 8	15'	Negative: women's role	-They are not accustomed to farm work		
6. La Libertad No.2	FC/W	30'	Negative: social considerations	-There has been no need of including women		
7. Del Valle Azuan	Men themselves		Negative: women's role	-Somewhat it hasn't happened		-It's men's work
8. Union San Francisco	W	1h	Negative: women's role	-There has been no proper work for women in settlement		-It's a job too heavy for women
9. Paso Aguan	C/W	1h	Negative: social considerations	-There are not easy tasks for women in the farm		-That's not a woman's job
10. Voluntades Unidas	Men themselves		Positive: Mutual benefit	-INA's organizational effort was directed to men only		-There is not enough vocational development of women
11. La Confianza	Men themselves		Negative: women's role	-Land occupations are not a woman's activity. They demand great sacrifices.		-It is a man's job by custom
12. Liga Tierra Blanca	MC/W	1h	Negative: women's role		-That she has vocation for farm work	
13. El Porvenir	Men themselves		Positive: Mutual convenience	-Haven't applied for membership		-Women not capable of work. Too heavy.
14. Los Ciriles	MC/W	1h	Negative: women's role	-Women not as capable as men		-Only men trained to operate machines
15. 12 de Noviembre	MC/W	1h 30'	Negative: women's role Positive: "But husband must receive her earnings"	-Other women have not applied for membership		-They haven't decided to drive tractor yet

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## SEX ROLE ATTITUDES

NAME OF SETTLEMENT	LUNCH TIME Who brings lunch to work line?	AT THE FARM How far is work line from home?	HUSBANDS ATTITUDES ON INDEPENDENT SOURCES OF WOMEN'S INCOME	REASONS FOR EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FROM MEMBER- SHIP IN SETTLEMENTS	REASONS TO ACCEPT WOMEN AS MEMBERS IN SETTLEMENT	REASONS FOR EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FROM OPERATION OF MACHINERY
16. Liga San Rafael	MC/W	30'	Negative: women's role	-Other women haven't applied for membership	-Husband died -They are equal to men	
17. Camorra	Men themselves		Negative: women's role	-Other women haven't applied for membership		
18. Santa Cruz del Potrero No.1	MC	1h	Negative: women's role	-They are afraid of official repression	-Husband died	-There are some men that do not want them to do it
19. San Marcos No.3	MC/W	1h 30'	Negative: women's role		-She was in need	-Machines are extremely fragile and expensive
20. Lincoln Coleman	MC/W	1h	Negative: women's role	-They aren't able to keep pace at work with a man	-There is a woman member who is a hard worker	
21. Guayabito No.1	Men themselves		Negative: social considerations	-Haven't applied for membership		
22. 3 Aves	Men themselves		Negative: women may become ill if they work too hard			
23. La Providencia de Oriente	Men themselves	30'	Positive: Mutual convenience	-Their differences from men		
24. La Angostura	C/W		Negative: women's role	-Haven't applied for membership		-They have no practice -Equipment too heavy
25. Santa Rita	Men themselves		Positive: Mutual convenience	-Men belong to the country. Women don't. -It is always men who get together in organizations.		-It's a man's work
26. San Juan de Linaca	MC/W	30'	Negative: women may get ill. Positive: but husband must receive earnings		-One helped in the early fighting -Another in extreme need	
27. Oyali	Men themselves		Negative: women's role	-Haven't applied for membership		
28. Liga Campesina Fatima	C	30'	Positive	-They are only good for kitchen work		
29. San Francisco de Cane	MC	1h	Negative: men's ignorance	-They don't like organizations		
30. Pozo del Padre No.1	Men themselves		Positive		-Husband died -Took over right of son who left	

## SEX ROLE ATTITUDES

NAME OF SETTLEMENT	LUNCH TIME AT THE FARM Who brings lunch to work line?	How far is work line from home?	HUSBANDS ATTITUDES ON INDEPENDENT SOURCES OF WOMEN'S INCOME	REASONS FOR EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FROM MEMBERSHIP IN SETTLEMENTS	REASONS TO ACCEPT WOMEN AS MEMBERS IN SETTLEMENT	REASONS FOR EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FROM OPERATION OF MACHINERY
31. Las Liconas	MC	1h	Negative: women's role	-They haven't applied for membership	-One entered on behalf of minor son	
32. San Blas	W	10'	Positive	-Haven't applied for membership		

W: Women  
 C: Children  
 MC: sons  
 FC: daughters

APPENDIX II

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

QUESTIONNAIRES

A P P E N D I X II

Questionnaires

B. Preguntas para hacerles a los esposos del Asentamiento

Nombre del Entrevistado:  
Asentamiento:

1. De qué lugar es?

Cuántos años tiene?

Desde cuándo es socio de este asentamiento?

A qué edad ingresó por primera vez en un asentamiento?

2. Qué trabajo hacía antes de venir al asentamiento?

3. Cómo se dio cuenta de la posibilidad de conseguir tierra?  
Cómo le fue posible ingresar al grupo de otros?

4. Cuánta tierra individual tiene Ud.? —

Calidad

Afuera del asentamiento?

Adentro del asentamiento?

Qué uso le da? (Quién determina su uso, quién la cultiva)?

Consulta Ud. con su esposa sobre el uso del terreno?

5. Qué clase de semilla usa?

Usa fertilizantes?

Usa pesticidas?

Usa herbicidas?

Usa algún tipo de maquinaria?

Cómo hace para acarrear el producto?

Quién le informó sobre esas nuevas técnicas?

Qué opina sobre el uso de esas técnicas en los trabajos colectivos del grupo?

6. Gana Ud. dinero de otras fuentes, afuera del asentamiento?

7. Cuánta tierra heredo de sus padres?

Cuánta tierra ha comprado?

Cuánta tierra ha vendido? Porqué?

Qué uso se le da? Heredaron sus hermanas y hermanos alguna tierra?

Qué opina sobre el hecho de que no puede dejar herencia de tierra a su hijo?

8. Prefiere usted trabajar en una parcela de tierra colectiva o individual?  
Y por que razones?

9. Siente usted que es bueno y justo pagarles a todos los socios la misma cantidad de dinero? Siente usted que todos trabajan y producen de igual manera, y por lo tanto, tienen derecho a la misma paga? \_\_\_\_\_ SI LA  
RESPUESTA ES NO: Por que? Cuánto dinero le pagan al día?

10. Cuánto dinero le pagan al día por ser socio? (SI NO HAY UNA COOPERATIVA: Cuánto dinero gana Ud. por día)? Le ha sucedido a la cooperativa tener un excedente y distribuirlo entre los socios? Cuántas veces ha sucedido esto y cuánto dinero le dieron a cada uno?

Meses Buenos	INGRESO SEMANAL Meses Regulares	Meses difíciles

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11. Cuántos días no pudo trabajar el mes pasado debido a enfermedad?  
\_\_\_\_\_ días

Se enfermó el año pasado?      mes \_\_\_\_\_ días perdidos \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

De que se enfermó y que hizo?

Hubiera sido posible que su Sra. trabajara? Cuánto ganó o cuánto hubiera ganado? Es igual o menos que lo que gana usted?

#31 C. O.

12. Cuántos hijos ha tenido por todos hasta ahora?

Con la Sra. \_\_\_\_\_

Por fuera \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

13. Cuántos hijos varones le gustaría tener? \_\_\_\_\_

Cuántas hijas hembras le gustaría tener? \_\_\_\_\_

Para usted es más importante tener más hijos que hijas \_\_\_\_\_ o le da lo mismo? \_\_\_\_\_

SI TIENE MENOS HIJOS DE LOS QUE LE GUSTARÍA TENER

Si su próximo niño (especifique si es 5to. 6to. etc.) es una niña, quiere usted seguir teniendo mas hijos? Si el siguiente es niña también, seguiría teniendo mas?

SIGA PREGUNTANDO HASTA QUE ÉL DIGA: "NO SEGUIRÍA TENIENDO HIJOS O SEGUIRÍA TENIENDO HASTA QUE TUVIERA 3 O 4 HIJOS VARONES, etc.

14. Asisten sus hijos varones a la escuela? \_\_\_\_\_

Hasta que grado quiere que asistan? \_\_\_\_\_

Que es más importante.....que aprenda un oficio o que asista a la escuela?

Qué otro entrenamiento (cursos, habilidades) quisiera que sus hijos tuvieran?

15. Asisten sus hijas hembras a la escuela? \_\_\_\_\_

Hasta que grado quiere que asistan? \_\_\_\_\_

Que es mas importante.....que aprenda un oficio o que asista a la escuela?

Que otro entrenamiento (cursos, habilidades) quisiera que sus hijos ~~as~~ tuvieran?

16. Por cuánto tiempo fue usted a la escuela?

Cuántos años de estudio completó?

Sabe usted leer \_\_\_\_\_ escribir \_\_\_\_\_ firmar \_\_\_\_\_

Que cursos ha recibido desde que salió de la escuela?  
(duración, aprendizaje, aprovechamiento práctico)

17. Que influencia tiene usted en la cooperativa?

Le gustaría ser un dirigente? Piensa que en el futuro será uno de los dirigentes?

Que opina de los dirigentes actuales de este asentamiento? Se encuentra satisfecho de sus trabajos; se interesan por el beneficio de todos?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque NO?

Escogería USTED los mismos dirigentes u otros?

En que manera serían diferentes?

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18. Piensa usted que mujeres solas con niños podrían ser socias de este asentamiento igual como los hombres? Cree usted que trabajan más duro o menos duro que los hombres que son socios? SI MENOS DURO: Porque?

19. Quién de la familia se encarga de recoger la leña?

si EL MISMO: Que distancia hay que ir?  
La trae al lomo o con burro?  
Para cuantos días trae?  
Le ayuda alguien más?

Quien

Sexo

Edad

Cuando (Cuantas veces)

20. QUE DICE LA GENTE AQUI.....

a.1 Las mujeres trabajan más que los hombres \_\_\_\_\_  
menos de los hombres \_\_\_\_\_  
igual que los hombres \_\_\_\_\_

SI MENOS: Porque?

a.2 Las mujeres trabajan tan duro como los hombres? \_\_\_\_\_  
menos duro que los hombres? \_\_\_\_\_  
mucho más duro que los hombres? \_\_\_\_\_

SU MENOS: Porque?

- b. Las mujeres pueden así como los hombres cultiva la tierra y producir algún cultivo?  
Si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

- c. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres entender y adoptar nuevas ideas y prácticas? Si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

- d. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres usar herramientas y maquinaria? Si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

- e. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres reparar herramientas y maquinaria? Si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

- f. Las mujeres pueden así como los hombres tomar decisiones importantes sobre cultivo? Si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

21. Qué hace con el dinero que usted gana (detalle)? En que lo gasta - que cosas compra para usted mismo? Que cosas compra para la familia?

Hace algo su Sra. para ganar dinero? Cuanto gana por semana? ESPECIFIQUE POR MES.

Cuánto le da cada semana a la Sra. para comprar comida:

Cuánto dinero contribuye la Sra. cada semana para comprar comida? Qué otras contribuciones hace para la alimentación de la familia (granos, verduras, pescado, carne, frutas, raices, etc.)? DETALLE POR MES.

Qué otras contribuciones hace usted para la alimentación de la familia?  
(granos, verduras, pescado, frutas, etc.) CONSIGA DETALLES POR MES

Para que otras cosas le da dinero a la Sra. (aparte del dinero para comida)?

En qué gasta usted el dinero que le queda? DETALLES POR MES

Cuánto dinero ponen los hijos cada semana para la compra de alimentos?  
DETALLES POR MES

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22. Cuánto dinero ganan sus hijos? Que hacen? ESPECIFIQUE.

Desde que edad empezaron a ayudarle en sus tareas agrícolas? ESPECIFIQUE.

Desde que edad empezaron a ganar algún dinero? Cuánto ganaban?

Desde que edad empezaron a tener un ingreso regular? Cuánto ganaban?

Qué hacen sus hijos con el dinero que ganan? Cuánto le dan a la mamá?  
Cuánto le dan al papá? Qué cosas compran para la familia? Qué cosas  
compran para ellos mismos? DETALLES DE MESES, CANTIDADES.

23. Mantiene usted ganado u otro tipo de animales (burro, caballo, cerdos, etc.)? Cuántos animales y de que tipo? Cuánto dinero gana por año? Utilizan alguno de estos animales para el consumo alimenticio de la familia? ESPECIFIQUE.

24. Que opina sobre las esposas que trabajan y ganan su propio dinero?  
ESPECIFIQUE.

Permite o permitiría usted que su compañera trabaje y gane dinero?  
ESPECIFIQUE

Que opina sobre las esposas que se organizan en grupos que tienen  
proyectos para ganar dinero? ESPECIFIQUE

Permite o permitiría usted que su compañera se organice y participe en esa  
forma? ESPECIFIQUE

26. **Cómo** hace el mercadeo de los productos?

a. de la tierra colectiva

b. de su propia tierra

(distancia al mercado, medio de transporte, tarifas, etc.).

c. **Quién(es)** se encarga(n) de vender la producción de los diferentes miembros de la familia? **Cómo** hace? Es más fácil vender aquí que en su lugar de origen?

27. Qué tipo de mejoras le hizo usted a su casa el año pasado? Las hizo usted mismo, lo ayudaron otros o tuvo que emplear a otros? Cuánto le costo?

SI NO HIZO MEJORAS: Porqué no las hizo? Qué tipo de mejoras le ha hecho a su casa desde que vive en ella? Cuánto le costaron?

SI NUNCA HA HECHO MEJORAS: Porqué no? Tiene planeado hacerle algunas mejoras? Cuándo y de que tipos? SI NO: Porqué?

Incluyen sus siembras cultivos permanentes como árboles frutales?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porqué no?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: Piensa usted que los árboles que toman tanto tiempo en crecer valen la pena o no tanto trabajo?

Cree usted que vale la pena o no sembrar árboles para leña a la orilla del asentamiento? Porqué?

28. En general, siente usted que se encuentra mucho mejor ahora que antes?  
Por qué motivos?

Qué cree usted que va a estar haciendo dentro de cinco años?

Qué cree usted que va a estar haciendo dentro de diez años?

Qué cree usted que va a estar haciendo dentro de quince años?

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- g. Las mujeres no pueden sobrevivir sin la protección del hombre.  
Si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

- h. Las mujeres pueden trabajar en un grupo junto con otras mujeres  
(igual como hacen los hombres) Si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

- i. En cuanto a inteligencia, las mujeres son:

Más inteligentes: \_\_\_\_\_

Menos inteligentes: \_\_\_\_\_

SI MENOS INTELIGENTES: Porque?

- j. Las mujeres pueden manejar el dinero igual como los hombres:  
Si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

29. Cree usted que las agencias diferentes le ayudaran a mejorar su vida aqui en el asentamiento o cree usted que la única manera para mejorar su vida es por medio del esfuerzo propio?

Pertenece usted a algún otro grupo? Tiene algún puesto directivo? Que provecho saca usted de esa organización?

Pertenece usted a algún grupo religioso? Qué es su propósito? Qué religión practica? Qué programas tiene?

PREGUNTAS PARA LOS ESPOSOS EN LA COMUNIDAD DE ORIGEN

Nombre del Entrevistado:

Comunidad:

1. De que lugar es?

Desde cuando vive aqui?

Cuantos anos tiene?

2. Es o ha sido socio de alguna organizacion campesina?

A. Si la contestacion es si:

Cual?, Cuando?, Cargo y participacion (specifique):

B. Participo en alguna(s) toma(s) de tierra o emigracion organizada.

Si la contestacion es si

Que paso? (detalles)

Si la respuesta en el parrafo B es no

Existia la posibilidad de participar, pero no lo hizo?

Si \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Porque?

C. Si era miembro pero ya se retiro.

Porque salio del grupo?

D. Si no es socio y nunca ha sido.

Porque motivo nunca ha sido socio de un grupo campesino?

3. Ha participado o esta participando en algún grupo campesino (de estudio, religión, agrícola, cooperativa) Cuáles? Por Cuanto tiempo? (detalles)
  
4. Qué opina sobre la reforma agraria? Cree Ud. que ha beneficiado a los campesinos? Quiénes se han beneficiado mas?
  
5. De esta comunidad - Cuantas personas se fueron para ingresar en grupos de la reforma agraria y cuantas se han regresado aquí? Porque se regresaron? En que son diferentes los que se regresaron a los que se quedaron en los grupos de la reforma agraria?
  
6. Que opina sobre el trabajo colectivo? (es necesario en la mayoría de los asentamientos)?
  
7. Ahora que Ud. sabe como es un asentamiento y que ha pensado sobre su propia situación actual preferiría quedarse aquí o ir a algún asentamiento campesino cercano o lejano?

8. Cuánta tierra tiene? \_\_\_\_\_ Propia? \_\_\_\_\_  
De la Sra.? \_\_\_\_\_ Cuanta tierra alquila? \_\_\_\_\_  
Usa tierra de sus padres? \_\_\_\_\_ u otros (especifique)

9. Cuánta tierra heredó o heredara de sus padres \_\_\_\_\_  
Cuánta tierra ha comprado? \_\_\_\_\_  
cuánta tierra ha vendido? \_\_\_\_\_ porque?

Que uso le da? (especifique que cultiva, pastos, árboles, etc.)

10. Consulta Ud. con su Señora antes de decidir que se va ha sembrar?

Que clase de semilla usa?

Usa fertilizante?

Usa pesticidas?

Usa herbicidas?

Usa algún tipo de maquinaria?

11. Cómo hace para acarrear el producto (burros, caballos)

12. Quién le informó sobre esas nuevas técnicas?

13. Qué animales tiene? A quién pertenecen?

Si algunos le pertenecen:

Cuántos animales y de que tipo? Cuánto dinero gana por año? Usan alguno de estos animales para el consumo alimenticio de la familia (especifique)?

14. Que otra fuente de ingreso tiene? (especifique - variaciones por mes)

15. Por cuánto tiempo fue Ud. a la escuela? Cuántos años de estudio completó? Sabe Ud. leer? \_\_\_\_\_ escribir? \_\_\_\_\_ firmar? \_\_\_\_\_

16. Que cursos ha recibido desde que salió de la escuela? (duración, aprendizaje, aprovechamiento práctico)?

17. Asisten sus hijos varones a la escuela? \_\_\_\_\_ Hasta que grado quiere que asistan? \_\_\_\_\_  
que aprenda un oficio o que asista a la escuela? \_\_\_\_\_ Qué es más importante,

Que otro entrenamiento (cursos, habilidades) quisiera que sus hijos tubieran?

18. Asisten sus hijas hembras a la escuela? \_\_\_\_\_ Hasta que grado quiere que asistan? \_\_\_\_\_  
que aprendan un oficio o que asistan a la escuela? \_\_\_\_\_ Qué es más importante,

Que otro entrenamiento (cursos, habilidades) quiere que sus hijas tubieran?

19. Quién de su familia se encarga de recoger la leña? Si Ud. mismo, que distancia hay que ir? \_\_\_\_\_  
La trae al lomo o en burro \_\_\_\_\_  
Para cuántos días trae? \_\_\_\_\_  
Le ayuda alguien mas? \_\_\_\_\_  
Quién                      Sexo                      Edad                      Cuántas veces/semana/mes

20. Como hace Ud. el mercadeo de sus productos? (medio de transporte, distancia, tarifas, etc.)?

21. Quién se encarga de vender la producción de la familia? Cómo hace? Hay cosas que su compañera vende?

22. A. Cuánto dinero ganan sus hijos? Que hacen? (detalle)

B. Desde que edad empezaron a ayudarle en sus tareas agrícolas? (especifique).

C. Desde que edad empezaron a ganar algún dinero? Cuánto ganaban?

D. Desde que edad empezaron a tener un ingreso regular? Cuánto ganaban?

E. Qué hacen con el dinero que ganan? Cuánto le dan a la mamá? Al papá? Qué cosas compran para la familia? Qué cosas compran para ellos mismos? (detalle de meses, cantidades, etc.)

23. Qué hace con el dinero que Ud. gana? (detalle) Como lo gasta? Que cosas compra para Ud. mismo? Que cosas compra Ud. para la familia?
24. A. Que opina sobre las esposas que trabajan y ganan su propio dinero? (explique).
- B. Permite o permitiría Ud. que su compañera trabaje y gane dinero? (explique).
- C. Que opina sobre las esposas que se organizan en grupos que tienen proyectos para ganar dinero? (explique).
- D. Permite o permitiría Ud. que su compañera se organice y participe en esa forma?
25. Cómo hace su señora para ganar dinero? Cuánto gana por semana? (especifique) por mes?
26. Cuánto dinero le da a la señora cada semana para comprar comida? Que otras contribuciones hace para la alimentación de la familia (granos, verduras, pescado, etc. - por mes)

27. A. Cuánto dinero contribuye la señora cada semana para la compra de comida? Que otras contribuciones hace para la alimentación de la familia (granos, verduras, pescado, frutas, etc. - por mes)
- B. Cuánto dinero ponen los hijos cada semana para la compra de alimentos? (por mes).
- C. Para que otras cosas le da dinero a la señora?
- D. En que gasta el dinero que le queda (mes - detalle)?
28. A. Qué tipo de mejoras le hizo usted a su casa el año pasado? Las hizo Ud. mismo, lo ayudaron otros o tuvo que emplear a otros? Cuánto le costó?
- B. Si no hizo mejoras: Porqué no las hizo? Que tipo de mejoras le ha hecho a su casa desde que vive en ella? Cuánto le costaron?

C. Si nunca ha hecho mejoras: Porqué no? Tiene planeado hacerle algunas mejoras? Cuando y de que tipo? si no, porqué?

29. A. Incluye en sus siembros cultivos permanentes como árboles frutales?

Si la respuesta es no, porque no?

Si la respuesta es si, piensa Ud. que los árboles que toman tanto tiempo en crecer valen la pena o no tanto trabajo?

B. Cree Ud. que vale la pena o no sembrar árboles para leña a la orilla del asentamiento? Porqué?

30. A. Cuántos hijos ha tenido por todos hasta ahora?

Con la señora? \_\_\_\_\_

Por fuera \_\_\_\_\_

B. Cuántos hijos varones le gustaría tener? \_\_\_\_\_

C. Cuántas hijas hembras le gustaría tener? \_\_\_\_\_

D. Qué es más importante tener, hijos o hijas - o le da lo mismo?

E. Si tiene menos hijos de los que le gustaría tener, Si su próximo niño (especifique si es 5to. o 6to. etc.) es una niña, quiere Ud. seguir teniendo más hijos? Si el siguiente es niña tambien, seguiría teniendo más?

Siga preguntando hasta que el diga: "No seguiría teniendo hasta tener 3 o 4 hijos varones, etc.

31. Cuántos días no pudo trabajar el mes pasado debido a enfermedad?

días.  
Se enfermó el año pasado? mes \_\_\_\_\_ días perdidos \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

De qué se enfermó y que hizo?

32. Cree Ud. que sus hijos deben de buscar tierra por medio de la reforma agraria? Porque?

33. Es miembro de algún patronato de la comunidad? Tiene un puesto directivo? Cual es el trabajo del patronato?

34. A. Que dice la gente de aquí?  
Las mujeres trabajan tan duro como los hombres? \_\_\_\_\_  
Menos duro que los hombres? \_\_\_\_\_  
Mucho más duro que los hombres? \_\_\_\_\_  
SI MENOS DURO: Porque? \_\_\_\_\_

B. Las mujeres trabajan igual que los hombres? \_\_\_\_\_  
Menos que los hombres? \_\_\_\_\_  
Mucho más que los hombres? \_\_\_\_\_  
SI MENOS: Porque? \_\_\_\_\_

C. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres cultivar la tierra y producir algún cultivo? SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque? \_\_\_\_\_

- D. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres entender y adoptar nuevas ideas y prácticas? SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?
- E. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres usar herramientas y maquinaria? SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?
- F. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres reparar herramientas y maquinaria? SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?
- G. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres tomar decisiones importantes sobre cultivo? SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?
- H. Las mujeres no podrían sobrevivir sin la protección del hombre. SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?
- I. Las mujeres pueden trabajar en un grupo junto con otras mujeres (igual como hacen los hombres) SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

I. En cuanto a inteligencia, las mujeres son:

Más inteligentes: \_\_\_\_\_

Menos inteligentes: \_\_\_\_\_

SI MENOS INTELIGENTES: Porque?

K. Las mujeres pueden manejar el dinero igual como los hombres.

SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?



o. Antes de esta unión tuvo usted alguna otra unión? A que edad? \_\_\_\_\_  
Tuvo usted hijos de esta unión? Cuántos de ellos viven <sup>ya</sup> a dónde? Qué sucedió  
con esta unión? Le envía todavía el hombre algún <sup>de</sup> dinero para los niños?  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: Cuánto le envía y con que frecuencia?

3. Asistió usted a la escuela? Por Cuántos años? Cuántos grados hizo?  
SI ELLA NUNCA ASISTIÓ A LA ESCUELA: Cuál fue el motivo? SI ASISTIÓ A LA ES  
CUELA POR ALGUNOS AÑOS Y DESPUES SE RETIRÓ: Por qué dejó de asistir a la es  
cuela? Puede usted leer \_\_\_\_\_ Puede usted escribir \_\_\_\_\_

4. Ha tenido usted otro tipo de capacitación? SI LA CONTESTACIÓN ES SI:  
De que tipo? Qué aprendió? Fue antes o después de llegar al Asentamiento?  
Ha habido algún programa o adiestramiento disponible para las mujetes de su  
comunidad o Asentamiento que usted no haya recibido?  
De que se trataba exactamente? Fue antes o después de llegar al asentamiento?  
Por qué no lo recibió?  
Hay algunos cursos o programas en el Asentamiento en los que las mujeres no  
puedan participar?  
De qué tipo son? y por qué no son disponibles para las mujeres?  
Se han quejado las mujetes por esto? Y qué sucedió?

5. Hacen algo sus hijos para ganar algún dinero? SI \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_  
¿<sup>hacen</sup> ~~hacen~~ exactamente? Cuánto dinero ganan?

A qué edad empezaron a ganar algún dinero?

A qué edad empezaron a ganar un ingreso regular?

A qué edad empezaron a ayudar en los quehaceres domésticos ( Especifica-  
que cuáles ) ?

A qué edad empezaron a ayudar a cuidar niños?

A qué edad empezaron a trabajar en tareas agrícolas (especifique cuáles). Cuánto se les pagó?

Cuándo empezaron a ganar un ingreso por trabajar en tareas agrícolas?

Sus hijos le dan o le dieron parte del dinero que ganaron?

Sus hijos ganaron algún dinero antes de llegar al asentamiento? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: Que hicieron y a qué edad pueden empezar a ganarlo?

6. Sus hijos les ayudan a ganar un poco más de dinero ayudándoles, a usted, en el trabajo? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: Describa cómo? Señalar si es pagado o no.

7A. Hacen algo sus HIJAS para ganar algún dinero? SI \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_  
Qué hacen exactamente? Cuánto dinero ganan?

A qué edad empezaron a ganar algún dinero?

A que edad empezaron a ganar un ingreso regular?

A que edad empezaron a ayudar en los quehaceres domésticos? ESPECIFIQUE CUALES ?

A que edad empezaron a ayudar a cuidar niños?

A qué edad empezaron a trabajar en tareas agrícolas ? ESPECIFIQUE CUALES/ Cuánto se les pagó?

Cuándo empezaron a ganar un ingreso por trabajar en tareas agrícolas?

Sus hijas le dan o le dieron parte del dinero que ganaron?

Genaron algo sus hijas antes de llegar al asentamiento?

7B. Les ayudan a ganar un poco más de dinero sus hijas ayudándoles en el trabajo de ustedes? SI \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_. SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: Describa cómo.

ds

8. . Piense usted que existen más o menos oportunidades para que los varones puedan ganar dinero en el asentamiento o en el lugar de donde vinieron? Por qué? EXPLÍQUESE CON DETALLES/.

Si dice que existen mayores oportunidades:

A qué edad se casan los varones aquí? \_\_\_\_ Es mayor o menor que la edad a que se casan los varones en su lugar de origen? Cuántos años?

9. Piense usted que existen mas o menos oportunidades para que las muchachas puedan ganar dinero en el asentamiento o en el lugar de donde vinieron? Por qué? EXPLÍQUESE CON DETALLES.

Si dice que existen mayores oportunidades:

A qué edad se casan las muchachas aquí? \_\_\_\_ Es mayor o menor que la edad a que se casan las muchachas en su lugar de origen? Cuántos años?

10. Trabaja usted en los cultivos? SI \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_ Si la respuesta es SI: Qué actividades agrícolas realiza? SI ELLA ES SOCIA: Cuánto le pagan por día? Si es una empleada cuánto le pagan por día? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué no trabaja usted en los cultivos? Le gustaría trabajar en los cultivos? QUÉ PIENSA SU ESPOSO DE SU TRABAJO EN LOS CULTIVOS? Le prohíbe él trabajar allí?

11. Está usted cultivando tierra que le han dado los hombres? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: Cuánta tierra es? Es buena tierra? (Mírela desde el punto de vista que si es montañosa, de buena o pobre calidad de suelo). Es bueno el suelo? Que cosas está cultivando? Todo lo que usted cultiva es para usarlo como alimento para la familia? Le ha sucedido alguna vez que ha cultivado más de lo que necesita la familia como alimento? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: QUE hace con eso? lo vende y secc alguna ganancia?

Es su propiedad más pequeña o grande que antes de llegar al asentamiento? Cuáles son los cambios y las razones para esto?

12 . Con qué frecuencia ha regresado usted a su casa en los últimos tres años? Si no ha ido ninguna vez: Por qué?

Envía, usted, dinero a sus padres o les ayuda de alguna manera?

De qué viven ellos? Viven ellos con otros hermanos o hermanas?

Posee usted todavía una parcela de tierra en el lugar donde viven sus padres (o sea en su casa)? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Quién la cultiva ahora? Ha pensado usted en economizar suficiente dinero para comprar otro pedazo de tierra en su lugar de origen? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Cree usted que lo podrá hacer?

Cuando usted piensa en usted como una persona ya de edad, piensa usted vivir en este asentamiento, en un asentamiento mejor o en su lugar de origen (de que maneras)?

13. Piensa usted que sus hijos e hijas permanecerán en el asentamiento y harán sus vidas aquí? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué nó? Preferiría usted que sus hijos se quedaran, movieran a otros asentamientos (de qué tipos?), se fueran a la ciudad, o se fueran a su lugar de origen? (Consiga las alternativas por separado para hijas e hijos al igual que las razones para la escogencia).

14. Heredó usted alguna tierra de sus padres? Cuánta? Heredaron alguno de sus hermanos o hermanas tierras? Quiénes fueron? Fué más o menos tierra que la suya? Por qué razones?

Qué piense usted ahora que no puede pasar ninguna de esta tierra a niños? Cree usted que ellos estarán mejor o peor que usted?

Piense usted que si hiciera, ahora, un sacrificio porque sus hijos o hijas tuvieran una mejor manera de vida, sería recompensado después por alguno de ellos? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Qué tipo de sacrificios?  
 SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO : Por qué razones?

15. Dispone usted de algunos animales? Si \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_

Tipo/cantidad	. Meses que vendió mas	. Meses que vendió - <i>menos</i>	. Ingreso		Meses que comió más
			Año Pac.	Actual	

Quién se encarga de cuidarlos? (La esposa, hija, hijos, esposo) 

Quién vende los diferentes productos de los animales?

Decidió usted la cantidad que iban a consumir? SÍ  NO   
Quién controla y dispone del ingreso de los diferentes productos de los animales? Cómo usa el dinero que gana de la venta de los animales?

Disponía usted de animales en el lugar de donde vino? SI  NO   
Cuántos de cada tipo? Quién se encargaba de cuidarlos? Quién vendía los productos de los diferentes animales? Quién controlaba y disponía del ingreso de los productos de los diferentes animales?

Le gustaría tener más animales? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: De que tipo?  
Por qué no tiene más?

16A. Cuánto dinero gana usted? (NOTA: Especifique cantidades por mes o por diferentes períodos del año o cuando el ingreso es mayor o menor/ Especifique los meses de mayor o menor ingreso):

-- Venta de huevos:

- Venta de alimentos (panes, pasteles), etc.

- Venta de animales:

- jornales agrícolas en el asentamiento:

- Jornales agrícolas fuera del asentamiento:

- Ingresos de proyectos de mejoría de la comunidad:

- Negocio:

- Otros (especifique):

16B. Puede usted controlar y disponer de todo el ingreso que usted gana o tiene que dar una parte a su compañero de hogar? (Recoger detalles en relación al ingreso de que fuente puede ella controlar y cuál no puede y por qué razones?).

16C. Del dinero que usted gana y dispone (no el que le da su marido), cuánto gasta en comida, ropa, medicinas, otros? (Especifique por mes).

17. Qué tan cerca se encontraba el agua dónde vivían antes? Cuántas horas le tomaba hacer un viaje a recoger agua? Cuántos viajes se hacían y quién los hacía?

A qué distancia se encuentre el agua aquí?

Cuántas

Cuántas horas le toma hacer un viaje (de ida y vuelta).

Cuántos viajes se hacen y quién los hace?

Si usted está muy ocupada y no puede halar el agua quién lo hace?

En qué tiempo no puede hacerlo? Qué actividades realiza?

18. Dónde lava la ropa? Qué distancia tiene que caminar para llegar allí?  
Cuántas veces por semana lava usted la ropa?

Si usted no puede lavar la ropa, porque está muy ocupada, quién lo h  
ce en vez de usted? SI ES LA HIJA : Con qué frecuencia?

En qué tiempo (días, meses ) no puede usted lavar la ropa? Qué actividades realice en vez de hacer ésta?

19. Se encuentra la leña mas cerca o lejos aquí o dónde vivían antes? Cuántas horas les tomaba antes hacer un viaje y quién de la familia estaba encargado de ésto? Cuántas horas lee toma, ahora, y quién es el encargado de ésto?

Si usted es la encargada y no puede hacerlo porque está muy ocupada, quién la trae en vez de usted?

En qué tiempo no puede hacerlo? Qué actividades realiza?

20. Han comprado algunas cosas que les puedan ayudar a economizar tiempo mientras cocinan, preparan alimentos o hacen otros quehaceres del hogar? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Cómo les ha afectado esto a: (a) mujeres; (b) hijas, Tiempo que ocupan en los quehaceres del hogar? (Cuánto tiempo gastan en hacer las tortillas?).  
Cuánto tiempo les ha economizado y de que manera usan este tiempo ahora: (a) las mujeres; y (b) las hijas?

21. Desde que llegó aquí; siente usted que : (a) el esposo; (b) la esposa (c) los hijos; (d) las hijas han estado más o menos enfermos que anteriormente?

Por cuántos días estuvo sin poder trabajar al mes pasado debido a enfermedad? Por cuánto tiempo estuvieron cada una de sus hijas?

SI ESTUVO ELLA EN EL HOSPITAL: Por cuánto tiempo? Quién cocinaba, cuidaba la casa y a los niños mientras estuvo allí?

Hay especialmente en su caso, más enfermedades y días días de no poder trabajar durante la época de lluvia?

Con que frecuencia han sido visitados por algún tipo de auxiliar de Salud? Cuánto tiempo les toma llegar al centro de salud? Qué enfermedad tuvo, o que tuvo su hijo o hija (especifique) desde que fue la última vez al centro de salud?

22. Alguna vez usted ha estado tan enferma que no pudo ni levantarse de la cama? Quién quedó con la familia? Quién (es) hizo todos los quehaceres? Cooperaron otros vecinos? Y su marido?

23. Cuáles de los alimentos que su familia necesitaba podían ustedes producir anteriormente? Y ahora, cuáles de los alimentos que necesita la familia es producido en su tierra individual?

Cúales alimentos tiene que comprar todavía?

24A. Cuánto dinero gastan semanalmente en alimentos? Quién pone ese dinero? Cómo cambia en los diferentes meses del año? Especifique: Contribución por persona y meses,

Persona que pone / dinero.	Cantidad de dinero		
	Meses buenos	Meses Regulares	Meses difíciles

Guarda, usted, alguna reserva de dinero para los meses más difíciles?

Habían algunos alimentos disponibles anteriormente para su familia con los cuales, usted, ahora no puede contar? Qué alimentos? Qué nuevos alimentos son ahora disponibles, si hay alguno?

Podría usted decir que en conjunto su familia tiene más o menos que lo que tenía antes?

Qué cambios alimenticios ha tenido que hacer su familia después del cambio de lugar?

Si algún alimento es comprado quién hace las compras y quién decide que cantidad de dinero será gastado y que tipo de alimento deberá comprarse?

Existen meses en el año cuando usted tiene que gastar menos en alimento y también hay escasez de alimentos disponibles? Cuáles meses y por qué?

24B. Su esposo le consulta a usted sobre lo que va a sembrar en su tierra individual?

25. Piensa usted que es más fácil o difícil para una: (a)viuda; (b)divorciada poder casarse aquí que en el lugar anterior? Por qué razones? Cuántas (a) viudas y (b) divorciadas se han casado desde que usted llegó aquí? Cuántos viudos y divorciados ?

26. Cuántos niños y cuántas niñas le gustaría tener? Cuántos hijos varones desearía tener para asegurarse de que haya alguien que le ayude? SI TIENE MENOS HIJOS VARNES DE LOS QUE ELLA DESEA TENER: Si el próximo niño que tenga es una niña, seguiría usted teniendo hijos? Y si otra vez tuviera otro parto y fuera otra niña, seguiría teniendo hijos? CONTINUE PREGUNTANDO HASTA QUE ELLA DIGA: "Ya no seguiría teniendo mas hijos".

27. Desde que usted llegó aquí, cuántos esposos han dejado o se han divorciado de sus esposas? Es esto más o menos igual que en el lugar de donde usted viene? Si es más o menos igual, cuál piense usted que es la razón?

Las mujeres frecuentemente sienten miedo a ser abandonadas por sus esposos o compañeros de hogar. Piense usted que las mujeres que quedan con niños pueden rehacer sus vidas por sí mismas? Bajo que condiciones puede la mujer hacerlo por sí misma?

Piense usted que una mujer con niños puede hacerlo mas fácilmente o mas difícilmente en el asentamiento o en el lugar de donde vino? Ha pensado usted que haría si su esposo la abandonara?

28. Desde que usted llegó aquí, piensa usted que mayor o menor cantidad de recién nacidos fallecen que anteriormente? Ha fallecido alguno de sus niños pequeños (hasta la edad de cinco años). ESPECIFIQUE LAS EDADES DEDDE QUE LLEGÓ AQUÍ. Cuáles fueron las causas de su Muerte?

29. Piensa usted que la mayoría de la gente aquí cree:

a. Las mujeres pueden al igual que los hombres manejar dinero.  
SI \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_ SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué?

Las mujeres trabajan igual que los hombres \_\_\_ menos que los hombres \_\_\_ más que los hombres \_\_\_. SI MENOS QUE LOS HOMBRES  
Por qué?

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b. Las mujeres no pueden sobrevivir sin la protección del hombre.  
SI \_\_\_ NO\_\_\_ SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Por qué?

c. Las mujeres pueden así como los hombres cultivar la tierra y producir algún cultivo. SI \_\_\_ NOO\_\_\_ SI DEPENDE DE LA TAREA: Especifique que tareas no puede ella y por qué?

d. Las mujeres pueden así como los hombres entender y adoptar nuevas ideas y practicarlas. SI \_\_\_ NO\_\_\_ SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué?

e. Las mujeres pueden así como los hombres usar herramientas y maquinaria agrícola. SI \_\_\_ NO \_\_\_ SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO/ Por qué?

f. Las mujeres pueden así como los hombres reparar las herramientas y maquinaria. SÍ  NO  SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué?

g. Las mujeres pueden así como los hombres tomar importantes decisiones sobre cultivo. SÍ  NO  SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO. Por qué?

H. Las mujeres son tan inteligentes  Más inteligentes  o menos inteligentes que los hombres . SI MENOS INTELIGENTES: Por qué?

I. Las mujeres trabajan tan duro como los hombres  menos duro que los hombres  mucho más duro que los hombres . SI MENOS DURO: Por qué?

j. Las mujeres pueden trabajar en un grupo junto con otras mujeres así como los hombres pueden trabajar en un grupo junto con otros hombres \_\_\_\_ Las mujeres no pueden trabajar tan bien con otras mujeres en un grupo. SI NO PUEDEN: Por qué?

30. Ha pertenecido usted alguna vez o pertenece usted ahora a alguna organización campesina tal como ANACH, FECORAH, UNC? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Organizan algún tipo de programa especial para mujeres? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: En que consistía exactamente este programa? Participó usted? Participó usted también en sesiones generales para hombres y mujeres? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: PUDO usted entender sobre lo que hablaban? Hizo usted alguna pregunta durante las sesiones? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Tuvo usted contag taciones a sus preguntas?  
En general siente usted que siendo un miembro le ha ayudado en cierta forma? Especifique razones.

31. Perteneció usted anteriormente (o pertenece usted ahora) a algún Club de Amas de Casa? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: Quién lo organizó? Cuántas mujeres son miembros? Qué actividades realizan? Siente usted que siendo un miembro le ha ayudado en cierta forma? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO. Por qué? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: De que forma le ha ayudado a usted?

32. Están las mujeres aquí organizadas en un grupo para poder empezar algún tipo de proyecto para ganar dinero? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Cuántas mujeres pertenecen a un grupo organizado? Qué es exactamente el proyecto conjunto? Quién les ayuda a organizarse? Es usted miembro del grupo? Existen algunas mujeres que no sean miembros? Por qué creen que no lo son? Existe alguna otra razón? Tiene objeción su esposo para que usted ingrese? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Cuáles son las razones? Tiene usted algún crédito? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Quién le ha otorgado crédito, cuánto y cuáles son las condiciones? Ha podido usted pagar el préstamo? SI ES AUTOFINANCIAMIENTO: Cuánto ha contribuido cada mujer? Como se usa el dinero? Que ha podido hacer con este dinero?

Lleve alguien los libros para saber cuánto se ha gastado y cuánto se ha ganado? Han podido obtener alguna ganancia en el año pasado? Cuánto? Qué uso le dieron? Están tratando de conseguir crédito de otras fuentes? De dónde? Le ha pedido ayuda el Ina?

Sabe usted que el BANADESA puede darle ahora crédito a grupos de mujeres que tienen proyectos agrícolas u otros tipos de ganancias monetarias? Ha tenido usted alguna ayuda de las promotoras del INA de cómo sacar su trabajo en el proyecto (ejem.: si tienen abejas, fueron informadas sobre lo que necesitaban saber sobre abejas: cómo colectar la miel y prepararla para su venta?).

Cuántas veces fue visitada por una promotora del INA el mes pasado?

Cuándo fue la última vez que fue visitada por una promotora del INA?

SI EL PROYECTO NO ES PARA GANAR DINERO: Consiga tanta información como le sea posible sobre lo que hace, cuántas mujeres están involucradas, de que otras formas ayudan a otras mujeres y de que maneras (ejem. si es un comedor infantil ).

33.           Alguna vez en su vida le ha tocado a usted sola, mantener a sus niños?   Cómo lo hizo?   Quién le ayudó?

34. Qué cree que va a estar haciendo dentro de cinco años?

Qué cree usted que va a estar haciendo dentro de diez años?

Qué cree usted que va a estar haciendo dentro de 15 años?

a. Piensa usted que dentro de cinco años se encontrará sola (sin un hombre para ayudarle a usted y sus hijos?)

SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Qué planes tiene usted para tener mayor seguridad/ SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: POR QUÉ?

b. Cree usted que dentro de diez años se encontrará sola (sin un hombre que le ayude a usted y a sus hijos?)

SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Qué planes tiene usted para tener mayor seguridad? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por qué?

c. Cree usted que dentro de 15-20 años se encontrará sola (sin hombre para ayudarle a usted y sus hijos?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Qué plan tiene para tener mayor seguridad?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: por qué no?

35. Cuánto dinero gana usted por mes y por año?

Cuánto dinero gana su esposo por mes y por año?

Cuánto ganan sus hijos por mes y por año? ESPECIFIQUE. P/c Uno.

Cuánto dinero ganan sus hijas por mes y por año? ESPECIFIQUE C/UNA/

36. Puede decir que ahora que está en el asentamiento gana usted más o menos dinero? Qué estaba haciendo usted antes de llegar al asentamiento para poder ganar algún dinero que ahora no le es posible hacerlo? Por qué razón no le es posible hacerlo?

PREGUNTAS PARA ESPOSAS

1. Cuántos años tiene?  
Cuántas personas viven con usted en esta casa y que parentesco tienen con usted?

HOMBRES	EDAD	MUJERES	EDAD
Hijo # 1		Hija # 1	
Hijo # 2		Hija # 2	

2. Tiene usted otros hijos además de los que viven con usted por ahora? SI  
LA CONTESTACION ES SÍ: Cuántos hijos? Cuántas hijas? Donde se encuentran?

Si alguno de ellos se ha ido: Le envían dinero algunas veces?  
Regularmente en un plan mensual? Cuanto dinero le envían?

Si menciona que algunos han fallecido: Cuántos hijos han fallecido y a que edad? Cuántas hijas han fallecido y a que edad?

Si ella no ha mencionado que alguno de ellos ha fallecido: Ha fallecido algún niño?

Si la contestación es sí: Cuántos hijos y a que edad? Cuántas hijas y a que edad?

Cuántos años tenía cuando se unió con su compañero de hogar?

- a. Antes de esta unión tuvo usted alguna otra unión? A que edad? Tuvo usted hijos de esta unión? Cuantos de ellos viven y adonde? Que sucedió con esta unión? Le envía todavía el hombre algún dinero para los niños? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Cuánto le envía y con que frecuencia? Cuantas otras uniones tuvo usted? Cuantos niños ha tenido con cada compañero de hogar? (detalles de todas las uniones).
3. Asistió usted a la escuela? Por cuantos años? Cuantos grados hizo? SI ELLA NUNCA ASISTIÓ A LA ESCUELA: Cual fue el motivo? SI ASISTIÓ A LA ESCUELA POR ALGUNOS AÑOS Y DESPUES SE RETIRÓ: Porque dejó de asistir a la escuela? Puede usted leer? Puede usted escribir?
4. Ha tenido usted otro tipo de capacitación, en cursos, en programas? SI LA CONTESTACIÓN ES SÍ: De que tipo? Que aprendió? Fue antes o después de llegar al asentamiento?

Ha habido algún programa o adiestramiento disponible para las mujeres de su comunidad o asentamiento que usted no haya recibido? Que era exactamente? Fue antes o después de llegar al asentamiento? Porque no lo recibió?

Hay algunos cursos o programas en el asentamiento en los que las mujeres no puedan participar? De que tipo son? Y por que no son disponibles para las mujeres? Se han quejado las mujeres por esto? Y que sucedió?

5. a. Cuántos de sus (a) hijas; (b) hijos asisten a la escuela? (Consiga los datos detallados sobre las edades y los grados a que asisten).  
Asisten sus hijas a la escuela todos los días? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Con que frecuencia (cuantos días/semanas) no pueden asistir a la escuela y por que razones? Pueden sus hijas estudiar sus deberes todos los días?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Con que frecuencia pueden sus hijas estudiar sus deberes todos los días?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Con que frecuencia (cuantos días/semanas) no pueden asistir a la escuela y por que razones? Pueden sus hijos estudiar sus deberes todos los días? SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Con que frecuencia no pueden y porque razones?

- b. Cuántos de sus hijas o hijos mayores han asistido a la escuela y cuantos años han completado (consiga en detalle del dato escolar para cada hijo e hija).
- c. Si solamente algunos de los niños pueden ir a la escuela debido a que los otros se les necesita para trabajos domésticos, cuales niños (hijos o hijas) serán enviados a la escuela y porque razones?
- d. Ha tenido usted que escoger entre mandar a un hijo o hija a la escuela, cómo fue que lo decidió y porque razones?

e. Piensa usted que un hijo educado tiene las mismas, mayores o menores oportunidades que una hija con igual educación de ganarse un ingreso fijo y ayudar a los padres y porque razones?

6. Tiene Ud. una parcela de tierra que puede Ud. cultivar? SI LA  
RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Cuánta tierra es?

Es bueno el suelo? (calidad de suelo)

Que cosas esta Us. cultivando? (especifique)

Todo lo que Ud. cultiva es para usarlo como alimento para la familia? Le ha sucedido alguna vez que ha producido más de lo que necesita la familia? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Qué hace con eso? Lo vende y saca algún dinero?

7. Con que frecuencia ha visitado sus padres en los últimos 3 años? Si no ha ido ninguna vez, porque?

Envia dinero a sus padres o les ayuda de alguna manera?

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De que viven ellos? Viven ellos con otros hermanos o hermanas?

8. <sup>/</sup>Cuanto dinero contribuye su esposo por comida semanalmente? (especifique variaciones por mes)

<sup>/</sup>Cuanto contribuye su esposo para comida en alimentos semanalmente (o por mes)? (especifique variaciones)

<sup>/</sup>Cuanto dinero contribuye Ud. para comida en alimentos semanalmente (o por mes)? (especifique variaciones)

<sup>/</sup>Cuanto dinero contribuyen sus hijos por comida semanalmente? (especifique variaciones y edad de hijos)

<sup>/</sup>Cuanto dinero contribuyen sus hijas por comida semanalmente? (especifique variaciones y edad de hijas)

9. Quien(es) compra(n) los alimentos para la familia?

SI ELLA MISMA: Que compra, donde, cuantas veces a la semana (especifique variaciones)①

Que compra su compañero de hogar, donde, cuántas veces a la semana  
(especifique variaciones durante diferentes épocas del año)

10. Participó en alguna toma de tierra (o emigración organizada)?  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Que opina sobre esa experiencia?

Preferiría Ud. vivir en ese asentamiento o aquí? Y porqué?

11. Qué opina sobre la reforma agraria? Cree Ud. que ha beneficiado a los  
campesinos?

Quiénes se han beneficiado mas?

Cree Ud. que ha beneficiado a las campesinas igual que a los campesinos?  
(especifique - razones).

12. Que opina Ud. sobre el trabajo colectivo?

13. Dispone usted de algunos animales? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Cuantos de cada tipo? Quien se encarga de cuidarlos? (la esposa, hija, hijos, esposo)? Cuanto dinero ganó el año pasado con cada tipo? Quién vende los diferentes productos de los animales? Mantiene usted algo para alimento de la familia? (especifique cuantos animales consumió, cuantos vendió y cuanto ganó por meses buenos, medios y difíciles).

SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Cuantos de cada tipo consumió usted el año pasado? Decidió usted la cantidad que iban a consumir? Quién controla y dispone del ingreso de los diferentes productos de los animales? Como usa el dinero que gana de la venta de los animales? 12

14. Que tan cerca se encontraba el agua donde vivía antes? Cuántas horas le tomaba hacer un viaje a recoger agua? Cuántos viajes se hacían y quien los hacía?

A que distancia se encuentra el agua donde vivía antes? Cuántas horas le tomaba hacer un viaje (de ida y venida), y cuantos viajes se hacen y quien los hace? (consiga la cantidad de ayuda que recibe la persona encargada de hacer los viajes a recoger agua). SI TOMA MÁS TIEMPO AHORA: Dado que toma mas tiempo ahora y que usted y sus hijos e hijas tienen que tomar más tiempo, que efectos tiene en:

Su disponibilidad para trabajar en los cultivos

Su disponibilidad para poder organizar con otras mujeres el principio de algún tipo de proyecto para poder ganar dinero

La disponibilidad de sus hijas para poder ir a la escuela

La disponibilidad de sus hijos para poder ir a la escuela.

NOTA: NO HAY PREGUNTAS No. 15 y 16.

17. Hacen algo sus hijos para ganar algún dinero? SÍ \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

Que hacen exactamente?

Cuánto dinero ganan (fluctuaciones de mes en mes - detalles)?

A que edad empezaron a ganar algún dinero?

A que edad empezaron a ganar un ingreso regular?

A que edad empezaron a ayudar en quehaceres domésticos (especifique cuales)?

A que edad empezaron a ayudar a cuidar niños?

A que edad empezaron a trabajar en tareas agrícolas (especifique cuales)?  
Cuánto se le pagó?

Cuando empezaron a ganar un ingreso regular trabajando en tareas agrícolas?

18. Le dan o dieron sus hijos parte del dinero que ganan o ganaron?  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Cuánto? Y que hacen con el dinero que ellos guardan para sí? Como lo usan?

19. Les ayudan a ganar un poco más de dinero sus hijos ayudándoles en el trabajo de ustedes?  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Describa en detalle cómo y cuánto dinero más?

20. Hacen algo sus hijas para ganar algún dinero? SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Que hacen exactamente? Cuanto dinero ganan?

A que edad empezaron a ganar algun dinero?

A que edad empezaron a ganar un ingreso regular?

A que edad empezaron a ayudar en quehaceres domésticos (especifique cuales)?

A que edad empezaron a ayudar a cuidar niños?

A que edad empezaron a trabajar en tareas agrícolas (especifique cuales)?  
Cuánto se le pagó?

¿Cuándo empezaron a ganar un ingreso regular trabajando en tareas agrícolas?

21. Le dan o dieron sus hijas parte del dinero que ganan o ganaron?  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: ¿Cuánto? ¿Y que hacen con el dinero que ellas guardan para sí? ¿Como lo usan?
22. Les ayudan a ganar un poco más de dinero sus hijas ayudándoles en el trabajo de ustedes?  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Describa en detalle cómo y cuánto dinero más?
23. Puede Ud. controlar y disponer de todo el ingreso que usted gana de todas las fuentes? (especifique cuál ingreso y de que fuente puede Ud. controlar y disponer y cuál ingreso y de que fuente Ud. no puede controlar y disponer y por que razones)

24. En cuales tareas agrícolas trabaja Ud.? (especifique) En cuales meses trabaja Ud. en el campo y en cuales tareas?

Cuánto le pagan por día por su trabajo?

Qué piensa su esposo de su trabajo en los cultivos? Le prohíbe de trabajar allí? Porque?

25. a. Cómo hace usted el mercado de sus productos (medio de transporte, distancias, tarifas? (detalles)

b. Quién se encarga de vender la producción de la familia? Cómo hace?

26. Su esposo le consulta a Ud. sobre lo que va a sembrar? (especifique los casos en que lo consulta o no)

27. Piensa Ud. que las mujeres que quedan solas con niños pueden rehacer sus vidas por si mismas? Bajo que condiciones puede la mujer sola hacerlo por si misma?

28. Piensa usted que es más facil o difícil para: (a) una viuda; (b) una divorciada poder casarse aquí que en el lugar anterior? Porque razones? Cuántas: (a) viudas y (b) divorciadas se han casado desde que usted llegó? y cuántos: (a) viudos y divorciados?

29. Cuántos niños y cuántas niñas le gustaría tener? Cuantos hijos varones desearía tener para asegurarse de que haya alguien que le ayudara? SI TIENE MENOS HIJOS VARONES DE LOS QUE ELLA DESEA TENER: Si el próximo niño que tenga es una niña, seguiría usted teniendo hijos? Y si otra vez tuviera otro niño y fuera otra niña, seguiría usted teniendo hijos? CONTINUE PREGUNTANDO HASTA QUE ELLA DIGA: Ya no seguiria teniendo mas niños.

30. Cuántos días no pudo trabajar el mes pasado debido a enfermedad?

días.  
Se enfermó el año pasado? mes \_\_\_\_\_ días perdidos \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

De que se enfermó y que hizo?

Quién le ayudó cuando estuvo enferma?  
Quién realizó sus tareas?

31. Ha fallecido alguno de sus niños pequeños (hasta los 5 años de edad)?  
SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Especifique cuantos, de que edad y cuales fueron las causas de su muerte (consiga la cantidad y las edades así como la razón de la muerte).

32. Piensa usted que la mayoría de la gente aquí cree que:

a. Las mujeres pueden al igual que los hombres manejar dinero. SI \_\_\_\_\_  
NO \_\_\_\_\_. SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por que?

b. Las mujeres no podrían sobrevivir sin la protección del hombre  
SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_. SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Por que?

c. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres cultivar la tierra y producir algún cultivo. SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ SI DEPENDE DE LA TAREA: especifique que tareas no puede ella y porque?

d. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres entender y adoptar nuevas ideas y practicarlas. SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_. SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

e. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres usar herramientas y maquinarias agrícolas SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_. SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

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- f. Las mujeres podrían como los hombres reparar las herramientas y maquinaria. SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?
- g. Las mujeres podrían así como los hombres tomar importantes decisiones sobre cultivo. SI \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?
- h. Las mujeres son tan inteligentes \_\_\_\_\_ mas inteligentes \_\_\_\_\_ o menos inteligentes que los hombres \_\_\_\_\_ SI MENOS INTELIGENTES: Por que?
- i. Las mujeres trabajan tan duro como los hombres \_\_\_\_\_ menos duro que los hombres \_\_\_\_\_ mucho más duro que los hombres \_\_\_\_\_ SI MENOS DURO: Por que?
- j. Las mujeres trabajan igual que los hombres \_\_\_\_\_ menos que los hombres \_\_\_\_\_ mucho más que los hombres \_\_\_\_\_ SI MENOS: Porque?
- k. Las mujeres pueden trabajar en un grupo junto con otras mujeres así como los hombres pueden trabajar en un grupo junto con otros hombres \_\_\_\_\_ las mujeres no pueden trabajar tan bien con otras mujeres en un grupo. \_\_\_\_\_ SI NO PUEDÉN: Por qué?

33. Cuáles de los alimentos que necesita su familia es producido en su tierra?

Cuáles alimentos tienen que comprar?

Cuánto dinero gasta usted semanalmente en alimentos?

34. Donde lava la ropa? Que distancia tiene que caminar para llegar allí?  
 Cuantas veces por semana lava usted la ropa? Y quien le ayuda? SI ES LA HIJA: Va ella algunas veces en vez de que vaya usted? Con que frecuencia?

35. Se encuentra la leña mas cerca o lejos que cuando vivian antes? Cuántas horas les tomaba antes hacer un viaje y quién de la familia estaba encargado de esto? Cuántas horas les toma y quién es el encargado de esto? Quien le ayuda? (especifique sexo, edad, cuantas veces).

36. Han comprado algunas cosas que les puedan ayudar a economizar tiempo mientras cocinan, preparan alimentos o hacen otros quehaceres del hogar? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Como les ha afectado ésto a: (a) mujeres; (b) hijas, tiempo que ocupan en los quehaceres del hogar? Cuanto tiempo les ha economizado y de que manera usan este tiempo ahora: (a) las mujeres; y (b) hijas?

37. Es socia usted de algún grupo de mujeres? En que consiste exactamente los programas de ese grupo?

Su participacion en ese grupo le ha ayudado a ganar más dinero (especifique cómo)

Tiene crédito el grupo o otro medio de financiamiento? (detalles)

Ha tenido el grupo alguna ayuda de promotores de agencias de servicio? (especifique).

38. Cuánto dinero gana usted? (especifique fuentes y cantidades por mes o por diferentes períodos del año - cuando el ingreso es mayor o menor - especifique los meses de mayor y menor ingreso).

Venta de huevos?

Venta de animales?

Venta de alimentos (panes, pasteles)?

Jornada agrícola en el pueblo?

Ingresos de proyectos de mujeres de la comunidad?

Negocio?

Otro (especifique)?

39. Como utiliza usted el dinero que gana? Que compra? (especifique)

40. Cuánto dinero gana su esposo por mes y por año (fluctuaciones por meses difíciles, buenos, etc.)

Cuánto dinero ganan sus hijos por mes y por año? (especifique por cada uno)

Cuánto dinero ganan sus hijas por mes y por año? (especifique por cada una).

Cuánto dinero ganan otros miembros de la familia? (especifique por cada miembro).

SI OTROS MIEMBROS DE LA FAMILIA GANAN DINERO: Le dan los otros miembros de la familia parte (o todo) del dinero que ganan?

Cuánto dinero contribuyen los otros miembros para la comida?

A cuales quehaceres domésticos y tareas agrícolas le ayudan otros miembros de la familia (excepto hijos) -(especifique)

41. Que cree Ud. que va a estar haciendo dentro de 5 años, 10 años, 15 - 20 años?

a. Piensa Ud. que es posible que dentro de 5 años se encontrara sola sin un hombre para ayudarla a Ud. y sus hijos? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: Que plan tiene para tener mayor seguridad?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

b. Cree Ud. que es posible que en 10 años se encontrara sola sin un hombre para ayudarla? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SI: Que plan tiene para asegurarse?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

c. Cree Ud. que es posible que en 15-20 años se encontrara sola sin un hombre para ayudarla? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ: Que plan tiene para asegurarse?

SI LA RESPUESTA ES NO: Porque?

42. Alguna vez en su vida le ha tocado a Ud. sola, mantener a sus niños? Cómo lo hizo? Quién le ayudó?

43. Con que frecuencia le visitó en el año pasado:

Una promotora de salud?

Una promotora social?

Un agrónomo?

THE IMPACT OF AGRARIAN REFORM ON  
MEN AND WOMEN IN HONDURAS

APPENDIX III: DESCRIPTION OF ASENTAMIENTOS, COMMUNITIES  
OF ORIGIN AND WOMEN'S GROUPS

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1. Evolution of the asentamiento.

Interviews with the members of this group showed that there had been several stages in the development of this asentamiento. Initially these lands had belonged to the United Fruit Company. The company left and the lands were returned to the Honduran state. In 1970, 76 persons from the village founded an organization to take over the land and continue its exploitation. Of the original members only 4 remain.

In 1971 INA sent a commission to visit the group and evaluate its claim on the land. In 1972 the group started growing citrus and African oil palm.

In 1977-1978 INA sponsored a large migration to new asentamientos. More than 105 families left Comayagua and Francisco Mbrazán. INA had promoted the move, was behind the peasants' meetings in their communities of origin, and supplied the vehicles for the transportation of the interested families. Besides INA, activists of UNC were also promoting migration to asentamientos.

Some of the people that ended up here had made a stop in Tocoa where they were contacted by the president of the cooperative "Central Zamora" who invited them to become members of the cooperative. Recollection of what happened next is confused. Some say that admission requests were waived for them because the cooperative needed new members urgently; others say they had to complete a 60-day trial period and were asked to pay an admission fee but since they could not afford the money the cooperative did not press the matter.

In any case, people arrived at the cooperative in 1977 and in 1978. They had come to this coastal region as part of the already mentioned migration sponsored by INA and promoted by UNC. Some came upon hearing an initiation of

the officials of the cooperative, some came after hearing that the cooperative was an ongoing concern already and that it needed new members.

Also there were people that came for other reasons. Like the one that had a friend in the group, that friend wrote him about the opportunity open for new members, and he came to join in. Or like the one who came to visit his sons-in-law, saw how they were doing, and stayed with them.

Member turnover has been high. Of the late arrivals, for example, there are only 10 families left out of 45 that joined the group originally.

In 1982 it had 53 members.

## 2. Formal organization.

Cooperative "Central Zamora" exhibits the regular features of this kind of organization: executive committee, vigilance committee, education committee, president, vice-president, secretary, etc. It also includes a work coordinator who is in charge of day-to-day tasks. His role is to assign day-to-day tasks to the members.

## 3. Crops, livestock, and product processing on the cooperative premises.

The cooperative has collective and individual crops. Individual crops are mainly maize and beans. Collective crops are African oil palm, citrus and maize. Members can keep individually owned cattle on the fields of the African oil palm plantation.

The cooperative has an extracting plant for oil, and a packing plant for citrus.

#### 4. Collective vs. individual use of land.

In general the cooperative allows its members to work as much land as they can on an individual basis. They take this opportunity because, for a number of them, work on individual plots is the main source of personal income. However, their main duty with the cooperative is to do their assigned tasks on the collective crops. Work in collective land is paid by "tarea" or task. Since the cooperative gives them leave from collective work only one or two days a week, the average member's ability to work on his own is greatly reduced. Individual crops are attended to only on days off and after completing the daily task of collective work. As a result individual plots vary between one and two manzanas. Some who have the means to do so pay day laborers to farm their individual crops.

Until around 1979 the cooperative's policy was to assign a piece of land to each member for individual cultivation. Now that everybody can cultivate as much land as he is capable of, the cooperative pays a tractor to prepare one manzana for each member. Larger extensions are paid for by the interested member.

#### 5. Decision making process.

According to some interviews, the executive committee prepares plans and projects of action for the cooperative and submits them for approval to the general assembly. Product sales are made by the executive committee with the attendance of a member of the vigilance committee.

Regarding admissions, the experience of a member that did not arrive with a group was that after completing a 60-day trial period his application for membership was accepted by decision of the general assembly.

6. Agricultural machinery.

The cooperative uses tractors for cultivation of collective and individual land. According to some respondents, some agricultural machinery has been made available to the cooperative by RRNN but it is not clear to what extent the cooperative has its own share of machinery or only manages the RRNN's equipment.

Members have access to the cooperative's truck to transport their own products. One respondent reported that he also used oxen for this purpose.

7. Access to employment and income generating activities.

Work opportunities include tasks in collective land, day-labor at a member's individual plot, or employment at the oil extracting plant and at the citrus packing plant. These opportunities, however, are limited by the number of positions available, which fall short of the number of employable persons in the asentamiento.

Men, as holders of the membership right within the cooperative, have access to all these opportunities. Women can work in the harvests of palm nuts and grapefruits, in the plants, or in the assorted activities traditionally reserved for them: preparing food for others than members of the family, washing other people's clothes, as seamstresses, and selling toys, sodas, or vegetables.

Young sons and daughters can work in the harvests. But for more permanent occupation they must get a job with a business store in Tocoa or accept being a domestic in Zamora. In one interview the respondent said that there were no work opportunities for women in the asentamiento.

8. Access to credit and technical assistance.

The only credit facility respondents found worth reporting was that provided by the village's general store where they shop for groceries and other household and farm necessities. One respondent reported that BANADESA gives credit to the peasants, and another reported that his family uses a bank's services to keep its savings.

Technical assistance was reported by them as given in the form of courses on the following topics:

- vegetable cultivation
- sewing, which was attended by four women from the cooperative
- cultivation of citrus, sponsored by INFOP and RRNN
- cultivation of African oil palm, sponsored by INA

Training and development of skills is basically male-oriented and women have few opportunities in this regard since they are seldom informed in advance of coming courses or invited to take part in them.

9. Access to schools.

Children of the asentamiento attend elementary school, but respondents do not give information on the number of students and teachers, size of classes, or quality of teaching.

For a time there were evening classes that adult members of asentamiento were able to attend but they stopped.

Other courses that have been offered are:

- What is a cooperative? How to manage an enterprise?: These were only for men.
- Basic accounting, for those that already knew how to read.

- Several courses on cooperativism, sponsored by FECORAL and PROCCARA
- Human relations, sponsored by ANACH.

10. Access to health facilities.

Health promoters came by offering to help supply the community with drinkable water and to build latrines. Last time people heard from them was four months before our interviews. Some people had received help to build latrines at their houses, some had not.

There are health centers in Tocoa and in Zamora. Respondents' appreciation of distances varies greatly. For some Zamora is only five minutes from home, for others it is twenty minutes away. For some Tocoa is half an hour away, for others it is two hours away, and for a third category it is an hour away by bus in which case the fare is L.1.00.

There is a state hospital in Tocoa, but people from the asentamiento do not always go there to see the doctor, or to the health center either. Some respondents said that they visited a private doctor in Tocoa.

At Zamora's health center mothers can obtain the services of the healthy baby ("niño sano") program.

11. Access to roads.

There is a road now that links the asentamiento to Zamora and continues on to Tocoa.

Thanks to this road the local peasants can get better prices for their products. However, as one respondent pointed out, prices may still be lower here than in more densely inhabited areas. There is less traffic on the road here.

Another aspect is that buyers come to the asentamiento to buy individual production and that way the producer peasants save transportation costs.

12. Access to services.

A. INA has built some houses for the peasants in the asentamiento.

Dwellers do not agree with the price charged by INA and refuse to pay, or to make improvements or repairs. They also feel that they are not full owners yet and doubt if they will ever be.

B. There is a public mill in Zamora for maize grinding. A woman pays L.0.20 to L.0.25 for the grinding of 8 lbs. of maize.

13. Zamora Housewives' club.

At the time of the interviews the cooperative "Central Zamora" had no housewives' club or women's group of any description although on previous occasions such groups had existed.

In 1977 there was a group that had been organized with the help of an INA promotor. It lasted six months. The INA promotor brought the group seed for the vegetable project and some funds were obtained by selling food. Maize, carrots, radishes, watermelons and onions were sown. Many of the members did not work at all in the project - and some worked harder than others. The harvest was bad and there were disagreements about the distribution of the proceeds that amounted to about L. 100 plus some produce. As a consequence, no more projects were attempted and the group ceased to exist.

In 1980 an INA promotor also helped organize a second group. It started with 15 members and finished with 3. It lasted four months.

Although there was some initial reluctance on the part of the men to let the women use land a second time, this was overcome, and about one manzana of flat land was obtained, located 100 yards from the nearest houses. One of the women interviewed was more explicit about the whole affair. She said that the men held a meeting to decide whether they would allow the women to try a second time with their own group. Again they decided upon a vegetable project: Yucca, maize, tomato and cabbage were sown - but, according to some, they were badly cared for and suffered from insect attack.

As in the previous project, some of the women were much more punctual in their work than others and the results of this were apparent at harvest time. Finally, the group disbanded because some members went to work when they felt like it and during the night they stole the vegetables; some other members one day harvested what was left and distributed it among all members, according to the information given by several women. Tensions rose, and one member reportedly challenged another to a machete fight, saying that "she didn't have her husband fight her battles for her." (It was noted that she was from Ciancho - an area notorious for its violence). Also, members became discouraged because the group had been offered food for help and it never arrived. Some of the members of this last group explained how they ended up working for someone else's benefit when other members stole the crops and sold them for their own profit.

Another complaint was that INA promoters, after having started the group, failed to visit it regularly and provide them with technical assistance regarding the proper care of the crops and the management of the group.

Some respondents mentioned another effort to establish a CAC in the asentamiento. This time the group bought the vegetable seeds and distributed

them among its members who would plant their backyards. Probably since this was not a collective effort that could have held the group together, this was the last attempt to create a CAC.

At the time of the interviews, when women were asked why there was no income-generating group for them in the asentamiento they said that a previous organization had disbanded; that there were strong disagreements among women in the asentamiento; that there was resistance to women's leadership; and that women would not get land within the asentamiento because of male members' opposition. Their reasons summarize the negative reactions resulting from previous CACs' failures.

## II. Los Colorados

### 1. Description of the Los Colorados village.

The Colorados asentamiento is bordered on one side by a UNC asentamiento, (Los Limones), by the village on one side and on two sides by land belonging to the Midencis. In the Colorados village there is also UNC-assisted 'small-farmers group.' There is little timber, and there are factories nearby. Consequently the major occupations of the people are either working as day-laborers for the larger land-owners, small-holders, or working in the agrarian reform groups. It is also possible for some young men to get offseason work in the cane fields of Monjivas: they must sign a contract for a season and a lorry picks the workers up and brings them back daily. The new, permanently cultivated irrigated rice project (owned by the Medencis and others) is also a source of work for some people (bird-scaring, weeding, planting).

For women, the only sources of income are raising animals and selling washed jícara seed. This seed is the basic ingredient of the noro soft drink and the price in Choluteca is approximately fifty cents (Lps.0.50) per pound. The gourd-like fruits must be picked and stored till ripe. They must then be broken and the contents (black-gunge and seed) must be washed (this is done in the river, since it requires considerable quantities of water), leaving only the seed. The seed is then left to dry in the sun. A skilled seed washer may wash about 10 lbs. of seed (dry) per day. However, the seed collecting also requires hard work, and the weekly output does not normally exceed 25 lbs. The seed is only generally available in the early part of the dry season and the yearly output of a jícara washing-woman probably does not exceed 3 gg., which is worth about L.150.00.

For young women a much more lucrative alternative exists in the form of domestic work in Choluteca and Tegucigalpa. Monthly wage rates vary between L.60.00 and L.120.00, with the employer paying board and lodging. Not infrequently, the employers permit the domestic worker to attend night school. Work of this kind is very easy to obtain -- and it is often commented that it is easier for a girl to get a job than a boy. It is relatively more difficult to obtain factory work -- which in most cases is very low paying (L.150.00 per month or less -- from which food, lodging and travel must be paid).

The village of Los Colorados is located 10 kilometers northeast of Choluteca on the east bank of the Choluteca River. There are now 104 houses, and the community itself dates from about 80 years back or more, though the original site was destroyed by a flood in the 1930s. However, it has only been in the past twenty years that it has grown in size -- due to the dispute over the ownership of the land.

## 2. Evolution of the asentamiento

A woman villager of Los Colorados, Augustina Arriaga, had a long standing claim to the land, but a local powerful land-owning family, the Midencis, were occupying it. To assist her in her efforts, various relatives persuaded and helped her consult a lawyer. His advice was that she should try to get more support by getting other families to occupy the land as well, and as a result various families settled there. The dispute dragged on and in the late 1960s an ANACH promoter organized them into a group. At this time one of our respondents attended a meeting organized by José Ariaga but he disagreed with what they intended to do because he had no complaints against Midenci's family (whose land the peasants were planning to occupy), but later Midenci

himself advised the respondent to join the peasant's group because if he didn't he wouldn't have land to cultivate.

With the hope of getting land for agricultural purposes more families migrated to the community from the densely populated and arid municipality of Orocuina. However, it was not until 1974 that the group was given 115 manzanas of land for the sixty members that joined. This was a sort of compromise reached by INA that decided that the land was national but since the Mideci were cultivating part of it it gave them half of their claims, and gave the peasants the other half. This consisted of a flat dry soil that was densely wooded and which consequently required clearing before it could be utilized. The land was to be used individually, each member being responsible for approximately two manzanas.

The original members can be divided up into two basic categories -- those from Orocuina and those from the two neighboring villages, Los Colorados and Las Cabezas. The municipio of Orocuina has a very high population density (it having been a mining area in colonial times) and there are now many landless families. Consequently, the migrants from Orocuina were erstwhile share-croppers who wished to obtain land of their own. On the contrary, many of the founder members from Las Cabezas had some land of their own, but wished to get more, especially for cattle grazing. It was these medium-small holders who provided the leadership and stimulus for the group to obtain land in the beginning -- and some of them actually owned some land in the middle of the asentamiento (which continues to be an unresolved problem to this day).

In 1975 the group obtained a further 135 manzanas through INA, making a total of 250 manzanas. It is possible that this figure is underestimated, and some members think that the true total is probably 300 manzanas. Only

about one third is arable at present, the rest being range-type pasture (jicaro trees, legume trees and shrubs and natural grass). One of our respondents estimated the amount of good land at 80 manzanas.

Membership in the group has shrunk steadily. After the first year it went down to almost half of the initial number of members and since then it has been on the decrease as shown by the following table:

Year	Members
1974	60
1975	37
1976	31
1978	26
1979	21
1980	19
1981	18

It must be noted that one of the founding members of the asentamiento said to our interviewer that there were 65 members in the group at the time INA granted them the land.

The first members to leave the group were the ones who did not want to cut down the woods and undergrowth, even for their own personal cultivation; many of them had some land of their own, and membership in the group had only added more work for them to do since it had increased the size of their individual holdings. However, when the land was parceled up, and when each person was allocated a parcel, they considered that the effort would not be justified, and decided to continue cultivating only their own personal

property. Six people were obliged to leave the group before a loan could be granted; it was known that they had more land than was permitted in order for them to be beneficiaries of the agrarian reform.

Only two members have been expelled from the group — (the brother of the regional ANACH representative and the son of one of the members) for misuse of funds. In all other cases, the members withdrew from the group on their own accord. The reason given by some of the remaining members is that "they wanted pay every Saturday" although it is also thought that the long run of failing collective projects must have influenced their decision. It is also noticeable that the remaining members have considerably increased the individual work and reduced the collective work.

Of the members who left, those who were from the neighboring village of Las Cabezas have remained there, cultivating their property individually. Very few have left the village (one to become a hunting tour guide). Less information is available about what happened to those who were from Orocuina, since contact was broken after they left the Colorados village and returned to their villages of origin.

The influx of new members has been very small. Since the group was given land only six new people have joined, of whom five have retired. All of them were from the same village and they requested membership in the assembly of members.

There are no special conditions for new members and no entry contribution is required of them. The new member who stayed is related to one of the original members, from Orocuina. The herdsman, the son of the 1981 president, has expressed no desire to join the group even though there would be no objection to him joining.

Three of the original members were women, one of whom left in 1975 because she owned more land than was permitted under the agrarian reform law (for agrarian reform beneficiaries). One of the others has a husband, but it was feared that his advanced age (seventy years at the time) would have excluded him from being eligible for membership in an agrarian reform group. The third woman member is a single woman with children. Her son is now the worker, although she takes part in the meetings, and previously, when her children were too young to work, she paid day laborers to do her share. Apparently, there were other single women who could have joined, but they decided not to "because they did not like agricultural work."

### 3. Collective and individual use of land

The asentamiento's land is divided into three parts: 18 manzanas for individual cultivation, 40 manzanas for collective cultivation, and the rest for cattle grazing. These are approximate measures. Individual plots are said to be 1 or 1 1/2 manzanas, and some are 4 manzanas; some even up to 6 manzanas. What respondents do not make clear is whether these extensions include personal property that was enclosed by the large trace of land assigned by INA to the asentamiento.

The collective part is restricted in use. Members of the asentamiento cannot keep individually owned cattle on it. This is going to change however. At the time of our interviews they had already decided that in their next planting season they would have only individual crops. Also, some members were already saying that if they receive title to the land they will divide it up among them.

4. Formal organization.

The "asentamiento" is organized as a cooperative with the committees and officials standard to this kind of arrangement.

5. The decision making process.

Applications for membership are decided upon by vote in the general assembly.

Individual lots are assigned at random. Work on collective land is paid by days and by task ("tarea") according to the difficulty of the job.

6. Agricultural machinery.

Respondents mentioned the use of oxen and tractors in this asentamiento. There is no information, however, about the extent of such use and its availability for individual producers.

7. Access to employment and income 1-1 generating activities.

Men can work sometimes as day laborers at other members' plots when they finish their tasks on collective crops. One of our respondents was reportedly working at his father-in-law's. Another had rented land outside the asentamiento.

Sons don't have to put time in on collective crops so they have a wider range of opportunities. They can get a job in collective lands, in other members' individual land, or in nearby haciendas such as the sugar cane plantations and the rice fields. Other activities undertaken by young men are the production of mudbricks and timber cutting.

Daughters prepare snacks, wash other people's clothes and work as domestics in nearby towns in the homes of relatives or family acquaintances.

Women in the asentamiento have the same opportunities as women in the Los Colorados village.

8. Access to technical assistance.

Agronomists of RRNN have advised the group about its crops, especially on rice and melon. However, that advice has not been given on a continuous basis and in the case of a melon crop, the failure of the agronomist to show up regularly was blamed for the poor harvest.

INFOP sponsored a course on cattle. A church promoter comes once a month to give the women advice on the operation of the housewives' club.

9. Access to schools.

There is a school in Los Colorados village where children from the asentamiento can attend the six grades of elementary school.

There was an evening school until recently, open to adults, but the teacher seldom kept her schedule.

One of our respondents stressed the need he felt for good schooling, saying that it is a prerequisite for coping successfully with the paperwork and red tape one encounters in today's world.

In the cooperative members have received courses on basic accounting. Women have not been invited, nor have they been explicitly excluded.

10. Access to health facilities.

A health center and a hospital are both available in Choluteca. People do not have the same sense of distances, therefore estimates of the time it takes to go to the hospital range from half an hour to a full hour.

There is a local medical folk practitioner who is less expensive than doctors and is seen in case of common ailments. Some respondents went as far as to say that they trust the medical folk practitioner more than the doctors.

There is no mention of visits of health practitioners to the asentamiento.

11. Access to roads.

There is a road that links the asentamiento to Choluteca, which is 12 kilometers away. There is a bus line that provides regular transportation between the two places. The ride may take half an hour or more.

A loaded ox takes one and a half hours to get to Choluteca.

12. Community organizations.

There is a "patronato" in Los Colorados that accepts members from the asentamiento and the village. They undertook the construction of a school.

13. Housewives' Club - Los Colorados, Choluteca.

San José Olivero is the name of a church-sponsored agency under the direction of Father Alejandro López. It has a number of different programs, including a glove factory, a health clinic, a furniture factory, an agricultural training center and others. A social promoter working with San

José Olvero promoted a housewives' club in Los Colorados, and 25 members joined at the beginning (Feb. 13, 1978).

The club has always been church-oriented - and at the time of the study some meetings were observed where a male church promoter directed the singing of hymns (though as of September this activity had been disbanded). However, some attempts have also been made at trying to carry out production projects. On previous occasions the club has sold food and has also raffied clothes and a radio, although it was analyzed that the raffles did not bring in any profit. The principal production project at present is the manufacture of clay pots.

In the group there are four people who know how to make the pots and the rest of the members are grouped around them in production teams. Output is very small and the principal benefit was stated by some members as being the small amount of food-for-work that is received. Working members are given rice, flour, yellow maize, oil and powdered milk (for under-school-aged children, i.e. those under 7 years old). In the past year food has been obtained 3 times - a total of about 50 lbs. per member in total.

Other projects have included: taking care of the cemetery and a day excursion to the beach. Also the member contributes ten cents per meeting (every Friday afternoon) and there is now a total of L.130.00 in the treasury. One of the members suggested a vegetable project, but this was considered beyond the limited resources of the group - it was pointed out that insecticides and hiring oxen for ploughing are expensive. Consequently, the only current production activity is the making of clay pots.

The group receives no technical assistance from INA - but members say that they have not asked for any either. The San José Olvero promoter still

visits the group, (she is from a neighboring community), and once arranged for two members to attend a two-day catechism course. Since then they have been given no other specific or practical training. A FEMUCH promoter visited the group once offering a loan - but the group was not interested.

Membership has declined - from 22 at the beginning to seventeen at present. However, two more members are on the verge of leaving - one because her husband does not let her take part and the other because she is too belligerent. Meetings are reportedly badly attended, and even when the singing promoter arrived, a mere 8-10 women were present. The membership turnover has created a confusion reflected in the fact that one-fourth of the women respondents in Los Colorados were members of a CAC before joining the asentamiento, and three-fourths had no previous experience in this kind of organization. Of those that were members before, only one joined the CAC in Los Colorados and the other three did not. Seven respondents out of nine that had never been members of a CAC were still not members at the time of the interview and only two had joined the CAC. Most of the women who did not join the CAC gave as reasons: "no time for meetings," "no time for group's activities," "meetings are a waste of time," "didn't attain anything from group," "children keep me home," which point to an evaluation of priorities in which the CAC's demands of time on its members come second place to household chores and to other activities. This seems to reflect a general negative attitude in Los Colorados about women's groups. When asked about the reasons why other people have not joined as CAC members, the women gave the following reasons: they do not have time for group's activities; they regard the group as a waste of time because meetings are not held regularly; and husbands do not approve of the CAC.

When asked if membership with the CAC had benefited them, women members pointed out the unkept promise of food already mentioned. Although there have been some profits for the women, these profits were not mentioned and the magnitude of the profit is not clear. When the secretary of the CAC was interviewed, she said that she did not know how much profit was made and other members gave estimates of L.52 and L.130. When women were asked how those profits had been used, the secretary said that they had bought notebooks and pencils, and another member said they had kept the money as a reserve on the club's account. Despite this unclarity, the Los Colorados club claims that it keeps accounts, these accounts being kept by the treasurer and reviewed by the executive committee.

With regard to women's participation in the decision-making process within the community, only one of our respondents who is a socia in Los Colorados has attended sessions of the general assembly of the asentamiento but even so she reported that there are parts of the discussions that she does not understand. There is another woman who is a member of the cooperative and as such has the right to attend meetings but, as explained earlier, she was given the right of membership instead of her husband because of the latter's age. It seems that her membership is nominal and she does not attend meetings of the cooperative's assembly. She said that she did not see the point of her going to meetings, if her husband could do it.

#### 14. Farming systems: crops and livestock

In 1974 the group was granted 115 manzanas of land -- which was predominantly wooded and which had been utilized previously as an extended grazing cattle pasture. This was divided up between the sixty members for them to work individually. Some members never cultivated their parcels since cutting down the trees implied a considerable investment of effort -- the rest (approximately forty campesinos) grew maize and sorghum individually.

INA's policy was that the land should be cultivated collectively, and according to some members, INA promoters told them that they would lose their right to the land unless they complied. Since collective project groups could receive credit, in 1975 investment plans were elaborated for rice, sesame and cattle projects. Of these, the rice and sesame projects were approved and fifteen thousand lempiras were destined for 15 manzanas of rice and 35 manzanas of sesame (which included labor costs and inputs).

It was noted that rice had never been sown in the group's land, but agricultural extension workers from the ministry of natural resources considered that the heavy clay soil was best suited for that crop. Of the fifteen manzanas sown, three were lost because of drought, but the twelve remaining manzanas germinated well and in August were reported to be in good condition. In late September there was an outbreak of rice blast (*piricularia*), but despite this the yield was high -- almost sixty quintals per manzana, and the total harvest was 685 quintals, which was sold at L.16.00 per quintal.

Consequently, in 1975 the group's collective projects could be considered a success. The rice yields were encouragingly high and the total value of the production exceeded twenty thousand lempiras. Most of the loan from the National Development Bank was repaid and only L.300.00 remained outstanding.

In comparison with other agrarian reform groups, their credit performance was good and in 1976 they were approved a thirty - six thousand lempira loan for twenty manzanas of rice and thirty-five manzanas of maize and sorghum but this was not granted.

The biggest risk of dry-land rice cultivation is the weather, which was only too apparent in 1976 for the Colorados group. Excessive rains made it impossible to sow more than eleven manzanas out of the twenty planned, and these subsequently suffered from lack of water. The sesame situation was even worse. Thirty-five manzanas were sown, but they did not germinate because of drought. Twenty manzanas were sown a second time, but heavy rains resulted in the loss of almost all of this. Finally, only three manzanas of sesame were cultivated. It was a very bad year for the group and no money was paid back to the bank.

The next year financial assistance was obtained again from the National Development Bank. An investment plan was prepared for fifteen manzanas of rice and twenty-three manzanas of sesame -- for a total investment of more than L.20.000. Once again the weather turned against the group: lack of rain resulted in bad germination of the rice. Growth was bad and the field became infested with weeds to such an extent that one technician had difficulty distinguishing between the weeds and the rice. He recommended that the rice project receive no more financing. To avoid a complete loss, twelve manzanas of sorghum were sown in the rice area.

Of the projected 23 manzanas of sesame, only fifteen germinated. Heavy rains destroyed the rest. This crop subsequently suffered from lack of rain and finally only 85 quintal were harvested -- which were sold at L.46.00 per quintal -- a total income of less than four thousand lempiras. In view of the depressing financial situation, an agricultural extension worker recommended

that the group should undertake a melon project: a twelve thousand lempira investment would give a return of eighteen thousand in less than four months.

The group agreed to cultivate ten manzanas and signed a loan contract for L.12,290.00. Germination was good, but insect pests completely destroyed one manzana, despite the group's efforts to combat them. As the dry season advanced, the hot winds dried up the soil. By mid-November it was apparent that the soil humidity was insufficient for optimal growth and it was noticed that two of the ten manzanas were overgrown with weeds. Further insect attack and downy mildew compounded the problems, and by the first week of December the BANAFOM agents were advising against any further disbursement of bank funds for the project. In all, 299 cases of melon were harvested, with a net worth of L.3,520.00. Once again the collective project had terminated in failure and the outstanding debt had been increased to more than eighteen thousand lempiras.

At this stage the inevitable happened: BANAFOM rejected the 1978 loan request for a twenty manzana sesame project. They reasoned that the group now owed them more than nineteen thousand lempiras for mechanization and inputs for a sorghum and sesame project. This loan, according to group members, was repaid.

In 1979 financing for the collective project was obtained through CARCHOL, the newly formed ANACH regional cooperative. The sesame was sold at a good price (53.00/gg) and the loan was repaid. However, the following year the price of sesame dropped to thirty lempiras per quintal and once again the group sunk deeper in debt. The total production of eighty quintal from fourteen manzanas was worth only L.2,400.00; the debt of L.1,200.00 remained outstanding to CARCHOL.

The group had always recognized the suitability of their land for cattle.

Every year the members receive an income for renting out the pasture for dry season fodder (approximately 2,000.00) to local cattlemen. Finally in 1981 a loan of L.52,000.00 was approved by the National Development Bank (BANADESA) for cattle at 16% annual interest. With this, they bought 23 cows, 2 bulls, 39 calves, and 11 heifers. To look after them, they employ a herdman (Vigilio Salinas' son) at L.3.00 per day. They provide the labor for the other activities — fencing and pasture maintenance. At the same time, they have ceased to have annual crop collective projects.

In individual lands members grow maize, sorghum, beans and yucca. It is very difficult for them to keep domestic animals. Animals are frequently stolen or they get killed if they wander into a neighbor's crop. As a result, chickens and pigs are kept in the house backyard. In one case it was noticed by our interviewer that pigs walked into one peasant's house at any moment during the day and used to spend the night indoors, in the family's bedroom.

### III. El Tablon

#### 1. Access to School.

There is an elementary school in the village (six grades). Secondary school is available in Danli, where students can get scholarships. Last year, there was a literacy campaign. Teachers did not teach anything and gave certificates anyway. According to the villagers there are plans to open an evening school in the village. They also feel that the teacher in the elementary school does not like the peasant children because she belongs to a landowner's family.

School attendance was reported earlier together with the data about the Cooperative Santa Ana--asentamiento El Tablon, with the following changes:

There were 75 students in the six grades of elementary school in 1981, 64 of them from the village and 11 from families that were members of Cooperative Santa Ana. By October of 1981 the number of students had increased to 85, 76 of whom were from the village.

#### 2. Access to other services (agricultural extension workers, "promotores de salud," etc.)

According to the respondents, the following organizations have offered some services and/or courses of which some of them took advantage:

- An agronomist from RRNN taught the use of fertilizers and pesticides;
- INFOP offered a course on vegetable cultivation;
- A course on cooperativism was sponsored by INA;
- Course in public health;

- Health promoter gave assistance in construction of latrine (people who attended a meeting received some materials to build a latrine in their house);
- An official of IFC lent some money to the Women's Association Santa Ana for the rabbit project, also technical assistance
- Courses which have been offered to women of the village: Human relations; cultivation of vegetables; cooperative management (sponsored by DIFOCOOP); basics of cooperative education and basics of accounting (sponsored by IFC);
- RRNN and INA offered technical assistance to the Santa Ana Women's Association but the president of the Association didn't know how to take advantage of these opportunities.
- INA gives the Women's Association some sort of orientation.
- Health promoter visits the village twice a week.

### 3. Experience with Agrarian Reform

Interviews with the villagers showed that many of them had been members of the El Tablon asentamiento, or even founding members or members of the executive committee but left because they were dissatisfied with the asentamiento management. In addition, there seems to be a tendency for asentamiento members to abandon the cooperative when the crops are not good. In a couple of cases members of the asentamiento expelled those that had gotten a job outside and were not able to do their share of collective work anymore.

Other villagers had no experience of life in an asentamiento. One reason is that they had their own land, and did not feel the need to join with other peasants. A misperception of the land reform mechanisms and objectives may

also explain the peasants' lack of involvement with asentamientos. This is the case when a respondent said that she had heard that land reform was communism and that members of an asentamiento received their supplies in strict rations. This is also the case for another respondent who imagined the land reform as a mechanism to help peasants organize and get land where they could work and regain their health. A more general concept is that land reform is meant to benefit the peasants, and that benefit tends to be defined as a solution to the most immediate problem they have in mind.

It is interesting, however, to note that some villagers that had deserted the asentamiento are members of a group that plans to migrate and set up a new asentamiento under INA's sponsorship. Twelve persons have been attending the group's meetings.

#### 4. Organizations for men and women:

A "patronato" in Honduras is a group of neighbors that get together to undertake a project for the common welfare of a village or a smaller area. In El Tablon, the "patronato" has included plans such as school construction, construction of additional classrooms, construction of latrines, and improvement of facilities to supply drinkable water.

There are two groups of "amas de casa": the Women's Association of Santa Ana and the Women's Association of Santa Fe. The first keeps rabbits and grows maize and beans, which are partly for sale and partly for distribution among members. The second group grows maize, beans and vegetables, and sponsors raffles to raise some funds. Detailed description of these two groups appeared as part of the background presentation of asentamiento Santa Ana.

5. Access to health facilities.

Some information for Coop Santa Ana, village of El Peron.

6. Access to employment and other sources of income.

There is no permanent source of work for the labor force in El Tablon. Some people make a living working on their own land, on land they rent, or in their own business which is what the owners of a small general store do, and even in these cases people are not fully employed. Young people find no work in the village if they do not go with their elders to the family's lands, be they owned or rented. Grownups can always go to nearby haciendas to work as day laborers but most likely openings occur during the harvest season when large amounts of workers are required to pick the coffee beans. Wives can bake bread for sale.

7. Land ownership and agriculture.

Peasants of the village either have their own land, which varies in size between 1/2 manzana and one full manzana, or rent some land from a local landowner. Rent agreement is generally a fifty-fifty deal with a landowner, meaning that landowners and tenant farmers split expenses and production roughly by half. The landowner allows the peasant the use of a plot of land, lends him the oxen to till it, and pays the expenses of readying the land for cultivation. The peasant supplies his own work force, his knowledge and experience in agriculture, and his time to watch over the crop until harvest time. In both owned and rented land as well as in their backyards peasants grow maize and beans in El Tablon. Some may add other staples such as vegetables, sugar cane, and coffee bushes, but their production is intended

of the women's association Santa Ana. She was hostess to the meetings at her own house. The group was divided between those that gave her unconditional support, and those that wanted her to give an account of her performance. Main points of contention were her participation in physical work on behalf of the group and her handling of the group's funds. On the one hand she wanted everybody to work but she did not do anything with her own hands, yet she wanted the same share of earnings or produce as the others. On the other hand she never rendered account of the group's money, and she even prevented an elected treasurer from auditing past accounts and controlling current cash flows. Her argument was that the treasurer did not have to worry about the group's money because she as president knew what she was doing with it. To compound the mismanagement of funds, some income earned in raffles had been lent to a few members that never paid back. In reaction to this situation members of the group quit, and those that remained decided to divide a maize harvest among themselves instead of selling it on the group's account because they realized that the money that goes to the group's funds goes to nobody knows where. Finally, in late 1981 the president was replaced, she quit and several other members quit as well in solidarity with her.

(See IV in this Annex pages 66 to 86 for a detailed description of these two women's organizations.)

for family consumption. The more affluent ones may keep some cattle and raise pigs. As for modern techniques of cultivation, only one respondent mentioned an occasional use of a tractor but made it clear that usually it was with their own hands that they prepared the land.

8. Women's organizations.

There are two women's groups in El Tablon: the Women's Association Santa Ana and the Women's Association Santa Fe. Both groups accept members from the village and from Cooperative Santa Ana, which is the peasants' group. In both places, moreover, there are women that do not belong to either group for a number of reasons: they are not interested in a women's group, their husbands oppose their being members of that kind of organization, they have not been invited to join by the group's members.

The Santa Ana association was founded in 1976 with fifteen members. It has undertaken several projects, the latest being a rabbit shed and the distribution of food received through RRNN. The rabbit project was ill devised and rabbits started dying of pests and wrong food. Recently the group has sowed beans and planted onions. In February 1982 rabbits were still perishing, the onion crop ran short of water, the harvest was poor, and the bean crop was equally unproductive. Despite the fact that local farmers enjoyed excellent harvests, the group only managed to get about 50 lbs, which was less than the seed expended. The failure was due to "lack of attention," in other words, the crop was not weeded on time. It was reported that only six women were working regularly in the projects.

The Santa Ana association has been affected by internal dissent also. For a long time the wife of the president of Cooperative Santa Ana was president

#### IV. Patuca Nueva Choluteca.

##### 1. General Description of the area.

One of the areas most affected by the church's social promotion activities in the late 1960s was the parish of El Corpus in Concepción de María in Choluteca. By 1970 there were 'radio schools' and 'celebration of the word' in nearly one hundred communities, each with their respective 'monitors' and 'delegates of the word,' who were coordinated by paid social promoters in town. Hundreds of villagers attended leadership courses, and the adult literacy campaign, based on Freire's awareness-creating method, was wide-reaching.

However, despite this, and despite the efforts of the more technical agricultural promotion programme and housewives' clubs, the general situation of the people continued to deteriorate. The high density and the steep, erosion-prone slopes resulted in the area being one of the poorest in the country with little hope of improving.

In the early 1970s, land reform offered no immediate solution to the local problem, because the majority of the land was already being fully exploited. The only possible alternative was to search for land in other parts of the country. Years before, there had been talk of a church-induced migration to the most fertile and free lands of Olancho, and now, with land reform bursting all around, this idea was revived.

An advance scouting party, consisting of one of the two local (French Canadian) priests and three of their closest collaborators, set out to search for new lands. In the Patuca jungle in Olancho they found virgin forest and trees with trunks more than two meters in diameter, the like of which had not been seen in Southern Honduras in many a year. At the same time, the priests

talked with directors of the National Agrarian Institute (INA), to enlist their support.

This was the beginning of the 'exodus' of three hundred Southern rural families under the Moses-like guidance of Fathers Normando and Juan Luis. Their aim was to create a new living Christian community and significantly, the first settlement was named "New Palestine." Assistance to get the people there was given not only by INA but also by some large Southern landowners - who also gave a few cows - (it is beyond the scope of this work to comment on their possible motives).

The first village was duly established with 85 families and the two priests, and promotion was begun to start a second village. For this, the same church network was utilized, and the interested people were once again those who had been in some way connected with the church's programme activities. Another parish priest in the densely populated and arid Orocuina-ApacilaguaLiure municipalities was interested in the venture, and he too began organizing a group of emigrants. As with the previous group, the people who intended to go had periodic meetings in the local church halls.

The third group, with people from the parishes of Orocuina and El Corpus was transported with help from INA out to Olancho in April of 1975. There were 50 families in Orocuina attending the preparatory meetings to migrate to Patuca, but only 14 went. Among those that deserted were some that said "it was communism to occupy the lands of the rich." The last part of the journey was on foot since there was still no road to the first settlement. Once there, they were received by the first 2 groups, and the plan was that they should stay there while they erected their own dwellings on the land that was to be given them. In this, they encountered an unexpected problem -- the

promised land was, in fact, owned by other people. The intended settlement area (400 hectares) had been inspected by Lucas Aguilar, one of the first group's leaders, but since then it had been taken over by a number of small-holders — people from northwest Olancho who arrived there through a process of spontaneous migration.

It was clear that they did not intend to lose the land without a struggle (and this was an activity for which the Olanchanos had acquired a certain evil reputation). The Southerners backed down, and, as a result, were forced to borrow land from the Nueva Palestina group. Since it was still jungle, they had to clear the land before cultivating it -- a hard task.

A year later, the group was granted 400 manzanas of jungle land, at a distance of about four kilometers from the Nueva Palestina settlement. This was obtained through INA: discussions took place between the priests, the group representatives and the local director of INA. A further 150 manzanas of adjoining land was purchased from a local landowner for L.8,000.00.

## 2. Evolution of the asentamiento.

In the beginning, the work system in Nueva Palestina and later on their own land in Nueva Choluteca, which they were granted in 1976, was collective farming. This was applied so rigidly that there were no individual plots at all and money disappeared from circulation. Collectivism, it seems, was something that their minds had agreed upon, but their hearts did not follow — the religious theory was much easier than the social practice.

Some people stopped working, absenteeism and sickness increased, and the productive jungle lands were proving to be fertile grounds mainly of resentment. The leaders were envied as they travelled back and forth on missions to

the towns and the capital city — expenses paid, while the ordinary members earned nothing. Paradoxically, this was occurring at a time when both the church and the Christian Democratic Party were acclaiming the 'success' of the Patuca experience.

Membership began to decline -- six less in the first year, eleven in the second year, nine in the third year, five in the fourth year. Eleven members deserted even before receiving the new land for fear it might belong to a landowner. They went back to the South by way of Catacamas. Others returned to the south because of the lack of money. Two families left because the wives became ill. A few others decided to stake out some jungle land and work it individually.

Since the group was organized only 3 new members have joined, the last one being Jeremias Pastrana in 1978. Two years ago the membership fee was only L.25.00 (plus 2 months trial, but since then the group's capital has grown and the fee has grown correspondingly. It is now calculated at more than two hundred Lempiras -- a prohibitive figure for a landless campesino. Four other people have attempted to join but were rejected by the assembly (for wanting to leave another group to join this one; for having land in the jungle; for being unable to pay the entrance fee and for being irresponsible). In no stage did the group have women members. Once the land was obtained, group members began to move to the new site and construct their houses there. The first dwellings were strictly functional, the walls being made of branches, and the roofs being made of zinc sheeting (obtained through the priest). Recently some of the members have made considerable improvements to their homes, demonstrating their intention to remain in the area and also indicating their improved economic situation. These improved homes have more

roofing sheets, detached kitchens and waffled walls. Other have rough swan-board walls (tabla) or bamboo. It was noted that, in general, the living conditions of the members of the groups were far superior to those of the people in the neighboring village of 'El Cuchillo,' where the houses have wooden tiles, the walls are of branches and the pigs have unhindered access.

From 1975 to 1981 the group has been reduced to one third of its original size.

Year	Name of President	Members	Reasons for membership decline
1975	Hernan	51	- left because of fear of reprisals from landowners
1976	Castor Ramirez	45	
1977	Domingo Pastrana & Emergildo Rodriguez	34	
1978	Jose Lacanio	29	- lack of money
1979	" "	24	- went to farm individually
1980	Tomas Quiroz	18	in the jungle
1981	Raymundo	17	

### 3. Formal organization

Nueva Choluteca is an "asentamiento provisional" located near the village La Colonia in the town of Tacamas, department of Olancho. In 1982 it had 11 "Socios." It is affiliated with U.N.C. The offices include president, vice-president, secretary, work coordinator and executive committee, all responsible to the general assembly.

At present the local cooperatives are attempting to form a regional cooperative. Their object is to channel grain production, storage and marketing loans to the group. The initial financial support would come from Catholic Relief Services, and there have been several meetings with representatives of the agency (usually in Tegucigalpa, although some have also been held in Patuca).

4. Farming systems: Crops and livestock

With time, the relative size of the individual parcels has increased and now even collectively-owned animals are being divided up as 'dividends' for work in the collective projects. This situation benefits some members much more than others — the 'luckiest' members being those with teenage sons, since the extra hands make it possible to cultivate more land. One elderly member, who had remarried and left his elder sons in the South, was lamenting the fact that they were not in Patuca to help him. He has even sent them letters inviting them to join him — but in vain. Another manifestation of this was the good treatment that an adult (but still dependent) son received from his father — he was occasionally given money (whereas the wife was never given any money at all). Another way of transferring ownership of collectively owned animals was giving them to members in exchange for their share in the capital of the cooperative, as one member explained. According to his information, his share of capital had gone up to L.500, then he was given a cow worth L.300 as part of his share which now stands at L.235.

In the individual interviews the respondents generally admitted to favoring individual work for basic gains. However, only three people had regular work on the cattle project (the three herdsmen). The rest only work at mowing

the pasture — and this was now being done less frequently than before. Also, despite the fact that the herdsman's work is easy (2-3 hours per day, for which he gets a whole work point), other members were not interested in learning to carry out this activity. Some people made excuses — claiming that working with cows was dangerous.

Recently, the members with sufficient accumulated capital were each allocated an animal from the communal herd — and these individually owned animals are now also pastured on common land. Other members, with insufficient capital, were not given any animals. As these differences increase, there will be less motive for those who have less to participate in collective pasture-cutting activities.

Pasture	100 mzs.
Forest Reserve	50 mzs.
Crop area	300 mzs.
Houses	10 mzs.
Coffee	25 mzs.
Total	535 mzs.

(Note: For some reason an unofficial list of peasants' asentamientos supplied by INA records an area of only 57 manzanas as total land granted to Nueva Choluteca).

The climate is very different from that of the members native Choluteca. Back in the South the rainy season is in May and lasts until mid November. From then until May there is seldom a drop of rain. In Patuca, the rainy season begins in late May and lasts until February or March. Sometimes it is

prolonged even more and consequently, in such times, the dry season is eliminated. It has taken the Southerners some time to adapt to these differences. There is still the tendency to sow a larger area of first crop than half of the second crop — although there is no possibility of utilizing any excess (after consumption) of the first harvest due to storage and communication problems. From this point of view it would be much more logical to sow a greater area for the second crop, so that harvest time would coincide with the time of year when transportation and drying were easiest. However, this is the opposite of the farming system in the South, when all the campesinos sow as much as possible in May, to benefit from the greater rainfall.

There is very little interest in coffee or cocoa production -- which is a logical alternative for the area, considering the communication (and hence marketing) problems, because of their greater value per unit weight. It was noted that the best kept coffee plantation had belonged to a person who had cultivated coffee of his own in the South (Domingo). Other members had coffee plantations in name only — the jungle had completely reclaimed them — and the seedlings had disappeared.

In 1981 the Nueva Choluteca asentamiento included a collective project and a private area. The collective exploitation is the cattle project. The private area includes the cattle that have been given to individual members (with grazing rights in the collective pasture) and the individual plots where each family grows its own crops of maize, beans, rice, yucca, coffee, and vegetables. In a particular case a combination of several of these crops is most likely to be found.

Domestic animals were not common. Members of the asentamiento preferred not to have pigs, for example, because they lacked a closed yard to keep them and didn't want their pigs to go into other people's crop and damage them.

Cattle in the asentamiento included: 12 cows, 1 bull, 22 calves, 2 oxen, 13 heifers.

5. Collective and individual use of land.

Collective land is reserved for grazing pastures. Individual plots vary from 3 1/2 manzanas to 9 manzanas.

Before the group started dividing up its cattle among members they used to work alternatively in collective and individual lands, one week in each. In the year of our interviews they changed and started working less in collective lands.

The group owns a general store where they and neighbors can shop for basic necessities.

6. Agricultural machinery.

There is no machinery to help prepare the land for cultivation. Produce is transported on a cart owned by the cooperative.

7. Access to employment and income generating activities.

A source of income for the members is the consumer cooperative. This began as a small store, but the first attempt failed and the stock was sold. They then began afresh in 1979 with a contribution of L.100.00 per member and a loan of L.3,000.00 from the priest. The individual contributions came from

the sale of timber (4,000 ft. x 0.50/ft.) - and the total start-up capital was L.5,000.00.

The cooperative store serves not only members, but also people from the surrounding jungle villages. It is estimated that 'outsiders' make two-thirds of the purchases - (the articles stocked being rice, sugar, tomato paste, machetes, files, medicines, sweets, rubber boots and a few clothes) and it is from them that the profits are obtained. These are then split up in the following manner:

Each member receives 5% of the value of his share of 'capital' in the consumer store and a further 15% of the value of purchases made in his name during the course of the year. Further profits are then calculated on the basis of days worked in the cooperative:

Name	Capital		Purchases	Days Worked
	Consumer Coop.	Agr. Coop.		
José L. Carcano	477.00	746.00	534.27	68
Cir. Careno	294.30	921.35	726.00	99
Isidro Girón	238.50	229.59	303.33	45.5
Julio C. Lopez	330.90	1,066.35	823.47	125
ruberto Lopez	179.25	815.22	729.34	88.5
Rudeciado Lopez	539.20	865.23	865.33	77.5
Santa M. Maradiage	430.20	871.30	583.34	82
Monico Moreno	477.00	734.10	256.13	77
Raymundo Osorto	665.89	1,273.20	987.80	138
Domingo Pastrane	1,187.58	963.70	804.00	92
Jeremias Pastrane	897.09	857.30	663.53	106

Tomas Quivóz	731.95	948.77	481.53	75.5
Estéban Rodriguez	609.55	610.10	611.80	74
Hemer. Rodriguez	238.50	962.80	282.33	96
Terencio Rodriguez	Not a member	678.52	191.07	70.5
Feline Sanchez	533.81	1,477.62	781.00	134.5*1
Salvador Varcla	999.70	1,651.80	616.87	152*1

Some members work much more than others - the store-keepers (elected on a yearly basis) are credited with a work point for each day in the store; the two of them work alternate weeks. The herdsmen get credited a whole work point for each day milking - even if it only entails milking ten cows from 5:30 to 6:30 a.m. - they work one week on, two weeks off. Other work points are accumulated by participating in building fences, mowing and harvesting the collective coffee.

Not only is the store a source of goods, but it is also an effective source of credit. In the isolated community, members may have to wait several months before being able to sell their crops and earn money. Consequently, although they may have accumulated considerable capital, they have no cash on hand. In these circumstances, the consumer cooperative becomes more important, since the members can acquire products on credit. The store itself does not suffer excessively for lack of capital because only members receive credit - outsiders, who buy twice as much, must pay cash. Additionally, goods can be obtained on credit from wholesalers in Juticalpa, and the cooperative store accumulates a debt with them. Some members observed 'that it's not healthy having credit on both ends - the store could go broke.' My own prediction is that that will not happen until some individual members acquire capital and get into the sales business for themselves. This had already

happened in the older Nueva Palestina group, where one member has now bought a refrigerator (on credit) and stocks soda pop — offering competition to the consumer cooperatives. The cooperative store may be a source of cash as well. One of our respondents, whose share in the cooperative was L.150.00, withdrew his capital in order to pay the expenses of his wife's last illness.

The difference in earnings and capital typifies the creation of economic classes in what had been intended to be a perfectly egalitarian society. Some members (Raymundo, Domingo, and Thomas) have new adobe houses — much superior to those owned by the others. Some members have no livestock, but others have cattle and horses and are thinking of getting more. One member, Domingo, has land outside the group (although he denied it to me), one daughter is already a school teacher, another one is about to be a school teacher and his son-in-law is a nurse. This perhaps is not surprising, but it does contradict the members' original intentions "when one goes hungry, we'll all go hungry" — which had been the line of thought in Choluteca.

Another source of income for the group members is wood cutting. There are still some large mahogany trees — although previously there were many more. Over the course of the past five years some of the wood has been utilized for collective projects and other trees have been given to the members (one or two per member on each occasion). The individual members then have the responsibility to cut the trees down and saw them into planks. The wood is then stored in members' houses and sold collectively. Some members are not able to saw and consequently must contract some of those who can — within or outside the group.

Members of the asentamiento can work on their individual plots, for land-owners in the region, or for other peasants within the group. The availability of the latter opportunities explains why some members have smaller plots for their individual exploitation since they spend extra time working someone else's land.

Women have no opportunities to make some earnings other than making straw mats or growing vegetables and yucca.

#### 8. Technical Assistance and Services.

In comparison to agrarian reform groups located in other parts of the country, the Patuca asentamiento receives little technical support from government agencies. No credit is obtained from BANADESA and the group has never been visited by extension workers from the ministry of Natural Resources. INA, however, has consistently given 'support' - even though on occasions this has not been appreciated. In 1976 an INA promoter lived permanently in the community, but, according to the members of the group, he did not do anything and 'was more of a help to the land-owners!' On average an INA cooperative promoter and an INA women's group promoter visited the group about 3 times per year. Another government agency, the cooperative promotion institute (DIFO COOP) has recently been giving cooperative orientation to the group (with the purpose of organizing a regional cooperative), and at the time of the study all the larger groups were being given 4 day courses.

Also a Junta Nacional de Bienestar Social promoter visited the group 6 months ago - he made some promises which were never fulfilled. In contrast to the lack of state program assistance, the local priest has continuously provided back-up for the group's projects. Credit was obtained through him for the consumer cooperative and a motor saw was obtained for

better use of the timber. Additionally, numerous contacts have been made through him with other agencies. The housewives' club also benefits from the cheap used clothes that are sent to him and which are then resold by the clubs at a profit. Consequently, he continues to exert considerable influence over the groups - (although this has partly declined because of the failure of the collective efforts.)

In 1980, two peace-corps volunteers were stationed in the community, one a carpenter (male) and the other a health promoter (female). Their functions were not only to help the community of Nueva Cholulteca, but also to attend the surrounding villages, for which they were provided with horses. Not much was remembered about either of them except that the pilot had fallen in love with the girl and he tried to attract her attention and admiration by some wild acrobatic flying over and almost in the village. The carpenter did not approve of the pilot's behaviour (he was reputedly in love with her too) and they had a knife fight over her on the Santa Maria airstrip. (No one won - the girl apparently went off with a school-teacher.) The volunteers were withdrawn, and a year later the cooperative sent a note to the Peace Corps office - 'that the three horses had died of a mysterious disease'... although, of course, only one had died (of lack of attention) and the other two had been included in the community's herd.

The three resident nuns - "las Mensajeras" (the messengers) have a much greater influence. Like the previous peace corps volunteers, their area of work includes the surrounding communities. In the village of Nueva Cholulteca itself there are numerous religious services (which vary according to the time of year - for example, during the study there was a celebration every day at 4:00 p.m. and sometimes in the evening as well). One of the nuns is a school

teacher, but apart from that, their work has been more catechistical than social.

The group has received the following courses:

1. INA sponsored a course on agriculture but according to one of our respondents it was not useful because it had no relation to the techniques demanded by the lands of the asentamiento.
2. INFOP trained them in preventive medicine.
3. INFOP gave them a course on cultivation of vegetables.
4. INFOP gave them a course on cultivation of coffee.
5. There have been several courses on accounting and cooperativism sponsored by DIFOCOOP.

9. Access to school.

Classes were begun in 1978 — but only for a fortnight and it was not until 1979 that the school began functioning in earnest. At present there are two classrooms located in a centrally-located two-story wooden building, built by the community. There is only one paid teacher (an empirical teacher — i.e. with only a 6th grade education — the daughter of Domingo Pastrana, one of the group members). The other teacher is one of the three resident nuns, and attempts are being made to get her on the government payroll. In 1979 — of those in 1st grade who were not examined, five were sick and three of the children went to Nueva Palestina. The school teacher claims that there is very little non-attendance, although some of the boys miss school in September because of the rice harvest. As may be expected, the teacher has no time to cover the six grades of primary education, and though children may be registered in every grade they cannot complete their curricula.

During the study, all the local teachers were called for a meeting on the airstrip because the head of primary education was going to arrive. He didn't. The next day they went back to the airstrip — and waited, again in vain. A note was drafted by all those present — and a commission was named to take it to Tegucigalpa.

Nueva Choluteca School Information  
By Sex and Grade in 1980 and 1981

Grade	Enrollment 1980		Examined 1980		Enrollment 1981	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	15	17	10	11	15	11
2	13	6	13	8	7	9
3	4	2	4	2	14	8
4	1	1	1	1	4	2
5	5	—	—	—	1	2
Total	36	28	31	24	42	33

10. Access to health facilities.

There is a health center in the village with an auxiliary male nurse in residence (he is the husband of the school teacher). The great majority of the patients are not from the community itself, but are from the surrounding villages in the jungle — which is not surprising considering the very unhygienic conditions in which they live. The most common diseases are cough and diarrhea, although toothache and fever are frequent complaints. The clinic is fairly well-stocked with medicines, and this supply is supplemented

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by some (i.e. vitamin injections) that are sold in the cooperative store. Cases that the nurse cannot treat are advised to go to Juticalpa (8 hours away). Some members had also consulted doctors in Danli and Tegucigalpa -- and one of the members was receiving regular treatment in one of the hospitals in the capital.

When we left the community, one of the members opted to come with us (to benefit from the free journey) because he suffered from headaches and wanted to visit a 'curandero' (empirical practitioner) back in Choluteca. In the community there is a committee (patronato) to build a new health center. At the time of the study, members were sawing timber to get funds for the project.

There are two midwives living in the community. They received some training with a nurse and a Peace Corps volunteer. The asentamiento's housewives' club sent one of its members to a training course as a health promotor, and she now manages a first aid kit and sells some medicines on behalf of the club.

#### 11. Access to roads and other transportation facilities.

At the time of the study, Nueva Choluteca was a six to seven hour drive from Danli - but the road was passable. In fact, one day a two-wheel drive pick-up broke, loaded with clothes (traveling salesperson) but made it to the community (with the help of people to push). However, this was at the end of the dry season, when the road conditions were at their best. At other times, the roads become impassable, and cars may only enter up to a point about 20 kilometers away. Under the worst circumstances, people must walk or ride

7-8 hours to the all-weather road to Temero Blanco (connecting Juticalpa and Danli).

A bus (ie. a lorry with wooden seats in the back) has initiated services between Nueva Palestina and Juticalpa. If the road deteriorates, the bus route is shortened and people must travel further on foot. The bus makes its journey once every two days and the fare is L.6.00 to Juticalpa. The other form of transport is by plane. A private U.S. organization "Wings of Hope" has intermittently operated a service between Nueva Palestina and Santa Maria (a town about 1 1/2 hours drive from Danli).

Flights are not scheduled but depend on the number of passengers. There are two light planes and two pilots (though sometimes only one is available). The cost of a one-way ticket is 8.00 for members of groups (and their families) and 11.00 for other people (sick people and group representatives going to meetings travel free of charge). The trip takes about one-quarter of an hour. However, it is likely that this service will be suspended in the near future. There have been complaints by commercial airlines, and the transport ministry is unwilling to grant them an operating license -- and consequently the area will become as isolated as it was previously. On the airplane, baggage weight is limited, and people who want to transport grain out must pay L.18.00 per 200-pound bag.

The biggest problem that the bad road conditions have caused is the marketing of the timber that the members cut. Potentially, the timber can fetch a very good price (mahogany planks), but the bad road conditions restrict the entry of heavy lorries. At the time of the study, people from the village were working on the road that connects it with Nueva Palestina -- with the explicit purpose of permitting the passage of heavy vehicles. At a

stretch which resembled a roller-coaster, I suggested that they make a detour (they didn't). Later on (after the study), it was reported to me that the truck could not get beyond that point and so they had to take the wood part of the way by ox-cart. It was noted that only men from the village took part in the road maintenance work -- the people in the outlying villages taking no part at all.

Since the road to the asentamiento is open to small vehicles but no truck can make it through, most of the marketable harvest has to be sold to a middleman who comes to buy at the airstrip. Products are brought to the airstrip by horseback. A large part of the harvest remains unsold because there is no transportation available to take it to the market. Insects and fungus ruin the harvest picked in time of rains. During the rainy months the asentamiento remains isolated. At this time very little money circulates and practically no trade on agricultural products occurs.

## 12. Housewives' Club (CAC)

Many of the members' wives had already been affiliated with housewife's clubs in Concepcion de Maria in Choluteca: (it was there that the housewives' club program in Honduras started in the early 1970s, with the support of the church related agency - CARITAS). Consequently the women organized themselves in Nueva Choluteca almost from the moment of their arrival, and since 1975 they have continuously engaged in some form of activity. The club has 23 members, since it also includes older daughters, and only four potential members have not joined.

The club has carried out the following projects:

1975 - selling food (Nacatamales)

- 1976 - sewing project, selling meals
- 1977 - sewing project, selling meals, selling clothes, vegetable project
- 1978 - sewing project, selling clothes selling meals
- 1979 - selling clothes, Yucca project, grain buying
- 1980 - selling clothes, selling meals

The wide range of projects has produced equally diverse experiences. For example, the sewing project received considerable support. Four sewing machines were donated to the group (through Father Luis) from CARITAS and CARE and INA gave a sewing course in the Nueva Palestina group, which five of the Nueva Choluteca group members attended. However, it was found that clothes were being obtained and sold cheaply.

The cheap clothes sales were another activity of the same housewives' club. Old clothes, from the U.S. and Canada, are collected and distributed by church related agencies. In the case of Patuca, they are sent to Father Luis (whose large one-room house is used as an old clothes warehouse), and he then puts the clothes together in bundles, which are sold to the groups for L.30.00. In the groups, the clothes are then retailed by the housewives' clubs at a profit of 50% (approximately) — but still at a comparatively cheap price. A dress or a pair of pants are sold for around L.2.00, which compares favorably to the L.18 to L.20 price for shop-bought new ones.

The Nueva Palestina housewives' club has its own 'cafeteria' or 'comedor' as they call it, and each day there are two women on duty to cook meals for visiting technicians and promoters. This is one of the aims of the Nueva Choluteca group too, and their building is half-completed. However, it was noticed that in Nueva Palestina, the group's comedor was losing customers to an individually-managed one, due to some of the women's difficulty

in leaving their own homes early to prepare breakfast. Visitors in the field normally prefer to eat breakfast relatively early and having to wait or look for the duty cook creates problems for them. In Nueva Cholulteca, at the time of the study, this service was not functioning and nobody commented about the loss of business for the group, though they had started building a small house where they planned to hold meetings, sell meals and store the equipment they already own.

In 1979 the group invested some money in grain buying. Fifty-five quintals of maize were bought, of which only twenty were sold. The rest rotted because of the excessive humidity, although members utilized it -- washing and cooking it well -- because 'maize was scarce at the time'. In total L.200.00 were lost. Other agricultural activities have also had very limited success. In 1977 following an INFOP course on cultivation of vegetables, some cucumbers and tomatoes were harvested from the vegetable project, but the cabbages and carrots were a failure. The experience was not repeated in the following year, despite the fact that there is a market for the produce (through the consumer store) and that vegetable growing is possible, as proven by the men who grow them in their individual lots. A Yucca project in 1979 was another disappointment for the group. Apparently the land was not well-burned, and the plants did not grow. In 1981 the men's group allowed the housewives' club the use of 1/4 manzana but since the seed was poor the harvest was expected to be poor too.

Other projects have included: making food (bread cakes), promoting latrines, and raffles (which are disapproved of by the priest). In the near future the club expects to receive food aid for distribution among the chil-

dren under 6 years of age and among the women that are either pregnant or breastfeeding.

Starting capital for the group's activities is obtained by contributions from the members and money deposited in the treasury. Last year the group had some earnings. Respondents don't agree on actual amounts. Their estimates range from L.300 to L.600. The president and the secretary for the 1980 period agree that the group's earnings were L.600, but the current president reduces that figure to L.560. A former treasurer reduces that sum further to L.500, and another member says that it was only over L.300. According to all accounts the group's earnings are divided in two parts: one is kept as a reserve, the other is split up among members. The 1980 president reports that L.350.00 were divided between the members and L.230.00 were retained in the treasury. This year, member who wish to participate must contribute L.5.00 per person. Profits are then divided up, according to the work done by the member and according to the contribution of working capital. In 1980 earnings per member varied from L.23.00 to L.35.00 per member.

Though the group has received outside advice and support, none of the respondents acknowledge that help.

The group has received promotional assistance from an INA promoter who visits the group a few times a year (approximately every three months). Although she is well known by the members, her efforts have not contributed to enhance her prestige among them. She gave them some seeds that unfortunately did not germinate. Then she talked about a L.3,000.00 loan for a beehive project, but the group was later informed that another women's group had obtained the loan -- and now her reputation has suffered accordingly.

At the time of the interviews the CAC had not received credit from outside sources. All respondents were aware of the fact, which is a remarkable level of unanimity in view of the confusion that characterizes this issue in other women's groups. All respondents, however, said that they did not know about the special line of credit that BANADESA had opened in 1981 for women's organizations.

More concrete plans are being made to form a Barroeta regional cooperative incorporating 16-17 groups -- with each member group contributing L.1,000.00 for working capital. The object would be to organize a type of wholesale distribution system that will buy and sell basic grains for member clubs. They are also planning to set up a large regional general store that will be located in Nueva Palestina. Previously the group had belonged to the FEHMUC (the women's branch of the UNC). They joined on May 16, 1980, but according to them, instead of receiving help, a contribution was demanded of them. One year later, on March 23, 1981, after analyzing the situation, they sent a note announcing their withdrawal from the campesino labor organization. During their membership in FEMUCH each member was contributing L.0.25 per month. Of this, L.0.15 went to the regional organization and L0.10 remained in the group's kitty.

Previously there were more members, but there has been a decline due to families leaving the asentamiento. At present there are 17 members, but two will soon retire because they will become 'empirical' teachers living outside the community.

The group is democratically run, officers being elected every year. The group keeps accounts but there is some confusion among members with respect to the functions of each officer while most respondents (62.5 percent) said that

the treasurer kept the accounts, a few (12.5 percent) said that the accounts were kept by a treasurer and an auditor and some (25 percent) said it was the committee. This tends to indicate a lack of understanding of the different specialized functions of different officers in the organization.

The peasant groups do not have any programs oriented specially towards women. Asked whether they knew if such programs were offered by peasant organizations like ANACH, FECORAH or UNC, the women of New Cholulteca were not able to provide examples though they may have raised some courses as mentioned in the section "access to school."

Aside from their activities in the CAC women have no other institutional opportunity to participate in the direction of the asentamiento. Most of our respondents have not attended general meetings and the general assemblies of members are a men's affair. Yet it is worth noting that they were invited to general meetings when men needed women's help. The fact that a couple of women mention this indicates a certain degree of women's awareness of their role in the asentamiento's welfare.

## V. El Penon

### 1. History background.

El Penon is a village situated at the mountainous border municipality of Concepción de Maria. According to the sector control program there are 105 dwellings located in seven caserios (groups of houses): Guapinolias, Chagintor, Las Marias, Los Lopez, Las Lomas, Orotillo and Cardoncillo. The largest caserio, Las Lomas, has more than thirty homes, although there is no formal lay-out and few are visible from their next-door neighbors.

Most of the inhabitants were born in the village, but few have roots there extending back beyond their grandparents. Some sources estimate that eighty years ago there were only two or three families living there, but in a time of drought and scarcity people emigrated from Orocuina and Texiguat (ancient mining areas, which had high population densities) in search of work and food. In that time, the lands were little utilized and people could occupy land "wherever their cigar happend to fall." Since then the population has mushroomed and now the village is an exporter of people, due to the fact that there is insufficient land to support them.

### 2. Experience with agrarian reform.

From a number of interviews conducted in the village we can draw the following picture of the villagers' relationship with the agrarian reform.

Two groups of families formed to migrate from El Penon: One went to Patuca, the other to Cedeno. In Cedeno they formed the asentamiento Familias Unidas. The group that went off to Patuca joined with families coming from another village, but they were not able to get along and split. Some families

stayed in Patuca, and practically all those from El Penon moved to Talanga where they founded the asentamiento La Horqueta.

Our informants did not provide us with information on the number of people that went to Cedeno, or those that came back to the village either. However, we did interview a couple that stayed in Cedeno two years. They left the asentamiento because the climate was unhealthy, although the soil was fertile. Diseases and insects plagued people and crops, according to their accounts.

Ten families went to Patuca. Three of them have come back, while the remainder moved on to Talanga. Those who came back did so for different reasons. Two of them had family reasons for withdrawing from the group: in one case the wife did not want to go along to Talanga, which she regarded as too far away, and the husband did not want to stay with the group that remained in Patuca because, as he said, "they were not honest people to work with" ; in the second case, the wife wanted to stay in the village with her sons who had not joined the asentamiento. As for the third case, the husband suffered from an eye illness that required medical treatment at a time when the group could not afford the expense of it, so he retired until his health was restored, at which time he planned to go back to the group.

The group at Talanga was receiving outside help yet its members were living in the most appalling conditions. INA had promised them some roof sheets for their houses, but it failed to make good its promise, and all the group's families were living in a single house, where they had settled provisionally in expectation of the promised roof sheets. A family had taken a leave of absence until better housing could be arranged. There are a number of villages that have no experience in land reform groups. Again several

reasons are put forward to explain their lack of participation in the agrarian reform process. Some respondents said either that the members of the outgoing groups were related to each other and did not invite outsiders, or that the organizers of the group accepted only married men, barring bachelors from membership. Another category of respondents made a decision not to join a peasants' group on their own. One said that he had worked in a harvest in the asentamiento Familias Unidas at Cedeno where he had observed the problems within the group in regards with the collective crops, while another told of his neighbor who sold everything he had to join an asentamiento and came back to the village penniless. One of the respondents was positively a foe of the peasants' struggle for agrarian reform. He said that peasants' organizations do not benefit their members but rather benefit the leaders who embezzle outside help given to the groups. Something else he said was that he had been in the army in 1954 and knew how it killed a lot of peasants that had occupied lands in the North. He fears that the rich landowners will try to recover what they have lost and implied that the same process of 1954 will be repeated today. His wife summarized his attitude by saying that he did not like those people that were after somebody else's land. Finally, there is the case of the man who did not join a group because his wife wanted to be close to her own mother's house.

A couple of women respondents held a positive attitude to the peasants' groups. They said that though they had had no experience in agrarian reform they thought that members of asentamientos were doing fine since some wanted to sell their last possessions in the village and those that came visiting reported the help they were receiving from outside sources.

An unmarried woman said that she did not know women had a right to be members in asentamientos; even more, she said, men from the group in Cedeno said that women cannot work with machetes in the fields, and that if the women do not have grown children to do the work for them they cannot be members.

### 3. Land ownership and agriculture.

Distribution of land ownership in the village does not include cases of large latifundia as in other areas of the country. About one-fifth of the local families have no land at all, and the largest landowner has only approximately thirty manzanas. However, in this case, the owner is a man more than eighty years old and his land is effectively being used by other family members. The majority of the families have sub-marginal minifundia, and fifty percent have between 1 and 5 manzanas. In this situation, most farmers cultivate only basic grains and only a few have cattle.

In our sample we found different arrangements for the cultivation of land as from the following examples:

- several villagers cultivate their own land
- a villager works some land owned by his father and rents some additional land besides
- another villager cultivates land owned by his wife and his in-laws
- another villager cultivates land he owns and land he rents
- a villager owns 9 manzanas, cultivates part of it by himself and allows his father and his brothers to cultivate the rest of it

Regarding modern techniques for cultivation, many respondents informed us that they do not use agricultural machinery, fertilizers and pesticides. Only a few reported that they use fertilizers and pesticides.

4. Access to employment and other sources of income.

Agriculture is the principal activity of the people of the village, although because of the climate, this tends to be limited to the months of May through December. Between January and April there is little demand for hired day-laborers, and many of the people who have no land of their own migrate to other areas in search of work. Previously, the cotton harvest in León and Chinandega in Nicaragua was the principal source of work in the dry season, but since the Sandinista triumph, the frontier has been closed to foreigners (i.e. Honduran and Salvadorean laborers): (this has made the frontier inhabitants much more pro-Somoza and anti-Sandinista than before). Consequently the dry season migration is to other parts of Honduras - to the sugar-cane fields on the coast and the cotton and coffee harvests in Olancho and El Paraíso.

The area has no industry, although there is a recently reopened gold mine in the neighboring municipality of El Corpus which employs about 50 people; consequently the only source of employment is agriculture. Most of the farmers are semi-subsistence farmers who only employ people in times of peak labor demand -- i.e. when their family's labor proves insufficient to carry out the necessary agricultural work. If the owners provide food, the wage is correspondingly reduced and often wages are not paid in cash, but in kind.

Apart from basic grains, income is also obtained from the sale of eggs, small animals, yucca, unrefined sugar, and oranges (in December and January). The latter are bought up by intermediaries who may be either villagers or outsiders and who then transport the goods to the market in Choluteca for resale. Some women bake bread and make tamalis occasionally. Some other women make reed mats, from locally produced 'tule' -- this activity being more important in the dry season, when drying the reeds is easier and when the

the price of reed mats ('petates') (mainly used as mattresses, covering the strings of the bed) is higher owing to their fragility and hence greater consumption in the dry season. This is a time-consuming and marginally profitable activity — it being possible for a woman to make between one and two mats per week for which she receives two Lempiras per mat (if she goes 'halves' with the owner of the raw material: He gives her the raw materials, she gives him half of the mats she makes). Some husbands do not like their wives to make mats because of the hard work involved ('se golpean mucho con esa piedra' — they hit themselves a lot with the flattening stone).

5. Access to school.

In the village there are now two primary schools, up to sixth grade. The first school was built in 1959 and the second in 1967 on a site about two kilometers distant. Before 1959, children had to walk to the nearest town to attend school -- and it was not until 1972 that it was possible to complete 6th grade in the village schools. Primary education is free -- but there are implied costs -- textbooks, good clothes, as well as the sacrifice implied in reducing the family's work capacity. For secondary education, students must still go to the local town to attend night classes in a semi-official college which has been functioning since 1977. Being semi-official, it receives financial support from the state and only L.4.00 tuition fees are due per month (compared to L.11.00 per month previously). Secondary classes are given from 6:00 p.m. until 9:00 p.m., and consequently only people living within the town, or very close by, can attend. Classes are not held during the day because the budget is very low and the teachers only work part-time, their

principal jobs being primary school teachers during the day. One of the schools has 76 students. The first three grades have classes in the morning, the other three in the afternoon. A few respondents noted that their sons had attended several years of school and had learned nothing, not even how to sign their own names. This fact may be the result of problems of the level of quality of the education given at the school, or else it may be due to deficiencies in the learning process on the students' part.

An indication of the standards of local teaching is given by a respondent who reported that there was recently a professor who had been fired after only 3 months on the job because, among other reasons, one of her students complained that she never gave any classes.

Because of the limited education opportunities prior to 1959, many of the older people are or were illiterate. Some of those who received no official schooling were able to learn the equivalent of first or second grade through the radio schools, which functioned in the village for about 15 years (since 1963). Some people also learned the rudiments of reading and writing in the obligatory literacy campaign in late 1980. There have been "escuelas radiofonica" for a long time here. Several people have been coordinators of these.

#### 6. Access to health facilities.

A group of state nurses that came to the village the year before we approached the community had organized a first aid kit on the school premises and had appointed midwives, a health guard, and a representative of the health commission. The health guard (guardian de salud) is the link between the health center and the community. The health representative is a community

nominated person, who receives a basic training (1 week) from the public health program, and who can dispense aspirin, cough medicine and diarrhea pills. For more serious diseases, people must travel to the public health clinic (CESAR) in Concepción de María, where an auxiliary nurse can attend them. There are other villages which have health centers, but these are located further away. The one in Concepción de María has operated since the late 1950s.

One general complaint about the service in the health center was the lack of medicines (according to some people, only vitamins and aspirins). These are supplemented by the auxiliary nurse's private supply which she sells on a commercial basis. This consequently leads to complaints that 'she makes little effort to obtain free government medicine, so that she can sell her own' (at a profit!) Some people claimed that other health centers located in other villages were better stocked with free state medicine -- but this generally proved to be conjecture and not actual observation. On the other hand, some people approved of the nurse's private enterprise -- since it meant that their trip to the health center was not in vain and that they did not waste their time -- and they said that 'the medicines she sold were cheap.' For diseases or medical problems beyond the scope of the auxiliary nurse, people must go and consult the doctor in the CESAMO type (Centro de Salud con Médico y Odontólogo) health center in El Corpus, a forty-five minute bus ride away from Concepción de María. Difficult cases are remitted from El Corpus to the Regional Hospital in Choluteca (there are no CHAs -hospitals- in Choluteca) and the most complicated cases are remitted from there to hospitals in Tegucigalpa. This is designed in theory to act as a series of filters to insure that only the more complex cases are attended to by the more capable personnel.

In practice, it has some underlying defects. People complain of the costs involved in travelling to Choluteca or Tegucigalpa, where there is no guarantee that they will receive the desired medical attention. In fact, very often they are told to 'come back tomorrow' or even to 'come back next week!' This means more money for travel, food and lodging, as well as sacrificing more earning/work time. As a consequence it is a frequent occurrence for people to give up en route to medical attention. Additionally, even in the event of being admitted to one of the regional or specialized hospitals, patients may not complete their treatment: they complain of impersonal service, lack of attention and unpalatable food. Health promoters offered to help build latrines in the village but they never came again or sent the promised materials. Visits of nurses and health promoters are not widely advertised. One respondent said she did not know at the time that they had been in the village.

7. Organizations for men and women.

For a couple of years there was a peasants' group in the village, named "El Penon Arriba," whose objective was to help improve agricultural techniques. Its members were growing maize in rented lands. It was a kind of collective enterprise. The group disappeared because its leaders did not want to go on. There used to be a CAC in the village with 12 members, but it disbanded.

8. El Penon housewives' club (CAC)

Ten years before our study there used to be a CAC in the village of El Penon. It had 12 members and it disbanded after three years. The women

report that it used to have very few members, and it seems that some members were not aware of its existence so that they never applied for admission nor were they invited to join.

The three respondents that had been members of the CAC did not recall anything about its activities nor did they mention the reasons for its disbandment.

## VI. Detailed Description of El Tablon Women's Organizations

### Santa Ana Women's Group, El Tablon

The Santa Ana Women's Group was organized in 1976 with the help of a promoter from the ministry of Natural Resources (RRNN). One housewives' club was already functioning in El Tablon — it had been organized by the church-related program CARITAS (Catholic Relief Services) and its principal activity was distribution of donated food to children in the village. The original idea of the Santa Ana appears to have been to expand the membership of this first group, and meetings were held with the participation of 24 women. Elections were held and the wife of the president of Cooperative Santa Ana (the peasants' asentamiento) was chosen as president of the women's group (the number of new members gave her a decisive advantage).

In our study we interviewed nine members of this group, among them the last president, the new president, a former auditor and the current secretary. Seven members came from the peasants' cooperative Santa Ana and two from the village of El Tablon.

The official founding date is established as October 27, 1976 and fifteen members joined. It was first called "Hermandad." In 1978 an IFC promoter suggested the name of Santa Ana so that the women's group would have the same name as the men's group. The first meeting was held in the school building in the downhill part of the village, but after that, the meeting place was changed to the president's house in El Rincón. As with the earlier CARITAS group, its function was principally a distribution mechanism of donated powdered milk for the children. In addition, sometimes used clothes were obtained and sold as a means of accumulating funds, as well as small contributions from the members at the meetings which were held once a fortnight.

The promoter from RRNN visited the group frequently, and in one of the meetings it was decided that the group would become an agricultural project. In 1978 one manzana (0.8 hectares) of maize was sown in land belonging to the men's group. In practical terms, the women's work consisted of organizing the production and obtaining the necessary financing. The actual physical labor was carried out by their husbands. Money resulting from the sale of maize and beans was retained in the treasury.

In 1979 a more ambitious project was attempted — four manzanas of maize and beans (3 hectares), the land once again being obtained from the men's group. These women paid for the ploughing and barrowing of the land with the proceeds of the previous year's project and with money obtained through raffles and the sale of food and soft drinks. Sowing was done by the husbands, and for the weeding the land was subdivided into parcels, each member being responsible for one of them. As in the case of sowing, the physical task of weeding was carried out either by husbands or sons. At harvest time, the women and their husbands all participated, the men separating the cobs from the plants and throwing them into heaps, and the women carrying the cobs in sacks to a central mound.

44 sacks of corn were harvested. About 1 was given to each member and the rest was sold to local traders. This money was then divided up equally between the members (L.24.00 per person) — except one member whose work had not been done, and L.201.00 which was to be retained in the treasury.

For the first two projects, land had been lent to the women's group by the men's group. However, this arrangement had certain disadvantages — these being the distance (a three kilometer walk from where the majority of the members lived), the quality of the soil, and the lack of water for irrigation

purposes. Help came in the form of a grant from the Cooperative Training Institute (IFC).

RRNN had been giving the group promotional support from the beginning, and after two years obtained milk powder, rice, flour and soybean flour for a children's nutrition center. Additionally, the RRNN promoter established contacts with an INA promoter, who also gave them technical assistance in 1979 and 1980. In turn, the INA promoter served as the contact between the group and the IFC, which was looking for groups for the implementation of production projects.

The IFC offered the group a project so that the women could work, and told the group to choose the one they wanted. The first choice was a poultry house and the second choice was a bee-keeping project. However, these two were discarded by the agency on the grounds that there was no water for the chickens and that there were too many pines for flower production (and hence honey). (The validity of both these arguments is questionable — since there is water nearby and rabbits also require water, and since there are productive beehives in the same locality.) As an alternative, the IFC offered a rabbit project: most of the members were in agreement, although a few were against the project because they didn't understand its benefits and because they didn't want to be in debt.

The IFC also helped the group with a donation of L.1,500.00 to buy 1 1/2 manzanas of centrally located arable land. The land was then sown with beans — the necessary inputs being provided by the group — (each member gave 4 lbs. of seed and the president of the men's group lent 32 pounds — to be repaid at harvest). The L.45.00 for plowing was paid for by raffles: each week on a hundred-and-one numbers are raffled at 0.20 cents per number — the

winning prize being ten lempiras (the winning number was the same as the national lottery number). The men sowed the beans and the men also did the weeding and the fumigating (it being decided in the meetings who should provide the labor for the different activities).

The production was approximately 15 1/2 quintales, of which ten were distributed between the 12 members and five were sold for L.300.00. The money was used to repay the men's group for borrowed inputs (insecticide and fertilizer — L.195.00) and to pay for the transport of wood for the rabbit shed.

A small quantity of vegetables was also sown -- but the production was bad because of insect damage.

The second project in the newly acquired land consisted of one manzana of maize. One bag of seed and two of fertilizer were bought from the men's group, and the land was ploughed with a tractor from the ANACH — machinery pool in Jamastran. A quarter of a manzana of beans was also sown, but no vegetables were sown because of the lack of water.

As in the earlier project, the men provided most of the labor for sowing and weeding — only 3 women taking part in the weeding, accompanied by their sons (Eme Elvir, Robertina Rodriguez, and Felicite Aviliz). The others were represented by their husbands, except one who didn't send anyone. The weeding work was allocated on a task basis, each member being given the responsibility of a number of rows. At harvest both the men and women worked as in earlier projects. The production was not good: Only one-half a quintal of beans and six quintals of maize was the result of their efforts. Excessive rain had caused much of the corn to rot. 2 1/2 quintals were divided up between the members and 3 1/2 were sold at L.10.00 per quintal to buy one sack of rabbit concentrate.

For the second sowing (Sept. 1981) it was decided to plant one manzana of beans. Money for plowing and barrowing (L.56.00) was obtained through raffles, making biscuits and quotas (L.18.00) from the members. The seed was obtained in the following manner -

32 lbs. - bought

32 lbs. - on loan

60 lbs. - 5 lbs. per person - contribution

Money from raffles was used to pay the L.45.00 necessary for the oxen for sowing. The onion crop ran short of water, the harvest was poor, and the bean crop was equally unproductive. Despite the fact that local farmers enjoyed excellent harvests, the group only managed to get about 50 lbs, which was less than the seed expended. The failure was due to "lack of attention," in other words, the crop was not weeded on time. It was reported that only six women were working regularly in the projects.

### The Rabbit Project

The purpose of the rabbit project is to provide the members with an income and to improve the diets of their families. One quarter of the production is to be consumed in the village and the rest is to be sold in Tegucigalpa. With this aim, it was decided to carry out the project as 'professionally' as possible - with good cages and enclosed in a special shed.

In November 1980 five asbestos - roofed cages (3 cages per unit & costing L.75.00 per unit) were delivered to the village, where they were kept in the president's house. They were stocked with ten does and two bucks. However, the twain were not to meet until the shed was constructed.

This was done about five months later - in the dry season - after the men had finished with the bean harvest. The IFC paid for the asbestos & wire netting and the group raised L.45.00 to pay for the wood. The building was put up by the husbands of some of the members (who used this as a pretext for not going to work in the more distantly located men's group). When husbands were not able to contribute time, they were expected to send a day laborer in their place.

Once the building was ready, the rabbits were mated -- and one month later (in May) the first litters were born. Unfortunately, since then, sixty-five have died and at present there are only 38 living (15 large and 23 small). The causes of death were attributed to poison (one member fed them Yucca leaves by mistake) and malnutrition.

To remedy the nutrition problem concentrate has been bought in Tegucigalpa (where it costs L.18.60 per quintal) and in Danli (where it costs L.23.00 per quintal). Money resulting from the maize project has been invested in this, as has money from raffles and food sales. At present the animals are fed three times per day -- twice with concentrate and once with leaves & grass.

The women work in the project on a rotation basis -- two members per week: one works Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday and the other works Thursday, Friday and Saturday. Both work on Sunday. The shifts per day are as follows:

6:00 a.m. feeding - (30 minutes)

11:00 a.m. feeding, watering, cleaning (45 mins.)

5:00 p.m. feeding - (30 minutes)

On Sundays the rabbits' ears are washed and treated when necessary with medicine. The rabbit project was ill-devised and rabbits started dying of pests and the wrong food.

The general opinion of the members about the project is that they must keep working at it — "to see if the production is good." Other people, outside the group, expressed much greater doubts about the possibility of success, and the newly arrived Peace Corps volunteer thought that all the rabbits might have died if she had not opportunely lent them some money to buy concentrate (which has since been repaid). In February, 1982, rabbits were still perishing. However, members were looking forward to a near future when they would be able to sell rabbit meat to restaurant in Tegucigalpa and learn how to process skins to make purses and bags.

#### Nutrition Project.

The group received food for three years through RRNN, the last time being April of 1981. That occasion, 100 lbs. of milk powder, 1 quintal of rice, 50 lbs. of flour and 100 lbs. of WSB flour were delivered. This was to serve as a nutritional supplement for children, pregnant women and old women for 3 months. 35 children (up to 6 years of age) were eligible (children of non-members could not receive the supplement). The work was done on a rotational basis, two women per day mixing up the powder and serving out the milk at 10:00 a.m. each day.

Now this form of help is not available, and the fact that CARE is given out at school (where it is paid for — 0.05 cts.) makes people think that it has been diverted there. Some of the members expressed dismay about not re-

ceiving the supplement any more -- "because the children did not use to bother them so much for food."

#### Technical and Promotional Assistance.

The group was organized in 1976 by a RRNN promoter. Since then the group has periodically received technical and promotional assistance from INFOP, INA and IFC. The National Training Institute (INFOP) was invited by the IFC to give a week-long course about rabbits. The IFC promoter arrives about once every two to three weeks from his base in Tegucigalpa. A woman RRNN promoter visits the group every Wednesday (except when there are transportation problems or other difficulties) according to the members. (However, it was noted that she did not arrive at all during the course of the study.)

INA does not give them technical assistance any more, since it promoted and helped the 'downhill' splinter group.

The following courses have been given to the group:

Subject:	Agency:	Duration:	Hours:
Rabbits	INFOP	one week	morning & afternoon
Cooperatives	INA	one week	morning
Organization	ANAEG	one week	morning & afternoon
Horticulture	INFOP	six weeks	morning & afternoon

Respondents, however, disagree on the degree of involvement of outside personnel in the development of the group. IFC is credited by some with helping with credit, with assistance with wood, cartons and nails for rabbit sheds, and assistance in the construction of a water depository. INA is said to have given organizational assistance at the beginning of the project but afterwards visits by INA promotoras were rare. INFOP was also credited with a

visit. Contact with promoters from all agencies does not include all members of the group. Instead, people from RRNN, INA and other agencies visit only the house of the group president, talk to her and to nobody else, and the president of the group keeps the visitors for herself and does not tell anybody when they are coming. Only a few respondents said that they had heard of BANADESA'S new line of credit for women's groups. It was also reported that the issue had been discussed in a meeting and the group had decided against attempting to use this credit line because they were afraid that they would not qualify since they were not a pre-cooperative.

#### Other effects of the women's group.

Up to the present, the most notable (though indirect) effect of the Santa Ana women's group has been the improvement of the water supply for the homes in the El Rincón part of the village. Financing was obtained from the AID small projects fund, through contacts established with the IFC. Although the community already had piped water, the new supply has a storage tank and it may be possible to utilize it for vegetable projects on the group's land.

Some of the group's members have now visited other women's groups and their projects, thus gaining an insight into new alternatives and possible problems. For example, the president became aware of the lack of collaboration of the husbands in a women's group 40 km. away that was reputed to be one of the most successful in the area.

Another effect has been the participation of some of the women in delegate roles -- whereby they must represent the group in attempt to gain some service from a support agency. This type of effect, like other intangible ones, such as the experience of participating in meetings and courses is

important in the developing of skills and confidence, and may produce other more far reaching results in the future.

Respondents mentioned the following benefits attained through their belonging to the group: share of crops, share in food given to the group, learning how to plant vegetables and grains, access to new supplies of water, opportunity to discuss and bring out new ideas.

### Membership

The group started with 15 members. After 2 years, four members withdrew, following a disagreement about the dividing up of the proceeds of one of the group's projects. Recently four more members left the group, although three of these (the daughters-in-law of the former president) had never been particularly active. Their withdrawal from the group was more a demonstration of solidarity with their dominant mother-in-law, who had resigned when she was about to have a child and when she was no longer president.

Active membership (i.e. working members) is ten at present. Two of the women have taken a leave of absence for childbirth (2 months). The Santa Ana association has been affected by internal dissent also. For a long time the wife of the president of Cooperative Santa Ana was president of the women's association Santa Ana. She was hostess to the meetings at her own house. The group was divided between those that gave her unconditional support, and those that wanted her to give an account of her performance. Main points of contention were her participation in physical work on behalf of the group and her handling of the group's funds. On the one hand she wanted everybody to work but she did not do anything with her own hands, yet she wanted the same share of earnings or produce as the others. On the other hand she never rendered

an account of the group's money, and she even prevented an elected treasurer from auditing past accounts and controlling current cash flows. Her argument was that the treasurer did not have to worry about the group's money because she as president knew what she was doing with it. To compound the mismanagement of funds, some income earned in raffles had been lent to a few members who never paid it back. In reaction to this situation members of the group quit, and those that remained decided to divide a maize harvest among themselves instead of selling it on the group's account because they realized that the money that goes to the group's funds goes to nobody knows where. Finally, in late 1981 the president was replaced, she quit and several more members quit as well in solidarity with her.

Other women living in the asentamiento that are eligible for membership in the group have not joined it because their husbands do not allow them to or because they themselves do not want to enter the group because they do not think it is worth it or because they want to avoid the problems of interacting with other group members. One respondent said that her husband has urged her to quit membership in the group but so far she has not paid attention to him; however, she will eventually quit because meetings are being held far from her home and there are no benefits.

#### Meetings and Democratic Processes

The group has a president, secretary, treasurer and other elected officers. In practice, one person (Dona Maiora), the wife of the president of the men's group, had effectively dominated the rest of the members and had monopolized all the authority in the group until very recently. Meetings did take place and officers were elected, but, as in the men's group, the

meetings were at the president's house, and this effectively curtailed much of the potential criticism against her. However, it should be noted that there was nowhere near the same level of resentment against her as there was in the case of her husband in the men's group — (possibly because many of the important decisions were taken by outsiders ;i.e. the agency promoters; and consequently she was almost as much an ordinary member as anyone else).

Additionally she was one of the few members who knew how to read and write — an attribute considered indispensable for a group president.

### Conclusions

1. The group was and continues to be a product of external promotion
2. Direct benefits resulting from the production of the projects has been minimal — projects are on a very small scale and production per member is extremely low — the rabbit project is, in fact, a drain on the group's cash resources and has yet to produce an income.
3. The general aim of increasing women's participation in economic activities has only been achieved to a very small degree — since most of the work is not carried out by them, but by their husbands and sons. This could be an important factor for limiting the expansion of production projects in the future (especially as some of the husbands were apparently tiring of this unproductive and unpaid support role).
4. Membership in the group has permitted some of the women to receive promotional and training courses.
5. Indirect benefits have been considerable — food-for-work, improved water supply and ownership of land.

6. External influence (from the promoters) has limited the group's own decision-making capacity. For example, the rabbits were not mated for about 6 months, because it was understood that the shed should be built before breeding could be begin.

List of Members of the Santa Ana Women's Group (Feb. 1981)

Maria del Carmen Banegar	President (5 years)
Maria Luisa Mejia	Secretary
Martina Morga	V. President
Rosario Martinez	Treasurer
Genobeba Morga	Committee Member
Digna Elvir	" "
Rosa Bustillo	" "
Ramona del Carmen Castillo	" "
Leberta Aviliz	" "
Doninga Martinez	" "
Arsenia Morga	" "
Enme Eliv	" "
Robertina Galo	" "
Rosa Amelia Nunez	" "

Santa Fe Women's Group, El Tablon

The Santa Fe Women's Group was a splinter group of the original Santa Ana Group that was formed when an arguement over the utilization (& control) of the proceeds of a project arose. This resulted in the retirement from the group of the treasurer and some other members.

In our study we interviewed eight members of this group, among them the current president, vice president, and treasurer. Seven of our respondents belonged to the peasants' asentamiento, while the eighth was a villager of El Tablon.

Later, they were encouraged by the INA promoter to form their own group, which they did with some other members (who had not participated previously in groups). The official date of organization is given as the 16th of February, 1980 and there were a total of fifteen members.

The INA promoter was a decisive factor in the development of the group. Every week she visited the group and three courses were given in the first year (Organization: 4 days, Agrarian Reform: 3 days, and Nutrition: 2 days). Additionally, through her efforts the group was able to obtain food-for-work on two occasions, and the group's statutes are a direct copy of some that were available in the INA office. INA has remained in touch with the group. A couple of months before the interviews took place, INA had given a course in which participants were informed of BANADESA's new line of credit for women's groups. The treasurer said that credit was available only for "well-organized groups," that is, for pre-cooperatives.

Unlike the 'uphill' Santa Ana group, the Santa Fe Group had to expend much more effort in obtaining land for agricultural projects. Some shallow sloping pasture land was located in a centrally located "downhill" part of the village and was obtained on credit from its prosperous but miserly owner. Through individual contributions and the sale of food, the group was able to accumulate the necessary money to buy barbed-wire and staples and to pay for the ploughing and barrowing of land. Then each member provided two pounds of

maize seed and a further fifteen pounds of seed and a bag of fertilizer were bought (with the proceeds of raffle money).

The husbands did the sowing and fertilizing, but the women did the weeding (with hoes — the men were working in the asentamiento) and also harvested the beans. The husbands harvested the maize, "because they had time to do it." The total production was 8 quintals of beans and 6 quintals of corn — worth approximately L. 55.00.2.

It was divided up in the following manner: sixty pounds of beans and sixty pounds of corn was given to each of the eleven members who worked and the rest was sold to pay for the land. In this they encountered a slight problem, but it was settled with the help of the INA promoter.

The owner of the land had originally asked for L.150.00, but after talking to the INA promoter, he agreed to lower the price to L.100.00, in view of the fact that it was national land. However, at harvest time, when they went to the INA office to pay, he wanted to increase the price back to the original L.150.00. They went through three different offices, but the regional director said that one should keep one's word, and despite the owner's pleas that his wife would be annoyed with him, he had to accept the L.100.00. The title document was then duly handed over with his thumbprint on it.

The next project (January 1981) was one-half a manzana of vegetables (1,500 cabbages, 1,600 onions, 600 chili peppers, and 400 tomatoes). The women did all the work — and were directed by the two women who had received the INFOP training in vegetable growing when they had been members of the Santa Ana group. Being the dry season, it was necessary to water the plants every day — (which involved considerable work since they did not even have a

hose). Between 3:00 p.m. and 5:00 p.m. each day, some of the plants received about a pint of water, painstakingly poured over them from a gourd.

Unfortunately, in the dry season, the supply of piped water becomes limited, even for human consumption, and the owner of the tap where the water was being taken from was put under certain pressure to discontinue this misuse of supply. At the same time, the plants were showing very little sign of prospering or bearing fruit -- due to the combined effects of lack of water and insect attack -- and consequently the project was abandoned.

The 1981 first-sowing project was  $3/4$  manzana ( $1/2$  hectare) of corn -- the work being carried out in the following way: only 9 members participated, because two had just given birth -- the land was ploughed with a tractor and then sown using oxen -- the money (L.51.00 for a tractor and L.15.00 for the oxen) being obtained from raffles. Each member contributed 2 lbs. of seed and one sack of fertilizer was obtained on credit from the men's group. 9 sacks of cobs were harvested in August (one per working member and another 15 were harvested in September, and this was also divided between working members.

Sowing .....	1 day .....	5 men
1st weeding .....	4 days .....	9 women (7:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.)
2nd weeding .....	4 days .....	9 women (7:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.)
Harvest .....	1 day .....	9 men (7:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.)
Fumigation .....	1 day .....	2 men (7:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.)

The second-sowing project was  $3/4$  manzana of beans, with a total initial investment of L.132.00.

Item.....	Detail.....	Cost.....	Source of Credit
Ploughing & barrowing	Tractor	3 hrsX18.00 hr 54.00	Individual
Sowing	Oxen	2 yokeX15.00 hr. 30.00	Raffles (50%) & Credit (50%)
sowing 6 men X 1 day .....		7:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.	
weeding 7 men X 2 days .....		7:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.	
building fences 8 men X 4 days .....		6:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.	

In 1982, they harvested six cargas (1-5.3 gg) of beans, and each of the eight working members received 151 lbs., the production being distributed equally because "every member had worked the same." The importance of this harvest is relatively great since the men had very little production of maize and beans.

Five of seven respondents in the group said they did not know if the group had made any earning from its activities, and one member said that the treasurer always said in the meetings that she had forgotten to bring the account. However, president and treasurer agreed on the fact that the raffles had brought some income that was spent in preparing the land for the next crop, and there was a remaining sum in the kitty. The treasurer said they had L.17 in the kitty, while the president said they had L.7.

### Meetings

Meetings tend to be project-oriented and are held once every one or two weeks on a Saturday or Sunday afternoon. Attendance averages between 7 and 8 members, though greater attendance is achieved with the help of the INA promoter or when harvest is approaching. It was noted that nonworking members do not attend the meetings. Recently both attendance in the meetings and

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participation in the projects has declined, a fact which is attributed to withdrawal of the food-for-work assistance.

The president of the group remains the same -- the ex-treasurer of the Santa Ana women's group who quarreled with the president -- and, being the most active member and the person whose house the meetings are held in, it is unlikely that she will be changed in the future.

### Membership

Membership has declined from 15 to 10. One didn't like getting her hands dirty (only her husband went to work), one retired because of childbirth, one left because her husband worked for a landowner and he did not want her to be in a group, and two left the village (one to work in Danli and one to rejoin her family after her husband remarried, leaving her with three children). Two more have maternity leave -- and it is possible that one of these will not rejoin because of general dissatisfaction with the group. Observations indicate that there are only five really active members -- and that certain activities are sometimes carried out individually, but in the group's name.

Several women in the asentamiento have not joined the women's group because husbands do not allow them. Others that had belonged to the Santa Ana group did not come over to the Santa Fe group because they did not want to risk going through the same kind of troubles they once had had.

### Projections

The group's president hopes to be able to continue with vegetable projects -- but this will not be attempted until the water situation is improved. She would also like a poultry project, but recognizes it to be

impossible without external financing. A third plan is to build a store-room which would serve as a meeting place. Some members would like to keep beehives as a future project. As a matter of fact they had already been offered a beehive by another CAC in a neighboring village.

Since nothing specific or concrete has been decided, it is probable that the group will only continue to implement small basic grain projects in the near future.

A member said they had already thought of applying for a loan for their projects, and another said that an INA promoter had offered to help get a loan but that nobody knew when it was going to come.

### Conclusions

1. Although the group was partly a product of external promotion, its continuance on the short term is no longer dependent on visits from a promoter. However, its longer term prospects are dependent on more rewarding and productive projects being undertaken. Unless this happens, the decline in membership will continue.

2. The vegetable project was the most notable failure in production terms, though in terms of management and carrying out of the work, it was the only one which really had maximum participation of women. The other projects have all been the production of basic grains, and have had very considerable support from the husbands — (possibly because basic grain production is generally the husband's role, and production from the women's group merely supplements what he produces). At the same time, none of the projects has generated a cash income for the members. On the contrary, it could be argued

that the projects themselves constitute a cash drain --- since basic grains are to be consumed by their families.

3. On a per person basis, both inputs and benefits have been small in absolute terms. However, when compared with the women's other forms of income, or with the bad results of the men's group projects, the group's projects acquire greater relative importance. Yield per unit area has also been much higher than those obtained in their husbands' land (where much higher levels of technology are used).

4. As in the Santa Ana men's group and in the other women's groups, there is no capitalization (except the purchase of the land) and all benefits resulting from any one project are immediately distributed between the working members.

5. There have already been a few complaints in regard to the way the treasurer and the president managed the group's funds. The president and treasurer get angry whenever a question on money accounts is brought up.

Food for work per member

	<u>First Ration</u>	<u>Second Ration</u>
Cooking oil	1 gallon	1/2 gallon
Milk Powder	10 lbs.	8 lbs.
Maize	75 lbs.	30 lbs.
Flour	5 lbs.	4 lbs.
Cereal (Wheat)	3 lbs.	- - -

Officer and Members of Group Santa Fe

María Cristina Martínez de Rodríguez	— President
Victoria Ardon	— V. President
Adriana Aviliz	— Treasurer
Obdulia Vallejo	— Secretary
Robertina Díaz	— Auditor
Tomasa Cuello	— Other Committee Member
María Castellano	— Other Committee Member
Concina Rivera	
Francisca Elvir	
María de Jesús Martínez	
Marta Elvir	
Ena Martínez	
Consuela Castellano	