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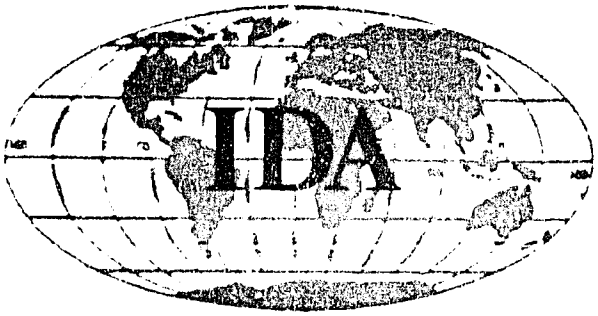

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Women in Mizque:
The Heart of Household Survival

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Acknowledgments

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Introduction

1. Goals of the report, points of reference, and outline

The primary goals of this report are to describe the social and economic conditions of women in the province of Mizque, Cochabamba, and to analyze the role that women play in the productive and cultural life of their households and of the region. The paper is designed to complement CEFOIN's 1990 report "Producción y Vida Rural en las Provincias Mizque y Campero" [Production and Rural Life in Mizque and Campero Provinces], which focuses on men's activities and on community- and institutional-level organization. Here we will address the central concerns and terms of references elaborated by FDAR and CEFOIN, and stated on the first page of CEFOIN (1990) as the following: to obtain current information and specific primary data on rural life, test the validity of current models of rural society, and obtain a reliable picture of the region with respect to (1) family structure and patterns of residence and migration, (2) production, (3) division and distribution of labor, (4) market participation, (5) management of natural and capital resources.

Because women are essential to nearly every social and economic activity, either as actors or administrators, or by providing nourishment and care for other participants, it is impossible to separate women from the whole of rural life. Therefore, our basic unit of analysis will not be the individual woman, but the household, which is the most important productive, sociocultural and juro-political unit in the region, and which is constituted around and administered by women. Our description and analysis of the role of women in Mizque is thus set in a wider context in which every aspect of a woman's life is considered part of the production and reproduction of her household.

The activities of Mizque women are not only inseparable from the whole of household and community life, they can not be divided into economic, social, or recreational spheres, nor into work and leisure. Because rural women do a great deal of agropastoral work in addition to domestic labor and care of their families, some analysts have commented on their "double work day." While this concept may effectively express the burden of western professional and proletarian women who perform income-generating labor in addition to caring for their homes and families, it does not fit the much more integrated work day of women in Mizque. Activities of rural Andean women are much less specialized and individualized than those of men and women in industrialized societies, and they need to be approached in a more holistic way. While a rural woman may milk her cows before dawn and shuck corn late into the night, her day is one; she manages her own time and resources in order to accomplish a wide variety of integrated tasks, none of which can be classified as strictly economic or exclusively family-oriented. A woman's productive activities take place not only out in the working world, but in the very heart of her home and family, while nurturing and care-taking is extended beyond her home to animals, crops and reciprocal relations.

Female participation in virtually all productive activities is especially important in the Cochabamba valleys, where for centuries men have been taken away from their households by Inca, colonial, and hacienda forces, and where many men continue to migrate away from their families to do seasonal wage work, mostly in the Chapare and Santa Cruz (cf. Paulson 1990b). As rural women struggle to maintain and reproduce their households, they manage resources, symbols, and rituals in creative ways, and this analysis shows that as women diversify activities and adapt strategies in response to such factors as migration and diminishing agricultural returns, they effectively transform themselves, the rural household, and the regional society and economy.

The following discussion is designed to elucidate the productive activities and strategies of rural women and their households, as well as the regional conditions in which they operate and which they affect. After briefly establishing the historical and geographical context for this study, we will begin with a discussion of family structure and patterns of residence and migration, based on 55 household surveys. The information for these surveys was gathered from families whom I had known for at least a year, and with whom I had worked in agricultural and domestic tasks.[1] The next two chapters explore women's roles in managing diverse and fluctuating resources and activities within the household, with discussions of (1) Human resources: division of labor within the household and allocation of family labor to different activities, with focus on women's work, (2) Natural resources: control, use, and integration of land, water, and forest, (3) Capital resources: management and budgeting of real estate, commodities, agricultural products, and cash, and (4) Social capital: management of ritual and social relationships that, if properly cultivated and maintained, can provide access to the resources mentioned above.

The fourth chapter deals with women's roles in socialization, and explores the problems that economic insecurity and the distribution of reproduction over various noncontiguous spaces dominated by conflicting lifeways pose for the physical and cultural reproduction of households. Here we will see how women's efforts to raise their children and maintain household integrity and cooperation are essential to cultural continuity and cohesion on the local level, while their efforts to integrate diverse productive activities, spaces, and lifestyles within family life have the cumulative effect of integrating a regional society and economy in which multiple ways of life and production coexist. Chapter five offers some conclusions about the conditions of women farmers in Mizque, and a set of guidelines and specific suggestions for improving the conditions of these women and strengthening their power and significance as agents of positive development.

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[1]A greater survey sample that covers a larger area may be more representative, but will suffer great loss of validity. Given problems of miscommunication and impression management, and the nonrandom characteristics of rural individuals who agree to participate in surveys, data gathered by urban researchers from rural Cochabamba residents whom they do not know well is notoriously inaccurate. See, for example, CEFOIN's (1990) review of studies of land tenure.

2. Geography and history: a regional perspective

The history of Quechua people in the Cochabamba region is dominated by struggle and challenge. Repeated climatic disasters, unstable and antagonistic national political economies, and insecure markets for labor and agricultural products have continually challenged their survival. In recent years, land shortages, lack of economic alternatives, and the pervasive influence of urban capitalist goods and relations pose increasing threats to rural continuity. For human groups, survival means not only fulfilling biological needs, but perpetuating the social and material requisites of cultural existence; households must be culturally and socially functional, as well as economically productive, in order to survive. Quechua peoples in the Cochabamba valleys have survived by diversifying their activities and maintaining cooperative and reciprocal relations within and between households. These strategies can be related to those of ancient Andean kin-based organizations who cooperatively exploited diverse ecological zones (Murra 1956), but today productive activities are extended not only to multiple ecological zones, but to multiple modes of production and income-generating activities, and the major organizational and productive unit is no longer the extended kin or ethnic group, but the single household.

Current survival strategies thus depend on rural women and men to manage and perform a vast array of activities and to engage in different kinds of relations in a series of productive spaces. Household production and reproduction are based in the rural community, and may extend to the high valley, the tropics of Chapare and Santa Cruz, and the cities of Cochabamba and Santa Cruz. Each household develops its own approach to integrating activities and spaces according to its size, composition, and resources, its access to markets and employment opportunities, and the education, skills, and connections of household members. These approaches vary throughout Mizque province because each subregion has distinct ecological and geographical characteristics, unique histories of contact and interaction with other groups, and particular local organizational and ideological orientations.

My research is focused in the central valley of Mizque, most of which pertains to Canton Mizque. People in this area have a history of intense interaction with regional agricultural, labor, and commodity markets; national society; and Spanish language. They raise a variety of crops and animals for consumption and sale, and engage in many other income-generating activities. The valley is marked by increasing differentiation in production strategies and lifestyles, and by socioeconomic stratification resulting largely from participation of some families in transport and commercial activities. Most pre-reform elite families have moved out of the region, and rural families increasingly participate in commercial, social, educational, and other activities in the provincial capital of Mizque, and are building and buying houses there.

In contrast, the populations of highland Mizque (Molinero Canton, and parts of San Vincente, Tin Tin, and Sivingani Cantons), tend to be less diversified, more socioeconomically homogeneous, and mostly monolingual in Quechua. These characteristics can be partly explained by geographic isolation due to the lack of roads and other communications, and by the fact that highland areas did not receive the massive migrations of more acculturated upper valley

peasants that influenced Mizque valley a generation ago.[2] Households in highland areas concentrate on agropastoral activities; they raise large herds of sheep and goats and cultivate diverse subsistence crops in micro-climate zones shaped by altitude and crevices in the landscape. The major cash crops are large fields of grain, and because there is little irrigation, farming is restricted to the natural rainy season, approximately October through March. In recent years, the conditions in which highland families live and work are being transformed under the impact of improved roads, penetration of intermediaries, and shortages of land for new households. Highlanders are increasingly specializing in cash crops and orienting their activities toward the valleys, cities, and tropics. Highland individuals, especially young men, engage in short and long-term migrations, mostly during the dry season, while women tend to stay home and look after the livestock.

Comparison of valley communities to the highland areas of Mizque captures only one axis of the great social and cultural diversity in the province, a diversity that needs to be emphasized to combat the pervasive urban myth of the countryside as a homogeneous social and productive space. During the course of this report, some subregional variations will be mentioned, but our major focus will be the central valley of Mizque, which is important on a number of accounts.

Mizque town and the valley in which it is located comprise a regional focus point. The major road linking Mizque to Sucre, Aiquile, Santa Cruz, and Cochabamba passes through the valley, and transport services are stationed in Mizque town. Families from the entire province use the health, education, and religious services in Mizque town, and make long treks to participate in Sunday markets and celebrate in drinking establishments. The central valley is the most fertile part of the province in terms of agricultural production, and during key harvests irrigated valley farms absorb a large temporary labor force from the surrounding highlands. The valley is also significant in terms of population. According to the latest national census (INE 1976), Mizque Canton is by far the most populous in the province, containing 9,417 residents, or 34.4 percent of the provincial population. In the past 15 years, Mizque Canton has experienced intensive growth, and the town itself has grown from 1,484 (INE 1976) to 2,226 inhabitants (INE 1985).

Thus Mizque valley has cultural, political, and economic influence over more isolated communities in the area. While distinct social organization and ethnic consciousness will prevent simple assimilation of highland people to valley patterns, numerous changes in highland conditions indicate that in the next decade, life strategies of highland households will become increasingly similar to those of households in Mizque valley.

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[2]Of the 33 couples married in a 1965 Catholic mission in Raqaypampa, 56 (85%) of the newlyweds were registered as being born in the same community, indicating remarkable demographic stability in comparison to Mizque valley, where more than half of the individuals married during the 1960s were born in other communities, mostly in the high valley.

Many of the characteristics, processes, and problems of Mizque valley are shared by rural communities in neighboring Campero province, and by the other valleys of the Department of Cochabamba.[3] A great deal of interaction and interchange goes on between valleys, and important aspects of cultural and ethnic identity are shared through coparticipation in regional markets and fiestas and intervalley marriages and migrations.

[3]The major valleys are Cercado, including Cochabamba city and surrounding communities, Sacaba to the North East, and the long valley encompassing the towns of Arani, Cliza, Punata and Tarata, which we will refer to here as the high valley or Cliza valley.

Chapter 1: Household Structure, and Patterns of Residence and Migration.

1.1. What is a household?

Throughout the Andes rural socioeconomic organization is based on the household, variously called *la casa, la familia* or *wasi-familia.* Households, rather than individuals or communities, are the primary units of economic and social action; households hold *sindicato* memberships, take turns at hosting religious fiestas, maintain rights to irrigation turns, and have obligations to contribute to communal projects. The Andean household is remarkable for the broad array of functions that it fulfills, and for its historical tenacity, as demonstrated by Enrique Mayer's reconstruction of the rural household in early colonial Peru.

> What was a household in Yacha territory in 1562? It was a residential unit, with a house, crop storage, and cooking facilities. It was inhabited by a married couple and their children and occasionally augmented by the attachment of relatives of either spouse or of children's spouses. . . . The household was a consumption unit that provided for most of the basic subsistence needs of its members on a regular basis and took care of infants and aged or infirm residents. In addition, it was a pool of labor capabilities, a source of physical energy and available skills that were deployed in a diversified manner in agriculture, herding, handicrafts, construction, and transportation, and it provided itself and the society in which it lived with basic goods and services (Mayer 1984:111).

Today, after 400 years of brutal contact with dominant groups, the rural household is still the most significant unit, and continues to fulfill all of the basic functions described by Mayer. Current studies emphasize the continued centrality and multifunctionality of the household throughout the Andes. Concerning communities around lake Titicaca, Bolton states unequivocally, "The importance of the household as the dominant social unit in Qolla social structure cannot be overstressed" (Bolton 77:217).

Households in the rural Andes have maintained their centrality and continued to fulfill many functions, but not through isolation and refusal to change. On the contrary, through interaction with other groups they have developed a striking flexibility and dynamism necessary to adapt to several potentially destructive historical processes. First, community support, which once included communal land, institutionalized reciprocity in labor and goods, insurance against natural disaster, and support for diseased and elderly members, has been severely eroded by centuries of demographic upheaval. Each individual household has taken on the burden of survival. Second, Inca, Colonial, and Republican policies have repeatedly assaulted what Mayer saw as the core of the household, that is "a married couple and their children." Adult men have been conscripted for mining and agricultural drafts, public work projects, hacienda labor, and military service, driven out of their homes by tribute demands, and more recently, by the need to earn money in a world dominated by capitalist relations. In their absence, women have managed on their own. The third process that has threatened household reproduction arises from consistently insecure and uncontrollable conditions that have caused families to reduce their

productive risks by diversifying, a process which has led to increased interaction with outside groups and increased internal stratification.

In much literature on the Andes, complex rural households are treated as classic peasant families whose members live and work on the farm, and the cultural ideal of gender complementarity is the focus of discussion, rather than the actual distribution of labor and power by sex (Carter 1977; Isbell 1977; Silverblatt 1987). Consequently, few scholars have paid attention to factors that force nuclear families to separate and break up, and little is known about strategies adapted for reorganizing dispersed household fragments. Dandler, for example, reports that, "A survey of recent studies (Lambert 1977) shows that households are mostly composed of single nuclear families" (1986:6), and Bolton insists "Every Qolla adult is expected to marry" (1977:218). In contrast, my survey of several communities in Mizque valley reveals that only about a third of households consist of single nuclear families comprised of a man, a woman, and children born to both of them, and that residence arrangements within and between households vary greatly. Moreover, household production and reproduction are carried out in a series of spaces, and involve some very nonpeasant activities.

In order to study and describe the multiform, multipurpose, and multiplace household, we need to establish a working definition that distinguishes a household from other groups of people. Household members share the same permanent residence, define their relations in terms of kinship, exchange labor freely, jointly control and manage resources, share food and other goods, share in child-raising (sociocultural reproduction), comprise a legally recognized politico-jural unit, develop integrated life strategies, jointly prepare and perform ritual and fiesta activities, and make up a unit for sindicato membership, rights, and obligations. Since all of these factors overlap and have exceptions, we will combine them in a gestalt definition, except for purposes of quantitative analysis, in which I count each sindicato affiliate as a discrete household.

1.2. Composition of households in Mizque valley

Surveys taken in 55 households in the four contiguous communities of Qonchu Pata, Poligono, Maira, and Callejas include the following information:

1) Full names of all household members;
2) Age of each member, and death dates for deceased children;
3) Primary occupation of each member;
4) Actual residence of each member;
5) Kinship and genealogical relations between members;
6) List of relatives with whom household maintains close relations, and place of residence of these relatives;
7) Types and numbers of all animals owned by the household;
8) Types and numbers of animals the household cares for in share arrangements;
9) Size of property and number of different plots owned;
10) Whether this property was inherited or purchased;

11) Amount of land the household rents, borrows, or cultivates in share arrangements;
12) List of crops cultivated during the past year, size of each field, month of each harvest and portion of each crop that was sold;
13) Members who travel for marketing, and their travel practices;
14) Members who travel for seasonal work, and their practices;
15) Members who migrate for other activities, and their practices;
16) Members who have done military service, when and where;
17) Members who have traveled to study or apprentice, what and where;
19) Property (land or buildings) owned outside of Mizque; and
20) List of all other income-generating activities in which family members engage, on or off the farm.

Survey information was provided in formal interviews by one or several household members, and because I was familiar with household activities and resources, I brought up details that informants left out (for various reasons), and encouraged discussion among family members in order to get answers that are as complete and accurate as possible. Calculation of this information allows us to construct a basic profile of the household in Mizque valley, with references to normal and exceptional variations.

The four rural syndicate organizations (sindicatos) in these communities have a total of 189 affiliated households. Any household that wishes to join and is willing to attend meetings and to participate in community projects can affiliate, and only a handful do not. As official heads of households, men are supposed to represent their families in the sindicato; but in the survey area, 32 (17 percent) of the households are represented by women, that is, a woman's name is on the register as affiliated member, and is called at meeting roll calls. Some of these women are widowed or separated, others have husbands, but represent their households because they own the land or administer its cultivation. Households represented by females are much more common near the town of Mizque, partly because women have more opportunities to earn money in and near towns. In Qonchu Pata, the community closest to town, 10 out of 31 households (32 percent) are represented by women, while in Callejas, which is farthest from the town, only 3 out of 40 households (7.5 percent) have female representatives.

A household may be headed by a woman, or coheaded by a man and a woman, who are distinguished from other members by their power, respect, and responsibilities. These individuals will be referred to here as the male head and female head of the household.[4]

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[4]Virtually all reports on rural life in the Cochabamba region, including the most recent and reliable ones, use ill-fitting terminology that designates the senior male, no matter what his position or occupation, as "*jefe de hogar*" (chief of the home), and the senior woman as "*mujer*" (woman). Both CEFOIN (1990) and CIDRE (1990) use this hierarchical terminology, even though the materials in their own reports show it is highly inappropriate for describing rural families where women wield as much, or more "chiefly" power as men. For example, CIDRE

Among the 55 households interviewed, 44 (80 percent) are run jointly by a male and female, 10 households (18 percent) are run by women, and there is one widower who lives alone and depends on his nearby daughter to cook and look after him. These ratios correspond with CEFOIN's surveys of adult women in 25 communities in Mizque and Campero, wherein only 81 percent claimed to have a current mate or spouse (1990:160). These findings indicate that as many as 1 in 5 households throughout the region may be managed by women alone, a significant and up-to-now unnoted phenomenon. These women represent a widespread trend in developing countries today. They constitute the poorest group in every country, and some analysts estimate that 25-30 percent of all Third World households are de facto headed by women (CIAT 1985).

It is difficult to determine the number of members of each household, because most families have members who move in and out in response to the agricultural cycle, cash needs, and opportunities outside the valley, and because households change, grow, and dissolve through time. Surveyed households reported a total of 300 members of all ages during the present year, which averages 5.45 members per household. Children may come and go, but because they are generally raised by and maintain prolonged relationships with their mothers, I counted all living children who are still based in their mothers' households. While several young families have only 1 or 2 children, two women have 11 living children.

It is possible to say that the surveyed households are "based on the nuclear family," but the concept of nuclear family does not seem appropriate or useful here because, when it is defined as a woman and a man with children born to both, only 19 households (34.5 percent) fit the description. Instead, the greatest common denominator of actual households is a woman and her children. The mother-child binomial is the core of all households in our sample but three: an old woman who lives with a granddaughter, an old widower who lives alone, and a childless woman who lives with her husband and stepson.

In order to measure the stability of conjugal unions and the relation (or disjunction) between biological parents and social parents, I counted the children living in households containing only one of their biological parents. The majority of these are children of female

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notes "*la mujer juega un rol fundamental, porque es la encargada de mantener el funcionamiento de la unidad familiar y administrar su 'transformabilidad,' sobre ella descansa el funcionamiento cotidiano del conjunto, es ella quien lo dirige, lo coordina, en tanto que el hombre se dedica casi exclusivamente a la actividad agrícola.*" (CIDRE 1990 (II): 61) [The woman plays a fundamental role because she is in charge of keeping the family unit functioning, and administering its "adaptability", she is responsible for keeping the family running on a daily basis, she directs and coordinates household activity, while the man works almost exclusively in agricultural tasks] Even Bourque and Warren, who are expressly concerned with male biases in research, uncritically use the term 'head of household' to designate senior male and not female.

heads, born of former unions.[5] Forty four (17 percent) of all children were born outside of current marriages, to only one of the partners, which averages .8 per household. Women commonly have one, or sometimes two children out of wedlock (*hijos de soltera*), and then enter a relatively stable union in which the rest of their children are born. A small portion of women have been involved in many consecutive unions, and several have children by three or more men.

My figure for extramarital children is probably low, since there is some social advantage to pretending that all children are legitimate, especially vis-à-vis urban outsiders. Nevertheless, most women talk openly about their children born out of wedlock and their former liaisons. While among *mestizos* and in other Andean regions, it is reported that "Finding someone to share a permanent relationship that will end in marriage is felt to be next to impossible for the *madre soltera*" [single mother] (Bourque and Warren 1981:31), in rural Mizque, single mothers are marriageable and generally do not suffer much prejudice. The children of former unions, however, do not fare as well. It is widely believed that a man can not love his stepchildren as much as he loves his own flesh and blood, and that fact is used to excuse the mistreatment of stepchildren, including overworking and sexual abuse. Largely for this reason, some women leave their children from former unions with their own parents when they establish a household with a new mate.

Grandchildren such as these dominate the next category of household members: those who are not children of either head. My survey includes 28 individuals in this category, with an average of .5 non-offspring members in each household. Mothers who enter new unions, migrate to look for work, or engage in marketing in a city or in the tropics often leave children with their grandparents. Other children live in their grandparents' home together with their mothers, who are single, or joined with men who spend a lot of time out of the region. One household includes a young daughter-in-law, and one a son-in-law, but most couples who reside with parents soon build their own hut nearby and join the sindicato. One old woman lives with her unmarried daughter, grandchildren and great grandchildren, but all other old people whose children have become heads of household live on their own, sometimes in the company of a grandchild.

1.2.1. Patterns of migration

The importance of women as household heads becomes even more significant in light of adult migration practices. During the past two years, 17 (38 percent) of the 45 male heads of household have been away from home for a total of more than 6 months. Twelve of these men were in the Chapare, 3 in Santa Cruz, 1 in Cliza valley, and 1 in Totora. Their migration destinations are charted below in Figure 1. Most men work in agriculture for wages or sharecropping, and only two migrate to work on land they own in Chapare colonies. Thus 27 of the 55 households, a full 49 percent, were run by women alone for at least six months during

[5]The children of widows who are not remarried are not included in this figure.

the last 2 years. Only two women heads of household were gone for more than 6 months, and both closed down their compounds and took their children with them. Five women, 9 percent of female heads, engaged regularly in petty commerce during short trips away from home. During their absence they arrange for female relatives, daughters or mates to look after the household. Separation of household members is not exclusive to Mizque, but takes place throughout the Andes (See Collins 1988), and Enrique Mayer (1977:61) notes that in the Peruvian countryside "Insofar as it is possible, each family divides itself in two sections, one staying in the village to take care of the agricultural front, the other migrating to obtain cash."

Few parents enjoy the permanent company and help of all of their children; one fourth (64) of those children listed have been absent from Mizque province for at least 6 months during the past two years, and their migrations are charted below. The 30 migrating daughters were or are in the following areas: 9 in Santa Cruz, 4 in Chapare, 4 in Cochabamba, 4 in Cliza valley, 2 in Sucre, 1 in Argentina, and 6 moving between various regions. Most of the young women who went to Santa Cruz, or moved between various regions, and half of those in the Chapare, are involved in marketing. Some young women went to Cliza valley to apprentice as seamstresses or beauticians, while most who went to Cochabamba and Sucre work as domestic servants.

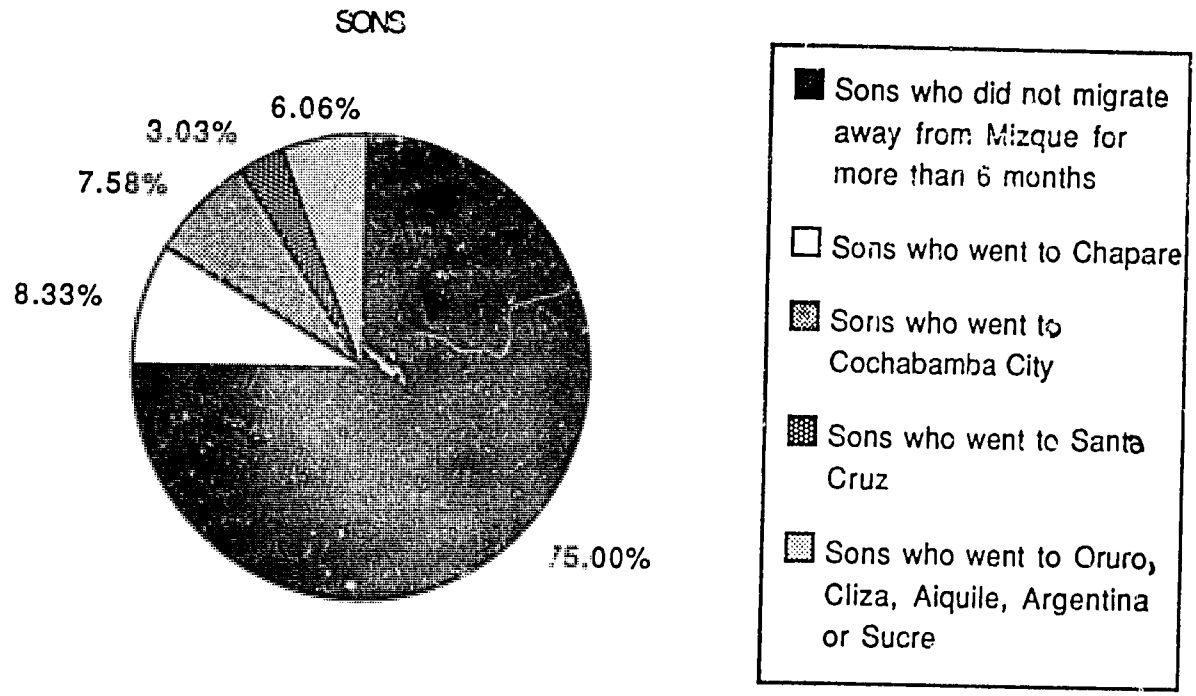
The 34 migrating sons chose different and more diverse destinations, and traveled farther: 11 went to the Chapare, 10 to Cochabamba, 5 to Santa Cruz, 3 to Oruro, 2 to Cliza valley, 1 to Argentina, 1 to Sucre, 1 to Aiquile, and 1 moving between regions. The young men who went to the Chapare mostly worked in coca harvesting and processing, and 2 worked harvesting rice or cassava. Only three of them worked on family land in the Chapare. Other migration was mainly to study or practice trades including mechanics, carpentry, and agricultural engineering, and to do military service. Young people often migrate with, or to join, relations who help them get established and teach them techniques.[6] See Figures 1-4.

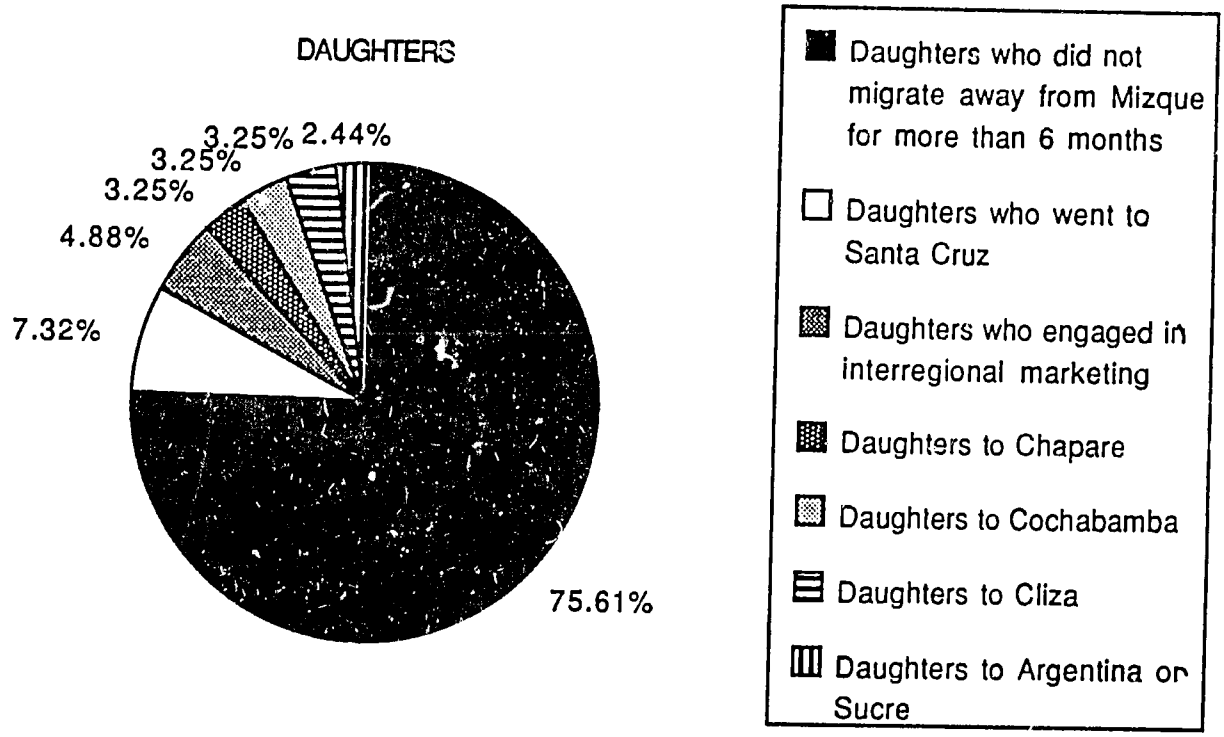
1.2.2. Principles of residence

The survey demonstrates that the common denominator of Mizque households is a woman and her children, and that most other members are directly related to this binomial, either as mate or parent of the female head, or as mate or child of one of her children. A number of additional principles underlie organization of households in Mizque. Two related women with children may cooperatively manage a household for a short time, or for many years. Sisters live together or in adjoining households, and single women live with their mothers. When a man from Mizque valley migrates, his wife often takes the children and returns to her home where she will feel comfortable and can collaborate with her parents and siblings. In highland Mizque, as in parts of the upper valleys of Cochabamba, young wives are required to live with

[6]The term "relations" is used throughout this paper to refer to people connected by bonds that imply reciprocal obligations and are expressed by kinship, compadrazgo, friendship, or other terms.

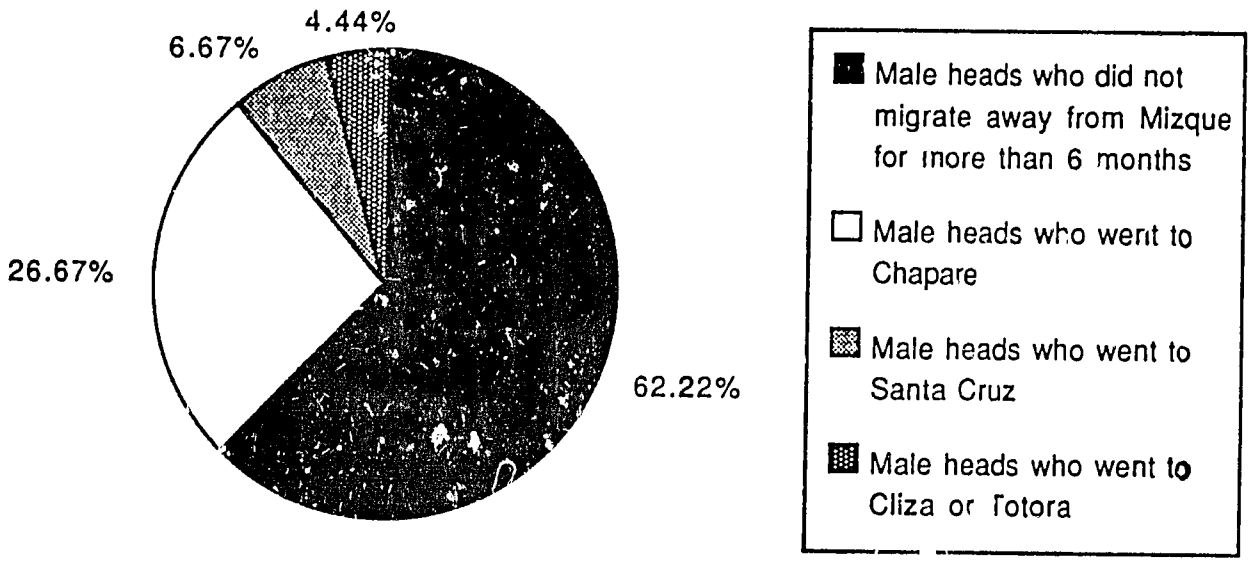
FIGURES 1 AND 2: MIGRATION DESTINATIONS FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS FROM 55 MIZQUE HOUSEHOLDS WHO MIGRATED FOR AT LEAST 6 MONTHS DURING 1988 AND 1989



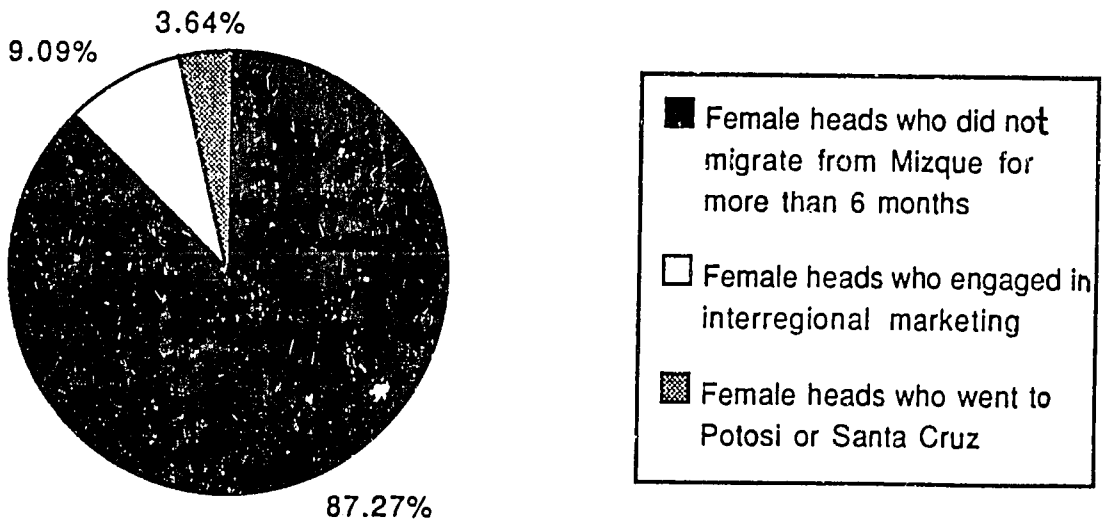


FIGURES 3 AND 4: MIGRATION DESTINATIONS FOR MALE AND FEMALE HEADS FROM 55 HOUSEHOLDS WHO MIGRATED FOR MORE THAN 6 MONTHS DURING 1988 AND 1989

MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD



FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD



their affines who can supervise their conduct, as well as profit from their labor. (See for Tarata, CIDRE 1990). A young woman from Buena Vista commented,[7]

> *Eso es muy común, claro, si digamos un hogar, aquí no puede subsistir, el hombre tiene que ver dónde ganar más dinero, ¿no? Entonces lo más confiable es que la mujer se queda con los papás, donde ella va a estar mejor. Aunque él talvez va a vivir con otra mujer, ¿no? ¿Qién va a ver? Eso es el machísmo nomás.* (Taped 4/90) [That is very common, of course. Let's say there is a household, here they can't survive, the man has to go where he can earn more money, isn't that right? In that case the most sure option is for the woman to stay with the parents, where she is going to be better off. Although he may go and live with another woman, who is going to see? That's just machísmo.]

A household can have only one male head. Occasionally, a young man will live with his parents, possibly together with his bride, but the older man is clearly the male head of household, and it is expected that the younger will soon form his own household or leave the community. In none of our cases do more than one married man with children share a household.

For some families, household clusters achieve a balance between cooperation and independence. In my survey area, there are half a dozen clusters formed by two, three, or four households related by kinship who regularly cooperate in production, consumption, child care, and ritual activities. Some of these households are next to each other because they are on inherited or borrowed family land, but in many cases, two or more siblings, or parents and children, have purchased lots next to each other to create clusters. A mother of 11, whose household is near her sister's, expressed a widespread desire of female kin to live and work together, "*Mi hijo está trayendo a su mujer aquí porque él tiene trabajo aquí, pero si quiere ir, también puede irse. Pero mis hijas, yo las quiero aquí. Si quieren casar, que se casan, pero que hagan sus casas aquí donde nosotros.*" [My son is bringing his wife here because there is work here, but if he wants to go, he can. But I want my daughters here. If they want to get married, let them marry, but they should make their homes here by us.] Within the past couple of months this woman's son and daughter each built huts within 100 yards of her compound.

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[7]This quote and all those marked with the word (Taped) and a date, are literal transcriptions from tape-recorded discussions with residents of Mizque valley. Only names have been changed to protect personal privacy. Quotes that are not marked as such are copied from field notes in which I recorded discussions as accurately as possible during or after conversations. The strong Quechua influence and nonstandard Spanish has not been corrected, but retained in its actual usage. Free English translations are by the author.

1.2.3. Households managed by women

A significant phenomenon, and one that has gone undocumented in this region, is the prevalence of households without male heads. Some women manage thriving households with successful agricultural production, healthy children, profitable *compadrazgo* relations[8] and community respect. On the other hand, some of the poorest and most miserable households are run by women alone with few resources. Following are some examples of households headed by females:

Maria Elena: 30 years old, second of 11 children, mother of 12 year old Tomás, and a new baby, by different men with whom she never lived. Maria Elena and her children are healthy and well dressed, and her son goes to school in Mizque town, where he does well. This year Maria Elena built an adobe house with wooden doors and window frames near her parents' home, and plans to earn money selling corn beer and foodstuffs. Upon moving, she joined the sindicato in her own right, but still cooperates in family agriculture on her parents' relatively large farm (4 well-irrigated hectares, a dozen sheep, 9 cows, 8 oxen).

Eugenia: 50 years old, with 4 living and 3 dead children. Her husband died 12 years ago, and her daughters, then aged 23 and 14, went off in search of work. The eldest got married and obtained land in a Chapare colony, and the youngest went to Santa Cruz and has never been heard from. Eugenia's two sons, now 26 and 23, have spent the last decade traveling between Mizque and the Chapare. Eugenia goes to the Chapare each year to pick coca on her daughter's land, and seven years ago she brought back her daughter's baby son, who has lived with his grandmother ever since, and does not go to school. Eugenia owns a 1/4 hectare plot, on which she lives in a shabby hut, and plants a few rows of corn. She raises about a dozen chickens and earns money by washing townspeople's clothes. She earns 2 bolivianos for washing a dozen items, and can earn as much as 10 bolivianos a day. This year her 25-year-old son moved back from Chapare to build a hut next to hers, where he lives with his wife from the Mizque highlands, and their three young children. They have begun cultivating land as sharecroppers.

Teresa: 34 years old, mother of 1 dead and 7 living children, bought a tiny plot where she lives in a stick-and-mud hut no bigger than 2 square meters. Her first two daughters, born out of wedlock and bearing their mother's name, went off to the Chapare and to Cochabamba several years ago. The eldest, now 17, once sent some clothes for her younger siblings, and since then Teresa has heard nothing but rumors. The five children who live at home have three different last names. Twelve-year-old Jorge is the only one in school. Sonia, 10, herds the

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[8]Compadrazgo relations are ties established through coparticipation in rituals that bind individuals together with reciprocal moral, social, and material obligations. Because there is no adequate English translation, I will use the terms compadrazgo to refer to the system, *compadre* and *comadre* to refer to individuals linked laterally, and *padrino/madrina* and *ahijado/a* to refer to sponsoring and sponsored individuals.

sheep that the family has taken on in a share arrangement, cooks, and cares for her three younger siblings, including 6 year old Benigno, who has a club foot, and 1 year old Eustaquia, who has chronic diarrhea. For more than a decade Teresa has had an on-and-off relationship with Cirilo, a poor, landless man from Tin Tin who, along with his brother, works for wages in Mizque and in the Chapare. Teresa sharecrops bits of land, but does not have much food for her children. Neighbors have compassion, and explain that her inability to manage the family, and her weakness for corn beer is a curse from the *Pacha Mama* (mother earth). After her child was born, Teresa did not clean up the blood and placenta according to custom, but made a libation right away, mixing corn beer with the blood on the dirt floor of her hut. This brought her bad luck.

Tomasa: 42 years old and single, her mother Sabina, around 60 years old and long-time widow, and her daughter Beatríz, 20 years old and with mate, live in an adobe and cement house on the road. Tomasa's 12-year-old son goes to school, and helps watch their 28 sheep and 5 cows. Beatríz has two sons, 1 and 3 years old, who bear the last name of her mate, who lives with them when he is not migrating. The house is on the edge of 1 hectare of land that Sabina inherited, and most of which is cultivated by sharecroppers. The three women plant a little corn, but earn most of their living in commerce and raising animals. They buy bread, corn beer, and pork, which they prepare and sell to passersby, and occasionally they make and sell corn beer. Tomasa and Beatríz both buy crops and take them to Cochabamba by truck to resell at higher prices, and Beatríz buys candy, toys, and other commodities in Cochabamba, then goes to rural parties and fiestas where she spreads out her carrying cloth and sells them.

As you can see, single women have found numerous ways to survive in rural Mizque, for better or for worse. The saddest cases, however, do not appear here. They are women who left the province, often abandoning their children, to find work as domestic servants, prostitutes, or day laborers, or possibly to find men who can provide economic support or access to land. As Bronstein (1982) points out, female farmers in the Third World suffer a triple disadvantage; they are women in male-dominated societies, members of the rural underclass exploited by urban capitalist classes, and citizens of underdeveloped nations that are dependent on and dominated by industrialized world powers. Some difficulties experienced by families of single mothers are expressed in a poem called "*Hijo de Nadie*" [Son of Nobody], written by a high school boy. The piece condemns careless men who leave babies but don't even leave their names, and praises single mothers for their courage and dedication. The author's recitation of this poem at the school mother's day celebration left a good part of the audience in tears.

1.3. Joining and marriage

Although single mothers can and do establish their own households (see photo, Appendix 1), most households are initially formed when a man and woman establish independent residence together. In Mizque men and women form unions and establish households both early and late in life, and a wide variety of courting and joining practices coexist. This diversity contrasts with the highlands where unions are formed and sanctioned in the context of a prescribed series of rituals and customs, including initial patrilocal residence. The diversity of mating options in the

valleys is related to a number of cultural and socioeconomic conditions that are currently becoming more common in the highlands.

To begin with, marriage no longer guarantees access to land, and the loss of this material base and incentive for the formation of conjugal pairs has transformed the dynamics of household reproduction. Formerly native communities and haciendas throughout the Andes allotted land to new couples (See De La Cadena 1985:5), and today in parts of Cliza Valley land is customarily given as early inheritance at the time of marriage (CIDRE 1990:11-103). In Mizque, however, because many mature households do not have enough land, they are unable on unwilling to give land to new couples as anticipatory inheritance, and the parcels of hacienda land that were allocated to newlyweds by sindicatos after the agrarian reform have been used up for years.

Single status does not prohibit access to land or other resources for women or men. While in some parts of the Andes inheritance customs and land reform policies block access to land by unmarried females, in Mizque, females inherit and administer land, capital, and other resources without regard to their marital status. In relation to urban mestizo women, and to women in some highland regions, females in Mizque enjoy high levels of social and economic independence. Women through the Cochabamba valleys participate freely in many productive activities and enterprises, and have dominated the dynamic regional market system for several centuries.

Nor does single status exclude Mizqueños from sindicato membership and corresponding rights, resources, and obligations. Bolivian communities allocate resources such as water, political vote, and use of communal land to sindicato members, and in most communities only married people can affiliate. In the sindicatos that I worked with, however, single men and women are entitled to full membership and benefits, and numerous single mothers are affiliated.

Although people from rural Mizque generally marry rural people from similar socioeconomic backgrounds and from the same department, endogamy is not practiced in the community or kin-ethnic group as it is among the Laymi *ayllus* studied by Harris (1985:317). Therefore rural Mizqueños join with and marry people whom they meet in other areas and who are from other communities throughout the region, especially from the high valley. Finally, mating is not irreversible. High rates of separation, divorce, and death mean that many men and women establish households with several consecutive mates. These changes may be difficult for family members, but are not strongly sanctioned by the community.

All of these factors are related to and make possible very flexible patterns of female-male joining, which contrast with other communities and with earlier generations where, reportedly, complex controls encourage all people to marry and to stay together at all costs. Carter, for example, writes about Aymara people in rural La Paz, Bolivia, that "the ideal of lifetime, faithful monogamy still carries great respect. Divorce and separation are rare. Once the marriage process has been started, there are strong sanctions against 'backing out'" (1977:211).

1.3.1. *Tantanaku/juntarse:* first joinings

Young people meet at and on the way to markets, at fiestas, visiting relatives, and working in the fields. Some rural and many townspeople meet in school. Often young couples decide to join without knowing each other very well. Girls may join as young as 14 years, and boys usually a few years older, although most young men do military service before they join, and many individuals remain single throughout their twenties. When a couple moves in together it is called *tantanakua* in Quechua and *juntarse* or *concubinarse* in Spanish. Normally no social distinction is made between couples who are married and those who are cohabiting, and in Quechua kinship terms the status distinction is not marked. Only in Spanish, and as an insult, will a woman be called a concubine instead of a wife.

Cohabitation is widely accepted in most parts of the Andes (Saravia 1985:70) and a Mizqueña commented,

> *Es la convivencia, ellos conviven, y si se entienden, si se entienden muy bien, o sea, tengan los hijos, entonces sí, realmente se casan. Llegan a vivir - a veces se casan rápido y a veces en un año, dos años, ¿no? y a veces, no. Viven una eternidad así juntos, y eso es más interesante porque, imagínese que no les está obligando ningún papel, ningún lazo, y que ellos viven solo porque se quieren, asi juntos y sin ningún compromiso.* (A 25-year-old single woman, taped 9/26/90) [That is cohabitation; they live together, and if they get along, if they get along very well, that is, they have children, then yes, they really marry. They live together—sometimes they get married quickly and sometimes in a year or two, and sometimes not. They live an eternity together like that, and this is even more interesting because, imagine! no paper, no official tie is holding them together, and they live together only because they love each other, together like that without any obligation.]

The most traditional way to join, and the most common in the Mizque highlands, is for a young man to simply bring his girlfriend home. This occasionally takes the more dramatic form of *robo*, or bride kidnap, common in some parts of Cochabamba and elsewhere in the Andes, wherein a young man may drag his bride kicking and screaming to his home (Carter 1977; Dandler 1986; CIDRE 1990). In spite of the violent appearance of bride kidnap, and the casual appearance of its counterpart more common in Mizque, there seems to be considerable foreknowledge of mate selection by the young man and woman, and by their parents.

If a young man's parents approve of the young woman he brings home, they formally recognize the union with a visit called *mañaqha* (the same word is used when speaking Quechua and Spanish) wherein they visit the young woman's parents, drink corn beer, and make arrangements. The session that I observed involved a lot of drinking, fathers giving each other speeches, and mothers crying, with few other ritualized activities (for a more elaborate mañaqha tradition, see Carter 1977:186). Parents of the girl often insist on an official marriage, and dates and plans may be discussed enthusiastically and referred to in the following months, but are

generally postponed indefinitely. The couple may live with the young man's family for a few months or several years, depending on how they get along, labor needs of the household, and the young couple's resources and possibilities. Sometimes a couple will live with the girl's parents, especially if they have land that needs to be worked.[9]

About half the young couples I spoke with began their first union with residence at the male's parents' home, and a somewhat greater proportion of mature women report beginning conjugal life at the home of their affines. Other arrangements are made when the male's parents are dead or live elsewhere, or when couples prefer to live on their own. A grandmother told me, "*Yo fui donde mi suegra por un mes nomás, porque ellos viven allá en el valle. Es mejor, pero, estar solos. Come mucho, come poco, es siempre mejor donde no va a haber problemas con la familia.*" (Taped 10/90) [I went to my mother-in-law's for only a month, because they live far away, in the high valley. But it's better to be alone. Eat a lot, eat a little, it's always better where there are not going to be family problems.] Dependence on parents' resources and submission to their supervision varies from situations in which both young people are away from the household much of the time, working for wages or trading in the market, to situations in which the young couple serve and are closely supervised by the parents. A middle-aged woman recounts "*Yo no quería ir donde mi suegra, pero fui como para una temporada. Mi mamá me dijó, 'antes de servir al esposo, una nuera tiene que servirla a la suegra'.*" [I didn't want to go with my mother-in-law, but I went for a while. My mother told me "before she serves her husband, a daughter-in-law must serve her mother-in-law"].

Many young people want to be independent, and some manage to gather the resources necessary to set up their own households. A young couple may borrow a room from relatives or *padrinos,* or may find work outside the community, but they still have many obligations to their parents. Recently the eldest son of a large rural family moved with a young woman from a community on the other side of Mizque valley to a rented room in town, and the couple showed up every morning at the man's parents' household, a mile from town, so that his bride could tend the breakfast fire. When one or both families object to a union, or think their children are too young to get together, a young couple may elope to Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, or the Chapare where they will live with relatives, or rent a room and look for work. Women's subsequent unions rarely begin with patrilocal residence. Rather, a man usually moves in with his new mate and her children, either in her own home or with her parent(s) if she and her children live there.

Andean scholars have called the early stages of conjugal unions "trial marriage" and debated the role and meaning of the institution for decades. Cohabitation is not necessarily institutionalized, nor is it a trial for legally or ritually sanctioned marriage. Carter (1977:211),

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[9]In the western part of Mizque, in the cantons of Tin Tin and Vila Vila, young couples live with the male's parents until they can accumulate enough resources to host a wedding and build a house of their own, which may take many years. Celebration of the religious and civil wedding thus coincides with physical independence from the patrilocal household.

wisely asks "could it be our ethnocentric perspective that has led us to seek an analogous single rite to validate the marriage contract in other societies? Could it be that Andean trial marriage has nothing trial about it at all, but is merely the first of a series of interrelated life crisis rituals, none of which can stand alone, but all of which contribute to the sealing of the marital bond?"

When I asked Mizqueños why couples join, young women answered "*por amor, pués*" [for love, of course], and older people offered different motives, "When he went to Punata my brother found another woman because he needed someone to run the house," "he followed me around for so long, and I had no interest in him, he sent me letters and presents and everything from the military service. Finally I just moved in with him, even though I didn't really like him," "I knew that if we weren't married he wouldn't give me anything for the baby," and "My stepfather always yelled at me and never let me see my friends. There was a lot of work to do at home, so I just went to his house."

Two major criteria for evaluating husbands are "does he work to help support the household?" and "does he beat his wife a lot?" A young single women told me she was looking for "*un hombre que sea racional, que no quiere pelear todo el tiempo*" [a man who will be reasonable, and will not want to fight all the time]. When asked about marrying for money or for land, all women answered, "*No hay que casarse por interés, eso no dura*" [You shouldn't marry for greed, it won't last], yet the resources of potential affines are always carefully considered, if not by the young couple, by their parents. A good man shows love for his wife and children by doing agricultural work or bringing them money, and a major complaint of a woman being cheated is that her man spends money on his mistress and her children, or irrigates the other woman's fields and leaves her own dry. Women also fear sexually transmitted diseases, especially from husbands who migrate to the Chapare, which has a reputation for sexual freedom and venereal disease.

The role of companionship in conjugal unions varies greatly. Some couples work in the fields together, talk and plan together, take their children to town on Sundays, and eat together. Other couples spend most of their time apart, except when a woman is serving food to her husband and when they engage in sex. Married couples do not sleep together; each sleeps on a single cot or mattress, usually together with small children. Recreation has different meanings for females and males. Females seldom distinguish recreational activities from the rest of their lives; they spend time talking, sharing, and relaxing during all kinds of female tasks, such as washing clothes at the river, peeling potatoes or peanuts in the patio, pasturing sheep, tethering cows, and caring for children (See photos, Appendix 1). Men, on the other hand, tend to do solitary work in their fields or in individual wage labor, and their recreation is clearly marked in activities such as playing soccer, drinking corn beer, hanging out in the plaza or the mechanic shop, or going hunting or fishing.

1.3.2. Marriage

In the life cycle of a household, the wedding ceremony usually comes after many years of cohabitation, the birth of children, sindicato membership, the acquisition of land, and the

establishment of relative economic independence. A minority of families, mostly townspeople, either agree with the Italian priests and nuns that it is morally wrong to live together without the ceremony, are concerned for the welfare of their daughters, or feel that official marriage is socially advantageous, and so they pressure their children to marry before living together. Analysis of the 348 marriages recorded in the parochial records of Mizque during the five years from 1985 through 1989 shows that the average age at marriage for men is 36.2 years, and the average age for women is 34 years. The oldest newlywed man was 88, and the youngest 18 years old, while the oldest woman to marry was 76 and the youngest 18 years old. Since the Catholic church does not allow divorce, these are first church marriages for all individuals except widows and widowers.

Baptism records note the residence and marital status of the parents, and since virtually every baby is baptized, give us a profile of childbearing families in the province. The information may be slightly skewed by the fact that the priest says it is wrong to bear or baptize children out of wedlock. Thus women may lie and say that they were married somewhere else, even though a poster hanging in the receiving office of the parish warns "*Se puede engañar al Padre, pero no a Dios*" [You can fool the priest, but you can't fool God]. During the year 1988 and the first three quarters of 1989, 728 children were baptized in the Mizque Parish. The parents of 335 of these children claimed to be married "legitimo," that is, by the Catholic church (usually in addition to civil), 129 couples claimed to be married only in *unión civil*, by the civil registry, and 264 mothers admitted that they were not married at all, so their children are classified as "natural." These data reveal that more children were born and baptized out of holy wedlock (393, 54 percent) than within it (335, 46 percent).

Most couples host elaborate weddings when they are in their thirties and forties. The event usually begins with a Catholic church marriage, part of which may be in Quechua. During religious fiestas and national holidays many couples get married in the same mass, which seems impersonal to us, but may be rooted in Inca and colonial practices, in which authorities visited communities to officiate all new unions once a year (Silverblatt 1987). The brief church ceremony is only the beginning of several days of festivities,

> *Las costumbres, ya sabes como son; dos, tres días, primero en la casa del novio, después en la casa de la novia y posteriormente en la casa de los padrinos. Tres días dura el matrimonio, la fiesta. No siempre se da en todos los casos. No, algunos lo hacen más sencillos. Por sus recursos económicos, lo hacen más sencillos.* (Taped 10/90) [The customs, you know how they are, two, three days, first in the groom's home, then in the bride's home, then in the padrino's home. A wedding lasts three days long. Not always. No, some make it simpler. Because their economic resources are limited, they make it simpler.]

Naturally, most couples do not want to "make it simpler," and the desire to put on an impressive feast influences the timing of the wedding in the life cycle of a household. Catholic priests and nuns in Mizque hold week-long catechizing missions in rural communities that culminate in attempts to baptize, confirm, and marry all candidates. That unmarried couples sometimes flee

the area during these missions, and that it is said that marriages performed during rural missions don't last, indicate that couples prefer to set their own date.

When they marry, some couples are given a house, land, or animals by their parents. Main padrinos are more likely to give manufactured commodities, such as a table and chairs or a stove. In a ritualized presentation, guests give plates of fruit and bread called *wayq'a*, housewares, clothes, and animals, and a list of gifts is made for future reference. In addition, guests sew or pin gifts of money onto the newlyweds' clothing during the feast according to a tradition called *t'ipada* in both Spanish and Quechua.

Often a couple baptizes its youngest child at the same time that it celebrates religious marriage, and the major padrinos of the wedding also sponsor the child. In recent decades inflation has affected the sponsorship tradition, and minor padrinos are chosen to sponsor up to a dozen different aspects of a wedding. An unmarried woman commented, "*Eso ponen para, o sea, creen ellos que van a tener más regalos, van a tener más apoyo de los padrinos. Van a tener más gente para apoyarle a ellos cuando tienen alguna crisis en su matrimonio, así.*" (Taped 9/90) [They choose them because, that is, they believe that they are going to have more gifts, and going to have more support from sponsors.]

While women prefer to wait until they are sure of permanent commitment, and until they are able to host a large wedding, they also see immediate advantages in legal marriage, and many couples get married legally years before they host the church ceremony. Because family matters are increasingly controlled by legal authorities, a woman needs legal documents to seek support from a husband who abandons her and the children, or to maintain control of their property if he dies. The imposition of external religious and legal forces that partially replace the community in regulating marriage, marital conflicts, legitimacy, and inheritance, affects the household in two ways. First, the absence of strong ritualized support and vigilance of the community makes a household more alone, and second, institutionalization imposes more direct links between the rural family and the patriarchal institutions of dominant urban culture.

When rural women marry they maintain their former inheritance rights and relationships of reciprocity, and continue to use their maiden names. Bolton describes a similar pattern for Quechua and Aymara around Lake Titicaca, where "In contrast to mestizo practice in the region, a woman does not shed her surnames upon marriage, nor does she add her husband's names to her own. Each spouse retains his or her birth names without modification except, occasionally, for legal purposes when writing up documents" (1977:224). The Catholic church and the Bolivian legal system have encouraged women to adopt European usage of names, and official records with this usage have led many researchers to assume incorrectly the existence of patrilineal castes and patrilineal descent and inheritance similar to European peasants. Webster (1977) has correctly pointed out, however, that current patrilateral biases in Quechua communities do not derive from kinship organization, but reflect male dominance in certain political-economic domains controlled by Spanish and Mestizo administrators (cited in Collins 1988:111).

1.3.3. Households divided, families broken

"*Ultimamente hay muy muchu divorcio, hay mucha crisis, bien atacado está el matrimonio.*" (Taped 10/90, Mizque town) [Lately there is a whole lot of divorce, it is a crisis, marriage is under fire.] Mizqueños declare that family problems are more common and more severe than they were a generation ago, and two major sources of conjugal conflict and divorce today are migration and relations with affines.

High levels of migration and frequent travel do not encourage stable and faithful monogamy, and both men and women are known to have sex affairs when they are marketing and working outside the community. Migration does not necessarily destroy conjugal and family relations, especially when it is carried out in the context of strong family values and community-sanctioned behaviors, but for some Mizque families, these traditional support systems are breaking down. Contradictory behavioral norms and values confuse individuals and erode confidence in and commitment to their homes and traditions. This is especially true for migrants to the Chapare tropical zone during the 1980s and early 1990s, where cash flow, presence of drugs, and sexual freedom have enticed, intimidated, and confused migrants from highland and valley communities.

Migration does not always lead to problems, and sometimes it serves as a safety valve, as when a young man angered by his wife's infidelity was sent off to the Chapare by his mother before the situation became violent. When a couple or any household members argue, one of the parties often leaves town. The absence may allow things to cool down, or may cause more problems. When Domingo's wife fled to the Chapare for the third time, taking her two children with her, he felt he could not survive alone, and took ritual action to get her back. He gathered up an entire outfit of his wife's clothing and hung it from the bell in the church, then every day as the bell rang it called her back. She finally returned and settled down.[10]

Problems with affines are often related to migration. Most young couples maintain high degrees of economic dependence on their families; various share-cropping and share-husbandry arrangements with parents and padrinos, in addition to gifts and loans made by these, allow them access to productive resources. Such support involves couples in reciprocal relationships that entail obligations to participate in a variety of work parties hosted by both sets of parents and padrinos. These obligations can be taxing for young families who have little access to crucial labor resources for their own productive efforts, and often migrate in attempts to earn money to set up a household.

Labor shortages aggravate competition between a husband's family and a wife's family for help and loyalty of the young couple, and are complicated by the uneven burdens of labor

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[10]This is an example of old traditions being adapted to modern problems. Throughout the Andes clothes, bits of hair, and other personal belongings are guarded carefully and used in spells, witchcraft, and love magic that require material tokens of the party to be bewitched.

obligations borne by men and women. While men and women both participate in agricultural work parties, women are also obliged to help with demanding ritual preparations in the household of their own and their mate's mothers, *madrinas,* and grandmothers, and possibly aunts and sisters. Since each woman's labor is already committed to a wide variety of productive activities, and to feeding and caring for members of her own household, ritual obligations to other households cause struggles over human resources, often expressed as emotional or personal conflicts between a woman and her female affines, who each want to control resources and labor according to their own household plans When a young man sides with his mother and sisters, it creates conflicts with his wife.

The position of a woman as cook and guardian of the home takes on symbolic significance in struggles between extended family groups. One of the few young men in the community to earn regular wages got angry at his wife for cooking with her mother too frequently, and claimed that all his money was going to buy ingredients to feed his mother-in-law and her children (he ignored the fact that her potatoes help feed his family all year round). A man may express anger at his wife by criticizing and rejecting her food, and eating at his mother's or sister's compound, and a woman may express her anger by refusing to cook for her husband. When a man beats his wife, local tradition allows her to take refuge in her mother's compound for 24 hours, then she must return to cook for her husband. Men know how to cook simple dishes, and do so when necessary, but women are responsible for feeding their husbands and sons, or seeing that a female relation does so. When they migrate, most men buy meals prepared by vendors, but those in more isolated areas cook for themselves.

Mothers, madrinas, and padrinos may intervene in domestic quarrels and remind the parties involved of their obligations and appropriate behaviors. But when couples travel and engage in activities outside of the community it is not only harder for them to fulfill their obligations to each other and to each other's families, it is also more difficult for the extended family to intervene and encourage them to fulfill their obligations. When situations become critical, women from Mizque travel anywhere in the department, and as far as Santa Cruz, to intervene in their children's marital troubles.

Despite the heavy obligations that women bear toward their affines, labor service does not serve to incorporate them into a new kin group. Affines are not considered relatives, nor are relations between individuals and their spouse's families necessarily warm. Women confidently deny kinship relations to their affines, saying "*Puede ser que le hablamos de 'tía' o 'abuela' por el respecto, pero no son familia. Son gente ajena nomás, gente conocida.*" [It could be that we call them "aunt" or "grandma" just for respect, but they are not relatives. They are just outsiders, people that we know.] Because kinship does not involve corporate

groups, each young household must establish a new circle of relations, and struggle to become the new focus of energy and loyalty of members who come from different households and kin groups.[11]

[11]Virtually all kin terms are extended liberally as terms of address for people tied together by non-genealogical relations. This usage renders explicit the respect and reciprocity involved in these relations, and may have its roots in corporate affiliation of communities in earlier periods.

Chapter 2. Managing Household Labor, Coordinating Diverse Activities through Time and Space

Up to now we've talked about the household as a cluster of people who share a home and are meaningfully connected to each other; next we will turn to productive activities, which are equally important to household constitution. These activities involve many resources and are carried out in various spaces. In this and the following chapter we will discuss four types of resources and analyze the ways women allocate, manage, and use them. Human resources are the most important resources for rural Bolivians, and household labor is organized, sold, and exchanged in many ways, according to flexible principles and expediency. We will begin by examining the allocation of household labor to a wide gamut of activities, giving special concern to gender order, and then turn to the natural, capital, and social resources exploited by Mizque households, and examine ways in which they are managed by women.

Women have three significant roles in the organization and allocation of household labor. First, they use their own labor in productive activities and relations that fulfill household needs and express culturally meaningful and socially significant gender orders. Second, each woman manages activities of her household members, training her children and assigning tasks according to her vision of efficiency and appropriateness. She administers on-farm resources and periodically takes full responsibility for running the family farm. Third, and most frequently ignored, through her efforts in providing food, clothing, health care, and rest, a woman assures the strength, alertness and general well-being of her entire household, and by raising children and teaching them to work and to manage labor and other resources, she reproduces the labor force.

The spaces and activities of daily life in Mizque, and the division of labor within them, are pervaded with gender meanings. Indeed, most of Andean productive and social life and cosmology is conceived in feminine and masculine spheres. Olivia Harris' work demonstrates that it is important to distinguish these ideal gender spheres from actual behaviors and practices. Among Bolivian Aymara, Harris finds a ritual and philosophical emphasis on the equality and complementarity of gender spheres and a contrasting division of political power that excludes women on the community level (1978). De la Cadena (1985) shows that women fill an ambiguous role in the productive organization of Peruvian communities; their ideological and cosmological positions are complementary to men's, but their labor is unequally weighted in terms of monetary remuneration and labor exchange.

It is difficult to judge the equality or inequality of the spheres controlled by men and women in Mizque households because they are qualitatively different, and because they are neither rigid nor autonomous. A woman may control domestic affairs and make household decisions on a daily basis, but her circumstances and options are influenced by political, jural and developmental institutions and activities, which are controlled by men on the local and the national level. As Bourque and Warren have noted, "Patriarchy on the national level reinforces male dominance on the local level" (1981:214). Conversely, a man may make speeches and hold offices in local political organizations, and receive instruction and benefits from

development institutions, but he rarely makes decisions, or even participates, without consulting his wife. Thus female domestic control counterbalances public and institutional male dominance, and the power wielded by both men and women is not absolute, but embedded in complex relations and contexts.

Gender orders are powerful and pervasive on both the ideal and practical level, but it is essential to recognize that they are not shaped by biological predispositions and capabilities, nor enforced by unchanging social rules. Such static explanations of gender can not explain the contradictions between ideal and actual divisions of labor or the wide scope of gender arrangements and practices found in different households and within households over time. These gender orders are cultural, and like all aspects of culture, are open to negotiation and innovation. As they interact with their families and move through their homes, children learn gender orders basic to household organization, power, and production. They also learn processes through which that order is negotiated and adapted through space and time. Adaptations that individuals and households make sometimes lead to cultural transformations, and one of the most important and analytically interesting things about women in Mizque is their role in incorporating new activities and relations into the household, a role involving decisions and actions that may ultimately transform gender orders.

Diverse activities are managed for optimum integration; migrants earn cash to buy manufactured goods, and on-farm members raise food to eat. Women assign household tasks to each member, including children, handicapped, and elderly, according to their skills, strength, age, and gender. Labor contributions are not quantified in terms of wages or profits, but valued for their useful contribution to household livelihood. All products and by-products are put to use; women who grow corn feed rabbits and guinea pigs with the husks, cows with the stalks, and pigs with the cobs, and women who make corn beer raise pigs on the rich mush that is left over. Activities are also coordinated between households; for example, a woman grows corn, one of her daughters makes corn beer, and another runs a drinking establishment; or a brother drives a truck while his sister engages in commerce and his niece buys and sells vegetables.

Off-farm activities are usually less finely coordinated. Migration itineraries reveal widely varying combinations of departure dates, destinations, and lengths of stay. Activities are balanced to take advantage of labor resources and opportunities, and to coordinate with social and ritual events that unite the community and reproduce sociocultural values on which cohesion is based. Some of the several interposed cycles that influence migration are plotted below. Annual cycles include local agricultural and religious-fiesta calendars and seasonal migrant opportunities, while the life cycles of individuals and households create longer-term temporal structures. Strategies are also adapted in response to noncyclical factors, including historical changes and spontaneous events and circumstances such as illnesses, national economic crises, natural disasters, fluctuations in the price of coca or local agricultural products, and intervention of armed forces in the Chapare. See multiple calendars.

MULTIPLE CALENDAR OF HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES

MONTH/ WEATHER	AGRICULTURAL PARTY TASKS IN MIZQUE	DAILY, INDIVIDUAL AND MAINTENANCE TASKS IN MIZQUE	FIESTAS AND MARKETS THAT DRAW MIGRANTS TO MIZQUE	OPPORTUNITIES FOR MIGRANTS OUTSIDE OF MIZQUE PROVINCE
JULY DRY/COOL	plant mishka potatoes harvest onions		24 Barter fair St. James in Tin Tin**	Sugar Cane harvest in Santa Cruz ΔM
AUGUST DRY	hill mishka potatoes	prepare fields for potatoes ΔM		Market Onions in Cocha/S. Cruz ΔF Pilgrimage to fiesta of virgin of Urkupiña *
SEPTEMBER DRY	plant potatoes		10-14 bullfights/market 14 Señor Burgos*** ? Anniversary 24 Virgin of Mercy ** Vila Vila & Raqaypampa	
OCTOBER VERY DRY HAIL	harvest mishka potatoes hill potatoes	sort and process potatoes ΔF prepare fields for corn and peanuts ΔM	7 Virgin of Rosario Tin Tin **	Market Potatoes in Cocha/Cliza/Santa Cruz ΔF

*** indicates events that attract most migrants, ** draws medium crowd, * indicates smaller event
ΔF signals work done mainly by females, ΔM mostly by males

MONTH/ WEATHER	AGRICULTURAL PARTY TASKS IN MIZQUE	DAILY, INDIVIDUAL & MAINTENANCE TASKS IN MIZQUE	FIESTAS AND MARKETS THAT DRAW MIGRANTS BACK TO MIZQUE	OPPORTUNITIES FOR MIGRANTS OUTSIDE OF MIZQUE PROVINCE
NOVEMBER FIRST RAINS		plant peanuts plant corn	1-4 All Souls Day *** households and cemetaries	
DECEMBER RAINS FLOODS SUMMER SOLSTICE		sheer sheep ΔF plant vegetables ΔF milk, make chees ΔF	Christmas, New Years *	
JANUARY RAINS FLOODS	harvest potatoes weed peanuts	plant onion seeds sort and process potatoes ΔF milk, make cheese ΔF gather, sell fruit ΔF		market potatoes in Cocha/Cliza/S. Cruz ΔF
FEBRUARY LATE RAINS FLOODS HAIL	transplant onions	guard corn fields milk, make cheese ΔF gather, sell fruit ΔF	Carnival 8 days, variable date ***	

MONTH/ WEATHER	AGRICULTURAL PARTY TASKS IN MIZQUE	DAILY, INDIVIDUAL & MAINTENANCE TASKS IN MIZQUE	FIESTAS AND MARKETS THAT DRAW MIGRANTS BACK TO MIZQUE	OPPORTUNITIES FOR MIGRANTS OUTSIDE OF MIZQUE PROVINCE
MARCH LAST RAINS	harvest corn weed peanuts	harvest sugar cane, garden vegetables, and sweet potatoes milk, make cheese ΔF gather, sell fruit ΔF	Week variable date *	rice harvest in Santa Cruz
APRIL		harvest garden vegetables ΔF		rice harvest in Santa Cruz orange harvest Chapare
MAY POSSIBLE FROST			2 Santa Vera Cruz * Mizque Town, Callejas 15 San Isidro ** Aguada, Cazorla	cane harvest Santa Cruz ΔM orange harvest Chapare
JUNE FROST WINTER SOLSTICE	harvest peanuts	prepare fields for mishka potatoes ΔM	24 St. John barter fair in Vicho Vicho **	market peanuts in Cochabamba ΔF cane harvest Santa Cruz ΔM orange harvest Chapare
TASKS DONE THROUGH THE YEAR, OR ON CHANGING DATES	Diverse community work projects, often related to aid programs	build & repair houses, corrals, canals ΔF cook, housework, childcare, pasture and care for animals, gather firewood, spin	family rites of passage: weddings, 1st hair cut, funerals sindicato meetings	harvest coca, Chapare marketing domestic employee

2.2. Main productive activities and how women coordinate them

Households in Mizque valley engage in a mixed farming system that entails crop and livestock production. All families produce the majority of their own food supplies, and there is no trend toward monoproduction or large-scale commercial farming. The most important cultivars are potatoes (for consumption and sale), peanuts and onions (mostly as cash crops), and corn (mostly for consumption). A wide variety of fruits and vegetables are grown in smaller quantities as secondary crops. Cows and sheep are raised for meat, milk, and wool, and several species of small animals are raised for consumption. Women and girls complement agropastoral activities by spinning wool, making cheese, brewing corn beer, and making bread or other food. They also sell these home products, manufactured goods, and agricultural crops. Women forage for foods and spices, and men hunt and fish. In addition to these activities carried out in Mizque valley, labor is allocated to myriad migrant activities in widespread places. Movement through space involves crossing linguistic, cultural, and socioeconomic as well as geographic frontiers, and the meaning of these motions is different for migrants of different ages, sexes, and communities.

As wives, mothers, and heads of households, women are largely responsible for coordinating activities and motions through space and time. Women control household labor through respect, or by managing resources and reciprocal relations so as to make given pursuits possible or impossible for given members, all in the context of received notions of responsibility and reciprocity. CIDRE reports that household organization in Cliza valley is also administered by women:

> La familia funciona como una unidad empresarial sui generis, *administrada por la mujer. La agricultura, los animales, la migración, el tejido, el comercio y la eventual elaboración de chicha son actividades cuya importancia se establece de acuerdo al momento y en función de una estrategia global en cuya definición la mujer es como la unidad de planificación y gestión.* (1990:105) [The family functions like a *sui generis* enterprise administered by the female head. Agriculture, animals, migration, knitting, commerce, and occasional brewing of corn beer are activities whose importance is established by their place and purpose in a global strategy in which the female head plans and directs.]

Here we will list the main activities pursued by Mizqueños, discuss advantages, problems, and gender implications of each, and elucidate some principles by which they are prioritized and organized.

2.2.1. Agriculture

Agricultural work in Mizque is demanding and diverse, and informants insist that women can and do perform all tasks involved in cultivating primary and secondary crops. To prove their point, Mizqueños answered my general questions about gender limits with examples of specific women.

- *Aran. Claro que las mujeres pueden arar. La Fidela araba harto cuando su marido se enojó y se fue a Santa Cruz.* [They plow. Of course women can plow. Fidela plowed a lot when her husband got angry and went to Santa Cruz.]

- *Hay algunas que saben. ¿No ve que la hija de Teófilo en Cazorla estaba arando con tractor?* [There are some women who know. Didn't you see Teófilo's daughter in Cazorla plowing with a tractor?]

- *Cargan nomás las papas. La Beatríz siempre se carga. Y si no, con peones nomás ya.* [They just carry the potatoes, that's all. Beatriz always carried hers. And if not, they just hire someone, that's all.]

- *Sí, nosotras también regamos. Si llega el agua y no hay tu marido, o se ha ido tu hijo, quién te va a regar? Nosotras a la fuerza tenemos que ir, porque si no, la mitad de agua se pierde y ya está.* [Yes, we also irrigate. If the water comes, and your husband isn't there and your son has left, who is going to irrigate for you? We must go, because if not, we lose our turn with the water and that's it.]

In addition to having tremendous cultural value, small-scale farming and husbandry are economically indispensable to the rural household; they provide subsistence for on-farm members, and often subsidize members who are working or studying elsewhere. At least one household head must stay in Mizque to keep farms going, and in the few cases where women migrate, household members and production suffer. Collins (1988:119) reports the fate of a young Peruvian couple who migrated to a tropical valley together, "The absence of both individuals, although seasonal, seriously undermined their highland production. They were late in planting and barely finished the harvest in time to leave for the valley again. They were unable to process much of what they produced and their seed stock deteriorated."

So women generally stay on the farm, and manage on-farm production, with or without men. Nevertheless, all on-farm tasks are conceptually divided into female and male spheres, and when both men and women are present, responsibilities are divided along gender lines. Men usually take charge of the production of primary staple and cash crops: potatoes, corn, peanuts, and onions. They prepare the ground by plowing with oxen or a tractor, and during growing season maintain the fields daily by irrigating, weeding, and protecting young crops from animals. Women and girls are responsible for secondary crops and fruits, and for processing and selling all harvested crops, and they participate in work parties for primary crops.

The preferred and common labor arrangements described here and in other literature can not be replicated by all families, and the greatest variations are found in young households and in households that suffer scarcity of labor and other resources. The smallest, poorest farms are often run by women who are alone, or whose partners are frequently absent. Households that are too poor to prepare food and buy coca for work parties, or are too young or poorly connected to motivate reciprocal workers, may do agricultural tasks with fewer people who work harder and longer hours. These conditions are not only hard on the household members, but

usually result in poorer quality of work, less produce from given resources, and in some cases increased deterioration of those resources (cf. Bernstein 1977; Collins 1988; Mines 1979).

Problems of agricultural labor scarcity are aggravated by migration. We have seen that 38 percent of the male heads, and 25 percent of the children of households in our survey group were off the farm for more than 6 months during 1988 and 1989. This means that many households periodically rely on the labor resources of women and young children. In planning the allocation of labor and influencing migration decisions, women try to keep the maximum number of hands at home for labor-demanding tasks such as the work parties described below, but these demands sometimes clash with wage labor opportunities, school schedules, and other off-farm demands.

Why does farming continue to be central to production strategies of rural Andean households in spite of these labor conflicts, low returns for labor invested, and significant climatic risks? In addition, commoditization, urban demand for cheap food, and food imports keep produce prices so low that household investments of seed, fertilizer, and labor consistently outweigh the market value of the food produced (Lipton 1977). The widespread tendency to interpret peasant strategies in terms of these economic costs and benefits has resulted in a failure to understand production choices of farm families and an eagerness to condemn them as irrational. Even though Chayanov demonstrated as early as the 1920s that peasants are not capitalist entrepreneurs motivated by profit, and that their economic behavior cannot be analyzed or explained with the principles of neoclassical economy, today's neoliberal theories continue to treat rural farmers as "rational individuals" and ignore cultural differences underlying very different goals and concerns, and real inequalities in economic opportunities. Rural Mizqueños base their livelihood decisions on strong family and community values and in a shrewd understanding of the balance of economic power and opportunities in Bolivia, and they will continue to farm as long as it is possible.

Farming is the traditional livelihood of Quechua people, who highly value land, animals, and subsistence production, as well as independence that can be maintained only by controlling the means of production. This is not to say, however, that Quechua farmers continue to farm because they are stoic and reactionary, adverse to change. On the contrary, they are constantly adapting their lifeways, often in response to national institutions and political-economic conditions over which they have little control. And as they adapt, they are well aware that possibilities for farmers, and especially women, to earn enough money to feed their families have been extremely limited and undependable. In the 1980s and early 1990s there are almost no regular wage opportunities in the province of Mizque. Work outside the province is irregular, can be difficult and dangerous, and does not allow a worker to simultaneously care for children, or maintain social and ritual relations in his or her home community. While subsistence farming involves great risks, rural families see even greater risks in produce and labor markets that are controlled by socioeconomic classes and factors much more powerful than themselves. Thus, while they engage in many other income-generating activities, rural households refuse to relinquish control over food production.

2.2.2. Animal raising

Caring for sheep, goats, and cows is extremely demanding of labor time, requires daily attention throughout the year, and does not supply significant regular income. Nevertheless, rural women feel very strongly about raising animals, and offer good reasons for doing so. Animals are important links in the household ecological chain; they eat waste from crops and cooking, provide waste to fertilize agricultural plots, and provide meat, milk, and wool. They are also good insurance against emergency needs for money or food. In 1990, livestock "insurance" served an unforeseen need, when an aid organization brought a satellite dish to Mizque and townspeople sold cows to buy color television sets.

Cattle are cared for by men and women in different contexts. When cattle are not needed for plowing and are not being milked, men take them to an unsettled wooded ravine where they roam, forage, and reproduce. Men check on these range cattle periodically, and capture them and lead them to the compound when they are needed. Men castrate and train young oxen to draw the plow, but once cattle are domesticated and in the domestic sphere, women take major responsibility for their daily care; they pasture cows and oxen and lead them to water each day, help cows give birth, and milk cows.

Care of small animals is a woman's responsibility and her source of independence, and is relatively easy to manage with labor capacities of young households. Children four or five years old help tend animals, gather weeds, and cut alfalfa for feed, and soon take over many hours of herding (See photos, Appendix 1). On the negative side, both children and women become tied to the needs of their animals; children are kept home from school to herd sheep and goats, and women are prevented from traveling for any length of time. Households with available labor, but few animals or means of buying them, care for animals owned by others in arrangements called *en partida*. A family may take on an additional dozen sheep or a few cows, which they care for each day in exchange for one of every two lambs or calves born to the group, and half of the milk or wool. Thus their labor investment generates only 50 percent of the return possible if they owned the animals.

2.2.3. Petty commerce

The participation of thousands of rural women in markets has made the regional market system singularly important throughout Cochabamba's colonial and republican history. Sometimes men accompany their wives, or travel alone to sell produce, but Mizque women are usually responsible for negotiating market deals, handling money, and buying household supplies. Potatoes are sold in Cliza and Cochabamba markets, peanuts are taken to Cochabamba, and onions are sold in markets in Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, Sucre, and La Paz (see Paulson 1990a:9 for data on number of trucks and quantity of each type of produce leaving Mizque for different market destinations during 1989).

The profit advantage of marketing one's own produce instead of selling to intermediaries is sometimes significant, but the labor cost is great. Round trips to the Cochabamba or Cliza

market take from 30 to 40 hours (see photo, Appendix 1), and are physically exhausting, especially for women who travel by night in trucks, and who take along nursing babies and toddlers.[12] Nevertheless, large numbers of women make the sacrifice in hopes of increasing the income from their products. Women who live with their parents, or whose daughters are old enough to look after the rural compound, can more easily arrange to leave their regular work, yet trips made by most women tend to create conflicts and tensions.

2.2.4. Home industries

In addition to other activities, families in my survey produce and sell numerous products, including goat and cow cheese, yarn, blankets, corn beer, meals, bread, clothes, sweaters, vinegar, soft drinks, alcohol, and corn tamales. These items are also consumed or used by household members and relations. In Mizque there is no established cottage industry system analogous to the knitting enterprises in the high valley. Instead, each household develops and integrates independent small-scale enterprises. In all cases except for weaving blankets, these industries are initiated and administered by women and teenage girls. Home industries take advantage of labor, especially female labor, which is available in scattered moments during the day and various periods during the annual agropastoral cycle. Home production is carried out in between other tasks, or simultaneously with herding sheep, watching children, or visiting with relations, and allows a woman to be on call to tend to animals, children, or tasks that demand immediate attention.

2.2.5. Wage labor within the province

There are very few regular wage jobs in Mizque province, as the only medium sized enterprises in the province are a cement block factory, a tile factory, and two cheese dairies (See Paulson 1990a:13 for a list of all small and medium businesses). But women and men work occasionally as day laborers doing agricultural tasks in their own and neighboring communities or performing a variety of tasks for wealthier families, especially in the town of Mizque. Day-wage opportunities include helping to make corn beer and bread, making adobe bricks, building and repairing houses, weeding or harvesting crops, washing clothes, and performing other domestic and agricultural chores. A female head evaluates the immediate demand for labor and need for cash inside the household, and influences decisions of members to sell their labor outside the household. Conflicts arise concerning the way in which wages will be used. For example, if a young man leaves his parents weeding their fields and sells his labor to weed a neighbor's field, do the wages belong to him, or to the household?

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[12]Marketers usually travel by night, spend the entire day in the market, and return to Mizque that night.

2.2.6. Migratory wage labor

Opportunities for wage labor outside the community are more numerous and more profitable, especially for men and older boys. The agrarian reform of 1952 freed great numbers of agriculturalists from haciendas, and stimulated the development of commercial agriculture in the eastern lowlands, encouraging massive opportunities for migrant laborers. With the exception of the rice harvest, most of the work has been for men and youths, who continue migrating to Santa Cruz to do agricultural work.[13] In the 1960s and 1970s young men went to Argentina for periods of 6 months to 3 years to work in construction, while their wives and mothers managed farms in Mizque. Economic troubles in Argentina curtailed this migrant flow, and during the 1970s men began traveling to the Chapare where they worked harvesting coca leaves, rice, cassava, or fruit, or cleared land for themselves in tropical colonies. The economic crises and agricultural failures of the 1980s, coupled with skyrocketing coca prices, brought a new trend; young men and women flooded to the Chapare where they found easy cash harvesting and processing coca or engaging in commerce, and where they enjoyed a lively atmosphere characterized by lots of young people with money and without parental supervision. With the exception of limited numbers of young women and men who enter factory jobs in Santa Cruz city, and women who work as domestic servants, migration is largely rural-rural, and most migrants engage in agricultural work.[14]

A woman may influence when and how her mate and children migrate, but she loses control of their labor and behavior when they are off the farm. Thus she must weigh the potential advantages of migration against changes in household equilibrium resulting from her loss of control over the labor, nutrition, and health of family members, and over the products and profits of their labor. Women throughout Bolivia are acutely aware that migrants suffer malnutrition, tropical diseases, venereal diseases, police abuse, and lost or stolen wages, and that these traumas are partly due to the fact that migrants are separated from the women who

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[13]Large agribusiness is nonexistent in the province, so Mizqueños participate only as migrant laborers in mechanized tasks for commercial crops such as rice, cotton, coffee, and sugar cane. The gender division of such work is rigid, partly because women are not hired in mechanized commercial agriculture, or in very heavy jobs such as sugarcane harvesting, and partly because women are less likely than men to travel away from Mizque to work on commercial farms. Women and girls do travel to Santa Cruz for the commercial rice harvest, and to the Chapare to harvest rice on smaller farms and to pick coca leaves.

[14]The tradition of migrant labor, especially for rural males, has much precedence in Cochabamba. Prehistoric evidence shows that ayllu groups sent colonists and transporters to distant zones, the Incas drafted able men for military and economic service, during colonial rule European *encomenderos* and *hacendados* demanded labor, sometimes in far away places, and Cochabambinos have migrated to the nitrate flats of Chile, to the mines of Potosí, and to further places.

normally care for them.[15] The following narrative, which I tape recorded as it was told to me by a rural Mizque woman who had hired the protagonists during the potato harvest, reveals some of the dangers of modern migration, as understood in Andean folk perspective.

> *-- Su marido se ha enfermado en su país, ¿no ve?, pero ha llegado desde Chapare enfermo, y dice que le habían sacado la grasa. Y sus padrinos, sus comadres le han reñido. Ahora querría venir aquí, "¿y por qué le vas a dejar solito si allá se muere quien le va enterrar a tu marido? y tienes que ir con tu marido juntos."*
> *- ¿Y donde es su país, dónde vive? ¿En el altiplano?*
> *-- Del lado de Sucre creo que, y ha dicho que "deja, yo me voy hacer cargo de su otra hijita y la otrita dejale a tu mamá" le habia dicho, a dos hijitos habrá dejado en su país y ha venido con su marido y su marido no quería que venga y dice que no tienen allá para comer, ni maíz, nada, no hay trabajo. Siempre en cada cosecha vienen a este lado y siempre iban por el lado de Chapare, así va a ganar el hombrecito.*
> *-¿Y ellos no tienen terreno?*
> *--Dice que produce apenas papa, haba, trigo, me ha dicho.*
> *-¿Y de eso no pueden vivir?*
> *--Siempre cada año dice que viene aquí y siempre se compra, si no, se gana maíz, así deshojando entonces, y plata se gana y siempre lleva dos cargas o tres cargas a su casa, porque la mujercita siempre se quedaba, un año tambien ella ha venido, pero tejiendo nomás ya se habia ganado.*
> *-¿aquí?*
> *--Por lado de Pojo. Allí tambien ha ido a tejer ahora. Eso nomás Susanita. Apague.*
> *-¿Y a qué ha ido a Chapare ese hombre?*
> *--Creo que a ganarse pues. Sabe trabajar ahí.*
> *-¿Y como se ha enfermado ahí, pero?*
> *--Dice que dormían hartas personas, pues, en un balcón, dice ¿no ve?, ahí, "ven aquí hermano" habra dicho un hombre, "yo voy a ir a dormir," diciendo, a otra partecita habrá ido y cinco hombres así por ahí se habían dormido y tres hombres o cuatro hombres, para que se despierten. Con ellos dice que estaban durmiendo y él dice que ese hombre que le habia hecho eso, que le ha sacado la grasa.*
> *-¿Y por que habrá hecho?*
> *--Eso.*
> *-¿Para que servira esa grasa?*
> *--Por envidia, y así de su adentro le ha sacado, así me ha dicho.*

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[15]Diseases that currently effect migrants in the Chapare include yellow fever, tuberculosis, leishmaniasis, gastrointestinal ailments (especially intestinal parasites), and a complex of sexually transmitted diseases.

[--Her husband got sick in his com[illegible] see, but he had arrived from the Chapare already sick, and they say t[illegible] And her padrinos, her *comadres* chastised her. And when [illegible]e, they said "And how are you going to let him go alone, [illegible] is going to bury your husband? You have to go together w[illegible]
-And where was his community? In [illegible]
--Around Sucre, I think. And she said "Go al[illegible] am going to look after your one daughter, and you can leave the other one with your mother," they said to her. And she left two daughters in her community, and came with her husband, and her husband didn't want her to come, and they say they didn't have anything there to eat, no corn, nothing, there was no work. They always come around here for every harvest, and they always went to the Chapare. That is how the man earns money.
-And do they have land?
--They say that they barely grow potatoes, fava beans, and wheat, they told me. Always, every year they say that he comes around here, and he always buys, or else, earns corn by harvesting corn, and he earns money, and always takes two or three big bags back home, because his wife always stayed there. One year she came too, but she just earned money weaving.
-Here?
--Around Pojo. Now too, she's gone over there to weave. That's all there is Susan, turn it off (the tape recorder).
-Why did the man go to the Chapare?
--I think he went to earn money, of course. He always went there.
-But how did he get sick there?
--They say that a whole bunch of people were sleeping in a patio, you see, and one man said "come over here brother," but he went to another place, saying "I'm going to sleep." And there were five men there when they went to sleep, and three or four men when they woke up. They say that he was sleeping with them, and he said that that man had done this to him, had taken out his fat.
-Why would he have done that?
--For envy and evilness, and like that he took it out from inside him, that's how he told me.]

Migrant opportunities sometimes complement, and sometimes conflict with demand for labor on the farm. Because the sugarcane harvest in rural Santa Cruz coincides with the harvest of peanuts, many men are away from home during peanut harvest, which is one of the most labor-intensive tasks of the year and involves one of Mizque's most important cash crops. Female heads left to administer fill the gap by hiring workers from the hundreds of men and women who travel from Cliza valley and highland Mizque in search of work in the peanut harvest.

Some families, especially resource-poor ones, send daughters to the cities of Cochabamba or Santa Cruz to work in middle-class homes. Girls are often taken in at the age of 10 or 12

by the families of Mizque's erstwhile elite; some are exploited and mistreated, but in other cases they are treated almost like daughters, and may be sent to school. All are cut off from their families and relatives, from their language, from their traditions, values, fiestas, and rural habits. Why do families send off daughters when it means losing the girl's collaboration and company in the household? Sometimes older girls earn enough to send home gifts of clothes and food, but the material returns are not substantial. The choice is partly motivated by women's loss of faith in a positive future for their daughters in the countryside. One particularly poor single mother in Poligono explained, "*Quiero que mi hijita estáo bien educadita para que puede hacer algo en la vida,*" and added, "*no quiero que mis hijas sufran como yo, en ahí tendra mejor vida.*" [I want my daughter to be raised well so that she can do something in life . . . I don't want my daughters to suffer like I have, and there she will have a better life.]

2.2.7. Studying professions and trades

Some women in better-off households make efforts to arrange education or vocational training for their children. They may send their children to live with relatives or establish a second residence in Cochabamba city, or in the towns of Punata and Cliza, where their children are enrolled in high schools or institutes, or apprenticed in trades. Again, women balance the possible advantage of educating children against the loss of their labor and companionship, and the significant risk that children who get an education will live outside of the province.

The most common trades studied by young men are mechanics, electricity, barbering, tailoring, teaching, and agricultural engineering, while a young woman may study to be a seamstress, secretary, beautician, or teacher. Many families have members who practice these trades in locations outside of Mizque, and a few manage to find irregular work in the valley, but travel histories show that the majority of young people who migrate to study for 1, 2 or even 4 years, return to Mizque to establish households in which their trades have little importance. Pre-reform elite families who still live in the town of Mizque are an exception, as the majority of their children have been educated and have obtained professional jobs in Bolivian cities or in other countries.

2.2.8. Hunting, fishing and gathering

Hunting and fishing are practiced exclusively by men in places where women rarely go. Their character as masculine activities, outside the sphere of female influence, is symbolically important, but the game and fish brought home contribute little but rare variety to the family diet. Mizqueños hunt in several wooded ravines, called *montes*, which are communal property and where range cattle are kept. A young woman in Qonchu Pata commented on the hunting and fishing trips that her husband and brother made while she looked after the farm and four children, "*Eso nomás dicen ellos. No es por eso [cazar y pescar] que van, no saben traer nada. Es para pijchar nomás entre hombres.*" [That is only what they say. They don't go for that (hunting and fishing), they never bring anything back. They only go to chew coca among men.] Occasionally women accompany men to the monte to gather wild *ulupico*, small hot peppers that

are used in cooking or sold. On a more regular basis women gather greens that are cooked in soups (*cojo pollo, hierba buena*) and herbs for making teas (*manzanilla, hinojo, apio*) which grow in fields and along paths.

2.3. Women's work: division of labor by gender, and exclusive responsibilities of females

In order further to understand gender division of labor in Mizque, we will look more closely at ways in which women use their own labor. Our discussion of women's work will address several questions, (1) what places, possessions, and actions pertain more to women or to men in terms of actual frequency? (2) what is considered male or female in an ideal sense, manifested in comments, proverbs, and ritual? (3) How does real and ideal gender organization change in various conditions? For example, how is household space and activity divided when husband and wife are both present? How is it divided in contexts where there is no husband or he is ill or absent? And, what effects do differential access to resources, or different stages in the household's ' , cycle have on gender order?

In the rural home, certain activities are carried out in certain places almost exclusively by women, although they may enlist the help of men or children. Women are responsible for planning, preparing, and serving food, and cleaning up after meals; and for cleaning, organizing, and looking after the home compound and managing domestic water. Women feed, bathe and dress infants and small children and carry them on their backs. Women feed and tend small animals, and cultivate small secondary crops. They also process, select, store, and sell harvested produce from primary crops. Women make bread and corn beer, and sell these and other home products and produce. Women buy, make, and mend clothes. They wash clothes in canals or rivers, and spin wool and cotton any place.

Certain activities in certain places are carried out by men, and never or rarely by women. Men plow with oxen. Men go to the wooded, unsettled ravines to hunt or fish, to check on or round up range cattle, and to capture bulls and parade them back into town to engage in fiesta bullfights. Men drive, maintain, and fix tractors or trucks, and frequent the Mizque town mechanic yard. Men preside over sindicato meetings and hold all official posts in the sindicato, and townsmen participate in provincial politics. Men do heavy labor on canals and embankments for community projects, and men and boys play soccer.

The activities and spaces dominated by women are generally mundane and indispensable to everyday life, while the most exclusively male spheres are politics, ritual, and leisure. Men's biggest responsibility on the farm, primary crop agriculture, is not exclusively male because women are involved in it at many points, and take over completely when men are gone. This qualitative difference in exclusive gender domains allows for men to dominate certain aspects of on-farm life even though they are frequently gone and must leave women responsible for virtually all daily chores. It also has different implications for men and women; because women do not join men in playing soccer, hunting, bullfighting, or politicking, these activities convey more symbolic and real power to men, and because men rarely join women in cooking, washing

clothes, child care, or herding, these activities overburden women, even at times when male labor may be available.

This report emphasizes that gender roles, and the life strategies that they are part of, change and adapt in response to changing conditions. Today some men, especially in young households, help their wives with certain aspects of women's work, and may cook and look after the children occasionally when their wives are away from home. While women have yet to hold powerful political positions in Mizque, there is currently a female sindicato president in Campero, and a female water judge in Tarata; and female soccer leagues are active in Aiquile and Punata. Given current conditions, these particular changes may be commended, but that does not mean that the destruction of all gender distinctions, proposed by some feminist movements in developed nations, would be better. Men and women are different in all cultures, and part of being a man in Mizque is not doing women's work. Changes in gender order certainly can improve the position of women in Mizque, but they should began with improvements of conditions within the sphere of women's work.

Men's dominance in public and institutionalized activities and women's in the more private domestic sphere reflects the gender dichotomy prevalent in urban Bolivian society and in developed western nations. But because rural Quechua households have drastically different social and productive organization and cultural values, these spheres have very different meanings in rural life. In order to explore them, we will take a more detailed look at how women allocate their time, move through space, and organize and carry out their diverse daily activities.

> *Si comen bien, hasta si llegan a comer en el día, si las wawas están limpias y tienen ropas, si la casa está arinconada y limpia, tódo esto depende de la mujer. O sea, la mujer tiene la responsabilidad para todos los trabajos de la casa. Si no se hace, sólo ella tiene la culpa y se le puede echar en la cara.* (Young wife and mother, Poligono, 5/89) [If they eat well, even if they eat at all, if the children are clean and dressed, if the house is clean and tidy, all this is a woman's responsibility. That is, a woman is responsible for all the chores at home. If it's not done, only she is to blame and it can be held against her.]

According to this woman, and to most Mizqueñas, cooking, child care, and housework are a woman's major responsibilities. She straightens, stores and keeps track of all the items in the house, including harvested crops, other foodstuffs, tools and utensils, bedding and clothing, and money. She sweeps the dirt floor and cleans the hearth several times a day, or makes sure that a daughter does it. The average woman spends three-to-five hours a day preparing food. She teaches her young daughters and sons to help in food preparation, and can simultaneously peel potatoes, sing to a toddler, and nurse a baby. Competent daughters or daughters-in-law can take on much of the responsibility for housework and food preparation, freeing female heads to allocate more of their energies to agricultural work, commerce, home industry, and other activities.

2.3.1. Cooking: food, space, and social order

Food preparation is a productive activity in itself, and an indispensable part of agricultural production, as meals must be prepared and served to family and to wage and exchange laborers during all agricultural tasks. Food is a crucial part of community work projects, and is central in fiestas, where joint preparation and consumption of food, and food offerings to Gods and to dead family members make up the bulk of ritual activities.

The basic cooking schedule of a Mizque woman begins at dawn when she makes a fire, heats up leftovers (*q'oñichi*), or prepares a potato dish. On some days, and in some families, a more urban-style breakfast is served: hot tea made with herbs and sugar, and toasted wheat (phili), or occasionally, bread. Starting around 10 a.m., potatoes are peeled for soup, approximately one pound of potatoes per person, and potato soup is prepared with possible additions of spices, other vegetables, meat, macaroni, or rice. Ground corn, peanuts or wheat are sometimes used to make a thicker soup called *lawa*. Around noon the head female serves soup with *llajua*, a sauce made by grinding hot peppers with salt and tomato. A snack (*merienda*) is prepared and served mid-afternoon. Usually it consists of potatoes or sweet potatoes boiled in their skins and llajua, sometimes with fresh cheese, boiled corn (*mote*), or sliced onions, tomatoes, and hot peppers. In the afternoon more potatoes are peeled for supper, which is usually served between 5 and 6 p.m. and consists of peeled, boiled potatoes complemented by rice, corn, macaroni, meat, or vegetables.

Potatoes are the staple for every household, and peeling them is the single most time-consuming chore done by females. I weighed the cooking ingredients used in a number of families during several days and found that between two and four pounds of unpeeled potatoes are prepared for each person each day. The second most important foodstuff is corn; young corn is eaten fresh, and mature corn is dried, then boiled and eaten throughout the year, although not every day, and in much lesser quantities than potatoes. Poorer families tend to eat more potatoes and corn, while wealthier families complement them with other foodstuffs. Valley women cook with small quantities of a variety of fruits and vegetables, and highland women count mostly on wheat, *quinua* and *tarwi* for variety.

Potato peeling is a social activity, and an important forum for female talk. With a bundle of potatoes on her back and her children in tow, a woman will walk over to a neighbor's, sister's, or comadre's patio in order to converse while peeling potatoes. The most common varieties of potatoes (*runa, puka, manzana*), are quite small, averaging the size of a golf ball, and somewhat irregular, which makes them difficult to peel, and women are judged by their speed and ability to peel potatoes. Aid organizations have introduced improved seed for *papa holandesa*, and *papa waycha* which are significantly larger, but women have resisted *papa holandesa*, saying that it is not as flavorful as local varieties in the recipes they prepare. On the other hand, *papa waycha*, introduced several years ago, has gained wide acceptance. Women's control over potato varieties from plot to pot is one of the ways that females control their families' food preferences and agricultural practices.

Corn beer (*chicha*) is central to the social and ritual life of the community, and almost every interaction between people, and between people and dieties, involves sharing corn beer and making libations. Only women make corn beer, and only certain women, because the four-to-five-day process requires a giant cauldron, huge pottery urns for fermenting, and most of all, expertise. Male relatives or hired men carry wood, tend the fire, and transport the beer, always under the direction of women who measure and mix ingredients and monitor cooking. According to custom, women should not make corn beer when they are menstruating or pregnant because the product will be hot and cause those who drink it to become ill.

The female head of household always serves corn beer and food, calculating the quantity, quality and order according to the prestige and relation of those being served. Women who are cooking and caring for their children in one patio eat together, while men and older boys show up any time and are served separately. Many males prefer to stay near their fields to eat and rest at midday, so women or girls carry pots of soup to fields up to half an hour's walk from their compounds. They wait while the men eat, or eat with them, then carry the pots back to the compound. Whenever a visitor enters a patio, s/he is usually served food and corn beer. Close relatives and friends are asked if they would like to eat, and either accept the food or wave it off, saying, "*Mikhuniña*" [I have eaten]. Padrinos, people from out of town, high-status people, and others who are not intimate with the family are not asked whether they want to eat and drink, they are served food and corn beer and are obliged to partake. Entering someone's home, or entering into a relationship with them, means receiving their hospitality through food and drink.

When a household hosts an agricultural work party, women cook breakfast, lunch, and an afternoon snack near the field. A grinding stone and fire pit are kept at the site, and if potatoes or onions are being harvested, they are used right from the ground, while other ingredients are carried from home. The female head plans and manages food preparation, and decides when it is break time. After calling in the workers, she dishes out the food, and passes around corn beer, recognizing the social hierarchy of party members. As each person finishes, s/he offers thanks (*gracias, yuspagarasunki*, or *anchata agradeceygi*) and returns the bowl to the female head, who offers second helpings, called *yapa*. If there is time, cooks participate in agricultural work between food preparation and clean up. Hosting a big work party and serving good food to the participants is one of rural women's proudest and happiest activities.

Shared food connects relations who are separated by space, and after harvesting or baking bread, and on ritual occasions, women send baskets or bags of food, or pots of prepared meals to people who are working or studying in other parts of Bolivia. Food also unites community members. Most households send male members or hired men to community projects such as cleaning irrigation canals, while women and girls prepare lunch and the afternoon snack. They carry each meal to the project site, as far as two miles from home, and families and friends sit in clusters as each woman serves her husband, son, or worker, then offers second servings and corn beer to those nearby. After the men eat, women finish the soup, and men and some women chew coca together, rest, and talk about community issues. Women are very conscientious about these communal picnics, and often use scarce ingredients to make special

soups. This may be the only time that most of the men and women of a community, or several communities, join together, and the consubstantiation of food, corn beer, and coca socializes their labor and provides a forum for discussion of community problems, projects, and perspectives.

2.3.2. Pastoralism and raising small animals

Men help to build corrals and fences and to collect manure for fertilizer, but they are infrequently left in charge of small animals. Some men deny that they know how many animals their wives keep, and criticize them for spending so much time and effort on them. Women care for, breed, slaughter, and sell chickens, guinea pigs, turkeys, and rabbits. These animals are raised in cages and corrals in the home compound and fed each day with cooking scraps or weeds and alfalfa harvested with small sickles. Some women raise pigs on household waste and by-products of other enterprises, and either process them into pork rinds and lard for consumption and sale, or sell them. Women are also responsible for much of the care of sheep and goats, and they collect manure, spin sheep's wool, and make cheese from cow and goat milk to enrich their household's diet and to sell. Females express tenderness and nurturing feelings toward these animals, suffer when they are in pain, and sometimes cry when they are sold or slaughtered.

Sheep, goats, and cows are owned by both females and males, but women usually tend to their births, illnesses, and other needs, and with the help of their children, pasture and herd the animals. Sheep and goats are taken to fallow fields or communal hillsides where they graze for 5 to 10 hours a day. When children are in school or migrating, women spend long hours herding, which can be lonely and takes them far from their homes. Cattle are not penned, women and older girls tether them where they can eat grass or weeds, cut alfalfa and grass for them, and take them to the river or canal to drink. Because cattle need to be moved several times a day, and plots controlled by a household are frequently dispersed and some distance from the compound, women spend a significant amount of time walking between task sites. Because animals require daily care and immediate attention in emergencies, it is difficult for women to travel out of the region unless they have responsible children or other help.

Many animals, including cows that are nursing young and being milked, get taken to water only once a day, and therefore suffer from dehydration and heat exhaustion due to the extremely hot sun and arid climate. Cows with calves are usually milked once or twice a day by women or girls, frequently mid-morning after the family is fed and men have gone to the fields. Yields vary greatly, and could be improved by better management of the cows' diet and availability of drinking water.

Animals suffer a great many diseases and infections (see CEFOIN 1990:72-75), and many die prematurely, despite attempts of women who use a number of home remedies to cure their animals. When animals get very sick, women walk up to 5 miles to Cazorla to seek help from the only person in the valley with veterinary training, but because he migrates, he is not always available. Because of their responsibilities in caring for animals, delivering their young, and

providing them with food and water, women can effectively use technical knowledge to improve livestock. Profits from animal raising could be significantly improved by the provision of basic veterinary knowledge and techniques to women, and by periodic visits from professional veterinarians with medicines and vaccines.

2.3.3. Agriculture: secondary crops, work parties, and processing harvested crops

Evaluations done on women's participation in agriculture in the Andes tend to focus on the subordination and undervaluation of females. Bourque and Warren (1981:114) find "that women are excluded from crucial resources and from the full economic benefit of their work by a strong sexual division of labor at a few key junctures and by a social ideology which justifies specializations." They argue that in the Peruvian communities they studied, a certain "cultural blindness" causes female involvement in agriculture to be deemed peripheral while male labor is highly valued, and that women are productively handicapped because they are barred from plowing, clearing fields, irrigating, and fixing loads on burros by lack of access to tools and draft animals and by sociocultural constraints (1981:118). De la Cadena (1985) reports gender discrimination in parts of the Peruvian Andes in the form of unequal remuneration for agricultural work where a woman gets paid half as much as a man for a day's labor, and in reciprocal arrangements where she must return two days' work for every one given by a man.

In Mizque too, female agricultural participation is culturally undervalued and economically undercompensated. But Mizqueñas are not subjugated by the extreme subordination and productive restrictions described by de la Cadena and Bourque and Warren; they participate in all aspects of agricultural production, and wield a great deal of power in managing production and allocating and marketing produce. Moreover, women and men enthusiastically perform daily gestures and frequent ritual celebrations in honor of and in communion with the goddess of agriculture, *Pacha Mama*, the archetypically female earth mother, and the only major diety in the region.[16] The importance of women in agriculture is expressed in the tradition that allows only women to perform certain ritual offerings, such as the *q'owa*, to the earth mother, who is the source of agropastoral fertility. In Mizque, the optimum farming unit is comprised of a capable man, woman, and children, but women without mates are not excluded from successful farming, nor are they deemed incomplete cultural beings. With and without husbands, women develop flexible and creative strategies that allow them to cultivate, and to celebrate mother earth in fulfilling ways.

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[16]Santiago, San Isidro, El Señor de Burgos, La Virgin de la Candelaria, La Virgin de Urkupiña and other dieties are important in the Cochabamba region, but none have nearly the scope or range of Pacha Mama. While the former images are worshipped during specific calendrical feasts in specific communities, and are considered responsible for particular phenomena, such as rain, agriculture, or capital gains, Pacha Mama is recognized and worshipped in every part of the region in all these feasts, as well as in daily and occasional gestures, libations, and sayings, and she is responsible in a comprehensive way for the fertility, well-being, and illness of people, crops, and animals.

Throughout the Cochabamba valleys, men migrate and women take periodic responsibility for all agricultural work, including primary crops, either doing the tasks themselves, motivating relations to help, or hiring workers. CIDRE (1990 III:37) reports for the Tarata *área*, "*En muchos casos y por períodos prolongados, [la mujer] se encarga incluso de la actividad agrícola*" [In many cases, and for long periods, women even take charge of agricultural activities].

In most households in Mizque valley, women and girls are responsible for planting, cultivating, and selling secondary crops and fruits. They cultivate small fields of tomatoes, peas, fava and red beans, squash, carrots, beets, watermelons, cucumbers, or other vegetables. Sometimes a few rows of beans are intercropped in cornfields, or peas in potatoes, and while men look after the major crops, females tend the intercropped parts. Women irrigate these crops, protect them from birds, and harvest and process the produce. Some households have small orchards or scattered trees bearing citrus fruit, avocado, *chirimoya*, guava and *pacay*, which are watered and harvested by women and girls. Because these secondary cultivars take up little space and are mainly women's work, they are often ignored or minimized in agricultural studies and in projects designed to improve rural conditions. This oversight is a serious error because secondary crops are significant in many ways.

Women who grow fruits and vegetables incorporate them into their family diet, adding beneficial vitamins and minerals that improve nutrition and increase the variety of foods, which can help children to grow healthier and stronger. Vegetables and fruits are marketable, and have a much higher value-to-weight ratio than primary crops such as potatoes and onions, so it is profitable to transport them to markets. Many women sell their own produce in Mizque, Aiquile, or Cochabamba, thereby gaining the full market value. Because small irrigated gardens can be maintained and harvested nearly year-round, income from their produce fulfills cash needs, especially during shortages before regular harvests. Finally, the reduced risks involved in the small quantities and wide variety of produce grown by women encourages them to experiment with diverse cultivars. Because they produce secondary crops and because they are familiar with market conditions and can judge the profitability of each product, women are more likely than men to experiment with nontraditional crops. With technical assistance and planning, certain cultivars can be intercropped in such ways as to replace nutrients drained by primary crops, and to protect them from hail, sun, and floods.

In addition to cultivating secondary crops, women are indispensable in organizing and participating in primary crop production. The greatest organizational challenge in agriculture arises from extreme fluctuations in labor demand from season to season and even from week to week. Certain points in the annual cycle require only low-level maintenance work, and others involve large and labor-intensive tasks. While men generally provide daily care for their household primary crops, major tasks such as planting, weeding, and harvesting are accomplished by work parties that include women and men. Work parties vary with the size and wealth of the household, the task at hand, and other factors, but most involve the cooperation of different types of people: men, women, and children. In some tasks women and men work side by side doing the same thing, and in others they work in complementary roles. While many

analysts have noted that "men plow and women plant," few pay attention to variations in the organization of labor by crop and by task. A recent bibliographical study, *Women, Agriculture and Rural Development in Latin America* (CIAT 1985:17) comments, "the major shortcoming of microstudies of sexual division of labor in Latin American agriculture . . . is their neglect of crop-specific variations in the tasks done by men and women," so here I will take the time to describe labor allocation for each field operation of each major crop.

The schedule of work parties starts in July, the beginning of the planting cycle. Since much of Mizque valley is irrigated, and cultivars are produced in different growing seasons, plantings and harvests are spread throughout the year. The dates provided here are averages calculated from agricultural schedules on which I plotted the annual activities of two dozen families. Some households and communities vary from these averages. Here we will describe the most common constitution of work parties organized to accomplish each task on a quarter-hectare plot in one day (approximately 10 hours in the field, including eating and rest periods). Households in my survey cultivate several different plots ranging from .15 to 2 hectares, and the most common size of plot (52 percent of all plots) is approximately one-quarter hectare in size, although the statistical average plot size is around one-half hectare (.56).

2.3.4. Annual Schedule of Agricultural Work Parties

June or July: plant *papa mishka* [early irrigated potatoes]. Potatoes are the most important subsistence crop, and virtually all households plant potatoes, but only those with access to irrigated land can plant papa mishka. About six people and a pair of oxen collaborate in planting, and the task can be done more rapidly with four oxen. One person, almost always a man, steers the wooden plow that is drawn by a pair of oxen to open furrows. A child may guide the oxen and level and clean the ground before them. The plow leads a procession; one person (usually a child, 8-12 years old) drops dung from a gunny sack into the furrow, and one person (usually a teenager) sprinkles chemical fertilizer from a bucket, and two or three people (usually women) drop seed potatoes into the furrow in clusters of 2-4 potatoes for every two steps. Several planters rotate as each needs to refill her cloth frequently with seed, and many hundreds of pounds of seed potatoes are planted. The next furrow may be opened in such a way as to plow dirt into the most recently planted furrow. Alternately, another pair of oxen, driven by another man, is used to close the furrow. Most households plant potatoes with their own labor and those of close relatives.

August: harvest onions, a major cash crop. About 3 men and 5 women are necessary, and a pair of oxen is optional. Men loosen the earth around the plants, or a plow drawn by oxen is guided by a man to loosen the dirt between furrows. Men and women dig around bulbs, pull them out, and throw them in piles. Groups of women and girls cut the stems and roots off the bulbs, either in the field where onions are piled up, or in the compound patio within the next few days. Usually male and female *peones* are hired and are paid with around 38 lbs. of onions per day. If they are paid in cash, men who loosen the dirt are paid around 8 bolivianos per day, while women pulling up and cleaning onions may get only 6 bolivianos.

September: bund papa mishka. About 4 men use hoes to uproot the weeds and pack dirt around each cluster of potato plants. These hills protect the roots from irrigation water that runs between the rows. Some families hire men to hill potatoes, and pay them around 8 bolivianos per day.

September/October: plant papa temporal. This is similar to planting papa mishka, except that many more fields of papa temporal are planted, since they can grow where there is little or no irrigation.

October: harvest papa mishka. Ten people, usually of both sexes, complete the harvest. Men use hoes to loosen the dirt around the potato hills. Kneeling or crouching over the plants, men and women use trowels or their hands to dig potatoes from each cluster and pile them on cloths or sacks next to their rows. These small piles are carried to the end of the field where they are piled in potato mountains. Hired men are usually paid with 38 lbs. of potatoes per day, and women with 25 or 38 lbs of potatoes, depending on what work they did. Hired men and women are paid the same amount "*cuando hacen el mismo trabajo*" [when they perform the same task], but in the potato harvest there is almost always gender division such that men dig and women harvest or cook, and women are paid less.

October: bund papa temporal. Same as bunding papa mishka.

November: plant peanuts and plant corn. Each job requires 2 oxen and 2 people. These jobs do not require a work party, but are preferably performed by a wife and husband; the latter manages the plow, while the former drops seed into the furrow from her cloth. Fertilizer is not normally used for these crops. Peanuts are labor intensive, and can only be cultivated by households that will be able to unite large groups of workers for two or three weedings and the harvest. Corn, on the other hand, can be weeded and harvested bit by bit, and is convenient for resource-poor households, and those headed by women alone. In many cases women tend corn, gradually harvest tender corn for daily consumption, and later harvest dry corn. Most corn is shucked by women and some is ground and used by women to make corn beer or bread.

December: weed and bund corn that is 2-to-3-feet tall. Three or four men, or less frequently women, use hoes to dig up weeds between furrows, and pile dirt along the roots of the plants. If the rows are far enough apart, one man with a pair of oxen can do this.

January: harvest papa temporal. Same as harvest papa mishka. Hundreds of men and women come from the upper valleys to work in the harvest. They stay with relatives or employers, or sleep in the plaza of Mizque town where they are hired each morning.

January: weed and bund peanuts, which is more difficult than bunding potatoes or corn. Around 5 people are needed. Men and, lacking sufficient men, women use hoes and picks to dig up weeds between rows of peanut plants and push soil up around peanut clusters to form hills. A woman or women collect the weeds and carry them in a cloth to the side of the field. Usually men are hired to weed, and are paid cash, around 8 bolivianos.

February: transplant onion seedlings. This task is done by the whole family, usually one man, two women, and four-to-six children, and requires ample irrigation water. Early in the morning one or two women flood small beds of onion seedlings and gently pull out the seedlings by their roots, wrap them in cloths, and carry them to the field. In the field, a man uses a hoe to dig a furrow and then flood it. Others, mostly women and children, press the seedling bulbs into the side of the wet furrow. Young children, from 4 or 5 years, are important help in this task, which is not strenuous, but hurts the backs of adults who must bend over. When one furrow is planted, the next is dug and flooded by the man, then planted by women and children. Onions were a successful cash crop in the 1970s, but since then profits have been falling as a result of competition from Peruvian and Chilean onions. In the past few years many families are allocating less space to onions, which may have influenced the 1990 rise in market price.

March: harvest corn. Stalks are cut by two people a couple weeks before harvest, then four-to-six people pick and peel the ears (*deshojo*). After spreading a cloth or gunny sack on the ground between the rows, men and women pickers proceed to pull cobs off the stalks, pull the husks off the cobs, and throw them on the cloth. When piles accumulate they are carried to the edge of the field where women put the cobs in gunny sacks. Because the ear harvest does not require a great deal of strength, women and older people are frequently hired, and are paid around 6 bolivianos, less than workers in more strenuous tasks. Later the stalks (*chala*) will be gathered and saved for animal food.

March: weed peanuts again. Same as the first time, except that it is not necessary to bund, but only to repair the hills.

June: harvest peanuts. A large group is necessary, and should include around four diggers (usually hired men) and from eight to ten harvesters (women and children), depending on the quality of the crop. Men dig around the clusters of peanuts with hoes, loosening roots and turning over big clumps of dirt in which most of the peanuts are embedded. Each harvester is assigned a row which she harvests, sometimes with the help of her children. Using hand cultivators made of metal or fashioned from roots, they dig the peanuts from the clumps and the ground and put them in baskets. When a basket is full, the picker dumps the peanuts in her own pile or sack. For every seven baskets that a harvester fills, she gets two as pay, so it is in her interest to work very fast. The female or male head of household walks behind harvesters, checking the ground to make sure they do not miss too many peanuts in their haste. Men diggers are paid in cash, unless they prefer a predetermined quantity of peanuts roughly equivalent to that earned by the quickest harvesters. Hundreds of women travel from Mizque highland and Cliza valley communities to work up to a week harvesting peanuts, and many bring small children with them.

Strength, skill, and experience are practical requisites for certain tasks in these work parties, but the gender divisions described here are based in cultural rather than physical appropriateness. In Mizque, women transplant seedlings because females are considered more gentle and nurturing, and women generally plant seeds for all cultivars because they embody

cultural values of fertility. A farmer explains, "*La mujer siempre tiene que sembrar porque -lo que es más fértil ella, y también porque la pacha mama es mujer.*" [A woman always has to plant because--it's that she is more fertile, and also because earth mother is woman.] Women are also indispensable in preparing food for work parties and maintaining ritual bonds with nature through offerings of food and corn beer to the earth mother. Most plantings and harvests are begun with a ritual called *q'owa*, in which women burn a plate of food or incense in the center of the field as an offering to the earth mother, and all participants offer libations of corn beer.

After primary and secondary crops are harvested, female heads of household are responsible for processing them and performing the following tasks. Most processing of crops can be done bit by bit, and is often carried out while visiting with other women, or in mixed groups where men, especially old men, join in.

- Cutting the stems and roots off onions
- Dividing onions and potatoes for sale, consumption, seed, and gifts
- Storing onions and potatoes in ways designed to avoid or diminish moisture rot, dehydration, and worms
- Shelling hard corn
- Dividing corn in parts to be sold, made into *mote*, saved for seed, or ground
- Grinding corn or wheat for sale, or for making bread or corn beer
- Dividing peanuts to be sold or used for seed, ground for cooking, or roasted for sale or consumption
- Shelling peanuts
- Cleaning ulupica peppers by removing stems, to be used for hot sauce, sold, or given as gifts
- Shelling various beans to be stored
- Saving by-products such as corn stalks and cobs, peanut shells, and rotten produce, and allocating them for sale or diverse uses

2.3.5. Clothing acquisition and care

Women buy, wash, and care for clothes for themselves, their husbands, and young children. Some women own sewing machines and make clothes. A relative who works as a seamstress in a city or the upper valley may send clothes, and in return receive agricultural products. In order to get reasonable prices on used clothing sold by the Italian nuns and priest, women cultivate relations with them by attending mass or *club de madres*.

Around the time when a girl begins school, her mother must decide whether to dress her in a traditional *pollera* or in western clothes. A big effort is made to dress children in clean, decent clothes and a clean white uniform to attend school, and elementary students get graded on all aspects of cleanliness, from their clothes to their fingernails and teeth. For some women, especially those who live in or near the town of Mizque, it is very important to dress children

in new fancy clothes for each fiesta. Teenagers buy or make their own clothes, often with money earned in migrant labor or marketing. Some young men, especially those who migrate and buy their own clothes, also wash and care for their own clothes.

Women mend clothes when necessary, and take pride in keeping clothes clean, especially the white cotton shirts that men wear not only to sindicato meetings and Sunday market, but to work in the fields. Women and girls meet at a canal or river to wash clothes while younger children play and bathe or help with the washing. Women scrub the clothes for all household members with bar soap, rinse them in the current, and hang them on bushes to dry. Then they wash themselves and their hair. Men wash clothes when they are alone with no mate or female relative, as when they are doing migrant labor.

2.3.6. Selling agricultural produce and marketing

Women sell secondary crops and home industry products from their homes and at local and regional markets. Together with their husbands, or alone, they arrange for the sale of primary crops to intermediaries, or take them by truck to regional or urban markets. In Cliza Valley, women are also in charge of marketing:

> *Generalmente, la actividad comercial es atribución de la mujer, aunque se dan ocasiones en que concurren al mercado marido y mujer, pero es exclusivamente la mujer la que se va a encargar de la venta (regateo, fijación del precio, cobro).*" (CIDRE 1990:9) [Generally, commercial activity is women's responsibility, although on occasion a husband and wife go to the market together, but the woman is exclusively in charge of the sale (bartering, fixing the price, receiving the money).]

With increasing transportation, mostly owned and run by men within and outside the province, and improved roads, some women are intensifying their market activities in ways that involve considerable movement away from their homes. Women who work as intermediaries usually buy and resell agricultural and consumer food products, rarely investing more than 1000 bolivianos ($300 U.S.) in products, and depending heavily on advances in products from suppliers. Their success depends on building a network of relations that are not merely business, but are enriched by social and ritual bonds. Few Mizque families have entered the peddler tradition dominated by Punata families who travel to fiestas and markets throughout the region, carrying relatively valuable loads of merchandise. In the past decade, young women have been attracted to the Chapare region by the excellent profits available in marketing foodstuffs and merchandise, carrying coca paste and coca leaves, and preparing and selling food to the transient population, and one young woman told me she had smuggled coca paste into Argentina. Greater involvement in markets is linked to greater involvement as consumers, and the households of female merchants are frequently marked by a greater ownership of urban commodities, which causes jealousy and competition within and between households.

This chapter has demonstrated that women in Mizque work very hard and perform a lot of different tasks, in addition to managing and integrating the activities of other household members. However, our emphasis on the fact that women can and do perform all work necessary to run farms is not meant to suggest that men do not work. Men spend long and exhausting hours working on their farms, with relatively low returns on their labor, and they also perform difficult and dangerous work as migrant laborers, for which they receive very low wages. When they do not have agricultural work to do, however, men generally do not take responsibility for aspects of women's work. Instead, they look for opportunities outside the household or province. The most important thing for most rural families is that both men and women work very hard and make significant contributions to the well-being of the household. This contrasts with farming families in parts of Africa and other developing areas where, according to Maclachlan (1987:12), women do most farm work and "dependents include perfectly able men who spend a good portion of their time in leisure and politicking. These men can afford to play the role of overgrown children with respect to farming/subsistence, by relying largely on women to meet whatever they deem to be their needs." This trend is unfortunately present among Mizque townsmen and among wealthier and more acculturated farmers who hire men to do their agricultural work, leave their wives with traditional domestic responsibilities, and then hang around the plaza and town hall.

Chapter 3. Other Household Resources: Control, Use, and Integration

The accomplishment of activities discussed above depends not only on labor, but on other resources available to the household and on the way these are managed.

3.1. Natural resources

3.1.1. Land tenure, use and overuse of land, and inheritance patterns

Arable land, which includes rights to water, is an increasingly scarce resource throughout Mizque province, and causes many conflicts. Insufficient land forces farmers to shorten fallow periods and to intensify production far beyond optimum levels, and to farm lands that lack adequate irrigation, or are vulnerable to flooding and erosion. Intensification theory demonstrates that when households work more than the optimum amount of hours per hectare, their labor returns decrease and their soils deteriorate and erode (See Machlachlan 1987:3). Decreasing returns to on-farm labor is one of the factors that drives people to migrate, and soil exhaustion is widespread throughout the area, as experienced by the nearly 80 percent of the farmers interviewed by CEFOIN (1990:39) who report decreased productivity on their land in the past decade. In Mizque valley the household is the central agency of land exploitation, and its strategies determine the forms of intensification and diversification that are taken. Households variously address land shortage by obtaining more land to sharecrop, increasing their off-farm productive activities, or intensifying production on lands to which they have access, by shortening fallow periods, using more chemical and natural fertilizers, or other means.

Husbands and wives own land jointly and separately, and discuss plans to gain access to and to use land. In a recent survey by CEFOIN (1990:161) 44.2 percent of the women interviewed in Mizque and Campero provinces reported that they own land that does not also belong to their husbands. Some women manage their own land with relative independence, but men usually make the final decisions about household land, except in households without adult men, wherein women make decisions in consultation with relations on whom they depend for labor assistance. Whenever a household considers cultivating land or entering into share arrangements, it must take into account the labor, food, coca, and corn beer that will be required, which are managed by the female head of household.

Most households have titles to their land, in the names of either one or both heads, or of their parents or other relatives who gave, left, or sold them the land.[17] But little of the land has been surveyed, and the size of holdings and place of borders between them cause occasional

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[17]Some people who inherit land are not willing or able to deal with the legalities and taxes necessary to transfer titles. Thus many mature households control property that officially belongs to long dead ancestors, and whose living members do not qualify for agricultural aid and loans, which require land ownership (personal communication, Will McDow).

disputes. Cultivated land is not defined by hectares or square meters, nor is most of it fenced, but rather it is marked in field plots (*chacras*), defined by raised borders of hardened earth and by well-beaten paths. These plots are generally of irregular rectangular shape and measure from a quarter to half hectare in size.

According to data provided in surveys and verified by my knowledge of household parcels, the average household cultivates a total area of 2.21 hectares of its own land and .63 hectares of sharecropped land. Because Mizque valley is fairly stratified, these statistical averages do not represent the majority of households. Out of 55 households, the two largest holdings are six hectares in Poligono and ten hectares in Maira; and 16 (29 percent) of the households are relatively wealthy, owning more than three hectares. These families rarely enter into sharecrop arrangements in order to cultivate crops, but some lend parts of their land to poorer and younger households who sharecrop. On the other hand, there are 19 (36 percent) relatively poor households who own one hectare or less, and 8 of these own no land at all. They either engage heavily in marketing or other activities, or cultivate up to two or three hectares in sharecrop arrangements, wherein they turn over one-third to one-half of the produce to the landowners. There are only 20 (36 percent) "average" households that own more than one, but not more than three hectares of land.

Men and women get access to land in many ways, but most no longer benefit from community-allocated lands. Hacienda land controlled by sindicato: after the agrarian reform has mostly been sold or allotted to individual families, and only small communally controlled plots remain for schools, roads and paths, soccer fields, health centers, and chapels. Some communities control uncleared hillsides and ravines used for grazing, hunting, and collecting firewood. Today most arable land in the Mizque valley is owned by local farmers in the form of small private parcels obtained through inheritance, gifts, or purchase. Traditional forms of ownership and exploitation of resources are complicated by contradictions with the national legal system. According to Quechua traditions, land, animals, and other goods are given as gifts, loans, or in share arrangements to household units. In contrast, the national system of legal titles emphasizes individual property, and requires that all gifts and inheritance, and any rights to cooperative ownership, be sanctioned by official certificates.

Children and single people who acquire land, a house, or animals maintain individual rights to this property after marriage.[18] Some women receive land from their parents as anticipatory inheritance, which provides them with security and power of negotiation in conjugal unions, and in case of separation ensures that all children have access to land even if their fathers and stepfathers deny them land inheritance. Once a couple begins to cohabit, whether

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[18]A recent project in the upper valley of Cochabamba (Tarata), unwittingly revealed the extent to which women and men maintain separate property. Urban interviewers who wanted to know the size of family holdings went around the countryside asking men "how much land do you own?" Half way through they realized that men did not include their wives' property in their responses, and the survey had to be redone (personal communication, Gustavo Deheza).

they marry or not, all of the property that they acquire or improvements that they make are legally considered joint property. On the death of one of the them, joint property is divided; half goes to the remaining spouse and half is parted among legitimate children of the deceased.

Legal definitions of conjugal joining conflict with traditional terms, and women in unions that are not legally recognized face difficulties when they are widowed. Last year Cristina, from the community of Buena Vista, lost her mate of 8 years, and within weeks his parents tried to evict her from the property that they had given to their son in anticipatory inheritance, and on which the young couple had built a compound and brought land into cultivation. The parents claimed the right to hold and administer all of their deceased son's belongings and animals until his four young children were 18 years old and could inherit them. Although custom supports Cristina's right to the land and the goods generated during her union, her affines used effective legal arguments against her. She had no marriage certificate, she and her husband did not have a title to the land, and since he had traveled to Santa Cruz for several months each year, they argued that their union did not officially qualify as common-law marriage. The only documentation in Cristina's favor are her children's birth certificates, which bear her husband's last name.[19]

According to Bolivian family law and Quechua tradition, inheritance is divided evenly among all children of the deceased, and the law requires that they be legitimate.[20] All of the children born to a woman are automatically her legitimate heirs who receive her last name and inherit equal parts from her. Children receive their father's last name and rights to inheritance only if they are born into a legal marriage or if they are officially recognized by him in a legal document. Property is divided between all children, either by mutual accord or with the help of sindicato leaders or a family judge.[21] Mizqueños believe that male and female heirs generally receive equal parts of the estate, but their shares are difficult to compare, since property is divided into qualitatively different packages. Daughters often receive more sheep

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[19]Some women confide that the threat of legal difficulties is one of the most important reasons to get married. Church records reveal numerous marriages where the bride and groom are over 70, and I presume that these take place for inheritance purposes, although the law tries to forbid this by invalidating marriages performed when one of the partners has been ill, and dies within 30 days of the ceremony.

[20]Law stipulates that if children are dead, inheritance goes to grandchildren, and in the case of no descendants, inheritance goes to parents of the deceased. Only if there are no descendants or ascendants does inheritance pass to a spouse, which reinforces the significance of "blood relatives" over affines.

[21]To avoid taxes on inheritance, some older people divide their properties and "sell" portions to their children with legal documents. There is risk in doing this, especially for women alone, because without the promise of material reward, some children ignore their parents' social and physical needs, and even sell their inheritance and leave the province.

and take smaller or less valuable parcels of land than sons.[22] The home compound and its contents go to the youngest child, female or male, along with the responsibility to care for elderly parents and look after the house and its contents. There is no law concerning this tradition, but according to judges in Mizque, it is almost universally honored, except in cases of extreme hostility between siblings.

Bolivian laws that stipulate inheritance partible among all legitimate children are not easily applied in Mizque, where a majority of households include at least one child who is not legitimate offspring of both heads. Several women who have raised grandchildren want them to inherit in place of their mothers, and others are concerned for *hijos de soltero,* who are not legally recognized by their fathers and will receive only one, rather than two inheritances. One mother of five saved money she earned selling corn beer and bought a house in the name of her eldest daughter, who is illegitimate. She explained that because this daughter would not inherit land from her stepfather she needed extra support. Men have more complex decisions to make because a man's children are not his heirs unless he signs, processes, and pays for documents that legalize marriage, birth, adoption, or recognition. A man's unrecognized children, who are the most likely to need his support, receive no inheritance, nor do his stepchildren, whom he may have raised.[23]

Both men and women have the right to make a will documenting a different allocation of their properties to descendents. A man may choose to include nonlegitimate or stepchildren, or to disinherit ingrates. Last year a 25-year-old man from Bañado demanded that his father give him his inheritance, and when he refused, the son beat him. The old man went to a family judge who disinherited the son. A woman in Maira disinherited a daughter who had migrated to the tropics twenty years ago, so that she would not show up to claim a share of land away from children who had stayed close to their mother.

If a couple separates or divorces because one of them has an extramarital affair, abandons the family, or is somehow responsible, the guilty individual retains the right to what he or she

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[22]Families in the Tin Tin and Vila Vila areas of Mizque Province practice a different type of inheritance that is similar to precolonial patterns as described by Irene Silverblatt (1987: 5, 20). In this tradition of unilateral inheritance a woman passes her property on to her daughters, while her husband passes his part on to his sons. In practice this is often combined with bilateral inheritance, such that children of both sexes divide joint property, or alternately, divide the bulk of the property while only certain choice parcels or belongings are kept apart and passed from mother to daughter and father to son.

[23]Maternal grandmothers of children born out of wedlock often pressure natural fathers to sign an official recognition document (*reconocimiento*) that entitles a child to his or her father's name, economic support, and part of his inheritance, although these obligations are difficult to enforce. A man who is committed to his wife may legally adopt her children by other men, or simply recognize them as his own, which is cheaper and simpler.

brought to the marriage, but gets none of the joint property. When a couple splits up by mutual accord, all joint property is divided evenly between spouses. No property is allocated to children, who generally stay with their mother, but the father is officially required to pay some type of support, which he rarely honors. A Mizqueña explained the process,

> *Se tienen que dividir pués, de común acuerdo. Si tienen hijos ya, dicen "yo no quiero nada, que quede todo para nuestros hijos." Pero hay otros que hasta un pan dicen que se parten, tacaños son. En un divorcio, ahora, en un divorcio hay hombres que piden todo de la mitad, todo! Como, hasta un pan tienen que dividir. Hay hombres ridículos, aún así teniendo hijos, piden la mitad de sus bienes.* (taped 9/90) [They just have to divide, mutually agreeing. If they already have children, they say "I don't want anything, it should all go to our children." But there are others who insist on splitting the last piece of bread, they are very stingy. In a divorce, now in divorces, there are men who ask half of everything, everything! Even a piece of bread they have to split. There are ridiculous men, even though they have children, they demand half of the goods.]

3.1.2. Water: use, access and organization

Water does not belong to men or women, but households receive access to water that pertains to land they control, providing they fulfill obligations for the control and maintenance of shared water sources. Water management is one of the biggest problems for livelihood in Mizque. During dry seasons and droughts people suffer lack of water for irrigation, animals, and domestic use. Rivers in Mizque, and throughout the Andes, are alternately dry beds and torrential floods that carry away land, crops, and homes. Throughout Andean history these conditions have given rise to traditions of cooperative control of water that include building and maintaining dikes, reservoirs, and canals, and receiving access to water by turns.

In Mizque, organizations of irrigators correspond with sindicato boundaries, and are under the leadership of water judges, elected authorities who are on the board of directors of each sindicato. The water judge allocates timed turns (*mitas*) to each household according to the quantity of land it controls. Those with more land and more water rights are obliged to offer more labor, cash, and materials for communal water projects. All water judges in Mizque valley are men, but many women take part in organizations of irrigators, contribute to water works projects, and participate in irrigation meetings. In the community of Cazorla, for example, six (27 percent) of the 22 families that irrigate under its water judge are represented by women.

Men take the lead in managing water use for primary crops. They decide which parcels, when, and how much to irrigate, and in case of severe droughts like that experienced in recent years, men buy, rent, and operate electric pumps to irrigate. Men channel irrigation water to their primary plots during their household's turn, especially if the turn is at night. They use hoes to open or move earth across waterways, direct streams through small canals to each plot,

and allow water to run down one furrow at a time until its full length is moistened. Patience and expertise are necessary to regulate water volume in order to moisten the earth without carrying away topsoil. Women help to irrigate by signaling when the water arrives at the end of each furrow and by guarding the source against water thieves, and women often irrigate secondary crops by themselves. Men and women both work to maintain and repair canals serving their plots, but communal work parties to repair or clean shared canals are mostly comprised of men (see photo, Appendix 1), which is another example of how women are undervalued in official and institutionalized contexts.

Water use controlled by women involves lesser quantities, but has a greater impact on water quality. Although sindicato rules prohibit tethering animals near irrigation canals, women and girls take cows, sheep, and goats to drink from streams and canals where they regularly defecate in water that is consumed by families downstream. Some women and girls wash clothes directly in these water sources, contributing detergent and feces of infants and young children. Female heads of households manage domestic water use and direct children to carry buckets of water to the home from these polluted sources. Because women drink, cook with and serve this water to their families, they are interested in controlling sources of chemical and organic pollution, but lack information about the importance of clean water and alternatives that are more ecologically sound. They need technical assistance in obtaining clean water or purifying the water that is available.

3.1.3. Resource competition and ecological destruction: overgrazing and deforestation

Women are in a position to help limit escalating agricultural and environmental damage caused by grazing animals and deforestation. In recent decades intensified farming strategies have impoverished soils in Mizque valley, and households have responded by buying more chemical fertilizers and by expanding their herds to produce more manure for fertilizer. The simultaneous intensification of land use and animal production causes conflicts as well as environmental damage. During growing seasons adults or responsible teens must watch herds carefully to keep them out of planted fields where they can ravage tender plants and destroy an entire crop in 15 minutes, in which case the farmer tries to extract the cost of damages. In order to prevent animals from destroying the crops that they are raised to fertilize, more and more families are constructing fences. This response further intensifies ecological pressure by stripping hillsides of bushes, trunks, and branches, which are also used to make corrals. In addition, household members cut logs for beams, planks, and other house construction materials, and use wood to make doors, furniture, and tools. Communities cut wood to make dikes, bridges, schools, canals, and other works.

Although the sloping lands around Mizque valley were logged in the 1940s and 1950s to make railroad ties and charcoal to run the steam engines, today the hills are kept barren by everyday activities of women who herd goats and sheep, uproot bushes to make corrals and fences, and gather firewood (CEFOIN 1990). Many sindicatos forbid firewood collection for resale, but women and children, especially those too poor to buy firewood, scour the hillsides for dead branches and logs, and cut green wood. Women do most cooking on small, handmade

mud stoves, called *q'onchas*. These stoves efficiently use the heat from kindling that burns slowly in a small cavity, but, nevertheless, daily cooking consumes great quantities of wood over the months and years. Women also use firewood to stoke adobe ovens in which they bake bread. Thick, well-made ovens maintain heat long enough to bake many batches of bread, but when ovens crack and crumble and are not repaired or replaced, they are much less efficient. The most voracious consumers of firewood are the hot, open fires that are stoked to keep large, exposed vats of liquid boiling for many hours in the preparation of corn beer. Methods of animal raising and cooking can be adapted to use available resources in more efficient ways, and to decrease destruction to the environment, but in order to work well, such plans must be elaborated in collaboration with women who are responsible for controlling and using these resources.

3.2. Capital resources, commodities and cash

Livelihood strategies are grounded in the material base of each household, which may include a home compound, tools, vehicles, animals, and agricultural fields.[24] Although the national legal system encourages institutionalization of private property, capital resources are controlled in many ways. Ideally, material goods, natural resources, and products of labor are shared by all members of the household and administered by the female head, but this cooperative tradition is being eroded by the increasing frequency of individualized wages and personal property. Strategies for managing capital resources are being adapted to increasing commoditization of household goods and productive technology, as well as increasing private property, and to the greater use of money related to these changes.

3.2.1. Home compounds

Mizque homes are compounds composed of two to eight structures that may include from one to three rooms made of adobe with occasional cement facing or cement floors, a kitchen shack made of plain adobe or wattle and mud, an adobe oven, a well, irrigation ditches, animal cages, corrals, and structures for crop storage. The center of most domestic activities and the place where members meet and eat is the patio, which is not totally enclosed, but shielded from the road or path by structures or a wattle fence. Close friends and relations of the household move in and out of the patio freely, and less familiar individuals stand in the path and call the name of the female head before being invited in. Neither children nor adult members are restricted from using or entering any part of the compound space, although adults have regular

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[24]Most economic analyses involve ascribing monetary values to household property, as well as to income and labor. While this works reasonably well in systems dominated by capitalist relations, where all three items are commoditized, it is neither accurate nor useful for understanding the economic bases of households in rural Mizque, which integrate diverse noncapitalist and capitalist principles. Household goods are loaded with values that are not monetized or marketed, and in Bolivia land and commodity markets themselves are highly irregular, controlled by the community or state, and drastically influenced by other factors.

sleeping places and personal clothes. Women organize activities and belongings in the home compound, and spend much more time than men in or near it, yet compounds belong to both wife and husband. Some couples and individuals also own rooms in urban or tropical locations, which are used by household members during migration, or rented out for additional income.

House building in Mizque does not involve the elaborate ritual and social activity found in some Andean communities. People make adobes themselves—women mix the mud and men form the bricks—or they hire a male specialist (*adobero*) who makes adobes all day for a fee of around 8 bolivianos. It takes three or four days to make about 1,000 adobes necessary for an average room measuring four by eight meters. Adobes are stacked to dry for at least a week, and often months or years, until a mason (*albañil*) is hired to lay the adobes with help from an assistant or household members. For 10 to 15 bolivianos a day a skilled mason builds the room in about three days. Purchased materials such as cement, doors, windows and window frames, roof tiles, or corregated tin, are added when money is available. While tradition constrains a woman from specializing as a brick maker or mason, it does not limit her ability to build herself a house. As long as she has access to building materials and cash to pay workers, a woman can build a house in the same way that a man does; by gathering the resources, hiring laborers, and overseeing construction.

The most recent household census (1975) classifies 22,141 houses in Mizque province, mostly in the poorest categories. A full 96 percent of them have dirt floors, and 40 percent are made from plain adobe with straw or cane roofs (for more details see CIDRE 1987:159-162.) Households that buy cement to improve their homes usually apply it to the outside wall facing the road or path, because this is considered attractive and is a good way to display wealth. Women are responsible for organizing and cleaning the home compound, and are influential in deciding whether to make repairs or additions. Why don't they initiate more structural improvements? Finished interiors and ceilings would protect families from deadly vinch*ugas* who live in adobe walls and straw roofs, and cement floors would make daily housekeeping much easier, especially during the muddy rainy season. Cement patios would allow women to clean up the waste of toddlers and animals, which spreads amoebas and other parasites and diseases to members who work and eat in the compound, and especially to small children who crawl on the floor. Increased availability of home improvement materials, and information on cleanliness and health might encourage women to initiate home improvements.

3.2.2. Tools and other manufactured goods

Mizqueños use a wide range of manufactured and hand-made tools and utensils, and customarily these to belong to the household rather than to individual members. When new households are started, members bring some items from their former homes, borrow some, and make or buy new ones. When both household heads die, the youngest child inherits most household goods along with the house. Regardless of ownership and origin, these items correspond to certain members who, because of their age, capabilities, and gender, use them most frequently. Plows and machetes pertain to males, and machines such as tractors, water pumps, mills, or trucks are maintained and controlled by men. Female goods include pots and

cooking utensils, cauldrons and pottery jars for corn beer, mud stoves, blankets, carrying cloths, small animals, small sickles to cut alfalfa and weeds, and hand cultivators. Family members of both sexes regularly use hoes, picks, and axes that have purchased blades and hand-carved handles, and all listen to the family radio and use the beds, stools, and chairs.

Modern commodities, such as radio-cassette players, bikes, sewing machines, wardrobes, formica tables, gas stoves, gas lamps, and motorcycles, are not found in all households. Family purchases of these items are usually decided by husband and wife, while teenagers and youths who earn their own money buy manufactured commodities with or without the supervision of their parents. Women's work in the home is made easier by gas lamps, sewing machines, and wardrobes or shelves to store clothes and other items.[25] While tractors and bicycles obviously increase the efficiency of a family work force, men are the direct benefactors. Women and girls mostly use bicycle transport when they sit on a bike that a male is peddling, although some young women, especially in the communities of Pojo and Aguada, are beginning to ride bicycles themselves. Likewise, females may ride to a field, or plant corn or peanuts sitting on the back of a tractor that a man is driving, but few women know how to drive a tractor.

Unequal access to modern tools and technology for agricultural production is an example of the negative impact that modernization has on women throughout the developing world. Chaney (1976) points out that control of technology by men and resulting limited access by women farmers widens gender gaps in production and income. Yet virtually all development programs in Mizque province ignore women farmers and direct new agricultural tools, methods, and loans exclusively to men. Industrialization also leads to the replacement of household items once produced by women with commodities purchased with money to which men have greater access through wage work.

3.2.3. Animals

Animals are a form of property that women are likely to inherit and to receive as gifts, and they are important capital resources for women. Animals are good security against financial difficulties, and, unlike land, they can be sold or consumed at any time. Households in the survey raise an average of 6.4 sheep, 4.6 goats, 3.8 cows, 2.6 pigs, and 10 chickens, as owners or in share arrangements.[26] In addition, these households own an average of 1.04 oxen, .47

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[25]Gas stoves, which cost around $100 U.S., are more important for prestige than for use, and while around 15% of the families in the survey have gas stoves, none of them use them for daily cooking, and most report using them only until the first can of gas ran out. Only one woman has used the oven for anything but storage, largely because local cooking repertoires do not include recipes prepared in a gas oven, and because it would take 8 to 10 times as long to bake a batch of bread in a gas than in an adobe oven.

[26]The fact that Mizque valley households raise significantly more cows than other parts of Mizque and Campero provinces is due partly to the fertile and well-irrigated nature of valley

burros, and .3 horses. Women throughout the region decide when to buy, sell, or kill small animals, depending on their household and ritual needs (CEFOIN 1990:162). The purchase of cattle is usually a joint decision between men and women who look after them in different contexts.

3.2.4. Agricultural products.

Harvested crops are important means of acquiring and expanding capital, not only when sold as commodities and planted as seeds, but when used in myriad other ways. The allocation of harvested produce is one of women's most complex and challenging tasks, partly because, in addition to their obvious use values, agricultural products are a medium of exchange for all kinds of material, social, and symbolic goods.

Maria, for example, sells a bag of peanuts, and spends the money on medicine for her child, while Adela gives a bag of peanuts to her child's *madrina*, the local nurse, and gets free medicine. Tomasa sells peanuts to her comadre for less than market value, and later buys onions from the same comadre for half the going price, and Ely trades the peanuts for seed potato at the Tin Tin barter fair. Finally, Josefa peels the peanuts and uses them to make soup to nourish her household. Because women use agricultural products in all these incommensurable ways, it is difficult to calculate monetary profits from household harvests or to measure and compare the values gained in exchange. One of the reasons that more produce is not simply sold on the market is that prices for most goods produced by small farmers throughout the Andes are kept extremely low by government policies and as a result of competition from imports and donations and the control of food markets by commercial enterprises (Painter 1983).

Women have many decisions and calculations to make concerning the agricultural products harvested by their households. As a female head of household oversees the sorting and allocation of produce, she decides which characteristics are best for sale, gifts, food, and seed. She predicts who will be on the farm and which fiestas or rites of passage they will host during the coming year in order to judge quantities of products needed for ritual meals. She also predicts who will be able to help with next years' planting, and what lands will be available and allocated to a given crop, in order to determine the quantity of seed that will be needed. In the case of potatoes, a household may decide to sell or trade crops in order to acquire seed from other zones, such as K'uri, Totora Pampa, and the high valley. The female head evaluates immediate and foreseen cash needs in conjunction with predicted fluctuations of market prices and available storage to decide when to sell what quantities of produce, and she calculates the labor available to process some products and weighs the market advantages of partially processed products such as shelled or roasted peanuts, ground corn, toasted wheat, bread, or corn beer to decide how much processing to do. She also evaluates storage facilities, cleans and improves

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lands that support cattle well, and partly to a recent program developed be CEDEAGRO in which dozens of milk cows were distributed to families in my survey area.

available space, and builds, rents, or rearranges to create new storage space. All these decisions are guided by valuable experience, and could also benefit from technical advice, especially in the improvement of seed selection and storage facilities. Women are eager to learn more efficient methods, and have enthusiastically attended the few mini-courses offered to them by nongovernmental organizations.

3.2.5. Cash and wages

Patterns of cash management and use vary between Mizque subregions and within each household depending on the location of activities. Female heads keep cash reserves and manage daily budgets in Mizque valley, and they travel to regional and urban markets where they negotiate sale and purchase of agricultural products and small animals, and buy household goods. Women from Mizque highlands accompany their husbands, often on foot, to markets in Mizque and Aiquile, but highland men predominate in making sales and purchases, and in traveling to markets further away. In migration contexts female heads lose control of household finances as each migrating member manages his or her own cash. In urban or tropical regions where labor is commoditized and most food is purchased, many individuals, especially men and young people who do not have experience managing household budgets, have problems handling the greater quantities of cash and fulfilling more needs with cash. Women who migrate with children are disturbed by the quantities of money they spend on daily food and other necessities, and their children are tempted by bread, toys, and other treats sold in the streets and markets.

These locational variations in cash management are cross cut by gender responsibilities. Women receive household income from the sale of small quantities of fruit, vegetables, milk, or other items from the home or in local markets; the sale of cash crops in regional and urban markets; the sale of crops from the field to intermediaries, sometimes with down payment arrangements; the sale of home industry products, including cheese, bread, corn beer, and blankets, even those woven by men; and wages paid for agricultural or domestic work done by them. Men receive money when they work for wages within or outside the community; get a loan from the national agricultural bank or a development institution; use their oxen or tractor to plow for other households; transport passengers and cargo in their own vehicles; and sell produce (rice, fruit, coca leaves) in the tropics when their wives are not there.

In struggles to control family cash, both men and women manipulate received gender roles, rights, and responsibilities. When men earn money near their rural homes, they usually hand most of the cash they've been paid to the female head of household, and sometimes employers pay directly to the wives of hired men. But when men are working outside of the province, they frequently spend, lose, or lend some or all of their wages before they get home, which complicates the integration of household economies. Time and again men come home from stints at wage labor lasting up to several months, and say "The boss cheated me and didn't pay me anything," or "Someone robbed all of the money out of my carrying cloth when I was sleeping on the truck." A female head of a large household explained that she doesn't send her husband to Cochabamba to sell produce and make purchases "*porque él no sabe . . . los hombres no son capaz de agarrar dinero, ellos compran cualquier cosa que van a ver*" (Taped

May 1990) [because he doesn't know how . . . men aren't capable of holding onto money, they buy whatever catches their eye.] Other women report that if men have money in their pocket they invite all of their friends to drinks, buy a record player or other silly thing, or the money will disappear unaccounted for.

This money management game operates on at least two levels. To begin with, men really are not trained to manage and budget money; they grow up in households where their mothers hold on to the money, do the marketing, and manage family consumption. But male incompetence in money matters is exaggerated by men who use their supposed incompetence as a ruse to wrest hold of fiscal responsibilities dominated by women, and by women who use it as a reason to maintain budget control. For their part, women exaggerate their daily food expenses and underrepresent market earnings in order to hide money that their mates do not know about in anticipation of expenses such as medicine, school supplies, foodstuffs, and festival supplies. Sometimes a woman saves to buy nice clothes, gold dental work, or other luxury items for her children or herself, and tells her husband and other relations that she paid much less than the actual price. It is also very common for women to borrow from each other, and short-term and long-term loans are often hidden from husbands.

Conflicts and tensions over money increase in frequency and seriousness as households intensify their participation in the cash economy both as producers and consumers. Conflicts in cash management differ from those based in resource management for subsistence production, because while the latter occur largely between households, the former arise within each home. Cash problems underlie conjugal disputes: spouses disagree about ways to use money, and a husband may criticize or beaten his wife because there is not enough money. When one young farmer who frequently sells his labor fought with his wife, he hit her and yelled, "what happened to that 100 bolivianos I got paid last month? We barely have a bone in the soup, what did you do with it all?"

Women do get cheated and beat, but they struggle to maintain considerable control over the family budget. I have never heard women in Mizque fatalistically accept male dominance over household resources the way that Bourque and Warren's Peruvian informants apparently do. These authors generalize, "Married women and those in consensual unions agree that whereas women may be given the temporary responsibility for guarding money, men can always demand savings and spend money as they wish. Women have little success in denying their husbands money, even when they fear that earnings will be squandered. A substantial part of family cash resources is lost to liquor consumption" (Bourke and Warren 1981:107).

3.2.6. Gender and generational patterns of commodity consumption

As female heads, women make many consumption decisions for the whole family; they determine the type, quality, and quantity of food served, and which foodstuffs to buy, and they purchase household goods such as blankets, pots and pans, and some clothing. The purchases are frequently made during trips to sell produce in a city, or during Mizque's annual fiesta, the week of September 14, when several hundred merchants converge to sell their wares. Men and

youths also buy commodities, but they have different styles of consumption based on different principles of money management that are summed up in the purchases typical of each group.

Women's purchases include

- necessary household supplies: coca, salt, sugar, cooking oil, soap for washing clothes
- secondary household supplies: hot peppers, bread, rice, macaroni, lard, meat, shampoo
- school supplies, shoes, and uniforms
- clothes, blankets, and carrying cloths
- immediate consumables for self and children: corn beer, snacks, ice cream, bread
- fiesta expenses, when involved as hosts, sponsors, or in reciprocal help: pots, pitchers, foodstuffs, gifts
- coca, corn beer, and foodstuffs for hired and reciprocal workers during agricultural parties
- daily wages or produce in kind paid to peones who work for their household

Men's purchases include,

- cattle
- tractors, motorcycles, bicycles
- large appliances such as stoves
- fertilizer (natural or chemical)
- seed
- electric pumps for irrigation
- corn beer or other consumables at Sunday markets and fiestas

Like other female activities, women's commodity purchasing encompasses daily needs and mundane supplies for the whole family. In contrast, male purchases are mostly out of the ordinary, expensive, or individual. Youths of both sexes frequently purchase clothes, shoes, jewelry, and personal hygiene items for themselves or as gifts for siblings, and buy relatively expensive commodities such as radios, watches, tape players, and bicycles. These are among the few items considered private property in most households; all members are not free to use them, and they are referred to with possessives such as "Fidel's radio," or "Juana's nail polish." The tendency of youths to purchase personal goods may be an expression of a stage in their lives when certain commodities are important, or it may indicate a general shift toward cultural emphasis on personal property. Probably both trends coexist, and will result in increased differentiation between future households. When today's youths mature and establish their own households, some will be marked by private property and personal space and others will be more communal, like the households of their parents.

Increased purchasing of modern commodities does not necessarily mean assimilation to urban Spanish lifestyles. A great deal of money is spent, for example, on manufactured fiesta goods, such as cooking supplies and utensils, beer, and record players, which contribute to the

continuity and vivacity of rituals and celebrations that are traditional aspects of rural life. Significant amounts of money are also spent on clothing, which sometimes reflects western styles predominant in Bolivian cities, but is often bought and worn in styles that mark wearers as being of rural origin and ethnically distinct from dominant classes. Young women merchants take great interest in fashion, and come back from Chapare or urban trips with blouses, *polleras* (full skirts traditionally worn by rural Indians throughout the Andes) and jewelry in the fancy *chola* style typical of Cochabamba valleys. It is notable that western fashions do not predominate for women in the highly commoditized Chapare zone, but, on the contrary, polleras are common wear, and at least one young woman from Mizque, who was accustomed to wearing western style clothes, changed to traditional wear when she began marketing in the Chapare. Some women who travel to or work in Santa Cruz city continue to buy and wear clothes that indicate their origin in Cochabamba valleys, commenting that their clients and commercial relations prefer the chola style (see Stearman 1976 for more discussion).

3.2.7. Principles of household economy

Female heads of households are expert economists. They manage multiple sources of unpredictable income and balance communal and private property and money as well as frequently conflicting expenses, needs, and desires. Crops fail, husbands and children leave, inflation goes wild, members get sick, or die, or separated, and there is no institutionalized community or government insurance to help households out of these crises. Instead, women rely on a few basic principles to help maintain control and stability of family finances.

First of all, consumable goods are not kept on hand. Very few rural women buy supplies in bulk, even though they could save more than 50 percent on staples such as rice, macaroni, sugar, and soap by buying quantities for two or three months. A typical female head sends a child to the market in the morning for 10 cents worth of sugar, to a neighbor's store at noon for 15 cents worth of noodles, and to a relative's house in the evening for 10 cents worth of lard. When asked about bulk buying, women comment, "*no hay dinero para comprar así,*" and "*si compro así grande, se va a gastar en ése rato y después no va a haber*" [there isn't money to buy that way, if I buy like that in bulk, it will be used up right away, and then there won't be any]. While a woman may have the cash available for bulk purchases, she knows that extra supplies would be "borrowed" by relations and neighbors, and that she would cook more rice or macaroni instead of peeling potatoes, resulting in a considerable increase in total consumption of purchased staples. Some women horde consumer goods such as bread and fruit, hiding them in nooks and crannies of their huts, or in carrying cloths or skirts so that they won't disappear so quickly. Obviously, strategies for budgeting consumption of purchased goods need to be adapted considerably in cities and other contexts where consumer goods are constantly available and on display.

Secondly, decisions about small purchases are made with consideration to their broader implications. For example, school attendance requires the purchase of supplies, shoes, and uniforms, and in difficult times lack of money keeps children out of school. A mother can control education choices by either saving, earning, or borrowing the money to start the school

year, or by failing to do so, if she thinks a child is not benefiting from school, or if she needs help at home.

Whenever possible, women buy on credit and owe money; they arrange for advances on their crops from intermediaries, and borrow money from relations. The presence of scores of tiny stores in provincial towns, each selling the same basic goods, is due to the fact that each store works as a loan agency that can afford to maintain a limited amount of stock, and to extend credit to a limited number of clients *(caseras)*, who will buy on credit even though they have cash on hand. And whenever possible, women use household labor rather than cash to obtain goods and fulfill services, because labor is very cheap and within their control, while there is a high premium on cash and capital resources. Women gather wild greens instead of buying lettuce, shell their own peas rather than buying them shelled, and when there is enough labor, prefer to prepare land with a hoe rather than renting oxen, and with oxen rather than renting a tractor.

Finally, because there are moments in the life of every household when significant amounts of cash are necessary, female heads insure the household against emergencies by cultivating networks of reciprocal relations. Most households do not keep large cash savings sufficient for such special expenses as emergency health care and medicines, wedding or funeral celebrations, and legal troubles. Instead they invest in reciprocal relationships. Each couple or woman selects some padrinos from among acquaintances in cash-powerful positions, and gives them produce, animals, and home industry products from time to time. When there is an emergency, those padrinos have an obligation to use their money to help. Whenever relatives, relations, or compadres host a religious fiesta, marriage, funeral, or other rite of passage, the female head of household offers help in ritual preparation and possibly a gift of supplies. When her family is in the same situation, she will count on the help of those people whom she has helped.

3.3. Social resources: management of kin and reciprocal relations that allow access to human, natural, and material resources

Given conditions where household labor may be unavailable, ill, or in disagreement, where natural resources are scarce and suffer from climatic caprices, and where money and capital resources are hard to come by and harder to hold on to, social capital, in the form of reciprocal relations, is the most important resource in which a family can invest. Throughout Andean history rural households have depended on reciprocal relationships to generate help in agricultural and construction projects, and for support in the event of illness, misfortune, and old age. Today life strategies are increasingly organized and based in the individual household, but continue to include relationships with relatives, compadres, and community. These relations, and the mutual obligations that they imply, are shaped by tradition, but are fulfilled through negotiation and ingenuity in a dynamic process that Billie Jean Isbell described by saying "reciprocity in this Andean village is a game played by different categories of person" (1977:83).

Relations and obligations are encoded in the everyday ways that community members address each other. Use of the titles *don* and *doña* offer social respect, while *señor* and *señora* are used to express more hierarchical relations to one's employer or property owner. Sense of community and egalitarian ideology are communicated when people address or refer to each other as *compañeros* and *compañeras*. Similar cooperative relations and more personal obligations are implied with compadrazgo terms, frequently tagged on every utterance; for example, when I meet my compadre near his compound he does not say "Hello, how are you? My wife was just looking for you," but rather "Hello comadre, how are you? Your comadre was just looking for you." The terms *padrino* and *madrina* are used heavily in a process that allows a person to publicly offer her madrina respect and also make her conscious of return obligations.

Reciprocity is based on mutual exchange; each party offers and receives respect, goods, or services. In the Andes, and throughout the world, reciprocity is not restricted to equal exchange, but allows households and individuals with different resources and powers to offer what they have available and receive what they need. Some exchanges are relatively equal, and in other contexts certain households have advantages in the form of rights to unremunerated labor, the right to reciprocate with symbolic or material goods for labor, or control over the timing and conditions of exchange (Alberti and Mayer 1974). Terms of unequal exchange are determined by hierarchical structures based on age, class, prestige, power, and wealth, and actual exchanges of labor and goods reproduce the material bases of those hierarchies.

We have already discussed one axis of inequality, the advantageous position of established households in relation to young families. Tradition allows parents, padrinos, and affines to make significant labor demands on young people who have few ways to solicit help for their own enterprises. Mature people who have earned prestige can ignore some obligations, or fulfill them in convenient ways, without suffering severe sanctions, but young couples who fail to fulfill obligations because one or both are migrating or left behind with heavy labor burdens suffer harsh criticism, withdrawal of cooperative resources, and even rupture of relations. Resulting erosions of reciprocal networks force young couples to increase reliance on cash transactions, possibly at further expense to reciprocal relations. Unequal exchange relations based on socioeconomic differences and different levels of integration into national society are important to the dynamics of local and regional production, and are so complex that they must be analyzed at another opportunity.

3.3.1. Kinship

Each household is the focus of concentric circles of relations carrying different types of obligations. Relations in the inner circle, the household itself, are expressed with a logic of kinship. Mizqueños explained to me that kin are those with whom you share mutual obligations, primarily parents, then siblings and grandparents. Close kin generally help each other freely without calculating exchanges. When an individual marries, he or she acquires new relations, obligations, and rights in the spouse's family. Throughout the Andes, labor obligations to one's affines are heavy, fairly institutionalized, and socially important; and they are a major

consideration in mate selection. People related by kinship, marriage, and compadrazgo express their relations through mutual help, but never ask each other to work for wages, which is considered exploitative and cold (Mayer 1977:64).

The organization and composition of circles of relations vary greatly between households. Our household surveys make clear that the composition of even the most inner circle is not rigidly prescribed; membership changes through time, and most kin terms and relations can be applied to individuals of various genealogical or other connections. A girl may address her grandmother with the same term as her mother *(mamá)*, or with a term that denotes generational distance *(abuela)*. Similarly, she may refer to her first cousins by the same terms as her siblings *(hermano/a)*, or by ones that denote collateral distance *(primo/a)*. Migration gives rise to creative extensions of kin terms, such as that described by a pretty 17-year-old girl whom I'd known as daughter of the household. She listed the members of her household: her elderly parents, her older sister, and the latter's two school-age children; then the families of her three brothers who live in separate houses in the family cluster. When I asked if there were any more members, she answered, *"Si, hay mi otra hermana más mayor, ella es mi madre, pero me dejó aquí hace años para ir a Santa Cruz."* [Yes, there is my other sister who is older, she's my mother, but she left me here a long time ago to go to Santa Cruz].

3.2.2. Gender implications of reciprocal relations

While men and women collaborate with relations by participating in planting and harvesting and by engaging in sharecropping and share husbandry, agricultural work has become increasingly privatized and commercialized, and men are frequently gone from the home community. Formalized reciprocity is thus concentrated in the female sphere, and the most strictly defined and heavily enforced obligations between households involve women in the preparation and hosting of fiestas and rites of passage (see photo, Appendix 1). A woman from a large family explains,

> *Una mujer siempre tiene que cocinar con su familia. Puede ser su tía, su abuela, o otra familia que va a tener matrimonio u otra fiesta, la mujer obligadamente tiene que ir a ayudar. También si es su madrina, tiene que ir. A veces lleva papa, cebolla, macarrón, eso depende también de ella, a veces se hace chicha y eso también se lleva. Pero tiene que ir a cocinar al menos. Y ella, cuando va a haber fiesta de ella, digamos que se está casando su hija, entonces su familia también va a ayudarla a ella.* (11/89) [A woman always has to cook with her relatives. It could be her aunt, her grandmother or other relative who is hosting a wedding or another fiesta, and a woman is obliged to go help. If it is her madrina, she also has to go. Sometimes she takes potatoes, onions, noodles, this depends on her, sometimes she makes corn beer and takes that. But she has to at least go and help cook. And when she hosts a fiesta, let's say that her daughter is getting married, then all her relatives will come and help her.]

Recent research in Cliza valley reveals a similar focus of reciprocity in the female sphere,

> *El ayni prácticamente ha desaparecido de toda actividad productiva agrícola y se mantiene sólo para las fiestas y actividades sociales en general . . . en trabajo (preparación de alimentos, de la casa) o en productos como chicha, papa, maíz, con los que se prepara lo necesario*" (CIDRE 1990 (II):103). [Ritualized exchange labor has practically disappeared from all productive agricultural activities, and is only maintained in fiestas and in social activities in general . . . in work (preparation of ritual food, and the home), and in products like corn beer, potatoes, or corn with which the necessary foods are prepared.]

It is not accidental that emphasis on reciprocal relations and obligations has remained strongest in the context of such events as weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, for these events render explicit and reinforce relationships and the unity of families and communities. Migrants return to participate in ritual gatherings where physical togetherness, ritual cooperation, and shared consumption of food and drink encourage cooperation and reproduce the cultural forms in which group cohesion is based.

3.2.3. Compadrazgo

The web of reciprocity that surrounds each household is constructed of people classified as relatives, friends, neighbors, sindicato members, and compadres, and in the best instances, all of these relationships overlap. Compadrazgo relations, which connect families within and outside the community with bonds of social and material responsibility, are often misleadingly interpreted as "ritual kin" or worse, "fictive kin." These terms imply that "ritual" or "fictive" kinship describes social ties constructed by people, in contrast to "kinship," conceived as biological ties given by nature. The basic organizational strategies of Mizque households demonstrate to the contrary that relations of compadrazgo are fundamentally the same as kinship and affinal relationships in that they are all established, maintained, or severed through practice, rather than being given by nature.

The local terms compadre, padrino/madrina, and *ahijado/ahijada* are used in Quechua and Spanish, and derive from the Spanish compadrazgo system, which has historically influenced Andean compadrazgo. For example, the Catholic prohibition against marrying between compadres gives a solemn weight to Andean compadre relations. The Andean complex has developed according to its own logic, however, and differs from its Spanish analogue in many ways. For example, Spanish compadre relations are established only in the context of Catholic rituals, especially baptism and marriage, whereas Andean compadres are made through coparticipation in a wide variety of events, within and outside of the church.

Literature about the Latin American compadrazgo complex variously focuses on its redistributive, exploitative, political, or material aspects, but most analyses agree with the 1950 observation of Mintz and Wolf that compadre relationships and the reciprocal exchanges they entail take two coexisting forms, those between socioeconomic equals, and those between

families of unequal status. In Mizque, these two types of relationships correspond with events of different magnitudes: major occasions (the *huma rutuku* [first hair cutting ceremony], baptism, and marriage), and minor occasions (such as a child's first confirmation, first communion, 15th birthday party, or graduation, and the inauguration-blessing [*Ch'allaku*] of a tractor, truck, house, or other item. Minor compadre relations are also formed when one couple or individual hosts a fiesta and passes that position on to another, creating "coparenthood" of the fiesta's saint or altar.

People choose minor padrinos from among relatively equal friends and kin, while they elect major padrinos from classes who control more resources, especially monetary resources, and have access to political and jural power. Major padrinos make a substantial initial investment, they may give a child a cow or a piece of land, or spend hundreds of dollars for a wedding party. Major rituals last three days, and the second is dedicated to honoring the sponsors. After the event, ahijados periodically offer small gifts of produce and animals, and offer labor when their padrinos organize work parties. They may maintain economic and personal relations throughout their lives, but class differences limit their social interaction. Relations between the compadres vary in degrees of involvement and obligations, from the requirement of giving emergency cash aid to the obligation to get drunk together.

Mizque women invest a great deal of energy and resources in establishing and fulfilling compadrazgo relations. They carefully select padrinos for their children with consideration to personal compatibility and potential for help. Women begin considering candidates long before a rite of passage, and consult their husbands, who may accompany them to visit a candidate.[27] Families can secure opportunities for their children through compadrazgo relations; padrinos and madrinas are chosen from among nurses or doctors who will be obligated to provide health care, or school teachers or centrally located families who can help arrange for an ahijado to continue education in the provincial capital.

Poor rural girls are taken in by wealthier urban padrinos to babysit their children, do chores, and eventually work as domestic help. Boys are sometimes taken to their padrinos' homes in Mizque town, Cochabamba, or Santa Cruz in order to study. I know of two teenage boys who live with padrinos in Cochabamba where they go to night school and are apprenticed in trades. Another was taken on as assistant by his padrino who runs a transport business. Help from padrinos represents one aspect of relations between rural households who have little money and few contacts in the urban captitalist world, and their more powerful padrinos. The other side of the coin, of course, is that powerful padrinos take advantage of free labor, cheap produce, and many other favors from their rural relations.

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[27]In Spanish and Quechua this visit is called by the term *mañaqha,* which also refers to the visit that a young man's parents make to convince his bride's family to accept the union. Here it involves drinking corn beer and asking for the candidate's sponsorship.

In addition to helping her children, a woman may improve her own income-generating potential by cultivating relations with people in the marketing world or in transport, and with producers and employers. Compadrazgo ties are important links in female networks that connect households that have different resource bases and production strategies. These relations channel exchanges of gifts, labor, employment, and other goods and services.

3.2.4. Community reciprocity

Andeans have long organized themselves in communities to which they are obliged to offer labor and produce, and from which they receive access to resources, public works, and social security. In recent years, growing differentiation of wealth, resources, and activities of member households have clashed with communal traditions, and many cooperative traditions are disintegrating. Today, *sindicatos campesinos* are the most important cooperative institution in Mizque, and in some parts of the province they fulfill many roles. Most Mizque sindicatos manage distribution and maintenance of shared water sources, but none continue to cultivate communal fields or care for communal herds, and in the central valley sindicatos no longer control significant quantities of arable land. Some sindicatos in Mizque and other Cochabamba valleys are barely operative today.

An important service that sindicatos provide for members is the local resolution of political-economic disputes between and within families and communities. These disputes often stem from conflicts between traditional and official (legal) ways of delimiting land, dividing inheritance, monitoring loans and other money transactions, controlling intrusions on land and water, and enforcing retribution for the theft of animals and damages caused by animals. Some sindicatos also treat social issues; they pressure fathers to contribute to the care of illigitimate children, or see that children care for their aging parents.

Although sindicatos emerged as grass-roots rural organizations, they were made legal and organized into national hierarchies after the 1952 revolution. National institutionalization endowed the organization with many features characteristic of male-dominated political institutions of urban European society. For example, presidents *(dirigentes)* and bureaucratic officials *(secretarias)* are elected from among men, and the one member who officially represents each family in the local sindicato is supposed to be the male head of household. Nevertheless, because much of the organizational strength and leadership is based in kin and compadrazgo rather than democratic relations, some sindicatos have turned the democratic election process into a turn system, and women find ways to participate. In some sindicatos as many as 30 percent of member households are officially represented by women, and women who are not official representatives regularly accompany their husbands to sindicato meetings, or attend as substitutes when their husbands migrate.

Women's participation in sindicato meetings is different from that of men. As community members congregate for a meeting, they talk in mixed groups, but when official roll is called, men line up and women cluster behind or to the side. During the meeting, men take places around the president and secretary, while women sit apart, often shelling peanuts or

spinning. Several modes of interaction and communication take place simultaneously. The president directs the meeting with a semblance of western rules of order, and each individual who wishes to speak signals and is given the floor—he is usually a man. Meanwhile, the group of women listen carefully to the official discourse, and quietly comment to each other on the issues. When necessary, female discussion is raised in volume until the official discourse is forced to take note and respond in some way. In cases of extreme emotion or objection, many or all of the women may loudly express their opinions to the meeting in general (For more description, see CIDRE 1990 [II]:105).

Gender differences in participation in sindicato meetings are indicative of patterns of many official organizations and projects. Because female participation is not channeled through officially recognized actions, such as holding office and giving speeches, the real power and influence that women yield is often ignored by observers and analysts. Few observers take note of local and gender-specific modes of participation such as women's efforts to provide food and a forum for discussion during communal work parties, or a woman's influence on the political activities of members of her household.

Like many reciprocal obligations, sindicato membership, irrigation turns, and contributions to communal projects are assessed by the household rather than the individual. When deciding how to fill their obligation, each household must consider immediate labor needs and capabilities as well as the social aspects of reciprocity and the importance of personal togetherness and interaction. For example, if members are called to dig a new canal, a teenage son or hired man may represent the family, and a daughter may carry out the food. But if there is some conflict or important decisions going on in the community, heads of household participate personally in order to take part in community discussion. Many obligations can be discharged by paying money or goods, or hiring workers to do the labor, but there is social pressure for family members to participate personally. When people don't show up, other members are burdened with more work, and claim that monetary fines do not help them but disappear into official coffers. Moreover, the cooperative labor and eating and drinking that are part of these projects are necessary to reproduce the cultural forms, values, and understanding that hold the community together.

The perpetuation of community cohesion is challenged by the frequent absence of members. I've been to many Sunday morning sindicato meetings that were postponed because the required 50 percent quorum did not show up. Thirteen sindicato presidents interviewed by CEFOIN reported that between 5 percent and 50 percent of their affiliated members migrate during the year, and in 12 cases dirigentes excuse those traveling out of the province (1990:178). The fact that women don't always represent their families when their husbands are gone does not prove that they lack interest in politics and community projects. Women are eager to get involved, but when they are left alone in charge of fields, flocks, cows, and children, they may be so overwhelmed with immediate responsibilities that they have little time or energy for long community meetings. Lack of participation erodes group cohesion and coordination, which in turn worsens the conditions of each household and diminishes their abilities to participate. Excused absences are an example of ways in which community organizations have adapted to

migration while trying to maintain rural cohesion; while migrants are given license to skip meetings, all members who are in the valley must come to meetings or they are sanctioned with fines, or forced to sit in "jail."

3.2.5. Relationships with development organizations

Mizqueños think about their participation in the sindicato and other groups in terms of reciprocity; they help build a bridge, then walk across it; they help build canals, then receive water. A woman described her relation with the Club de Madres, the only women's organization currently active in the province, in this way, "*Nos dan víveres, pero nosotros tenemos que ir a pasar todito el Sábado con las monjas*" [They give us foodstuffs (from CARITAS), but we have to go spend all day Saturday with the nuns]. Women offer their time to the nuns in exchange for food, and in the meantime they may learn something useful about hygiene, child care, or reforestation. Clubs de Madres have potential to serve as forums for female mobilization, and some have organized income-generating projects, especially those clubs funded and promoted by outside organizations. CENDA supports clubs de madres in the Raqaypampa area, while CEDEAGRO is helping the club in Tujma Baja. In their current form, however, club de madres organizations have many limitations. Women's efforts to organize themselves and take initiative in self-help projects is sharply limited by the temporary nature of membership. Only women who are pregnant or have children under 2 years old are allowed to participate, and few are eager to commit themselves to longer-term projects, knowing that they may be excluded from the fruits of reciprocity. In addition, rural farmers do not see much value in pastimes such as embroidery, candle making and cake decorating, which are promoted in the Mizque Club de Madres, and would prefer to engage in activities that improve the existence and health of their children and homes on a more basic level.

The Central Campesina de Mujeres functioned successfully on this basis during 1988 and 1989. This group of 20 to 30 women worked together to cultivate land belonging to the organization CEDEAGRO, divided the produce equally between all members, and also planted fruit and pine trees and raised small animals. Women felt good about participating because in return they received food and money (through the sale of crops) to help their families. A number of factors contributed to the decline and dissolution of the organization. The harsh drought of 1989 and 90 ruined some of the communal crops and discouraged members from planting more. The dissolution of the group after the province-wide sindicato convention in March 1990 was partly due to contradictions between the official organization involving general assembly, elected officials, and democratic participation, and traditional systems of cooperation. The original Central de Mujeres successfully balanced these two systems; it was built around a core group of sisters, who held the main official positions, and successfully motivated preexisting networks of mutual help and communication. The women from different communities and with different relations who were elected by the 1990 assembly as new president and board of directors could not bridge the system gap and meet the organizational challenge.

With the exception of Clubs de Madres and the Central de Mujeres, the nearly twenty aid and development organizations that work in the Province of Mizque direct almost all of their efforts toward men; they organize technical education courses for male farmers, introduce new seeds, animals (such as bees) or fertilizers to men, give loans and scholarships to men, and collaborate with men in the construction of irrigation and road projects. Many of these programs could be carried out more effectively if they involved women more directly. Government and independent organizations have ignored rural women partly because most of their directors, engineers, and agronomists are men, partly because they misunderstand or ignore the central role of women in rural production, and partly because they believe that women are inherently more conservative than men. The myth of female conservatism is prevalent throughout Latin America, where many analysts see what they call "the traditional conservatism and conformity of women" as obstacles to modernization and the introduction of capitalist production (Cornejo Muñoz de Vera 1987). One of the goals of this report is to challenge that myth by demonstrating that rural women are constantly changing and adapting their strategies in ingenious ways, and that when they do resist change it is not because they are inherently reactionary, but because they sense, often correctly, that proposed changes will erode their power, independence, and control of resources.

While most representatives of development organizations, who are themselves men, make connections through sindicato presidents and other male officials, rural women have taken their own lead in initiating and maintaining reciprocal relations with outsiders. Women in communities throughout Mizque have developed ritualized patterns of interaction with development organizations; they greet representatives with flowered arches and offer them respect, ritual food, corn beer, and entertainment designed to fulfill the community's reciprocal obligations for assistance provided, or to oblige the guests to reciprocate by offering aid. In order to put on fiestas of welcome and project inaugurations, women must make huge vats of corn beer, gather substantial quantities of valuable foodstuffs, and prepare banquets for up to 100 guests including engineers, directors and extension workers of various funding organizations, mayors, subprefects, and other officials. During these events interactions are encoded with reciprocity; rural women and men take pains to use titles such as *ingeniero, doctor* and licen*ciado* as loudly and frequently as possible, to offer outrageous quantities of corn beer and food to their official guests and offer respect (a gift that requires reciprocation) in many other ways that make the guests conscious of their class and professional positions, and their obligations to help poor farmers.

3.2.6. Destruction of reciprocal networks: migration and wage work

Social relations are very important to keep families and communities connected through space, and to provide support networks for members who may be alone in cities or migration zones. Kindred boundaries are especially wide and fuzzy in the context of migration and travel outside the valley, where second cousins, great aunts, and people whose connections are not even known are called on for help and are called *familia*. When she goes to the city to sell produce, a Mizqueña might sleep at the house of her comadre's sister, and in the Chapare, she might find work through her mother's third cousin.

At the same time, wage work and migration outside the valley, and heavier labor burdens for those who stay behind, sometimes make it difficult or impossible for households to fulfill their ritual obligations. The resulting breakdown of relations impoverishes households in such ways that they are forced to engage even more intensively in outside activities, which further sacrifices reciprocal relations. Jane Collins analyzes this vicious circle in a Peruvian community, "The first way that seasonal migration weakens the relationships that organize highland production is by creating a new emphasis on the household as an independent productive unit. As more and more individuals migrate to Tambopata Valley, the mobilization of labor from outside the household becomes more difficult, as migrants spend more time meeting the demands of production in two areas and less in fulfilling their social obligations to kin and fellow community members" (1988:166).

While increasingly isolated families replace some reciprocal help by hiring workers and buying commodities, other reciprocal relations are themselves commoditized. Individuals who can not offer their labor because they are working in a city or the tropics send bags of macaroni, rice, sugar, or other dry goods to relatives hosting a fiesta. The ancient concept of *aini,* which underlies reciprocal relations throughout the Andes and is generally epitomized by the phrase "you help me harvest and I will help you in the same conditions in your harvest" (Alberti and Mayer 1974), has taken a different form for Mizqueños, who tell me that *ainirfway* means "lend me money, and I'll lend you money when you need it." Women borrow small amounts of money in aini, and instead of paying the money back when they get cash, they wait until the lender is short and asks for return help. This contrasts with bank loans and other types of capitalist transactions that have set times and quantities for return and, unlike aini, are not flexible to human conditions. Moreover, banks do not maintain the social and ritual relations that surround aini.

Family rituals and community work projects are often planned during slow periods in the agricultural cycle. Thus members of households in which labor is highly diversified and thinly spread are absent and miss gatherings that are crucial in maintaining their connections. Collins points out that "although the symbolic aspects of nonparticipation are crucial, the significance of absence is also felt in concrete ways. Gift giving during these occasions is one of the most important instances of the exchange of material goods that binds individuals together on the altiplano. A person's absence from rituals is deemed a repudiation of both material and spiritual responsibilities" (1988:145). Aside from failing to fulfill labor and ritual obligations, these same people tend to neglect a wide range of daily gestures and interactions that maintain ties.

Attempts to sanction those who have failed to reciprocate, and resentment of families who feel they are being pushed beyond their capacities can lead to lengthy and ugly arguments in which fighting parties stop talking to each other for years. This antagonism has enormous emotional costs, and appears childish and spiteful, but underlying conflicts in resource management partly explain the social cruelty. If arguments are rooted in the inability of certain parties to fulfill reciprocal obligations, it may be impossible to resolve the personal conflicts without severing the relations in which those obligations are based. Thus social capital, in the form of reciprocal relations and obligations, is not only the most important and indispensable

resource for rural households, it is also increasingly difficult to maintain. Because women fulfill the majority of prescribed ritual obligations, and because they habitually work in much closer physical contact with kin and relations than men do, they need to develop keen diplomatic skills to negotiate obligations.

Chapter 4. Socialization and Domestic Reproduction

One of a rural woman's most important responsibilities is reproducing her household, which involves much more than making babies and feeding them potatoes to make them grow. In order to replace productive, social, and culture-bearing parents, children must be helped to acquire complex knowledge about and valuation of the world around them, and to master innumerable skills that allow them to act and interact in that world. Because rural life is carried out in various spaces, and because distinct lifeways and languages coexist in these spaces, rural children must learn two languages and cultivate different sets of social and productive skills and behaviors appropriate to the contexts in which they will act.

Bilingual and multicultural experiences begin early. Children of 10 or 11 accompany their mothers to urban markets, and may be sent to Mizque town or Aiquile to school. Between 15 and 20 years, youths start accompanying relations to work in tropical colonies or agroindustries, and study trades in the high valley or Cochabamba City. During their teens most young men endure brutal resocialization during a year of military service. As young adults, a few Mizqueños make distant trips to Argentina, Mexico, even the United States, in search of economic opportunity. In this difficult context, aggravated by economic hardship, it is a challenge for young people to develop secure identities, and for families to maintain cohesion and perpetuate their culture. Many fail to meet this challenge, and a certain proportion of families break up, abandon their children, or are absorbed into urban poverty. Here we will examine ways in which women in Mizque struggle to assure household reproduction through their efforts in socialization, education, and value orientation, and see that these efforts are essential to cultural continuity and community cohesion.

4.1. Bearing and raising children

Both men and women value children and work for their benefit. Babies are adored and loved, and spend the first years of their lives being carried and passed around for kin and friends to cuddle. A special adjective is used to describe new parents, they are said to be *chocho,* meaning "*loco de puro cariño*" [crazy with love and tenderness]. Although girls and women are responsible for infant care, men and boys also hold infants tenderly and play with babies and toddlers. Both fecundity and infant mortality are very high in rural Cochabamba, and estimates indicate that one out of every 4 or 5 children die during the first few years of their lives. Sociocultural investment in infants is limited by the fact that babies are not baptized or initiated with the hair cutting ceremony until they are 2 or 3 years old, but care and attention is not held back for most babies during the risky first year.

Men like to have sons to help them in agricultural work, and women wish for sons to please their husbands and their affines. However, women say that they personally desire to have daughters, "*es muy lindo tener hijas para acompañarte en todo, para pelar papas a tu lado y todito*" [it's very nice to have daughters to accompany you in everything, to peel potatoes at your side, everything]. A preference for sons dominates many communities in the Andes and

throughout the world, and sometimes leads to neglect of baby daughters, and even infanticide (Bourque and Warren 1981:96). In Mizque, however, this preference is countered by the belief, expressed by both men and women, that it is good luck to have a girl for first born. This is indeed the most practical arrangement, since daughters look after and cook for younger siblings. Because many infant deaths are not registered, data are not available to determine whether infant deaths indicate gender favoritism, but I have observed several cases of neglect of female infants, one of which ended recently in the death of a one-year-old girl whose mother is pregnant.

Households are not considered complete without children, and while a woman's failure to bear children does not necessarily mean she is rejected by her mate, it is possible that if she fails to bear children (through her own design or not), criticism from her husband's mother and sisters might cause enough tension to destroy the union. There is one childless woman in my survey group, and I know of two others in the valley who are all in stable conjugal unions.

4.1.1. Pregnancy

Rural women continue to work hard throughout their pregnancies. They are aware that urban women spend most of their 9 months sitting down, eating, and knitting, because they believe that it is dangerous to work and carry things while pregnant, and their comments on this behavior are "Who is going to do my work if I don't?" "I would get bored sitting there all day, not doing anything," and "Births are much easier for us if we walk a lot, isn't it true that in the city women have a hard time and have operations to give birth?" Because there is danger of her heat contaminating what she touches, a pregnant woman is limited by some cultural restrictions. She must not hold or look at a newborn baby, and she should not prepare corn beer or ritual meals, especially *uchucu.*

Women know that meat, cheese, eggs, and milk are valuable foods for pregnancy and nursing, but these are infrequent in the rural diet, and usually consumed only at fiestas. When female heads serve food, however, they try to give pregnant women the most nutritious helpings. A mother nursing her fifth child told me, "*Cada vez que me está secando la leche, voy donde mi mamá para comer caldo de carne, y en ese rato se me vuelve la leche*" [whenever my milk is drying up, I go to my mother's house to eat soup with meat, and my milk returns right away].

Except in emergencies, very few women go to clinics for prenatal or postnatal care, or to give birth. Women in Mizque valley call a midwife *(partera),* or the Italian nurse to come to their home and help, or they depend on their mothers and husbands for help. Most women say they do not go to the clinic because it costs a lot of money, and a few worry that clinic practices bring bad luck. There are, for example, many beliefs surrounding the care of the placenta, and tradition dictates that it be carefully washed with soap and water, then burned on the river bank. When a young woman suffered severe fever after childbirth, her grandmother blamed it on the nurse's incorrect disposal of the placenta, "*Allá botan, dios sabe donde le botarán, y se hincha pués la mamá. Esa costumbre tenemos para que no se infecta ni la mamá ni la wawita, pero ellos no saben eso*". [There they throw it (the placenta) away, God knows where they throw it, and the mother suffers swelling. We have this custom so that neither the

mother nor the child become infected, but they don't know that.] In spite of ritual precautions, childbirth fever and related infections are common, serious, and sometimes fatal in rural women. Suffering and fatalities would be reduced if rural women were provided with more knowledge about hygiene, disinfectants, and postnatal care, but little improvement will be made as long as they do not have access to clean water in or near their homes.

4.1.2. Choices about fertility

Not all babies in Mizque are planned or wanted. Women of different ages and of different modes of participation in the national society have varying attitudes about fertility and its control. Women in rural families heavily involved in agriculture express the belief that a woman should accept all the children God gives her, and they indeed have many children. Saravia (1985:74) reports that rural Andeans believe a woman's childbearing destiny is determined at her birth, and quotes an informant saying, "*Cuando nace una mujer, Dios le tira flores, según las flores que le caigan son los hijos que va a tener.*" [When a girl is born God throws flowers, and the number of flowers that land represent the children that she will bear.] In contrast, young women living in and near the town of Mizque and those more active in marketing generally have fewer children, and express desires to control their family size because of the high costs of raising children and sending them to school.

The two medical posts in Mizque are run by Italians who refuse to discuss fertility control, saying "God smiles on homes with many children," and during 18 months in Mizque, more than a dozen women asked me for advice and help in controlling fertility. I do not know what policy the new Mizque hospital will have. Several women in and close to Mizque town have had IUDs inserted by doctors in Cochabamba, but they are not aware of appropriate use and follow-up care. No women get regular gynecological checkups, and some, including one who currently has a copper T IUD, believe that the device is a permanent cure that can be left in and will work for a woman's entire lifetime. Rural and townswomen go to Aiquile to get shots to control fertility. The woman who sells and injects these shots is not a doctor, nurse, or pharmacist; she buys pharmaceutical goods in Cochabamba and resells them in Aiquile. The injections she provides are depo-provera, which is not approved for human contraceptive use in the United States.[28] A 26-year-old mother of four from Qonchu Pata recounted her experience,

> *Después de que ha nacido la Juanita, un rato yo me estaba nomás, y después me fui a Aiquile donde me hice colocar esa inyección con una mujer de allá. Dice que seis meses dura esa inyección, pero cuando ya pasó seis meses no tuvimos el dinero y no podía ir. Más un rato yo fui otra vez, junta con la*

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[28]The drug Depo-medroxy progesterone acetate is a long-acting synthetic hormone used frequently in developing countries, although the FDA has refused for many years to approve it for contraceptive use in the U.S. Depo Provera causes serious health problems in some women, and was linked to uterine cancer in a study carried out on monkeys.

Mariana. Pero esa vez la mujer me dijo que no me quiere dar por lo que yo tenía dos hijitas nomás y sólo quiere dar a mujeres que tienen hartas wawas. Dice que a veces con esa inyección te puede volver estéril y por eso no me quería dar. (Taped May 1988) [After Juanita was born I waited a while, then went to Aiquile to get that injection from a woman there. They say it lasts six months, but six months later we didn't have money and I couldn't go. Later I went with Mariana. But that time the woman told me she didn't want to give it to me because I only have two daughters and she only wants to give it to women with lots of children. They say that sometimes the injection makes you sterile, and that's why she didn't want to give it to me.]

The most common recourse in the case of unwanted pregnancies is to drink abortive teas and potions, often made from dried herbs carried by traders from the altiplano. At least one man, a farmer and wage worker whose parents moved to Mizque town a decade ago and who completed high school there, made efforts to terminate a pregnancy. His wife recounts,

Cuando estaba esperando a la Laura no sabía salir ni una vez de la casa de mi mamá. Allá nomás cocinaba, le ayudaba en todo, pero en la casa nomás. El Angel no quería reconocer a la wawita, y me traía toda clase de preparados para que le pierde. Me traía té de oregano, de qarwa-qarwa, así, y todita la jarrita tenía que tomar en uno nomás. También he tomado café muy caliente para que aborte, pero nada, nada no me ha hecho. Más bién a la Laura le ha hecho volver toda negra, por eso es tan negrita ella. (12/1989) [When I was pregnant with Laura I didn't leave my mother's compound once. I just cooked and helped her at home. Angel did not want to admit that the child was his, and he brought me all kinds of potions so that I would lose it. He brought me tea made of oregano and of *qarwa-qarwa,* and I had to drink the whole jar. I also drank boiling hot coffee in order to abort, but it didn't do anything. What it did was turn Laura all black, that's why she is so dark.]

A baby spends most of the first year of its life in physical contact with its mother—either tucked into her carrying cloth, sitting on her lap, or sleeping next to her. It is offered the breast whenever it begins to whimper or whine, and nurses frequently, for short periods. While peeling potatoes or doing other domestic work a woman may nurse a small baby four or five times an hour, for about five minutes each time. At around six months, babies are given bits of soup, bread, and other adult food, but continue to nurse (although less frequently) until they are weaned at between 12 and 18 months. It is widely believed that when a woman becomes pregnant her breast milk turns poison. Last year the firstborn son of 20-year-old Betty died from diarrhea, and his mother, who was 4 months pregnant at the time, was harshly criticized by other women for poisoning her toddler.

Small babies are kept tightly bound from neck to toes in a long cloth band *(chumpi)* wrapped mummy fashion. This keeps in the moisture and heat, which might be good in the arid cold altiplano, but in Mizque this practice causes rashes, which are treated with baby powder.

The *chumpi* keeps the baby from moving, crawling away, or getting into danger. When the baby is between 3 and 8 months, mothers begin to let it move around freely for periods, but continue to wrap it tightly for sleeping and carrying. Some continue to bind their babies for sleeping until they are more than a year old. A grandmother instructed me,

> *A esa wawita envolvétela bien con esa chumpi para que estén bien rectito los piecitos. Si no está envuelto se despierta la wawa, sobresaltando duerme. Cualquier ruido que haces, se despierta. Con el chumpi, ooo pués, duerme bien, tranquilito se está.* (Sara, 42 years old, mother of 7, Qonchu Pata). [Wrap that baby up tightly in this chumpi so that its feet are straight. If it's not wrapped, a baby wakes up, and sleeps very restlessly. Whatever sound you make it wakes up. With the chumpi, oh, it sleeps well and is very calm.]

4.1.3. Health care

Children are toilet trained around their first birthday. Women are so intimate with their babies that they know when they are about to have a bowel movement or urinate, and simply hold them over the ground. As they begin to walk, babies go without pants, which facilitates their recognition of bodily processes, and gives their mothers a chance to tell them to squat or go away from the house when they need to defecate or urinate. Children are not, however, taught to wash their hands, and adults do not wash their hands except to remove visible dirt. Diarrhea is extremely common, and my analysis of records in the civil registry in Mizque reveals that intestinal problems are the most frequent known cause of deaths in general, and especially for young children. The data is somewhat incomplete, however, because the cause of death most frequently reported is "*desconocido, sin atención medico*" [unknown cause, died without medical attention.] Although women are aware that human and animal waste and other filth is unhealthy, they vastly underestimate its role in spreading disease, and I have never heard a child's illness blamed on contact with it. Most diarrhea cases are understood to be caused by *susto* (fright that affects the soul), or *hampeqa* (evil air that seizes the victim).

There is no plumbing in rural Mizque, and few latrines. Most families simply defecate and urinate around the corner of the house or in the back of the yard, or in irrigation ditches where waste is carried to neighbors downstream. In the densely populated Mizque valley, especially during the muddy rainy season, bacteria, amebas, and diverse parasites that are spread through waste weaken and kill many people, especially young children. Improved hygiene and sanitation could drastically improve the health and well-being of rural families. Before anything else, basic material conditions need to be improved by providing households with clean water, sinks, and latrines. Then, children can be taught daily habits that will protect them throughout their lives. Mothers are responsible for family health care, and it is they who can teach good hygiene, but first they must be convinced of its value. Because women are held responsible for the well-being of the entire household, they are eager to make improvements. Women chastise other women, especially young mothers, saying "*¿Por qué le has hecho enfermar a tu hijo?, ¿Por qué le has hecho quemar?*" [Why did you make your son sick?, Why did you sunburn him?] which encourages strong feelings of responsibility and guilt.

Women interpret and treat health problems in numerous ways. On one hand, they draw from a repertoire of traditional remedies using herbal teas, massages, offerings and prayers that are either beneficial or, if ineffective, relatively harmless. On the other hand, eagerness to learn and improve health care has led women to replace many traditional treatments with western pharmaceuticals. Because sensible information and education about western medicine has not been provided, and thanks to the particular conditions, channels, and individuals responsible for the proliferation of these medicines in the province, women in Mizque have received distorted information about the way medicines work, and developed dangerous ideas about how they should be used. In recent decades, health-care workers in Mizque Province have neither preached nor practiced much preventive medicine; instead, they encourage blind faith in the mysterious injections and intravenous fluids that they provide. Today, people who are weak from overwork and poor nutrition work harder and eat less in order to save the money to buy intravenous glucose solution *(suero),* which is injected by untrained neighbors or relatives. Antibiotics and other drugs are used indiscriminately by untrained and trained providers who commonly give injections of penicillin to babies with diarrhea or bruises. Hopefully the new Mizque hospital, which is currently staffed by two young, concerned, and progressive doctors, will be more effective in promoting wellness.

4.2. Socialization

In this world of competing values and rewards, it is not easy to raise children to be loyal to the rural home and culture. Women begin by arranging that the first decade of a child's life—the period when he or she learns the most about the world and its meanings, and gains basic understanding of the roles and relations of its actors—is spent on the farm with their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers. Children are not prohibited from participating in any part of family life in the home community except sexual intercourse (of which they probably become aware at a pretty young age). Aside from observing all activity that takes place in the home compound, small children accompany their mothers to the fields to do agricultural work and tether cows, to the hills to herd sheep and goats, to sindicato meetings, to the river to wash clothes and bathe, to the market to sell and buy, and to other compounds to help relations or work for wages. As they accompany their mothers in these activities, and are brought to ritual cooking parties and fiestas that can last days, children learn how different people move through space, interact with each other, and manage resources.

Very little explicit teaching or explanation is done, but children watch carefully. Mothers begin assigning small tasks to children as soon as they can talk well, and a four-year-old may be asked to carry water to the patio, and be reprimanded if s/he spills the bucket. Soon children learn to do a wide variety of domestic and agropastoral tasks—they shell peas, peel potatoes, and carry water, and are given responsibility for the care and protection of younger siblings, ripening crops, and small animals. While these tasks are carried out in the context of play and joking, children are profoundly aware that their performance affects the well-being of the entire household. At the age when most North American children know little more than the nursery and the playground, and have almost no grasp of what goes on in their parents' work places,

children in rural Mizque are familiar with and have participated in a vast array of socioeconomic activities carried out in and around their home base.

The first institutionalized recognition of the child as a social being is the hair cutting ceremony *(huma rutuku)* held when a child is two or three years old. Before this ceremony most rural babies are dressed in rags, their hair is not cut or combed, and they do not have an official name. During the ceremony, a child gets his or her head shaved, is dressed in fancy little boy or little girl clothes, acquires padrinos, and is given some animals to raise. Church baptism is often done at the same time as the *huma rutuku,* and usually the same padrino(s) will sponsor both events. Church baptism requires an official birth certificate, which means that, in addition to being welcomed into the kingdom of God, the child is given legal names. Birth certificates are not just formalities, but are crucial in determining a child's status and inheritance rights. A woman and her family sometimes need to pressure her mate to give his last name to their child. If he refuses, she may postpone baptizing the child until she is in a stable union, in hopes that her new mate will legally recognize the child and give it his last name. A young single mother told me, "*Eso depende mucho del entendimiento que hay en la pareja, el cariño que hay. Si es un cariño tan grande a la mujer, parece que reconoce, como sus propios hijos reconoce.*" (Taped 11/1990 Mizque truck stop, Cochabamba). [It depends on the relationship of the couple, their feelings. If there is great love for the woman (by her mate) he may recognize (her children), like they were his own children he recognizes them.]

If there is no official father, Bolivian family laws indicate that a child receive his mother's patronym twice, thus Maria Lopez Garcia's child will be called Juan Lopez Lopez. This practice marks the child as illegitimate and eliminates the last name of his maternal grandmother, who will probably play a big role in raising him. During a household survey a single mother told me "*El registro civil me dijo que yo nomás llevo el nombre de mi mamá, pero mi hijo ya no es su hijo de ella, y por eso no tiene que llevar su nombre*". [The civil registry told me that only I carry my mother's name, my son isn't her child, so he can't bear her name.] Some women ignore legalities and contradict birth certificates by calling their children by their own maternal and paternal last names, or with their own patronym and their new mate's patronym.[29] A child's first name may be chosen by parents or padrinos. Names of Quechua origin are no longer used in the Mizque area, and currently foreign names are in vogue, and children from basically Quechua speaking families are called Yvette, Oliver, Ben Hur, Charles, Jovanna, William, and Leris.

4.2.1. Gender formation

Western feminist attempts to explore and explain the perpetuation of gender differences focus mostly on institutional subordination and male domination. For example, Bourque and Warren (1981: 58) write,

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[29]This practice causes analysts, religious people, and others to mistakenly assume that illigitemate children are legitimate, and that the "normal nuclear family" is the norm.

It is our experience that agrarian societies invest great energy in directing the experiences and behaviors of individuals so that men and women live different lives. We ask: how do social systems perpetuate contrasting lives for men and women? What are the broader consequences of sexual differentiation? We answer such questions by examining the institutional organizations, patterns of interaction, and the meanings of social encounters of the populations of rural communities.

Social encounters and institutions certainly inform gender roles in agrarian societies, but analyses based on the level of society too frequently ignore the primary locus of creation and recreation of gender—the rural home. The smallest boys and girls are spoken to differently, dressed differently, and taught different skills. In the first years of their lives, children realize that they are responsible for different chores and receive different treatment than their opposite-sex siblings and cousins, and they learn that men and women are different types of creatures. Mothers emphasize gender-specific characteristics in their children; when little boys fall down, their caretakers chant "MACHO MACHO MACHO" to prevent them from crying, and a mother of seven in Buena Vista told me,

Una mujercita siempre va a pensar en su familia, en sus hermanitos, en sus papás, así. Todito el día mis hijas me ayuden en la casa . . . algunos chicos también están así, pero otros quieren salir nomás a la calle, quieren viajar, a veces son muy ingratos." [A little girl will always think of her family, her siblings, her parents. All day my daughters help me at home . . . some boys are like that, but others just want to be in the streets, to travel, they are ingrates.]

In Mizque females are considered to be naturally more family-oriented and emotionally involved then boys. Girls are educated to be helpful and nurturing, and to be emotionally and productively dependent. Many who leave the community to work as domestic servants or to study a trade find it difficult or unbearable to be separated from their families. Grown women also suffer when their children or other relatives leave, and some travel frequently to visit them and bring gifts of food and agricultural products. It is especially difficult for mothers when their sons do military service, because the youths are discouraged from showing concern for their families or going home to visit. One mother relates,

Cuando mi Hugo se fue a la Escuela de Clases no volvía en todo el año. Yo más bién me fui a Cochabamba. Llevando papa, maní, así, vendía en la mañanita, y después llegaba al cuartel y ahí me sentaba, todita el día esperando a ver a mi hijo. A veces no llegaba a verle, y al chico que estaba guardando el portón nomás entregaba una canasta con pan, comidita preparadita, con su chicha, con todo, para que le dé. (taped 4/89) [When my Hugo went to the military school he didn't come home all year. I went to Cochabamba. I took potatoes or peanuts to sell in the morning, and then I went to the barracks and sat their all day waiting to see my son. Sometimes I didn't get to see him, and I just gave a basket with bread, cooked food, and corn beer to the soldier at the gate.]

Socializing by gender becomes more marked as children enter their teens and start to participate in extra-household activities and relations. At this age girls continue to work closely with their mothers, while boys spend much time in the agricultural or soccer fields, or doing other activities with males. Interestingly, women who run households without men, and who work in both male and female spheres, consistently divide their children's labor by gender, and teach their sons to be different from their daughters.

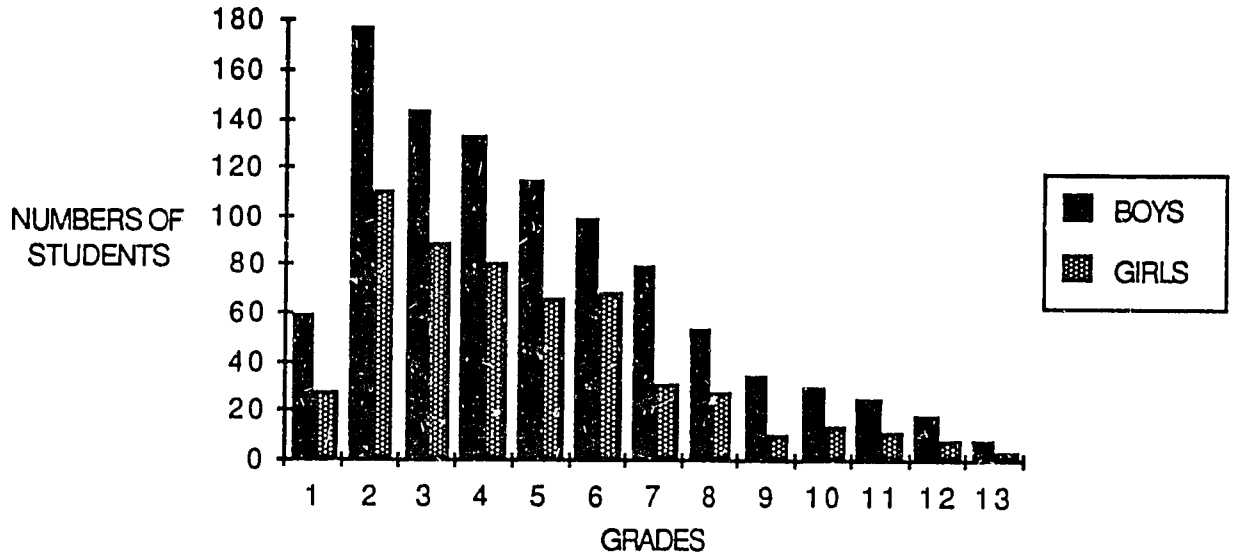
Gender differences in dependence and domination are not based in or confined to the conjugal pair, but are practiced in the ways that men and women interact with their households, relations, and the larger community. Female dependence and concern for others is related to women's cooperative daily work and management of human resources, and in Mizque women are responsible for the care of children and small animals, so nurturing is an important part of their lives. Solitary farm work on private parcels, and wage labor as employees in other regions encourage men to be independent. Although men and boys are clearly attached to their families, they are taught to be self-sufficient and tough, and are less eager than females to express their emotions, thus they are better prepared than girls to migrate.

These gender characteristics have led many analysts to make the incorrect assumption that women are unchanging bastions of rural tradition, while men, as individuals, are much better at adapting to and integrating into the modern urban-capitalist world. Materials presented here prove, to the contrary, that when conditions change and men migrate, it is women who adapt, improvise and modernize farm and household management in order to carry on. Rural women have also become experts at interacting with the urban mestizo world. The strong presence of rural women in the markets, in the streets, and in small enterprises of the entire Cochabamba region demonstrates their abilities to negotiate with and adapt to off-farm realities, and to move between different cultures from day to day. Certainly the fact that boys and men are more prepared to work independently makes them more desirable for capitalist wage work, but it is the cooperation and management of women and girls that allow members of a rural household to diversify into new activities and to adapt to changes.

4.2.2. Formal education

For many children, contact with a different culture begins in elementary school. The formal system of education institutionalized by the government and designed to integrate the student into national society contrasts sharply with the informal education that rural children receive by watching, listening to, and helping their families. While certain children adapt quickly, up to 40% fail each elementary class, and many never catch on to the system before they drop out. Enrollment statistics from five elementary schools in Mizque valley show that while 178 boys and 111 girls finished first grade this year, only 115 boys and 66 girls finished 4th grade. Within three years enrollment declined by 35% for boys and a remarkable 41% for girls (see Figure 5).

FIGURE 5: SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY GRADE AND SEX



Teaching methods used in most Bolivian schools consist largely of making students copy and memorize materials from the blackboard and from textbooks, and are not designed to fit the rural student. Some students learn how to read and write, and to add and subtract, which are potentially valuable skills, but they are not challenged with practical word problems that connect math skills to real situations, nor do they learn to apply biology or chemistry lessons to farming and husbandry problems. While French and English are required courses in high school, no Quechua language and literature is taught in any grade. More subtle conflicts stem from the social origin of school teachers, who are important role models for rural children, and especially for girls. Rural schools are mostly staffed by young teachers from lower middle class urban families whose values and identities emphasize status through contrast with campesinos; they show their superiority by speaking Spanish, wearing stylish western clothes and high heeled shoes, eating with a knife and fork, and other nonrural behaviors. As girls emulate their teachers, they begin to reject their mothers, and, in the words of a father,

> *la única cosa que aprenden es pintarse y ir a la ciudad, después, critican a la familia, y se van nomás* [The only thing that they learn (in high school) is to use make-up and go to the city, then they criticize the family, and leave.]

More boys than girls get the opportunity to go to school, and boys stay in school for more years. Nearly 2/3 of elementary students in Mizque valley are boys (629 boys, 375 girls), while there are twice as many boys than girls in grades 6 through 12 (348 boys, 174 girls). Figure 5 demonstrates enrollment declines for boys and for girls. A study of conditions of education throughout the Third World shows that rural girls' access to primary school lags far behind that

of rural boys and urban girls (Safilios-Rothschild 1979), and a study of Mizque and Campero provinces concludes that,

> *En general, se puede decir que el nivel de escolarización de la mujer es bajo, prácticamente no existe quien haya terminado el ciclo básico. No existe una visualización, en el seno de la familia, de un sentido para la culminación de los estudios de la mujer, puesto que la educación formal no está orientada a proporcionarle los elementos que necesita para su rol en la familia y en la comunidad* (CEFOIN 1990:68) [Generally, we can say the level of education of women is very low, there are practically no women who have finished elementary school. In the rural family there is not a sense that it is important for females to finish their studies, since formal education is not directed toward providing skills necessary for her role in the family and community].

While real-life conflicts limit rural education, most mothers have faith in education, and say they would like to send all their children to school if possible, and they make great sacrifices to educate their daughters and sons. When resources are short, women lose doubly by putting a child in school; they lose many hours of labor, and they have to pay for clothes and school supplies. Rural students are required to supply their own textbooks, notebooks, and pens, and to pay bonuses for the low-paid teachers. Children who get kept home are the ones who do poorly, the less ambitious ones, and the girls. While women value education and know that it is important for girls, they also know that girls are more likely than boys to drop out along the way because of pregnancy, marriage, or other problems. They also know from experience that even with a good education, and even with a high school diploma, their daughters will have less opportunities for success and upward mobility than their sons.

Improved quality and increased access to education for rural girls is one of the most direct and effective ways to improve the lives of rural women and their households. It is frequently noted that rural women keep their daughters home from school to help with housework, child care, and herding animals, and that boys leave school to help with farm work, especially when their fathers migrate. These trends indicate that programs to decrease excessive labor burdens on rural women could increase school enrollment. But even if they can spare the help, many women do not send their daughters to school because they sense that public education is inappropriate for the realities of rural girls, and believe that they will be better educated at home.

Thus education programs should be accessible and designed to provide girls with immediately applicable skills and information. Practical courses could do a great deal to help girls and women master immediate tasks and expand their opportunities, and need not be limited to embroidering pillowcases or decorating cakes. Rural girls neither sleep with pillows, nor eat cake, but they do engage in many activities that can benefit from more education. Improvement of production techniques for marketable products, and accounting skills applicable in marketing ventures could immediately increase income potential. Mini-courses might focus on care of livestock and techniques for making cheese and yogurt, on sewing and knitting marketable

clothing, or managing small businesses. In addition, women and girls need and want to learn biology, medicine, and ecology that can improve their care of children, animals, and crops. Such subjects need not be too complicated if they are based in and related to women's existing knowledge in these fields. Courses should be scheduled at times that do not conflict with household responsibilities or intensive agricultural projects, because the productivity of females can not be improved by taking women and girls away from current activities.

3. Socialization for loyalty and change

> *La cosa más importante, y lo más difícil, es mantener a la familia junta* (Farmer and mother of 11, Poligono) [The most important thing, and the most difficult, is to keep the family together].

One of the most difficult moments in the life cycle of a household is when youths begin to migrate. Parents face loss of control over their childrens' labor and loyalty, and youths struggle to establish their own identities in the midst of competing values in school, at home, and in migrant situations. While a mother's centripetal power helps to keep young people grounded, it also causes painful conflicts. When children are young, their parents tell them to cook, look after babies, go to school, herd sheep, or work in the fields. But as they grow older and more independent, children do not always cooperate, and parents need to consider not only where children could be most helpful to the household, but what would make them most happy or successful. The following examples show how competition between conflicting options and values can make life decisions difficult and painful for young Mizqueños.

Carlos and Valentina saved profits from their farm in Poligono to send their eldest son Jesús to medical school in Cochabamba. They secured a room and sent his younger sister to cook, wash his clothes, and look after him. In his final year of medical school Valentina became ill, and Jesús returned to Mizque to be with his mother. Now, nearly three years later, he is still at home, sharecropping with his parents.

Julia, one of the few farm girls to finish high school, graduated first in her class of 8. As the youngest daughter of 10 siblings, she keeps the hearth warm for her aging parents, cooks, and helps them in the fields. She liked school, and her teachers encouraged her to pursue a profession. She wanted to be a teacher, but decided the training was too expensive. She began helping at the local clinic with hopes of entering nursing school, but got dizzy watching a bloody delivery and cancelled her plans. Julia finally moved to Cochabamba and began secretary school, where she was the only rural girl. One day the director lost his temper and screamed "*Ustedes son peor que campesinas!*" [you students are worse than farm girls!]. Now she is back in Mizque, looking after her parents and helping at a local elementary school for token pay.

Neither Julia nor Jesús admit that homesickness and difficulties in adapting interfered with ambitions to improve their lives, but these problems make even small barriers insuperable for many young people. Mothers and others convey to young people that the world beyond Mizque is dangerous, and the dangers are elaborated in scores of dramatic narratives. The

importance of the following story about a deranged youth who wanders around Mizque lies in its significance for the narrators; two sisters in their twenties. It warns of perils of off-farm pursuits, dangers of being alone, of competition, and of sexual vulnerability.

> *--Dice que cuando estaba estudiando para medicina en un cuarto, tenía su cuartito aparte, dice pues él.*
> *-¿Dónde estaba estudiando él? En qué ciudad?*
> *--En Cochabamba.*
> *---No en La Paz dicen.*
> *--En La Paz creo que era ahí, y cuando estaba dentro del cuarto dice que una, como una diabla se había presentado dice ahí adentro.*
> *-¿El estaba solito?*
> *--Sí. Y pero, otros dicen, pues, que su amigo también le había hablado, dice de la ventana, y se ha asustado de eso nomás se ha vuelto, dice.*
> *---Si, así pues hablaron otros, y otros dijeron que se había presentado una mujer, cuando estaba leyendo sus periódicos, no sé como.*
> *-Y de eso nomás, de asustarse de verle . . .*
> *--Yo creo pues.*
> *-¿Cómo puede ser?*
> *--Como una diabla yo creo que ha sido. Alguien le ha hechizado.*
> *---¿Que será pues, habrá pasado? Porque cuando le llevan al médico, dice que está bien. Cuando le llevaron a Sucre también, un poco sano llegó, dice. Después cuando estaba en aquí, igual se ha vuelto así, porque su mama dice que duerme en otro cuarto apartitio y ahora dice que de nuevo se está volviendo así.*
> *-¿Y qué cosas hace que no son normal?*
> *--No sé, yo le he visto haciendo discursos largos y no escuchaba nadie, él solito nomás hablando, hablando anda.*
> *-¿Es la única cosa que sabe hacer?*
> *--Si. Habla de la medicina también, hay veces cuando estaba aquí, les hablaba pues a sus amigos, como estaba estudiando, como era todo eso ¿no?.*
> *-Ahora, pero, no habla a nadie.*
> *---Creo que no.*
> *--Por eso, haciendo sus monerías está caminando de nuevo dice pues, ahora. A veces se pone dice sus tenis, uno nomás así anda nomás pues, su cabello también antes bien largo y feo estaba. Todo deshecho anda.*
> *---Si. No sabe arreglarse.*
> *-Pero, ¿no hace daño a nadie?*
> *--No, Dijeron un tiempo que a las ovejeritas había ido al campo.*
> *-¿Y estaba haciendo bien en escuela de medicina o mal?*
> *--Oh, dice que estaba bién, el mejor médico de Bolivia yo creo que iba a ser, dice.*
> *-¿Casi había terminado?*
> *--Casi, pues, creo que tenía que salir ese año siempre, no le faltaba dice mucho.*
> (taped july 89)

[--They say that when he was studying medicine in a room, he had his own room alone, they say he did.
-Where was he studying, in what city?
--In Cochabamba.
---No, in La Paz, they say.
--In La Paz, I think it was there, and when he was in the room they say that a, like a she-devil showed up, they say, right in the room.
-Was he alone?
--Yes. And but, others say that his friend said something to him, from the window, they say, and he was frightened, and just from that he turned crazy, they say.
---Yes, that's what some say, and others say that a woman showed up, when he was reading his newspapers, I don't know how.
-And just from that, just from the fright . . .
--I think so.
-How could it be?
--Like a she-devil I think. Someone bewitched him.
---What could it be that happened, anyway? Because when they took him to the doctor, they said that he was fine. When they took him to Sucre, too, he came back pretty sane, they say. Afterwords, when he was here, he became like that again, because his mother says that he has to sleep in another room apart, and now they say that once again he is turning that way.
-And what does he do that isn't normal?
--I don't know, I saw him giving long speeches and no one was listening, he was talking all alone, talking and walking along.
-Is that the only thing that he does?
--Yes. He also talks about medicine, sometimes when he was here, he talked to his friends about what he was studying, how it all was, those things.
-But now he doesn't talk with anybody?
---I don't think so.
--The thing is, they say that he is wandering around doing crazy things again. Sometimes he puts only one tennis shoe on, they say, and walks like that. Also, his hair was real long and messy too. He walked around all disheveled.
---It's true, he doesn't clean himself up.
-But he doesn't hurt anyone?
--No, they said that for awhile he was going after the little shepherdesses in the countryside.
-And was he doing well in medical school, or poorly?
--Oh, they say he did well, I think he was going to be the best doctor in Bolivia, they say.
-Was he almost finished?
--Almost, I think he was going to graduate in that year. They say that he didn't have much left.]

Youths are not the only ones that are apprehensive of and traumatized by separation, some mothers can't bear to have their children migrate. Several women told me Loca Sonía's sad story, and expressed compassion for her. Here is part of the story as told by Elena. (Taped 8/1989).

> *Elena- Se vivían con su hijo y al final dice que estaba enamorando con su hijo y se han dado—la gente, creo que se han dado cuenta, han sospechado que estaban con su mamá y el joven tenía vergüenza, y se ha ido a otro pueblo no se sabe donde está. Al final su mamá se ha quedado loca de su hijo. Ha estado andando así sin zapatos hasta Rodeo así sin zapatos dice llegaba. De ahí en allá nomás ya aparecia y al regreso otra vez quería regresar y los choferes habían dicho "ven, te vamos a llevar. No vas a pagar el pasaje". "No, yo no voy a ir en camión. Quiero ir a pie. Talvez está en ahí el Victor". Victor se llamaba su hijo.*
> *Susana- ¿Para buscar viajaba?*
> *Elena- Para buscar. En busca de su hijo casi venía desde Rodeo. Después dice que ha llegado también al valle, a Cliza. Sabiendo, alguien seguro le ha avisado que estaba en Cliza. "Voy a ir a ver" así gritando nomás siempre por el camino dice que ha ido. Yo creo que en las noches también seguía yendo, tenía miedo. De ahí un tiempo la mujer se ha perdido. Después, ha llegado en las cosechas de maní. Ha seguido caminando aquí a la gente les queria pegarles "Que ustedes le han dado consejo a mi hijo, por eso se ha ido," o "Ustedes están agarrando aquí, en la casa estan ocultando," empujando las puertas se entraba nomás donde sea, y la gente también les largaba frente a la casa para que diga que no está en ahí. Ahora más bien está conforme. Yo creo que ha olvidado ya de su hijo."*
> [Elena- She lived with her son, and in the end they say she was falling in love with her son. And they realized—the people, I think they realized, they suspected that he was with his mother, and the youth was ashamed, and he went to another town and nobody knows where he is. In the end his mother went crazy over her son. She was walking without shoes to Rodeo, like that, barefoot, they say she arrived. She showed up here and there, and on the way back, she wanted to return again, and the truck drivers said to her "Come, we are going to take you. You don't have to pay." "No, I'm not going to go in the truck. I want to go on foot. Maybe Victor is along the way." Victor was her son's name.
> Susana- She traveled to look for him?
> Elena- To look for him. In search of her son she came here almost from Rodeo. Afterwards, they say that she also made it to the valley, to Cliza. Someone who knew surely told her that he was in Cliza. "I'm going to go and see," shouting just like that they say she always went along the road. I think that at night she still kept going. She was scared. After that the woman was lost for a time. Later, she arrived here during the peanut harvest. She kept going around here and wanted to attack people "You told my son, that's why he went!" or "You are keeping him here, you're hiding him in the house." She'd push open the doors and go in anywhere, and she would confront people in front of their houses so

that they would insist that he wasn't inside. Now she is better. I think that she has finally forgotten her son.]

Youths who come of age migrating between different sociocultural spaces dominated by different types of relationships, values, and fashions need to balance conflicting influences in their own emerging identities. The 1988 senior class of Mizque High School expressed some of the problems they had experienced in a play called "*La Madre Angustiada*" [The Anguished Mother], which they wrote and performed to commemorate Mother's Day. The main character was a rural girl who had been working in Cochabamba, and who returned to her parents' hut wearing a mini skirt, high heels, and lipstick. She made her mother cry by refusing to understand Quechua, calling her soup dogfood, and saying she was accustomed to eating steak and chicken with a knife and fork. When her mother collapsed in anguish, the girl rushed to find a doctor, and told him, "come quickly, my maid is very ill." Only at the end, when the mother was dying, did the citified girl realize the value of her rural home and family.

Some youths are so overwhelmed by contradictions like these that they simply leave the province and break contact with their families. Attrition of young people is a stress on reproduction, especially for poorer families. Ultimately, cultural continuity depends on women to teach their children to adapt their behaviors and activities to different spaces and contexts without rejecting their homes. Thelma Baker, one of the few authors to address child raising in the Andes, argues that in Nuñoa, Peru, "Since very little technological change has been introduced into the culture, the parents and older sibs are competent behavioral models for the child." (1976:94). Mizque valley is a very different situation in which parents and siblings are competent models not because their culture is unchanging, but because they maintain their identity at the same time as, and through the process of, diversifying and adapting to changing external factors.

Ironically, the increased migration of young people often causes their parents to adapt. While a mother can not force her son to love agriculture, to get up at dawn to weed potatoes, or to come back to the farm after he goes to work in the Chapare or does military service in Cochabamba city, she can engineer ways to encourage his commitment. One mother offered to save one quarter of the profits of the fields her son worked so that he could buy a motorcycle. Another staged a new kind of rite of passage, a giant party with stereo music and bottled beer, to welcome her son home from military service. In the meantime, women continue to share the potatoes they grow and the soup they cook, even though increasing numbers of youths are not eager to divide up the cash they earn. When one beautiful 21-year-old returns from marketing in the Chapare and brightens her elderly parents' one-room hut with her two dozen multicolored polleras; they simply accept the prestige that she brings, and offer her soup and subsistence.

Farmer's attempts to accommodate by increasing commodity consumption may make rural homes more attractive to youths in the short run, but will ultimately weaken the links between production and reproduction that hold rural households together in their current form. As a result, resources such as land, labor, and reciprocal relations cease to be means of

livelihood and become means of access to money.[30] This shift has great implications for home economics; money is socially and culturally different from potatoes, and individual wage work implies different values and principles than does family-based subsistence farming. In order to keep her household functioning, a rural woman in the 1990s not only has to socialize her children to be loyal to the household and to cooperate with her strategies, she has to socialize the commodities and cash wages themselves. It's a difficult battle, but not always a losing one. Women fight for family integrity by motivating powerful traditions, rituals, and cosmology, and of course they get a ten-year head start on the rest of the world.

4.4. Cultural continuity and cohesion

We began this report with the premise that the productive activities of women in rural Mizque are not separate, and can not be analytically separated from their efforts in nurturing and caring for their children and homes. The evidence presented here leads us to argue further that this integral household production is neither actually nor analytically separable from household consumption and reproduction. Take, for example, potato growing, the quintessence of production in Mizque. In rural households, producing potatoes means consuming potatoes, which reproduce labor by providing nourishment and energy. Potato production also means production of working, cultural people; children grow physically by eating potatoes, and, by participating in potato cultivation, children grow into cultural beings as they learn about cooperation, division of labor, and reciprocal relations; they learn technical skills; and they learn how to interact with Pacha Mama,. Finally, by celebrating the harvest, by cooperatively preparing potatoes and by consuming them together, Mizqueños culturally reproduce their households and communities.

Because it is so different from the modern urban household where production and consumption are highly demarcated, individual, and commoditized, many analysts fail to recognize the essence of the rural household as an integrated socioeconomic unit. Connell and Lipton lament that "the urban researcher seldom grasps the unification of producer and consumer activity in the same unit-the family farm" (1977:17 cited in Collins 1988:128). However, in a recent analysis of domestic production, Maclachlan gets right to the point, "Most farm households are also farm families in which children are reared and provisioned with the means to reproduce the parental culture. In short, the end product of traditional farming is traditional farmers" (1987:7).

Households in Mizque produce farmers, and much more; they produce food for urban populations, wage workers for agricultural and other industries, and tropical colonists; and they produce culture. The management of home economies and integration of diverse activities on the local level has the cumulative effect of integrating regional society and economy. At the same time socializing children, which involves practicing traditions and performing rituals, has

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[30]When Karl Polanyi analyzed the analagous shift that took place in industrialized nations he called it "The Great Transformation" in a 1944 book by the same name.

the ultimate effect of perpetuating culture. Each child provides a number of opportunities for family celebrations, and with each rite of passage, a household develops new ritual ties, establishes prestige, and becomes more socially and culturally complete. The joining of people and coparticipation in ritual activities renders explicit important norms, beliefs, and world views that hold households and communities together in diverse and contradictory conditions. If planned and performed properly, activities ranging from the simple libations of corn beer and sharing of coca leaves during agricultural parties to the hosting of giant once-in-a-lifetime religious festivals socialize and culturalize individuals and the circles of relations that surround them, at the same time that they revitalize productive processes.

Planning, timing, and preparing family rites of passage and religious fiestas are crucial to every woman's management of productive activities. With the partial exception of funerals, all celebrations are planned in response to the presence of household members, the agricultural cycle, the heartiness of foodstores, and the condition of reciprocal relations. These factors change throughout the year and the life cycle of each household, and are affected by noncyclical events and historical changes. While such gatherings are important means of propagating tradition, women in Mizque do not realize them in the same contexts and in the same fashion that their mothers did. The very process of reproducing tradition is affected by increasingly pervasive influences of urban, national society and activities away from the rural home. While values and traditions are learned and perpetuated in the household, it is also in the household that they are questioned and adapted.

While some parts of the Andes are experiencing decline of religious rituals due to the increasing unwillingness or inability of community members to spend the necessary time and money, often because they are involved in migrating and other activities (Collins 1988:143), Mizqueños seem to sense that travel and diversification make these cultural events more crucial. As more Mizqueños travel outside the community, they make great efforts to return to their homes for family and community celebrations. Household rituals, carried out in the home patio in the center of circles of relations, serve to spiritually and physically ground travelers through the sharing of food and drink made from home-grown products, and through libations poured on home ground to the earth mother. These gatherings also ground the initiand—the child getting his or her hair cut, the adolescent turning 15, and the couple getting married are more securely connected to the people, to the place, and to the tradition through traditional celebrations.

Community rituals are also thriving. The major religious festival in Mizque valley, which celebrates the Señor de Burgos, 14th of September, attracts hundreds of Mizqueños who have migrated or moved permanently out of the province. In 1990, residents made their first efforts to attract tourists by advertising in Cochabamba city, and the fiesta not only attracted tourists, but over three hundred merchants who set up their stalls in the plaza. Trucks and buses doubled their schedules to bring close to a thousand participants from Cochabamba to Mizque for the eight-day festival. More interesting than the growth of Señor de Burgos is the organization of a new festival in the community of Cazorla on May 14 and 15 to celebrate San Isidro, the patron of agriculture. The enormous enthusiasm that residents have shown during

the past two years for San Isidro rituals involving communal plowing, planting, and blessing the ground and oxen is especially interesting considering that few members of Cazorla's sindicato are full-time farmers; several run transport businesses and more than half travel to the Chapare to work for wages or cultivate their own parcels.

Many studies of Andean groups report that women frequently run households alone, and that men are virtually incapable of doing so (Mayer 1977:61; CEFOIN 1990:166). These authors stress the importance of females in daily household management, but fail to recognize that women's ritual skills and efforts in organizing fiestas are absolutely necessary in the reproduction of the household and the community. While many men in Mizque can take over the tasks that allow a household to survive from day to day, they can not plan and organize the fiestas that are necessary to make a household socially and culturally complete and to connect it to the wider circles of relations that ensure its well-being. Hosting rituals and fiestas is not a simple diversion for Mizque women, it is an exhausting and challenging effort to keep households loyal and nucleated, and to perpetuate community cohesion necessary to maintain stability and perpetuate culture in difficult conditions.

Chapter 5. Conclusions

This paper demonstrates that women fill many important roles in rural Mizque. A significant portion of on-farm tasks are carried out by females, and women complement and occasionally replace men in primary crop agriculture. For development efforts, however, women are perhaps most important for their roles administering resources and managing production, consumption, and reproduction at the household level. Women adapt and regulate livelihood strategies in response to changing on-farm conditions and off-farm opportunities, and women teach their children how to live and how to work. Through these responsibilities they determine the ways that techniques, activities, and conditions promoted by development programs are adapted into current and future households, and thus they are in a position to improve environmental conditions and agropastoral production, as well as the health and welfare of the entire population.

In response to the insecurity and lack of control that have characterized productive options, Mizque households have developed strategies that combine many subsistence and income-generating activities, including agriculture, animal raising, home industry, petty commerce, and migratory wage work. When activities in one sector fail, they rely on others. During the 1980s, however, conditions both on and off the farm deteriorated in such ways as to limit so many options that the well-being and continuity of rural households are threatened. Severe droughts, increasing land scarcity, and soil exhaustion curtailed farm productivity, while a prolonged economic crisis caused the cost of living to rise, and the relative values of agricultural products to fall. Increasing needs to migrate were constrained by high unemployment throughout Bolivia. Mizque women intensified market participation in hopes of generating income, while men, and young men and women, sought work in the Chapare, where they are vulnerable to diseases and where the large profits and illegal nature of cocaine production encourage a lawless atmosphere characterized by police oppression, theft, prostitution, and drug abuse.

As more young people migrate and experience increasing contact with values and commodities dominant in the Chapare and in urban, capitalist society, problems of economic survival are aggravated by conflicting values and lifestyles within the household. In this report we have seen that some current family problems, including divorce and separation, abandonment of children and of parents, and conflicts within and between households over labor, land, money and other resources, are related to the fact that households and their members are being stretched too thin over contradictory grounds. Mizque farmers are making all kinds of efforts to keep people fed and cared for, to keep them producing, and to keep them together, but conditions are increasingly unfavorable, and they need help.

Unfortunately, Mizque farms cannot be transformed into secure and sufficient sources of livelihood, at least not in the near future. Increasing cash needs and the continuing threat of natural and political-economic disasters require households to diversify, and because there are few opportunities nearby, some members must migrate. The well-being and productivity of

rural households can, however, be improved drastically by initiating changes in on-farm conditions and expanding wage opportunities off the farm.

Most immediately, rural people need money. Not only is the cost of maintaining and reproducing rural households rising, but desired improvements in nutrition, health care, and education require further cash inputs. Rural men are willing to earn money working off the farm, but not as full-time proletarians or colonists. Because their first commitment is to Mizque farms, they need wage opportunities that can fit into their agricultural schedules in order to participate in crucial on-farm tasks such as the work parties described above. Flexible work schedules are one of the features that make picking and processing coca in the Chapare so attractive. Seasonal wage work in the Cochabamba valleys could be less dangerous for the migrant and less destructive to the family, but the economies of these areas are so stagnant that little work is available. Cochabamba City and the upper valleys need development and support of small and medium industries in order to provide wage opportunities, and the development of industries that process farm products would simultaneously stimulate the unfavorable agricultural market.

Meanwhile, a great deal can be done to improve conditions on Mizque farms To be successful, development initiatives must include rural women and respect their roles as administrators of household resources and on-farm activities. A woman needs to be on call to tend to her children, her animals, and other immediate needs, and to supervise the many activities in which her family engages. If a female head of household leaves home for waged employment or other full-time occupations, her household's many productive activities will suffer or be left unfinished, individual capabilities and efforts will lose coordination, and reciprocal relations with other households will be ignored. Without constant on-site administration by women, many households would disintegrate and fail to reproduce themselves. Rather than finding new occupations for rural women, then, development efforts should focus on providing skills and knowledge to improve women's capabilities, and labor-saving techniques to increase their efficiency, in some of the many tasks that women already perform.

With information and support women can help to slow down or even reverse the deterioration of crucial natural resources in Mizque valley. Land is mostly exhausted by overplanting primary crops, especially potatoes, which are usually the responsibility of men. But because women help plan, administer and cultivate all primary crops, women should be included in courses and technology concerning them, and because women are responsible for selecting seed, they can be taught techniques that will dramatically improve the quality of future crops. Intercropped and secondary crops currently tended by women provide an alternative to land-shortage deadlocks. Various cultivars can be intercropped to enrich nutrient-drained soils and protect primary crops from sun, hail, erosion, and flooding, and increased focus on secondary crops that are more labor intensive and yield more profit per hectare could allow farmers to leave some fields fallow while working others more intensively. Cultivation of fruits and vegetables already grown by women in small plots, and of new cultivars, could be promoted in conjunction with the development of small processing industries that make juices and jams, tomato sauce and catsup, or dried herbs and spices.

Women are in charge of animals that provide manure, which is better for soils than chemical fertilizers purchased by men, often from development agencies. But sheep and goats are ruining crops and deforesting hillsides throughout Mizque valley, and require many hours of daily care. Shifts in animal-raising strategies could curb environmental destruction and benefit scarce lands and overworked women. Small animals, such as poultry, rabbits, guinea pigs, and pigs, can be kept in corrals and cages where they require less supervision and do not destroy the countryside. These animals consume cooking and agricultural by-products, their eggs and meat provide nourishing food, and because they reproduce rapidly, they can be sold or traded for regular income. Milk cows tethered near the home compound provide similar benefits. Currently, women raise as many animals as possible to compensate for extremely high rates of morbidity and mortality, but improved animal care techniques and periodic access to professional veterinary care would allow a shift toward quality-oriented strategies that would be easier on women and the environment.

Improving production conditions involves improving the health and well-being of the producers, and as principle care-givers, women are the key to this goal. Because women cook for their families they have a vested interest in reforesting the hillsides for firewood and in improving the quality of domestic water sources. Support for these projects should be designed and realized in collaboration with local women. Women in Mizque try to provide healthy meals to household members, but they have limited access to meat, milk, and eggs, which are mainly used for ritual meals, and do not use many fruits and vegetables. Support for secondary crops and small animal raising proposed here has the added benefit of improving household nutrition. In addition, women in Mizque could benefit from information about, and recipes using, vegetable protein. Many types of nourishing beans, peas and legumes can be grown in Mizque valley, but women are not fully convinced of their nutritive values, and only use small quantities of peanuts, green peas and fava beans in potato soups. Women could also care for their households more effectively if they received education and support in the fields of hygiene, preventive medicine, and herbal medicine, and drastic reeducation concerning the use and effects of modern pharmaceutical treatments.

Continuing education for women, men, and children is important to many of the projects proposed here. Rural people are eager to learn and are open to new ideas, but they need compassionate teachers, interesting materials, and most of all, useful and correct information. Women, as well as many children, will only participate in education if their work loads are reduced at home, and if educational opportunities are accessible and appropriate. This will require basic improvements in conditions of production, and major restructuring of public education, or outside courses.

Improvement in all aspects of rural life depends on the development of basic infrastructure in Mizque valley. Cultivation and marketing of agricultural products and the development of related industries, the improvement of hygiene and health conditions, better animal raising, and more helpful education all presuppose improved infrastructural conditions including water systems for irrigation and domestic use, electricity, and improved roads and other communications.

Finally, we have demonstrated that in Mizque production is a household affair. Agriculture, animal raising, home industry, and other activities are group efforts that require the support and collaboration of all members either directly or through their complementary activities on and off the farm. Any development efforts that address individuals at the expense of household cohesion, or ignore the diversified and integrated strategies of rural households, risk reducing total productivity and threaten to destabilize households and the communities that they comprise.

While this report focuses on conditions in Mizque valley, recent research carried out by CEFOIN (1990) and CIDRE (1990) indicates that the twin phenomena of shortage of undeteriorated arable land and male migration off the farm are increasing throughout Mizque and Campero provinces and in other parts of the Cochabamba valleys, and that women are becoming increasingly responsible for farm management in these areas, especially during periods of male migration. Because very little detailed research about women farmers and household organization has been published, it is not known how widespread the feminization of farming and the increasing separation of rural households are. However, the widespread deterioration of structural conditions for *minifundia* production throughout the Andes suggests a growing trend toward diversified strategies that include migration. Attention should be focused on the threat of extreme feminization and impoverishment of small farms such as characterizes other developing regions, particularly parts of Africa. In addition, more research is needed on the breakdown of the rural family and on options and strategies of broken farm families. This paper is a preliminary contribution and attempt to promote more research on women farmers in areas that expel male migrants.

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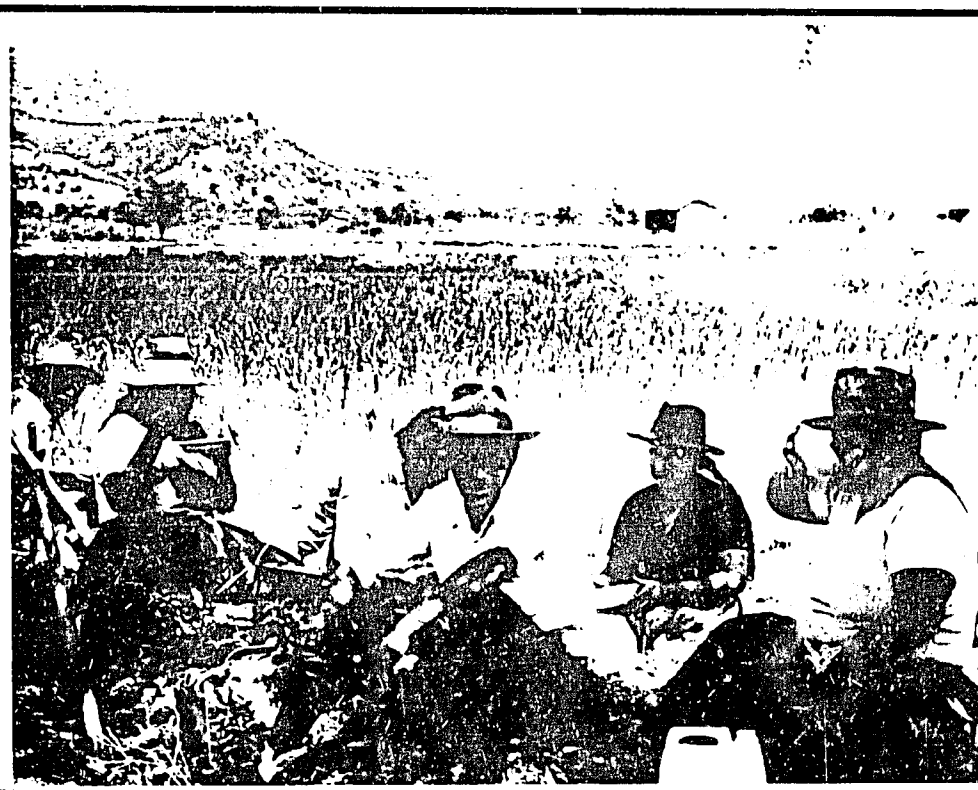
Appendix 1

Photographs

A female head of household cooking for an agricultural party



Lunch break during a communal project to clean irrigation canals

A woman and her daughter preparing a ritual meal for more than one hundred guests

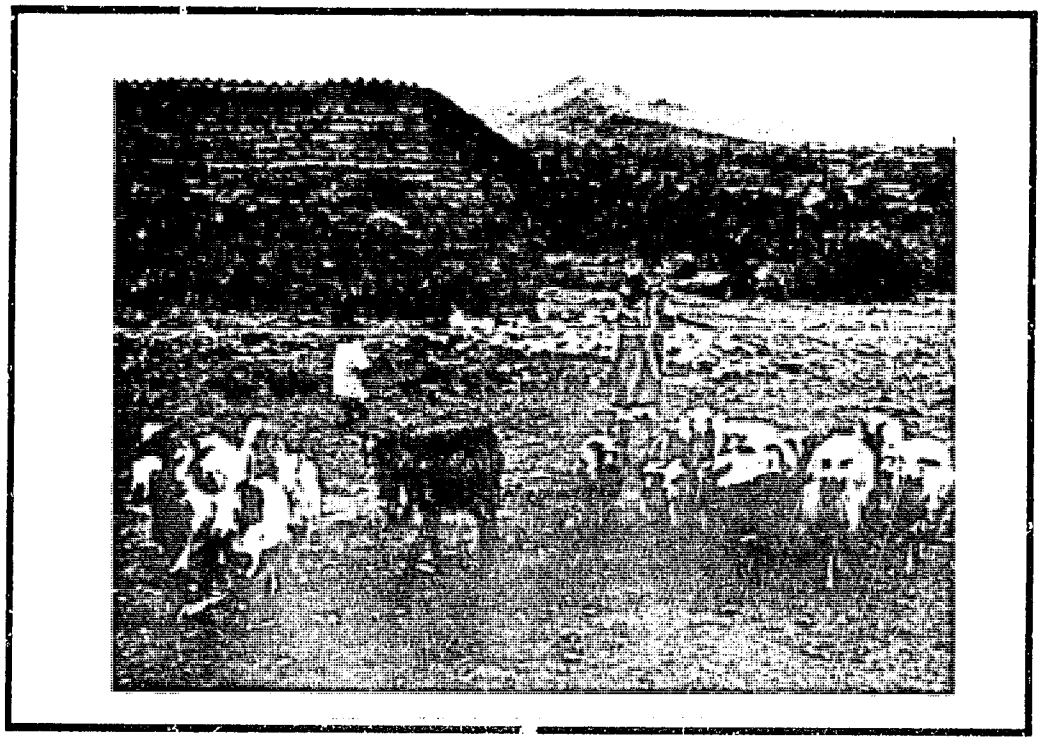
Women performing the ritual clothes washing at a ceremony for a child who has died

Women participating in a regional Market

A woman walking to market with agricultural products

A three year old girl peeling potatoes, and teaching her one year old sister to peel potatoes with a miniature knife

Children milking a cow



Children herding sheep and goats

The hut of a poor family headed by a single mother

Sisters-in-law peeling potatoes together and watching a child

A mother selling petty merchandise and caring for her children