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THE RISE OF TEMPORARY RURAL WORK IN CHILE
UNDER THE NEO-LIBERAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY:
REGIONAL EFFECTS AND HOUSEHOLD STRATEGIES

BY

RIGOBERTO RIVERA

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Department of Anthropology

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February 1985

-1. MAY 1985

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ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with the development of a new social sector of Chilean society: the temporary wage workers who live in rural shantytowns. The research, which was carried out in 1982, aimed to obtain a general overview of this population, focussing on four main fields: population changes, employment, household income and expenditure, and living conditions.

The theoretical framework aims to relate the general processes of socio-economic change to the actual behaviour of households in an environment characterized by high unemployment and uncertainty. It does this through using concepts such as styles of development and differential regional capitalist expansion, together with the notions of social marginality and survival strategies.

The research project was implemented by surveying 20 localities throughout the country, where new rural shantytowns had developed. These surveys were combined with the collection of case studies of households in order to illustrate the general social tendencies. Special efforts were made to obtain labour histories, through administering questionnaires and taped interviews. Four localities were selected for special attention so that one might develop a comparative analysis of regional processes and their importance in shaping household patterns.

The conclusion of the study suggests that a new process of social marginality has been developing as a result of the introduction of a 'neo-liberal' economic policy, implemented in Chile from 1979 onwards. This new policy has forced rural workers and their families to evolve new forms of relationships with the wider society through the development of household survival strategies. This, in turn has modified certain patterns of livelihood, leading, in some situations, to the creation of new forms of extended family ties, whilst in other situations, generating a high level of family instability and, sometimes, occasioning dissolution of households due to the harsh and precarious living conditions. The evidence also suggests that survival strategies contribute to the expansion of certain economic areas of Chilean agriculture, such as forestry and fruit production, through a process in which the reproduction of the work force lies partly outside the direct relationship of capital to labour. The analysis shows that new demographic processes and patterns of migration have emerged over the last decade, which have restructured the relationships between urban and rural areas. This study explores in detail these and other related dimensions isolating differences in the labour process and household strategies in four contrasting regional settings.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.- AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The subject of this thesis is the study of the effects of agrarian change on rural families in Chile during the last ten years, from 1973 to 1983, resulting from the process of agricultural modernization under the present "neo-liberal" style of economic development.

From colonial times until recently, the majority of Chilean rural labourers lived and worked in the countryside on large estates, firstly under the hacienda system, and later in the land reform enterprises. But, from 1973 onwards, large scale transformation of land tenure created a new type of agrarian structure based on medium and small sized farms, thus ending the dominance of large scale production units. As a result, a significant percentage of the rural population was forced to leave the countryside and settle in nearby



villages, towns and small cities. Nevertheless, they have continued to be linked to the agrarian labour market, commuting from their present places of residence to the farms for work. The former predominant pattern of permanent labour, based upon agrarian enterprises, has also changed to one which is now mainly temporary labour employing a large number of workers from the surrounding townships.

Pauperization and new forms of family organization have resulted from the need to adapt to this increasingly uncertain environment. The aim of this thesis is to examine the ways in which individuals and families have developed new types of survival strategies based on combining temporary wage labour with income from other sources, and to explore how new types of labour commitments influence the functioning of the domestic group.

2.- RURAL SHANTYTOWNS

Previously the pattern of Chilean urban-rural relationships was one of relative separation. The haciendas, and later land reform enterprises, to a certain extent were self-sufficient production units, capable of meeting most of their own labour requirements and producing a large percentage of their own foodstuffs, as well as part of their clothing, energy and housing requirements. On the other hand, the towns were mostly administrative and service centres, and small scale commerce was largely restricted to their populations.

From the 1960's, a new process began that was hardly noticed until recently (see Rivera, 1982), consisting of a shift from permanent to temporary labour contracts. This process started with the

decrease in the number of tenants on the haciendas and the subsequent increase in wage labourers. Some of these new workers, who were mostly employed on a temporary basis, were drawn from the towns and rural areas, including some hacienda-villages which were in the process of becoming independent town-like settlements. This process was in part reversed by the land reform policy, since the new enterprises contracted on a permanent basis many of the temporary workers from the ex-haciendas. New houses were built for these hired workers making it possible for many of them to move back from the urban settlements to the rural areas, just as under the old hacienda system. Nevertheless, this did not eliminate the temporary workers, especially in those areas of high seasonal labour requirements.

However, as a result of the dismantling of the land reform enterprises after 1973, the earlier process of change in the patterns of employment and residence recommenced, but this time it was augmented because of the reorganization of the production process. This was the reason why after 1973 changes in employment became more significant than they had been in the past. Furthermore, the crisis in agriculture that began in 1978 completed the picture; and so at present it is quite difficult to find workers with permanent contracts on the farms. Between 1973 and 1983 tens of thousands of families were deprived of their housing facilities on the farms and forced to leave for the villages and towns. These people faced tremendous difficulties in migrating to the large cities because of high urban unemployment. Thus, they tried to remain in the local towns and villages, or they created new settlements on abandoned or unused land, such as river beds, old road sites, or in places allocated by the municipalities (in Chile named "comunas") in an effort to make room for the large number

of families recently expelled from the countryside.

As a result, a new type of settlement appeared in the agrarian sector, namely, the shantytown-like village, located either on the borders of existing towns or in the rural zones. This process is the second stage on the road to urbanization in Chile. In the 1940's shantytowns were created in the large cities by migrants coming from the countryside. This process was common to all Latin American countries and has been extensively studied. But what can be observed nowadays is a fairly new process, the emergence of a type of shantytown that is located in semi-urban areas and is related more to agricultural than urban activities. This is an entirely new phenomenon, seldom studied before, that is creating a major reorganization at various societal levels, but especially affecting the family, which must adapt itself to generating sufficient income from the irregular and low wages derived from temporary work.

Rural shantytowns, as they will be called hereafter, appear similar to urban shantytowns for various reasons: first, both types are without normal urban housing and servicing facilities; second, people living in these areas often cannot get access to permanent jobs, and must rely mostly on temporary or casual work; third, both are the result of a massive exodus of labour from the farms to live elsewhere.

Despite the similarities, urban and rural shantytowns show a number of differences. Firstly, in the past, migration to the larger cities was mostly of young people, who left the countryside for the cities with the object of obtaining employment and better living

conditions. Afterwards brothers, sisters and parents would follow, but it was unusual for the whole family to face the risks and uncertainties of migration. It is the reverse for the rural shantytowns, where the usual pattern of migration is that of whole families. This marks a crucial difference. For earlier migrants, employment was the principal goal, but for these new migrants the main interest in moving to a particular town is to obtain shelter, and only later to start the search for work. For this reason, as I explain in the next chapter, the concept of "survival strategies" is particularly useful.

Another difference is the perception of the residents in these shantytowns that they are still agricultural workers, and for that reason they are not fully integrated into the urban way of life. This "turning their back on" the urban areas has also affected the character of such zones, bringing to an end the former separation that existed between rural and urban. Many towns are now the "dormitories" of a rural labour force, instead of administrative and commercial centres.

3.- FAMILIES AND STYLES OF DEVELOPMENT

This situation of change in agrarian economy and society provides the opportunity to examine the relationships existing between family organization and styles of development.

As I discuss more fully in Chapter II, Chilean family structure is based on the nuclear family-household. Nevertheless it is fairly usual to find extended family links of various forms, most of them

casual or temporary arrangements, giving to family organization a considerable richness and flexibility. Sometimes a household will incorporate a grandfather, grandson, or nephew, who is considered a dependant of the household. Sometimes also a family will include a brother, sister, or a cousin of one partner, but in these cases they may pay for their board and their stay may be regarded as temporary.

Under 'traditional' family patterns husbands have the responsibility for feeding the family. In the countryside this pattern was reinforced by the modernization of the labour processes in the agrarian sector, giving the husbands opportunities for access to permanent employment. The security in income which this created led women to abandon direct agricultural labour on the haciendas. Later, land reform reinforced this male employment pattern.

Family organization, however, in the new shantytowns has changed as a result of transformations in residence and employment patterns. Yet these changes are not random; certain patterns reflecting different regional histories and production structures, can be identified. The common element that unifies them analytically is their recent and massive involvement in temporary rural employment as their main source of income. This situation provides the opportunity to examine more specifically the relationship which exists between family livelihood organization and patterns of economic change seen in relation to particular styles of development.

4.- FIELD RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

The fieldwork data upon which this thesis is based were

collected during research carried out in 1982-83 at GIA (Grupo de Investigaciones Agrarias), a private agrarian research centre based in Santiago, Chile. The research was designed to give us a comprehensive picture of population changes leading to the creation of rural shantytowns, as well as of the social and economic processes involved, such as employment, sources of income, family budgets and expenses, housing and urban conditions, and agricultural activities. The fieldwork information was complemented by an extensive analysis of census data, including the preliminary results of the 1982 national census.

Fieldwork was carried out in 20 localities in contrasting regional contexts, taking samples in various types of shantytown settlements. Case studies were collected in fruit growing areas, in the vegetable belt around Santiago, in the vine growing and industrial crop areas of Molina-Rio Claro, in the mixed cropping area of Nuble, and in the cattle raising region of. Furthermore, similar research was carried out in the forestry area by Harry P. Diaz (1). For this thesis I have selected four case studies in different economic environments, but have also included some of the general data covering the whole research. The GIA research team was made up of two researchers, M. Elena Cruz, an agricultural economist, myself, and three undergraduate research assistants, a sociologist, a geographer and an economist (2). GIA has been doing research on the Chilean agrarian sector since 1978, establishing a number of "representative" areas known as 'situations of production' (see Chapter III). Most recent research on the agrarian sector has been carried out using this model of differentiation by production zones. Five situations of production have been delimited: fruit growing, mixed cropping, grain producing, forestry, and cattle

raising areas.

One of the objectives of the research was to assess whether these different situations of production generate different patterns of settlement and population change. This was the reason why a large number of localities were selected for carrying out the fieldwork. The research was also directed to understanding the history of rural shantytowns, the reasons for their existence, and their stages of development, in order to relate their development to actual changes in the agrarian structure. The hypothesis in this respect was that most shantytowns would be quite recent, resulting from the post-1973 structural changes in the agrarian economy, and that they would reflect the growing uncertainties of employment and sources of income. Data were gathered in order to test this, including a detailed account of the number of days actually worked per week in 1982 for every household member. As it was assumed that wages would probably be insufficient to provide enough income for families, data were collected regarding various other sources, such as social security, home gardening and domestic work.

It was hypothesized, too, that households would aim at being as large as possible, so as to create a wide range of possibilities for access to sources of income. As a result, we expected to find the extended family households as a dominant pattern of family organization. With these ideas in mind an effort was made to collect information on the size of households, as well as the activities and incomes of every household member. Also in order to have a more comprehensive picture of migration, every member of the households was given a short life-history schedule organized into five-year time

periods. This information gave interesting insights into migration within rural areas, as well as into return migration.

The fieldwork was carried out with the help of certain private institutions mostly connected with the Catholic Church, which are currently giving technical assistance to peasants in these areas, and which are progressively becoming involved in development projects directed to rural shantytowns.

In each locality selected, usually a village or a quarter in a major town, a number of households were interviewed, ranging from between 20 and 40 per cent of the units. These households were selected on the basis of the occupational status of heads of household: we aimed to obtain a sample which reflected the proportion of permanent and temporary workers, as well as retired persons. Out of the total population interviewed, a small number of households were selected for more intensive case-study research, including taped life-histories (3).

The questionnaires were administered during 1982 and early 1983, with the aim of building up a picture of the year-round employment pattern for each member of the household and their contribution to the household income. There was no intention of collecting data on internal family-household relationships at this level. This was reserved for the in-depth case-studies.

Concerning labour categories, a division was made between permanent wage labour, those hired for regular work for six months or more, and temporary workers, those hired for a week or more at a time

who consider themselves as looking for more regular work. Women and children, whose commitment to labour was casual, such as short term help to husbands in wage labour, were not considered as forming part of those in employment. Persons involved in small-scale subsistence sharecropping, which was complementary to their main wage activities, were defined as wage labourers.

The thesis is organized in three main parts. The first part - chapters II, III and IV- provides a general theoretical framework and a historical background of the Chilean agrarian structure. This is followed by four chapters -V, VI, VII and VIII- which examine the relationship between employment patterns and family-household organization in specific regional contexts: fruit growing areas, wine growing and industrial cropping areas, mixed cropping areas and finally, forestry zones. Each chapter includes a general economic and social account, followed by an analysis of various forms of family household organization in the zones under study. The thesis ends with two chapters, the first (chapter IX) explores some comparative issues involving the four case-study areas, dealing with family-household organization, employment, and income and expenditure budgets. Chapter X concludes the thesis by relating the field data to theoretical issues raised in the opening chapters.

CHAPTER I I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to analyse the socio-economic changes outlined in the introductory chapter, we must develop a conceptual framework which aims to link both general issues with the actual behaviour of households in the rural shantytowns, as well as the daily fight for subsistence of the temporary wage labourers. Let us firstly discuss some key concepts. That might provide such a framework.

I began by exploring the concept of 'modes of production', which has currently been used in analyzing urban shantytowns and changing rural society in Latin America, but I soon came to the conclusion that this particular concept could explain little beyond simply the relationships and conflicts between capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production. A mode of production approach tends to be rather mechanical and evolutionist and often conflicts with empirical findings. On another level, the concept of 'styles of development' -understanding by that the various possible alternative

ways of organizing capitalist development- seemed to me more workable for analyzing the process of capitalist development, especially in situations where pre-capitalist modes of production no longer existed.

However, a particular style of development does not produce similar effects in every corner of a given country due to variations in local conditions that result from differences in natural and social resources. This generates specific patterns of regional differentiation. Thus, employment in a certain region can have completely different implications from that of another region, and the same is true of poverty levels. In one area a certain level of income may be regarded as the poverty datum level, whereas the same income in another area may generate a reasonable living. Important differences in expenditure exist, due to different local standards and available resources. In certain regions, for example, most cooking may be done on open wood fires, while in other areas, gas cookers are used because of the shortage of fire wood.

An important point concerning regional differentiation is the different responses of regions to the same style of development. This will in part depend upon how important particular regions are to the State with respect to agricultural production. Also, in different periods, certain crops expand or are reduced according to their importance in the economy of the country, thus redefining the dynamics of local employment. I use the concept of 'situation of production' to deal with this type of phenomenon. As I briefly mentioned, this concept provides the theoretical framework for recent agrarian research in Chile. An explanation of the concept is given in a next section of this chapter.

Another theoretical problem concerns the analysis of large masses of wage labourers who are only partially involved in the capitalist process of production. Clearly it is not possible to designate this particular situation as non-capitalist; hence it is difficult to talk of the articulation of separate modes of production. I have chosen instead to work with the concept of 'marginality' in order to examine situations where 'incompletely developed' classical capitalist wage labour relations are found. By 'marginality' I understand the social and economic conditions of those sectors of the population living in the "inner fabric" of society, not on the "outer borders", where pre-capitalist sectors are presumed to be located. This contrasts with the notion of many authors that marginal sectors are not fully part of society, either because they are part of a dual society, or because they participate in pre-capitalist modes of production. For me, marginal populations are those that result from a particular process of capitalist development and must not be seen as incompletely incorporated survivals from a past structure.

Having defined marginality as a specific aspect of certain forms of capitalist expansion, forms that have already been characterized as styles of development, I then selected the concept of 'survival strategies' to deal with the relationships existing between the work force and the more general social and economic process. 'Survival strategies' comprise certain forms of social and economic behaviour associated with those sectors of society that find it difficult to earn enough income to achieve what would be considered as an acceptable minimum standard of living in a given society. But it was immediately evident that survival strategies are not just a matter of individual behaviour but also of group behaviour, with the family-

household operating as the main group, since it is through the ways in which individuals contribute to a common domestic fund that each member secures his or her means of survival. At this point the analysis can take two main directions. The first looks at internal family relationships, including changes in the power structure, resulting from conditions of extreme poverty and the need for strategies to 'survive'. The second direction concerns the external connections, that is to say, what are the changes faced by each member of the family household -and the family itself- in their relations with society at large, and how are some roles changing due to the necessity of obtaining resources to survive, both in the labour process and in the family's relations with the State. I will deal here mostly with the second set of problems, since the main focus of the research was not the family itself but questions of employment and livelihood. This allows me to relate family household organization to the general processes of economic change.

In the next section of this chapter I discuss these five concepts -styles of development, situation of production, marginality, survival strategies and family-household organization-, their history and the differences in meaning given to them by various authors, and the way in which I shall use them in this thesis. A further point is that, with the exception of the concept of family-household that is currently used in anthropology and sociology, the other four (styles of development, situation of production, marginality and survival strategies) emerged in the context of recent Latin American socio-economic trends, more specifically with reference to the post 1940's industrial development. The contribution of this thesis to the present theoretical debate on these problems is to bring together these

concepts in order to analyse the impact of present socio-economic changes on the living conditions of the poor sectors of the agrarian social structure. This objective is accomplished using data collected in Chilean situations, but, as will be shown later, there is enough evidence to extend this analysis as a research hypothesis to other parts of Latin America.

1.- STYLES OF DEVELOPMENT

Capitalist countries are generally classified into two groups: those which are developed or industrialized and those which are underdeveloped or poor. Both groups have been given several denominations, apart from those quoted above, but I prefer to use the differentiation by Prebisch (1976) who establishes a difference between 'central' and 'peripheral' countries, respectively. This distinction is of enormous importance in the characterization of the living conditions of people, especially in Latin America, where all countries are part of the periphery of capitalism.. As Lefever and North have pointed out (1980:5), "there is a fundamental difference between the social welfare effects of capitalism in the industrialized nations and the process of development currently taking place in Latin America. In contrast to the earlier history of the industrialized countries, which in its own tortuous way did lead to significant increases in working class living standards, capitalism in Latin America has failed to spread the benefits of economic growth to the lower income groups".

For most authors peripheral capitalism meant an extremely high degree of social differentiation between a tiny rich elite and the great mass of the poor. Prebisch, one of the authors most concerned

with this problem, writes: "peripheral capitalism, particularly in Latin America, is characterized by a dynamic which excludes the great mass of people. It is a dynamic process oriented toward the privileged consumer society. This is because the process of capital accumulation and the introduction of new technologies from industrial centres are not motivated by the purpose of progressively incorporating new social strata in the development process" (1980:21).

Put in another way, industrialized countries need to incorporate their own workers as consumers of their manufactured goods, so they must spread the benefits and high incomes as widely as possible through the population. The growth of an important internal market seems to be a condition for creating and maintaining steady industrial development. Peripheral countries, on the other hand, which mostly produce raw materials and primary industrial goods, do not need to raise salaries because their workers are not the immediate consumers. This is the reason why capitalism in the periphery has failed to spread social benefits and higher salaries to the population as a whole. As a result, only a small proportion of the population obtains the benefits of higher incomes. Yet, despite the predominance of this general pattern, there have been some countries that have tried to counteract this model of development, as Chile did in the period of 'substitutive' industrial development between the 1930's and 1973.

The dominance of primary goods in the export structure is quite clear for Latin American countries. For example, in 1975 some 86.4 per cent of their exports were primary goods, mostly agricultural. Also the low prices of these goods has led, time and again, to an increase

exports in order to maintain the same level of income. As a result, Latin American "agricultural production for the internal market has been neglected and only agricultural exports have grown" (Lefever and North, 1980:8). For peasants as well as commercial enterprises, due to the poverty and low wages of the urban population, the internal market does not offer an acceptable level of profitability. For that reason, most better land is dedicated to crops that are produced with low technological inputs and minimum salary costs (Young, 1970:343).

In Latin America, then, two main trends can be identified: one promoting industrialization for the internal market, and the other, trying to achieve development through the export of primary goods. These two main trends can be called 'styles of development'. The concept 'style of development' has been currently used to analyse how available capital and human resources are combined to generate an expected goal in terms of development. By available resources I mean natural resources, labour skills, factories, roads, and everything that falls within a specific body of legal dispositions and State policies.

Similar concepts in current use are 'economic model' and 'accumulation pattern'. The first emphasizes the existing economic thought behind a specific style of development, and is presently used in Chile with reference to the 'neo-liberal' economic model. The second is used to identify the social class or classes that benefit from capital accumulation under a particular style of development. Thus, it is possible also to speak of the 'neo-liberal accumulation pattern'. Usually, of course, these concepts are used indistinctly.

The concept of style of development has been used widely in planning alternative strategies of development. It emerged at the end of the 1970's as a way of explaining that there was not only one road to development, but several. From the beginning, the concept was used to characterize a specific combination of resources in order to reach an expected goal. In 1976 the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), an United Nation's organization based in Santiago, devoted the first issue of its new journal (in Spanish) mainly to a discussion of this idea (4). Three papers were written on the topic by Wolfe, Graciarena and Pinto.

Wolfe writes that "styles of development arise out of real social systems, as conceptualizations of their processes of economic growth and social change" (1976:132) (my translation; the same for further quotations from Spanish works). He distinguishes between a 'real or actual' style of development, which in Latin America he calls "dependent capitalism", and those preferred or alternative styles, which have not yet been put into practice by any society, and which he describes as 'original', 'autonomous' and 'value-oriented'.

Graciarena differentiates between 'development strategies', which are short-term and piece meal in their effects and which are currently known as 'desarrollism', and those that can be properly regarded as styles of development. He argues that the concept of styles of development entails changes both in economic structure and State power, since economic change must be implemented by new social forces, otherwise it amounts to desarrollism only. He adds that a style of development is always an alternative among several possible and potentially successful ones. He points out that authors may define

the concept according to their particular interests, but that he prefers to distinguish between two main styles of development in Latin America: That of 'associated development', ostensibly aimed at achieving a form of liberal social and economic democracy along the lines of that of Western capitalist countries. This goal is, however, promoted by an oligarchic elite interested in economic modernization, and entails the strengthening of the links between the economies of the underdeveloped and industrialized countries. The other style he terms 'social development'. This type exists where popular participation becomes more important than immediate economic growth, such as the Cuban or Nicaraguan case. According with Graciarena, such a style usually operates without political pluralism and is based upon an authoritarian control by the State.

Finally, Pinto distinguishes between three different levels of analysis, arguing that the notion of 'system' should be used for differentiating capitalism from socialism; 'structure' for differentiating between developed and underdeveloped countries; and 'styles' to refer to the alternative options existing within a particular system and structure, such as an industrializing style in an underdeveloped socialist country. He states: "from a strictly economic point of view, style of development can be understood as a way of organizing material and human resources to solve questions about what, for whom and how to produce goods and services" (1976:104). For this author, the ways in which each of these three questions are answered actually defines the style of development. He does not explicitly say how many styles can be identified in Latin America, although he recognises that there are many. Argentina and Central America, for example, have very different styles of

development.

According to these writers, then, style of development is quite a flexible concept. In general it seems to imply a long-term plan aimed at building a particular type of society supported by a specific social class (or classes), given available natural and human resources. In this sense, style of development brings in the idea of a class project backed by a certain economic model, which may either emphasize the economic or social participatory dimensions of development.

During the last fifty years, Chile has attempted to implement two different styles of development, distinguished by their emphasis on different forms of capital accumulation.

The 'industrializing style of development'(5) began after the 1929 world crisis. Its main concern was that of creating industrial development through the establishment of certain basic national industries directed mostly towards the internal market. Then in the 1950's and 1960's more emphasis was given to promoting agrarian development. This brought about great changes in the agrarian sector, firstly through the modernization of the haciendas, and later, through the land reform process. It reached its climax between 1970 and 1973 with the attempt to change Chilean society into that of a socialist system.

A 'neoliberal style of development' resulted following the military take over in 1973. This style shares few characteristics with the former, in part because the social class behind this new model is

basically linked to financial capital and has a purely monetarist conception of development. According to this style of development, free market regulations will allocate available resources to those sectors with comparative advantage in the international market, generating in this way a sort of specialization of production that would increase profitability and lead to a pattern of self-sustaining growth.

The neo-liberal economic model was based heavily upon external funding ("external savings"), which provided investment and bank loans to individual consumers. In 1980-81, the volume of external loans was equal to that of Chilean's total exports. In this way one of the biggest per capita external debts was created. But, since many of this new-found cash liquidity was spent on imported consumer goods, the predicted industrial development did not take place.

Throughout the foregoing discussion on styles of development we have been dealing with a two-fold phenomenon: the way in which actual resources available for development are organized, and the social forces behind development initiatives. This last point leads us to a further discussion about the question of the State. It is not my intention to go deeply into this, but it is necessary to identify some crucial elements. In Latin America, the State is more than an agency of power regulation in society. It is itself a part of the economic structure. In fact, the State not only has a regulating role concerning policies over credit, subsidies, taxes and prices, but it also plays an active role in industrial investment and development. In the Chilean case, even after the attempt to place most of the State owned industry in private hands, some fifty per cent of all industry

(copper, steel, electricity, oil) still remain in State hands. Many authors have argued in fact that in Latin America the State plays a more directive role in the economy than in the more developed countries (Evers, 1979). According to Oszlack, "the State appears to be an actor able to produce and maintain the conditions that make possible the full development of productive forces" (1979:28).

The reasons for this particular behaviour can be found, on the one hand, in the early dominance of the economy by international capital that makes it difficult to generate more autonomous capital accumulation in private enterprise, leaving the State as the only possible investor; whilst, on the other hand, the dependent nature of these societies means that "the region's national bourgeoisies are severely limited in playing their economic role, a role in which it could be either replaced by the State or supported by it" (Diaz, 1983:38).

2.- REGION AND SITUATION OF PRODUCTION

Regional analysis has recently been incorporated into theoretical work in anthropology in order to understand crucial differences in social and economic structure within countries. A region is usually defined as a clearly delimited and persisting geographic and economic unit with a central organizing location, often an urban area around which the regional structure is built. This conception of region, embracing as it does all agricultural, mining, fishing, and industrial enterprises located within a region, is, however, from the point of view of socio-economic analysis rather static. Nevertheless, regional analysis helps to give a context in

which to located the actual activities of people and thus avoids some of the inadequacies of aggregate national comparisons. My definition of region follows closely two theoretical developments : the definition of 'situation of production' as developed by the GIN research team -within which this research was carried out-, and the notion of 'system of production' elaborated by Long and Roberts (1984: 3-9).

From the point of view of the agricultural sector, the geographically-based conception of region cannot explain fully the implicit dynamic of certain products, their territorial distribution, or the social dynamic associated with particular local forms of capitalist development. Also, it cannot explain dimensions such as the structure of land tenure, types of labour processes, pricing system, and many other aspects concerned with dominant production processes.

One possible way of avoiding rigidity in a regional perspective is to focus on exchange, such as one finds in the models developed by Cotler (1967-8) on the mechanics of internal domination based on ethnic differences, or by Skinner (1964-5) on market hierarchies. Exchange allows social or ethnic groups to interact with each other, and, thus, at the same time, creates the basis for regional stratification. Smith (1976, II:310), who asserts an interest in class analysis, argues that, although production is very important, exchange systems provide the key to understanding social stratification in a given regional context. Variations in class stratification result from the differential commercial relationships between producers and non-producers that develop over time. Furthermore, the exchange system also provides a means of control over

production systems, since the possibility of commercial entrepreneurs to buy in bulk allows them to build up merchant monopolies.

According to this view, then, exchange systems are the arena in which the relationships of classes and different sectors of a given national or regional society are played out. However an analysis that focuses only on exchange lacks the capacity to explain the origins of classes and existing stratification systems. Another problem with this approach is that it concentrates on the relationships between groups, not on the groups themselves. A different picture is provided by an analysis which focuses on production systems. The central hypothesis here is that the same general forms of production and State intervention have different regional effects due to variations in available resources and in the way in which local economic activity becomes integrated historically into the wider processes of development. An example of this is provided by Long and Roberts (1984) who quote the works of Appleby (1976) and Orlove (1977).

Appleby analyses the changes in regional structure as a result of large scale, export-oriented, wool production in Puno, Peru. The concentration of wool production in large haciendas, along with the development of the railway, undermined the traditional urban centres and forms of local peasant production, concentrating most regional activities along the railway and in the largest urban centres (Appleby, 1976, II:298-300). A very different regional response to large scale wool production, however, was observed in the nearby region of Sicuani, studied by Orlove. The author points out that the development of the wool economy in Sicuani took place in the face of different local resources and occurred later than in Puno, and, as a

result, there was a different outcome, namely, the strengthening of peasant production vis-a-vis hacienda enterprise.

Long and Roberts' conclusion is that the analysis of "regional structure needs then to be based on an understanding of the distinctive features and historical context of the development of agricultural and/or industrial production. The basic issue, it seems to us, is that, in areas affected by the rapid expansion of export production, the dominant force for change in local economies has been the requirement that this production has had for labour, land and essential infrastructure. An analysis of exchange and distribution such as those by Cotler (1967-68) and Smith (1981) is inadequate for understanding the impact of these demands because changes in production have entailed not only an expansion of commercial opportunities but changes less likely to be fully reflected in exchange and distribution practices, such as modifications in the household economy and in the rural division of labour. For example, villages have become organized around regular labour migration, often of a seasonal kind; local economies have diversified into new craft and trading activities; and women and children have come to play a different and central role in agricultural production. Moreover, such changes are likely to result in, or at times be produced by, new forms of administrative and political control. Indeed, it is often through the political reorganization of rural society that the expansion of the export sector is facilitated and surplus extracted from a peasantry that nevertheless retains control of its land" (1984: 7-8).

According to Long and Roberts, the way a region is structured has to be approached through an analysis of the main production trends

in a given region, such as mining in the Central highlands of Peru. Their analysis builds upon "generalized linkage theory" developed by Hirschman (1977) (see Long, 1979 and Long and Roberts, 1984). This approach focuses upon the various types of internal and external linkages resulting directly or indirectly from the presence of particular types of production. Hirschman develops his argument from the 'staple thesis' of economic development, which attempts to show how underdeveloped national and regional economies are shaped by the requirements of specific primary products for export. These requirements establish various types of linkage, both 'backwards' and 'forwards', which are basic to the operation of production, and which in turn, tie up the whole socio-economic dynamic to these particular requirements. In the Central Region of Peru, "The impact of the export sector on the economy of the central highlands was ... substantial both in terms of the wages spent locally and in terms of the linkages that developed between the export sector, agriculture, commerce, transport and local manufacturing industry." (Long and Roberts, 1984:44).

Concerned with this same sort of problematic, the GIA research team (8) began during 1978-80 to reformulate the concept of region so that it could be more useful for agrarian research. The prevailing concept of region -based as it was on the idea of a delimited and persisting geographic and economic unit- proved too inflexible for analyzing the Chilean agricultural sector. Specific crops, as well their associated social dynamics, do not coincide with fixed geographical limits, and do not remain the same historically. This led us to develop the concept of 'situation of production', which although necessarily having some geographical and regional reference, focuses

primarily on socio-economic processes whose sets of relationships may fluctuate in importance spatially over time.

This new focus for regional analysis allowed us to identify five situations of production in the central, and most important, part of the country, between the Aconcagua valley and the province of Llanquihue: fruit, mixed crops, grain, cattle, and forestry. And during 1978 and 1981 a research project studied all five situations of production (see Bengoa, 1981; Cruz and Leiva, 1982; Crispi and Rivera, 1982; Cruz and Rivera, 1983; and Miroc, 1984). Within this framework many other research projects have also been carried out concerning peasant women, Mapuche indians and rural shantytowns.

A 'situation of production' embraces a territorial unit dominated by a certain crop or group of similar crops, which give the territory its main social and economic characteristics. Thus, a situation of production may actually cover several geographical regions, such as fruit growing which spreads across four regions (Aconcagua valley, Santiago basin, Colchagua region, and the northern part of the Maule region). A special feature of a situation of production is its historical variability, because what is now the territory dominated by a certain crop, might be different in the future, with consequent changes in the social and economic dynamic of the area. Wheat production is a good example of this, since what was in the past wheat territory in the northern part of the central valley is now a fruit growing area. Similarly, the Santiago basin was the main milk producing area of the country until the 1950's, but now is a fruit and vegetable area, with hardly any milk production surviving.

As pointed out earlier, changes in regional dynamics follow a logic which, on the one hand, is shaped by the existence of certain resources which allow them to become easily involved in the growing of a particular crop or crops which have specific demands. Thus, fruit and vegetables which fetched higher prices in the Santiago basin displaced the former milk production, which shifted to other areas where fruit and vegetables could not readily be grown. On the other hand, differences between two neighbouring situations of production partly depend upon the current style of development which, through State policies, may encourage certain types of production in some locations.

For these reasons the concept of situation of production should be understood as implying, more than as a spatial territorial configuration. It also entails a particular set of social and production processes found within a particular area, zone or region, and influenced by a specific style of development. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by an example from the forestry sector. This is a situation of production consisting of radiata pine plantations. At present, pine plantations are strongly encouraged by the State through a system of subsidies. As a result, certain areas which probably would have been more appropriate for cattle raising are being planted with pines. Under a different style of development which encouraged national self-sufficiency in food, the expansion of the forestry sector would naturally have been completely different. At present the forestry area spreads across various regions covering most of the coastal range between the Aconcagua valley up to the province of Llanquihue, and in certain areas advances into the central inland valley area. It is rapidly expanding, using more and more deteriorated

or semi-eroded lands which had formerly been used for agricultural purposes. Its actual expansion will last until other crops match its present rate of profit or until the exploitation limit is reached. Meanwhile more and more zones are being reafforested, roads built, and ports modernized for handling the export of timber.

The central point is that a situation of production creates specific social and economic configurations, labour and employment peculiarities, and different sources and levels of income for family-households. Moreover the precise way in which each production area fits into the national economy gives rise to patterns of social behaviour which are particular to that area. In the cattle raising areas employment is scarce but most of it is permanent, while in the forestry and fruit growing regions employment is abundant but temporary. The ways in which particular family households cope with each economic situation is also different. Marginality and strategies for survival vary since in certain areas marginalized populations are working in productive activities, whilst in others, like that of cattle raising, marginality means redundancy and a surplus population which has only a minimal chance of finding gainful employment. The types of survival strategies adopted will therefore differ according to the specific situation of production.

In the following chapters I show how styles of development and situations of production generate specific social and economic dynamics, leading to different family-household situations and to different types of survival strategies among the rural poor. In order to do this I need first to consider the relevance of the concept of 'marginality'.

3.- MARGINALITY

The concept of marginality has often been used for examining present-day Latin American societies, especially with reference to the creation of the enormous slums or shantytowns in the large cities, which have resulted from the heavy migration from the countryside. From the 1940's onwards, the demographic revolution and new capitalist forms of production in agricultural areas have created masses of redundant workers for whom the only available option has been to come into the cities, where, especially during the 1950's, incipient forms of industrialization were taking place.

Industry in Latin America began before World War II. The interruption in the production of manufactured goods because of the war in Europe gave local industries a great boost. This led to a pattern of "import-substitution" industrialization which was aimed at replacing many simple-technology imports by nationally produced ones. Large numbers of rural migrants provided the cheap labour for this industry which, despite its precariousness, was able to offer better life chances to this surplus rural population. Industry provided direct employment, and there were indirect forms created through the development of various State and private services. None of this, however, was sufficient to fulfil all the employment needs, nor to cover adequately basic urban services such as housing, drinking water, and sewage.

As a result enormous shantytowns appeared on the outskirts of cities, whose inhabitants worked both in industry and in the informal sector, consisting of temporary workers, domestic staff and street

vendors. This was the social environment that in the 1960's led to the formulation of the concept of 'marginality', a word that is now fully incorporated into the common speech of most Latin American countries.

Marginality was specifically used early in the 1960's to describe and explain the way of life within the urban slums of Santiago de Chile. The main theoretical framework was developed by DESAL (Centro para el Desarrollo Economico y Social para America Latina). According to DESAL (1970), the concept must be understood in relation to some ideal model about what constitutes the norm of modern and acceptable living standards in the present day developed world, using the central capitalist countries as a standard for comparisons. In fact, few of what would be considered acceptable levels of social benefits and living conditions in modern society were found: no proper housing, no urban development, no stable employment for the majority, and no minimum social security payments.

DESAL carried out a general survey on marginality in various countries identifying many similarities in the living conditions of the different shantytowns, which were characterized by a lack of any internal social dynamic and by social disintegration, which seemed more than anything else to be a matter of insufficient participation by the masses of society. This lack of participation led DESAL theoreticians to formulate the related concept of 'social integration', which focused on the idea of acknowledging the many ways in which marginal populations could contribute to the making of society if only they were given the opportunity to do so.

This theory has two separate areas of concern. On the one hand,

it conveys the idea of a lack of participation and access to the goods and services produced by society, and on the other, it signifies marginalization from the decision-making levels of society, even in those aspects of social and economic affairs directly concerned with their own lives. In this sense, as DESAL put it, "marginality in the life condition acts as a pathological feeling of social disintegration" (1970:29). Thus, for DESAL, marginality would disappear as soon as these poor people obtained access to basic goods and social benefits and found a way of participating more fully in society at large. This would happen, it was supposed, when industry and other modern activities were developed sufficiently to provide higher salaries and widespread social benefits; In short, once society became 'modernized' economically and socially.

This approach to the problem of poverty in Latin America has been strongly criticized, mostly because of two theoretical biases. On the one hand, DESAL treats poverty more as an ecological than a social problem, thus suggesting that marginality coincides with poor neighbourhoods. On the other hand, the approach assumes the idea of a dual society, since marginal areas are considered in a certain way as a separate part of society, where informal economic relations and practices are prevalent.

New approaches to the analysis of urban poverty, such as that of Castells (1975), have pointed out that this overlapping is empirically incorrect, since poor neighbourhoods are also the places of residence of large numbers of people fully integrated into the formal economy, and so for this reason it is incorrect to designate poor areas simple as marginal. Roberts (1978) has argued strongly that

this population, often said to be non-productive, is in fact engaged in a range of economic activities, such as temporary building work, various repair activities, small industries and workshops, without which the formal sector could not function. Indeed sometimes it becomes almost impossible to say where 'informal' and 'formal' activities begin and finish. Perhaps the most devastating criticism of the theories of marginality proposed by DESAL is that increasing modernization of Latin American countries has not brought about the end of marginality. Instead "the later development of Latin American societies, demonstrated that the process of modernization was not the definitive solution to the problems of marginality" (Diaz, 1983:15). An example of this lack of correspondence between modernization and social integration is Brazil. In this country, in spite of high rates of economic growth, marginality has not only been maintained, but increased (Kowarick, 1978).

Once these analytical problems became evident, a second approach to the analysis of social marginality and urban poverty emerged. This approach takes a historical and structural point of view, emphasizing that the main process of capitalist development in peripheral countries is unable to incorporate the large mass of marginalized population into labour markets, and as a result, marginality becomes a permanent feature of underdevelopment and one of its principal characteristics. This approach, developed during the 1970's (see e.g. Murmis, 1969; Quijano, 1970; Cardozo, 1971; Nun, 1972.), argues that the origin of marginality is the particular form that capitalist development takes in Latin America. Marginality is, then, seen mainly as involving a large 'reserve army of labour' -or a surplus population- that grows as result of the massive displacement

of the agrarian population from agriculture and due to the lack of occupational alternatives in other sectors of the economy.

For this approach the problem of employment, that had previously been considered by DESAL only as a descriptive element of marginality, now becomes a determinant criterion. In another words, the theoretical emphasis changes from consumption -the situation of marginality for DESAL was one in which people could not gain access to the goods and services produced by modern societies- to one of production, since marginality is now seen more as a problem of the lack of stable employment than lack of services. This shift also entailed a change from functionalist to marxist explanations. For marxism, labour of the industrial reserve army made up a mass of temporarily unemployed people, performs two main functions: the lowering of the cost of wages of the permanent labour force, and the creation of a reservoir of labour to allow, when necessary, the expansion of capital into new activities. Also, according to this new approach, marginality is a phenomenon resulting from the fact that industrial expansion creates employment at a lower rate than the increase in the labour force, with the inevitable result that a pool of permanently unemployed surplus labour is generated. This latter population is the sector of society that can be considered 'marginal', or a 'surplus population'.

This explanation relates marginality to the theory of structural dependency, pointing out that the marginal, or surplus population, is one of the elements that normally characterizes dependent capitalism. Hence marginality can hardly be considered a transitory process. It will remain a permanent feature so long as

dependent capitalism exists. Marginal populations lie outside the benefits of development, and are in effect the undesired product of underdevelopment. In this way, marginal populations have no significant role to play in the process of production.

In contrast to this view, recent theoretical developments in the 1980's have stressed the idea that marginal populations are centrally important to the process of capitalist production, and a key element in the way that capitalism expands in underdeveloped countries. Marginal populations, then, are not marginal from the point of view of their integration into the economy, but only from the point of view of their unstable links with capital. A pertinent example is the process of Brazil. Kowarick, for example, suggests that in Brazil it is possible to arrive at the conclusion that marginal labour has been, and continues to be, an important element in the expansion of the economy. According to him, marginal activities and marginal labour are neither a "dead body" nor a balloon-like tertiary sector. They are crucially important to the capital accumulation process itself, and therefore fully appropriate to the way that Brazilian capital develops. However, Kowarick restricts the concept of marginality to non- or pre-capitalist activities. He writes, "the marginal sectors appear as an important element in the expansion of a system that joins together capitalist and non-capitalist forms of production, forms that -it seems- do not show trends leading to its disappearance" (Kowarick, 1978:52).

Recently Bennholdt-Thomsen (1981) has added new elements to this discussion. She points out that most marginalist theoreticians, including marxists, have adopted the European model of capitalism as

"The Capitalism", a place where it is assumed that production and consumption of goods and services are created through formal wage relationships between labour and capital. Hence, the Latin American ideal-type model of reality is interpreted by reference to an existing European ideal-type model, instead of making an effort to extract conclusions from the available empirical evidence. Most of her analysis is directed towards a criticism of Latin American marxist scholars (eg. Quijano, Nun, etc.) whom she considers to have difficulties in grasping properly the problem of poverty, which, she claims, arises from the marxist conception itself with its exaggerated two-class model of society. "The sort of conflicts that thus appear are described with concepts like disintegration, structural heterogeneity, disarticulation, deformation, etc. It is completely understandable that this perspective arises particularly in the research of those situations, such as the discussions on marginality, which exhibits characteristics that strongly contrast with the theoretical laws of the ideal-model" (Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1981: 1519). In another words, the abstractness of this ideal-typical model of capitalist society is so great that "only the wage labour-capital relationships are considered properly capitalist" (Valdes, 1982:72).

In contrast to these formal ideal-type conceptions, Bennholdt-Thomsen proposes that all forms of relationship within capitalist countries ought to be included, such as non-salaried employment, non-formal employment and self-employment. She says that this is necessary in order to avoid "the difficulties that marxist authors experience of recognizing the economic, social and historical significance of non-salaried forms of labour ... Production for self-subsistence, the rearing of the next generation, and the every-day activities for the

reproduction of the labour force are excluded, though they are concerned with the social reproduction of the labour force" (Bennholdt-Thomson, 1981:1524-25).

For many marxists -she says-, minors and women are not considered part of the social process, and of course, the sexual division of labour as an element of social reproduction hardly exists at all, or is considered irrelevant. She finally insists that non-salaried forms of labour should not be considered as pre-capitalist, but instead, as a normal form of capitalist social reproduction. She proposes the use of the concept of 'subsistence production' for all those activities which are not directly remunerated by capital, but indirectly through the contributions of those members of the family household who are wage workers.

Bennholdt-Thomson does not conclude that the concept of marginality should be abandoned. On the contrary, she proposes that it is necessary to work more on this in order to make it theoretically useful. She suggests that the concept should include all "those labour relations which look like pre-capitalist forms but which in fact are the result of actual industrialization and commodity production in Latin American countries" (1981:1529). In fact, marginalized populations cater for their own subsistence production outside the process of capital accumulation, but, through engaging in these activities, they in fact participate in the capitalist system by selling their home-produced commodities. They also participate in the reproduction of the labour force for capitalist enterprise, particularly non-permanent wage labour. In this way "marginality can not be considered as a transitional process leading to a developed

economy, but as a result of underdevelopment itself" (Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1981:1530).

In spite of her sound criticism of the structuralist bias of marxist theories of marginality, her conclusions, it seems, are based implicitly upon a dual-society model: that of a capitalist sector, on the one hand, and a non-salaried self-subsistence peasant sector on the other, which are linked to each other through temporary employment and petty commodity production. Thus, although I agree with much of her criticism of structural marxism and also believe that the concept of marginality is useful and calls for more work, I can not accept the notion that runs through her work and of others that marginality can be identified simply with those activities that are considered as not fully incorporated within the capitalist structure, either in the strictu sensu as represented by the views of Quijano or Nun, or in the more flexible interpretations offered by Kowarick and Bennholdt-Thomsen.

In my view marginality is, at least in the rural areas, a phenomenon which nowadays forms the basis for major capitalist production activities. In the past, during the 1950's and 1960's, a large part of the so-called marginalized population was involved in peripheral activities: hence marginality was considered an integral part of the first phase of capitalist expansion before the appearance of major forms of economic modernization. Nowadays, as I will show later, there is strong evidence that activities designated 'marginal' are in fact central to agrarian capitalist production and a structural feature associated with the present style of development.

In the first place, it seems that changes in the process of capital accumulation in Latin America have led to a shift away from an industrializing to a non-industrializing style of development. Miro and Rodriguez (1982) have pointed out that, from the 1950's until the 1970's, the main trend in agrarian structure was towards a modernization of the hacienda system through capital penetration but without any substantial changes in land tenure. This process meant the progressive substitution of social relations based on rent and labour coercion by those based on wage. In most countries these changes resulted in a significant increase in the labour force of the new capitalist process of production. In Chile, for example, modernization of the hacienda led to an increase in permanent employment, as well as social benefits for the agricultural labourer. However, most of the newly employed labourers were denied housing or garden allotments on the farms, as had been the previous practice (Rivera and Cruz, 1984).

According to Miro and Rodriguez, capitalist penetration in the agrarian sector changed again after a period. This new stage, which was characterized by an "intensification of capitalism", generated "a fairly unclear process of sub- or semi-proletarianization, as well as original forms of rearticulation with the peasant economy" (1982: 57). A central feature of this new phase of capitalist expansion is the appearance of temporary workers who differ from the earlier seasonal workers of peasant origin. In the past, temporary labour was hired mostly during peak seasons of harvesting, but now temporary workers form the regular basis of agricultural labour. This, it is argued, is advantageous to capitalist enterprise since it reduces employment requirements to minimum cost (Saint (1981).

This new labour force is composed either of subsistence peasants or landless workers living in the nearby towns and cities. Thus, for peasants, capitalist expansion does not create the conditions for their entire proletarianization, but rather an equilibrium between a gardening-type agriculture -with a high degree of female involvement- alongside temporary wage labour on capitalist farms. And for landless agricultural workers, we find a complex mixture of urban industrial activities combined with available rural-based temporary jobs. Many agricultural workers live, therefore, on the outskirts of urban areas, but still consider themselves as rural workers. A central characteristic of this process is the residence of wage workers mostly outside the farms, many of them in what might be considered as urban areas. This situation makes for a quite new type of problematic, both for the analysis of actual capitalist development in Latin America, and for the analysis of marginality.

Mexico, Brazil and Chile, among others, are countries where this process appears in a clear fashion. In all three countries, capitalist expansion in the countryside has had strong effects on the population process, creating an enormous body of temporary labour composed of both peasants and urban dwellers.

Research carried out by Pare (1979) among Mexican sugar cane cutters documents how workers are recruited from two different locations. On the one hand, there is a sector that comes temporarily from distant peasant villages organized into work-gangs; and on the other, a sector of "free" workers who are living permanently within the sugar cane areas. This latter category is made up of landless workers, most of them ex-peasant migrants, who have settled down on

marginal land around the towns and villages near to the sugar zone. A study by Verduzco (1982) carried out in La Uno, a rapidly expanding new town in the semi-tropical area of Puebla, shows a similar pattern of urban settlement with temporary agricultural employment for about 25 per cent of the population.

Astorga Lira (1981) studied some of the newly irrigated districts of north-east Mexico, and found that enormous numbers of workers got jobs in the cotton fields on a temporary basis. Also, most of them resided alongside the roads, creating a new type of settlement called "chorizos" ('sausage villages'), due to their strip-like shape. Research carried out in Zamora on the Mexican strawberry industry showed a fairly similar pattern. Feder (1979) stated that "the strawberry industry has brought into Zamora thousands of workers, including peasants or peasants' sons, creating an uncontrolled flow of people toward the city and nearby towns. Zamora, once a small town, is now a city of 95.000 inhabitants. Jacona, another town, now has 30.000 inhabitants. To these figures it is necessary to add those thousands of temporary peasant migrants, who settle down in these cities and towns for only a short time. But, each year a great proportion of the migrants maintain themselves in the towns, finding a place in the "ciudades perdidas" ('lost towns'), a new kind of shantytown that has grown and covers kilometre along side the roads, or on the outside of the city itself. About 75 per cent of the population of Zamora lives in these shantytowns" (Feder, 1979: 108-9).

Since the beginning of the 1960's the growing importance of temporary labour in Brazilian agriculture has become evident, especially for those crops with a large internal and external market.

Sugar cane, for example, has expanded greatly because of the programme aimed at replacing petrol by alcohol for road vehicles. Another important new crop is the soya bean, of which Brazil is one of the biggest exporters. At present most labour requirements for these crops, as well as for others like coffee and fruit, are met through temporary wage labour. Graziano da Silva analyzed this phenomena arguing that "the increase of temporary labour relations that occurs jointly with the development of capitalism in rural Brazil makes temporary labour a specific form of proletarianization" (1981:118). In the state of San Paulo, where capitalism in agriculture has expanded more rapidly than in other states, permanent workers decreased by 40 per cent between 1964 and 1975; whilst, in the same period, temporary labour expanded by 44 per cent.

The first piece of research in Brazil on this new labour situation was carried out by Bombo and Brunelli (1966), in whose work the first overall description of this employment pattern can be found. They picture the temporary workers as people whose employment was intermitent, with informal labour relations, and living outside the farms, usually on the periphery of towns and cities. This research also popularized the current description of these workers, "boia-fria" (cold meals), as a general term for temporary workers in Brazil. Later Gomez da Silva described the boia-fria worker in more precise terms as those "temporary workers living outside the farms, usually in the periphery of towns and cities, where they may or may not be conveniently registered for legal labour protection or social security. They are paid for work done or by the day, and usually have to travel some distance each day between home and work place" (1975:8). The urban or semi-urban pattern of residence of this labour

force tends to make for equality of urban and rural salaries, as well as overlap between rural and urban labour markets (Gonzales y Bastos, 1975:12).

In Chile my own research work on new patterns of residence among rural workers shows a similar process to that described for Mexico and Brazil (see Cruz and Rivera, 1982; Rivera, 1982; Diaz, 1983; Rivera and Cruz, 1984). As in Brazil, censuses in Chile show a decreasing trend in the size of the permanent labour force in the agrarian sector, which dropped by 20 per cent between 1965 and 1976. In the same period, temporary wage labour increased by 46.5 per cent. The above studies also point to the fact that temporary labour has become the core of the labour force in the leading export sectors, such as fruit and forestry. Also, as in the Mexican and Brazilian cases, a great deal of the temporary labour occupied in agriculture comes from towns and cities, and is available all the year round. Temporary peasant labour, meanwhile, is hired only during the peak seasons; and, as shantytowns have spread into the rural and semi-urban areas, peasants are progressively replaced by forms of non-peasant labour.

All this calls for a re-evaluation of the significance of marginality. Are these temporary workers a marginalized sector? Are they a marginal proletariat, as Diaz (1983) has suggested, from a study of the Chilean forestry sector? Are these 'new' forms of pre-capitalist labour relations? Are they not yet fully integrated into the capitalist structure of production? and so on.

Here we are not concerned with a discussion of different

theories about the same type of marginality, but one of trying to explain a new form of marginality. The first point I want to make is that capitalism itself is taking new paths, and as a result, marginality at present is not as it used to be. In the past, during the first stage of modern capitalist expansion in Latin America, which was inspired by the idea of creating a manufacturing industrial base for the internal market, those considered marginal were precisely those who were not incorporated into the new employment structures being created. At present, on the contrary, marginality itself has become a central mechanism of capitalist development, which searches for expansion precisely in those areas where marginal populations are most easily to be hired. Thus, marginality has entered a new stage, where the ruling classes are no more looking for ways to eliminate it, but to increase it.

A second point relates to a re-evaluation of which activities may be called marginal. In the past, marginal activities were those where remuneration was informal, such as domestic labour, or only partly salaried. In this respect, as permanent labour in the countryside decreases and temporary employment becomes more important, then activities which in the past were not marginal, now become so.

A third point relates to the inability of wages to provide enough income to maintain and reproduce the labour force. This is the main reason why temporary labour can be defined as marginal. Sugar cane, cotton, soya beans, coffee, fruit and forestry do not provide long term employment (5), except for a small proportion of the labour force. It seems that only a small number of workers earn enough money to feed their families, and as a result, it is necessary for more

members of the family to enter into the labour market to ensure a regular minimum income. However, wages meet only part of a household's basic reproduction needs. The rest must be obtained through other means.

Individuals, who find it difficult to survive alone, find in family organization a base for joint efforts upon which to survive. In this way, every effort made by individual family members helps to make up for any wage deficiency. Such efforts can be called 'survival strategies'. Among poor peasants, heavily involved in temporary wage earning activities, most survival strategies are related to the cultivation of land for self-consumption; whereas among landless workers it is more difficult to know what they can do for survival.

There appear to be three different alternatives open to them: a) participation in the informal urban sector; b) to seek help from the State welfare; and c) to combine both. In most Latin American countries, the first alternative predominates, and as a result, street vendors crowd the cities, and complex forms of relationships between the urban and rural sectors develop. The second alternative seldom exists because social security systems are poorly, if at all, developed. The third alternative is therefore also not readily found. In this respect Chile is particularly interesting since a significant part of income actually does come from State welfare benefits. Thus, survival strategies among the poor in Chile include State welfare as an important element.

4. SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

The concept of survival strategies was firstly introduced in 1973 by Duque and Pastrana in their study of marginal slums in Santiago de Chile. This research focussed entirely upon the economic activities for the survival of poor families, examining the contributions made by each member to the household income, including the head of family, mother and children, as well as the aged and other persons temporarily living as part of the domestic group. The authors insist that the concept of survival strategies is concerned only with the "objective strategies for economic subsistence" (Duque and Pastrana, 1973:177).

On the other hand, the concept of survival strategies, although commonly used to refer to the poorest strata of a given society, relates to a wider set of problems -that of 'livelihood' strategies-. The concept of livelihood strategy assumes that man aims to reach a certain minimum standard of living, "which is taken to mean the sum of material goods, services and facilities used by a family in the course of its career, or by a man or woman during a lifetime. In addition to connoting such a packet of real goods and interactions, people living in different societies can be expected at any moment to maintain an approximate image of the livelihood for which they are working or which they expect to be their lot and their family's" (Pearse, 1975:39). According to Pearse, the word 'livelihood', means life-way or subsistence, and can be divided into two separate elements; that of "means of livelihood", which is confined to goods, services and facilities; and that of livelihood as it is related to social status.

Individuals and groups can expect therefore to achieve a minimum livelihood, according to their status in society. Nevertheless, specific problems can effect the opportunities of poor sectors of reaching that minimum and, in such circumstances, livelihood strategies can become survival strategies, since the means of subsistence to which they have access fall below the socially and historically defined minimum standard. In a certain sense therefore, livelihood strategies imply long term planning whereas survival strategies relate to shorter term immediate daily problems of subsistence.

Bearing in mind these theoretical distinctions, the concept of survival strategies has undergone broad changes of meaning in the years following the work of Duque and Pastrana, especially after it was adopted by PISPAL (Interdisciplinary Programme for Population Studies in Latin America) as a framework for conducting population studies in various countries, focussing on family household-organization and migration. PISPAL supported various research projects to investigate population changes and survival strategies. The concept was operationalized to refer to the current behaviour of different human groups aimed at ensuring their biological and material reproduction as social groups, with special reference to the family (PISPAL, 1978:7-8). The problem with this definition is that it amounts to the same as livelihood strategies, and subsequent research, therefore, shows a great deal of confusion between these two.

In an effort to develop a more precise definition, Torrado (1981) proposed the concept of "family survival strategies", to refer to the particular patterns of behaviour developed by each social group

or strata to ensure their material and social reproduction. These patterns encompass certain forms of economic participation, as well as demographic dimensions. Thus, she includes the formation and dissolution of family unions, different forms of generational composition of households, specific reproduction and mortality patterns, as well as patterns of education, migration, work and residence. According to Torrado, individuals who share similar family survival strategies tend to cluster to form communities or other types of groupings. However, her use of the concept, it seems, covers the same dimensions as those included under 'livelihood strategies'.

Arizpe (1981) examines the survival strategies of peasants in two different Mexican villages. She focusses on how families among smallholding peasants organize themselves in order to ensure their survival, based primarily on access to the market economy through the sale of their own labour. In this case, according to Arizpe, survival strategies depend, at least partially, on the temporary migration of certain members of the family (eg. the father, sons or daughters), whose cash remittances are used to purchase seeds and fertilizers for the production of maize, and for their other needs. Arizpe suggests that four or more children are required for the family to ensure its "minimal social reproduction", and "that does not mean that peasants deliberately and consciously decide to have more children...but, they find no urgent or immediate reason to limit the number of births, in spite of the strong birth control campaigns. On the contrary, in terms of income, the traditional large families have found a new function for children" (1981:208).

Arguello (1981) criticizes the extremely wide use of the

concept of survival strategies, which makes it fairly useless for actual research: survival strategies can mean almost any action dealing with organized behaviour of small groups and families!. His review of the work of Duque and Pastrana, PISPAL and Terrado concludes that the best way forward is to return to its original meaning as proposed by Duque and Pastrana. Hence he suggests that "by survival strategies must be understood a number of mechanisms and specific behaviour of a particular social group or sector of society attempting to obtain a minimum level of material reproduction, due to the incapacity of the system of production to provide them with a regular means by which to ensure the reproduction of life" (1981:194).

Arguello argues, however, that the following further specification is needed. First, the concept should not simple refer to behaviour relating to biological reproduction. Indeed, according to him, the tendency for certain groups to have a large number of children does not constitute a strategy for survival, since such behaviour consists of cultural patterns that have developed over a long period of time. Second, the concept should not be used in relation to just any social group, but only those groups that experience objective difficulties in obtaining a minimum standard of living necessary for survival. Third, survival strategies are not carried out by individuals alone, but by individuals as part of a family or defined social group. This is a crucial point, he suggests, since the notion of survival strategies includes the idea of cooperation, reciprocity and distribution of effort and income among various persons, in order to ensure individual reproduction as well that of the unit or group. He adds that for most Latin American scholars working on poverty problems there exists a certain level of

agreement that survival strategies "should be understood as the behaviour of certain subordinated groups, which cannot get permanent work or acquire a defined place within the structure of production, and therefore cannot obtain regular incomes to maintain and reproduce themselves at a defined minimum level. This is due to the insufficiency of the predominant style of development in the country in question" (1981:196).

Drawing out the main theoretical aspects relating to the concept of survival strategies, we find that it refers to three principal issues.

Survival strategies and livelihood.

There are life styles or livelihood strategies that are recognizable among sectors of a society, which allow individuals and social groups to reproduce themselves and achieve specific goals. Torrado's definition points towards this aspect of social life, and as livelihood strategies are part of the society as a whole, it seems pertinent therefore to separate them from survival strategies in the strict sense. It is necessary to keep in mind that whilst social groups of all kinds aim to maximize their resources, some are richly endowed whereas others face poverty and precarious living circumstances. The difference between a general notion of life styles or livelihood and the concept of survival strategies, then, lies in the fact that 'survival' problems seems more directly pertinent to the poorer classes in society. For groups that have no problems of material 'survival', organizing a better way of obtaining resources beyond that which is routine for them, is only an effort to improve

their already acceptable life conditions and living standards, not a question of survival.

Poverty and Survival Strategies.

A very different picture arises when low-income groups are considered. Persons living in extreme poverty have to think primarily about how to resolve their minimum survival problems. Only in these sorts of situations is it possible to speak about 'survival' strategies. For this reason I have in this thesis restricted my use of survival strategies to those households that constitute the poor in the regions studied. Such households cannot easily acquire an acceptable minimum standard of living within a reasonable time period, and are for ever struggling to make ends meet, although the actual levels of poverty and the specific problems they face vary according to the regional contexts.

In situations where capitalist development shows a trend towards increasing use of temporary labour, the concept of an industrial reserve army is placed in question since it was originally formulated to deal with a type of economic dynamic in which permanent employment was the usual pattern. Thus, with an industrializing style of development, survival strategies are commonly found among social sectors that are presently unemployed but expect later to find work in industry. In a situation, however, where capitalist development is based largely on temporary labour, this picture changes, since marginality, and with it survival strategies, become a central and permanent feature.

As Miro and Rodriguez (1982) have pointed out, the new pattern of agrarian capitalist development in the Third World is increasingly based upon temporary labour. Thus, when neo-classical advocates speak about the economic advantages of producing certain types of commodities in these countries, they are in fact speaking about the current availability of cheap temporary labour which lowers the costs of labour for export production, regardless of whether wages are high or low, temporary labour contracts help keep salary costs low.

In certain contexts the development of survival strategies has been associated with the expansion of the informal sector. In countries such as Peru (Rivera, 1983) and Mexico (Arizpe, 1981), the informal economy links the cities and peasant communities through various forms of petty commodity exchanges, often organized on a family basis. Another type of survival strategy is that associated with the search for temporary labour by landless agricultural workers, such as can be seen in the Mexican, Brazilian and Chilean exporting areas.

The precise way in which survival strategies develop in different countries, and during different periods, depends on the existing style of development. In the Chilean case, for example, marginality -the starting point for survival strategies- was previously a result of the lack of economic dynamism in agriculture and industry. Nowadays, in contrast, the neo-liberal style actively generates marginality and feeds upon it for its own growth. Survival strategies therefore are an intimate part of the neo-liberal model.

Survival Strategies and the Family Household.

A third element concerning marginality and survival strategies relates to the structure and conditions of the reproduction of the labour force, in another words, to family organization. When individuals are suddenly thrown out of permanent employment -or off their plots of land- their life conditions are dramatically changed, heavily affecting the organization of the family itself. Arguello (1981) argues that one cannot ignore the existence of habits and behaviour that are created as part of marginalized life conditions. Employment and income uncertainty give rise to types of behaviour that are substantially different from those existing under conditions of job and income security.

There is no doubt that the habits and behaviour that characterize survival strategies are the result of conditions imposed by the current economic situation, not simple a coming over from the past. Hence, as I argued earlier, the roots of marginality, and survival strategies, are strongly related to the style of development. At the same time, it seems important to point out that in the absence of workers' organizations, which might develop a minimum level of consciousness, survival strategies often reinforce certain cultural patterns of poverty, which include low value placed on educational, progressive lack of skills for other types of work, and, in general, the creation of a feeling of social impotence. Uncertainty, which is the core effect of marginality, creates habits which as time goes by strengthen the structural conditions upon which they are based. In fact, as survival strategies become more efficient, salaries can drop even lower, making it difficult to find a way of breaking out of

established patterns (see for a similar analysis Lewis' work on the 'culture of poverty' (Lewis, 1967)).

Despite this tendency towards institutionalization, when I write about survival strategies, it is assumed implicitly that these are not permanent patterns and can be changed. Changes may come as a result of the evolution of the style of development itself; or, in reverse, as survival strategies become more adapted to conditions of poverty and can support the family's needs for longer periods, they may themselves shape processes of social change.

Bearing in mind the above considerations, a definition of the concept of survival strategies should include the idea that it is concerned with the basic reproduction of life upon which, social, demographic and cultural behaviour is built. Basic reproduction of life is the first and overriding preoccupation for the extremely poor. In fact, when the head of the family is unable to continue to support the family due to the lack of employment, the family as a group must diversify its activities in order to compensate for the loss of income. This may mean that members (such as wife and children) have to give up other commitments, such as education, to cooperate in the search for means of subsistence.

5. THE FAMILY-HOUSEHOLD

Up to this point I have discussed marginality and survival strategies but dealt only incidentally with the family-household unit.

The last part of the chapter, then, focusses upon this basic social unit within which survival strategies take place.

The definition of family is extremely complex. Sometimes it is understood as the total number of persons recognized as being related by kinship, while, on other occasions it includes only the immediate nuclear family. This ambiguity is extended also to other closely related concepts, such as domestic groups, residential groups, and the procreative or biological groups. As Harris says, "There is probably no other term with which we shall have to deal that is less clear than this one" (1983:30).

In this thesis the concept of family is used primarily in the sense of 'domestic group', through which, as Fortes (1971) puts it, the reproductive nucleus is integrated with the environment and the structure of society as a whole. My analysis is concerned essentially with the relationships between family and society in the context of the labour and employment opportunities, and of how these affect family organization. I am not concerned with the detailed analysis of internal interactional patterns or role tasks within the domestic group. I use the terms 'family', 'domestic group', 'household' or 'family-household' rather interchangeably.

According to Wood, a "household can be defined as a group that ensures its maintenance and reproduction by generating and disposing of a collective income fund. As such, the household is differentiated from but not exclusive of the family, co-resident dwelling groups, and kinship structures" (1981:339). Another view is that of Wall (1983) who explains that whereas the word 'family' has a number of widely

different meanings, "the household represents something very specific: the co-resident domestic group. It marks out the living space of a group of people that is private to them in that other people may not enter it without permission" (Wall, 1983:17).

The income pooled by a household may derive wholly from its own production, in which case it may be defined as a production-consumption unit, or from outside wages, in which case it will function solely as a consumption unit. The income earned by the household is used to keep the members fed, sheltered, clothed, and to provide them with other social needs. Between the two extremes (peasants and proletarians) there are a vast number of ways of combining sources of incomes, depending on the means of production, available family labour and skills, employment opportunities and many other factors, all of which make for the dynamic character of household behaviour.

Households may be composed of 'nuclear families' or of more complex combinations, depending upon cultural patterns, or social and economic constraints. Households are built upon a family unit, the kinship core group (Harris, 1983), whose composition varies with the developmental cycle of the family. A 'nuclear family' is an elementary family made up of husband and wife and unmarried children in the first phase of its cycle of existence. In this nuclear phase the elementary family shares biologically based activities and, consequently, moves out of this phase after one generation (Harris, 1983:35). These 'biological-based' activities constitute the raw material for the formation of the wider household grouping which may include married children, grandparents and grandchildren. The domestic group or

household usually eats together and shares common property such as a house, and more importantly, the planning and coordination of the means to utilize their labour resources and means of production. According to Wall (1983), the most important element in defining a household is the sharing of meals in common, although, as he readily admits, the precise composition of the household varies historically and from region to region.

In addition to the nuclear family household, there exist households made up of a nuclear family plus a number of relatives, or of various related nuclear families. The term 'extended family' has been frequently used by sociologists in the study of bilateral kinship systems to describe three generational households made up of parents, children and grandchildren, although, as Harris (1983:46) points out, extended kin groupings may not necessarily form common residential or consumption groups. For example, one finds 'joint families' made up of various kin-related nuclear families that share common property (such as an agricultural plot), but which do not constitute a single consumption unit or eat together at the same table. This type of extended family does not strictly speaking constitute a household unit. On the other hand, we find extended households made up of parents and children plus other persons, no matter whether they be kin or not, who live together in the same dwelling unit. Examples of this would be those households with servants or non-kin boarders who remain temporarily attached to the group.

The three generational extended family household proved irrelevant to the situation of wage earners in my research, since households and extended families did not overlap so much as among

rural families. Instead one encountered households consisting of nuclear families plus additional relatives or boarders, and kin-related households that cooperated with each other in order to complement their livelihood strategies. These latter formed part of a network of extended family relationships between a number of households.

Households are not isolated from their immediate social and economic environments. They are in fact "influenced by forces that lie beyond the household unit. Legal and political institutions affect the stocks of the means of production by governing access to land, water, and other productive resources ... Given the macrostructural character of these contingencies, explanations for change must be sought at the level of the overall political economy of agricultural production" (Wood, 1981: 339-40).

These relationships of domestic groups to the wider economic and social environment is well illustrated by the case of the Caribbean Negro family, which is characterized by the predominance of the mother-household (see Smith, 1956; Clarke, 1957). This particular pattern of woman-centered households seems to result from both the legacy of slavery (including African pre-slave forms of social organization), and from the impact of a specific economic system, in which men have little opportunity to establish a fixed dwelling place and obtain access to regular employment.

An interesting situation is described by Jayawardena (1963) who studied Indian families in what was then British Guiana. He argues that the economic structure, as indexed by employment opportunities

and income levels, together with access to housing, largely explains the prevalence of a nuclear family, mother-oriented household pattern in spite of the strong emphasis in Indian culture on the joint family and paternal authority.

In British Guiana, the ideal structure of Indian families, "for the rearing, socialization and status ascription of children, is the nuclear family. This family is based on marriage, and unmarried women are rare. The conjugal relationships and the father-son bonds are the key relations in the structure of family. The dominance of male over female is a cardinal tenet of Indian culture as seen by Guianese Indians. The father is supposed to be a respected and authoritarian figure. Both the mother (his wife) and the children are, ideally, subordinated to him" (Jayawardena, 1963:46). Yet, in spite of this ideal structure, the actual organizational pattern of domestic groups is more complex. In fact the norms of family outlined above represent a pattern which is realized to an appreciable extent, but several factors affect the degree of approximation to the norms. "The three factors of a low income, decreasing wages and a fluctuating income, change the normal (or ideal) pattern of household relations ... One of the main lines along which this occurs is through a modification of the position of the wife/mother in the household and the family. The low income sends wives out to work (Jayawardena, 1963:53). Several organizational changes result. The first "occurs in the key relations of the normative structure: the husband-wife and father-son bonds. The increasing importance and power of the household head's wife modifies her status in the family structure, curtailing the dominance of the husband/father. At the other extreme are families which organizationally, though not structurally, resemble the matrifocal

'Negro family' in the Caribbean described by Smith and others. All these writers relate the emergence of the female as a power in the household due to the inability of the male to be an efficient provider. To the extent that these conditions are also true of Indian plantation labourers, a similar tendency is present. Mintz (1956) and Padilla (1956) have indicated similar trends in families in Puerto Rican sugar plantations" (Jayawardena, 1963:63).

This pattern of family organization in British Guiana is very interesting as an example of how changes take place. Most authors studying Caribbean families have argued that matrifocal nuclear families among Negroes result from a long history of slavery and from the constraints of the plantation labour system. Jayawardena points out that, in spite of the strong bias toward the extended family with male dominance characteristic of Indian families, the actual economic conditions resulting from the plantation economy force a similar bias towards matrifocal nuclear families. This leads him to give more weighting to existing economic conditions in the organization of families, than to cultural and historical background.

Thus, the study of Caribbean families, both Negro and Indian, provides an interesting breakthrough in examining relationships between family organization and styles of development. These works also offer insights into family organization in rural environments where temporary labour constitutes a main pattern of employment.

Our study of Chilean agrarian situations shows some similarities to the above: the organization of a plantation type economy in certain regions (fruit growing and forestry), characterized

both by a highly temporary employment pattern and instability of income sources, brings about the possibility of finding a similar type of female headed household.

Another interesting study of the relationship between family-household organization and socio-economic situation is that by Lomnitz in the poor slums of Mexico City. Lomnitz argues that "the reciprocity between relatives and friend ... ensures an individual's subsistence during the long and frequent intervals of unemployment ... if those intermittent resources are shared among six, eight or ten persons, the group will survive in circumstances where the individual would succumb" (1973:83).

The position of Lomnitz is particularly interesting since she points out that, in many cases what appears to be a set of individual units in fact turns out to be a complex network of relatives who share, in large measure, their resources and incomes, even where they do not make up households in the strict sense since they do not eat permanently together (Lomnitz, 1977:99). Lomnitz shows that between the isolated nuclear family household (which seldom in fact exists in poor neighbourhoods) and the extended family household, there exist family social networks made up of sets of biologically-based family links as well as of ceremonial or reciprocal relationships. She writes: "Kinship is the most common social foundation for networks. There is an essential distinction, however, between networks and families, or households. Of course, all three overlap in the case of networks integrated by an extended family. Yet kinship affiliation is neither necessary nor sufficient for network formation, as one frequently finds mixed networks of extended families with joint

families or with non-kin neighbours. On the other hand, many relatives maintain no reciprocal exchange whatsoever" (Lomnitz, 1977:156). The possibility of cooperating for survival in the poor conditions of the shantytowns is, according to Lomnitz, reinforced by the use of 'compadrazgo' (fictive kinship) and by friendship relationships: "Networks are indispensable for survival of the individual in the shantytown. Since networks are conditioned on physical neighbourhood and social proximity or 'confianza', we may expect 'compadrazgo' to develop particularly among neighbours and relatives. This is indeed the situation." (1977:161).

In this chapter I aimed to provide a conceptual framework, which would enable us to relate the general process of economic change with the patterns of household organization to deal with the situation of marginality produced by the increase of temporary employment and poverty, through survival strategies, and how this process relate with specific models or styles of economic development. In the next chapters I shall present a general overview of the evolution of the different styles of development in Chile, leading to the present unstable situation experienced by a great number of families involved in temporary agricultural employment. This will serve as a framework for the following case-study chapters, where I analyse the different types of households, family networks and their patterns of change found in the different situations of production.

CHAPTER I I I

STYLES OF DEVELOPMENT

1. THE HACIENDA AND CHANGES IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

For most of Chile's history the hacienda has been the basis of agrarian structure. Until the 1960's haciendas were enormous estates of many thousands of hectares. In 1955 they still occupied some 65 per cent of all arable land in the country (CIDA, 1966). Haciendas were established shortly after the Spanish conquest, incorporating within their borders most of the native population. Despite the strong effort made by the Spanish government to create an independent system of Indian villages -as they were doing in the rest of Spanish America- in Chile this did not succeed because of the shortage of an Indian work force. Instead, the haciendas captured most of the Indian labour. This is an important element to bear in mind, since no village-based indigenous peasantry could develop, and thus the peasantry was almost absent during most of pre-twentieth Century Chilean agrarian history (Rivera, 1983).

Gongora (1960) states that Chilean labour for haciendas was the result of intermarriage between Indians and Spaniards during the two first centuries of colonial rule. A number of these "mestizos" became tenants ("inquilinos"), developing social relations that most authors have characterized as feudal. Recent theoretical approaches, however, like those of Kay (1971) and Bauer (1975) have pointed out that social relationships established between landowners and tenants during the colonial period were not entirely feudal, since tenants were mostly peasants and wage labourers at one and the same time. Furthermore, from the early colonial period haciendas were commercial enterprises, producing cash crops for both the internal and external market. During most of the colonial and early republican period the haciendas main economic activity was cattle raising for export to Peru and Bolivia. Kay defines this ambiguous situation as a "seignorial" system, because there existed simultaneously elements of both feudal-type labour relations, together with a market-oriented economy.

Vio's (1982) view is that within the haciendas there were two co-existing economic systems in conflict, the hacienda enterprise and peasant household economy made up of tenant families. This interpretation, which was formulated before the 1960's, is a crucial point for understanding theoretical developments relating to the agrarian reform in the 1960's. Frequently hacienda workers have been primarily peasants rather than wage earning labourers. This is the reason also for the present development of a strong sector of peasant family holdings, which resulted from the State policy of dividing up the land originally affected by the land reform.

During the long period of colonial rule a small number of large

haciendas became divided into medium sized farms and peasant holdings as a result of inheritance, thus creating the beginnings of a freeholder peasantry that has remained up to the present day. It is also fairly common to find areas where the same two or three family names predominate, indicating a longstanding process of land division. A particular feature of the Chilean freeholder peasantry is the dispersed settlement pattern which militates against the creation of peasant villages as is usually the case in most peasant societies. This is a crucial characteristic for understanding the peculiarity of the present-day new type of settlement in the countryside, namely the rural shantytown.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, wheat exporting became a profitable business, and the hacienda system produced a large surplus. Chilean grain was sent to Australia, California and Europe. As a result, there was considerable pressure on land, giving rise to two major events during the 1860's and onwards. The first was the incorporation of the southern territories, either occupied by Indians or unoccupied because of a scarcity of population. Between 1860 and 1900, the Indian war and the final occupation of these lands by European and Chilean colonizers took place, creating five new large provinces, and shortly afterwards a fairly important expansion in wheat and cattle production. Secondly, in Central Chile (i.e North of the Bio Bio river), an area where most colonial haciendas were located, large scale irrigation projects were established which expanded the area of agricultural land from 300.000 to 600.000 hectares between 1860 and 1900. This was accompanied by mechanization in agriculture. Thus, as early as 1872, there were some 682 steam harvesters and 238 mechanical cutters, many of which were made in

Chile (Crispi, 1979).

As production increased from the 1860's onwards wheat exports rose, reaching a maximum output of 150.000 tons in the 1870-75 period, most of which was shipped to European countries. This level of production meant that about 200.000 hectares were planted with grain crops, since we know that productivity was slightly below one ton per hectare. Thus, about half of the arable land was being sown with grain crops for export. However, as the nineteenth century came to an end, exports decreased, reducing to only 50.000 tons in the 1915-20 period. An important element in the reduction of exports and the loss of interest by Chile's hacendados in increasing productivity was the new wealth from nitrate obtained following the Pacific War (1879-83). Cash abundance made the hard life of agriculture less attractive than that of working as officers of the State and profiting from nitrate revenues. Hence agriculture declined, making the country more and more dependent upon food imports.

Yet agriculture was still able to increase the amount of land under cultivation, although every increase of output was matched by a boom in the urban and mining populations, which, by the beginning of the twentieth century, composed about half the country's total population. It was principally the new irrigation projects and the colonization of the south that increased the overall amount of land under cultivation. By 1920, agriculture occupied some 900.000 hectares, three times the figure of 1860. Land under cultivation continued increasing until 1934, the year when Chile reached its peak with 1.317.000 hectares. In this same period an increase in the use of fertilizers gave yields of over a tonne per hectare (Aranda and

Martinez, 1970:140).

From 1934 onwards the agricultural crisis became a dominant issue in Chilean politics and society, because the internal consumption of foodstuffs grew more rapidly than agricultural output, creating time and time again a negative balance in Chile's international food trade. This caused great concern at that time since Chile, used to being an agricultural exporting country, suddenly became an importer. The new situation was considered quite unusual and spread a general sense of anxiousness about the future, since, in addition to this particular concern, there was the nitrate crisis, which, following the Great Depression of 1929, was no longer a profitable export product. Thus, as Chile began importing foodstuffs, its principal source of revenue to pay for this collapsed.

All this made Chile's position in the international division of labour as an exporter of primary material shakey. Due to the nitrate boom, Chile had been able to buy all its manufactured goods from Europe, and its old heavy industry which had existed prior to the Pacific War was already part of the past. This concern created the conditions necessary for thinking about a new style of development, which was intended to take the country away from its position as a raw material exporter. The urban sectors were among those most worried about this, because they were entirely dependent upon the nitrate revenue. Thus, after quite a long political campaign, urban interest took power with the Popular Front alliance in the elections of 1938. During three successive governments this alliance laid down the conditions for creating a new style of development, in which the main objective was to build an industry that would make Chile a modern

developed country.

2. INDUSTRIALIZING STYLE OF DEVELOPMENT

Between 1930 and 1973, Chile's style of development was characterized by a concern for creating an industrial structure. However, this was not a homogeneous process, since political forces varied very much in each period, especially in their analyses of the causes of Chilean underdevelopment, and particularly, in their assessment of the role of agriculture in the process of industrialization.

During the whole of this period the central concept of economic progress was that of "import-substitution" and/or "in-door development", which, in synthesis was a proposal to manufacture in the country most of the basic consumer goods, such as chinaware, textiles, and processed food, as well as aiming to assemble, using foreign parts, products such as cars and lorries, and electronic equipment, and finally, to look abroad for complex machinery and engineering projects. Three main periods can be distinguished in the development of this style of development, each one representing a particular point of view concerning the agrarian structure and what to do about it. The main concern of the latter was defined as the problem of the large-scale estates, which many people regarded as the real cause of the country's underdevelopment.

The Modernizing Hacienda.

The first efforts to promote industry, initiated by the urban

classes, were greatly impeded by the landowning oligarchy, who still controlled most of the actual economic power of the country. One effect of this unresolved conflict between the landed oligarchy, the young industrial bourgeoisie and State industrial bureaucracy, was that industrialization was carried out, in the first stage, leaving the old agrarian structure based on the hacienda still intact.

Once the agricultural land frontier was reached (by about 1934), increased output was possible only through increases yields, but this presented a tremendous problem since the landowners were unwilling to invest. Instead of increasing agricultural productivity they preferred to raise revenue through political activity, protecting themselves more and more by customs tariffs. In fact, the main activity of the landed oligarchy was politics, not economic entrepreneurship. In 1928-32 the annual rate of investment in agriculture amounted to some 50 million US dollars (1927 exchange value). Then in the following years, instead of growing, investments went down until, in 1944-47, they amounted to only 32 millions (1927 value), at precisely the time of biggest industrial expansion. Only quite recently, from 1950 onwards, have investments in agriculture exceeded the previous peak of 1928, exceeding 67 millions (1927 value) (Ballesteros, 1965). This was certainly a poor companion to urban industry, not only because of the low rate of investment, but more importantly because of the growing food import bill, which was draining money needed by industry for importing spare parts and tools.

From a demographic point of view, it can be said that industry

attracted every natural increase in the rural population, creating a permanent flow of migrants to the cities. Private and State owned industry were able to give low waged employment to most migrants. In comparison with other Latin American countries, Chile did best in this respect, especially in terms of maintaining a low rate of unemployment (averaging about seven per cent per annum). This, in turn, resulted also in a low level of informal activities and a virtual absence of street vendors in the cities.

However, since wages were low and the country was not entirely able to provide for the basic needs of the urban migrants, enormous shantytowns and poor neighbourhoods were created. This was especially the case for Santiago, the capital city, which grew at an extremely high rate from the 1940's, where about one third of the Chilean population was concentrated. Santiago soared from less than a million inhabitants in 1940, to nearly three millions by 1970.

The industrializing style of development left the haciendas with the role of helping industrial development by providing cheap foodstuffs for the urban areas, and for that haciendas were granted subsidized State credit. Important steps toward modernization were taken, among them interesting changes in employment and labour relations within the hacienda system. The first change was the position of tenants within the haciendas, who were reduced both in percentage and in absolute figures (Kay, 1981). At the same time, total employment on the haciendas increased by 21.1 per cent between 1935 and 1952 (Ballesteros, 1965). This increase, which continued until 1973 (Gligo, 1978), was in most cases through wage labour, especially in those haciendas located in the irrigated central valley, where

haciendas were introducing various new types of crops. Also, several types of agro-industries developed in the nearby cities and towns. Large scale capitalist enterprises, like that of mine making, were able to create towns of a regular size for their workers to live in. Also, in most of the haciendas it was fairly usual to find town-like settlements made up of tenants' hencos, independent sharecroppers, small peasants and landless temporary workers, as well as permanent wage labourers. These settlements formed the nuclei of small towns that developed when the haciendas split up into small farms and peasant plots. This process of settlement change continued to form the basis of the development of independent urban or sub-urban areas. In fact, it is possible to find in many of these old hacienda settlements the origins of the present rural shantytowns. For the more capitalized haciendas the settled population played a crucial productive role.

Later, in the contemporary period, the reduced size of the resident population was insufficient to cope with the hacienda's and family enterprise's work needs. As a result, to quote Garret, "Temporary, nonresident workers are employed at times of peak demand for agricultural labor. They may come from small holdings adjacent to the estates, from nearby villages or cities, or from rural or urban areas at a considerable distance from the estates. They are usually called "afuerinos" (outsiders) to indicate that they come from outside the farm boundaries. Permanent, nonresident workers are very rare. They must live within commuting distance of the farm. Although they are permanently employed, they do not receive access to housing or land". (Garret, 1976:7).

Since the 1930's, the haciendas had slowly been developing into modern capitalist units, but they lacked the necessary dynamism to keep pace with the country's demand for agricultural products. A factor that pushed forward modernization was the land reform or colonization law of 1928, which until 1962, allowed the government to purchase some 200 haciendas, which were then divided up into small family farms.

The main reason why the hacienda system was kept unchanged for so long was the political equilibrium that existed between the landed oligarchy and the modern urban interests. A sort of implicit agreement existed, later called the "compromise State", which allowed industrialization to go ahead without any major attempt at land reform. The State was only allowed to purchase abandoned or poor and inefficiently cultivated lands, although nevertheless a fair number of estates were actually expropriated and sold as small family farms. As a part of this compromise, rural unions, although not completely banned, were restricted by regulations which in fact did not allow them to engage workers in any significant way, except for some agro-industries such as wine making.

The industrializing style of development was based upon two main theoretical paradigms. On the one hand, the communist and socialist parties were inspired by the Leninist plan to create a basic industrial structure that could feed inputs into the manufacturing sector. On the other hand, middle class parties drew upon Keynes' theories on the role of State in regulating and stimulating entrepreneurship, which were enjoying a world wide popularity following the successful recovery of the United States after the

1929's World crisis. In Chile these ideas were eagerly promoted by members of the young industrial bourgeoisie. The main political forces acting in this period, had, therefore, a theoretical bias towards the implementation of an industrializing style of development.

Due to the influence of these two main bodies of theory, transformed by the State into an economic and political programme, large scale industrial projects were carried out by Corfo, the State's Industrial Development Agency. From 1940, Corfo created a number of State-owned enterprises aimed at creating basic support for private light industries. Among these projects were steel mills, oil drilling, hydro-electric and deep water port facilities, airports, freighter enterprises and airlines. The State was also progressively involved in stimulating growth in agriculture, with various projects, such as Corfo's milk and dairy industries, sugar and oil plants, freezing facilities, as well as research and development projects in forestry and cattle raising. In addition, the State supported agriculture through cheap credit and technical assistance, and, most of all, through heavy customs protection against cheap imports.

But, in spite of these enormous incentives, along with the expanding market for agricultural outputs, food production remained far behind urban consumption requirements. Political issues, which overrode economic incentives, were making the country more and more dependent on outside food supplies. In fact, the growing urban population forced successive governments, radical and conservative alike, to keep food prices down and to favour urban investments. This had the result of creating an artificial situation that led to private landlords investing their agricultural profits -obtained through cheap

interest rates- not in land but in real estate and industry in the urban areas (Crispi, 1979).

The distortion in the economy created by the low interest rate was a result of excessive State subsidies. This encouraged landlords to use their land not for agricultural gain but as a way of obtaining cheap loans to invest in highly protected urban industries. Also, as Barraclough points out, "many newly rich merchants and industrialists bought estates not to farm them but as a hedge against the persistent inflation and as an entry into the landed aristocracy. Some haciendas had been divided among heirs, small producers, tenants or sharecroppers. A rural proletariat of wage laborers with no rights to land was increasing. Between 1955 and 1965 the number of "inquilinos" dropped by one half, the area of share-cropping increased, and the number of smallholders and landless laborers rose sharply" (Barraclough, 1973:477).

This crisis was in part concealed by the introduction of new crops and more efficient technology, but in the long run the rate of agricultural growth was negative by five per cent. As a result, "while hacendados successfully defended their dominance in the countryside, the hacienda system proved an increasingly deficient mode of agriculture production, and Chile was forced to import very large amounts of foodstuffs to meet the internal demand". (Loveman, 1976:245).

Thus, in such a situation, instead of helping industry, agriculture was a constraining element. The idea of building a modern industrial society, along with the maintenance of an old fashioned

system of land tenure, proved untenable, and led as a consequence to a new stage in the industrializing process, which stressed the alliance between industrialists and the urban middle and working classes against the landed aristocracy. This forced them to give up the 'compromise State', resulting in the end of the hacienda system in the country.

Land Reform.

From the late 1950's onwards, for reasons already explained, there was an increasing awareness of the constraining role played by the hacienda system of production on industrial development, as well as on general development. This constraining role was not only because of the large size of estates, but mostly because of the actual economic strategy of landlords, many of whom were rentist instead of agriculturalist in orientation. As a result, "the production system was not fully used to respond to the progressive crisis: nearly seven per cent of all farm units, those represented by the large estates, contained 78 per cent of all land under irrigation, but about 30 per cent of it remained natural pasture" (Loveman, 1976:245).

In 1962 the second Land Reform legislation was issued, also with the aim of pushing ahead with the modernization of the haciendas. This law stated that every hacienda not properly cultivated would be expropriated, compensated for at market value, and divided among peasants. The Christian Democrat government that took office in 1964 wanted to go beyond these timid efforts to make haciendas more efficient. In fact, the new government's idea was to put an end to the hacienda system, and create a new agrarian structure based upon

cooperative principles. To start with, expropriation began according to the recently issued land reform law, but as this law was not completely adequate, a new law was issued in 1967, which contained the seeds for a complete change of the agrarian structure.

This new law limited the actual size of private property to an equivalent of 80 hectares of good irrigated land, or 'Irrigated Basic Hectares'-HRB-(8). Every hacienda over that limit was to be expropriated, with the exception of a "reserve" left to the owner, which was equivalent to 80 HRB. Once haciendas were expropriated, the land was converted into cooperative-like enterprises called "Asentamientos Campesinos" (Peasant Settlements). The keeping of relatively large scale production units in the countryside, shows that the new government did not consider the problem to be one of size but of mismanagement. Also, it was stated that after a trial period, the members of the settlements could choose between maintaining the land reform enterprises as units or dividing up the land into family sized farm holdings within a cooperative framework.

Together with the land reform, legislation was issued ensuring rural workers the same guaranties and labour rights already won by the urban industrial workers, including the organization of unions. A large number of the benefits of these urban workers then was extended to the countryside, including an eight-hour day and paid holidays.

Nevertheless land reform did not stem the growth of the labour force in the countryside. In 1955 there were 156.000 permanent wage labourers on farms and haciendas. In 1965 this figure had increased to 202.000 in 1965, an increase of 30 per cent. Furthermore, since the

new legislation made rural and urban wages equal, out migration slowed down. According to estimates taken around 1970, in the five years between 1965 and 1970 the permanent rural work force increased by another 30 per cent, due to the increase in employment in the land reform settlements, and to new jobs created in capitalist enterprises (Gligo, 1978).

This new stage in the process of industrialization destroyed nearly all forms of semi-feudal labour relations, while, at the same time, improved services such as housing, health and education, were provided in the countryside. Important elements in this respect were the new labour relationships and networks established between urban and rural areas. In the past, haciendas had been fairly isolated units and in many respects self-sufficient, in labour, services, and consumer goods, and most of the temporary labour was provided by relatives of the permanent workers and neighbouring peasants. In the new situation created by the dissolution of the haciendas, cities and towns began to take an active role as centres for labour recruitment and commerce, breaking down the former relative separation of urban and rural areas.

The development efforts carried out during this period were intended to generate a fundamental change in the whole society, in order to overcome traditional forms of dependent capitalism and to make the country more independent economically. There was, in fact, an attempt to create a new model of society based upon cooperative principles. But this failed because a large part of the population wanted more radical changes aimed at a complete transformation into a socialist society. This position was evident in the elections in 1970

when Allende was voted into power. This was the first time in the country's history that a socialist revolutionary force had gained access to government through the polls.

The Chilean Road to Socialism

During 1970-1973, a third stage in the industrializing style of development was carried out by the new government of the Popular Unity alliance. Most of the Leninist ideas found at the beginning of this style of development can be seen again during the government of the Popular Unity can be seen again. In fact, the concept that the State should take a master role in the economy was a first concern of the new government, and as a result many industries and mines were expropriated, both national and international. Completion of land reform was a main concern also because the countryside was considered the place where most of the bottle necks constraining development were located. The expropriation was speeded up to an average of 120 haciendas each month. By the end of 1972, some 5.816 haciendas had been expropriated. There were converted into a variety of different types of enterprise, benefiting some 60.000 families. From 1964, expropriated land amounted to 835.752 HRB, and some 4.000 land reform enterprises were created with an average of 180 HRB each (i.e 15 HRB per family). Later, after the land reform was brought to an end, the capitalist sector, including the "reserves" and non-expropriated small haciendas and farms, still owned 2.2 million of HRB of land (Miranda, 1977).

Comparing sectors with regard to employment, land reform enterprises employed some 100.000 workers (70.000 families) on a

permanent basis, the capitalist sector some 180.000 workers (150.000 families); and the peasant sector some 300.000 workers (220.000 families).

With regard to temporary workers capitalist and land reform enterprises behaved in different ways. According to Smith, non resident temporary workers had more employment opportunities during the early seventies on the capitalist estates, than in the land reform enterprises. This type of worker constituted almost 20 per cent of the labour force on private estates and only 8.6 per cent on estates in the reformed sector (1974:137).

The organization of workers on the land reform enterprises was a main concern for the new government. A big effort was made to create collective enterprises instead of "settlements". Nevertheless, most of this effort failed because peasants disliked these new forms of enterprise, called "State haciendas". And, as a result, most of the new CERAS (Agrarian Reform Centres) and CEPROS (Production Centres) were, in practice, not very different in their organization from the settlements organized earlier by the former government.

A different picture can be observed among small producers, a large number of whom created cooperatives as well as peasant committees (called pre-cooperative committees). Some 100.000 peasants were members of cooperative organizations, through which the State gave credit and technical assistance. Union membership also increased. Unions hardly existed in 1964, but in 1972 they claimed more than a hundred thousand members, mostly workers in the capitalist sector, but also a large number of members of the land reform "settlements", as

well as small peasants. Strikes were common and increased in frequency after 1970. Wages went up fast, doubling the figure of 1965. All this meant a great involvement of peasants and rural workers in the national economy and society, creating conditions for these sectors to participate in the national political arena. Also, having increased access to manufacturing goods, they created a real possibility for industry to expand its market.

However, the socialist government failed to understand clearly what was happening in Chilean society, to recognize the struggle between different political and social forces. This created a process of confrontation that led to the seizing of power by the military coup in 1973. Yet the expropriation process that had ended the hacienda system was not entirely reversed, and the military government gave a third of the expropriated land to the "settlement" members. The remaining land was either given back to its original former owners or was sold in various forms. As a result, the present agrarian structure shows a completely new shape, characterized by the dominance of medium sized capitalist and peasant family farms, along with a large sector of smallholder peasants controlling a great proportion of the agricultural land. Only in the Coastal Range forestry sector can large concentration of land be observed. These holdings are owned by the pulp and paper industries.

2.- THE NEO-LIBERAL STYLE OF DEVELOPMENT

The seizing of government by the military meant a complete change in the conception of social and economic development, shifting from an industrial-substitution model into one characterized by the

idea of comparative advantage, based either on natural or industrial resources. The previous policies had been directed mostly to meet internal demands, the new model was aimed towards the external market. This change created conditions for an overall transformation in the institutional, social and economic fabric of society. Indeed, one of the main changes was in the role of the State and its participation in social and economic development.

Since the 1930's the prevailing style of development had been to encourage the construction of progressive egalitarianism, which was to be achieved through industrial development. For that, an active involvement of the State was considered crucial, both in promoting industrial investment and in spreading social benefits across society as a whole. In pursuing such objectives the State's role was defined as one of investor in basic productive areas, and at the same time, one of giving incentives to private and cooperative enterprise, and regulating private economic activities.

However, since 1973 onwards, quite a different picture pertains. Economic regulations were now to be directed by free market competition, based upon the private ownership of capital, which would find the optimum ways of allocating available resources for investment in those areas with comparative advantage. The working of these economic principles would result in improved development, since -it was argued-, the old production system did not give priority to efficiency. Market regulated development would, in contrast, find the best areas for profit-making, thus creating a higher rate of productivity.

These changes meant a shift in the style of development, because it amounted to more than just a shift of emphasis as in the past. This time changes were governed by a different conceptual framework of the process of development itself. The shift has meant a change from a style of development leading to an egalitarian society through industrial development, to one which accords profit-making a central role.

Neo-liberalism and the State.

The neo-liberal style of development is theoretically based on neo-classical economic theory. Following the Great Depression of the 1930's, this theory was more or less abandoned by most capitalist countries and was replaced by Keynes' conceptions, which emphasize the role of the State in investment as well as in regulating existing disparities between economic sectors, with the object of creating barriers against cyclical crisis. This approach was current in Latin America. Industrialization in these countries was based largely upon Keynesian ideas, spread throughout the continent by CEPAL-ECLA .

However, constraints on industrial development during the 1960's -such as those related to lower productivity-, gave rise to a rethinking of this import-substitution approach. This rethinking took shape along the lines of the theory expounded by Friedman of the University of Chicago. Friedman criticized the Keynesian development approach because of its inability to create solid self-reliant industrial development, and called instead for a free economy based on private enterprise to achieve this. According to Friedman's point of view, a free market would improve efficiency and create the necessary

discipline for a genuine process of growth to take place, not the artificial one created by former import-substitution policies.

In Chile, Friedman's ideas received strong support from a large group of economists who had studied at the University of Chicago during the 1960's. This group - usually known as the "Chicago Boys"-, propagated the idea that the opening up of the mostly closed existing markets would create a sort of new model of society, which they called a "social market economy", embodying a developed conception of the way in which Chilean society should organize itself in order to reach a level of development similar to that of modern capitalist societies. They were able to convince the military government of the advantages of their "social market economy". The possibility of having full State power, without any parliamentary opposition or regulation, was, of course, a uniquely favorable circumstance for carrying out plans which attempted to fundamentally change Chilean society.

As a result, an economic policy based entirely upon market regulation has been implemented since 1975. This policy accords the State a very minimal role, only that of regulator or referee of private enterprise activities. Consequently, the State retired from productive activities, selling off their enterprises to private holdings. The only active role left to it in the economic arena was that of carrying out those basic economic activities, which are not actually attractive to private investment. This entire conception was called "the subsidiary State".

As can be seen, the former highly active economic role of the State was transformed from being a main mechanism for redistributing

wealth to society as a whole, into one directed towards the protection of private capital investment. This situation produced a defenceless working class that we will be later come to more fully appreciate in the case-studies.

A second element was the definition of development itself. There are two main issues in this respect. On the one hand, the opening up of the economy to the world market meant the end of import-substitution policy. The influx of cheap manufactured goods destroyed what there was of Chilean's hardly dynamic industry. Much of it closed down or got heavily into debt. On the other hand, the focus of the economy was turned towards the development of those comparatively advantageous industries, such as mining, fishing, and some agricultural products. It was said that, as Chile was more efficient in these areas, the country would improve production and productivity, and the whole economy would grow in a healthier way than had been the case in the past. Thus Chile would encourage production only in those areas which were able to survive competition from imported goods, and, once survival was assured, further improvements in efficiency would lead to their entry into the world market. This is known as the "law of comparative advantage".

Market Liberation.

It was a tenet of the new economic policy that former Chilean industrial protectionism had led to great inefficiency in the economy, creating poverty instead of wealth. High costs and overmanning were putting constraints upon increasing productivity through modern technology, and were discouraging foreign investment. Agriculture

especially, it was said, was using elementary technology and producing low yields. The new policies would encourage modern technology and management, which would stimulate agriculture as well as make the whole economy efficient and able to face competition in the world market. As a way of forcing modernization in industrial procedures, both in urban and rural areas, custom barriers were taken away and a fixed tax of ten per cent was placed in stead. An economic earthquake was produced, since production has been protected by high customs tariffs, and as a result of the sudden change, most enterprises could not survive.

The result, from 1976 onwards, has been a persistent decline in the output of products, such as grains, which were more rapidly affected by cheap imports (Bengoa, 1981). At the same time, the lower costs of inputs and labour made the export capacity of other products increase rapidly, and led to an improvement in technology. High international liquidity after 1976 helped greatly, creating a permanent influx of credit, which were loaned to Chilean enterprise.

Another tenet of the neo-liberal programme was lower import tax barriers. It was thought that this would mean also lower labour costs, making them equal to or cheaper than those prevalent in the international market. In this way industrial competitiveness should improve, allowing Chilean industry to match most imports. Thus, in the long term, industry would be able to export as a result of the high efficiency produced by having to compete with other countries. An important element was that most capitalist producers, urban and agrarian alike, accepted this programme and engaged in a major process of modernizing their activities. The results are analyzed in the

following pages.

I have already indicated that the State gave up its cheap credit operations for improving agricultural production. It was said that this policy had not obtained the desired results and therefore a change was necessary. With the new rules the State became separated from the credit system and private banks took over. Loans were charged high interest rates, some 10 per cent per annum of real value, which were taken on the assumption that they would be easy to repay since market competition would assure better prices, thus matching interest rates. But this did not happen and many farms became heavily indebted, often followed by the collapse of their enterprise.

The old landowners would probably not have accepted such high interest rates for loans, but the new agrarian structure was made up of a young bourgeoisie, who accepted the challenge of creating a modern agriculture. Machinery and new crops spread in the countryside, alongside a tremendous number of land transferences. The opening up of the land market greatly helped this new dynamic in agriculture. In 1974-77, the government divided up the former land reform "peasant settlements", and giving a third to former owners, selling another third (mostly the forests lands), giving a third to the peasants in family sized plots ranging from between eight to twelve HRB. Some 40.000 families obtained these plots, making up a new sector in the countryside called "parceleros" (small holders), which indicates that they had been allocated a plot or parcel of land. The actual size of these plots was thought ideal for developing intensive family farming similar to that of Europe.

The third economic sector to suffer the impact of the new policies was the labour market. In the past, laying off workers was a problem since employers had to give explanations before the Labour Court and pay indemnities equivalent to one month's salary for each year the worker had been employed. Also employers were charged with keeping social security records for workers, paying a minimum salary and signing a job contract in the Labour Office. Most of these social benefits and protections for workers had been slowly gained by the urban and mining unions from the twenties onwards, reaching the countryside in 1967 as a result of land reform and the new agrarian labour regulations.

Neo-liberal labour laws greatly changed this situation, firstly eliminating the Labour Courts, so that workers had to try to establish their rights by means of expensive procedures in the regular courts. As a result, individual claims were impossible to put through because of the high legal costs involved. Other legal benefits were maintained, but in reality were only adhered to by some of the larger capitalist enterprises. In most cases, as for example on medium sized farms, only a few permanent workers had the right to claim for legal benefits. As temporary employment made up much of the agricultural labour force, scarcely any legal benefit was afforded to the mass of agricultural workers. Furthermore, temporary labour can be hired for short periods, time and again, so workers can not make other claims than those that permit them to be hired the following month.

In spite of the fact that the temporary labour pattern begun in the period of the haciendas, it seems clear that, during this last ten years of neo-liberal labour policies, it has become a deliberate

strategy for organizing agricultural labour. One of its main results has been the effective increase in unemployment both in the countryside and in the urban areas. A large pool of workers for the agricultural sector has been created, both of peasant origin or coming from the rural shantytowns.

3. THE RESULTS OF NEO-LIBERALISM IN THE RURAL SECTOR

The new regulations of the neo-liberal State in Chile have resulted in enormous transformations, some of them entirely concerned with the agrarian sector, but others of urban origin but affecting agriculture. Let us begin by analyzing the latter.

Industrial Crisis and Unemployment.

Imported cheap manufactured goods resulted in the collapse of thousands of industries. One recent study points out that "at the end of 1982 the industrial output of Chile was 15 per cent less than in 1970. On the other hand, while in 1970 the value of Chilean production was five per cent of Latin American's total industrial production, in 1980 it was only three per cent. Furthermore, in 1970 the Chilean per capita industrial production was 44 per cent higher than the Latin American average, in 1980 it was below that average" (Munoz, 1983:68). Industrial decline has had dramatic consequences for urban employment rates. Historically the rate has always been about seven per cent, except for the 1929-32 World Crisis period. However, according to Meller and Solimano (1983:186-7) "Between 1973 and 1976 the unemployment rate rose up from 4.8 to 22.2 per cent. Later, from 1976 until 1981 there was a slight reduction, reaching its lowest level in

1981 with 15.6 per cent unemployed. In 1982 the rate rose again to 27 per cent, and in 1983, the level was 32 per cent. In another words, a third of the labour force is out of work, making a total of 1.2 millions people unemployed".

One result of such a high rate of urban unemployment has been a downward trend in out-migration from the countryside. Thus the effect of urban unemployment on rural social structure has been significant. Santiago, previously the main target for rural migration, now attracts fewer rural migrants, who go instead to nearby towns or provincial cities.

Unemployment in the Countryside.

At present there are no figures on actual rural unemployment. The most significant data available in this respect are the changes in the balance between permanent and temporary workers, although this information covers only the period between the census years of 1965 and 1976. The figures, however, are problematic for two reasons. It is firstly impossible to find out much about the most important period of land reform, between 1965 and 1973; and secondly, the major changes in employment resulting from neo-liberalism began precisely in 1976 and continued after that. Nevertheless, the census figures indicate a steady trend in the labour process, leading to a decline of permanent agricultural labour, counterbalanced with an increase of temporary workers. Other sample figures available for the in-between period allow us to suggest that the previous 1965 increase in the employment of permanent workers continued steadily until 1973 (ICIRA, 1972; Gligo, 1978; Jarvis, 1980; Dorsey, 1981).

Based upon Dorsey's data, however, it is possible to provide estimates for 1965 and 1976 which indicates a sharp decrease from some 220.000 permanent workers in 1965 to 102.000 in 1976, a quarter of the labour force. In the opposite direction, it is clear that temporary labour continued the upward trend that had existed before 1965. In the period 1965-1976, temporary labour increased from 160.000 to 180.000 workers, a rate of twelve per cent.

Empirical data collected by our present research team suggest that, between 1976 and 1983, the number of permanent workers has continued to decline, whilst temporary workers have increased to the extent that there are now about 250.000 of them. The number usually quoted is of those who were working on farms the week previous to the date of the census (i.e. the end of march). But, according to our research, the number of persons actually involved in temporary labour would double this figure, since, at least for 1982, only half the people who might have declared themselves as temporary workers looking for a job were actually employed in any given week in March. This suggests that the actual number of persons involved in temporary labour is probably in the region of 500.000 persons. Furthermore, considering that the average number of working persons per family is 1.4, the number of families involved in temporary labour may be some 300.000, roughly ten per cent of the Chilean population.

Unemployment and the Welfare State.

Since the 1920's, labour organizations have gradually obtained successive guarantees and benefits for urban and mine workers. This picture changed dramatically after 1973. In fact, according to Ffrench-

Davis (1982:9) "State expenses in social benefits declined. In 1979 expenses were 10 per cent less than in 1974". Also incomes have declined. The average minimum family income has decreased from an index of 100 in September 1974 to 63 in September 1983. This decrease in income is mostly a result of the unemployment of an important part of the family labour and not to a simple lowering of individual salaries, which in fact, on the contrary, rose from an index of 100 in 1974 to 130 in 1983 (Ruiz-Tagle, 1984:101). Thus, some individual workers can obtain higher salaries, but, the present total income for families as a result of unemployment is less, being a third less than that of ten years ago. According to official 1978 figures, 23.6 per cent of Chilean families had a total cash income below the level of one worker's salary. Allowing for the fact that for each family there is usually more than one worker, then the total number of persons earning below that limit is probably much higher than 35 per cent.

Such a high number of families with insufficient income was seen to constitute a danger ad portas for social protest. In order to prevent this, the government started a program of "soft" public works (eg. the cleaning of streets, parks and gardens, and handcraft work for women) with a payment equivalent to a third of the minimum wage. This was the PEM (Programme of Minimum Employment) created in 1975 as a casual (three months) unemployment subsidy programme. It was expanded during the years following to include some 310.000 persons in 1983, ten per cent of Chilean workers. Later, as the situation became worse, a new programme was created oriented towards the heads of family, the POJH (Heads of Family Occupational Programme), which paid the equivalent of two-thirds minimum salary. POJH programmes employed a total of 200.000 workers in 1983. Thus, by the middle of 1983, out

of a total of 1.250.000 unemployed, government-held programmes employed some 500.000 persons.

Bread is the principal staple food for the Chilean working class. In 1970, this class which represents 60 per cent of the Chilean population with lower incomes (i.e. the poor and the lower middle class), spent about 40 per cent of its total household food expenditure on wheat products (bread and noodles). It is illuminating therefore to compare the purchasing power for different salary levels for various periods, with respect to bread prices. In 1982 a PEM salary paid \$2.000 a month (£26.7) which could buy only 1.63 Kg. of bread a day. By 1983, its value was even less- 1.2 Kg. of bread a day. In 1982, POJH salaries could buy double this amount, and a complete minimum salary was able to buy the equivalent of 4.8 Kg. of bread a day.

This presents a dramatic picture of poverty levels, although it is also necessary to emphasize that many other income sources are available for such low income households. For example, sample data for Santiago show that in 1982 unemployed households were able to obtain income from several sources reaching a total household income of 4.660 (£62), or roughly 80 per cent of minimum liquid salary (excluding social security payments) (Ogrodnik, 1983). These incomes were obtained from various forms of occasional employment, although most included welfare State payments, such as old age pensions, child benefit and unemployment subsidies (PEM and POJH). In addition, indirect welfare benefits, such as free schooling, school meals, free health services, and housing benefits, amounted to an equivalent of about \$8.000 a month. In 1982, a total of 1.200.000 old age pensions

were paid out, most of them at about \$3.800 a month (i.e. two thirds of a salary), which works out at one pension for every two Chilean households. School meals were provided to a great number of children, some 800 thousand breakfasts and 400 thousand lunches each day. Some families are allowed to have two school breakfasts and one lunch a day, amounting to a total value of some \$2.000 a month. Yet in spite of these figures, as Ruiz-Tagle (1984:100) argues, the bulk of indirect benefits to Chilean families are 30 per cent less than in the previous years. The reason for this is that public expenditure has declined in general terms with reduced budgets for health, housing, education and roads. Furthermore, services have suffered because the money available for them has been diverted to subsidize unemployment.

All these benefits are available for both the rural and urban population, including the minifundia peasants and temporary landless workers. From 1982 many persons in the rural areas have been engaged in PEM or POJH programmes. For peasants and the rural population generally, where prices of foodstuffs are cheaper, the same level of payment is provided. This allows them to acquire more goods than they could in the urban milieu. Also, there are fewer public services, such as electricity, drinking water and transport to pay for in the rural areas. Hence a place in a PEM programme for a minifundia peasant implies more money than he could obtain from the sale of produce from one hectare of a well tended crop. This unusual situation has been another powerful element in the slowing down of migration to the cities. To be unemployed in the countryside is sometimes less hard than to be unemployed in the cities.

Population Changes: A First Insight.

The Chilean population grew from 5.933.000 in 1952 to 7.375.000 in 1960, an increase of 2.7 per cent per year. Later, between 1960 and 1970, the population grew at an annual rate of 1.9 per cent, reaching 8.885.000 inhabitants. Since 1970 onwards, the population has increased at an annual rate of 2.0 per cent, reaching 11.275.000 inhabitants in 1982.

TABLE 1

THE EVOLUTION OF POPULATION 1940 - 1982

(By settlement milieux, thousands of people and percentages of annual variation)

Set. Milieux	1940	%	1952	%	1960	%	1970	%	1982
Santiago	952	2.9	1.350	4.3	1.907	3.6	2.732	2.9	3.897
Cities (1)	930	1.5	1.112	3.0	1.420	6.1	2.668	3.0	3.851
Towns (2)	565	3.2	841	4.2	1.178	0.7	1.258	0.8	1.385
Rural areas	2.388	-0.1	2.360	0.6	2.485	-1.1	2.210	-0.2	2.142
TOTAL	5.024	1.4	5.933	2.7	7.375	1.9	8.885	2.0	11.275

SOURCE: Herrick (1965) for 1940, 1952 and 1960. For 1970 and 1982, Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Chile. (1982, provisional figures)

(1) Urban centres between 20.000 and one million inhabitants.

(2) Urban centres between 300 and 20.000 inhabitants.

The main centres of attraction for migration have been Santiago and the cities, whose populations before 1970 were increasing at a rate three times higher than the national average. In the period 1970-1982 this rate was twice the national average. This indicates an ongoing process of change in migration flows, which I discuss in the

following chapters.

The Land Holding System.

The size of farms has decreased from the 1930's onwards, although large scale estates continued to be the more important element of the agrarian structure until 1965. In 1924, haciendas controlled 80 per cent of agricultural land, medium sized farms some 17 per cent, and peasants only three per cent. An early land reform of 1929, together with the division of properties because of inheritance, gradually reduced the importance of haciendas, so that by 1965 haciendas were only controlling 55 per cent of the land. After 1965, most of them were under land reform. Later, the division of the land reform enterprises that occurred between 1974-1977, substantially increased the number of family holdings.

TABLE 2

THE EVOLUTION OF LAND HOLDINGS SINCE 1924 IN CHILE

(In HRB (1) and percentages)

Size in HRB	1924	1965	1976	1979
5 and less	1.4	9.7	9.7	14.6
5 - 20	1.8	12.7	37.2	40.3
20 - 80	17.8	22.5	22.3	26.9
80 and more	79.0	55.3	24.7	18.0
CORA Prop (2)	--	--	6.1	--
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

SOURCES: 1924: Miranda, 1977; and 1965, 76, 79: Jarvis, 1980

(1) HRB: Hectares de Riego Basico. For 1924 in actual hectares.

(2) CORA: Corporacion de la Reforma Agraria (Land Reform Corporation).

Thus, as a result of these successive changes, the land tenure system in the 1900's is completely different from that found before 1933. Within ten years the proprietorship of agricultural land changed in a such a way that a fairly even pattern of farm size developed, with family sized plots (i.e. between 5 and 20 hectares) making up 40 per cent of land.

Recent data on land holding indicate that a great deal of change has taken place, especially with respect to the land reform family plots, which have been put up for sale in the different regions, with in some cases the disposal of 80 per cent of them. In most regions land reform plots have been sold as single units, some to the urban middle class, although a great number of small sales have also taken place to peasants. Some plots have been grouped into larger farms, or have been added to existing medium sized farms. It is difficult to identify the precisely variations among the different sizes of enterprise, but it seems clear that small-scale peasant farms have also increased land under their control. One trend however is strikingly clear: there has been no attempt to rebuild the old haciendas.

It has been impossible to cover fully the various structural consequences of the different styles of development implemented during this century in Chile. Rather, the chapter has attempted to provide a panoramic view of the historical background to these shifts in styles of development and their socio-economic consequences leading to the emergence rural shantytowns. Economic and social change has not, however, affected the whole rural structure in the same way, instead, many local and regional variations have arisen. These regional

structures, defined here as "situations of production", will be the theme of the next chapter. This will provide the basis upon which to explore how changes in the family-households organization varies according to specific regional production and employment situations.

CHAPTER IV

REGIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

The changes in agriculture have been enormous as a result of neo-liberalism in the countryside. Apart from its general impact on labour processes, migration, the credit system, prices, etc., the new model has created differences between regions due to their differential responses to this policy. The crucial point of difference between regions is their uneven ability to respond to economic opportunities based on the idea of "comparative advantage", whereby each country or region develops those products that have a natural advantage. However some regions are better endowed with resources and can develop more quickly and compete more successfully in the world market than others. The poorer endowed are often unable to compete with cheap imports of similar crops and therefore become less developed. These differences result in a pattern of uneven regional development within a country like Chile.

My main concern in this chapter is to see how such differences

in resource endowment generate differences in the pattern of regional development and social change. During the fieldwork it was observed that in each region different types of survival strategies has evolve, as shown by the roles of woman in productive labour, the levels and sources of income, and certain differences in the forms of family-household organization.

1. STYLES OF DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

Before 1973 State policies minimized the possibility of marked differences emerging between regions. Policy encouraged production throughout the whole country, particularly of a package of staple crops, such as wheat, in order to feed the urban population. This package is referred to as "salary goods", that is, crops which make up the basic foodstuffs for the working population. First among them in Chile is wheat, and then potatoes, beans, meat, sugar, oil, rice, various vegetables (onions, garlic, tomatoes, etc.) and wine (Crispi and Rivera, 1983).

As I have already pointed out, Chile was an exporter of wheat until 1934. Each year afterwards the amount of imported wheat has increased, making up a large proportion of Chilean international trade. Because of this successive governments endeavored to encourage policies which would lead to self-reliance in wheat. That was never achieved, but as result of grain subsidies, most arable land in the country, the best and the worst, was sown with wheat, amounting to an average of 800.000 hectares, two thirds of the total cultivated area. As a result, regional differentiation was regarded as a marginal issue.

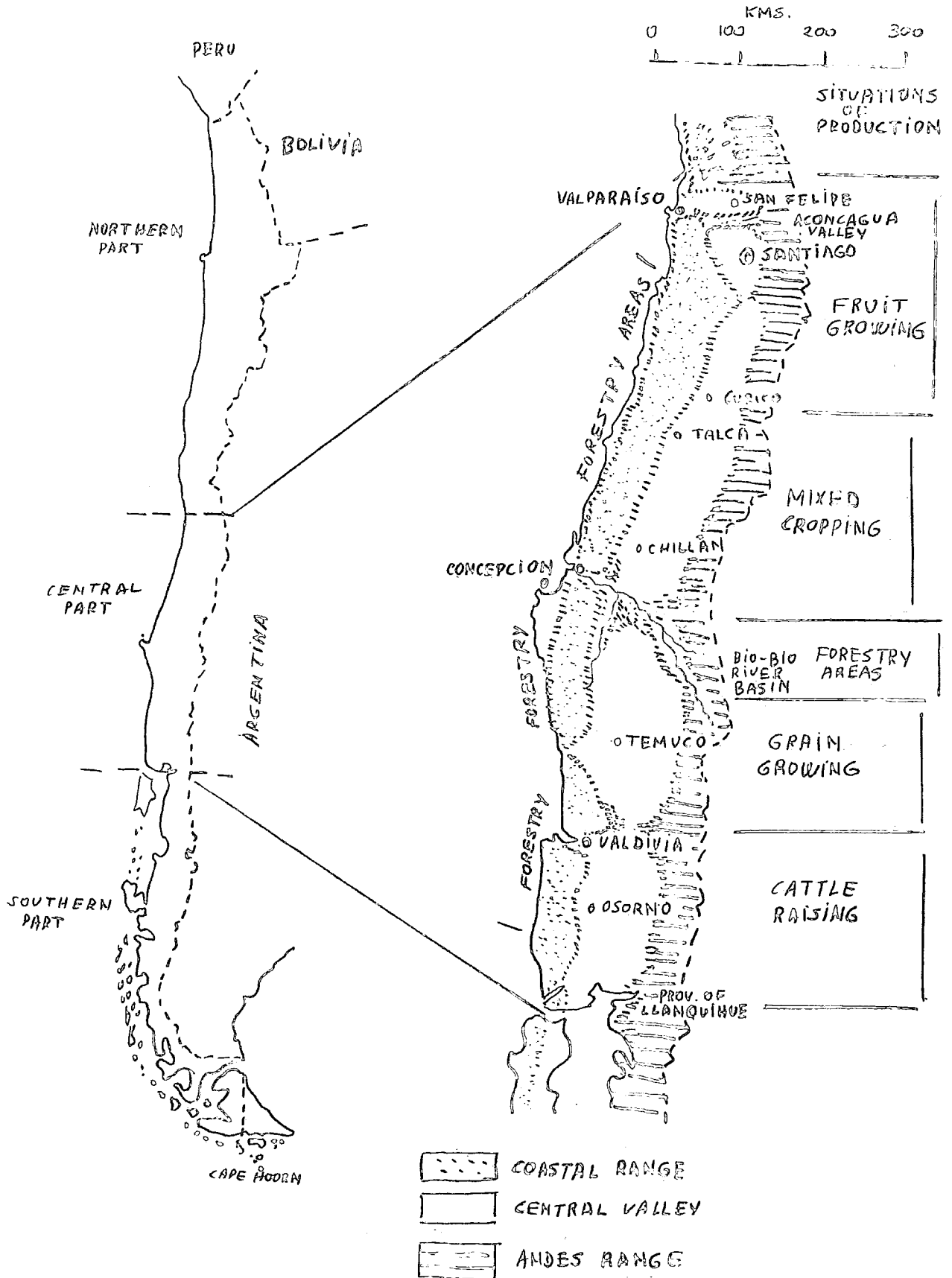
On the other hand, international agricultural trade was negligible, except for the wheat, and some milk and meat imports. Chilean agriculture was directed towards producing for the internal market, and only an irregular surplus in fruit, vegetables or timber was exported. During the 1930's agricultural products amounted to about ten per cent of total exports, with mining products making up the bulk, and of them, copper constituting 75 per cent of international sales.

Chile is a long strip of land, slightly longer than 4.000 Kms (2.650 miles), and no more than 200 Kms (125 miles) wide, forming a territory of 750.000 square kilometre, or some 75.000.000 hectares. However, out of this area only a fraction is suitable for agricultural use. Only six per cent (4.5 millions hectares) can be cultivated, 11 per cent (8.250.000 hectares) is semi-desert land and can be used only for temporary cattle raising and sheep and goat herding, 10 per cent for forestry use (7.5 millions hectares), of which a proportion is burned or excessively exploited, and the remaining 76 per cent comprises desert, mountains, glaciers and uninhabited islands.

The Chilean territory is organized into three main parts:

a) The northern part, mostly desert, with only small oases and tiny valleys, which are nevertheless suitable for year-round agriculture, with advantages of climate which allow for competition during winter time with the southern seasonal agriculture. The amount produced, though, is quite negligible when compared with total national output.

MAIN AGRICULTURAL AREAS OF CHILE



b) The central zone, usually known as the Central Valley, includes the agricultural areas between the Aconcagua valley (100 Kms. north of Santiago) to Llanquihue (1.000 Kms. south of Santiago). The best agricultural land of the country is here, producing some 90 per cent of total output. However, as the following chapters show, the north-south position of the valley creates a varied range of climates, which give place to strong regional differences.

c) Finally, the extreme south (1.500 kms. long) between Chiloe and Tierra del Fuego, has few possibilities for developing agriculture because of both climatic limitations and actual lack of suitable land, when one discounts the mountains and fiords. Only a part of Magellan province is suitable for sheep herding.

Most of the Chile's 4.5 millions hectares of arable land are located in the central part of the country, where the bulk of Chile's urban and rural population live. This area includes Santiago, the capital. The central part of the country is divided into three main systems: the Andes range, the central valley itself and the Coastal range, which develop in a parallel north-south fashion.

The Andean highlands have no suitable land for agriculture, and can only be used for summer pastures. In fact, most of the central valley has not enough rain to maintain natural pastures during the summer time, and consequently, farmers and peasants use the Andean range for their summer grazing.

The Coastal range, on the other hand, is relatively flat, made up of small hills and a great number of ravines. In the coastal range

most of the land suitable for agricultural use lies on hillsides with no irrigation facilities. These lands have been cultivated with wheat since early colonial times and, as a result, most of the soil suffers from erosion which has been occurring since the nineteenth century. However, from the 1950's onwards, there has been a significant effort by the State and private landowners to plant radiata pine, which at present makes up one of the five large "situations of production" existing in Chilean agriculture, including the provinces of Concepcion, Arauco and Bio-Bio, plus parts of Talca, Cauquenes, Nuble and Valdivia.

The central valley is a small strip of land of recent geological time, with sediment carried down by the rivers from the nearby Andean range and due to recent glacial and volcano activity. The rivers run east-west across the valley, making their way towards the Pacific ocean through the Coastal ravines. This structure of recent geomorphological activity and torrent-like rivers has gradually built up, inside the Central valley, many small cross valleys with great agricultural potential, located between areas of barren savanna-type landscape.

This structure has advantages and problems. In fact, there are no possibilities for large scale agriculture because soils are quite distinct between one small area and another, to the extent that possibly there are no medium sized farms with less than three different types of soil. Also, most of the valley is at present without proper irrigation facilities and because of this there are large areas which are semi-desert savanna zones. However, the advantage of this structure is that the winters allow snow to accumulate in the

Andean range, which melts in the summer to irrigate the valley during the hot dry season, although so far only a small part of the land has organized irrigation channels. This long valley has many different climatic conditions as it proceeds from north to south. Four main areas can be distinguished:

1) The northern part (including the valley of Aconcagua) has a very good mediterranean climate, suitable for fruit growing. This constitutes the so-called fruit growing 'situation of production', and includes eight provinces between Aconcagua and Curico, a distance of some 400 Kls.

2) The central-northern part, also has a mediterranean climate but with a fairly humid summer, limiting the planting of certain crops. It is, therefore, a mixed agricultural 'situation of production' and includes the provinces of Talca, Maule (now Cauquenes), Linares and Nuble.

3) The central-southern area has a more temperate climate, which permits certain crops to be grown without irrigation, such as grain and pastures. This is the grain production area, including the provinces of Malleco and Cautin.

4) The southern area, with its heavy rain fall, including summer rains, presents some limitations for growing grains, being more suitable for pastures, potatoes and sugar-beet. This is a cattle raising region, and includes the provinces of Valdivia, Osorno and Llanquihue.

A point to stress is that the so-called "salary goods", such as wheat and potatoes can grow in all four areas. But, those products with comparative advantage, such as fruits and some vegetables, can be grown only in the northern part.

As I suggested, previously the State encouraged only the production of salary goods, except for some initial efforts in the 1960's to develop an exporting fruit and agricultural sector. State subsidies, together with credit and technological assistance, supported the production of salary goods. The social organization of producers, as well employers and workers organizations, were largely conditioned by the wheat economic dynamic.

Landowners themselves were not very prone to change from wheat to new types of crops, given unpredictable profits and often long-term and risky investment, such as with fruit growing. The only new ventures they entered into were heavily supported by State subsidies. In fact part of this reluctance to change to new crops was due to the fact that production of wheat was a fairly easy practice, which could be managed from the cities, and which was certain to yield a reasonable level of profit. In fact, it was well adapted to the hacienda system.

However, neo-liberal policies created a dramatic change in this situation. In the first place, wheat production was no longer profitable since imported wheat was cheaper because of the lowering of custom barriers, and so farmers could no longer continue as before cultivating traditional crops. In fact, what happened was a redistribution of investment towards those areas with comparative

advantage. Furthermore, since the security of State subsidies was no longer behind them, and the old landowning oligarchy had gone, the new breed of post-land reform farmers took the risk to invest in new productive areas. However, in the first period of the military government, farmers in the southern parts of the country were encouraged to sow wheat, and to try and make its production more efficient. The results of all these different processes are striking.

Those areas without comparative advantage could not obtain enough yield from grain production to match the high interest credit rates, and as a result, debts incurred between 1973 and 1976 grew rapidly, becoming a burden for capitalist and medium size peasants alike, especially for those allocated land reform plots. A large number of traditional crop producers in fact retired from agriculture, giving most of their land over to share-cropping by small-scale peasants, and moved into types of production less dependent on credit, such as extensive cattle raising. In certain areas some farmers introduced new crops, such as soft fruits: strawberries, raspberries, date plums (Khaki), kiwis, etc. but their contribution to total production is not very significant.

On the other hand, areas with comparative advantage were able to produce certain crops, using high technology for export, and developing rapidly and creating a very innovative sector. This specialization has been possible in two areas, namely the best and the worst: fruit culture occupies the best irrigated areas of the central valley, and the forestry (made up of pine radiata plantations) occupies the eroded soils of the coastal range. The latter location developed because there are legal regulations and subsidies which

encourage pine plantations only in so-called 'forestry lands', which are mostly unsuitable for agriculture and cattle raising.

2. THE SITUATIONS OF PRODUCTION UNDER STUDY

The overall GIA study included four situations of production: fruit, mixed cropping, forestry and cattle raising. But, for the purpose of this thesis I selected four localities in only three situations of production, one on the fruit growing area (Santa Maria), one in the limits between the fruit and mixed cropping area (Paso Ancho), one in the mixed cropping area (Pueblo Seco), and one in the forestry area (Quirihue). I now wish to describe briefly the three situations of production in which these four localities are placed.

1. The fruit growing situation of production.

In 1982, the total fruit cultivation consisted of some 100.000 hectares, of which 80 per cent is located between Aconcagua and Curico provinces, which was the area defined as the fruit growing situation of production. This embraces a territory of arable land of some 761.400 hectares, of which 530.000 are irrigated. This means that fruit plantations occupy only 15 per cent of the irrigated land, and therefore could spread fairly rapidly by occupying part of the remaining irrigated land.

Fruit production makes up only 10 per cent of the total agricultural land of this area, or the equivalent of 1.77 per cent of Chile's agricultural land. However, fruit production constitutes nine per cent of national agricultural output. This is an indication of the

great importance of fruit, since output per hectare is five times the national average for agriculture. Another indicator is that fruit production uses 15 per cent of the total labour input necessary in agriculture, about eight times the national average per hectare.

Before 1973, fruit made up less than three per cent of Chilean exports, a figure that in 1982 was nine per cent, which shows the growing importance of this sector, especially when one considers that only half the tree orchards are in full production, because they have been planted only recently. Compared with the total for agricultural exports (included forestry), fruit presently accounts for some 35 per cent. The difference between fruit and other agricultural exports is that, while fruit trees use less than two per cent of Chile's land, other agricultural exports are produced on the remaining 98.23 per cent of the total agricultural land (Cruz and Leiva, 1982:21-34)

In 1974, Chile was already contributing a substantial part of the USA's winter fresh fruit imports, 0.1 per cent of her apples, 7 per cent of pears, 78 per cent of table grapes, and 66 per cent of peaches. By 1980, these exports had increased to 19.1 per cent for apples, 97.3 per cent for table grapes, and 95.4 per cent for peaches. There is no accurate information for pears but they amounted to about 25 per cent. Other markets for the Chilean fruits are the Near and Far Eastern countries where Chile is sharing some 30 per cent of apple imports and 22 per cent of table grapes.

According to field data collected in 1980, the use of labour is very high on fruit growing farms, especially temporary labour. A peach producing farm studied used 18 man-days of permanent labour per

hectare per month on average; that is to say, one permanent worker is needed for each 1.3 hectares. In addition, the farm also used an average of 33.1 man-days of temporary labour per month per hectare. In the off season there were 9.3 man days of temporary labour per month, and in the peak season 145.6 man days per hectare.

In an apple producing farm studied this figure was a little different with permanent labour reduced to only 4.6 man-days per month per hectare, that is to say, one permanent worker is needed only for each five hectares. The pattern of temporary labour was the same as in the peach producing farm, with an average of 27.5 man-days per month per hectare. In the months of less demand only 4.7 man-days are needed per hectare, but in the peak months, 111 man-days of labour are used (Lago and Olavarria, 1981:24).

The labour dynamic observed in 1980 changed in the following years towards a further reduction in the permanent labour force, which was replaced by temporary labour. Some farms laid down off their permanent labour between 1980 and 1982, reducing it sometimes to only a managing staff.

The increase in fruit orchards, together with the reduction of the permanent work force, are in a large measure responsible for the creation and expansion of the rural shantytowns that have spread heavily throughout this situation of production. If one projects the needs for temporary labour for 100.000 hectares of fruit, with only 100 man-days for each hectare in the peak month, equivalent to 3.3 workers per hectare on a 30 day-month basis, the total demand would equal that of 330.000 workers, men and women (about 150.000 families).

This high demand for labour starts in mid-November and continues with slight variations until the end of March. After that, demand decreases to a minimum in the period May-June when only 0.2 workers per hectare are needed, which means a total estimated demand of only 20,000 temporary workers on a 30 day-month basis.

On the other hand, various projections made in the last years have suggested that fruit plantations could increase yet further to reach total figures ranging between 200 and 300 thousand hectares, which roughly equals the limits of first class land suitable for fruit growing. This would overtax the actual availability of temporary labour during the next twenty years.

An important additional point to be considered with regard to the labour market in this area is that presently, in the remaining 450,000 hectares, most of the vegetables, mines and a great proportion of legumes of the country are produced, increasing substantially the need for temporary labour. It is not possible to calculate the labour needs for this type of agriculture, but a broad estimate allows us to suggest that the labour force employed should be about the same figure as that needed for fruit production.

2. The Mixed Cropping Situation of Production.

This is an area with no comparative advantage. As a result, it has suffered regression in many production sectors. One sector which is being reduced is that of fruit. In fact, fruit plantations in this area have decreased from a national average of 8.9 per cent in 1955 to 4.7 per cent in 1976. But, at the same time, other crops, like

potatoes, rice and beans, have increased.

In this area most of the farms have mixed crop production organized on a rotational basis: a) first year beans, potatoes, sugar beet and maize; b) second year, grains (mostly wheat); and c) third, fourth and fifth years, pasture. Also in this area there is a sharp division between capitalist and peasant crops. Peasants cultivate labour-intensive crops, like beans, potatoes and rice, giving little importance to cattle raising, except as draught animals. The opposite occurs on the commercial farms where capital-intensive crops are dominant in the production system: sugar beet, oil crops and grains, with considerable importance given to cattle raising. An exception are those that rent land to peasants for the growing of wheat and maize. Meanwhile, peasant units are mostly organized for the production of labour-intensive crops, such as beans and rice. Vineyards are very important in this area, containing half of Chile's 100.000 hectares devoted to grapes, although a large proportion are dry land farms with low productivity when compared with the irrigated vineyards of the fruit areas.

The arable land of this region consists of some 830.000 hectares, of which there are only 315.000 under irrigation. The pattern of land use shows that, in 1979/80, some 203.000 hectares were sown with grains (wheat, rice and barley), 128.000 hectares with legumes and similar crops, and 30.000 with sugar beet and oil crops, making up a total of some 361.000 hectares. Apart from this, there are some 6.500 hectares of vegetables and 74.000 hectares of cultivated pastures, plus 4.345 hectares devoted to fruit orchards and 47.000 hectares to vineyards. The remaining 337.000 hectares are left to rest

and used as natural pasture (Crispi and Rivera, 1962:12-24).

Most of these crops, require a small labour force, and as a large proportion of them are cultivated by peasants, most of the labour force is family labour. According to 1980 figures based on fieldwork data, the average labour use for a capitalist farm with wheat, sugar beet, maize and pastures is 0.8 permanent man-days per month per hectare, that is, equal to one worker for each 20 hectares, whilst for temporary labour, the average labour per hectare works out at 1.3 man-days a month minimum, and 2.5 man-days during the peak season. This low level of labour input for the peak season contrasts markedly with over 100 man-days needed on the fruit farms.

A projection of temporary labour requirements for annual crops shows that 370.000 hectares need only about 50.000 workers during the peak season. This contrasts with some 330.000 workers needed for 100.000 hectares of fruit production. Consequently, in this area the opportunity for temporary rural employment is scarce, and also spread out over the whole year, producing as a result a less marked development of rural shantytowns that are also materially poorer than those in the fruit producing areas.

3. The Forestry Situation of Production.

Forestry is also a sector which has a comparative advantage in the world market. The expansion of forestry has always been assisted by the State in various ways. At present the most important way is through the provision of a special subsidy for planting trees, which covers 75 per cent of costs and, in addition, provides special tax

allowances. The present-day expansion of the forestry industry is an interesting dimension since it operates as a plantation economy. At present nearly all the forests fall within an organized cultivation scheme. The more important trees are poplar, eucalyptus and radiata pine; the last being the most important, and covering 80 per cent of the afforested area. This species reaches maturity in about 25 to 30 years. At present a large proportion of the Coastal Range is covered with radiata pine, especially in the area of the Bio-Bio river basin, a region where pine plantations also cover the central valley and the Andean piedmont. Pine needs about 800 mm. of rainfall annually and some air humidity, and therefore grows very well south of the Aconcagua valley.

Pine plantations at present occupy one million hectares, of which 70 per cent is less than 10 years old. Plantations normally start with about 2.000 trees per hectare, after which they are thinned and pruned so that finally only about some 800 trees are brought to full maturity for timber. The wood that is cut before maturity is used only for cellulose plants.

Accordingly to official data and to our own projections for labour requirements (see Cruz and Rivera, 1983), the forestry sector, in 1980, employed about 50.000 'equivalent permanent' workers, that is to say, one worker for each 20 hectares. Out of these, some 5.000 were permanently employed. The other 45.000 jobs were distributed among 150.000 temporary workers, employed on average for four months each. Of the 50.000 jobs, half of them were in the field, and the other half in cellulose plants, sawn mills, transport and road building.

In the forestry sector there is no marked peak season, as in the agricultural areas. In the quietest month 40,000 men are working (27 per cent of the working force in the sector) and in the peak month, 60,000 men (40 per cent). The great number of men looking for the scarce jobs posts results in large part from the failure of other activities in the region, such as coal mining and urban industry.

An additional characteristic of forestry work is its highly intermittent nature. A forest is planted, let us say in 1970, and the forest is left six years requiring no labour until the first pruning, and then left for another six years before thinning and a second pruning (in 1982), and then another six years to the first cutting for cellulose (1988). The remaining trees are left a further ten to twelve years before they are mature enough to be finally cut for timber (which would occur in the year 2000). Forestry labour requires workers to travel long distances, usually working for contractors, undertaking various jobs in the forests, sometimes being away from home for a month or more at a time.

This pattern of labour in the forestry sector has not always been like this. Before the coming of the neo-liberal style of development most forestry workers were hired on a permanent basis by private and State-owned enterprises. Privatization of this sector, through selling off the forests and industries to private enterprises, has led to a change towards temporary labour. Thus, forestry shantytowns have spread around the existing towns, inhabited not only by former forestry workers, but also by peasants and ex-hacienda workers displaced as a result of the pine plantations that now occupy the enormous areas once owned by the Coastal range haciendas (Cruz and

Rivera, 1983). Much of the migration to these forestry towns resulted also from ecological changes brought about by the development of the large-scale plantations, such as the decline in available water. The need for large amounts of water for the growing of pines, as well as the fact that most rainfall is retained by the pine leaves and later evaporates, has contributed to the drying up of wells and springs, which, in turn, affects the lower valleys where agriculture is located.

3. FINAL COMMENTS

Marked differentiation in the capitalist process of production, with specialization in specific crops, has led to different requirements for labour which has conditioned the size and dynamic of agricultural enterprise. Each situation of production exhibits specific changes in social organization. Among the various elements that can be identified, I have selected for close examination changes in the relationships between the labour process and family-household organization. Even though these changes in labour process are still in an early phase of development, one can isolate a number of related processes. This points to two main trends: the first leads to the formation of family-household organized in terms of survival strategies. The second shows that certain differences arise within particular situations of production, due to the labour dynamics of specific crops, and to their concentration in certain locations. In the following four chapters, I analyse labour processes and the dynamic of household income and expenditure patterns with a view to identifying the differential patterns of family-household organization in the different regional settings.

CHAPTER V

FRUIT EXPANSION IN CHILE

DEMOGRAPHIC RESPONSES AND INTER-HOUSEHOLD COOPERATION.

1. THE MIGRATION OF LABOUR FOR FRUIT PRODUCTION

The study of population and household in the shantytowns of the fruit growing area was carried out in the Aconcagua valley, located some 100 kilometres to the north of Santiago. This valley has one of the best climates in the country for fruit growing, and its size makes it the largest fruit producing area of the country. The valley itself comprises two quite different areas. The lower part is close to the Pacific Ocean and affected by high humidity and strong winds, so fruit has difficulty growing. The main products in this zone are horticultural crops, such as onions and garlic, various kinds of vegetables, and fruits like avocado and pineapples. The upper part, which includes the provinces of San Felipe and Los Andes, is where export table grapes, nectarines and nuts are grown. In the past, this area was mostly made up of farms and haciendas which produced tobacco,

various types of vegetables, wheat and oats. At present most of these crops have disappeared and have been replaced by export fruit production.

The valley bottom is almost completely irrigated by the melting snow from the neighbouring Andean range. Winter rain is scarce and the hillsides of the valley have a semi-desert landscape, with seasonal pastures that are used by some peasants for herding goats.

Among the various regions under study, the fruit growing area seems to be the most able to give employment to migrants from other regions. As we have seen in the previous chapter, employment in this area has increased, and will continue increasing as the new plantations enter into full production.

The labour history of Don Enrique represents a common pattern of migration and employment, which serves to introduce us to the social and economic problems faced by the workers in this production zone.

Don Enrique's constant search for work: an introductory labour history.

Don Enrique leaves his house early in the morning every day during the summer. There are no free weekends during the harvesting of the fruit, because neither fruit nor ships can wait, so each day at seven in the morning he rides his bike to the farm where he is now working. He gets up at six to have his breakfast of bare bread and tea prepared by his wife. She is an old woman and the years lay heavily on

her back, but she cannot give up her daily home duties preparing meals for her family. After Don Enrique has gone to work, she turns off the gas cooker until eight, when she fixes the breakfast for her grandson who goes to school in the nearby town of Santa Maria.

By that time Don Enrique has already arrived at Los Molles, a place where there are various farms. He choses the path to a farm owned by Agro-valle, one of the main fruit growing and exporting companies of the province of San Felipe. A little before 7:45 tons of men and women start to arrive at the farm and to gather at their usual places of work, many to the field to pick up the fruit, others to the lorries, and the rest to the packing lines.

It is February, 1982, and the table grapes are ready to be picked, put into boxes and taken to Valparaiso. Today will be a long day since a ship is ready to be loaded and its sails tomorrow to the United States. It will be necessary to work very hard to fill the space that Agro-valle has spare on the ship. It is possible that many women will stay until midnight or more, on the packing lines, boxing the grapes. He thinks that it is a pity that his wife cannot work because of her age, otherwise she would be able to earn more money than himself working in the well paid jobs in the packing lines, and their life would be less hard this next winter. He earns more than the pickers, since he is a sort of foreman, but nevertheless a good packer can earn double his daily salary. His only possibility for earning more money is to hurry the pickers and hope that the fruit is not rejected in the storing section.

In fact, Gra Maria, his wife has never really worked. It has

been he who has been in charge of obtaining the money for the home. Certainly, years ago women do not work like they did now, but nevertheless, many of them cooperated making things for the house and gardening, at least that is what his other men friends told him. Perhaps the fact that they were always a mining family is the reason: women of miners do not work, except in the home.

Working in the mines.

Don Enrique cannot easily remember the days when he was too young to work. His family used to live as "inquilinos" in a hacienda in the small valley of Illapel, some 500 kms. north of Aconcagua, in that part of Chile called Norte Chico (Little North), located between the northern deserts and the green valley of the central part of the country. There he began working when he was twelve years old doing temporary jobs in the hacienda. He thinks sometimes that it is the irony of fate that he began as a temporary worker, and he is now on the way to finishing in the same way. He has spent all his life trying to escape from agricultural activities, which made his parents' family suffer so much, living helplessly under the rule of masters that made their workers live as slaves. Because of that he went north, farther north, where no agriculture is possible, in the dry deserts where the mines, the good jobs, the good life, were waiting for those who fought for it.

But the long way to the north was not easy for a child of twelve. He had to wait, working here and there in Illapel and Salamanca, until he was 16 years old and found himself doing military service for a year. After Don Enrique departed to the north, the

mythical north; he was 22 years of age before he got his first job as a permanent worker in the iron mine of Potrerillos, near the city of Copiapo. It was 1954, a good time for a young man to find work and keep it. From that year onwards he was able to maintain himself as a miner during another 22 years, until 1976, when he finally was laid off without hope of employment in the mines.

He remained in the small mining town of Potrerillos for six years until he was 28 years old. In the meantime, he married his present wife, then the widow of a peasant, living near Copiapo, who had two children from her former marriage. Sra Maria was 32 years old and he 27, but then there were not many women to marry in Copiapo, because most of them went in Santiago to search of a better life in the big city. But, like most well-born northerners, he was intending to be a miner. So when he became unemployed he choose to go farther north, to the nitrate mines, in the Norte Grande (the Big North). Thus in 1960, he finally found work in Pedro de Valdivia, one of the few remaining nitrate processing plants. Nitrate was in decline after the great crisis of the 1929's that closed down hundreds of processing plants. His father used to speak to him about the nitrate crash, and how thousands of miners were out of work. All of them had to go south, to Santiago, to the agricultural areas in the south. His father was one of them, but he chose to return to his home valley of Illapel and remained there as an "inquilino" on a hacienda. The tremendous poverty resulting from that situation was one of the reasons why he began work at twelve years old.

Don Enrique spent eight years of his life in Pedro de Valdivia and became involved in union activity. Two of his own children helped

to give him a more integrated family. During that time his life went smoothly. Accordingly to him, most of his life expectations were accomplished. But, in 1968 a reduction of personnel threw him again into unemployment. One reason for his losing his job was because of his union activity. Two years of instability followed. As his father did in the past, Don Enrique this time went south, searching for jobs, but failed; and so for two long years he had to work for short periods in "pirquenas" (small mines). In this way Don Enrique travelled the thousand kilometres southwards until he arrived in the Aconcagua valley. Here, in 1970, he got a job in the large-scale Andina mine, in the high Andean hills. The State-owned enterprise gave him a house in the city of Los Andes, and like most of the miners, he worked in the mine during the week coming down for the weekend to stay with his family.

His family was already of a different composition. The older son and daughter of his wife's previous marriage had left to look after themselves. Finally, they both got married, but before the daughter got married she sent back a son of her own for them to raise, since she could not get married with the child. So, Don Enrique took charge of him, raising him with his own two children. Both older children are now living in Santiago and maintain few ties with Don Enrique.

Working in Fruiculture.

In 1974 Don Enrique was once again laid off. This time he was 44 years old. He tried for a couple of years to keep himself in the mine labour force, but could not. So he gave up mining and became a

fruit worker. In the summer of 1975/76 he began as a temporary worker near Los Andes. In 1976 he moved to Lo Calvo, a small village between Los Andes and San Felipe, where he rented a house. In 1977 he asked for a house in Santa Maria, a town between Lo Calvo and San Felipe. The municipality allowed him a small plot, just big enough to build a hut on, on a hill beside the town. In this place there are various small shantytowns, all of whose inhabitants are fruit workers.

Thus, a full cycle of life was completed. Don Enrique thinks frequently that while he was a miner, and very proud of being so, he never gave thought to the possibility that he might become an agricultural worker once again, a job so much disliked by miners, and he still feels ashamed of his bad luck.

When he began working on the fruit farms he faced many difficulties, since he had no skills for the work. He knew nothing of agricultural mechanics, nor tree caring and pruning. He began by loading boxes onto the lorries and other non-specialized jobs. But, as he became more involved in the work, he learned many of the other skills. In this way he progressed, earning a little more each year. Also, as he is a very respectable person, the Agro-valley manager gave him more responsibilities, but always on a temporary contract basis. During January and half of February he used to work as a night watchman. Later, he supervised the harvesting until the end of March. When the harvest was finished, Don Enrique started a three-month job, until the end of June, cleaning up the vineyard. During all this time he worked seven days a week, because there was no time to waste if a satisfactory salary was to be earned, because all jobs are paid on a piecework basis. He earned some \$250 a day (£3.3). Only during the

time he worked as a watchman did he earn the minimum salary of \$207 a day.

In July and August he worked replacing diseased plants with new ones, earning \$250 a day, from Monday to Saturday. After that he cleaned out irrigation channels for a month. In October he did not work, because the only work available was reserved for women arranging blossom racemes of the grape vines and taking off the excess flowers from the peach trees.

Small jobs during the remaining months allowed him to raise a fairly regular income and keep his social security benefits, that gave him an additional monthly income of \$1,200 in child and wife allowances. Furthermore, he got an additional production bonus of \$3,000 a month between December and April. These bonuses were awarded to some workers whom the farm were trying to keep loyal, in order to protect production.

Income and Expenditure.

During 1982, Don Enrique obtained a total cash income of \$98,593, equivalent to \$8,216 a month (\$110), which was 30 per cent higher than the minimum salary. Added to this income, his young daughter sent another \$2,000 a month to look after her baby.

With this income he lived during 1982 in a fairly comfortable fashion, compared with other temporary workers. He spent little of his income on housing, and only \$300 a month on electricity. Apart from that, he spent most of the money he earned on food and clothing, being

able to afford to buy 1.5 Kg. of bread each day, plus a monthly bag of three kilos of noodles, three kilos of rice, six kilos of sugar, six cans of fish, four litres of vegetable oil, one kilo of margarine, 20 kilos of potatoes, three kilos of beans, and variable quantities of tea, coffee, salt, yeast, eggs, powder milk and jams, and including 1.5 and 3.0 kilos of fresh meat and fish, respectively. His overall expenses were about \$3.000 a month. The National Health Service also gave Don Enrique 1.5 kilos of powder milk a month for his baby grandson. In 1981 the allowance was three kilos of milk for one month, but now this quantity has been halved, which it is not enough to meet his needs.

Family responsibilities.

When Don Enrique comes back home in the evening he finds his two grandsons already asleep in bed. He has not much time to give them, but now it is different from what it used to be when his children were small because these days it is necessary to work every day, including Saturdays and Sundays. On those days when he is unemployed, he must be out looking for a job. There is no time for family life. Nevertheless, he is quite happy raising his second family, the sons of their two daughters. Otherwise, he would be living a lonely life now that all four children are living far away.

One grandson is now 12 years old, the son of the wife's older daughter. The baby is the son of the younger daughter of 19, who got pregnant after she finished secondary school and entered work on the fruit packing line. She could not marry the father of the child, so she left to work as a domestic servant in the nearby city of San

Felipe. She visits home once a week, bringing each month \$C.600 that she gives to her parents to look after her son. The other young brother (now 22) obtained a fellowship in order to enter a naval school in Valparaiso, but in spite of being quite close, he seldom visits.

For Don Enrique life has been hard but not extremely difficult. He has always been able to manage to keep his family properly fed. This has allowed him to remain independent, and in spite of the generally poor condition of his present life, he can manage without living on credit or begging others to help him, or begging in a Government Office for a PEM job, as other men and women do. Instead, at the age of 52, he is still able to help his daughters with their problems, and he thinks that this will continue to be the same for the coming years.

Some remarks on Don Enrique's labour history.

The labour history of Don Enrique was chosen to illustrate the main analytical points that arise from the study of the fruit growing areas. Among them it is important to mention that a sizeable proportion of the population have migrated into this area because they have been displaced from their previous employment. Another element is the cooperation that is established between kin-related persons and households, resulting in assistance such as the care of children and the given of small favours among them. An important dimension is the annual employment pattern and the variety of sources of income. Don Enrique's history also bring out the involvement of women in fruit labour, which is one of the most striking features of this particular

labour market. In the following discussion I aim to present a more general analysis of these dimensions. I will focus first on the development of agriculture and its effects on changes in the population and employment. And later, I present information on particular cases of household organization, and show how families cope with employment and income uncertainties. These cases were selected to illustrate the different survival strategies practised in the fruit growing area.

2. THE FRUIT EXPANSION IN CHILE.

In this section I explain the way in which fruit plantations have expanded in the northern part of central Chile, creating an economic, social and labour dynamic that is fairly different from other production areas.

1.- Changes in Production and Population.

Fruit Expansion: an historical overview.

Chile has an excellent climate for growing a wide range of mediterranean and temperate fruit species. Chilean society has been aware of this since the last century, but nevertheless only recently was it appreciated to its full extent. Before 1965, a small quantity of wines, dry and fresh fruits, especially apples, were exported, but they were not significant within the country's export total. In 1965 the State development agency CORFO began a plan to increase this activity. Thus, research stations were built, thousands of hectares were planted with fruit orchards and several new installations for

fruit processing were constructed, including freezing and packing facilities. Land under "industrial fruit farms" increased from 40,400 hectares in 1965 to 61,350 in 1974. During this period 13 species made up the bulk of production (apples, nectarines and peaches, table grape, pears, almonds, cherries, plums, apricots, lemons, quince trees, oranges, walnuts and avocado). The first four species took up 54.6 per cent of all plantation land (26,430 hectares) in 1965, a proportion that had not changed by 1974.

One must differentiate modern "industrial fruit farms" from more traditional and less technologically sophisticated fruit production. CORFO's effort to increase fruit production led to the introduction of new species, such as small trees of high production in apples and nectarines, along with the development of the mechanized vineyard, replacing the old Spanish system of growing vines (Cruz and Leiva, 1981).

After 1973/4, most of the industrial structure, State or cooperative owned, as well as many land reform areas, were sold off to private firms who continued to develop the sector, investing and expanding fruit plantations, which reached one hundred thousand hectares by 1982. Most of the expansion was in the four more dynamic species: apples, nectarines (peaches), table grapes and pears, which increased their proportion of the total to 60 per cent (Cruz and Leiva, 1981).

Most of this expansion has not been through extending the land base through the development of large estates, but through capital investment in medium sized farms. Investment has not only been in

planting new orchards, but also in packing and freezing facilities and improving the technological handling and marketing of fruits. Also large enterprises have been organized for processing fruit produced by small and medium sized farms. Some forms of "cartel-like" agreements have been reached between individual exporters to charter ships in order to lower transport costs.

Exports have risen several times both in production and in value. Table grape exports grew from 8.930 tons in 1965 to 50.000 tons in 1980, apples from 20.000 to 41.000 tons., nectarines from 2 to 10 tons., and pears from 4 to 22.300 tons. Later, fruit exports have continued to grow at a rate of between 20 and 30 per cent per annum. This has also meant an increase in their export value, which has risen 10 times since 1970, until in 1982 it constituted nine per cent of Chile's exports, that is roughly from 30 to 300 million dollars. This approximates to the value of some half a million hectares of wheat.

Fruit production has been one area of production that has fitted into the "neo-liberal" style of development. It takes advantage of the favourable conditions which exist for producing high quality fruit, that can be sold in the northern hemisphere during the winter season, thus obtaining high prices. Among the four countries that are in this situation (Chile, Argentina, Australia and South Africa), Chile has been the most aggressive in terms of increasing its share of the international fruit market.

Expansion of fruit production has produced various socio-economic changes, already noted, that I want to explain more fully in this section. Among them, it is particularly important to keep in mind

the changes that have occurred in population dynamics, migration and settlement patterns, all being enormously important for family household organization.

Population changes in the area under study.

The study that was carried out in the Aconcagua valley included two provinces, San Felipe and Los Andes, where four small localities were selected for detailed work: three of them, a neighbourhood in the town of Santa Maria, another in Llay-Llay, and the village of Las Cabras are in the province of San Felipe. The fourth, Lo Calvo, is in the province of Los Andes. Analysis of population change, using the preliminary results of the 1982 census, shows that the hypothesis suggested in the first chapter regarding the slowing down of migration due to urban unemployment, which kept population in the agricultural areas is substantially correct in this zone.

Before 1970, in the two provinces under study, population grew at a lower rate than for the country as a whole, indicating that an out-migration process was taking place. This out-migration was very important in the 1952-60 period, when the Chilean population grew at an annual rate of 2.7, and San Felipe and Los Andes only at 0.9 per cent. During 1960-70 a trend towards an equalization of the country's and these two provinces' population increase was already evident. But, after 1970, as a result of the fruit expansion, the total increase for these two provinces was 2.7 per cent; a rate much higher than for the rest of the country, which grew at only 2.0 per cent. We may thus conclude that in this area there has been a reversal of the tendency of out-migration from the agricultural areas.

TABLE 3
POPULATION CHANGES IN SAN FELIPE AND LOS ANDES
(numbers and percentage of annual variation)

Category	1952	Var(1).	1960	Variat.	1970	Variat.	1982
Cities(2)	--	--	43.402	1.5	49.616	3.1	72.032
Towns(3)	51.501	--	21.616	0.9	23.725	1.6	29.069
Rural areas	42.463	-2.3	36.729	2.0	45.200	2.6	62.050
TOTAL	93.965	0.9	101.375	1.6	118.541	2.7	104.011
National Rate(4)	--	2.7	--	1.9	--	2.0	--

SOURCE: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Chile.

(1) Yearly variation between census.

(2) Urban settlements between 20 thousand and a million inhabitants.

(3) Urban areas between three hundred and 20 thousand inhabitants.

(4) National Rate, see chapter IV.

A closer look at the population figures for San Felipe and Los Andes also shows that the increase in population is not only taking place in the provincial cities, but also in the rural areas themselves. These areas were being abandoned until the 1960's, but since fruit growing started steadily increasing, the rural population rates increased also; from 2.0 per cent in the period 1960-70, to 2.6 per cent in the period 1970-82. This increase of population is not merely due to an expansion of the small peasant holdings, but also to a change in the distribution of the rural population itself. Rural areas present two different types of settlements: a) agrarian entities, such as peasant plots and farms, and b) hamlets and villages with less than 300 inhabitants, made up mostly of landless wage labourers. This study reveals a process of change leading rural inhabitants to shift from peasant plots to the latter type of

settlement. In 1952, San Felipe had 66.0 per cent of its rural population living in agrarian entities, a figure that had declined by 40 per cent in 1982. The same process has occurred in Los Andes, where in 1952, 31.0 per cent of the rural population lived in agrarian entities, but only 19.0 per cent in 1982. This suggests that most of the 70 per cent increase of rural population between 1952 and 1982 is located in these hamlets.

2.- Santa Maria: an example of the development of a major fruit growing settlement.

Santa Maria is a small town of some 3,000 inhabitants, the capital of the "comuna" or municipality of Santa Maria. This is one of the most characteristic towns of the fruit zone. It consists up of three types of residential quarters: a) old Santa Maria, which can be described as a "cross-town", made up of two long streets that intersect in the middle, creating a small "centre" or square where the main church is located and a school; b) three small areas of public housing build between 1965 and 1973; and c) the shantytown area, located on a hill at one end of the town, where a Catholic shrine to the Virgin Mary is located.

These two new residential areas (b. and c.), began their existence as a result of a major earthquake in 1965. The tremor knocked down most of the farm and "hacienda" houses. The "hacendados" took advantage of this to get rid of most of the workers from hacienda property. They therefore moved into the town. The Catholic Church has allowed many of them to build emergency houses on the shrine hill as a temporary measure, while government programmes tried to find a way of

providing a more permanent solution. However, as earthquake victims were given houses by the municipality, new migrants came to occupy the hillside houses left behind by the "emergency" settlers.

An interesting feature of this town is the existence of large backyards in the old section, which in many cases can be considered like small peasant plots. These plots are of two types. First, those which are at the back of the houses located on the two main streets, and second, those which are owned by peripheral town settlers, and can therefore be considered more properly as minifundia plots of land. Some of them are about a hectare in size, and are managed as agricultural units. Large-scale farms around the town are now completely planted with fruit trees, but these small plots are mostly used to grow vegetables that are sold in the town itself and in the city of San Felipe. In many cases these plots are cultivated under sharecropping arrangements, allowing some landless workers access to land to grow their own fresh foodstuffs.

As a municipality Santa Maria is quite small, consisting of 9,320 hectares, out of which 4,000 are used for agriculture, nearly all under irrigation (97.5 per cent). The five thousand and so remaining hectares are of no agricultural value, being mostly hillsides with natural winter pastures. In 1976 there were 785 agricultural units (farms and peasant holdings). Of these, 98 were classified as capitalist farms, having more than one permanent wage worker and over five hectares of land. These capitalist enterprises covered 12.5 per cent of all units, and owned 65.0 per cent of arable land and 65.6 per cent or 2,560 hectares of irrigated land. These figures result in an average property holding for capitalist farms of 26 hectares, and of

2.1 hectares for peasant holdings (Cruz and Loiva, 1982).

In 1976, the structure of land use in Santa Maria was: 30.5 per cent under annual crops, 57.0 per cent under fruit and vineyards, and 12.5 per cent under pastures or lying fallow. The figure of 57 per cent for fruit is very high, considering that the 10 municipalities with most land planted with fruit trees had only 34.2 per cent, and for the whole situation of production, it was only 13.6 per cent. The percentages of land planted with fruit trees and vineyards are roughly the same for peasant and capitalist farms, 57 and 65 per cent respectively. Furthermore, considering that since 1976 onwards many new trees have been planted, it is possible that land under fruit production in Santa Maria is now over 65 per cent of all arable land.

The municipality of Santa Maria is, therefore, typical of the social and economic processes are taking place in the fruit growing areas, and an example of possible future trends for areas being planted with fruit trees.

3.- Employment and Household Income and Expenditure.

The following analysis presents aggregate data from the four localities studied in San Felipe and Los Andes. It is necessary to bear in mind that these places are considered urban settlements by the census and correspond to what in Table 3 are defined as "towns".

In spite of the "urban" character of settlement, only 14.1 per cent of the whole active population are engaged in productive activities outside the home linked to urban employment, and a

significant proportion of these were working in agro-industries located within the urban areas. This is very striking, since it emphasizes the fact that the urban population is primarily linked to rural or agrarian activities. As a result, even from a spatial point of view, it is not clear where the border between urban and rural settlements lies, and what we find is a sort of interpenetration of both sectors.

The most important rural jobs in these places are fruit related activities, making up some 60 per cent of summer time work, and about 40 per cent in the winter. Vegetables and other horticultural production occupies another 20 per cent of labour, and urban jobs together with long term unemployment, the remaining 20 per cent.

The development of fruit production also carries a new importance for women in the labour market. Women are in the majority in certain highly specialized jobs, such as the arrangement of grape racemes to obtain a better shaped fruit, in the clearing of excess peach florescence, and in packing activities. These jobs allow them, in the peak season, to obtain double the salary of men in unspecialised work. The labour opportunities that fruit production gives women, then, are interesting, since in four months they can obtain the same salary as the yearly pay of a permanent domestic servant in the nearby towns and cities.

It is also clear that men and women have increased their commitment to labour. In 1970 some 78 per cent of males over 15 years were working, a figure that by 1982 had risen to 84 per cent. For females, the increase has been even higher, rising from 10 per cent in

1970 to 30 per cent in 1982.

Income structures reveal the tremendous importance of agricultural jobs. Out of an average monthly income of \$7.005 (£105), 57.4 per cent is obtained through agricultural activities. Most of this agricultural income is in the form of wages; only 3.5 per cent results directly from self-production. On the other hand, urban employment accounts for only 14.5 per cent, and the remaining 28.1 per cent takes the form of direct welfare cash allowances and subsidies, such as old age and widow pensions, family allowances and employment subsidies. Pensions and allowances are very important since they provide a certain level of stability in a situation of high economic uncertainty. Among all cash incomes, 62.3 per cent are from temporary sources; this is very important, since families that have a pension or similar income behave in quite a different way from those families that have no welfare income.

In this area women's earnings are important. They work for approximately four months a year and their wage permits the purchase of the more expensive goods, such as clothing and school books. Women also spend their wages buying "food reserves" to tide them over times of unemployment. Women's wages contribute towards buying several bags of flour, sugar, salt, coffee and canned fish, and they also like to spend some of their money purchasing home appliances like gas cookers, refrigerators, T.V. sets and so on. They express pride in the ownership of these sorts of goods, making it known that they have been bought with their own wages. On the other hand, husband's wages are used mostly for current expenses. Thus, while a husband's wage is used for daily living, his wife's wage is considered as extra income needed

to buy the bigger items that are difficult to save for. A last point in this respect is that it is the woman who manage the entire household budget, and when she is able to obtain high wages this pattern is strengthened. This is an element that has contributed greatly to changes in family-household organization in the fruit growing areas.

3. COOPERATION BETWEEN HOUSEHOLDS

I now wish to illustrate how different families behave in order to minimize the uncertainties and gaps in income that result from temporary labour. I also argue that the type of family-household networks that develop in this region are different from those found in other situations of production.

1.- Households and Employment Gaps.

Domingo and Marta are a young couple, both 28 years old, who married recently and still do not have children. Domingo arrived in Santa Maria five years ago, in 1977, after he obtained a place to build a house. In the same year he married Marta, who had been working for several years as a domestic maid in Santiago. She decided to come back because it was becoming increasingly difficult to retain a job in the capital.

Domingo's household networks and cooperation.

They began by living with her parents, while Domingo was busy building their house, but at the same time he was trying to obtain

another place so that he could bring his mother, who was living in the city of Los Andes, in very poor conditions since the death of Domingo's father. Domingo was unable to help her much because of the distance involved. Finally, Domingo's mother arrived in 1970 and they helped each other to improve both their houses. At present Domingo's mother is 50 years old and lives with her 16 and 21 year old sons.

It is very important for both household units to live close together in the same settlement because they can organize several joint activities. This case is a little atypical since the relationships of the family are primarily with the husband's relatives, instead of the wife's parents who helped them initially. One reason for this is that Domingo tried to team up with his younger brothers. Another is that his mother's widow's pension contributes to solve their cash problem.

In 1982, Domingo worked only five full months (January, February, March, November and December), that gave him a total wage income of \$27.490, which meant a monthly average wage of \$5.498 (£73.3). Marta also worked, but she was able to obtain only three month employment in a non-specialized job (February, March and December), earning \$5.247 a month.

During the remainder of the year Domingo was for three months completely unemployed. The other four months he was able to obtain sporadic jobs averaging nine days a month. Marta also obtained another three months of partial employment, but on the whole she was working in the home for about six months. During May, June, July, August, September and October Domingo and Marta both earned only \$1.342 a

month (\$17.9), which was hardly enough to maintain light, gas and water supplies. Food was a great problem, since to buy only a kilo of bread a day they needed \$1.500 a month, and their overall monthly food need was some \$3.000 (\$40). They could hardly maintain themselves with such small earnings. Hence, in this situation, it makes good sense for individuals to try to arrange some form of cooperation within a wider kin network.

In fact, Domingo's mother's household has a reasonable living standard because her widow pension of \$2.100 per month. Furthermore, both young brothers worked as temporary workers, and, in spite of their not being very successful in obtaining regular employment, they earned enough for their own needs. The older brother obtained only one full month's work that year (February) and during the other month about 10 days work on average. The other young brother had even less luck and had to take small casual jobs. Domingo's mother's household wage earnings totalled \$20.750, plus the pension which brought it to \$24.126 a year, giving a monthly average of \$3.740 (\$50).

Domingo and his mother help each other a lot. Perhaps it was access to the mother's pension and the security that this meant, that encouraged Domingo to bring his mother to live near him. In fact, when there is no food in Domingo's home, it is always possible to drop in for lunch or dinner at his mother's.

Marta is also able to obtain some help from her parent's family, especially fresh food such as potatoes, beans and vegetables that her brothers grow in the plot they cultivate as sharecroppers in Santa Maria.

Sra Carmen's Household Network.

Sra Carmen is Marta's mother. She is a peasant widow who moved to Santa Maria in 1979, where her elder son, Don Juan (42) previously settled down. When Marta came back from Santiago she also preferred that they stay with her brother. Sra Carmen's other sons are Pablo (24), Jorge (21) and Lucio (18), and all of them live and work together as temporary labourers.

Don Juan (42) is a Sra Carmen's son of a previous marriage, and that explains the big difference in age between him and his three brothers. Because of his age he acts as the head of the family, and has done so since he was 30 years old, when his mother was widowed, and he took on the responsibility of looking after his brothers and sister, Marta. He was the first one to come to live in Santa Maria and afterwards he sent for his mother and brothers. Because of his role in the family, he did not marry.

Sra Carmen and her family have been "comuneros" (community members), a type of peasant found in the Norte Chico valleys, and characterized by private ownership of small plots of irrigated land in the valley, with common rights to hillside pastures. They just managed to survive from their small plot of land, but as they became increasingly involved in temporary wage labour, they decided to move into Santa Maria, where Don Juan had already obtained a place to build a house.

In 1982, Sra Carmen's four sons earned enough money to live and help other neighbouring members of the family, such as Marta's.

Together the four brothers earn a monthly average wage of \$25.000 (£334). And, like most workers in the area, they were hired on a piecework basis. For example, in 1982 tree planting was paid \$20 a tree. Each worker can plant an average of about 25 trees a day, and thus earn some \$500. Another example is peach boxing, for which workers receive a payment of \$10 per box. With this work it is possible then to earn about \$450 a day, working a 15 hour day. During a full month (30 days) it is possible to earn up to \$13.000 (£173). Table 4 gives the number of weeks that each of the four brothers worked during the year, and the amount of money they earned.

TABLE 4
LABOUR PROFILE FOR DON JUAN AND HIS BROTHERS(1)

Months	Don Juan		Pablo		Jorge		Lucio	
	weeks	wages	weeks	wages	weeks	wages	weeks	wages
January	4	10.000	4	10.000	4	5.240	3	3.000
February	4	10.000	4	10.000	4	5.240	2	2.620
March	4	10.000	4	10.000	4	5.240	3	4.500
April	4	7.000	4	6.000	4	5.240	3	4.500
May	4	7.000	4	6.000	-	--	-	--
June	2	5.200	2	3.000	-	--	4	6.800
July	2	6.300	2	No payment	4	7.500	4	6.800
August	2	6.300	-	--	4	7.500	4	6.800
September	2	6.300	-	--	-	--	2	2.495
October	4	9.000	-	--	4	6.300	-	--
November	4	10.000	4	8.850	4	15.000	4	13.000
December	4	10.000	4	8.850	4	12.000	4	14.000

SOURCE: Fieldwork, 1982.

(1) Wage figures are rounded estimates.

As can be seen from the Table, only one brother, Don Juan, worked the full year. The reason for this is that he holds a position as a semi-permanent temporary worker, that is, the farm does not contract him permanently on a monthly wage, but in a certain way he is assured employment each month. His wage varies each month because he is contracted for different jobs and is paid accordingly. This is a very normal practice these days because in this way farms can obtain permanent workers, but treat them as temporary workers. Hence they enjoy huge savings in the cost of their operations. During the peak seasons Don Juan acts as a foreman dealing with the large number of summer workers taken on, but during the winter he is just another worker.

It seems that regularity increases with age. The two younger brothers, Jorge and Lucio, have the more irregular jobs, although they do jobs such as tree blossom arranging and packing, for which they can obtain higher salaries, during November and December. This type of job is currently done by women and young men, because it apparently requires softer hands.

Between all four brothers, there is not a month when the family has absolutely no form of income. This allows them to help each other in the worst period of the winter, when jobs are scarce and salaries low. Marta especially needs help as her husband, Domingo, faces the most uncertain income situation. Compared with other workers, the brothers show employment records well above the average for the area. This, I suggest results in part from the way in which they cooperate and share information about available jobs.

Doningo and Marta's household and their network of links with their kin show a structure of individual nuclear family units, each living in different houses, but cooperating in various ways. When one first asks them about helping each other they respond evasively attaching no importance to their links with each other. But, being neighbours, they help each other in the normal daily routine, frequently by sharing foods and helping in the common task of finding underemployment. This allows them to survive periods of less employment during the winter time. They usually do not, and dislike very much, permanently sharing their main meals, except on Sundays or five o'clock tea, when neighbouring women gather to gossip. The main assistance they give to each other is in the form of small loans and gifts, that will supposedly be returned in the future if things go well. Within this network of cooperation, however, each residence unit attempts to retain as much independence as possible.

The three individual family units involved cannot be considered an extended family-household. They have no formal or informal arrangements that allows us to treat them as a common residential, consumption and property unit. They make up a network of extended family relationships that are maintained through a series of material exchanges and through the giving of social and emotional supporting in times of difficulty. A peculiarity of this particular family network is that there are no babies or very young children to look after. So Marta, the only young married woman in the network, is able to become involved in wage labour activities. In most other households the situation is different.

2. Children's Care Arrangements.

In 1981-82 wages were reduced sharply. Actual payment for piecework jobs was roughly the same, or less than it was two years before. But considering an inflation rate of about 20 per cent a year, the actual cash purchasing power in 1982 amounted to only about two thirds what it was in 1980. Furthermore, in-migration, and the increasing involvement of women in the labour market, meant an overall loss of job opportunities for heads of families. Thus, several men left the valley during the winter season, mostly to the northern valleys.

One of the men who went to the north in the winter was 28 year old Juan Alejandro. He is married to Eliana of the same age. They have two children, one aged one year and the other four years. When Juan Alejandro left for Copiapo valley in June, Eliana, was already working as a domestic servant in Santa Maria, earning \$3.000 a month. The first month she worked was May, and the fact that Eliana could continue to work for the remaining months of the winter was the reason why Juan Alejandro could risk searching for a job outside the valley.

However, Juan Alejandro had no luck. He went with a friend to Copiapo, because years ago he had worked there and thought that in the winter time they could find jobs there. However they failed. They did find a job for June and July, but they pay was so poor that they used it all up on maintaining themselves. In August, they worked for a week earning \$1.800 each but in September they could not find further work. During that month all the money earned previously was spent, and so they could no longer stay in Copiapo. Thus Juan Alejandro returned

home with no savings. During the remainder of the year he found only small jobs, and the family had to survive almost entirely on Eliana's wage, who stayed in employment for the rest of the year.

Because of her job, she could not look after her two children. She arranged for them to be left with a woman friend whose husband went to Copiapo with Juan Alejandro. The woman looked after Eliana's two children along with her own five, in return for a small fee. Eliana collected free lunches for the children. Eliana's friend's household relied a great deal on family allowances, receiving six motherhood and child payments of \$2.520 a month, plus free school lunches for two of the young boys.

The problem of day care for children has arisen in this area as women have become progressively involved in the labour force. A solution has been found in two ways. The first is to leave the children with an older woman who cannot work. The latter is normally some close relative. The second is to find a child minder, such as Eliana's friend, who can look after the children for a regular payment or fee. In fact, some women look after several children and in this way make a living of their own.

Family networks are used for assistance by a great number of peasant families who come into the valley for the summer season. These seasonal migrants lodge with relatives in the shantytowns whilst the harvesting lasts. They bring food from their plots and pay for their lodgings. If they bring their children, they also pay for them. These links are useful and people take care not to break them.

Sra Zoila's Extended Family Household.

Some families come from the nearby villages to Santa Maria in the peak season. One of these is that of Angelita (8), who comes every summer to stay in Santa Maria with her mother, Sra Zoila, during the harvest season. She lives in the town of Las Cabras, a small village six kilometres away from Santa Maria. Las Cabras has also experienced great population increase, but unlike Santa Maria, is a community owning hillside lands, granted to it by the old hacienda when it became divided into small farms in the late 1850's. Las Cabras is a place that was inhabited by the "inquilinos" of the old hacienda and because of that some families still own their old garden allotments. However, Las Cabras has no agricultural land, only a hillside area for housing. For that reason, its inhabitants depend upon finding work in the fruit farms of the Santa Maria area. Las Cabras is quite a closed community, which only gives land through the Junta de Vecinos (Neighbouring Committee) to those who are close relatives of the old residents of the village. Recently Las Cabras has doubled its population because many young men and women of the village have married, and have chosen to stay and build their houses there. Most of them, men and women, work on the fruit farms and return to Las Cabras each day. However, for Angelita, who is a highly skilled packer, returning every day to Las Cabras, usually at night, is dangerous and tiring, so she prefers to stay during the whole harvesting season with her mother in Santa Maria.

Angelita is 33 years old and has two children of five and thirteen years of age. Every year, by the middle of December, when the harvest begins and the school term is finished, she moves from Las

Cabras to Santa Maria, to her mother's house. Sra Zoila has two other married sons living with her, who have children of their own, thus making up an extended family household. Household affairs become very complex in the summer time, although they are able to manage quite well, mostly because Sra Zoila greatly appreciates her daughter's being able to earn her own income and thus be more independent of her husband. The contrary situation exists for her two daughters-in-law who must rely on their husband's income, as well as on Sra Zoila's pension.

Sra Zoila worked in agriculture from the age of 12, mostly in vegetable and fruit production on the large old farms and haciendas. Because of that, she qualifies for social security, and at present receives a retirement pension of \$3.800. She expresses the view sometimes that her sons and daughters-in-law are taking advantage of her, living mostly on her income. But in contrast, she is very proud of Angelita, who started work in agriculture when she was very young. She therefore, in spite of her sons opposition, makes room for Angelita and her two children.

As Angelita says, "When I was a small girl both my parents worked in agriculture, and I myself started working at the age of 11. But during that time it was different to now, because most work was in horticulture and vegetables, which grow all the year round. Nowadays, because fruit is everywhere, it is more difficult to find work. There are only four months of work for women each year. For the remainder of the year only men can find jobs, and a great many women cannot. But, because of the fruit farms there are now more women working in agriculture than was the case in the past. People here need to earn

money to live, and men are not able to maintain their households. When I began working in agriculture it was considered shameful for women to work in the fields alongside the men. Many husbands did not allow their wives to work in the farms. But now it is different, most women are working because there are few jobs for their husbands, and husbands are no longer ashamed of that. In fact, we women can now put more money into the household than before. We women work because we do not want to see our children with threadbare clothes and with no schooling, and for that women work. We do not care what our husbands say or whether they are jealous. Five years ago no more than 10 women in Las Cabras came to the farms to work, but now at least a hundred come. Only those women who have many small children and or those who look after the children of others do not work. I earn my money for my children and myself, and I do not want to share my things. My husband says that our house is his, but I put a lot of money into building it. We women are now trying to be ourselves and not depend entirely upon our husbands, because if we really wanted, we could feed our children without our husbands".

Angelita, as many other women in Las Cabras and Santa Maria, talks about her husband when gossiping with friends, as "my fatal" or "my disaster", which expresses the view that husbands bring more problems than satisfactions, more trouble than happiness. Angelita, her mother and her sisters-in-law gossip about their husbands and the way they suffer from them. But, nevertheless, they always reinforce the necessity of having a family in order to survive.

To have a family here has two meanings: the first in the sense of one's actual nuclear family, and the other meaning "relatives".

Most people are conscious that cooperation among relatives saves time and money, but they are also clear that such arrangements are temporary because tensions quickly arise between close family members. This often happens in Sra Zoila's family and explains why she is presently busy trying to obtain a house for one of the married sons to move into. She sees this as a must if she is to keep her family united.

4. SOME FINAL REMARKS

Family and household patterns in the fruit growing areas are conditioned by processes of migration. Unlike the others areas which I shall analyse, changes in residence patterns in the fruit zone began quite early in the 1960's. Fruit areas attract labour from the surrounding countryside. Population increases and the household patterns of people living in the shantytowns of Santa Maria and similar nearby areas result from a specific in-migration process. Households share two main characteristics: they are quite young, with an average of about five members; and they generally participate in family networks and inter-household patterns of exchange and cooperation as a way of resolving some of their their livelihood problems.

A parallel study was carried out in the nearby municipality ("comuna") of Putaendo by Aranda (1982). Her main aim was to compare the situations of peasants and wage workers living in the shantytowns. She showed that wage labour families living in the village of Putaendo, as well other ones scattered in the countryside, were characterized by a dominance of young couples (1982:110). Another

important point to emerge was the tendency of young men to remain unmarried, thus a total of 45.5 per cent of households were "incomplete", made up of mature men or women living with their parents. The reason given for this pattern in the majority of cases was that they were supporting their young sisters and mother (Aranda, 1982:100). Examples of such incomplete family households are provided by the cases of Domingo and Marta described above.

An explanation of this particular point leads to a discussion of the sex ratio for persons above 15 years of age living in the fruit area. Our research found that there were 138 men for every 100 women, which entails that young men have difficulties in finding suitable women to marry in the rural shantytowns. This occurs despite the availability of work for women in the area. What appears to happen is that single women go to the cities for work, as the young daughter of Don Enrique did, and only return to the villages after they have married. This would also explain why we found few single women in the study.

Another point I wish to stress is the important role played by women in the organization of the household as a result of their involvement in wage labour. Women are able to raise a substantial share of the family income, and this permits them to assume a prominent position within the family. This pattern is completely absent in the other areas, and seems to result from the specific characteristics of fruit production. Because of their skills in handling fruit, women are needed in fruit production. Also fruit production works better when the whole family is committed to the activity, with the head of families working on a temporary basis

throughout the year (which might otherwise be transformed into a permanent labour force under some other style of development) and with youth and women working during the peak seasons. The requirement for labour augments in the summer by ten times, which also makes possible for nearby peasants to find seasonal work. This last dimension emerges clearly from our own data, and is confirmed by similar research undertaken in other fruit growing areas (see Lago and Olavarria, 1981; Aranda, 1981; Cruz and Leiva, 1982; Acuna, 1983).

Fruit growing in a large area of Central Chile is undergoing steady expansion. This allows us to suggest that current demographic, labour and household patterns are likely to continue. The possibility of a major change in the present style of development would offer an important challenge to this process, but, as certain patterns of employment related to export crops are, to an extent, independent of internal economic circumstances, this challenge seems unlikely to produce major changes in the present social pattern. Hence, temporary employment and heavy female involvement in wage labour, and their concomitant effects on family-household organization, will, it seems, remain for the foreseeable future.

CHAPTER VI

HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE MIXED CROPPING AREAS

This chapter presents a situation of economic development that shows the opposite trend to that of the previous chapter. Whilst the fruit growing areas can be considered a relatively successful case of economic development within the neo-liberal model, the mixed cropping region and certain peripheral fruit growing areas of low yield, are characterized by economic crisis and high unemployment. In order to examine this situation I selected the area of Molina-Rio Claro, which is an old centre of agro-industrial production, producing vegetable oil, rice, alcohol and spirits, tobacco and apples for export.

As a result of this development the area has experienced a high degree of proletarianization, which began at the beginnings of this century. The economic crisis that affected most of these crops produced a breakdown in large number of industrial and agrarian enterprises. Hence, the area now presents high unemployment and poverty. Among six small shantytowns surveyed I selected the village

of Paso Ancho, which is located in a sugar beet, rice and potato producing area, to illustrate this situation. However, despite the extremely poor conditions of the village, its inhabitants can still find a certain minimum level of employment. For those living in the middle of the wine producing area in Molina, unemployment and poverty is much worse.

1.- MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF MOLINA-RIO CLARO

Chilean agriculture in the Central Valley changes north to south because of climatic variations. Molina is an area on the southern borders of fruit production, where it fuses with that of mixed cropping. In this border two "comunas" (municipalities) were selected for research: Molina itself, in the province of Curico, and Rio Claro in the province of Talca. They are sited to one other and can be considered as one main production area, with the town of Molina as the industrial and commercial centre. This area will be called Molina-Rio Claro.

However, both comunas are different from each other in certain respects. The main crops in Molina are grapes, for wine production, and apples, whereas Rio Claro has only a small proportion of land devoted to fruit and mostly produces industrial crops, such as sugar beet, rice, legumes, and black beans for export. The industrial processing plants for these crops are located either in Molina or in the nearby area of Curico and Sagrada Familia, on the opposite side to Rio Claro. For that reason, most production activities in the municipality of Rio Claro are controlled by Molina.

Wine, sugar, rice, beans, and other products have faced persistent crisis since about 1970, as a result of the removing of protective barriers, which put most of these crops under heavy external competition because they had to adjust to the international system of pricing. A great number of enterprises failed in the process or were reorganized, and many hundred of workers were thrown out of work. In addition, the devolution and division of the land reform enterprises pushed large numbers of people out of the agrarian sector. The process of change in the residence of rural population directed towards the shantytowns was, unlike the fruit growing areas, fairly rapid and traumatic. In those zones where mixed cropping is dominant, the neo-liberal economic policy had produced great economic uncertainty, which is an important factor to bear in mind when analyzing family organization in these areas. However, capitalist development has to be considered as part of a longer historical process, of which recent changes are only a part.

Agricultural Crisis.

As I have mentioned, neo-liberal policies created the conditions for the country to enter into the world market from 1976 onwards. They also created enormous price problems, generating a spiral of enterprise breakdowns. Wine production is a good example of the sort of problem these producers were faced with. Chile has been a wine exporting country from colonial times, but as result of lifting custom barriers a huge amount of subsidized Argentinian wine was imported, creating high stocks that pushed the prices paid to producers down five-fold. In 1978 a litre cost \$10 (£0.13), whereas in 1980-82 it had dropped to \$2 (£0.026). Thus, most small and medium

sized producers found it very hard to continue selling wine to the industrial plants. A hectare of traditional Spanish or Californian grape frames was producing between 4.000 and 12.000 litres, on dry and irrigated land, respectively. The actual gross yields were between \$8.000 and \$24.000, which hardly covered costs. Thus, a large number of hectares, perhaps 10 per cent according to some estimates, were abandoned or rooted up. Only very modern vineyards with new mechanized frames, producing up to 40.000 litres of wine per hectare, were able to make a profit. The impact of this price crisis on employment was major. In Molina, where there are some 6.000 hectares of vineyards, permanent employment was markedly reduced. Large-scale enterprises, like Vina San Pedro, were forced to reorganize their production process completely. Others, like Vina Casablanca, closed down. These two industries had been the main employers in the two towns, Lontue (3.000 inhabitants) and Casablanca (1.500 inhabitants).

Another important crop is sugar beet. From the 1950's onwards Chile developed a sugar programme that built six sugar refineries, one of them located in Curico, in the neighbourhood of Molina and Rio Claro. As a result, these areas have long been involved in sugar production. But, as a result of selling out five of these refineries to private sugar importing firms, they had to close since it was now cheaper to buy sugar overseas. Only recently (1982) has the State again taken over three sugar refineries in order to restore production (in Curico, Linares and Los Angeles). This situation does not need further comment to appreciate its effects upon rural employment.

Since the 1960's black beans, a crop for export that is not eaten in Chile, was widely cultivated by peasants, and in certain

areas became their main cash crop (see Crispi and Rivera, 1987). Prices were fairly stable for a long period, reaching \$2.000 per hundred-weight in 1980. But prices fell drastically in 1981 to only \$300 per hundred-weight. Potato prices behaved no differently, and the same can be said about other crops, including vegetables. As a result of this kind of problem many peasants, as well as capitalist enterprises, have reduced their cultivated land to a minimum, thus exacerbating the problems of employment.

Changes in Production and Employment.

As a result of production changes, that include the introduction of new crops and processing plants on the farms and haciendas during the 1950's onwards, important change in employment occurred that later led to demographic changes (see Chapter III). Permanent employment in this area, as elsewhere in Chile, grew steadily until 1973. A peculiarity of Molina is that vineyard workers, as well workers from other kinds of farms, were able to establish strong unions (Loveman, 1976). These unions became very important during the land reform process. By 1973, few estates in Molina and Rio Claro remained un-expropriated.

What seems evident from the available data on employment is that while temporary labour was also used, there was a strong trend up to 1973 towards the creation of a permanent labour force linked either to the farms or land reform enterprises. But, after 1973 this tendency was reversed, and a great number of former permanent workers were thrown off the farms and pushed out to live in the growing rural shantytowns.

In Molina and Rio Claro, these trends are also evident, having their beginnings in the modernization of agriculture, especially in Molina where the vineyards, planted as long ago as the 19th century, needed modernizing. Census data in municipalities and provinces show, for example, that in the province of Curico, permanent labour in relation to cultivated land, increased by 36 per cent in the period 1955-1965, but then by 1976 it had decreased by 17 per cent. In the province of Talca this same pattern of increase followed by decrease took place. Between 1955 and 1965 the number of permanent workers rose by 118 per cent, but was reduced by 15 per cent between 1965 and 1976. Temporary labour, on the contrary, showed a different trend. In Curico a steady increase of 36 per cent can be observed in the period 1955-65 and 22 per cent in 1965-76. In Talca increases were even more significant. Between 1955 and 1965 temporary employment increased by 131 per cent, and by 40 per cent in the following period.

As I have stated elsewhere, there was a general process of diminishing of the permanent labour force after 1976. Although there are no exact figures in this respect, for Molina and Rio Claro in 1976 there were said to be approximately five permanent workers for every ten households. Six years afterwards in our sample of the rural shantytowns in these two municipalities, it had to only one for every ten households. Both figures include permanent workers who are not heads of household. Therefore, the actual number of heads of households working permanently in 1982 can be considered to be even smaller.

Population Changes.

At present according to the 1982 census, 19,000 inhabitants, out of a total of 32,000 (i.e. 60 per cent) of Molina's population live in urban areas, in such towns as Molina itself (12,000 inhabitants) or smaller ones like Lontue and Casablanca. Molina has grown only 0.3 per cent between 1970 and 1982. The overall urban population of the comuna grew by 3.1 per cent a year, whilst the rural population decreased by 2.9 per cent. In fact, the rural population has fallen from 60 to 40 per cent.

In contrast, Rio Claro is more rural, with only 20 per cent of its population living in urban areas, which resemble villages more than proper urban centres. Rio Claro increased its population by 1.6 per cent a year between 1970 and 1982, but most of this increase was concentrated in the small urban centres, generating an urban rate of population increase of 5.1 per cent. Molina in fact serves as the urban centre for both municipalities, and this accounts for the fact that only from about 1970 can a process of urbanization in Rio Claro be observed.

The provinces in which both comunas are located show some contrasting demographic features. Curico seems fairly stagnant demographically, with a rate of growth of 1.4 per cent, which is less than the national rate. In contrast, the province of Talca shows a significant increase in population growth, reaching an overall rate of 2.9 per cent, which is 0.9 per cent higher than the national rate (see Table 5).

TABLE 5.

DIFFERENTIAL POPULATION GROWING RATES

(in percentages of annual variation)(1)

	1952-60			1960-70			1970-82		
	Urb	Rur	Total	Urb	Rur	Total	Urb	Rur	Total
Molina	2.1	1.0	1.8	2.6	-0.5	0.2	3.1	-2.3	0.3
-Prov. Curico	3.8	1.1	2.0	2.0	-0.2	0.7	2.8	-0.1	1.4
Rio Claro	4.5	0.8	1.2	1.8	-0.3	-0.1	5.1	0.2	1.6
-Prov. Talca	3.1	1.4	4.2	3.2	-0.5	1.4	3.6	1.6	2.9
Total Chile	3.9	0.6	2.7	3.1	-1.1	1.9	2.6	-0.2	2.0

SOURCE: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Santiago de Chile.

(1) For figures see chapters IV and IX

The most important factor which emerges from Table 5 is that the urban population growth in these two areas surpasses significantly the national rate, and this does not seem to be related to the type of crop prevalent in the municipality or province. This clearly indicates that a major process of urbanization affecting the agricultural areas is taking place. On the other hand, this process is not yet very strong, since only the province of Talca is growing in both rural and urban population at a higher rate than the national average.

Putting together all previous data, it can be said that while within the province of Curico the main process is migration from rural to urban areas, in Talca the central process is a general overall increase of population.

Another important factor to be considered is the sex ratio. This is a useful variable to analyse, since differences in the ratio

of men to women influence marriage patterns. A wide difference of men and women could lead to difficulties in finding a marriage partner. Table 6 shows that in the rural areas of both Molina and Rio Claro there has been a permanent shortage of marriageable women, indicating a stronger migratory bias for women than for men. In urban areas, in contrast the sex ratios are reversed. During all of the last four censuses Molina has had more women than men. In Rio Claro, there were also originally more women in the towns, but since the 1960's onwards, an increasing shortage of women living in both urban and rural areas develops.

TABLE 6.

SEX RATIOS IN MOLINA AND RIO CLARO

men per 100 women

	MOLINA			RIO CLARO		
	Total Pop.	Urb.	Rur.	Total Pop.	Urb.	Rur.
1952	25.400	72.8	118.6	8.702	91.5	124.6
1960	29.934	89.5	117.1	9.365	105.7	124.3
1970	31.061	91.8	113.9	9.441	109.8	125.9
1982	32.014	93.4	124.1	11.458	116.9	122.7

SOURCE: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Santiago de Chile.

The projection of sex ratios in Molina's urban areas suggests that in the near future there will, as in Rio Claro, be more men than women. The reason relates to the character of urbanization. A sex ratio of 120 men per 100 women in the rural millicoux and the reverse in urban areas indicates that as the urban structure is becoming more related to the agricultural labour market, so more women are taking up residence in these urban areas, some finding work in agriculture and

other seeking employment in agro-industrial and commercial activities.

A closer look at the sex ratios based on our sample for Molina and Rio Claro shows similar trends to that of the census data. For the purpose of this analysis I have grouped the data in age cohorts.

TABLE 7-a.

SAMPLE SEX RATIOS IN MOLINA-RIO CLARO

(in figures and percentages)

Age Cohort	MOLINA			RIO CLARO		
	Tot.	%	Sex R.	Tot.	%	Sex R.
00 - 15	193	43.3	93.0	103	40.6	94.3
15 - 20	72	16.2	60.0	36	14.2	140.0
20 - 35	76	17.1	90.0	44	17.3	144.4
35 - 50	63	14.1	117.2	40	15.7	100.0
50 - >	41	9.2	95.2	31	12.2	72.2
TOTAL	445	100.0	89.4	254	100.0	104.8

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile 1982.

Table 7 shows that in Rio Claro there exists a marked shortage of women of marriageable age, and the opposite in Molina. This might appear puzzling, but the explanation is in fact simple. On the one hand, it can be observed that in Molina there is a great shortage of men between 15 and 20 of age, which indicates (as interviewed persons pointed out) that younger men are out-migrating towards other agricultural zones following the decline of the mine industry. This is likely since Molina has a longstanding tradition of male out-migration: also Rio Claro offers more possibilities for young people finding small jobs. On the other hand, Molina, and the nearby city of

Curico, offer women a lot of employment opportunities, making it possible to them to maintain themselves in the area. Thus, various families have daughters working in Curico, commuting either on a daily or a week basis. For Rio Claro, these employment opportunities do not exist, and women try to find employment farther away, which reduces their links with the countryside.

Summing up, we can say that Molina is more clearly an urban situation, while Rio Claro still remains rural in orientation, even though both towns are classified as urban by the census. This is also the reason for greater disparities between the sample and census data in Rio Claro than in Molina.

2.- MIGRATION, SURVIVAL STRATEGIES AND HOUSEHOLDS IN PASO ANCHO

The studies carried out in the various shantytowns of Molina and Rio Claro bring out important demographic dimensions and a household pattern characterized by high unemployment. Molina presents a clear picture of poverty due to the crisis in the wine industry, and because its highly proletarianized labour force has few income alternatives open to it. Rio Claro, in contrast, presents a picture of diversified agricultural employment, but, unlike Molina, where there are certain employment possibilities for women in agro-industry, commerce and public services, in Rio Claro, apart from direct agricultural wage labour, employment for women is negligible. Another important difference is that in Molina, as in Santa Maria, the new shantytown settlers encountered a previously existing urban structure in which to insert themselves, and so people tend to settle in places where, in most cases, they already have some relatives living. In

contrast, in Rio Claro, the urban structure is in the process of developing, so there is much less of an already existing framework within which families can settle, and therefore the settlement pattern seems more random.

New Settlements: the Urbanization of the Countryside.

Two small villages were researched in Rio Claro, one called Paso Ancho and the other, El Bolsico. They present similar household patterns. I have therefore selected case studies from only one of these villages, Paso Ancho.

Paso Ancho began its existence in 1958, when just a few families settled on an abandoned road. The 1960 census makes no mention of it. These families settled there on abandoned land that used to be the old "royal road", which existed during colonial times, linking Curico, Molina and Talca, and which became disused when the new highway was built. It served no useful purpose except perhaps as a border between the haciendas and farms located on each side of the road.

One of the first families to arrive that still lives in the area described for us how they first settled there: "When we arrived here -said Sra Julia- it was 1960. I remember that there were only three houses, Anibal's, Luis's, and another belonging to someone who had already left. The rich farm owners around did not want us to stay here, they did not want people here trying to create a new village, because they were frightened of having their cattle and crops stolen. When that happened, whether or not somebody from Paso Ancho was

guilty, they came here with the police to search the houses, damaging our houses and frightening our children. Also no farm owner wanted to give us jobs, and most of the men had to go far away to earn a living. Also, as a way of pushing us out of here, landowners used to say that this abandoned road belonged half to Bellavista farm over here, and half to Las Rosas, over there. But that wasn't true, because roads are state property. This one was completely abandoned and I think that probably no one in the government realized its existence. It was full of blackberry bushes and briars; moreover, old bridges along the road which cross the ravines had been destroyed, so it was difficult to walk its length, especially during winter time when small streams become rivers.

"From that time people continued to come to live here, while others left. In the beginnings each family selected a piece of road, some 50 metres long, cleared away the bushes and built a house. Some three or four families came each year, and some two or three left. Only a small number established their permanent residence in this place. That is because there are not many facilities here.

"My husband had a job in San Luis, a small hacienda just over there, at the beginnings of Paso Ancho. He was there for a time doing carpentry. When he finished that job we decided to settle down here because there were six haciendas around where he could find jobs. We had already travelled everywhere in Molina and Rio Claro because of my husband's job. Carpenter's jobs are never permanent ones. We thought that because of the six haciendas, including three regular sized wine plants, this place would provide plenty of work, and so we settled down in Paso Ancho.

"My husband found temporary work on all those haciendas, and also later in the land reform "settlements", during the ten years until he died in 1970. But, anyway, in order to stay here and defend ourselves from the farm owners who did want us to live here, my husband and others were very active and organized the "Junta de Vecinos" (Neighbourhood Committee). After we organized the committee, the governor of Molina helped us to stay here obtaining from the Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales (National Property Ministry) permission for us to live here. We therefore pay a small rent of \$30 a month to the municipality of Rio Claro. Anyway, although the actual land is not ours, the houses are our property. We built them with our savings and efforts.

"After about 1965, it was easier to settle here because various haciendas were expropriated under the land reform. That also brought more jobs in agriculture and house construction and other buildings. Thus, people continued coming because there was free land and jobs. When my husband died Paso Ancho had 40 houses, I reckon, because it was nearly as big as it is today. When the committee was first organized it was responsible for selecting the people asked to come and live here. We tried to select people who lived or used to work around here. In fact, few families selected in those days came from far away. Later, all this changed. In these last years the committee hasn't concerned itself any more with the care of the village. All it does is obey the orders of the mayoress."

Sra Julia's story about Paso Ancho summarizes well the origins and development of this village. The census of 1970 counted 32 households and a total of 198 inhabitants, an average of 6.2 members

per household. At present this village (census of 1932) has 65 households with 377 inhabitants, an average of 5.8 members per household.

General Living Conditions.

The houses extend for some four kilometres along the road, each house occupying 50 metres by 25 metres. The houses and gardens occupy half the road leaving the other half for a street. Because of its very strange shape, it was not possible to create a village "centre", and this has had the effect of stressing the separateness of the families. There is no focal point where people can gather together. The existing school is located in the centre of the village, but there are not enough other facilities in the area to attract people to meet there for informal gatherings. Even for formal meetings families living at the extremes do not show interest in participating. This has been the major factor affecting the possibility of obtaining electricity and drinking water.

The houses are very precarious. They are built of mud or adobe bricks, but not in the traditional manner of peasant houses, which are much stronger structures. In Paso Ancho most of the houses are partly made of odd pieces of wood. A number of them have frames built of wood and bamboo-like canes, and are filled in with mud hardened by the sun. The roofs are made of wooden frames and plastic, or a hotch potch of tin sheets, fixed with sticks or stones to protect them against the strong winter winds. Very few have wooden or other kinds of insulated floors, and only a handful of houses have glass windows. Windows are mostly simple small square holes in the walls protected with plastic

and wooden shields. Such houses are in no way suitable for the climate of cold winters, heavy rains and freezing winds, and as a result, living conditions are very tough. People gather together in their houses to pass the winter time. The houses have tiny interiors, which in most cases consists of only two small rooms (sometimes just one), one bedroom and one kitchen-cum-dining room, which alternates as a bedroom. In some houses these two rooms are separated by a piece of fabric hanging from the roof.

Paso Ancho is situated on a small plateau, some 10 metres high above the fertile Rio Claro river bank, where fruit orchards and vineyards are located. The village of Paso Ancho is built at right angles to the river, and therefore only one end of it has easy access to the vineyards. The plateau is irrigated and is currently used to cultivate rice and wheat. Rice cultivation makes living conditions harder since in the summer time mosquitos are a tremendous problem. The plateau is very dry and mostly made of clayey soils, which produce floods with the winter rains and dry wells in the summer. During the dry season, which is eight months long, a large number of households can only obtain their drinking water from the irrigation channels.

The village of Paso Ancho is divided in three sections separated by small ravines, which produces difficulties for children from the outlying parts to reach the school, located in the centre. Recently, in 1983, a new bridge was begun by the municipality. Paso Ancho has one school with six grades. This was opened by the middle of the 1960's. However, out of the four teachers, only the principal lives in the village. The others live currently in the city of Talca, which takes two hours a day by bus and a walk to the school, and

another two hours to return every evening. The teachers do this because of the lack of proper urban facilities in the village. Apart from the school, there are only two small stall-like shops, which sell some foods, drinks and cigarettes. The prices are high and so people prefer to travel to Molina once a month to buy their main food supplies. They walk there (two hours), but on their way back can pick up the bus from Molina to El Bolsico, which leaves them four kilometres from the beginnings of the village. For those settled in the southern part of Paso Ancho, the bus stop is some eight kilometres away.

Paso Ancho is one of the most economically precarious villages encountered in the research and there is a good deal on in and out movement. When one family leaves, its place is given to another arriving. Most of them do not come because of employment possibilities, as is the case of San Felipe-Los Andes, but because it is possible here to find some place to build a house. People came, and come, to Paso Ancho because they have no other place to go. They came to the nearest place to settle. A great many of those living in Paso Ancho were previously permanent workers on the farms around, and many also participated in land reform enterprises. Two thirds of the present inhabitants of Paso Ancho settled there after 1973, and the majority after 1976, when the land reform enterprises were divided up into family plots or returned to their former owners.

A great many Paso Ancho people travel daily an average of 10 kilometres away for work, mainly to a zone called San Gerardo, where many hundred of hectares are sown each year with sugar beet and potatoes. Several persons were asked why they did not settle in San

Gerardo instead, where a village quite similar to Paso Ancho is also being established. They answered that they would have to buy or rent a place to put up a house, and that would make it more expensive to live. Because of that, they prefer to stay in Paso Ancho and walk daily between the two places.

Welfare and household organization.

Most household members in Paso Ancho are middle aged. A sample of 22 families was chosen for more closer detailed study. In the sample a couple of old age families were included. One of them is the family of Sr. Diaz. He is 78 and his wife, 71 years old. Both have retirement pensions, receiving \$4.000 and \$1.800, respectively. Sr Diaz began to receive his pension in 1960 which is worth two thirds of a minimum salary, but since his wife had not worked in the past, she received only one fifth of a minimum salary (this is called woman's old age pension allowance, received after the age of 60 years of age to women who have not work). She obtained her pension only in 1982 (this type of pension became available only in 1980). Don Juan Diaz was all his life an "inquilino" until he retired in 1960. His last work was on the hacienda Las Rosas. Because he retired, and had no son who wished to replace him on the hacienda, he had to leave his house. So he went to live with a son-in-law, Don Luis, in the land reform San Luis "settlement", but after only 10 months there, and many conflicts, he came to live in Paso Ancho. Later Don Luis also came to live in Paso Ancho.

The overall migration history of Don Juan Diaz illustrates the high mobility of people in this area. Before he arrived at Las Rosas

he had worked in six different haciendas and farms in various zones of Rio Claro. He said that he, like many other rural workers, frequently used to change employment because landowners did not fulfil their expectations with regard to the benefits that "inquilinos" had been used to receive in the past, such as a fairly large plot of land, pasture for four to six animals, a house and garden plot. These frequent changes of residence had reduced the links he and his wife had with relatives. They received little information regarding them. On the other hand, they had eight children, who left home some 20 years ago, although recently four of them have come to live in Paso Ancho near to Don Juan, after they or their husbands lost their jobs. For example, the daughter married to Don Luis came to Paso Ancho in 1975, when his husband was fired when the land reform settlement was returned to its former owner. Of the three others, one is a permanent worker on Penafior farm, and the others work as temporary workers. They came back to Paso Ancho because Don Juan Diaz obtained a site for them to build their houses. Yet despite these links, the different family members do not help each other on a regular basis. Instead, there are many quarrels among them. Don Juan explains this by saying that his sons have too many troubles of their own to cooperate among themselves. Also their wages are hardly enough to cover their own needs and therefore they are reluctant to help others.

The other elderly family is that of Don Antonio and his wife, who are 67 and 68 years old, respectively. They came from San Carlos, a place in the south (province of Nuble). After having worked in various haciendas and farms there, Don Antonio arrived in Molina in 1960, and started working on San Luis. Then, when San Luis closed down in 1975, he went to live in the village of Santa Elena as an attached

member ("allegado") in a friend's household. After a couple of years they applied to Paso Ancho Neighbourhood Committee for a site, which they obtained. Once in Paso Ancho, Don Antonio continued working as a temporary worker in the nearby farms until July of 1982, when his wife received her old age pension worth \$1.800 a month. He expects soon to obtain his own pension, which will ease their living circumstances. In fact, Don Antonio's life has been very hard since 1975. He had no relatives in the area, and was dependent mostly upon friends for survival during the first period after being fired from work. However, as a member of one of the three Pentecostal churches existing in Paso Ancho, he received some help from the other church members, but, his main help has come from Catholic relief organizations, such as Caritas, which helps with food, a congregation of nuns from Molina who help with health care, and a rural development agency (CRATE)(10) which assists people in Paso Ancho with technical advise for home garden production.

Among the remaining 20 households of the sample one can distinguish two groups. The first takes the form of nuclear conventional family at a middle stage of the developmental cycle, when some children are already adult and married. Most of the latter live outside in separate households, although in some cases married children and their spouses reside temporarily with the parents until they are able to raise the necessary resources to have their own homes. These temporary stay often takes place when the wage earner is recently back from the city or some other work centre and between jobs. There are seven households of this type. The second consists of thirteen households which are nuclear in type but which depend upon State pensions as a major source of income. Many of these are made up

of widows together with children and a male consort. The couples generally do not marry since they would lose the income from the widow's pension.

The first group can be illustrated by Sr. Villas' household. He is 64 years old and has a large family of eight children, three of whom left the family home to live on their own. Pedro (34 years old) married in 1978 and went to live in his wife's house, which is located in Paso Ancho itself. His wife is a 45 year old widow receiving a pension. He works as a building worker on San Luis farm. Juan (22 years old) also left home when he married a girl from Paso Ancho and went to live temporarily with his in-laws. He moves from temporary job to job on the farms and peasant holdings around Paso Ancho. He contributes all he earns to the common fund of his wife's household. Julia (33 years old) went to Santiago in 1976 to work as a domestic servant. She sends clothes and food back to her parents.

Sr. Villas' household is made up of seven members, including himself and wife (58 years old), four sons and a daughter. In this household four members are actually working, but despite this they face many difficulties in raising enough income to meet their needs. The only permanently employed person is the elder son (36 years old) who receives \$5.500 a month. The other three sons (aged 28, 20 and 18 years old, respectively), and Sr. Villas himself, have temporary jobs. The need to keep the family properly fed has restrained the elder son from getting married, though the lack of young, or even mature, women in Paso Ancho has also been a factor.

Sr. Villas had lived in seven different farms as a temporary and

permanent worker before he arrived to Paso Ancho. As an inquilino worker he was able to raise various animals, out of which he still keeps three horses that are used for sharecropping with neighbouring peasants. But, as he must also pay for pasture for the horses, his income from this is scarcely enough to obtain even a small quantity of food for self-consumption.

Another example of a nuclear family household is that of Sr Gonzales. He is 38 years old and his wife, 37. He was a member of a land reform cooperative that was originally the Santa Helena hacienda. When the land reform enterprise became divided into small plots in 1977, he was fired and had to start work as a temporary worker. However, he and his family had been living in Paso Ancho since 1969, mainly because this gave his children better access to schooling.

At present two of his daughters are living in Santiago. One of them, 20 years old, was married in Paso Ancho at the age of 16, but her husband later deserted her. So, she decided to go away to work as a domestic servant in Santiago. Later, another daughter (18 years old) also decided to go to work in Santiago as a domestic servant. Four children remained in Paso Ancho. One of them, a daughter of 21, married in 1982, and left home to live one kilometre away. The other daughter, 19 years old, is still living in the house, but married to a man of 40. Her husband first settled in the house as an "allegado" and later married her. He is an industrial electrician who was forced to leave his job in Santiago when the firm he worked closed down. He says that he still intends to go back there, which is one of the reasons why the couple continue to live in the parent's house. The two remaining children are young. The girl is 14 years old and helps her

mother in the house with domestic work. The boy, who is 10, has been an agricultural worker since he left school in 1930. He usually works with his father, because at his age the opportunities of finding a job by himself are scarce.

A third example of this pattern is Sr. Barrios' household, consisting of nine persons: themselves and seven children, of whom six are attending school. Sr. Barrios is now 44 years old and his wife 42. He was a permanent worker in San Luis until 1975. Now he is a temporary worker and provides the only cash income available to the household. Their economic situation is very precarious and seems to have been an important factor in motivating the elder daughter of 16 years old to leave to live with a relative in Talca.

During 1982 Sr. Barrios worked almost continually, except for January and part of February when he was sick. During these two months the family lived on only \$1.000, which is equivalent to 20 kilos of bread. During March, April and one week of May, he worked very hard harvesting rice, but the landowner gave him only \$500 in goods (flour and sugar). In June he worked for a brother who has a land reform peasant plot, but received payment consisting only of beans and potatoes. Later in July he was unemployed, but in August found a job pruning grapes and various other jobs on Santa Rosa farm, which lasted for four months, earning him \$5.000 a month. Finally in December he obtained another job clearing sugar beet, earning \$8.000 a month.

As a result of this difficult employment situation, the household exists on several sources of income. They have four children (7,8,9 and 10 years old) who receive free breakfasts and lunches at

the school. The wife grows some vegetables for self-consumption in the backyard that are worth the equivalent of about C3.000 in foodstuffs during the summer time. The family also travels frequently for long distances to glean for food, such as potatoes and beans, or maize and wheat. During 1982 they were selected four times to receive a Caritas food package, made up of flour, buttermilk and oil. However, they do not yet receive any child allowance from the social security. In the past, when Sr. Barrios worked as a permanent worker he received seven child allowances, which, in 1982, would have given them \$2.850 a month in cash. But as this was no longer possible, they were half the year without any proper cash income. This resulted not only in a lack of actual food, but also a shortage of such goods as paraffin and candles. As we have seen, during 1982 Sr. Barrios worked part of the year for two peasants and one farmer, who did not pay him the wage promised for his work. This sort of trouble for temporary workers is very common, and is a main source of uncertainty and lack of confidence in the future. Nearly every interviewed person in this area has been cheated in this way, not once, but several times in the past two years.

The three households of Sr. Villas, Sr. Gonzales and Sr. Barrios, exhibit some kind of family extension to include married sons or daughters. However, these living arrangements are temporary and are not sustained by the existence of common property or by strong economic ties. They are based on short-term, instrumental relationships similar to those that one finds with "allegado" relationships. The other five households of this type display similar characteristics. There is, no established pattern of joint cooperation among a set of households which brings relatively permanent mutual

benefits, as we find in the fruit growing areas. The attitude of these families is that each household should be self-supporting, the rationale deriving, it seems, from the extremely hard living conditions they all experienced: no one wishes to accept continued help, since it is more problematic to return the favour later.

Finally, examining the demographic profiles of these seven households we find that all the children within the household were born of the original couple, except for some grandchildren recently incorporated. All are large, with an average of seven members, higher than the average for Paso Ancho itself, and all have both parents living in the same house. Despite the large size of these households with a total of 18 working men between them there are only two permanent workers, although each household has the possibility of one member working temporarily at almost any time, which permits them to achieve or earn a basic income. There are in fact 2.6 workers per household; only one has just one worker. The latter (Sr. Barrios's) had the worst living conditions of all families in the village.

The second group of 13 households is distinguished from the first by the fact that they survive to a great extent on State pensions, especially widow pensions. Eight of these households received widow pension and the remaining five old age pensions. The receipt of such pensions is critical to the economic life of these households, and must be viewed in the context of the fact the welfare benefits in Chile are somehow randomly distributed with many individuals who should qualify for benefits for some reason receiving none. In Paso Ancho there are a significant number of women who do receive widow pensions, and it is said that this is an attraction for

young men to marry with them.

This group of households contrasts with the first group of nuclear family households in that the average age of the housewives is 55 years, and their partners only 46 years, against 33 for the women and 47 years for men in the first situation. These 13 households have an average of 5.4 persons per household and a total of only 21 workers, that is, 1.6 workers per household, as against 2.6 workers per household in the first group. Widow's and retirement pensions compensate for the low and irregular income from other sources; pension benefits also make it possible for sons to leave home.

The fairly big difference in age between men and women, in both groups, results from a shortage of women of marriageable age. In 22 households there were 39 bachelor men over 15 years of age and only seven unattached women. As a result, men over 30 try to marry or live with either widows or very young girls under 15 years of age. Young girls coming home from school on dark winter evenings are often victims of sexual assaults by men returning from their work. Some of these girls who become pregnant attempt to marry the man who is said to be the father, although, given the probability that she would have suffered several rapes, it will be difficult to identify him. However, in most cases, the girls prefer to leave their babies with their parents and go to look for employment elsewhere.

Sexual harassment, rape and extra-marital intercourse with married women are common. This hostility between the sexes contributes to the general instability of social life in the village. To be married gives a woman some more protection, but in a situation where

men frequently spend a week or more away from home, sexual attacks on single and married alike is very high. This is also encouraged by the average distance of 50 metres between the houses. Nevertheless, as most women try to acquire a man so as to protect themselves against sexual harassment, this fact becomes also an important factor in explaining why there are actually no families being raised by women alone, which would be possible for a woman with a retirement pension.

Sra Maria's household is an example of the way welfare income plays an important role in family formation and composition. Sra Maria is 52 years old. She was widowed in 1970, and had seven children then, the eldest of whom was 20 years old, and the youngest four years. The first two years were very hard before her widow's pension was granted. But she managed to survive with temporary labour in grape harvesting and other crops. During that time there was a shortage of labour in agriculture. She also had the income of her eldest son, but he married in 1976 and left home to live with his wife's family, who had a land reform plot from the ex-settlement El Condor, near the town of Molina. Recently (1981) another two sons have left to work as temporary labourers in the El Condor area. One of them lives attached to his brother's house and the other in a friend's house.

In 1976, Sra Maria decided to marry again and chose Don Carlos, a man she knew some years ago whilst working on the grape harvest at Bellavista farm. He is 53 years old, and a widower himself, with all his sons living away. The couple have no children of their own, but, in addition to Sra Maria's three remaining sons (16, 18 and 19 years old), they are rearing two of her grandsons, aged four and six respectively. The daughter left them with her when she departed

for Santiago. The two children are of two different fathers.

Sra Maria is a very good worker and in her struggle to raise her children alone has developed many agricultural skills, among them the ability to obtain extra-income out of sharecropping. At one time she used to sharecrop some small plots from peasants in order to grow vegetables but, she had difficulties in getting her sons to sharecrop for her because they always preferred to work for wages and to spend their earnings on themselves and their friends. This difficulty led Sra Maria to feel that a husband would be a better complement to her own efforts. Furthermore, with the additional burden of her two grandsons, she found it difficult to manage everything by herself.

As she says, "in spite of the \$3.000 that I received from my pension I felt it very difficult to manage to keep my family fed. Thanks to that I have been able to feed my children. My partner (she speaks of Don Carlos) helps me with the sharecropping. I can manage everything, but I cannot do the ploughing, for that I have got him...yes...and so what?. Since I cannot work all the time, because I also have to look after the babies, he can help me a lot. Every year, since we began to live together he has helped to me. Fortunately this year he obtained, with some other men from Paso Ancho, a fairly permanent job in San Luis. This farm was abandoned in 1975, when it was returned to its former owner. But now there is a new landowner, who is putting up new buildings and starting to cultivate the land. Also he has rooted out various damaged vineyards in order to sow sugar beet. All that has given many opportunities for work to people around here. He gave one hectare to us for gardening. This will allow us to

son crops without having to give half or more to the landowner. Perhaps, if he work hard, he will be able to sell a little bit to earn extra money. Two of my sons (16 and 19 years old) are also working in San Luis on a short term basis, so they can earn some money to spend on their own things".

Sra Maria's house is very poor, as poor as everyone's in Paso Ancho, but in general terms, they have started to enjoy better living conditions since the middle of 1982 when Don Carlos entered work as a permanent worker with an allotment of land. Together this will increase their present income at least two times. Between the beginning and the end of 1982, their total food and other household expenses went up from \$3.000 to \$7.000 a month. Their gas cooker and battery operated T.V. set costs \$800 a month. These appliances, unused for several years, have now become active again.

She also wants a better education for her younger son and grandsons. To begin with she is trying to obtain a fellowship for the son to go to a private agricultural boarding school in Molina. She wants him to obtain a professional training, as a way of getting him out of the temporary employment situation. She says is the only way out for young men in Paso Ancho. She says that all children should be able to study until they are 18 years old: "this is the minimum, and I think that whether my son can go or not to agriculture college, at least my grandsons are going to get out of here."

I wish to finish this analysis of different household survival strategies based upon welfare pensions with the case of Don Alberto. He has developed an interesting strategy linking welfare income, home

garden production, wage labour and post-harvest gleaning. This was one of the most interesting case-studies of the research, which I have written up elsewhere as a separate paper (Rivera, 1969). Don Alberto is 45 years old and his wife, Sra Rosa, is 55. She has two children by her former husband, and two other by Don Alberto. The first two are 15 and 13 years old, and the others 12 and 14 years old. Another five children were born to her first marriage, but she knows the whereabouts of only two, Maria Isabel and Helena. The first left home in 1970 at the age of 12 and the second in 1962 at the age of 17. Both are now working in the same area of Santiago as domestic servants.

She married Don Alberto in 1967, the year in which her first husband died, because she was absolutely defenceless and unable to feed her family of seven children. Immediately after her husband died, three of the children were fostered out among relatives. Later they left in search of work and that is why she does not know what they are now doing. Don Alberto was 29 years old then and worked as a sharecropper with a hacienda in a place known as Los Robles. In 1968 he faced big conflicts with the landowner, partly because the landowner wanted to expropriate a larger percentage of the harvest than had been previously agreed upon, and also because of his union activities. In 1967-68, the haciendas were being expropriated under the land reform and Don Alberto was actively engaged in mobilizing and organizing peasants. The landowner was afraid, even though his land was in no actual danger of being expropriated because it fell under the ceiling as defined by the new law. However, he fired Don Alberto and, as a result, he and his new family came to Paso Ancho, where he continued his union activities, receiving some salary. Meanwhile Sra Rosa obtained her widow's pension, which allowed them to achieve a

better standard of living. His heavy involvement in land reform activities did not, however, allow him to enter as a member of a "settlement". The reasons are not altogether clear, but it seems he was seeking to become a full-time land reform employee, organizing peasants and solving the many problems and quarrels among settlement members.

For 1973, Don Alberto spent a period in prison because his union activities, and for a long time he was ostracised by the landowners. He could only to get works with peasants, who mostly paid him in goods since they lacked cash. As a result, Don Alberto developed a survival strategy which, though exceptional, shows the possibilities of the rural poor, engaging in intensive gardening for food. He has a plot of 25 by 50 metres (1.250 M²), of which some 250 are taken up with housing. In the remaining 1.000 metres (just 0.1 hectare) he can grow, for self-consumption and sale, the equivalent of an average income derived from wages and welfare allowances in Paso Ancho. Out of his total income of \$111.128 or \$9.260 a month, 5.4 per cent is earning from wage labour, 32.3 per cent from a widow's pension, 17.3 per cent from children allowances, 13.5 per cent from garden produce for sale, and 31.5 per cent for self-consumption.

The gardening income constitutes roughly two thirds of a minimum wage, but more than the average earnings of a temporary worker. His point of view it is quite simple. He says, "at present a kilo of bread costs me \$30 and it is not enough to cover a five o'clock tea. But, if instead of buying that kilo of bread I buy a kilo of nitrate to grow 30 tomato plants, I could obtain very much more food. Of course, a short-sister person would say that if someone is

hungry at home, it is not worth waiting three months to obtain the product in order to save money. But, I think that 30 tomato plants can help to feed my family for three full months and that it is certainly a lot, much more than enjoying just one tea with bread.

"The vegetable garden is, in this way, a form of survival for us, and also, and more importantly, growing our own vegetables gives us a defence against the exploitation of landowners. Our production is small, but if the landowner does not agree to pay the workers a just wage, then we can wait and our garden will allow us to survive while we are not receiving wages. Thus, our garden could be a way of obtaining better wages. All this I have already said to most of the people of Paso Ancho, but they do not care. People here have no spirit, they have no the spirit to fight any more. There were various opportunities for people here to talk about this and become committed to improving their gardens, but later when they are on their own they give up, because they do not want to defend themselves. They prefer to go away for a week, for a month, or sometimes for ever, abandoning their families, everything. What I say is that we can do anything, if we have enough spirit; we can have a garden, we can work and also we can think. Husband and wife, in my opinion, can manage jointly to make a living, and in that way, it would be possible for us to ask for a job, but not to ask for work as a favour, not to beg for a job, as is currently the case a job which, furthermore, has no proper legal contract, and in many cases a job which has no payment after the work is done."

Thus, Don Aberto, with the help CRATE is able to rear in his small garden plot various kinds of livestock (chickens and pigs) and

to grow potatoes, maize, and vegetables such as lettuces, cabbage, peas, beans, kernel-bean, and carrots. His main cash crops are onions and garlic which he sells in Paso Ancho itself. In 1982, he sold 4,000 heads of garlic and some 2,000 onions, obtaining \$14,000. Combining winter varieties with spring and summer crops, Don Alberto can obtain up to three harvests a year, which provides his family with a steady supply of vegetables.

2. Some Final Comments.

Paso Ancho presents a very different situation from that of in Santa Maria. In fact, sexual harassment, hard survival conditions, scarce employment conditions, disparity in sex ratios, high turn over of families and the isolation of houses from each other, provides a situation that throws families upon their own resources. This sometimes makes for an individualistic approach to survival, not only in terms of household independence, but also with respect to the individuals themselves. The point I wish to stress here is that extreme poverty and the uncertainty of reciprocation in the near future does not lead necessarily to cooperation, but, on the contrary, can lead to a more individualistic perspective on life and to the necessity to look after immediate survival problems, rather than longer term questions.

CHAPTER VII

PUEBLO SECO: A NEW TOWN

By dint of their history and agricultural production patterns, regions are not homogeneous units. In the previous chapter I examined the case of Paso Ancho, a town in Molina-Rio Claro associated with mixed crops and fruit production, and characterized by an early process of proletarianization. This was largely a result of the wine industry, probably one of the first crops through which capitalist development was introduced into the agrarian sector. My third case study concerns the town of Pueblo Seco, located in the "comuna", or municipality, of San Ignacio, in the province of Nuble, some 400 kilometres south of Santiago. This is an interesting contrast to the previous situation, since modern capitalism was introduced recently and as a result of irrigation developments in the 1960's that led to the increase of production of one industrial crop, sugar beet, which is processed in the sugar refinery located in Cocharcas, close to Chillan, the capital of Nuble. Cocharcas is located some 40 kilometers away from Pueblo Seco.

Nuble is the Southern province of Central Chile, an area occupied and cultivated since colonial times. Until recently, the main system of crop production was based upon the rotation of wheat and legumes, and cattle raising on the land left resting after the wheat harvest. Most of this production was dry farming; from the 1930's the province of Nuble started to grow new crops, among them rice and sugar beet, in the newly irrigated areas. The comuna of San Ignacio is a recent example of such developments in production.

San Ignacio has two main agricultural areas: a) A plateau, where good conditions for traditional dry land wheat production exist: heavy rain in winter and a dry and hot summer; and b) A low sandy basin with poor soil, inadequate for grain production. This latter area was irrigated in the 1960's, introducing sugar beet, potatoes and other crops, and intensive cattle raising. Thus, San Ignacio came to be divided into two clearly differentiated areas: an old productive area, which could not fit into the new neo-liberal economic model, and a new area, of intensive irrigated crop production.

Pueblo Seco is a town located precisely in this second irrigated area. Its development follows changes resulting from land reform and new forms of production. Most land in the surrounding land reform area was later divided into plots, and as a result, a significant number of families were driven from the countryside. Price uncertainties and the partial closing down of the sugar plant of Cocharcas have also had effects on employment and demography in the area.

Despite the uneven development in the two parts of the

municipality, population changes have followed a similar pattern in both. On the plateau, people left the countryside as a result of a crisis in wheat production; in the lowlands it was because of uncertainties and changes in the land ownership system. As a result, the population increased in the old town of San Ignacio as well as in the village of Pueblo Seco. A peculiarity in this case is that a significant proportion of the new migrants came from the peasant sector or from ex-haciendas with a low degree of proletarianization. In the other areas, in contrast, most of the new population in the shantytowns came from capitalist farms and sub-divided land reform enterprises.

1. AGRARIAN STRUCTURE: MAIN TRENDS AND POPULATION CHANGES

In the province of Nuble there are some 400,000 hectares of arable land, of which about half are each year cultivated or under pasture. The other half is resting or without specific use. Much of the uncultivated land results from an insufficient water supply. At present only 25 per cent of the land is properly irrigated. The following situation was very common: a farm of 20 hectares of flat land would have water sufficient for the irrigation of only five hectares. To maximize the use of water farmers practice a form of crop rotation which includes a year of irrigated sugar beet or black beans, followed the next year by dry wheat, while the water is diverted elsewhere to irrigate another five hectares. The remaining 10 hectares are left resting and used for natural pastures.

Irrigation in Nuble has increased slowly, whereas, San Ignacio is one of the municipalities where water supplies have greatly

expanded. In 1955 (census year), only 4.800 of its 18.000 hectares were irrigated (26.7 %). That year only 31 per cent of the land was used for annual crops (grains and vegetables). In 1976 (the last census year) irrigation was available for 7.000 hectares (38.9 %) and, as a result, land for annual crops had increased to 47 per cent. Irrigation grew 45.8 per cent in the period, and annual crop farming by 54.5 per cent, showing the relationship between increases in irrigation and cultivation. Irrigation is very important for wheat production also, as can be seen from the yields in Nuble, where we find a difference of 2.000 Kilos per hectare on dry soils, as against 5.000 Kilos on irrigated soils. Most new irrigation facilities in San Ignacio are in the lowlands, using water from the Diguillin river. The town of Pueblo Seco (Dry Town) was settled before irrigation came, hence its name.

In Nuble, the population has been growing at a lower rate than in the country as a whole. Between 1960-1970 the Chilean population grew at the rate of 1.9 per cent a year, as against 1.0 per cent in this province, which means that half of the natural increase had out-migrated. In the following period, 1970-1982, the difference was 2.0 per cent as against 1.6 per cent, but Nuble was still losing part of its population to other provinces (see table 7).

In general terms the rural areas have maintained their population at the level of about 170.000 inhabitants, with the natural increase of rural population being siphoned off through migration to the cities and towns. In the last period 1970-1982 the increase of urban population in this province has been very high, especially for the towns, which shows increases well above the national average.

Another interesting point is that the city of Chillan expanded in the period 1952-1960, at the very high rate of 3.3 per cent and has continued its grow afterwards. Moreover, it is clear that presently the towns are growing most rapidly. In 1960 the population living in towns was only 63 per cent as against that living in the cities, while in 1983 it had risen to 78 per cent.

TABLE 7-b.

CHANGES IN POPULATION IN THE PROVINCE OF NUBLE

Category	1952	% Var.	1960	% Var.	1970	% Var.	1982
Cities (1)	52.576	3.3	68.824	2.4	87.823	2.7	120.921
Towns	35.365	2.8	44.335	3.3	61.481	3.6	94.090
Rural Areas	163.401	0.7	172.639	-0.3	167.658	0.1	168.336
TOTAL	251.342	1.6	285.639	1.0	316.962	1.6	383.347

SOURCE: Instituto Nacional de Estadisticas, Santiago, Chile.

(1) Includes only the city of Chillan.

San Ignacio is the main town in the "comuna" of San Ignacio, and Pueblo Seco is the second. There are many other small villages and hamlets, but they are considered to be rural.

TABLE 8

POPULATION CHANGES IN SAN IGNACIO

Category	1952	% Var.	1960	% Var.	1970	% Var.	1982
Towns (Urban)	1.552	2.0	1.829	0.8	1.989	7.8	5.579
Rural areas	10.908	0.6	11.441	0.1	11.526	-0.3	11.148
TOTAL	12.460	0.8	13.270	0.2	13.515	1.8	16.727

SOURCE: Instituto Nacional de Estadisticas, Santiago de Chile.

In the province of Nuble as a whole the annual rate of population increase between 1970 and 1982, in the towns, was 3.6, but in San Ignacio it was 7.0 per cent. On the other hand, the rural population, both in Nuble province and in San Ignacio comuna follows the same pattern, without variations between 1952 and 1982. Finally, it can be said that whilst the province lost a certain amount of its population through out-migration, San Ignacio increased its population at a rate that is roughly the same as the national average.

Another variable to consider is the sex ratio. In San Ignacio this variable does not indicate any specific trends.

TABLE 9

SEX-RATIOS(1) IN SAN IGNACIO

Category	1952	1960	1970	1982
Urban Areas	97	84	89	92
Rural Areas	104	108	107	111
TOTAL	102	104	104	105

SOURCE: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Santiago de Chile.

(1) Males per 100 women.

Although changes in sex-ratios do not appear to be very important, there are certain trends that began in 1970, namely an increase in the proportion of men with respect to the number of women. This is more evident in the rural areas, suggesting that women are migrating more than men.

2. A New Town: Pueblo Seco.

Before the town of Pueblo Seco was settled, the place was named Carrizalillo. The town started to grow in 1937, when a rural school was built at a junction (to the town of Bulnes) on the main road Chillan-Yungay, near the Diguillin river. The location was selected in order to give the possibility for neighbouring peasants and hacienda workers to send their children to school. "During that time there were only three houses -said one older resident-, and like most children I came through the fields, because all the land on both sides of the road was farmland". In this way Carrizalillo started to be a focus of attraction for people, who slowly began to settle down on the main road, in the vicinity of the recently created school.

The first headmaster of the school, Sra. Fuentes, was very influential in establishing the development of this place as a town. She, and her brother, in successive periods, bought small farms around the school, that were later divided into urban plots. The first one that she bought produced eight urban plots. During the 1940's, Sra Fuentes bought an entire farm on the East side, while her brother did the same on the West side of the road. During that time many new dwellers arrived increasing the village's population from the original 20 inhabitants in 1937 to 309 in 1952 (census data), and the number of houses from three to 54 in those 15 years (census data).

Nevertheless, most of the new residents had uncertain ownership rights because of legal problems relating to the creation of urban centres. A legal statement was needed to convert agricultural land into urban use. The census of 1952, recording more than 300

inhabitants, gave "de facto" urban status to the village, and Fuentes' brothers began again to sell parts of their farms as urban plots, taking care to plan for streets and a central square. All plots were quickly bought by peasants, and also some inquilinos, and a constant flow of newcomers settled in the village. Many poor landless peasants, already temporary workers, came to the town and commuted to find jobs in the surrounding area. At the same time, employment started to increase as a result of the introduction of sugar beet. As Sra Fuentes explained "Thus, in the 15 years since the school was created, people from different places saw here an opportunity to settle down indefinitely, and to buy land to build their houses. Furthermore, people arrived from far away places, whom we did not expect would come to live here. People arrived here because we were selling plots. They sold out their small plots of agricultural land and their animals, in order to buy here. Thus, slowly, this place grew from a tiny hamlet into quite a big town."

In the census of 1960 Pueblo Seco had 84 houses and 500 inhabitants. Later, in 1968, land for urban use again became available. Sra Fuentes bought a farm of 145 hectares, out of which she put aside 20 hectares for urban plots. In general terms, each plot in this town has 0.125 hectares (1.250 square metres). However, there are no irrigation facilities within the town, and therefore it is difficult to grow vegetables in the backyards. After 1965 there was a reversal in the evolution of population, since land reform and State assistance to small peasants created conditions for many of their inhabitants to return to live in the countryside. As a result, in the 1970 census the population had decreased to 407 inhabitants; by 18 per cent. In fact, more than twelve land reform enterprises (settlements)

were created, and in all of them new workers were incorporated, mostly because the land was more intensively used for crops instead of cattle raising.

After 1975 the population began to come back again, and many others came who had been living in the now divided land reform enterprises. Thus, in the 1982 national census a tremendous increase in the population can be seen, reaching 1.246 inhabitants, an annual growth rate of 8.4 per cent. Along with the increase in population, the town obtained some urban facilities, such as electricity, drinking water, a post office, a public telephone, and a health centre, and the old elementary school was replaced by a new building to provide also secondary education. In March of 1982 the final urbanization bill was issued, making Pueblo Seco the second urban centre of San Ignacio.

As a result of population increase new enterprises can be seen in Pueblo Seco, among others, small shops and restaurants, flourmills, transport businesses, and warehouses. However, the main source of employment continues to be direct temporary agricultural employment. An indication of the poverty of urban facilities in the town is reflected in the fact that all teachers in the school -except the headmaster-, travel daily from the city of Chillan (one hour by bus). The cost of the journey is about eight per cent of their wages.

Examining the arrival date of those in the sample, it was found that 87.5 per cent arrived after 1973. This presents fairly clear evidence of the relationship between population increase, agricultural change, and present economic policies. The most significant period for the influx of people into Pueblo Seco was between 1974 and 1978 which

represents an increase of 58.3 per cent, or 11.6 per cent a year. After 1978 the annual rate of arrivals decreased, but it still remains 6.5 per cent a year.

2. MIGRATION AND HOUSEHOLD STRATEGIES

Labour Histories

Examining the life histories of heads of families, it was found that people came from three main types of places, the commercial farms and land reform sector making up for 66.6 per cent. Another 20.9 per cent came from the peasant sector, and 12.5 per cent from other villages, towns and cities. The reasons they gave for coming to Pueblo Seco instead of other places, included such answers as not being allotted a land reform plot, problems with landowners, looking for education for children and better job prospects. Peasant migrants said that they came to Pueblo Seco because of a lack of enough land to work. One of them said: "I used to work with my father in Tregualemu, on a small plot of land, but this was too little to maintain two families. Furthermore, there was no irrigation in that part and yields were extremely low. Wage labour was also not available nearby because most peasants were in the same situation as we were. Because of that, I decided to move over here to Pueblo Seco. I sold off my animals to buy a site. At present I work on temporary jobs around here on the farms and for the peasants who have irrigation and can grow sugar beet and potatoes."

Another peasant said: "I was living down there, in Cerro Negro, but I came here to work seasonally, because there is only unirrigated

land there and it yields nothing. We came to Pueblo Seco because there are better soils here and that meant work". Another peasant said: "We came here from Las Quilas, not very far away, just about five kilometres, because here in the town my children can obtain education. This change makes no difference, because for me the work is the same, only temporary and occasional. The plot of my father is so small that from being very young I worked for wages on the farms around". Another said: "I used to live in Tregualemu until 1979. That year I got married and decided to come to live here because it is more central for looking for work. Furthermore, there is a big school, the town has several services, and my wife can work for wages too. This situation is far better than that in my parent's place".

Peasants came to Pueblo Seco looking for better jobs and living conditions. The process was different for many of those families who had been living and working as permanent labourers on land reform settlements and commercial farms. One of those who was expelled from the land said: "The farm was returned to the former owner in 1975. We took the estate by force in 1972 and created a land reform settlement. When the boss came back he threw everyone who was living in there out on the road. He said to me that because I took his house by force I must get off his place immediately. He brought the police and we had to move. Fortunately I was able to buy this small plot to build a house". A different type of expulsion occurs when labour relations do not work out well: "The landlady was terrible, each time something went wrong or was lost, she accused us, and as a result many a time our wages were unpaid. Finally I got tired of that situation and moved to Pueblo Seco".

Others came, like the peasants, simply searching for better living conditions: "I used to work as a temporary wage labourer on a farm near Quiriquina, some four kilometres from Pueblo Seco. The landowner gave us a room in a warehouse-like building, saying that he had no other space. But in fact, he had recently demolished various good old houses where former inquilinos used to live. That was the reason I came here". Another said: "I retired and had to quit from the house, because the boss asked me for the house for a new worker. I came here and I live on my pension. Sometimes I do a little work on the farms, but with my pension I have enough to live without problems".

Around Pueblo Seco there existed some ten settlements. In 1975-76 everyone of them was either wholly or partly returned to the former owner, and the rest divided into peasant plots. As a result, as illustrated by the case of Don Jose which follows, many workers leave and look for another place to live. In Pueblo Seco a third of our sample had found itself in such a situation: "I was working in Asentamiento Nuevo Amanecer (New Dawn Settlement) and at the time of the division other workers frightened me about the process of division, saying that I could not read and write, that I had only small kids, etc., therefore I could not apply for a plot and had to leave". Another one was not allotted a plot because he was a relative newcomer to the land reform settlement: "I arrived there in 1971 to work in the settlement Simon Bolivar, but only those with more than ten years, in fact the old inquilinos of the hacienda, could participate in the division and apply for a plot of land. I left in 1976 and decide to settle down in Pueblo Seco because, although it is sometimes difficult, it is always possible to find a job around here

on the farms or with the peasants, especially with those from the land reform who are making good money growing sugar beet".

Finally others came from far away: "I came here from Pemuco, some 30 kilometres far, where I was working in the settlement Cullenco. This settlement had 4.500 hectares and more than 70 workers. Since 1965 a total of 3.000 hectares were planted with radiata pine. But, at the time of the division all the afforested land was sold to a large-scale forestry company. My house was inside the forestry area and the company immediately evicted me. I came here in 1977 to my mother-in-law's, who has been living in Pueblo Seco since 1974".

The case of Don Jose.

In 1982 Don Jose's household included himself, his wife and eight children, between one and twelve years old. This household, although a little bigger than the average of 6.2 per family in Pueblo Seco, can be considered typical in terms of its organization, migration, employment pattern and in its relationships with close relatives.

Don Jose is 36 years old and his wife is 33. Until 1977, the year they came to this town, they had spent most of their lives on the haciendas and land reform enterprises around Pueblo Seco. During the time spent in the rural sector they were one of the 60.000 families that benefitted from the land reform. But in 1975-76 when the land reform enterprises were dismantled, they found themselves part of the 20.000 families who failed to obtain a plot of land. As a result, Don Jose was forced to leave the countryside and head towards Pueblo Seco.

According to Don Jose, his life has not been very successful:

"I studied very little, in fact I spent various years in school but I did not give it importance, because when I was some 10 years old work interested me more than study. Well, that was also because my parents were always very poor, the poorest among the poor. They lived in a very bad situation because my father was sick and my mother made most of the effort to feed us. That was the reason why at the very moment I realized the situation for myself, I began to work. I was the oldest among my brothers, so I was the first to start working. I did that because it was my duty to start working to help my parents.

"Well, I began doing small jobs, mostly looking after cows and horses in the hacienda where my parents were living. Thus, at the age of 13, the landlord agreed that I could replace my father in "paying the obligation" for our house. During that times (by the end of the 1950') most enterprises around here were haciendas, and they accepted permanent workers called "obligados" or "inquilinos", who paid labour for the right to use a house. For the rest of his labour "obligados" he received a cash salary and other "regalias" (privileges) such as the right to raise four animals (oxen, cows or horses) and a plot of land.

"When I became an "obligado" my job in the hacienda was to look after the irrigation channels, as well as to work in extending the irrigation network. After two years I gave up this work and a brother of mine took over the obligation. I did this because I preferred to work for cash, and so I asked the landlord to agree to the change. I went to a neighbouring hacienda where the production was mostly of sugar beet and where the landlord was interested in having young

single people. On that farm I entered the Social Security system, but obviously I had no housing or rights to use land, since only married men were given them, and on this farm, as I have explained, the landlord was trying to get rid of "obligados". Many permanent workers, like myself, and also a lot of temporary workers, lived in a large farm cabin sharing rooms with various workers. Apart from payment, the only benefit was a midday food ration, which was given to us every morning to be carried with us to the field, and which consisted of a litre of bean soup, toasted wheat flour (to be mixed with water as a drink) and one "farm biscuit" (a piece of bread of about one kilo).

"I was working in that place for some five years, until 1965 when I was aged twenty. That year I moved into another hacienda, Los Robles, near the village of Quiriquina, some six kilometres away from here. I had been living there 12 years, when I moved to Pueblo Seco in 1977. It was a good job, so I brought my parents to live with me. I obtained a job as inquilino, with a house for my family. So, I paid the obligation for the house and my father and brothers worked as temporary workers on the hacienda, and on the nearby farms.

"After working some time on that hacienda I began to make plans to get married. I made friends with a girl and two years later we married. After getting married I felt that my own family was my first obligation and so I started to grow away from my parent's household. From then on I felt that I had to work for my own interests. Then, what happened?. I could not pay the landlord for two obligations, therefore my brother took over the obligation for my parent's house, and I took another for myself. After marriage my parents had to take second place, you know; that was the beginning of the period in which

I cared only for those who are mine, my family. As time went by my eldest daughter was born. And later, the other seven children. I have never regretted that God gave us so many children. On the contrary, I am happy because what God made is well done, you know.

"While I was on that hacienda, the land reform expropriated a big part of it. The landlord continued with six workers on his "reserva" of 150 hectares, and the remaining 20 of us began work with the "Settlement". With the land reform we started to work eight hours a day. When a worker did not want to work, the foreman discounted that day from his monthly wage, and he also lost the Sunday payment and the corresponding allowances for children. The working conditions were roughly the same as those prevailing on the old hacienda, but with one difference, that we were working for ourselves.

"It was a very good for me during that time. I worked very hard, and I enjoyed myself because I very much liked to drink wine, and a lot of money was spent in that way. But, nevertheless, I obtained benefits that were useful to me. In the "settlement" each worker had the right to an allotment of arable land to grow wheat, beans and potatoes for self-consumption. During that time I bought two cows and a horse. With that I had milk and cheese for the children. The settlement also lent me a "tractor" to plough my allotment land. Of the money I earned, a little was saved, the other was used for the household expenses, and finally, a part was used to enjoy myself.

"The settlement lasted for eight years. It was good, very good. We produced a lot more than the previous owner. Also, each of us could have more animals and cultivate more land. My parents, who also used

to be members of this settlement, were able to acquire three animals, but that was in fact because my mother worked very hard. When the enterprise was closed down and the land divided, some of us obtained plots of land, and others, like myself, did not. I do not know the reasons, but in fact it was the former owner who was heading the commission that divided up the land and he allotted the land to those who were more servile to him.

"I, and also my parents, had to leave the settlement. Various former settlement members came to Pueblo Seco, although some went to other villages and towns. When I told my wife that we had to leave, she became very sad because we had no place to go. After months of searching, I found this place to buy, but it was too expensive for me, so I spoke to my mother to buy the plot jointly and share it. I had friends, and relatives, mine and of my wife, but no one helped us. And with my mother as well it was purely a business agreement in which I put half the money and my mother the other half, just as if we were unknown to each other.

"Well. After buying the plot we measured it and divided it in half. I said to my mother, 'you can build your house in that half and I will build mine in this', and thus we did. But, actually, the building of the house was the worse thing of all. My mother received some help with roof-tins and sticks, and finally, she and my brother, succeeded in building a little hut. But for me it was very much more difficult. Firstly, no one helped me. My mother-in-law, who had some roof-tins did not give them to me, she sold them. I believe that today there is no mercy for anybody, just wretchedness. Is that right?. Well, in the end I was able to obtain left-overs and garbage materials

to build my hut. During the first winter every one of us nearly died, both because the hut had no floor, and because I did not have a job. When we burnt wood to warm ourselves and to prepare meals, water seeped from the soil when one stepped on it. It was a time of great suffering. And we have been living in that way for many years since 1977.

"I think we are very strong. If someone would like to kill us, he would have to work hard at it. Well, when the hut was built I began to search for materials to improve it. But, after a couple of years, the sticks I had buried in the soil became rotten, so I had to start all over again. After that, with more time to spare I built this one, much better made to resist the humidity and the cold weather. For that I had to save money regularly. Let us imagine that if I earned 1.000 pesos I would spend 800 pesos and save 200 to buy wood, sticks, boards or roof-tiles. The next month, imagine, I can earn 1.500 hundred pesos, I spend 1.300 and save 200, and thus time and again. This hut was made in that way, through my own efforts. That is the way I try to protect myself and my family.

"But after that I could not go ahead any further, because I did not earn enough. You see?. It is not reasonable to be sleeping here with all my children, and I have a girl of 12 years old, and another girl just a little younger, and so on. And you know, a couple should sleep alone, is that not so?. But here it is impossible. What can I do?. The only reason that things are that way is my lack of permanent employment. I cannot complain that it is due to my personal bad luck, or that I am lazy, or troublesome, and that is the reason I cannot find a job. You can ask anybody you like. All of us here in Pueblo

Seco are working on the farms and with peasant smallholders who live around the town, and nearly every one finds work for only a matter of days. So, for none of us, is there any real possibility of sheltering or feeding our families properly. And furthermore, since everyone is in the same condition, who is able help each other? If I go into my mother's place and ask them to lend me 500 pesos, she or my brother would say "better you lend us five hundred". See?. I know they are my relatives, my own and those of my wife, but I know also that my family is really only my wife and children, no one else."

Like Don Jose, most inhabitants of Pueblo Seco share a common peasant origin, since proletarianization was less developed in this area due to the fact that intensive agricultural production had only recently been introduced. Also, for most of them purchasing a small plot of land in the town has cost an enormous effort, selling animals and obtaining money from different sources.

Apart from the reasons outlined above for coming to this town, another important consideration was the possibility of purchasing a residential site. This possibility has been the main reason why Pueblo Seco has grown into quite a large community, overtaking many other nearby places, such as Quiriquina, that have not grown much at all. This gives a certain level of stability to the households there, and is one of the reasons for the differences noted with respect to the two previous case-studies. People came in order to own their own houses rather than in search of public unused sites, as in Paso Ancho. This makes for more stability in the household. In the second place, families tend to stay in the town because they own their houses, which, again unlike the situation in Paso Ancho, contributes to

stability.

3. Household Organization in a New Town.

In Pueblo Seco households cannot be separated into two groups according to whether they receive State benefits or not, since this seems to be of no significance there. Most of families in Pueblo Seco are nuclear households. The sample showed 11 nuclear families out of 14. On the other hand, the sample showed no significant difference in age between spouses. The average age for husbands was 45.5 years and for wives 40.4. Furthermore, families are fairly large (6.2 members), and most have children under 15 years old. Bachelors are few, less than one per household, though not significantly different from the number of single women. The general sex-ratio for Pueblo Seco is 119 men per 100 women, fairly high in respect to the comuna average, but not significant when compared with the other regional studies. As a result, I encountered no conflictive relationships in Pueblo Seco like we found in households in Paso Ancho. The crucial difference lies in the fact that in Paso Ancho is simply a place where people to go because land is free, since they cannot go to a better place to buy a site; whereas in Pueblo Seco people of peasant origin with some cash for buying plots predominate. Although the latter were expelled from the farms and land reform enterprises, many of them came with enough money to purchase their sites and start a new life. These elements account for the differences between Paso Ancho and Pueblo Seco. The labour history of Don Jose shows that, like others, he came to Pueblo Seco because he had no alternative; however, his savings allowed him to buy a place, and, in spite of the problems he faces, he plans to stay in the town.

The movement of people to Pueblo Seco was not random. Because of the attraction of residential sites, relatives tended to converge on Pueblo Seco, seeking help from each other in many ways. Don Jose's case illustrates this pattern. Nevertheless, these families maintain separate households and considered themselves as independent from each other.

A similar pattern to Don Jose's can be observed in Don Hernan's household. He is 35 years old and his wife is 42. He is from El Carmen, a place at quite a distance from Pueblo Seco. But, unlike the other migrants to Pueblo Seco, he first tried to settle down in Santiago, where he went in 1975, when the building industry was at its peak. But, after a few years the housing construction business slumped and so Don Hernan became unemployed. In the meantime (in 1977) he had married his wife, who also came from El Carmen, and had herself worked for 15 years in Santiago as a domestic servant. They met through mutual friends from El Carmen who were living in the city. The crisis in the building industry made Don Hernan decide to return to El Carmen, where his father was still cultivating a small plot and doing occasional labour in the forestry sector. But, as soon became evident, it was very difficult even for one of them to live from agriculture alone; with two it was impossible. Therefore, after a while both father and son decided to come to live in Pueblo Seco, leaving the land in the care of a neighbour on a sharecropping basis. Once in the town both have worked very hard building their houses, and working on the nearby farms. Don Hernan's wife knows nothing about agriculture, so she remains looking after the baby. Don Hernan then has to manage to earn enough on his own. However, with the small quantity of products they receive from their sharecropped land, they can survive

better than they would on the peasant plot alone. Although father and son occasionally help each other, and share the products from their land, they live separate lives.

Another example is that of Transito (27) and Maria (32), and their children. Don Transito came to live in Pueblo Seco with his parents in 1972, when he was only 15 years old. His parents maintained their plot of land nearby and Don Transito used to go there in summer to help in the sharecropping and in transporting their part of the harvest to Pueblo Seco. There he met Maria. After marrying her in 1979, they decided to settle down in Pueblo Seco, putting together their savings from farming and the sale of livestock and the dowry and wages, so as to buy their present urban plot and house. They maintain no close relations with Transito's parents living in Pueblo Seco, apart from occasional small assistance when some of the family face difficulties. Don Transito works on a farm as a permanent wage labour, but at the same time he sharecrops small plots to grow potatoes and beans. In 1981-82, he sowed one hectare and obtained 420 Kgs, of beans and 1.000 Kgs of potatoes, of which he sold 200 Kgs earning \$2.400 (£32). The remaining produce he shared with his relatives living in the town.

Large Households and Incomes.

There were only three extended family households, each representing a different form. Two households were headed by old men, maintaining grandsons. The third comprised a nuclear family which had an unrelated widowed man and his daughter living with them.

Don Hipolito is 74 years old and his wife 62. They have four children, all of whom are working in other places. One of them, Juan, is 35 years old and is a mine worker in Sewell, a big copper mine near Santiago. He is married and rarely sees his parents in Pueblo Seco, although from time to time he sends them help in the form of money and clothes. Another, Rosa, is 47 years old, married, and sometimes sends clothes that she buys in second hand stores in Santiago. She was abandoned by her first husband in Pueblo Seco in 1970. As a result she left her two children with Don Hipolito and went to Santiago to find a job. Later, she married again and has a second family. The third son of Don Hipolito's, Pedro (29), is now living temporarily with her. He works as a waiter in a restaurant. The younger daughter, Elena (27), left Pueblo Seco 12 years ago, and also left behind a child with Don Hipolito. As a result, Don Hipolito's present household is made up of himself, his wife and three grandsons. All four sons and daughters cooperate with him in maintaining the grandsons, but their contributions on average are small, equivalent to about \$1.500 a month, mostly in clothing and school materials. The main sources of the household income are the two old-age pensions; Don Hipolito's worth \$3.800 a month, and his wife's of \$1.800 a month. Because of their age they are not able to work and must therefore depend entirely upon their pensions which amount to about one minimum working wage. Their monthly food expenditure comes to about \$3.500 a month, roughly 60 per cent of their total income. Other expenses incurred cover bus fares, electricity, paraffin, gas, and coal and wood for cooking. This level of income and expenditure, and the certainty of receiving it each month, has allowed them to make some improvements in the house, which is built of wood and brick, a quite unusual and expensive combination of materials for Pueblo Seco.

The second family is headed by Don Baltazar. He has ten children, of whom seven are living in different cities of the country. The remaining three live with him. Don Baltazar is 67 years old, also retired with a pension of \$3,800 a month. His wife is 59 years old, and still too young to apply for a pension, which for women starts at the age of 60. But, in 1983, she will apply for one, which will add another \$1,800 to the household income. The household had eight members in 1982: Don Baltazar and wife, two single children, one married son and his wife, and two grandsons, thus making up a three-generation extended family. He decided to live in Pueblo Seco because some of his wife's relatives had previously come to the town, which made it easier for them to buy a plot of land. Both Don Baltazar and his married son, usually work together as temporary labourers on the farms around. Their overall life conditions improved in June of 1982 when his son obtained a semi-permanent job, working every day, though paid as though he were doing temporary work. This allowed them also to obtain three child allowances, worth \$1,203 a month. Don Baltazar also obtained a semi-permanent job on the same farm for 1982, but only on a half day basis. This gave him the opportunity to obtain a hectare to sharecrop on the same farm. The overall income of this household is fairly high, revealing the economic advantage of such joint effort. They obtain together a monthly average income of \$11,833 (£157), which is nearly three times the average for Pueblo Seco households of the same size. Their joint income for 1980 was made up of 31.3 per cent from old age pensions, 6.8 per cent from family allowances (wife and two children), 7.0 per cent from agricultural production, 35.5 per cent from the son's wages, and 19.4 per cent from Don Baltazar's wages.

Finally, I wish to consider Don Fernando's household, which is a very unusual one. He is 48 years old, and lives with his wife and two sons of 17 and 22 years old, respectively. The elder of them works as a temporary labourer, and younger began to do the same in 1982. The unusual thing about this particular household is that they share the house with another family "attached" to them, made up of a widower, Don Raul, and his 14 year old daughter. Don Fernando and Don Raul met and became very close friends at the farm where both worked until they were laid off in 1979. Don Raul has been living with Don Fernando's family since 1974, when his wife died, sharing house and income. His daughter helps Don Fernando's wife as if she were her daughter. Both men have different activities. Don Fernando is mostly engaged in sharecropping with neighbouring peasants, while Don Raul undertakes wage labour. Nevertheless, the latter owns a 1.5 hectare peasant plot, which he has given to another peasant to sharecrop since the land is too far away for him to cultivate it himself. The products from both sharecropped plots provide most of their current food needs, and in addition they sell a part of the production for cash. As in the previous case-study, extension of this household enables them to combine the earnings of more than one active person and they also practise sharecropping for self consumption. This yields them with an income that is above the average for the town.

3.- The Independent Household and Informal Cooperation.

In spite of the apparent economic advantage of large households, most people in the town say they prefer to live in separate nuclear-family households, agreeing only to small and casual help and cooperation with close relatives. They may sometimes share

the same plot of land with relatives in order to build their respective houses, but this does not apparently oblige them to develop close cooperative relationships or to create extended households. Coming to live in an semi-urban situation in fact reinforces the individual household by making each family unit the owner of a house and in charge of their own independent domestic life.

At the same time, access to land for sharecropping is easier in Pueblo Seco than in any of the other areas. Sharecropping, though, is limited by the precariousness of the means of production, which produces only small amounts of produce, which means that it merely functions as a complement to their earnings from wage labour. This complementarity of activities, however, is open only to those households with one or two grown up children, since one needs two adults at least to adopt this strategy. Most households in fact have insufficient labour to cope with this type of diversification. This difficulty would be easier to overcome if there existed forms of cooperation based on the extended household pattern; but most of the persons interviewed regarded the extended household as no viable solution to the problem since major difficulties would arise in both sharing the efforts and the benefits. Any attempt of establishing complementarity of economic activities would, it seems, lead quickly to disagreements and open conflicts between kin. In short, the problem is avoided through maintaining independence and engaging in casual informal assistance and cooperation only when absolutely necessary.

CHAPTER VIII

FORESTRY LABOUR, POVERTY AND HOUSEHOLD DISSOLUTION

Compared with the various patterns of regional development analyzed in the previous chapters, it seems that the forestry sector presents some of the most striking characteristics of social change. In this chapter I present the main changes in production and social structure in the forestry zone. I am particularly interested in describing the pattern of household organization and composition, in a situation where workers travel long distances, and are away for weeks and months on end, in search of employment and wages, while the women and children remain behind in the shantytowns of the cities, towns and villages of the region.

1. PRODUCTION AND LABOUR PROCESS IN THE FORESTRY SECTOR.

Ten years ago there were less than 400.000 hectares of forestry plantations in Chile. In 1982 the area afforested had increased to one million hectares, reflecting an average yearly increase of 65.000

hectares. Plantations provide today over 90 per cent of the timber used in the different industries.

The most common species planted is the radiata pine, from southern California, and known also as Monterrey pine. It was introduced into Chile in the late nineteenth century in order to provide pit props for the coal mines in the south of the country. But as the species grew in Chile at double the speed it grows in California, it resulted in a very soft wood, unsuitable for use in the mines. However, it is useful for other purposes, and the fact that it can be grown at speed and in compact plantations, compensates for its weakness. It was found to be very efficient in controlling erosive gullies in the over exploited wheat producing hills of the Coastal range. Consequently, the development of plantations of this species in various regions was encouraged, especially in the southern coastal areas of Central Chile, between the provinces of Talca and Arauco.

Since the 1940's, radiata pine has been used for building timber in the province of Concepcion. Also, during that period it was found that radiata pine, because of its long and strong fibre, produces first class cellulose, and so two wood pulp mills for paper manufacture were built in Concepcion and Laja (this last one in the province of Bio-Bio), and soon afterwards a third one in Nacimiento, also located in the province of Bio-Bio. This resulted in two main changes. First, the centre of the paper industry was displaced from Puente Alto (in Santiago) to the Bio-Bio river basin, and second, the forestry producing centre had shifted by 1965 from Valdivia in the south (based on the native and now-exhausted forests) to the area of Concepcion and Bio-Bio.

The big urban increase of the 1950's, that created shantytowns in all Chilean cities, especially in Santiago (see Chapter III), found in the radiata pine timber a cheap and reliable material for making houses for the poor as well as for the victims of floods and earthquakes. The State, and some relief organizations, and private industry, produced a kind of house that became known in Chile as an "emergency house", which consisted of 2.5 by 4.0 meter blocks of factory-made parts designed for quick assembly. This type of house became a characteristic of marginalized shantytowns all over the country. Also, since the 1960's, exports of paper, cellulose, timber, and other products from the radiata pine became a steadily growing Chilean export product reaching, at the beginnings of the 1970's, a proportion of about three per cent of the country's international trade.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF FORESTRY IN CHILE.

Various research projects have been carried out recently by GIA in the forestry "situation of production" (Cruz and Rivera, 1983a and 1983b, Diaz, 1983a and 1983b). These studies highlight some of its main characteristics, as well as the changing economic and social trends of the forestry sector. Research carried out in 1981-82 by M.E. Cruz and myself aimed to obtain a first overview of the sector (see Cruz and Rivera, 1983). Later, in 1982, H.P. Diaz extended this work by undertaking research in seven localities, largely dealing with questions of migration and employment. Also during 1982, one locality from the forestry sector, Quirihue, was included in the sample of shantytowns research. This chapter presents data collected in this particular town and focuses upon household organization. I also draw

upon data from the previous studies.

Two Periods in Forestry Development.

According to Cruz and Rivera (1983b), two periods can be identified in the development of forestry activities. The first period, from colonial times until the 1960's was characterized by an emphasis on the extraction of timber from the natural forests of the southern regions. Its later development in the twentieth century was based exclusively on those areas incorporated into the Chilean economy after the Indian War of the 1860's in the southern regions. The city of Valdivia was the centre of these activities. These areas were covered by thick jungle-like forest that grew under heavy winter rains. Forestry enterprise had a double aim: the production of timber and the clearing of new agricultural areas for grain and cattle production.

Most forest activities in that period were carried out by small enterprises, selling railway sleepers, electric and telegraph posts and timber for furniture and building firms. Forest cutting activities, using portable sawmills, were limited mostly to summer time because the roads were not usable all year round. Nevertheless, there was a number of independent enterprises able to use more complex industrial sawmills. These worked all year round and received their supply of logs during the summer season.

During that period, there were a number of permanent workers in the large sawmills, who during the summer time were helped by large numbers of peasant and landless temporary workers. Peasants were hired

with their oxen and tools. The permanent workers were attached to the lumber-mill and moved from one area of the forest to another as the work required. They considered themselves forestry workers, different from agricultural workers and temporary peasant labourers. Forestry workers were a very close and self-conscious group, with intensive social relations and kin networks among them. This was probably because forestry workers were very isolated from the rest of Chilean society, living in the mountains all the year round, supplied with food and clothing mostly from the company's stores. Education and other urban facilities were largely absent, making their links with the rest of the society, to a certain extent, different from that of other rural groups. Because of the close kin relations in the sawmills, and the difficulties of relating to other groups, a great sense of community developed among them that is seldom found in other occupational groups.

The second period in Chilean forestry activities, which began in the 1950's, is strikingly different from the first. It can be divided into two sub-periods, before and after the implementation of the neo-liberal economic policies. In the first of these the main characteristics of the new forestry production process can be observed. To begin with, there was a change in the geographical location of forests. Secondly, this period was characterized by the introduction of the radiata pine species which was grown and developed in Central Chile, around the city of Concepcion, and other important industrial and coal mining centres. Thirdly, the mild climate and low rainfall, permitted forestry activities throughout the year. Isolation, high seasonal labour, close-knit community relationships associated with the sawmills, and the relationships of the forestry

workers to the entire society, changed into a new pattern of social and economic relationships. The increase of forestry activities in the radiata pine growing areas entailed a strong migratory process of forestry workers from the south (Valdivia) to the central coastal regions.

Unlike the past, most of the new forestry activities were carried out by large enterprises, both private and State-owned. The new enterprises were primarily concerned with wood pulp and paper production for internal and external markets, winning a big slice of Latin American paper market. In addition, many small and medium sized firms were also producing cheap timber for the expansion of urban housing.

Labour relations in the small and medium-sized firms continued mostly as they were in the past. The exploitation of the forest proceeded fast, with a sawmill being located in a particular hacienda or forest sector for some two or three years, and then later changing to another location. Only in certain cases did forest activities lead to the development of more permanent settlements, like those located at road or railway junctions, where logs from a wide area were transported.

The large-scale enterprises, in contrast, owned enormous areas of forest around the industrial plants, and introduced significant changes in production and labour processes. In the first place, there was a change in the conception of forest and lumber resources. In the past, woods were taken for granted, and their exploitation was viewed as similar to those resources which were mined. By contrast, radiata

pine forests had to be planted, the same as fruit trees or wheat crops. Also, large-scale enterprises handled their forest work through independent contracting firms which were town-based, recruiting their workers mostly from the urban sector. As forest cutting activities were very mobile, and the time needed for felling a forest was reduced from years to months, the old type of sawmills where work was carried out by workers with their families became outdated. Workers now had to leave their families in the town, while they moved around quite a large area, where the forests were being cut. Workers were away for weeks or months. Family relationships became more extenuated, and children now had access to schooling, as well as to health and other urban facilities.

Another element that was different was the plantation process itself, beginning with the clearing of the site in the summer and followed by the actual planting in the winter time. In this way, contracting firms were able to maintain a permanent working force, occupying them in different activities during the year, shifting workers from plantation to cutting, and vice versa.

Between the 1950's and 1973, the industrializing style of development supported the creation and expansion of forestry activities based upon radiata pine plantations. The country achieved self-reliance in wood pulp and products, and was able to expand into the world market selling paper and cellulose. In 1973 there were five pulp plants (four working and one under construction), and a great number of old and modern sawmills. Pine plantations became good business for many landowners, who in association with the State, were able to increase the Chilean annual plantation average from less than

10.000 hectares in the 1960's, to 30.000 hectares at the beginning of the 1970's.

From the point of view of social relationships this meant a big change in the location of forestry labour within the society, increased labour stability, and expanded cities and towns in the forest regions. Areas like Constitucion in the coastal part of the province of Talca, Concepcion, Arauco and Bio-Bio, and to a lesser extent, Nuble and Malleco, were especially influenced by the development of new forestry activities.

Forestry in the Neo-Liberal Style of Development.

Before 1973 forestry received the highest level of State investment within the rural sector, due not only to the fact that there were many State-owned forestry firms, but also because of the scale of expropriation carried out between 1970 and 1973. Two of the five wood pulp mills were built by the State. Millions of hectares of land suitable for pine plantations were expropriated under the land reform, and there was high State participation in private non-expropriated lands. Afterwards, the second period, characterized by the neo-liberal style of development, presented some differences, especially in labour relationships, but the general technical, economic and social trends outlined above continued. The radiata pine afforestation was identified as one of the sectors with comparative advantage for export. During 1975 and 1978, the bulk of State properties were sold to private enterprise. This led to a concentration of forestry activities in the hands of only three big companies owned by national groups, the petroleum company Copec, the

industrial conglomerate Inforsa, and the traditional forestry enterprise, CMPC. This concentration of industrial and forestry resources in a few conglomerates meant also that the export of forestry products was concentrated. In 1982, these three companies were responsible for 80 per cent of forestry exports (out of a total of 300 million dollars), which accounted for eight per cent of all Chilean exports.

Neo-liberal policy intervention in the forestry sector broke the golden rule of no government support for a specific branch of production and offered a special subsidy to firms (Decreto Ley N.701), that paid 75 per cent of the estimated planting costs, and made tax free the increase in land value resulting from afforestation. This help encouraged the sector to increase the afforested area by three times in only ten years. In addition, liberalization of customs regulations allowing the export of logs increased the bias towards the external timber market. New markets in Asia, Africa and Europe had now been opened up, quadrupling the value of forestry exports, between 1973 and 1982.

Labour relations have also changed as a result of changes in the ownership and organization of production activities. First, the trend towards the separation of the work place from living place has dramatically increased, becoming one of the main factors affecting social relations among forestry workers. Second, the earlier trend towards the creation of a permanent labour force in forestry has changed for various reasons, the main one being that the large-scale enterprises, in their concern to lower costs, have abandoned direct involvement in most production activities, leaving these in the hands

of small contracting firms who plant the trees, maintain the plantations (pruning and clearing), and organize road making, transport, and the felling of trees. These small contracting firms bid for short-term contracts, against competition from tens of other similar firms, and will lower their prices in order to obtain contracts. In this way, competition cuts prices to the minimum, cuts which in the end are passed on to workers through lower wages, no social security payments, no proper labour camps, and frequently failing to pay the wages in full at the end of the job. According to estimates, one out of every three workers is cheated in this way. The abolition of Labour Courts has helped to encourage forestry enterprises to behave in this way (Cruz and Rivera, 1983).

Employment in the Forestry Sector.

Employment in the forestry sector is divided into two branches: a) activities in the forests, and b) primary industry (sawmills, wood pulp and paper processing plants). These two branches each use roughly about half of the work force. There is reasonably reliable data on employment from 1966 onwards. In that year, the labour needs for 200.000 hectares of radiata pine, plus an equivalent territory of native woodland under exploitation, and including the needs of related primary industry, amounted to about 60.000 workers. This is equivalent to some seven hectares per worker. In 1968, for 250.000 hectares, plus native forests under exploitation, the same 60.000 workers were needed, with an average of eight hectares per worker. In 1979-80, despite the enormous increase in the afforested territory and related industry, the labour force was still around the figure of 60.000 workers, which meant an occupational index of 20 hectares per worker (Cruz and Rivera: 1983b).

In the industrial sector, for example, from some 5.000 workers in four pulp and paper plants in 1974, the labour force was reduced to only 2.000 workers for five plants in 1980, which is only 4.2 per cent of the total labour force in the forestry sector. Modern sawmills also hire a smaller proportion, only 10 per cent, of the total labour force. Thus, the greater proportion of the labour force is working in small sawmills and contracting firms, both in the forest and plant periphery, including transport. The result of this is that approximately 90 per cent of the forestry labour force is hired only on a temporary basis.

The labour requirement for 1978 was estimated as 45.000 workers during the period of least activity, July and September, and as 65.000 in the busiest term, January to March, with an estimated available work force in the area of some 150.000 workers. This meant that, on average, only one person in three looking for a job could find one in any given month. However, one should point out that a proportion of this work force are peasants, and they participate in forestry labour only during months when agriculture needs no labour input (Diaz, 1983b:166).

All this has resulted in a marked process of marginalization of population linked to forestry production, characterized by a sharp decline of both working and living conditions, presently considered the worst in the country. "Living conditions in the forestry camps are at the level of minimum subsistence. The houses lack plumbing and even floors. They are usually built of rough wood that is cut on the spot and lack even minimum comforts. If the living and working conditions are bad, the wages are no better. For a sum only a little higher than

the minimum wage, the worker must plant (trees) from six in the morning to eight at night. Wages for most other jobs in the forestry are similar." (Diaz, 1983b:169). In an open-letter sent by a group of workers from the town of Coelemu to the provincial authorities, they wrote: "We should point out that our contracts are often not legal. They (the contracting firms) make us sign blank papers or two copies of the contract. They do not pay us for all of the days they claim they do. They deceive us with our deductions and so on. And all this without us being able to reach a labour inspector so we can make sure our rights are respected. As you can see, all this affects our families, leaves them hungry and in need, and when we try to get what's ours by right, we are marked as trouble-makers." (quoted by Diaz, 1983b:169).

2. QUIRIHUE: A FORESTRY TOWN

In the study carried out by GIA on the forestry sector (Cruz and Rivera, 1983b) 53 municipalities in central Chile where forestry activities predominate were identified. These municipalities or comunas spread from the province of Colchagua southwards by the coast until Valdivia. In Nuble plantations enter the central valley and the Andean foothills where comunas like Yungay and El Carmen (mentioned in the previous chapter on Pueblo Seco) are located. The comuna of Quirihue is located in the coastal area of Nuble. In the past this was an important area for wheat and wine production, but nowadays these activities have been nearly completely replaced by forestry production.

Changes in Production and Population.

In the agrarian census of 1955, Quirihue had only 5.970 hectares of radiata pine. This represented 7.4 per cent of the total 80.000 hectares in the zone. But, as early as 1970, at the beginning of the great expansion of plantations, Quirihue had increased its afforested area to 11.280 hectares, representing 14.0 per cent of the territory. The reverse process was that the agricultural area decreased from 42.000 hectares in 1955 to only 17.500 hectares in 1976. Later, when the plantation area in the country had trebled, it can be assumed that Quirihue followed a similar trend.

TABLE 10

EVOLUTION OF POPULATION IN QUIRIHUE

Category	1952	%	1960	%	1970	%	1982
Urban (1)	2.930	2.1	3.462	1.6	4.048	2.7	5.609
Rural	7.841	-1.6	6.886	0.4	7.147	-2.7	5.312
Total	10.771	-0.5	10.348	0.8	11.195	-0.2	10.921

SOURCE: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Santiago de Chile.

(1) Only the town of Quirihue.

This large increase in the afforested area, and also the changes in the proportion of forestry and agriculture, has resulted in various economic and social changes. Agriculture in Quirihue is no longer a major activity. Forests spread over the majority of the countryside on land that in the past was devoted to wheat production. This has led, among other changes, to a strong trend towards the depopulation of the rural areas, to an extent that it is not surpassed by any of the other situations of production, where, on the contrary,

stabilization or increase of the population has resulted.

The decrease of agricultural population in Quirihue has meant that a significant proportion of the rural population has migrated to urban areas. But, as the forestry sector offered some employment, a proportion of the migrants have remained in the area settling in the town of Quirihue, which, as a result, has grown by a third in the last twelve years.

Before 1970 the population in Quirihue increased in both its rural and urban sectors. The small increase in the rural population between 1960 and 1970 was a result of the land reform, which in spite of encouraging afforestation also reinforced the permanence of rural families in the countryside through various mechanisms, among which was the support of small-scale agriculture aimed at self-consumption by workers already involved in forestry activities. This pattern changed sharply after 1973, when forestry areas were taken over by enterprises interested only in radiata pine, and which gave up all other agricultural or cattle raising activities. Thus, population in the countryside fell rapidly, and became concentrated in the urban areas. Yet, because of the structure of forestry activities in Quirihue, which is rather distant from the pulp plants and has a large number of young plantations, the labour opportunities were lower than in other forestry zones.

Survival Strategies of Households in the Forestry Areas.

The separation between residence of the household and the working place of the head of family, and the lack of employment

opportunities for women in the forest activities, have led to certain social changes in household organization which are characteristic of forestry regions. As the head of family is usually away, working under very uncertain conditions, and frequently unsure that he will in fact be paid the promised wage, the management of the household is taken over by the wife, who must supplement his wages through various survival strategies, using the scarce sources of incomes available in the forest towns: for example, she might take in clothes for washing, engage in domestic employment, prostitution, gathering and begging, as well as seek social welfare and State subsidies. In a third of the households wives undertake some wage labour in the urban areas.

In Quirihue families are living in conditions of very great stress, mostly because of the uncertainty of employment. This situation has been worsening since 1978-79, when there was a decrease in the export of timber, partly as a result of the international economic crisis, and also because Argentina, the main client for Chilean timber, closed down trade because of border struggles (the dispute over the Beagle Channel's islands). A great number of enterprises reduced their output of timber, with the consequent reduction in the number of workers. The labour history of Don Manuel is an example of the ways in which these problems affect the living conditions of households in the forestry situation of production.

Don Manuel: From Forestry Labour Camps to the Shantytown.

Don Manuel is 45 years old, married to a woman of 30. They have three children of 11, 9 and 5 years of age. Don Manuel was born in the province of Valdivia, and began work in forestry in 1953 at the age of

15. "I began to work in the woods at that age because my parents died when I was very young, and I was living with relatives. In those times there were no tractors and other forest machinery as is used nowadays. I had to work with various oxen to pull the logs out of the mud. The rain was so strong during the winter that it was impossible to work, but even during the summer, when the rains are less frequent, the forests continued to be very damp and most work had to be done in wet clothes all day. But, nonetheless, in those times, workers' living conditions were better than now. Of course, the labour was harder, but the wages were better, and the workers were more protected by the labour laws. That was a hard living, but workers saw their money and there was no hunger as now. For workers there was everything: food, clothes and money every month, though the houses were not very good. In this respect things are the same as before: workers have to build their houses for themselves with leftovers from the sawmills.

"My first work was with a firm called Ralco. During that time it was one of the largest forestry firms of the country, with various sawmills in the south. I was working in a place called Liquine, on the Argentinian border. There were some 48 workers in that sawmill. Many of them were working on transporting timber across the lake to the town of Panguipulli, where the train picked up the wood for Santiago and the ports. All the persons working over there were Ralco's workers, going with the firm from one place to another cutting down forests.

"But, after some years, I was made redundant by the firm. Then I began to go to Argentina during the summer to pick apples and pears in Neuquen, and during the winter I harvested sugar beet. By 1970 I

entered work in the forest again in the State-owned Panguipulli complex with 300.000 hectares of forest in the Andean range in the provinces of Cautin and Valdivia. That was also a very good firm. We worked all the week in the mountains, but our families lived in villages attached to the sawmills. During the weekends the firm allowed us to undertake agriculture for self-consumption. We received monthly wages and every legal benefit was honoured.

"I was working in an area called Auquihue with 96 persons. The company as a whole had at least 3.000 workers in its different sections. In each section there was a union committee. In 1972 and 1973 I was one of the leaders of my sectional union. As a result, when the government was taken over by the army, I was put in jail for three years. While I was in jail my family lived mostly on help from relatives and relief given by the Catholic Church. After that, it was very difficult to find a job, because the managers of the company only wanted politically clean workers, and furthermore, they were now hiring only on a temporary basis. I was 'working' in the PEM for a while, and in agriculture, anywhere, but only on temporary contracts. Fortunately for me in 1976 an enterprise from Valdivia bought El Guanaco farm here in Quirihue, and brought all the workers needed from the south. Like many others I considered myself very lucky to obtain that job.

"We were brought directly to El Guanaco sawmill, two kilometres from Quirihue. In El Guanaco I had a house. That was my first concern, to build a small hut to shelter my family. Also, in those years the firm was paying good salaries, and along with other workers we chartered a bus to go with the family to the city of Chillan to

purchase food for the whole month. That was very much cheaper with respect to prices than we would have had to pay for our foodstuffs in Quirihue. At that time in El Guanaco there were 78 workers, not including foremen and truck drivers. But, since 1979 the firm has started to behave differently, lowering our salaries, and making us work longer hours, and dismissing workers and contracting them only on temporary terms. Then, 27 of us planned to create a union to defend our rights. But we did not fully realize how much the country had changed. The result was that all of us were fired and refused work even on temporary contracts. From that time onwards my life and that of my family has been very hard. We had no money to buy a plot, so I rented this small plot of land to build a house. The rent of \$500 (£6.7) a month is very high for us. Well, with a permanent job that would be no problem, but at present we have to buy less food in order to pay the rent.

"Since I was fired I have had no employment, only small jobs, sometimes paid, sometimes only half paid, and sometimes not paid at all. In one place I was cheated with \$11.000. Actually, I am going now to plant pines in a place called Catillo, in Nuble's Andean range. I do not know anything about the place. The contractor told us to carry food for three days, but even this is a problem for me. I am now cutting wood for cooking stoves in order to obtain some food. The boss promised us 207 pesos a day, and I hope that he will pay us, otherwise I do not know what to do to feed my family. Furthermore, the weather up there in Catillo is terrible, it will be snowing and nobody here has proper winter clothes. Probably many of us will get 'flu' or something worse. Most probably there will be no proper sleeping facilities. Last year I went somewhere near Catillo, and the snow was

up to our knees. To sleep we had to build shelters with branches of trees and plastic that we fixed with stones to avoid the wind blowing it away. Anyway, as you can see, I have not much choice. I have to accept anything. Fortunately my wife is receiving a PEM payment for knitting sweaters for ourselves here at home, and obtains for that about \$2.000, which will ensure that my children do not starve while I am going away."

Don Manuel's words say almost all there is to say about labour conditions in the forestry sector. What is more ironical is that the firms that owe him money are not the small enterprises, but the largest ones, such as Forestal Chile and Forestal Arauco, two of the five leading forestry enterprises, accounting for some 250.000 hectares of afforested land. Both are owned by Copec, and are part of its conglomerate of other forestry enterprises and pulp and paper plants, which exported in 1982 about four million dollars worth of products. Copec itself is a conglomerate of industries, part of the B.H.C. economic group, which in 1982 had assets valued at five thousand million dollars (11).

Don Manuel was working for these enterprises during various months in 1982. In January he was clearing land for forest plantations for Forestal Chile. In February and March he had no job, except for some odd days loading lorries. From April to September he was planting radiata pine in various places for Forestal Arauco. In October he worked cutting down trees for a small local sawmill. In November he was doing pruning for Forestal Chile and in December cutting trees for wood-pulp for Forestal Arauco. Nearly every month he was contracted by a different firm.

Don Manuel's annual salary in 1982 should have been \$68.300 (\$910), of which he actually received only \$50.000, because he was denied payments from the contracting firms. His wife earned \$15.000 working for the PEM programme. Other sources of income amounting to \$24.000 came from allowances for his four children and wife. Collecting mushrooms in the pine forests gave them an additional \$4.500. Casual employment, such as cutting fire wood for stoves, gave them another \$4.000. In total, Don Manuel's cash income was \$87.500 (\$1.300) a year, which meant a monthly income of \$8.125. This income is slightly higher than the average figure for Quirihue's forestry workers.

Like most forestry workers, Don Manuel worked quite a long way from his home. During 1982, the nearest place was 10 Kms., but most of the time he was working more than 100 Kms. away. As a result, he was away from home for periods, leaving his family on their own to rely most of the time on small jobs, on begging and on social welfare. Thus, as he says, sometimes it is difficult even to obtain enough food to carry with him to his work place. This results in a conflict between the provision of food for him or for his family, which creates difficulties and uncertainties for both partners. Family household organization in the forest areas are built upon such kinds of problems, often resulting in instability and breakdown.

Dissolution of Households: Characteristic of the Forest Area.

Another similar case of a forestry worker is Don Armando. He is 34 years old, married to a woman of 25. They have two children, of three and four years of age. Don Armando is a typical forestry worker,

son of a forestry worker, raised in the southern sawmills. He started working at 10 years of age in 1967. Shortly after he went to the Argentinian forestry industry and worked there for five years. Afterwards he came back, working various years in agriculture, until 1976 when he came to El Guanaco. As this was a very good job, he decided to marry the daughter of a forestry worker. However, in 1980 he was laid off from his work, and found himself without a house and with only temporary employment. Like other forestry workers laid off from El Guanaco, he is now renting a small plot of land in a shantytown on the west side of Quirihue. This side is the usual location for forestry workers. During 1982 he obtained employment as a temporary worker for 180 days, half a year. For that he earned an average \$2.900 (£39) a month, which was not enough to keep his family properly fed. An important element in this household is a brother of Don Armando, who is paying them for boarding and receiving a room and food. His is a permanent worker and this permit Don Armando's household to obtain a small regular income.

My third example is Don Jose Miguel, 41 years old, also born in the southern province of Valdivia, to a family with a long tradition of forestry labour. He married when young, but his previous wife deserted him when he was fired from his job in 1978. She left him with a son of two years of age. Then he came to Quirihue, and he began living with Maria, a woman of 25 years of age. They have no children of their own. However, she looks after Jose Miguel's son, now six years old (in 1982). During the first part of 1982 he was working near Quirihue, but later he found himself between 20 and 140 Kms. away, staying away for the whole of the time that the job lasted, usually weeks, but in one instance as much as two months. In this way he has

been able to raise an annual income of about \$30.000. This includes other activities, such as \$2.000 obtained selling mushrooms to an exporting company, and another \$4.000 obtained for his wife's knitting, and a child allowance amounting to \$4.300.

In the Quirihue sample it was found that some households were headed by women, most of whom were abandoned by their husbands. Sra Maria's household provides an example. She is 24 years old and was abandoned in 1980, being left with the burden of rearing two children of two and three years of age. Her husband was laid off in 1970. He built the house where Sra Maria lives, but as it was very difficult to find a job, once he went to work far away he never came back. She has been able to survive since then because she has relatives living in the same place, and she has also been lucky enough to find small jobs in Quirihue itself. During the first six months of 1982 she worked as a domestic servant, earning \$2.000 a month, plus social security and leftover meals which she could bring home to feed her children. During that time she left her children in the town's public day care centre during the day, where they were fed. However, she had to leave her job because being pregnant she could not continue working. In fact, she knows that her only possibility of surviving is by creating a new family-household, and in search of that, she got herself pregnant with another child. This child was born at the end of 1982. However, the father of the child went again away to work and never came back. Faced with these kinds of difficulties, Sra. Maria, during the remainder of the year washed clothes, looked after children, helped in the Catholic Church relief programme, and knitted for meals. During the year she received only \$1/150 a month in wages and \$1.200 a month in child allowances. She also obtained six kilos of powdered milk each month.

Other non-cash allowances were three meals a day for each child in the day care centre and in the Church relief service.

As a way of obtaining some extra income Maria shared her house with another young couple, friends of hers. They share some expenses, such as electricity, wood for the stove, paraffin, candles and other similar cost. Sra. Maria felt that she would be able to feed her three children alone, but it is very hard for her to do that, partly because of the lack of employment, but also because she is under permanent sexual harassment. She says that that is the reason why a man in the house would help so much, both for economic support and for respectability and protection against other men. She understands this, and because of it she continues to try to find a husband to help her rear her three children. However, it seems unlikely she will be able to form a new household under the present conditions of high unemployment.

Quirihue is also a town which has had a large influx of peasants. Some of them have created a small shantytown in the Northern part of the town. Some combine sharecropping, temporary labour in the vineyards, and other temporary jobs, especially in the forest industry. Don Juan is one of them. He is 58 years old and came from a farm that was afforested. He is a widower with six children between the ages of 8 and 14. To look after his family he married in 1981 a young woman of 20, mother of two children, abandoned in 1980 by her husband. Don Jose prefers to work making adobe bricks and also spends a lot of time hunting rabbits for home-consumption and for sale. At present Don Jose and his new wife are satisfied with their household arrangement, since they can obtain a large welfare income for their

eight children of \$3.229 a month. Don Jose's activities, helped by the grown up boys, provide the remaining income.

Comparative Overview of Households in the Forestry Sector.

Households in Quirihue are rather small, averaging about 5.5 persons, matched only by households in the fruit growing areas. This contrasts with Paso Ancho and Pueblo Seco, where households averaged some six members. However, the wider sample, collected by H.P. Diaz in 1982, shows that in the forestry sector there are variations between 4.6 to 7.0 members in different forestry localities. These disparities, shown in Table 11, can be extended to other characteristics of households, such as the age of the head of family, and differences of age between spouses.

In Table 11 six different forestry localities are compared according to degrees of involvement in agricultural labour as against forestry labour. Rural Yumbel and Cayucupil are peasant areas on the way to becoming converted into forestry zones, but still remaining to some extent dependent upon agricultural activities. Quirihue and urban Yumbel are towns where various different types of activities can be observed. And finally, El Cruce and Coelemu are localities where only forestry activities are carried out.

A striking characteristic of the sample is that the more rural the locality becomes, the older is the average age of both husband and wife. The average is 39.8 years of age for husbands, and 34.7 years for wives. But, in the more rural localities, the averages are well above 40 years old. Along with this specific characteristic is the

fact that in these localities there is a higher proportion of extended family households (see Table 12). The reverse holds for the more forestry oriented places, where the average age of spouses is about 30 years of age. Likewise, the number of extended families is low.

TABLE 11

CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN THE FORESTRY REGION

Locality	AGE DIFFERENCES			HOUSEHOLD SIZE		SEX RATIO(1)	
	Husb	Wiv.	Dif.	Nuc.	Ext.	15+	-15
Yumbel Rural	42.1	37.3	4.8	7.0	7.0	450	90
Cayucupil	56.4	44.7	11.7	5.8	7.3	70	90
Quirihue	40.1	31.5	8.6	4.7	6.6	250	100
Yumbel Urban	40.2	37.2	3.0	4.6	7.0	600	100
Coelemu	34.4	31.4	3.0	6.1	--	120	90
El Cruce	32.6	29.8	2.8	5.6	9.0	120	90

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile 1982. GIA and CERLAC.

(1) Sex Ratios for Single population: 15+, more than 15 years of age; -15, less than 15 years of age.

In relation to family size, we can conclude that while rural localities exhibit slightly bigger households, there are no really significant differences. Sex ratios for persons of 15 and more years of age are very different in each locality, but in general there are about three single men for each single woman. This is an important point in relation to the possibility for abandoned women to remarry.

Women have no opportunities to work in direct forest employment. This makes women more dependent on the husband's income. However, the precariousness of the income has pushed a large

proportion of women into a very marginal position in the urban labour market. About one third of the households have at least one woman in wage labour employment, mostly domestic labour. However, the total contribution of such earnings to household income is less than ten per cent. Nevertheless, it implies a great deal to those households that depend entirely for their subsistence on temporary wage labour.

TABLE 12

NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS IN THE FORESTRY AREAS

(in figures and percentages)

Localities	N U C L E A R		E X T E N D E D		% Ex
	Members	Hholds	Members	Hholds	(1)
Yumbel Rural	77	11	14	2	15.4
Cayucupil	69	12	51	7	36.8
Quirihue	71	15	6	1	6.3
Yumbel Urban	46	10	7	1	9.1
Coelomu	121	20	--	-	0.0
El Cruce	157	28	18	2	6.7
TOTAL	541	96	96	13	11.9

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile. GIA and CERLAC.

(1) Percentage of Extended Households.

The forestry case-study makes clear three points. First, that there is no simple unidirectional correlation between general regional economic processes and household patterns. Second, that between localities involved in a similar process of production, the way in which social processes operate can be very different. This results from certain specific local characteristics, such as the degree of

subsistence agriculture that is possible. Third, those areas with a clear involvement in wage labour, present a more reduced family size.

With the foregoing analysis of the forestry area I have completed the exposition of data concerning the relationships existing between regional economic processes in different situations of production, and how these influence the pattern of household organization aimed at coping with specific labour and survival constraints. Several differences among the regions emerge and households present contradictory responses in the face of similar problems. These responses must be looked at through the analysis of particular local historical processes. Before attempting to summarize the conclusions of this study, I wish to present some additional comparative information on certain aspects concerning population changes, living conditions and inter-household cooperation.

CHAPTER IX

DIFFERENTIAL CAPITAL EXPANSION, LIFE CONDITIONS AND HOUSEHOLDS

In the four previous chapters I examined several forms of household in different regional settings. It was my intention to show how demographic and organizational change relate to the general process of marginalization resulting from the introduction of the neo-liberal economic policy. In this chapter I aim to summarize the main aspects that have emerged and to analyze them further in a comparative framework, focusing specifically on economic and demographic change, life conditions, and household family processes. In order to do this I will use additional aggregate data taken from the larger research project. This will provide a more solid basis for the earlier household and locality analysis.

1. DIFFERENTIAL CAPITAL EXPANSION AND POPULATION CHANGES

One important finding of the study was the existence of a relationship between different processes of regional capitalist

expansion and demographic change, which led us then to investigate the relationship of these phenomena to the family household process. The overall problematic is firstly concerned with the ability of each pattern of regional development, based on certain crops, to provide employment, and secondly, the capability of the economy to mobilize labour resources between various sectors of production and between different regions. The overall results of the study indicate that this capability is in fact minimal, and, therefore, in spite of a certain degree of displacement of population between regions (see Table 13), there is a tendency in all regions towards the stationing of enormous masses of labour in areas which cannot offer sufficient employment for the entire population. As a result, unemployment and associated social change result in the establishment of marginal population who pursue a number of different strategies in order to survive.

To begin with, each region has a distinctive employment dynamic, resulting in differential patterns of labour use. Some crops, like fruit, need more labour input than the 'traditional' diversified forms of agriculture. People are attracted therefore into these areas from the poorer neighbouring agricultural zones, and even from the main cities. But, as labour requirements are highly seasonal, the possibility of obtaining permanent employment is extremely unlikely for the majority of workers. However, under other circumstances the reverse may happen, in the sense that many new developments, such as forestry plantations, need less labour per unit of land, resulting in trends towards out-migration.

Those areas without comparative advantage present very different labour and migration patterns, depending upon the specific

combinations of crops, as well as on the specific historical background of labour and local social processes. For example, provinces where combinations of traditional agriculture with new crops are found, such as forestry with agriculture in the province of Bio-Bio, or fruits, industrial crops, vegetables and legumes in the province of Talca, actually attract migrants from other regions. A comparative analysis based on census data gives us a clear image of these processes.

TABLE 13

EVOLUTION OF POPULATION IN THE PROVINCES UNDER STUDY

Provinces	1952	%	1960	%	1970	%	1982
S.Felipe-L.Andes	93.965	0.9	101.375	1.6	118.341	2.7	164.011
Arauco-Contituc.	99.296	2.3	119.357	0.8	130.323	1.9	163.468
Osorno	123.059	2.8	153.640	0.4	160.125	1.4	190.857
Bio-Bio	138.411	2.5	168.837	1.4	193.536	3.3	289.832
Talca	136.823	2.2	163.374	1.4	188.247	2.9	266.150
Nuble	251.342	1.6	285.639	1.0	316.962	1.6	383.347
Curico	126.302	2.0	148.656	0.7	158.958	1.4	187.822
TOTAL	969.198	2.0	1.140.878	1.0	1.266.592	2.2	1.645.487
National Rate	--	2.7	--	1.9	--	2.0	--

SOURCE: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Chile.

Before 1970, the provinces included in the study had a rate of population growth smaller than that of the whole country. Between 1952 and 1960 it was a third lower, and in the following period of 1960-1970, the difference increased to a half, mainly as a result of the concentration of population in a few centres, such as Santiago. These trends show that the central process at that time was metropolization,

with the result that agricultural regions suffered progressive depopulation. However, from 1970 onwards the opposite occurred. Population growth in the provinces under study increased at a higher rate than that of the country as a whole, revealing a process of immigration, especially towards three of these areas: San Felipe-Los Andes, Bio-Bio and Talca.

In general terms, this increase in population in the areas mentioned has been taking place in both the rural and urban zones. The rate of increase in the urban areas is more important than in the rural ones, although the rate of growth in the latter also exceeds the national rate of rural population increase. In the provinces listed in Table 13 the rural population increased by 0.5 per cent between 1970 and 1982, while for the country as a whole it decreased by 0.2 per cent. This is noteworthy since it indicates that agricultural provinces are offering better opportunities to settle than the rural areas of the other less agricultural provinces.

The disparity in urban-rural population growth in the provinces under study can be seen also in the changing proportion of these two sectors. In 1952 the rural population of these provinces was 61.5 per cent, a figure reduced to 49.2 per cent by 1970, and to 40.0 per cent in 1982. At the same time there was a marked growth in the urban population. All this indicates that a greater number of people, who in the past migrated to other provinces, is now settled in the urban areas of the same provinces.

But, these noticeable trends in population movement are not to be explained by abundant employment opportunities in these areas, but

rather by higher unemployment rates in these areas traditionally attracting migrants-like Santiago-, that presently have fewer employment opportunities for both old migrants and newcomers. As a result, the possibility of finding temporary employment in the agricultural areas attracts a substantial part of the work force, a tendency that is reinforced by the help provided by State welfare benefits.

Thus, in the rural areas wage labouring households that in the past relied almost exclusively on the head of family for subsistence, now survive on the joint contribution of husband and wife. There has also been a steady flow of migration of men and women to the cities, creating an urban trend towards a nuclear family household pattern based on legal marriage, which gives them access to welfare benefits. Changes in the style of development generate new conditions of employment, affecting migration and incomes. It also changes household forms, since poverty, low expectations of a better life and of improved housing conditions in the rural shantytowns have produced new patterns of coping behaviour often focussed upon immediate and specific survival problems. In the next section I highlight some comparative aspects of this process, and summarize the main issues concerning living conditions.

2. COMPARATIVE REGIONAL APPROACH TO LIVING CONDITIONS

In the previous chapters a great deal has been said about the problems of obtaining income at the household level. It is my intention now to outline some more general points on this. I begin by examining wages and income structure.

In this section data from the forest region is not considered except for the town of Quirihue, which is included in the province of Nuble (12). In certain tables household data from Pueblo Seco and Quirihue are considered separately. The zones analyzed, then, are San Felipe-Los Andes, Molina-Rio Claro and Nuble, covering some 13 different shantytowns that we studied.

Labour and Wages.

According to the results of the sample, taking the total population, both urban and rural, in the fruit growing area of San Felipe-Los Andes, 42.4 per cent were actively involved in production activities during 1982. But, out of this, at least half can be considered only as seasonal workers, that is, persons who look for jobs during a part of the year, such as do most of the women and students. These latter work during the Spring and Summer seasons, maintaining themselves without employment during the rest of the year. Another similar area researched, but not included in this analysis, is the agricultural green belt (fruits and vegetables) surrounding Santiago, where the economically active population was 38.4 per cent, also showing a great involvement of women in agricultural activities (see Rivera and Cruz, 1984). In contrast, in areas where women and youngsters have few possibilities of finding work, the active labour force drops, for example, to 21.4 per cent in Molina-Rio Claro, and 22.6 per cent cent in the province of Nuble.

If these figures are further analyzed in terms of rural and urban balance, the following situation is apparent: in San Felipe-Los Andes, in spite of the fact that all four localities studied are urban

according to census criteria, only 13.4 per cent of the work force was engaged in urban activities. Of the remainder, 70 per cent was engaged in agricultural activities, and 16.6 per cent in government held unemployment programmes. In Nuble the rate of urban employment was 29.1 per cent, and 13.9 per cent in Molina-Rio Claro. In Nuble the higher rate of urban employment results from female employment in domestic services in Quirihue. Also, in Nuble enormous differences between areas can be observed. For example, both in Quirihue and Pueblo Seco government-held unemployment programmes were not important, but in a third town researched (Ninhue) it was found that, between August and November of 1982, some 19 out of 21 households had at least one member on a government PEM program.

The percentage of the work force engaged in agrarian activities in Molina-Rio Claro was 74.3 per cent, similar to that in San Felipe-Los Andes. In Nuble, because of the higher number of urban jobs and the presence of PEM programmes, employment in the agricultural sector was only 56.9 per cent. PEM workers are usually agricultural workers and their involvement in the programmes is only temporary. In Molina-Rio Claro there was 12.8 per cent and in Nuble 23.0 per cent involved in programmes at some time in the year. For many of them it was only for three months, which is the normal time for this type of employment subsidy. Some of them will be taken on again, but in fact there is a great deal of circulation between the PEM programmes and ongoing production jobs. Another aspect is that PEM programmes are heavily concentrated in certain towns, Ninhue in Nuble, and the town of Llay-Llay in San Felipe.

Uncertainty of employment has been a theme running through the

thesis. Various chapters have made the point that permanent jobs are seldom to be found, and that, on average, only one in ten households has a permanent worker. In all, both rural and urban permanent work accounts for less than a third and temporary work for more than two thirds (23.8 and 76.2 per cent, respectively) of the total man-days worked in different activities (see table 14). There is little variation in these figures in the different areas, which shows that, in spite of the different forms of capitalist expansion in the countryside, the same general employment pattern pertains.

TABLE 14

TEMPORARY VERSUS PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT

(in percentage and average)

Types of Employment	S.Fel.L.And.	Mol-Rio Claro	Nuble	TOTAL
RURAL Temporary	67.2	72.2	61.3	67.4
Permanent	16.0	19.2	15.3	16.8
URBAN Temporary	9.6	3.9	13.9	8.8
Permanent	7.2	4.7	9.5	9.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Households	71	75	53	199
Average per month(1)	18.5	12.2	12.6	14.7
Average per week(1)	4.4	2.9	3.0	3.5

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile, 1982.

(1) Average number of days worked per household by month and week.

In terms of domestic affairs, this means that households cannot rely on a regular amount of money coming in each week or month. In the whole sample, each household had an average of 1.5 working members, but there was some variation according to regions. Hence there were

two workers per household in the fruit growing area, as against 1.2 in Molina-Rio Claro and 1.3 in Nuble. These differences reflect variations in job opportunities for women and youngsters.

These differences, although they appear small, influence both the level and manner of obtaining an income. In the fruit growing areas households rely mainly on wages and their strategies for survival are more clearly directed towards pooling the incomes of the various members of the household, and in complementing incomes through cooperation between households. This is less possible in areas where there is little work for women and youth. These latter must complement wages through cultivating a vegetable garden, gathering wild fruits, keeping domestic animals, gleaning, and through exchanging labour for products.

However, in spite of these differences in the number of workers per household, the overall time worked per persons in a year is not significantly different from one area to another. For example, in the fruit growing area, the average number of working days per week for a single household was 4.4. This means that an individual worker, including seasonal workers, on average worked for only 2.2 days a week. In the other regions the average for the individual is quite similar. In Molina-Rio Claro, households average 2.9 days a week, or 2.4 days a week per worker. In Nuble this picture is the same, with 3.0 days a week per household, or 2.3 days a week per individual worker. Differences observed with respect to the living conditions and household survival strategies relate to household units rather than to individuals. They highlight the distinctive employment opportunities for the different regions, bringing out for example that in the fruit

growing area, households work double the number of days from those households in the other areas.

The above figures include days worked by permanent workers, but if these are excluded, then the activity level is much less, which in turn makes it more difficult to survive in these areas with little other than temporary work. On the other hand, these averages do not indicate the great variations that exist between seasons. During the Summer months employment rises to some 80 per cent; in contrast to the Winter months, when employment drops to between 15 and 30 per cent.

As the general level of employment is low, the consequent pressure on the labour market keeps salaries also low. During the last three years (1980-82), the minimum salary has been kept at \$207 (£2.75 in 1982) a day, despite the 50 per cent inflation rate during that same period. Furthermore, from such a low salary 17 per cent is deducted for social security. Thus, out of a minimum monthly average for a permanent worker of about \$6.500, he will receive slightly less than \$5.500 (£73).

The research showed that there are many different income sources for households. These are summarized in Table 15. This also shows that in spite of the importance of subsidies, productive labour makes up for about two thirds of the household income. In San Felipe-Los Andes wage labour represents about 75 per cent of the overall household income, and subsidies and pensions, only 14 and 11 per cent, respectively. Molina-Rio Claro is a zone where wage labour income falls to 70 per cent of actual income, subsidies account for 14 per cent and 16 per cent. In Nuble, the percentages are 69 per cent, 26

per cent and 5 per cent, respectively.

TABLE 15
SOURCES OF INCOME
(in percentages)

Sources of Incomes (1)	San F/L.An	Stgo	Molina	Nuble	Osorno	Total
Rural Temporal Labour	42.4	23.3	37.2	35.7	25.6	32.9
Rural Permanent Labour	11.5	6.6	11.7	8.4	8.9	9.5
Urban Temporal Labour	7.4	23.6	4.0	5.6	9.8	10.5
Urban Permanent Labour	6.9	14.1	5.2	8.8	1.7	7.2
Share-Cropping	3.5	3.7	1.8	5.4	0.3	2.7
Self-Employed	-	8.6	-	-	5.7	3.1
Unemployment Subsidies	5.2	3.1	4.3	11.6	7.4	5.9
PEM program	5.3	3.3	4.3	9.4	8.4	5.9
Old Age Pensions	11.0	8.0	16.0	5.3	10.3	12.5
Child Benefits	6.8	5.7	15.6	9.8	12.3	9.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cash Income	7.865.0	10.034.0	5.466.0	5.139.0	5.552.0	6.149.0

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile, 1982.

(1) Includes the areas of Santiago and Osorno.

As was pointed out earlier, most households aim to achieve a basic survival income, and most have to rely on trying to balance out income from wage labour, subsidies and subsistence activities, in that order. The latter -subsistence activities- are clearly the least important. The case studies showed that households with one active member working temporarily, and obtaining a regular welfare income of about \$3.000, can manage to survive at the breadline, or at a level

slightly above that of malnutrition. This would, according to my own estimates for rural shantytown dwellers, amount to a cash income of about \$3.000 (\$100) a month. This limit is reckoned to be the equivalent of a minimum permanent wage plus other income from welfare and subsistence production, and takes into account our assessment that a family of six members can purchase from this the minimum amount of food necessary and have something leftover for other expenses.

Apart from these sources of income there are a number of others not included in Table 15 corresponding to activities for self-subsistence, which are performed by certain families and in certain months of the year. Among them, we find income derived from gardening on a small scale, casual sharecropping, the keeping of some domestic animals, gathering of wild fruits both for self-consumption and for sale, and gleaning. Incomes from such sources are more likely to be found in areas like Paso Ancho and Pueblo Seco, and in Quirihue collecting mushrooms adds some money to the household income. In the fruit region most households gleaned nuts, sometimes being able to collect more than 100 kilos of shelled nuts, which in 1982 sold for \$200 a kilo. Other small sources of income include, clothing and other gifts sent by relatives living in the city, but these are irregular and most persons interviewed could not tell us what monetary value these items amounted to. All such income is a supplement to regular income from salaries and other sources, but sometimes reaches as much as 10 per cent of the total (Table 15).

Indirect welfare benefits, such as school meals, should also be considered as part of income, though it is difficult to give a monetary equivalent for this since the actual cost to the welfare

system is different from that which a household would spend on giving breakfast or lunch to their children. However I estimate that a household's non cash welfare income from an allowance of two school breakfasts and one lunch would be worth about an additional \$1.600 (602.2) a month.

Households in the rural shantytowns are large, consisting of between five and six persons, a figure well above the national average of 4.3. Taking this into consideration, a minimum permanent wage of \$5.500, supposedly based on a household of 4.3 members, is not enough for rural shantytown households. From a different point of view, the average income of \$6.149 for shantytown households in our survey (see Table 15) is 25 per cent below the estimated minimum nutritional income of \$8.000, and this is especially marked in Molina and Nuble, where income is 31.7 per cent and 35.8 per cent below nutritional requirements.

Nevertheless, even with additional sources of foodstuff besides the cash budget, many families still cannot meet the minimum level of nutrition. Teachers and paramedic personnel in the research areas said that malnutrition among children is of great concern, and school meals programmes cannot fully compensate for this, and, in any case, only a small number of households were actually receiving additional nutritional aid.

As a result, the food expenses as a percentage of the total budget per household is also less than the estimated minimum requirement. Six households in three areas were selected to compare the average expenses per individual. The results are as follows (see

Table 16). In San Felipe-Los Andes food expenses were proportionally higher than in the other places, ranging between \$345 and \$1000 per person a month, out of an estimated average of \$320 per person a month, which is 62.7 per cent of the overall income. This is equivalent in value to 0.52 kilo of bread a day per person. This meant a food expense per person of only 30 newpence a day. In Molina-Rio Claro, between \$340 and \$670 was spent on food out of an estimated average of \$560 a month per person, amounting to 61.2 per cent of the overall income. The comparative purchasing value was only 0.36 kilo of bread per person per day. In Nuble food expenses per person ranged from \$650 to \$700, out of an average \$680 per person a month, equivalent to 80 per cent of the overall income. The purchasing value was 0.43 kilo of bread per day.

TABLE 16

COMPARATIVE BUDGETS IN THREE AREAS

(Ch\$75=£1; Ch\$52=US\$1)

Type of Expense / Place	San F/L.A	Mol-R.Cl	Nuble
Average Food Expense per Household	4.931	3.345	4.055
Average Food Expense per Person	822	557	678
Purchasing Bread Value (in grs)	0.52	0.36	0.43
Proportion of Food Expense (%)	62.7	61.2	78.9

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile, 1982 (A Kg. bread was \$52, or 70 newpence).

Most of the household budget is spent on foodstuffs, and there is a strong preference for staple foods that are traditional wage-goods in Chile, such as bread and other wheat products. Two households with six members (the average size of households for the sample) were selected in each area in order to calculate which proportion of the

total income was spent on which types of food. The figures in Table 17 show the average percentages for each of these two households.

TABLE 17
AVERAGE BUDGETS FOR TWO HOUSEHOLDS HOUSEHOLDS PER ZONE
(in percentages)

Type of Food / Place	San F/L.A	Mol/R.C	Nuble
Wheat Flour, Bread and Sugar	53.6	66.0	62.7
Tea, Coffee, other Beverages	8.7	13.0	9.6
Vegetables and Legumes	7.0	11.2	17.3
Fat and Vegetable Oil	11.5	7.3	4.3
Protein Foods (Meat and Fish)	18.0	2.5	6.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile, 1982

It was found that as the income decreases the proportion of money spent on bread becomes higher. For example, the fruit area had a food expenditure of about 30 per cent higher than other areas, and spent a third less money on bread, thus having a more nutritional protein diet. In fact, this was the only area in which a noticeable proportion of the budget was spent on protein rich foods. About 20 per cent of the budget went on meat and fish.

Services and Living Conditions.

Rural migrants, who helped to build up these semi-urban (or semi-rural) shantytowns, created in fact various kinds of settlements. These can be categorized into three main types. For the 20 localities included in the whole study (considering also Santiago and Osorno), we

can distinguish between 1) those shantytowns located beside old small towns (or ex-hacienda villages), 2) those isolated in the countryside, and 3) those situated on the borders of main towns and cities.

- The Shantytowns in the Old Towns. There were five such towns in the study. These towns originated in most cases from old hacienda villages, which developed as wage labour expanded into the countryside. Some of them became large towns, such as Lontue and Casablanca, in Molina, with more than a thousand inhabitants. However, many remained as small towns inhabited by wage labourers, "inquilinos", sharecroppers, some merchants and traders, and in some cases, also public employees such as teachers or policemen. Later, with the breakup of the haciendas, these small towns became independent settlements, serving as a place of residence for temporary workers. Among the localities mentioned in the study, Las Cabras and El Bolsico, represent this type of town.

A common pattern for these towns is that they have developed clearly in two sections. On the one hand, there is an older section with large sized mud-brick houses and enough land to develop small-scale agricultural production. It is possible to find such houses with up to one hectare of land, usually irrigated. On the other hand, there is a new section of small insubstantial houses, some made of adobe-bricks, but most consisting of so called "emergency" houses built out of pine wood. These houses usually have no land at all to cultivate as a garden, such as found in the old section.

Such towns are medium sized, between 300 and 2,000 inhabitants, and have various urban services, such as an elementary school, medical

post, electric light and public telephone. Some of them have piped drinking water. However, they do not resemble the traditional urban design grid pattern of streets and a central square. On the contrary, they are disorganized rows of houses, usually along a road, with few lateral paths.

- The New Shantytowns. Three of the localities studied were of this type, including Paso Ancho and Pueblo Seco. They are found in certain areas of scattered urban settlement. These new towns tend to be small rows of houses not far then than 15 kilometres to the nearest town and usually located at a cross road, or they are ribbon developments along a main road. These types of settlements are very unstable and lack most urban services, except an elementary school, although in some small settlements not even a school is found. Such towns are usually located, among other places, in dried up river beds, between a road and a railway line, or on old roads abandoned because of the construction of new highways.

- The Shantytowns in the Urban Outskirts. Our initial hypothesis was that most people would be living in the first two types of new towns mentioned above. However, it was found that most people were in fact looking for proper urban areas to settle in. Twelve out of the twenty localities selected were afterwards classified as marginal to such urban centres, and not considered as new independent towns. It seems that the main reasons for individuals coming to urban centres are twofold. First, in these places it is easier to obtain welfare allowances. This can mean anything from obtaining an emergency type house to receiving a PEM programme post. The second reason is related to the urban structure of Chile. A closer look at this shows that most

towns are located within a distance of 20 kilometres from each other, especially those which originated as railway stations. Between the 1880's and the 1930's most of the Chilean countryside was covered with a fairly dense railway network, and some railway stations grew into cities during this century, becoming municipal administrative centres. This pattern was common in the new southern territories incorporated after 1860. In central Chile there existed old colonial staging posts, which made up a kind of pre-urban network, which in certain areas coincided with the new one resulting from railways and modern highways, but which in other areas did not. Quirihue is an example of an old urban colonial centre which was sited off the modern routes, and for a long period was left to stagnate.

Housing Characteristics.

A significant number of families did not move from the countryside of their own free will. They were forced to move. This is an important element for understanding the way of life and problems faced by migrants in the rural shantytowns. They were suddenly pushed from housing located in the open countryside into crowded slums and emergency housing. This process of change has produced all sorts of new social phenomena, especially for people with no previous experience of living in this way; for many people there were no pre-established settlements into which they could be slowly integrated. Hence, in most localities studied, urban patterns of living were still in the making. Adapting to this situation has been a hard process, which in many cases has created conflicts and friction among neighbours, exacerbating the problems resulting due to lack of urban facilities. Some people have, nevertheless, been able to find a way of

creating more comfortable quarters. Some people who had previous experience of slum living and knew how to organize to improve their living conditions were able to help new inhabitants to adapt and organize themselves.

Another characteristic of the housing pattern in the rural shantytowns is that it resembles in some ways the typical shantytown, with a high proportion of factory-made houses, and, in the more isolated and precarious sites, houses of mud-brick or other local materials. In certain areas very flimsy houses predominate, made of cardboard with paper and plastic patches. Most houses have no insulated wooden floors, and the windows are just holes protected by plastic or wooden boards. In the southern areas, where the winter is harder, houses tend to be, on average, slightly more strongly built.

In general terms it can be said that for most people their housing conditions have deteriorated from the time they lived on peasant smallholdings or in haciendas. For those who belonged to land reform settlements who they were fired, the change has been dramatic, since the land reform programme built good quality houses, many of which have been passed on to the land owners.

Contingency and uncertainty in housing has been an important element leading households to split up into nuclear family households. Young couples show a strong preference for owning their own houses when sites are available. Thus, we frequently find extended family groups split into various independent households. Yet in spite of this individual nuclear households are large, both because, paradoxically, those that marry have many children, and because there is also a lack

of marriageable women which keeps grown up sons living in their parents' household. The houses for such large household units with an average of six members, are very small, with only two rooms. One is used to serve as kitchen, dining room, and bedroom and the other as bedroom and storeroom. Frequently both rooms are separated by only a curtain.

c) Social Security and Health.

The general principle upon which the social security system was based is the idea that the working population should pay for the support of the retired population, their parents, and thus successively the next generation. This system was designed on a distributive basis, every worker paying a similar share of his/her wage into the social security fund, but receiving in return a allowance according to the number of dependents living in the household. In this way single men obtained only health insurance, but married men with a large number of dependents received child benefits and other allowances, as well as indirect benefits in terms of health and education. During retirement each worker was allowed a pension equivalent to some 75 per cent of his/her last salary.

Payments to the social security fund were obligatory both for employers and workers. Employers risk heavy fines unless they comply with these regulations. In the research sample it was found that most permanent and temporary rural workers, who had been working since the 1940's and 1950's, had been contributors to the social security system since they were approximately 15 years old. However, in spite of the acceptance of this distributive system by the great majority of the

work force, the new military government concluded that this system was unfair, since large families were obtaining more benefits for which other workers paid. The system was therefore changed to a new one based on individual savings for retirement, plus a partial medical insurance. As the majority of workers was forced to change into the new system, the old one was left without enough funds to continue paying the other benefits. Thus, the State had to recover the burden of the old system by taxation. These payments to retired workers were, in 1982, slightly more than a hundred thousand millions of pesos ($\$1.333.300.000$), equivalent to 3.0 per cent of the State Expenditure (Paulsen:1984). The number of persons receiving a retirement pension was 1.200.000, and as a result, the individual average pension was worth $\$6.900$ a month ($\$92.6$), although some 75 per cent of them received only $\$3.800$ a month, while a small proportion of State and private high ranking retired persons received the bulk of these payments. For the country as a whole there is one retired pensioner for every two households.

The changes in the social security system also brought changes in other areas of the labour market, such as the disappearance of the Labour Courts. In this way, work contracts and participation in the social security and health system were restricted. A great number of workers have been unable to enter into the new system, both because of the temporary status of their jobs and because employers do not comply with regulations. Thus, most temporary workers are no longer engaged in any system of social security, and have to rely on the State's optional and discretionary allowances for the unemployed.

The health services also suffered. Chile has had a Social

Health Service since 1925, the year of the creation of the obligatory Worker Insurance Service, which changed later into the National Health Service. The new neo-liberal policy is directed to providing health services according to a person's ability to pay for it. Thus, a large part of the Chilean population was left outside the health system, and had to rely upon State subsidiary services. According to current State policies, it is up to each worker to care for himself. A recent analysis of the health policies stated that, in general terms it can be said that "countries are interested in having a healthy population, but this depends upon the ideology of the system. In present day Chile this depends upon the capacity of that population to produce. That is to say, industry should be concerned about its workers as they are expensive to replace, but, so long as labour in Chile is cheap because of the high unemployment rate, and legislation allows firms to fire ill workers, for that reason there is not very much concern about the workers health" (Allendes, 1984:25). As the State supposed that most of the population would participate in the private health system, it reduced the health expenditure from US\$42 per capita in 1972, to US\$18 in 1982. Furthermore "a great many people were fired from the Health Services with the intention of purging it of doctors engaged with the concept of Social Medicine...and many auxiliary personnel in the hospital are now from the PEM programme" (Allendes, 1984:26).

As a result, most workers at present have no access to the National Health System as a right, but rather through the condition of indigence, or extreme poverty, which means they have to claim arguing that they are earning less than a certain level, and that they qualify as belonging to the extremely poor strata.

Theoretically at least, all people living in the rural shantytowns can obtain health services at a lower cost as indigents. The existing good hospital network is also a very important element in the possibility of access to the health system, since from the localities under study it is possible to reach a hospital within three hours. The actual problem is that many refrain from going to the hospital because of the bureaucratic and financial problems they have to face. As a result, people rely on quackery from their localities and the nearby peasant areas.

The lack of urban services in the shantytowns also affects health. In seven of the 20 places studied, there was the possibility of obtaining piped drinking water in the house, but only a small proportion of households actually have the service. In another eight places there was only a public or community piped drinking water system. The remaining five places had access to garden wells or irrigation channels. In these latter, health problems derived from contaminated drinking water were particularly prevalent. The only widespread service was electricity, which reached all localities but one. Nevertheless, this service is expensive, and illegal connections to the main lines are fairly usual.

Education.

Chilean society has developed an education system, both private and public, that gives a hundred per cent school coverage for elementary education. Large towns usually have elementary schools and a secondary school. However, this situation is new. It is only since about the 1960's that the school system reached the distant rural

areas. Today all children have access to school, but their parents may be illiterate or only semi-literate. In Molina-Rio Claro, for example, 95.0 per cent of the heads of family had three years or less of school attendance. In other more developed areas, such as San Felipe-Los Andes, this figure was down to 79.2 per cent of parents with three years of schooling or less. Insufficient schooling is also a factor discouraging these families from migrating to the cities, since in the urban areas most jobs are only offered to people who have completed elementary school.

On the other hand, education itself seems to be becoming less valued by rural shantytown dwellers. This assessment calls for further comment. In the first place, it is evident to them that elementary education is no longer a sure way to improve living conditions. Rural workers point out that, as unemployment affects educated and non-educated workers equally, it is not worth the extra effort. In the second place, for rural workers the main value of sending children to school is for the breakfast and lunch they can obtain. In fact, it seems that school for the rural shantytown population has become part of their survival strategies. A current complaint is that the three months of summer holidays bring an additional burden to everyday feeding problems.

3. HOUSEHOLDS: COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

Household composition is a social process in which a unit can be an extended family during a certain stage of family development, and a nuclear family at another. It can also change various times in the developmental cycle between one or another category. Also, it is

possible to replace the extended family household for an extended family network for the purpose of overcoming specific survival problems.

In the different areas under study, patterns of extended and nuclear family households were found to differ a great deal, both in terms of their specific characteristics and importance. Most extended households are made up of old parents with grandsons, sometimes including a grown-up son or daughter. In the entire sample only a handful of parent households containing a married son/daughter with their children were found. Table 18 shows these trends for all localities under study. It shows the relative frequency of nuclear and extended family households. Those zones which attract people and have better living conditions in the study, such as the fruit growing areas and Pueblo Seco, show a higher rate of extended households. The opposite occurs in the forestry sector, where living conditions are the most precarious.

TABLE 18
NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS
(in percentages)

Type of Household	Rio Claro	P. Seco	Fruit	Forest
Nuclear	81.3	75.0	73.1	88.1
Extended	18.7	25.0	26.9	11.9
Percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total cases	48	24	67	109

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile, 1984. GIA-CERLAC..

In the forestry area, extended family households are only a small proportion of the whole sample, about one family out of ten. An important factor explaining this low rate of extended households is that most families originated from different places, and therefore, abandoned women or men cannot go to their parent's houses, or young single mothers cannot leave behind their children in order to go to find work in other cities. As a result, nuclear family households in the forest regions are often characterized by the union of two separated or abandoned persons, each one looking after their own offspring from previous unions. This also explains the low level of women as heads of households in the forestry areas (see Table 19).

This pattern seems to be the result, on the one hand, of the specific characteristics of the labour process in the forestry areas, and on the other hand, of the widely dispersed nature of working opportunities over a large territory, which keeps members of households separated for long periods of time. Thus, it often happens that a husband does not come back home, or when he comes back there is no wife waiting for him, and his children have been abandoned. It is also a common feature that women bear the illegitimate children of various men. In comparison with other areas under study, the forestry sector was where this pattern of dissolution of families was most clearly found.

Rio Claro is an area with a low proportion of extended family households, about two in ten, which seems to be related to the large number of pensioned women acting as heads of households. Social security enables old women to survive on their own, often including single sons and grandsons in the household. As grown up sons cannot

find women to marry, they remain in the family under the authority of their mothers. Such women, with an average age of 50 years (see Table 10), often chose not to marry again, preferring to live with their single sons.

The fruit growing areas have a fairly high level of employment opportunities, though of a highly seasonal nature. In this context, extended family households, which make up one in four, and family networks seem to offer a protection against the gaps of employment. Also, as these areas are attracting migrants, often from the same places, extended households and family networks can offer temporarily a way of adapting to new circumstances. An outstanding feature of the fruit area is the high sex ratio among single people: two single men for every single woman. This keeps grown up single men in their parents' household, who often help with the rearing of children from sisters who return pregnant from the cities. An additional feature in the fruit growing area is that the household size of five members (nuclear and extended households together) is near to the national average.

In Pueblo Seco one in four households was extended. This is helped by the possibility of engaging simultaneously in wage and sharecropping activities. The existence of extended households in certain cases is also facilitated by the common origin of a number of families that come from peasant areas, but maintain their plots there under sharecropping arrangements, which also permits certain forms of cooperation.

In general terms, as argued in previous chapters, extended family households may appear to offer solutions to immediate survival problems, but they are the kind of arrangement which is generally disliked and almost all forms of household extension are precarious and short-lived.

General Characteristics of Households.

I want now to pull together some points that have emerged from previous chapters: women as heads of families, the age of husbands and wives, household size, and sex ratios.

About one in ten households were headed by women, and the majority of them were also of an extended nature. In Rio Claro and the fruit area women heads of household were above reproductive age, and most of them lived with married sons or daughters. By contrast, in the forestry area, women heads of household were younger, revealing a pattern of family dissolution.

TABLE 19

WOMEN HEADS OF FAMILIES

Area	Number of Households	Percentage of Total	Age of Women
Forestry	10	10.9	47.5
Pueblo Seco(1)	--	--	--
Rio Claro	7	15.6	58.7
Fruit	8	11.9	52.3

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile 1982, GIA-CERLAC. (1) No woman head of family found.

Examining other characteristics of the households, such as the age average of husbands and wives (see Table 20), it was found that the youngest families were in the forestry area, followed by the fruit areas. This reveals a more intensive creation of new families in these regions with more marked wage labour patterns. In fact, it was observed in the chapter on forestry that these areas with closer links to agriculture and to the peasantry had older heads of household.

Concerning size of households, only in the fruit growing areas, were small households found with a size similar to the national average (see table 20). In all the other regions, the size of households was about a third larger than the national average, the largest households being those found in peasant zones with temporary work in the forestry sector.

Finally, unbalanced sex ratios are a striking feature of almost every area studied, with the exception of Pueblo Seco, where no significant differences were found in relation to the number of women and men (see Table 20). An interesting point which emerges, then, is the virtual absence of single marriageable young women. This is explained by the fact that women migrated to the cities at a greater rate than men, who seemed instead to be returning more often. This has great importance for household formation and composition. In the first place, young single women either leave behind children with their parents or send them back from the cities, thus creating various forms of household extension. On the other hand, young men often find it difficult to marry and as a result remain within their parent's household. Also lack of marriageable women increases sexual violence, which, in certain places studied, generated intensive social conflict

within the community. This was especially the case in the fruit areas, where there are more working opportunities for women, but at the same time where the sex ratio is the highest. It seems that single women go to work but return to marry, whilst single men remain in the area. On the other hand, sexual violence seems less important because the existence of a wider urban network allows people a more varied social life.

TABLE 20

CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Areas	Age Average		Hholds Size		Sex Ratios (singl)	
	Husband	Wife	Nuclear	Extend.	15>	<15
Forestry	39.8	34.7	5.6	7.4	144.7	94.1
Pueblo Seco	45.5	40.8	6.5	6.3	--	--
Rio Claro	43.7	43.7	5.3	6.2	178.3	96.1
Fruit	41.0	40.3	4.3	6.7	196.2	89.2

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Chile 1982. GIA-CERLAC.

The highly seasonal employment situation of fruit production is an important element in generating extended family households. This occurs until young couples can achieve a minimum labour security, after which the preferred system is to establish an informal set of inter-household cooperative exchanges. Considering the various patterns of household existing in the areas under study, it can be concluded that there is no single set of variables conditioning their characteristics, composition, and forms in relation to the wider economic and social environment. The crucial point appears to be the availability of labour in each household seen in relation to the wider existing opportunities for work and for securing cash income.

In the concluding chapter I aim to relate the fieldwork data to certain theoretical issues, analyzing the ways in which marginalized household behaviour results from certain specific patterns of capitalist development, and showing how, simultaneously, households develop a number of survival strategies to cope with expansion of capitalism, which in turn reproduces poverty.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION: HOUSEHOLDS AND CAPITALIST EXPANSION

In the preceding chapters I have examined four localities showing how variations in household organization are related to differential patterns of regional development. Many relationships were found between specific characteristics of the labour market in different situations of production and the way households organized in order to obtain income. It is evident that 'neo-liberal' policies in the last ten years have produced enormous changes in employment patterns. These policies have led to an increase in social marginality in the agrarian sector, generating slum settlements or shantytowns for agricultural workers on the urban fringes. In this respect, the argument developed throughout this thesis is that neo-liberal economic policies create new forms of marginality aimed at increasing capitalist profit. This is principally achieved through the lowering of wages by converting permanent jobs into temporary ones.

As a way of coping with progressive impoverishment rural

workers try, at the household level, to diversify their sources of income. These processes I have denoted 'survival strategies'. As I explained, State welfare forms a part of these strategies, thus contributing to capitalist development by redistributing resources from the society at large towards certain sectors of production where there is temporary employment. Welfare payments, therefore, provide for some households an important supplement to their wages from temporary work. Theoretically one might expect that, since survival strategies imply a certain degree of independent organization, this might lead to using this to develop a means of confronting or withdrawing from capitalist enterprise (Humphries, 1980), but in practice we found no evidence of this. Unlike a permanent proletariat, perhaps living in an occupational community such as a mine or plantation settlement, a temporary labour force that continuously faces the problems of survival due to poor and irregular income, is not likely to develop strong bonds of internal solidarity. Those forms of cooperation that exist are short-lived and instrumental, serving the interests of a set of independent households, rather than creating lasting ties of community or class.

Given the conditions of temporary employment in the rural shantytowns, individuals can hardly survive alone. In addition to receiving very low wages, most workers are employed for less than six months a year. In these circumstances family ties function as a major resource for access into a diversity of income sources. Although one might expect the extended family household to predominate, in most cases there is, instead, a preference for the nuclear family household, which often operates a network of cooperative ties with other similar households.

Finally, it is interesting to point out that, in addition to the variations between regions because of their different levels of economic development, variations were also found within particular regions, even between nearby localities. This lack of a common pattern within regions can be accounted for, perhaps, on the one hand, by the fact that they are experiencing the early stages of social change. On the other, the variations are rooted in the specific histories of the localities and the ways in which they fit into regional labour markets and economy. It is my intention in the discussion that follows to develop these points in an attempt to bring together empirical and theoretical issues.

1. MARGINALITY AND HOUSEHOLDS.

As I stated in the opening chapters, marginality is a key concept for understanding the social behaviour of poor people, as well as the significance of State development policy. But most importantly, it allows us to relate changes in styles of development to household units, and to understand the ways in which these two levels of social organization are integrated with one another. Earlier I distinguished between two forms of conceptualizing marginality and traced the implications for State policy. The first approach considers marginality as an anomalous side-effect of the industrializing process, that could be eliminated through specific State measures. When marginality is viewed and dealt with in this way, the resulting elimination of marginality is evaluated as positive for the society as a whole, since the end of marginality generates development itself, widening the internal market which, in turn, provides an impetus for industrial development. This analytical perspective, it seems,

underlies the industrializing style of development, since this definition of marginality led the Chilean State to formulate policies directed towards its elimination, by aiming to promote full-employment, social security and unionization of the labour force, especially in the rural sector. These processes were particularly important in the later stages of the industrializing style of development, under the Christian Democrat and Popular Unity governments.

These policies were also based upon an ideal-typical model of the male-headed family-household with the wife as a "dependent" partner, thus reinforcing the pattern of nuclear family organization with the permanent employment of adult males. The husbands' wages, family allowances, and, eventually, retirement pension would, it was assumed be sufficient to the household's needs. Various types of allowances for non-working wives and young children were provided for, as well as payments for widows and older children up to the age of 18 years, or until they finished their high school or university studies. These policies also encouraged legal marriages which reinforced the nuclear family household unit. In fact, survival for the active labour force was not a problem, and their dependents were protected by the overall social security system. On the other hand, as Pinto (1977) has pointed out, an opposite trend could be observed among minifundia peasants. In a study of a municipality characterized by the predominance of peasant households he found a decrease in legal marriages, because, unlike wage workers, peasant households were largely excluded from the benefits of social security provision.

At present, with a changed style of development, the type and

character of marginality have changed, and this has, in turn, influenced household patterns. State policy on labour, which has been crucial in the extension of this new situation of marginality, has had a two-fold effect. First, it has provided enterprises with the means by which to eliminate permanent labour contracts, thus relying more and more on temporary labour. Second, with the reorganization of the social security system for individual retirement savings, family-household members no longer rely solely on the wages of the head of family, nor on social security payments available to wage workers, but on State welfare benefits as well. Unlike the former system, the State now gives allowances which are paid for through taxation, and these allowances are no longer solely part of the rights of the wage labourer.

As a result of the growth of temporary employment it is no longer possible for the head of household to be the sole earner and maintain the household. Also, there is less incentive for couples to become legally married. In the past, legal marriage was necessary if a woman wanted access to family allowance and a widow's pension, but these are now offered independently of the labour condition of the legal husband. Another consequence is that children and elderly household members now play a bigger role as income gatherers since State allowances, which in the past were marginal to household income, are presently crucial to survival.

One of the results, then, of the 'neo-liberal' style of development is the creation of family households which depend on a variety of activities and sources of income. Such survival strategies may entail living together in larger household groups, or the creation

of new forms of kin networks. In certain areas the development of household networks, similar to those described by Lowmitz (1977) in Mexico's shantytowns, can be observed. But, in others, such networks are not clear, and it is the individual nuclear family-household which looks for a solution by putting more members into the labour market.

Among the various localities studied certain differences in family households can be observed, but they are not substantially different, since they all share a common structural environment. The differences observed concern various degrees of extension and cooperation based on family links, as well as forms of fragmentation, which appear in all localities, but with certain dominant trends in each. Fruit and forestry areas, it seems, represent extreme patterns, the first characterized by the development of family networks aimed at solving the problems of highly seasonal employment, the second characterized by fragmentation of the household as a result of uncertainty and the need to search for jobs in a extensive area, which forces men to be far from home most of the time. In both cases, but for different reasons, women participate in the creation of the household income, in the first case participating in the fruit production, and in the second, in marginal urban employment.

Paso Ancho and Pueblo Soco present a situation where no clear patterns of extension or dissolution can be observed. Individual households rely more on their own resources, which in Paso Ancho are mainly those from the welfare State, and in Pueblo Soco, various forms of sharecropping arrangements.

Summing up one can say that in the fruit area there is a great

expectation of achieving a better life on the basis of fruiticulture, whereas in the forestry zone despair and uncertainty seem to be the predominant sentiments, which is very similar to the situation of Paso Ancho. In Pueblo Seco it was found that the perspective of creating a new life in this town was counterbalanced by a strong awareness of the lack of sufficient employment.

It seems that in these cases possessing more resources (e.g. the fruit growing region and Pueblo Seco) there was a more positive perspective on life, and consequently, cooperation was easier to develop among independent kin-related households. On the other hand, in these more precarious and marginal settlements, such as Paso Ancho and Quirihue, forms of cooperation were much less evident. This suggests, as Roberts argues (1973), that extreme forms of poverty create a more individualistic perspective on life, characterized by lack of willingness to cooperate.

The lack of a clear and definite bias towards either nuclear family households with the male head-of-family working, or the extended family-household, requires that we distinguish between various intermediate forms, which are found in all localities, although some forms predominate more in certain localities.

- The 'traditional' nuclear family household.

The nuclear family household is considered the ideal for Chile, which people still try to follow in spite of the possible economic advantages of extended family households. This grouping is based on the Western nuclear pattern. But, since the economics of social

reproduction hardly make it possible for this type of household, there are tendencies towards other forms. One such tendency is the extension of ties beyond the basic nucleus which results in several different organizational forms.

- Forms of Extension Based on Unmarried sons.

As already mentioned, one way of dealing with survival problems is to try and keep unmarried sons in the household as a way of increasing the numbers of workers. In many places the existence of such unmarried sons is also related to the lack of marriageable women, but it also happens that elder sons may not marry in order to help younger brothers and sisters with schooling. This does not mean the creation of an extended family household, just the enlargement of the nuclear household. Another way of dealing with this is to accept boarders, possibly other relatives, who bring in a fixed income. In this form of extension, it is the women who create the basis for sons to stay in the households.

- Extended Family Households.

A number of households was encountered that exhibits an extended family form, although it is evident that, in most cases, these forms are more circumstantial than ideal. It is interesting to point out that households, which have allowed other kin members to live with them also intended to get rid of this situation as soon as possible. This independence is considered necessary to keep the peace and to avoid conflicts between close relatives; in fact, to keep the family united. However, there is an other form of three generational

household, exemplified by Don Enrique's household, which includes grandchildren, commonly from single or deserted daughters, who afterwards go to work (or to leave to create a new household) in a different locality. The peculiarity of this form of extension is the lack of an intermediate generation. A particular aspect of extended families is that they seem to be more important in those areas where wage labour is more seasonal. In this case the presence of the father is the main factor keeping married sons in the household.

- Family Networks.

The desire and need to preserve family ties without quarrels is the basis upon which the most spontaneous form of cooperation in a marginal setting takes place -that of the inter-household network-, made up of relationships including a number of kin-related households for purposes of mutual aid, but where each nuclear family-household maintains its own separate residence. Networks are commonly established in the neighbourhood between a mother and her children so they can help each other. Such inter-household network of cooperation is more likely to be found in those places where there is a higher degree of dependence on wages, and where households are smaller in size, such in the fruit growing areas. These family networks are, however, of two kinds. On the one hand, there are households that establish forms of cooperation with a certain degree of permanence, and, on the other hand, a trend towards participation in family networks on a short-time basis established in times of extreme hardship.

- Instability and Dissolution of Households.

Another effect of present economic conditions on household organization is its general instability. Household units which lack husband or wife are very usual, and there is a trend toward this pattern, particularly in certain regions such as forestry, where households are more unstable than in other areas. Dissolution of households and the circulation of individuals between households are common events. This tendency, however, does not mean that a large percentage of female-headed households are found, as described for the Caribbean (Jayawardena, 1983). In Chile, the reverse is true. There are two reasons for this. Women who stay alone have very hard lives, not only in economic terms, but also because of the sexual harassment to which they are subjected. This is a situation that -as women put it- "only a man in the house can prevent". The second reason is that participation in a household is the only way for men to survive in these circumstances, and for that reason men try very hard to find a partner to create a household. Thus households made up of just one man or woman as head are extremely unusual. This occurs only where an old woman acts as head of household, with grown-up children being the important component of the household.

The breakdown of nuclear family households due to unemployment is often permanent. The inability of some men to fulfil their culturally determined role of providing food and shelter for their family leads them to abandon their responsibilities. Dissolution of households because of desertion by the man or woman who abandon their children, who leave to seek a job elsewhere, is largely a result of their inability to bear the tremendous pressures exerted on them by

the unemployment situation. Also, there is a considerable number of single women, or women deserted by their husbands, who leave children with their elderly parents. These, and other factors, result in a very high rate of household dissolution, which accounts for about a quarter of all interviewed families in the agricultural areas, with a higher rate in the forestry zones, where the figures for dissolution are about half of households. The pattern of dissolution-reconstruction of households, with certain regional differences, therefore, can be considered one of the main characteristics of populations living in such highly marginalized environments.

The Position of Women in the Household.

Women play a major role in household cooperation and survival strategies, both increasing income through wage labour, and through diversification of activities at the household level. The pattern of inter-household cooperation is largely the creation of women. While men are more concerned with exchanges of information and assistance in order to find work, women develop relationships concerned with the immediate problems of survival, of obtaining food to cope with everyday feeding problems. Thus, while men are supposed to provide the basic income for current expenses, women must deal with how to make the best of it, and, if it is not enough, they must find ways of obtaining supplementary income or aid. In most cases, then, it is the woman who spin the web of interhousehold cooperation.

This creates a household division of labour, which is also seen in the management of internal economic affairs. When women go into the labour market, as in the fruit growing areas, their incomes are

maintained in a separate sphere. Men continue to provide the basic income for year-round expenses, while female earnings are considered part of extra income. This compares with a study carried out by Whitehead (1991) on West African and British households. She says that in both countries, when the woman enters the labour market or provides income to a common fund, it is the man who continues to be the 'breadwinner', while her wages are spent on extras and luxury items. Fieldwork data collected in the Chilean rural shantytowns suggest a similar pattern, although given the low household income, the line dividing the incomes of man and woman is less sharp. It is the woman who exerts a major degree of control over the household income. Men may set aside a certain amount of their earnings for themselves, but the major part of the income considered essential to the reproduction of the household is managed by the woman.

2. SURVIVAL STRATEGIES AND CAPITALIST EXPANSION.

Household survival strategies are a response to the extreme poverty created by unemployment and marginality. But, also, and this raises two important questions, one might ask, could they possibly become a source of independence against capitalist exploitation?. Or, on the other hand, do survival strategies help to lower the price of labour, and in this way make a substantial contribution to capitalist expansion?. Let us begin by examining the first point.

Whether the possibility exists for creating a positive way of dealing with labour exploitation, is difficult to answer. First of all, for those households who rely more on wages, their possibility of using survival strategies in this way is minimal. Only among those who

create a certain diversification through home gardening, sharecropping and State subsidies, could one expect the development of some degree of independence or resistance to capitalism. However, such a response, or resistance to capitalism, was seldom found. Only in one case was a clear use of survival strategies for opposing the lowering of wages and for improving labour conditions identified. This was the case of Don Alberto, in Paso Ancho, who, apart from just looking to immediate economic survival, could see that some degree of self-reliance provided by these strategies would give workers the strength to confront and attempt to change the present conditions of unemployment and poverty. The reasons for this lack of resistance result from the social problems we find in the shantytowns and in the labour market. The various kinds of intense conflict, and the necessity of providing daily income for the household, tend to isolate households, which, in turn, acts as an obstacle to cooperative action. This is brought out in the case of Paso Ancho where a programme of technical assistance involving some 50 households, but which did not lead to much cooperation among them. In another words, it is difficult to bring together political consciousness and practical action based on survival strategies, which, in the last analysis, develop a programme aimed at eliminating the conditions which make survival strategies necessary.

The reasons for the absence of such behaviour are simple. On the one hand, there is the continual problem of seeking the daily means of survival, which generates a short-time view on problems and action, as well as a great deal of frustration concerning the impossibility of carrying out any form of action apart from those which deal with immediate livelihood problems. On the other hand, the

scarcity or non-existence of land available for home gardening, and the lack of irrigation, does not permit a large number of households to base their strategies on small-scale agriculture or gardening.

The poor therefore are not able to use survival strategies to confront the present system. On the contrary, it is the capitalist enterprise which takes advantage of the survival strategies of the poor. The advantages to capital are of various types, among them, that capital does not have to incur the complete reproduction costs of the labour force, that is to say, capital is not responsible for the complete subsistence needs of the family. This a significant saving since at present the cost of a permanent worker is three times that of a temporary worker. The diversation of income sources created through survival strategies therefore, plays a role in complementing wages. Temporary employment, it seems, is not a problem specific to Chile, but a more general phenomenon found in various countries. One interesting feature is that in many Third World countries there exist similarities regarding changes in the employment and residence of the work force, characterized by a migratory process that pushes agricultural labourers into semi-urban areas. The temporary pattern of employment, and the social phenomena associated with it, namely poverty and marginality characterize present capitalist expansion in Latin America (Rivera and Cruz, 1984). The 'neoliberal' style of development in Chile makes their appearance more evident, and more easily associated with the whole economic system. But, in fact, the employment features described for Chile, and also found in certain areas of Brazil and Mexico, show a pattern of development of labour relations which seems related to a specific stage of economic development, argued by Miro and Rodriguez (1982).

The employment patterns found in Brazil (Saint, 1981; Da Silva, 1981), as well as the employment and household process described for Mexico (Astorga, 1981; Verdusco, 1982), are not found uniformly in these countries. Regional differences are very important. These diversified forms of capitalist development permit one to develop a typology of agricultural labour processes, which in my opinion, are reducible to three basic types. A central characteristic of this typology is its regional production basis, taking into account the dynamic of the dominant crops.

Landless temporary employment.

The first type is the situation presented in those regions or situations of production, where peasants are not significant for the process of production, such as in the fruit and forestry areas in Chile, the irrigated districts of Northern Mexico, and Sao Paulo in Brazil. In these areas, landless workers predominate and are in the process of becoming incorporated into a factory-like labour pattern.

Landless and Peasants: a combined pattern.

The second type corresponds to regions where both peasant and capitalist enterprises are involved in market oriented production, hiring temporary seasonal workers, among others in crops such as beans, onions, garlic, rice and sugar beet in the mixed crops areas of Chile, and coffee and tea in various parts of Latin America. Many of these peasant produced crops may also be exported. In these areas, both landless workers and seasonal peasant migrants are hired as wage labourers. In this and the previous type of situation, huge

demographic change can be observed, leading to the concentration of most wage workers in rural shantytowns.

Poor peasants and temporary labour.

The third type of temporary employment that can be identified is characterized by the pauperization of peasants and their involvement in seasonal wage employment, which is very important in many areas of central Chile, but which also makes up the greater part of the temporary labour force in other Andean countries and in the Mexican plateau. These areas are characterized by an overwhelming number of poor peasants, who combine wages and self-subsistence agriculture in order to create a minimum household income. Also, in certain areas a process of seasonal migration develops which involves peasants working in areas away from their homes. In such cases, the peasant villages, or the smallholdings separately, act as reservoirs of labour and, for that reason, rural shantytowns are not important. The central point is that, although within these regions many landless peasants can be found, who either engage in wage labour for local peasants or make seasonal migration trips, they continue to live within a peasant social environment. Hence they do not present the characteristics of a rural population undergoing proletarianization as noted for the two previous situations.

Regional differentiation, as well the employment dynamics and characteristics of particular types of crop, are factors which shape employment patterns. Thus, in certain regions the whole family can participate in wage labour, while in other regions, only men can (e.g. forestry areas), since the labour needs of crops differ markedly. Also

sometimes women are preferred as labourers, as we found in the fruit producing areas, which makes poor peasants more inclined to leave the countryside and move to the shantytowns, where their earnings are likely to be better.

3. LIVING IN A MARGINAL SETTING.

For most inhabitants of rural shantytowns there is seldom any previous experience of living with so many families clustered together in a very small space. This has meant a cultural shock, which, together with the loss of employment, has created a situation for which most people are not prepared. Then, in addition, difficulties and quarrels among neighbours are a common pattern. Only in a couple of places did we find well organized communities, with visible functioning local organizations, such as Neighbourhood Committees. Even in those places where big efforts had been made to organize the population so as to improve their community life or their own standards of living, such as the home gardening programme in Paso Ancho, few people have actually shown willingness to participate.

These differences arise primarily because of the different characteristics of the various places under study. Considering the sample as a whole there were differences among the various shantytowns, due to their particular histories, their position in the employment structure, and their relationships to larger urban centres.

The main features of marginality are the temporary labour process and what I have called the development of survival strategies, and a major change in the wider system through such strategies seems

unlikely. The results of the research show that these shantytowns in which such labour lives, are now an established type of settlement, which may be improved in terms of facilities, but which are hardly likely to disappear in the foreseeable future with a return to the former employment and farm residence pattern. The development of shantytowns have resulted from major changes in agrarian structure, speeded up by the 'neo-liberal' capitalist style of development, whose beginning can be traced back to the earlier land reform period.

People living in rural shantytowns constitute a new sector of Chilean society, which hardly existed before 1973. This research is the first overall study of this sector. It aimed to provide a general perspective on the main characteristics of rural shantytowns, dealing with population change, employment, household and living conditions. This research has opened up a whole series of new fields of enquiry which have only been mentioned briefly here, such as questions of internal household organization, village cooperation, ideology and political consciousness, as well as a wide range of more general problems dealing with the differential consequences of capitalist expansion in Third World agricultural situations.

NOTES

- (1) Harry P. Diaz, sociologist, Associated Research at CINA, currently director of Chile Research Project, Center of Research on Latin American and the Caribbean, University of York, Toronto, Canada.
- (2) The following persons participated in the study as research assistants: Monica Mateluna, economist; Raul Molina, geographer; and Monica Pena, sociologist.
- (3) See "Y los campos eran Nuestros" (2 vols), published and distributed free by the weekly magazine "HOY", Santiago de Chile, October of 1984.
- (4) Revista de la CEPAL (Comision Economica para America latina), a United Nation Agency for development studies and planning in Latin American countries.
- (5) This name was given to this stage of Chilean development because of its emphasis on industrialization (see Chapter II). Other names for this model are "the import-substitution import model" and "development towards the inside" (desarrollo hacia adentro).
- (6) The figure of 260 working days per year was chosen because it is the minimum number of days to qualified as fully employed. This figure was established by PREALC (Programa del Empleo para America latina y el Caribe), a regional agency of the International Labour Office.
- (7) H.R.B. Hectareas de Riego Basico (Basic Irrigation Hectares), a standard measure for comparing lands of different productive potential. Thus, dry hillside arable land is equivalent to four or six hectares for each HRB, whereas forestry land which has no arable or pastoral potential can be as high as 20 hectares per HRB. This system was designed for land reform and taxation, thus each farm is measured by a standard size in HRB.
- (8) The reaserch project 'Peasantry and Capitalism' in Chile developed the idea of situations of production as way of analyzing agricultural regional development. It emerged out of an examination of census data, which made it to order the different municipalities according to their production characteristics, and then to categorized as zones on a map. Their distribution showed certain regional and multiregional patterns which later were called 'situations of production'.

(9) Angelita's complete story can be found, in Spanish, in the book "Y los Campos eran Nuestros" (see note 8).

(10) CRATE, Centro Regional de Ayuda Tecnica, an institution of the Catholic Church in the city of Talca.

(11) The Banco de Chile or B.H.C. group was the largest economic group developed between 1870 and 1900. This group, throughout its many banks and financial institutions, managed about half the private external debt of Chile, (some 10 thousand millions of dollars), which was used to buy a vast number of different enterprises. It failed in 1900 and was dismantled by the government.

(12) The study of the forestry area carried out by H.P.Diaz collected slightly different information on wages and incomes. For this reason our results are not entirely comparable. Diaz concentrated on information relating to wage-income, which does not include other informal income and welfare payments.

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