

M. A. H.

Women of the Andes





The Women and Culture Series is dedicated to books that illuminate the lives, roles, achievements, and status of women, past or present.

Fran Leeper Buss

La Partera: Story of a Midwife

Valerie Kossew Pichanick

Harriet Martineau: The Woman and Her Work, 1802-76

Sandra Baxter and Marjorie Lansing

Women and Politics: The Invisible Majority

Estelle B. Freedman

Their Sisters' Keepers: Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830-1930

Susan C. Bourque and Kay Barbara Warren

Women of the Andes: Patriarchy and Social Change in Two Peruvian Towns

SUSAN C. BOURQUE and KAY BARBARA WARREN are first place Hamilton Prize winners for 1979. The Alice and Edith Hamilton Prize is named for two outstanding women scholars: Alice Hamilton (educated at the University of Michigan Medical School), a pioneer in environmental medicine; and her sister Edith Hamilton, the renowned classicist. The Hamilton Prize competition is supported by the University of Michigan Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies and by private donors.

22-2
197
Carr
College of

Women of the Andes

*Patriarchy and Social Change
in Two Peruvian Towns*

Susan C. Bourque
and
Kay Barbara Warren

Ann Arbor
The University of Michigan Press

Copyright © by The University of Michigan 1981
All rights reserved
Published in the United States of America by
The University of Michigan Press and simultaneously
in Rexdale, Canada, by John Wiley & Sons Canada, Limited
Manufactured in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Bourque, Susan Carolyn, 1943-
Women of the Andes.

(The Women and culture series)

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Women—Peru—Case studies. 2. Women—Peru—
Chucchín. 3. Women—Peru—Mayobamba. 4. Chucchín
(Peru)—Social conditions. 5. Mayobamba (Peru)—
Social conditions. I. Warren, Kay B., 1947-
II. Title. III. Series: Women and culture series.

HQ1572.B68 1981 305.4'2'0985 81-811

ISBN 0-472-09330-4 AACR2

ISBN 0-472-06330-8 (pbk.)

To our parents

HELEN J. AND JOSEPH E. BOURQUE

ELVA R. AND BRUCE G. WARREN

and for

JUNE NASH

JILL CONWAY

PEGGY HENNESSEY, M.M.

ÁIDA RAMIREZ BUSTAMANTE

Acknowledgments

This is a book we wanted to write. The people to whom it is dedicated—our parents, June Nash, Jill Conway, Peggy Hennessey, and Aída Ramirez Bustamante—have been our special sources of inspiration throughout the various stages of the project. Each, in her or his own particular way, has a commitment to cross-cultural understanding that has deeply influenced our lives and work.

Financial support for the research has been provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and faculty grants from Smith College and Mount Holyoke College. We are especially grateful to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for its commitment to interdisciplinary, collaborative research.

One of the pleasures in undertaking this project has been the interaction with the lively and challenging intellectual circles in which we have worked. We have a special appreciation for the Peruvianists and Latin Americanists who have shared their insights with us during the period of our field work in Peru. The people of Chiuchin and Mayobamba have been central contributors; they have our special thanks for helping us to understand the meanings behind the actions we attempted to decipher. In addition, we would like to acknowledge the support and assistance of: Mario Vázquez, Julio Cotler, Enrique Mayer, Blanca Figueroa, Ximena Bunster, Elsa Chaney, Richard N. Adams, Scott Palmer, William Lofstrom, Wendy Stickel, Janet Ballantyne, Richard Laszewski, the Maryknoll sisters and fathers, and Padre Marzal.

Also among the Peruvians we would especially like to thank friends who have shared their homes and friendship with us: Julio and Elsa Uribe, Odilia, Silvio and Edmunda Huertas, Andrés Cueva, Hortencia, Jorge and Tati Castro, and Julia Polastri.

A number of people read all or parts of the manuscript, asking critical questions, offering helpful comments, and sharing the com-

plexities of interdisciplinary, cross-cultural analysis. Our thanks to Carmen Diana Deere, Cynthia Enloe, Penny Gill, Dorothy Green, Billie Jean Isbell, Louise Lamphere, and Catharine Stimpson. At the University of Michigan we found special support for the project from Elizabeth Douvan, Louise Tilley, Dorothy McGuigan, Sherry Ortner, and Robin Jacoby.

Part of the initial research was carried out during a summer at the Cornell University Center for International Studies and a spring at the University of Texas (Austin) Institute of Latin American Studies. Our thanks to Tom E. Davis and our colleagues Douglas Ashford, Tom Kirsch, and Eldon Kenworthy at Cornell. Also in Ithaca we were grateful for the friendship of Laura Holmberg, Rosalind Kenworthy, and Elizabeth Yanof. At the University of Texas our thanks to William Glade and our colleagues Ann Graham, Ann and Henry Dietz, Jay and Suzanne Lehnertz, B. J. Fernea, and Richard Graham for making the stay so pleasant. Alida Metcalf was a most willing research assistant at several critical points and was especially helpful in the first rounds of the bibliographic research and editing in Texas and Northampton.

We count ourselves fortunate to live in the rich intellectual climate of the Five College consortium in western Massachusetts. Friends and colleagues at the other institutions whose support has been especially important to this research are: Susanna Barrows, John Cole, Len Glick, Ralph Falkingham, Sylvia Forman, and Howard Wiarda. The government department at Smith College has been a source of intelligent and willing colleagues who value and support interdisciplinary work. Teaching with Donna Divine helped test and develop some of our ideas, as well as maintain our sense of humor through the comfort of abiding friendship.

A most enriching circle of colleagues and friends has developed in our association with the Research Project on Women and Social Change, an interdisciplinary group of scholars located at Smith College and funded through a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. This group has worked together over the past three years to better understand the process of change as it is manifest in the lives of women in a variety of cultural and historical settings. Exchange and interaction in this group has been a remarkable and exciting experience. Our special appreciation to: Martha Ackelsberg, Mark Aldrich, Donna and Thomas Divine, Evan Daniels, Sue Freeman, Philip

Green, Kathy P. Parsons, Thomas Pettigrew, Marilyn Schuster, Carolyn Sherif, Miriam Slater, Diedrick Snoek, Susan Van Dyne, and Iëda Wiarda. Joan Scott has been an important source of encouragement and insight for our endeavors.

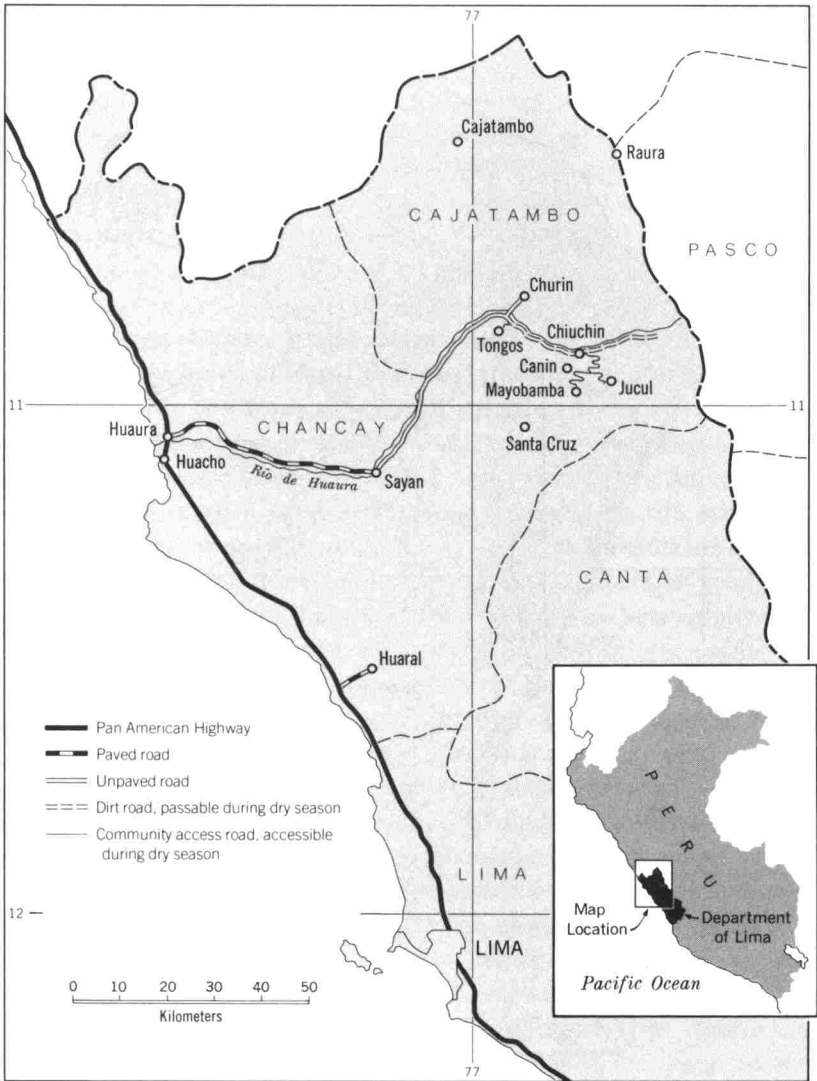
Other friends who helped in many ways include: all the Bourque family, John Bollard, Barbara Frankel, Norman Kurtin, Lisa Leghorn, Margaret Lloyd, the late Jeanne McFarland, and Wendy Warren.

At the University of Michigan Press, Carol Mitchell has been a superb editor and a moving force behind the *Women and Culture* series. Our thanks also to Sally Donahue, Pat Kuc, Marty Ockenfels, and Susan McIntosh who all helped in the typing of numerous drafts. Mary Jo Powell, Jennifer Jackman, and Mary Moran provided vital editorial assistance and Stephen Petegorsky valuable photographic advice, in addition to making our prints.

Finally, our collaboration over the years—in the fieldwork, analysis, and writing of this book—has been a source of joy for both of us.

Contents

	<i>Introduction</i>	1
I	<i>Mother's Day: Ritual Ironies and Realities</i>	10
II	<i>Analyzing Women's Subordination: Issues, Distortions, and Definitions</i>	41
III	<i>Analyzing Women's Subordination: Alternative Frameworks</i>	57
IV	<i>Childbirth, Marriage, and Family Politics</i>	87
V	<i>The Sexual Division of the Economy</i>	114
VI	<i>Women's Positions in the Agrarian Class System</i>	135
VII	<i>Consciousness and Participation in a Patriarchal Power Structure</i>	150
VIII	<i>Women, Social Change, and National Development</i>	179
IX	<i>The Dynamics of Sexual Subordination</i>	211
	<i>Bibliography</i>	219
	<i>Index</i>	237
	<i>Illustrations</i>	<i>following page</i> 146



DEPARTMENT OF LIMA

PORTION MENTIONED IN THE TEXT



RELIEF MAP OF PERU

SHOWING CITIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Introduction

During the past decade, cross-cultural studies of women's lives have sparked reevaluations of data, methods, findings, and theory in the social sciences. In this study of sexual hierarchies and social change in Peru we contribute new perspectives on and interpretations of women's social realities. On the one hand, we present an ethnographic account of the texture of Andean women's lives; on the other, we clarify the range of analytic models and theories formulated during the last ten years to conceptualize women's experience. Our examination of women's lives emphasizes the connections between theory building and ethnographic detail as we move beyond the politics of interpersonal relations to assess the impact of the broader social, political, and economic systems that structure and constrain everyday life.

The fieldwork for this study was carried out in a rugged area of the Andes, relatively isolated from national society until the twentieth century. The towns of Mayobamba and Chiuchin, located in the districts of Checras and Santa Leonor, lie on the western slopes of the Andes in the hinterlands between the departments of Lima and Cerro de Pasco. The settlements are small. Chiuchin is a trade center, located at 2,400 meters, of about 250 residents; Mayobamba, located above Chiuchin at 3,400 meters, is an agricultural community of about 450 residents. A precipitous road, carved into the mountainsides along the river basin in the 1940s, connects Chiuchin to the coast. Local residents completed a twisting, vertical extension of the road between Chiuchin and Mayobamba in 1968. This is a bilingual, Quechua-Spanish region where, according to the 1972 census, 62 percent of the population was literate in Spanish. Neither community has electricity or sewage, and potable water, while available since the 1960s in public faucets, is rarely found in people's homes.

Chiuchin expanded when agriculturalists from the higher towns

moved to the settlement to exploit the distributive possibilities of the road. The road was the first link capable of carrying motorized vehicles between this region of the *sierra* (the rural highlands) and the coast. Chiuchin's entrepreneurs own and operate general stores, supplying dry goods, beer, coca leaves, alcohol, tin goods, shoes, and necessities brought in by truck and bus from the coastal towns some six hours away. The most enterprising townspeople have also converted their second floor or spare rooms into boardinghouse hotels to accommodate the students, from the neighboring peasant communities who study in Chiuchin, and the steady trickle of Peruvian tourists who come to use the hot spring baths located on the property of a *hacienda* (a large estate) that adjoins the town.

Chiuchin is composed of people actively interested in pursuing the opportunities that the extension of coastal contact offers. Despite its small size, it has the air of an important trade center, an interesting place to be where there is much action, especially in contrast to the highland towns. After spending even a week in one of the surrounding agricultural communities, one experiences in Chiuchin a heightened sense of activity: so much is available, there are strangers present, and the bus and trucks arrive every day. The town conveys this sense of activity without the benefit of a paved street, electricity, running water, or central plumbing.

Chiuchin is also the seat of several extensions of the central government's bureaucracy despite the fact that it is not the district capital—that honor is reserved for one of the highland agricultural communities. The national police force (*guardia civil*) and the agricultural extension agent have their local headquarters in the town. The secondary school operates there as well. In short, it is a town with extensive ties to both coastal urban society and to the rural Andean agricultural communities which surround it.

Mayobamba, in contrast, is a much more traditional agricultural community. Registered officially as an Indigenous Community (now termed a Campesino Community) on December 18, 1935, the total extension of the community is approximately 4,000 hectares which are located at altitudes ranging from 3,000 to 4,600 meters. About 1,000 hectares are under cultivation.¹ The system of land tenure involves both communal and private holdings. All nonirrigated pasture land south and west of the town has been retained in communal ownership and the town cultivates 4 hectares of alfalfa for the com-

munity's dairy herd. Also, communal lands for dry farming potatoes, the staple crop, are made available to all *comuneros*, or officially inscribed heads of household. *Comuneros* are assigned two fields in each of eight annually rotated areas. The community as an entity plants two large, central fields of potatoes each year as well. Despite the continuing importance of communally controlled land, private property has increased in economic importance and virtually all irrigated, high quality land is now in private hands. Water flow to the irrigated fields, however, is regulated by the community.²

In Mayobamba wealth is determined by the extent of irrigated land a family owns, which in turn determines the amount of cattle that can be raised. Both men and women inherit land, although there is a preference for males to inherit more extensive lots.³

Quechua and Spanish are spoken in Mayobamba; only a few monolingual Quechua speakers are found among the older women. Men are almost twice as likely as women to have had some education and more likely to have completed five years of school. Whereas 60 percent of the men have had five years of schooling, only 45 percent of the women have comparable school achievement.⁴

In both Mayobamba and Chiuchin reciprocal work exchanges as well as wage labor are used for agricultural work. Fictive kin relationships are constructed at important rites of passage and become the basis for labor exchanges for both men and women.⁵ Barter with other highland communities, using overland trade routes and llama packs, is still practiced, though coastal trade is much more important.

Given these ethnographic characteristics, where can we locate Mayobamba and Chiuchin in comparison to other Andean communities? How representative of Peruvian rural settlements are these towns? Social scientists note correctly the variation to be found throughout the Andes. It is probably misleading to talk in terms of "typical towns" as if one could identify an average settlement in the historical, geographic, economic, and cultural complexity of the Andes. From our point of view, Chiuchin and Mayobamba illustrate the processes of change which, though uniquely manifested in each Peruvian town, share a generalized directionality with other rural communities. Chiuchin and Mayobamba are interesting precisely because they combine some traces of the past—labor exchanges, communal lands, subsistence agriculture—with the forces that will shape rural futures—growing class stratification, migration, and involve-

ment in the coastal cash economy. The towns have mixed precapitalist and capitalist economies. While Quechua is still spoken by many, Spanish is increasingly the language of everyday discourse. The inhabitants of these towns see themselves as *serranos* (people of the highlands), not as ethnic Indians, and many are very closely tied to urban national society through kin who have migrated to coastal cities in search of work and higher education. The towns themselves are small and isolated enough to maintain some independence in their everyday affairs, and yet they are involved in the national economy and political system.⁶

This region of rural Andean society is heavily marked by sexual hierarchy, whether we are talking about small agrarian communities with strong collective traditions or commercial towns serving as supply links to the national economy. Sexual hierarchy is exemplified by women's differential access to important resources, such as land and irrigation water, the lower rates of literacy and acquisition of schooling, and their limited roles in local political structures.

We wanted to understand how *individual* women and men perceive and evaluate sexual divisions of work, community politics, and the currents of social change that are propelling rural people into expanding participation in coastal, urban, industrial society. At the same time, we wanted to examine the structures of power in the political and economic institutions that transcend individual lifetimes yet shape the experiences and life chances of each individual.

Our study attempts to show how women's subordination is institutionally structured, yet negotiated, disputed, and changed through the conscious actions of women and men. Our approach seeks the links between social ideologies, sexual divisions of labor, and differential access to central institutions. We explore how these linkages perpetuate sexual hierarchy for women and men in the Andes. The following central questions have focused our work:

1. How do women and men perceive sexual subordination? Do women act on their consciousness of sexual hierarchy? Do women's perceptions contribute to their oppression? Do women formulate strategies for change based on their understandings of subordination?
2. Is there greater equality between the sexes when sexual divisions of work are minimized?

3. Are class and ethnicity more important than sex in shaping women's and men's life experiences?

4. With growing urbanization, the expansion of commerce, schools, national legal systems—in short, with the forces of development and modernization—what has happened to women's status?

A word needs to be said also about the diversity of the experience of Andean women. One of our goals in this study is to provide the reader with an appreciation of the variety and range of experience to be found in the lives of the women in Mayobamba and Chiuchin, and by extension to suggest the variation to be appreciated in the experience of Andean women in general. Again, what we see as most interesting about the women of these communities is what they suggest about the patterns of change and the forces behind them which would apply broadly throughout the region.

We have known the women of Chiuchin and Mayobamba for the past fifteen years. Their lives and experience are of interest to us because we have shared their homes, hospitality, and friendship. Moreover, their lives pose intriguing intellectual problems which bear on the issues facing women in more industrialized communities as they seek to unravel the puzzle of sexual hierarchy. The experience of Andean women with social change may help us solve the central riddle of our own experience with modernization and industrialization: which kinds of changes enhance women's status and opportunities, and which restrict women's options? The women in our study experience change in their involvement in the cash economy, their integration in and dependence on urbanized coastal society, the penetration of national political institutions, and expanded educational and migration opportunities. Consequently, an examination of their lives reveals the impact of these changes, the links between these processes, and how such changes affect the relationships between men and women. This study explicitly addresses how social change can lead to greater parity between men and women and how change can also reinforce the preexisting subordinate status of women.

While we began field work in this area of Peru in 1965, we have specifically focused on women since 1974. Over the course of four years we spent a total of twelve months in the two communities. With participant observer techniques, we shared the daily rounds of

women: their sewing circles, trading expeditions, preparations for fiestas, community rituals, births, deaths, and daily agricultural and commercial tasks.

We chose an open-ended methodology throughout our study which gave us access to people's values and perceptions. We did not seek responses to predetermined attitude scales. We wanted the women and men of Chiuchin and Mayobamba to define for us the appropriate categories of experience. In practice this meant that we depended on long, relatively unstructured conversations which took place around the cooking hearths, on walks to the fields, or around dinner tables. In addition, we joined public events from soccer matches to public fiestas. Our fieldwork journals incorporated our observations, our transcriptions of interviews and conversations, as well as our first attempts to explore the patterns of our findings. In this book we present a detailed and theoretical analysis of these patterns. In the course of our fieldwork we talked to the vast majority of people in Mayobamba and Chiuchin. We selected representative quotes from those interviews to illustrate and document analytic points throughout the text.

Contact with these settlements over the past fifteen years gave us a chance to observe long-term developments in both families and communities. We knew the towns and their political structures before the military came to power in 1968. Thus, we have had the opportunity to watch the course of the self-proclaimed Peruvian Revolution and to trace its impact on the rural population: the hopes and fears it aroused, as well as the limits and failures in the implementation of its policies. We have watched the communities formulate, test, and reformulate strategies to garner benefits from national coastal and government institutions. This process reflects the politics of national integration and the complex interface between government policy and citizen response, the challenges posed to political leaders, and the risks involved for rural citizens. We have traced the migratory experiences of families as they establish networks of ties to Lima and other coastal cities for jobs and education.

In looking at these general patterns of change we have been particularly anxious to understand the experiences of women and men to see what impact sex has on their respective options in the rural areas and in migration to the urbanized coast. The chapters which follow are an attempt to present a systematic discussion of the interaction

between certain types of change and sexual subordination, between the local patterns of work, politics, and family life which structure subordination, and those elements of social change which perpetuate or alleviate sexual hierarchy.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the complexity and variety of individual women's lives in rural Peru. We begin with biographical portraits of women who represent important contrasts in economic positions, marital arrangements, and labor force participation in order to understand what it means to be a woman in this society. This chapter focuses on three women's lives in the commercial settlement of Chiuchin and on four women's lives in the neighboring agricultural community of Mayobamba.

Chapters 2 and 3 step back from the particulars of the ethnographic case study and consider important issues of theory, methodology, and interpretation. These chapters evaluate the analytic approaches to women's subordination and social change. Chapter 2 presents a critique of bias in such disciplines as political science and anthropology and the impact of this bias on what we know of women's lives. Here we define and discuss the issues underlying the concepts of sexual subordination, parity, and power. Our goal is to phrase these key concepts so they become productive tools for multicultural theories of women's varying social and economic positions. Chapter 3 reviews four contemporary approaches to the cross-cultural study of women: the separate spheres, the sexual division of labor, the class analysis, and the social ideology perspectives. Our analysis probes these frameworks for unexamined assumptions, questions their comprehensiveness, and compares their potential for capturing the complexities of women's positions in class stratified societies in Latin America and North America. We conclude that a synthesis of the social value and class analysis approaches is possible and extremely useful. While some researchers stress the incompatibility of these models, we argue that one can successfully negotiate the analytic territory between them.

In the remaining chapters we demonstrate our analytic model in a finely grained comparative analysis of women's lives in Chiuchin and Mayobamba. In chapter 4 we begin with a closer look at women's life cycles, the cultural alternatives for marriage and household organization, and the politics of domestic life. We present the range of family situations and the consequences for women and men of each option,

provide a discussion of women's attitudes toward fertility, and discuss the meaning of the changes that occur in family life and structure which are brought about by increased involvement with coastal society. We view the family as a crucial element in the study of social change because changes in the broader society are often reflected in the relationship between the sexes in family units. Moreover, as will become apparent in the pages which follow, the women of Mayobamba and Chiuchin view their families as critical relationships to which they are firmly committed. The choices they make and the strategies they adopt are made with reference to the central value of the family in their lives.

In chapters 5 and 6 we discuss rural economic structures and trace the impact of sexual divisions of labor and the agrarian class system on sexual hierarchies. In chapter 5 we discuss the consequences of women's participation in the economic life of the two communities. We ask if high levels of economic involvement and a minimal division of labor have led to parity between men and women. In chapter 6 we describe the class structure within each community and examine the differences between male and female experiences in the class system. This application of our analytic model demonstrates the interplay of sex and class in women's perceptions and organization of work.

In chapter 7 we consider women's political participation and how family structures, economic organization, and cultural values combine to constrain women's access to public office, public influence, and community policy. Finally, in chapter 8 we evaluate the differential impact of social change, specifically education and migration, on the options of the sexes in rural communities. Here we consider the impact of national government reforms and development policies on women in rural communities.

Throughout our analysis of the economy, the polity, the family and social change we specify the key elements of rural and national realities that perpetuate and transform women's subordination. The analysis moves beyond stereotyped notions of Andean women by focusing on the women of Chiuchin and Mayobamba, and portraying the complexity of their lives and interactions with the institutions that subordinate them to men. The analysis clearly shows that women are not hapless victims, immobilized in the face of the forces of an economy and a political system marshalled against them. Rather our material suggests that women mobilize a variety of resources to help them

cope with their limited and restricted influence. The task, then, is to understand how the mechanics of subordination operate and what strategies offer the best route for promoting sexual equality.

Notes

1. Figures on land use are drawn from Morris (1964).

2. For a more traditional ethnographic treatment of Mayobamba, see Morris et al. (1968).

3. The pattern in Mayobamba seems to follow that noted for a number of Andean communities in Lambert's (1977, p. 15) summary: "Virilocal residence is preferred and sons take priority in the division of inheritance, particularly when land is scarce. The favoritism shown toward male offspring reflects a cultural ideal rather than economic requirements, since the division of labor by sex is not rigid and a day's work by a woman is, in fact, reckoned as the equivalent of the same amount of work by a man. The inequality of the sexes in matters of inheritance was probably greater in the last century than it is now..." See also Flores-Ochoa (1979, p. 96) for inheritance patterns among herders.

4. Adapted from Morris et al. (1968, pp. 275, 288).

5. The use of kinsmen and fictive kin in reciprocal relationships has been found in varying degrees throughout the Andes. See Lambert (1977) and Alberti and Mayer (1974). As both Mayer (1974) and Isbell (1978) note, these ties and obligations may be maintained despite the influence of the coastal cash economy. In Mayobamba and Chiuchin, reciprocal obligations and wage labor coexist.

6. If one thinks in terms of a spectrum of rural community types ranging from those which are culturally autonomous, monolingual Quechua speaking, maintaining Quechua traditions, and erecting barriers to Peruvian state expansion at one end, to communities whose economies and cultures have been thoroughly integrated into and shaped by the expansion of coastal mestizo society at the other, Mayobamba and Chiuchin would be placed toward the latter end of the spectrum. See Deere and León de Leal (n.d.) for an important study of economic variation in agrarian communities.