NEGOTIATING GENDER: WOMEN AND EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT IN PERU

BY

NINA LAURIE

University College London

A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of London for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)
Abstract

Negotiating Gender: Women and Emergency Employment in Peru

This thesis explores the ways in which gender relations and gender identities are negotiated by low-income women in Peru. It draws on debates within literatures on gender and development and, to a lesser extent, research on cultural identities.

Empirically, the thesis centres on women's involvement in the Peruvian government's emergency employment programme, *El Programa de Apoyo al Ingreso Temporal* (PAIT), which operated from 1985 to 1990. It identifies processes of feminisation which occurred when jobs originally designed for men were taken up by women.

The thesis explains why the participation of women caused problems for the government and analyses a shift in state rhetoric around the programme from 'work' to 'welfare'. The thesis goes on to show how this shift created contradictions because although a welfare justification explained female participation, women involved in the programme identified what they did as 'men's work'.

In-depth case study material from low-income areas in Lima and Andahuaylas (a rural town) is used to analyse the mechanisms by which new gender relations and identities were constituted in the workplace and the household. Data indicate that PAIT provided many women with their first exposure to paid work and show how the working environment, where women learnt to carry out 'men's work' and where they mixed with people from a variety of backgrounds, influenced the way they thought about themselves and others. Changes in women's conceptualisations of each other involved the simultaneous reproduction and subversion of gender stereotypes.

Evidence for changing gender relations is provided by concentrating on the ways in which PAIT women re-organised reproductive tasks and household budgeting. Particular attention is given to changes in decision-making processes. The thesis argues that for many women PAIT provided an environment for the negotiation of new gender relations and for the conscious redefinition of 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' feminine behaviour.
Acknowledgements

One of the problems with a part-time thesis that has spanned two continents and taken a number of years to complete is how to organise the thankyou's. As this is a Geography PhD I have decided to categorise them by place and time.

I owe the biggest debt to those people who shared the period of my fieldwork in Peru. Firstly, to dear friends: Brigid and Cherry (the careful restorers) and Elizabeth, Millie, Ignacio, Mags, Olga and Isaías. My ‘field associates’ Edy, Maxi, Meche, Irma, Vikki, Rosa and la ‘pequeña maravilla’ were wonderful.

The debt I owe to the numerous women who answered my questions and provided ‘the data’ goes without saying.

Colegio San Silvestre facilitated the research in many ways, not least by giving me a wage. The staff and pupils taught me a lot about Peru and helped me to see my prejudices, they also welcomed me very warmly and I am particularly indebted to the members of ‘la mesa’. Specifically, I would like to mention Rina Bayley who organised the timetable so I could do fieldwork and Pat Ulculmana, who was an inspirational geographer, teacher and head of department. Michael Tolerton also did his bit.

Various people connected with Latin Link were also important and I would like to thank Eirwen, Rose and Meg. I am indebted to the following people and organisations: the staff of CENDOC Mujer, Fidel Rivas, los hermanos de San Je and Maruja Barrig.

On returning to Britain I benefited greatly from the support of the Calles in Bournemouth, Meg and Pat in Southampton and the postgrads at UCL, especially Giles, Jon and Julia. I particularly thank Julia for the day in the park. Re-entry into the academic world was made much easier by an ESRC grant and ‘the sisters’ in the Women and Geography Study group (but not in that order!). Thanks especially to Viv Kinnaird, Uma Kothari, Janet Townsend, Sarah Holloway and Jenny Williams as well as honourary sisters: Neil Ward,
Alastair Bonnett, Jonathan Murdock and Richard from Law. Nicky Gregson and Audrey Kobayashi always believed in me and told me I had something to say, for that encouragement and their long-term interest in my career I am truly grateful. Newcastle geography department gave me a job when I needed one and have since encouraged me to finish my thesis, thanks especially to Malcolm, Tony, Lynne and Yvonne. Staff and students alike have listened to Peru stories with tolerance, if not interest, and while he was here, Jonathan Barton taught me about the rest of Latin America. I have particularly appreciated the skills of Ann Rooke, Brian Allaker, Danny Dorling and Pete Taylor all of whom have helped me in moments of need.

Finally, I wish to thank some people who cross the time/place boundaries used here: my supervisor Ann Varley for becoming a friend through the whole process and Linda and Helen for being there at the beginning and the end. Geographically speaking this thesis has brought me full circle, back to Newcastle where my admiration for the lives of women in the Lima shanty towns first developed. In this circle Dr. Tracey Skelton gets a special huge thankyou for everything, as does: Ali for walks in Lamu and Newcastle; Jenni for doing more than putting up with me and my friends at Westgate church for always being supportive. Currently, I live in Fenham, go to Westgate, enjoy the company of old friends and inhabit Janet Momsen’s office...for me, all this says much about the endurance of feminist politics and the grace and faithfulness of my God....my work and I are deeply indebted to both.

Newcastle June 1995
This thesis is dedicated to the lives of Claudia Boyco, Oliver Calle and Ivy Harris and to the times I have been privileged to share with them and their families.
Table of Contents

Abstract 1
Acknowledgements 2
Table of Contents 5
List of Tables 10
List of Figures 11
List of Plates 12
List of Appendices 13
Glossary of abbreviations 14

Chapter One: Introduction 16
The problem: women, work and development 16
Objectives of the study 18
Structure of the thesis 18

Chapter Two: ‘Development’ and Changing Gender Relations 22
Introduction 22

SECTION I: GENDER AND NEW IDENTITIES 22
Defining gender in a development context 22
‘Measuring’ gender relations 24
Identity and cultural feminisms 29
Gendered identities: an agenda 31
Spatiality and new ways of seeing gendered identities 33

SECTION II: CHANGING GENDER RELATIONS AND IDENTITIES IN
LATIN AMERICA 39
Women and paid employment in Latin America 42
Women’s collective activism as New Social Movements? 45
Conceptualising change: women’s roles, survival, needs and burdens 49
Conceptualising change: negotiating collective identities 52
Conclusion 56
Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

Negotiating Gender
  Fieldwork and power relations
  Collaborative research and research assistants

Defining the field
  Andahuaylas
  Lima
  Household size
  Women’s education and previous work experience

The practical strategy of fieldwork

Conclusion: Inbetween-ness

Chapter Four: From Work to Welfare: Feminisation, Emergency Work and the Peruvian State

Introduction

Emergency employment: a global phenomenon
  Administering emergency work and targeting the poor

Peru and crisis-led employment

APRA and the need for emergency work
  Heterodoxy and emergency work
  PAIT, men’s work and feminisation
  Feminisation: options for the state
  Women and welfare rhetoric
  Welfare and the failure of heterodoxy
  The ‘welfare household’ in Lima and Andahuaylas
  Welfare versus family wage
Chapter Five: the PAIT Project Experience - Women Doing 'Men's Work'

Introduction 143
PAIT and new employment conditions for women 144
Project failure: 'women cannot work like men!' 153
Confusion at the project level 157
PAIT women: treated like men 162
Women subverting skills stereotyping 173
Women doing men's work 176
Public work for women 178
Conclusion 178

Chapter Six: Representations of Women in the PAIT

Work-Place 180
Introduction 180
The PAIT work-place: a new space 180
Contested space 182
Local opposition: a new space contested by 'the world at large' 183
A female space both supported and contested by PAIT workers 184
A Space contested at home 186
Coping with contestation: PAIT women and multiple identities 191
Drawing boundaries and reproducing stereotypes 192
a) Difference and the 'lazy other' 193
b) Difference and the gossiping other 197
c) Difference and the vulgar other 198
d) Difference and the flirt 201
e) Difference and the adulterous woman 202
f) Difference and 'the dyke' 203
Cross-cutting identities 204
Finding commonality and subverting stereotypes 208
Strategies for survival: manipulating binaries 212
Conclusion 216

Chapter Seven: PAIT Women ‘Organising the Social’ 218
Introduction 218
The PAIT experience: breaking down personal isolation 219
Women workers and compañerismo 220
PAIT and women’s use of space 226
PAIT households: women workers and the double/triple day 230
Social networks and social reproduction 235
Conclusion 248

Chapter Eight: Gender Relations and Household Budgeting 250
Introduction 250
The household budget debate 250
‘Household’ money: his or hers? 252
‘Household’ money and the economic crisis 254
Spending patterns and items bought 257
Women’s interests - food, school and clothes 258
Regional differences in women’s interests 259
Special buys and ‘dignity’ 261
‘Women’s interests’ and change 263
Food as more than a reproductive responsibility 263
Children’s needs as a bargaining point 267
Decision-making - who does the buying? 270
Conclusion: the complexities of power, bargaining and budgeting 273
Chapter Nine: Conclusions

Short-term survival and long-term change 275
The significance of the PAIT contradiction 276
Rural/urban differences in the negotiation of gender 277
Changing gender relations and the state 278
New femininities: the relationship between gender relations and identities 278
Policy implications and new research agendas 280
### List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Marital status of women employed in PAIT</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Levels of formal education obtained by PAIT employees</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Latin American emergency work programmes</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Family incomes in Specific emergency programmes</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Special Employment Programmes and personal characteristics of the participants</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Macro-economic indicators 1980-89</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>The reactions of male partners towards women enrolling in PAIT</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Answers to the question &quot;has your attitude towards women changed because you have worked in PAIT?&quot;</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Reasons why women stopped working in PAIT</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>The three things that women liked and disliked most about working in PAIT</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Changes in women's social behaviour after working in PAIT</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Changes in decision-making concerning whether women with male partners can go out on their own (salir a pasear)</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>Changes in decision making concerning the time until when women with male partners can stay out alone (estar in la calle)</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>Changes in decision-making concerning the time until when men with women partners in PAIT can stay out alone (estar en la calle)</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>How women re-organised their domestic day once they worked in PAIT</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>The methods PAIT labourers used to look for paid work after the programme finished</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>Women’s communal activities before they joined PAIT</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>Changes in women’s involvement in community activities</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>The immediate use of women’s wages</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Sources of household support while women worked in PAIT</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>The purchasing priorities of women with PAIT wages</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.4 Regional differences in the purchasing priorities of women with PAIT wages 259
8.5 Changes in individual and household diet during period of PAIT employment 264
8.6 How decisions were taken before and after PAIT 271

List of Figures

3.1 Map: the town and province of Andahuaylas, Apurímac, Peru 66
3.2 Map: the Pueblos Jovenes (shanty towns) of Lima 66
3.3 Status by age of female labourers in PAIT 72
3.4 Previous paid work experience of women employed in PAIT 75
3.5 Housing type by zone 76
3.6 Household electricity supplies of PAIT employees 77
3.7 Map: origins of women in the Lima sample 81
3.8 Total number of people in the households of PAIT employees 83
3.9 Total number of children in the households of PAIT employees 84
4.1 Illustration of PAIT workforce from the front cover of the PAIT handbook (1985) 123
4.2 Illustration of PAIT workforce from the front cover of a PAIT pamphlet (1985) 124
4.3 Newspaper photograph of PAIT workforce 125
6.1 List of positive answers given by PAIT women to the question "how had their attitude towards women changed?" 210
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Research associate (Edy Rivas) with a female interviewee (San Jerónimo)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Workshop with research associates (Lima)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3a</td>
<td>New estera invasion, José Galvez</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3b</td>
<td>New estera invasion, José Galvez</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3c</td>
<td>New estera invasion and road built by PAIT (José Galvez)</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Mixed housing (La Tablada)</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Established brick housing (José Galvez)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>The town of Andahuaylas</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7a</td>
<td>Propaganda for David Vargas (ex director of PAIT Villa Marfa del Triunfo)</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7b</td>
<td>Propaganda for David Vargas (ex director of PAIT Villa Marfa del Triunfo)</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>Defaced PAIT propaganda (1990)</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>PAIT project: access road to cemetery (Andahuaylas)</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>PAIT project: Site of forestation programme (Andahuaylas)</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>PAIT project: Plaza de Armas San Jerónimo (foundations and bush planting)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4a</td>
<td>PAIT project: school refurbishment (Andahuaylas)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4b</td>
<td>PAIT project: school refurbishment and PAIT propaganda (San Jerónimo)</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4c</td>
<td>PAIT project: school refurbishment (La Tablada)</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>PAIT project: Pavement construction (Andahuaylas Cercano, 1986)</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>PAIT project: basket ball court (José Galvez/La Tablada, 1990)</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>PAIT project: Incomplete project (José Galvez, 1990)</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>PAIT project: Plaza de Armas construction (José Galvez)</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>Site of PAIT creche (La Tablada)</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>Site of PAIT rubbish clearance</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1a</td>
<td>The isolated hills separating La Tablada and José Galvez</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1b</td>
<td>The isolated hills separating La Tablada and José Galvez</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2 The *ripiando* method of road building 153
5.3 Large boulders used for pavement construction 165
5.4 Distance boulders were transported 165
5.5 Pavements built by PAIT and APRA propaganda 166

**List of Appendices**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendix i</td>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix ii</td>
<td>Open ended questions for family members</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix iii</td>
<td>Table of those interviewed</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix iv</td>
<td>List of Interviews (programme officials and interested parties)</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix v</td>
<td>Archive work and sampling</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix vi</td>
<td>Table of questionnaire respondents</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Glossary of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADEC</td>
<td>Asociación de Defensa y Capacitación Legal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APRA</td>
<td>American Popular Revolutionary Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENDOC Mujer</td>
<td>Centro de Documación Sobre la Mujer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COOPROP</td>
<td>Co-operación Popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAP</td>
<td>Economically Active Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLACSO</td>
<td>Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSE</td>
<td>Fondo Social de Emergencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDESI</td>
<td>Instituto de Desarrollo del Sector Informal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INEI</td>
<td>Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INPE</td>
<td>Instituto Nacional de Rehabilitación de Presos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDCs</td>
<td>Less Developed Countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUC</td>
<td>Mercado Único de Cambios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSMs</td>
<td>New Social Movements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFASA</td>
<td>Adventist Food for Work Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAD</td>
<td>Programa de Apoyo Directo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAIT</td>
<td>Programa de Apoyo al Ingreso Temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEM</td>
<td>Programa de Empleo Mínimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POIH</td>
<td>Programa de Ocupación para Jefes de Hogar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRAIT</td>
<td>Programa Regional de Apoyo al Ingreso Temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREALC</td>
<td>Programa Regional del Empleo para América Latina y el Caribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROEM</td>
<td>Programa Ocupacional de Emergencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRONASOL</td>
<td>The National Solidarity Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRONOEI</td>
<td>Nursery School Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAD</td>
<td>Women and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WID</td>
<td>Women in Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WGSG</td>
<td>Women and Geography Study Group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter One

Introduction

The problem: women, work and development

This thesis examines the significance of women’s access to a relatively new form of employment that has emerged during the 1980s: that provided by emergency employment programmes. It asks whether these new employment experiences have produced changes in gender relations and renegotiations of what constitutes ‘appropriate’ behaviour for women. The thesis focuses particularly on the Peruvian emergency employment programme PAIT (El Programa de Apoyo al Ingresos Temporal: The temporary income support programme). It draws heavily on research on Gender and Development.

Since the mid 1980s Gender and Development research has concentrated largely on the relationship between development planning and changing gender relations. Using a variety of analytical tools Gender and Development approaches have attempted to examine and document the ways in which gender roles and gendered power relations change in different contexts. At a general level research has analysed the ways in which development paradigms (such as modernisation, neo-liberalism or socialist models) have influenced gender relations. At a more local level it has focused on the ways in which gender relations have varied in different places. In terms of policy it has examined how gender relations have changed through development planning in different sectors such as employment, education, health etc.. In this way research has covered a wide range of issues from analyses of the male bias in macro-level structural adjustment policies to an examination of the constitution of gender relations within households at the local scale. Gender and Development research has therefore been very varied.

Given the central role that industrialisation has played in most development models, one common question within Gender and Development research has been to ask whether women’s access to paid employment has challenged gender relations. This question has been particularly important to marxist feminist research which has documented the significance of women’s unpaid reproductive work to the maintenance of the capitalist world economy, suggesting that women are often cheap labour and do not usually reap
the full benefit of their employment. In essence these arguments suggest that paid work for women often becomes an extra burden on top of domestic chores because gender relations are slow to change.

This thesis asks whether slow change or a lack of change in gender relations holds true in new types of paid work such as emergency employment. It argues that emergency employment in Peru (1985 to 1990) represented a new opportunity for women.

Emergency work programmes are not unique to Peru as similar initiatives have existed in other historical and geographical contexts. However, the particularly high participation of women in the programme - over eighty per cent of the work force were women - gives the Peruvian programme a particular significance considering that it was originally intended to target the male unemployed. The tensions set up by this contradiction are a central focus of the thesis.

The thesis focuses on the negotiation of gender in PAIT, taking into account not only its implications for gender relations but also the construction of gender identities through this type of work. Throughout the thesis changing conceptualisations of work prompted by emergency employment are emphasised and the associated blurring of formal/informal, public/private divides which it produces are analysed. The end purpose of this approach is to assess the relationship between these changing conceptualisations and the negotiation of multiple gendered identities for women. Empirically the main focus is to identify the mechanisms by which gender relations change and to highlight the importance of negotiation via situated practices, strategic actions developed in particular circumstances, in two locations in Peru. Specifically, the thesis assesses the challenges posed by emergency work (designed for men but carried out by women) to notions of 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' gendered behaviour.

By examining the processes involved in the feminisation of emergency work in Peru, together with an analysis of the forms and mechanisms of negotiation that helped constitute gender relations and multiple gendered identities in this context, the thesis
provides an understanding of some broader issues raised by paid work where, for a variety of reasons, women’s participation is significant.

**Objectives of the study**
The main objectives of this study are:

1) To examine the nature of women’s involvement in emergency work in Peru.

2) To examine the response of the Peruvian state to women’s involvement in PAIT.

3) To analyse PAIT’s influence on gender relations at a household level.

4) To analyse women’s changing conceptualisations of work, of self and of other women as a result of PAIT.

**Structure of the thesis**
Chapter Two draws on two sets of literature, Gender and Development research and to a lesser extent research on cultural identities. From these literatures the chapter creates a research agenda centred on gendered identities and highlights four themes within it: contradictions within multiple identities; the analysis of multiple identities and gender relations at a household level; the institutional mediation of femininities and masculinities; and finally, the role played by representation and coalition politics in the formation of gender categories.

The second section of Chapter Two takes a specific look at the main themes that have emerged in Latin America research on gender relations and identities, focusing particularly on research on women and paid work and women’s roles in New Social Movements.

Chapter Three addresses methodological issues. It discusses the theoretical debates which have informed this thesis research and looks particularly at debates concerning feminist research approaches and questions of reflexivity in fieldwork. It also introduces the two case studies used in the thesis and describes how fieldwork was carried out. Some of the
practical and theoretical problems associated with this type of research approach are also addressed in this chapter.

Chapter Four has a pivotal position in the thesis. It marks the point at which the theoretical research questions are brought together in the empirical case study. To begin with the chapter compares PAIT with other emergency work programmes in Latin America, focusing on the fact that these programmes generally have a high level of female participation. It examines the role that PAIT played in the APRA government’s overall heterodox economic plan which began in 1985 and lasted until the party lost power in 1990. In this plan emergency work aimed to revitalise the economy by contributing to full-employment. The response of the state to the feminisation of PAIT is discussed and emphasis is placed on the fact that the rhetoric was changed from one of productive work to one of welfare once it became clear that women were the primary workforce in the programme. The chapter explores in detail the contradictory assumptions inherent in both the Peruvian state’s targeting strategies and its shift towards a welfare rhetoric. It argues that while these contradictions caused tensions at a project level they also helped legitimate women’s involvement in non-traditional work.

Chapters Five, Six, Seven and eight analyse and assess the implications of these contradictory tensions for the constitution and negotiation of gender relations and gendered identities at a local, mainly household level.

Chapter Five shows how even though the Peruvian employment programme was seen as a failure in economic terms it often provided women with a new experience, for many, their involvement in PAIT was qualitatively different from anything they had done previously. Emergency work provided these women with a life-line in times of crisis and often provided the sole support for their households during extended periods of time. These aspects of PAIT’s operation have not been widely documented and the significance of these experiences for gender identities and relations has not been examined elsewhere. The longer-term significance of this work is also examined by showing how women employed in PAIT engaged in what they saw as ‘men’s work’ despite the welfare rhetoric attached to the programme. Even though PAIT gave women the new experience of doing
men’s work the chapter shows how the state still discriminated against them in terms of the definitions of skilled work and the wage levels established in the programme.

Chapter Six examines gender relations in the workplace and indicates how, although the state created contradictions around PAIT by giving a welfare rhetoric to women doing 'productive men’s work', it was the women themselves who maintained their participation in the spaces which became available to them through the programme. Women chose to represent their activities in PAIT, the other women they met there and the work they did in a strategic way both to the public and to their male partners in order to ensure their continued participation in the programme. This strategic representation involved the use of a ‘moral economy of difference’ and the simultaneous reproduction and subversion of gender stereotypes.

Chapter Seven focuses on changes in the ways in which women organised their social relations and social activities. The chapter shows that although there was little evidence of change using the usual measures of changing gender relations such as household divisions of labour, decision-making processes concerning women’s access to the public sphere did change to some extent as a result of women’s involvement in PAIT. It emphasises the need to look beyond analyses of the double/triple burdens paid work places on women in order to identify and highlight the innovative methods women often develop to ease these burdens. The thesis shows how these innovative practices can be important steps in helping women change their conceptualisations of themselves.

Chapter Eight concentrates on one element of social organisation and examines the ways in which budgetary practices changed for women in the programme. It indicates that many women kept control over the money they earned and identifies the ways in which they spent their wages. The chapter emphasises that although many women spent their income on seemingly traditional stereotyped purchases such as food and clothes for the children the decision-making processes leading up to those purchases often involved newly negotiated sets of power relations whereby household decisions were taken along more equitable lines than before, with partners discussing decisions more. Empirically this chapter, together with Chapter Seven, suggests that in many cases it was the most
traditional women (older, married women living in rural areas) who experienced most change in their household gender relations as a result of their involvement in PAIT.
Chapter Two
‘Development’ and Changing Gender Relations

Introduction
This chapter focuses on the ways in which an analysis of changing gender relations has been incorporated into development theory and practice. It draws on two bodies of literature: research on Gender and Development and recent interdisciplinary studies of multiple identities. It identifies new research agendas emerging from these two bodies of literature before highlighting how gendered power relations have traditionally been measured and analysed in a development context. The second half of the chapter focuses on research on gender relations and identities in Latin America. It focuses specifically on the Gender and Development literature on paid work as well as on analyses of women’s roles in Latin American New Social Movements. Particular attention is given to research which emphasises issues of cultural identity and which indicates the different ways in which gender relations and gender identities have been contested in Latin America. The chapter finishes by introducing an empirical research agenda which focuses on the relationship between gender and identity formation in the context of new paid work opportunities for women in Peru.

SECTION I: GENDER AND NEW IDENTITIES

Defining gender in a development context
Since the mid 1970s the gender blind nature of development studies and policies has been well documented and criticised (Boserup 1970, Rogers 1980). To a large extent these critiques have followed paradigm shifts in the two wider fields of development and feminist studies. Early Women in Development (WID) approaches, in the 1970s, followed assumptions of modernisation and sought to make women visible in order to ‘add them into’ the development process. Later WAD (Women and Development) critiques, largely proffered by marxist feminists inspired by the dependency school, pointed to the

---

1 Escobar and Alvarez (1992) have identify a contemporary set of social protests as New Social Movements (NSMs). Under their definition it is the diverse nature of these movements that characterise them as ‘new’ during the 1980s and early 1990s.
patriarchal structures of capitalism as the cause of women’s continued subordination (Young 1979, Mies 1986). In the late 1980s, analyses of women’s marginalisation turned towards a more specific focus on the social construction of gender and gender relations (Rathgeber 1990). This approach became known as ‘Gender and Development’ (GAD) because it distinguished between sex and gender and emphasised the social creation of gender roles through development policies. It also exposed the biased assumptions inherent in planning by identifying how gender discrimination has been institutionalised in both development theory and project implementation. GAD analysis defines gender relations as the power relations that structure the relationships between women and men and shows how these relations are imbedded within the hierarchies and gender roles that are produced by society, in specific places and at particular points in time. A GAD research agenda emphasises that these power relations help structure gender identities and reinforce gender ideologies but also suggests that when those identities change, the power relations themselves are also open to contestation.

Although some authors question the exact chronology of a movement away from ‘adding women in’ to ‘de-constructing gender’², this gender and development research has made donor agencies, national governments and Non Government Organisations (NGOs) increasingly aware of the need for gender sensitive policies and analyses. As a result, case studies research, text books, courses and theoretical debates on gender and development have mushroomed in the last few years, providing a record of key shifts in development theory and practice. Current debates around the rise of neo-liberal economic orthodoxies in the late 1980s, for example, illustrate the important critical role that gender and development studies currently play. Criticisms of structural adjustment packages, the creation of free trade zones and other neo-liberal policies currently in favour with institutions like the IMF and World Bank, as well as many national governments, have drawn widely on feminist gender and development analysis to show that the poorest and most vulnerable groups in society (often women) pay most of the social cost for these changes (Afshar and Dennis 1992, Commonwealth Secretariat 1987, Due 1991, Elson 1991). Latterly, these findings have led to the formation of new policies of ‘adjustment

---

² For example Tinker (1990) discusses the importance of welfare approaches and Moser (1993) highlights the role of equity and efficiency models in blurring the distinction between WID and GAD approaches.
with a human face' (Cornia et al 1988) as well as more radical calls for readdressing the inherent male bias in macro-level economic development strategies (Elson 1991).

The notion that gendered power relations are fluid (they can be both protected and reproduced but also contested and subverted) are key to critiques of structural adjustment and to the gender and development school of thought in general. Consequently, both theoretical and empirical research has emphasised that gender relations can be changed in negative as well as positive ways by 'the development process'. The following sections outlines the different ways in which these changes have been studied. It emphasises that the majority of analyses have focused on ways in which visible indicators of change can be 'measured'.

'Measuring' gender relations

Changes in gender relations have been compared or 'measured' in a variety of ways and most empirical case studies have focused on more than one indicator of change. Most of these indicators refer to change at a household level (Jelin 1991). In the 1980s much research on changing gender relations took on a comparative emphasis as many empirical studies described women's roles in different places and assessed their access to a variety of spheres and resources in order to measure the degree to which gender relations varied across the world. While some of the earliest work on gender and development has been criticised for tending to confuse gender roles with gender relations, assuming that changes in the former automatically supposed changes in the latter geographers have provided important comparative analysis and have mapped both changing gender roles and relations (Momsen and Townsend 1987, and Seager and Olson 1986). Critics of this work, however, have focused on the fact that some of these approaches use indicators that "freeze Third World women in time, space and history" (Mohanty 1991 p.6). They focus on traditional indicators of poverty (such as mortality, nutrition, literacy etc.) and map issues such as women's access to resources, education, employment and training etc.. According to Mohanty (1991) often the use of such indicators does not allow women to be conceptualised as agents of change. Since the 1970s, however, WID and GAD research

---

3 In this context 'the development process' refers largely to processes of modernisation.
has played an important part in making different women’s roles and global differences in
gender relations visible. The following sections explore the three main sets of indicators
that have been used most widely in Gender and Development research to measure
changing gender relations.

1) Household divisions of labour
In theoretical terms, the concept of gendered divisions of labour has formed the basis of
much feminist analysis and has been particularly important in shaping the growth of
feminist marxist thought. This agenda was originally established by authors such as
Karen Sacks who writing in the 1970s, highlighted the significance of gender divisions
of labour for marxist analysis in her paper on "Engels revisited: women the organisation
of production and private property" (Sacks 1974). In 1981, Maureen Mackintosh further
explained why feminists should be interested in the sexual division of labour by claiming
that this division of labour "expresses, embodies and further more perpetuates female
subordination" (Mackintosh 1981 p.4). In her analysis Mackintosh specifically linked
changes in household divisions of labour directly to changing gender relations and
women’s access to paid productive spheres by saying "in the long run inequality in the
wage sphere can only be overcome - and indeed could be relatively easily overturned
were the relations of reproduction, and the form of the household which they create, first
to be transformed" (Mackintosh 1981 p.14).

This analysis was very significant in the 'patriarchy/capitalism' debates that dominated
feminist studies in the mid 1980s. By the mid 1980s many case studies focused on issues
of household production and reproduction, thereby revealing the ways in which domestic
divisions of labour were articulated and became segregated by gender (Rosenburg 1984,
Rakowski 1984). The theoretical emphasis in this work on the importance of the division
of labour to gender relations produced a rich variety of empirical studies many of which
have taken a rural focus in the 1990s (Phillips 1990, Meertens 1993, Raghuram 1993,
Sage 1993). Much debate has been generated around these issues, however, as some
authors question the validity of sharp distinctions between production and reproduction

---

4 For a summary of the ways in which geographers have engaged with feminist marxist debates on the
patriarchy/capitalism divide see Foord and Gregson (1986) and McDowell (1986).
(Babb 1986, Redclift 1985), suggesting that it is more important to focus on the relationship between activities (the ways in which women’s work is often both productive and reproductive) rather than to focus on classifications which reinforced divisions between domestic and public space.

These debates have produced a re-evaluation of the significance of binary categories such as productive and reproductive work. They have also fed into wider debates within feminist development research which have begun to question the usefulness of a series of analytical dichotomies such as the formal and informal divide (Connolly 1985, MacEwan Scott 1991), and public and private space (Cheal 1991; McDowel and Pringle 1992; Moore 1988). More recently, these specific, empirically based critiques of binary classifications have produced a general questioning of the influence of dichotomies on the construction of a masculine normative social science, suggesting that in its conception this science embodies a sometimes misleading split between what is rational and what is emotional. Bondi (1992) has traced the influence of the legacies of such dichotomous thought on the construction of geography as a discipline, claiming that feminist geographers need to take care to avoid adopting and reproducing binary divisions uncritically.

Overall, the legacy of the production and reproduction debate has been widespread. It has highlighted the interdependence of gender relations and household divisions of labour and linked these into global contexts of production and reproduction, by highlighting for example, the significance of cheap female paid and unpaid labour in the location of industries and the growth and maintenance of core and peripheral areas (Benería and Sen 1981, Benería and Stimpson 1987). Marxist feminists have shown how significant these gender relations are in terms of accumulations of capital and the work of Mies (1986) has been central to this research. Her concept of ‘housewifisation’ has linked the divisions of labour and power relations with gendered ideologies by showing how cultures of mothering embedded in women’s poor access to resources (such as capital, wage labour and land) have confined women to domestic gender roles and reproduced male labour
2) Household structure
Changes in gender relations have been associated with both temporary and permanent
temporary and permanent changes in household structure as people leave and come into household units or as they
form ‘alternative’ household structures. This approach has been particularly significant in
highlighting the increase in the number of woman-headed households in both Latin
America and parts of Africa and in explaining this pattern in relation to labour markets
and gendered migration patterns (Radcliffe 1986, Chant 1992). This work has introduced
an important agenda for research that has had both policy and theoretical implications and
has led to the de-construction of the categories ‘women’ and ‘households’ in order to
target vulnerable groups more effectively (Moser 1993, Ostergaard 1992, Buvinic 1993,
Varley forthcoming). In theoretical terms, household structure has also been linked to
other issues in order to understand the processes that produce different household
structures and patterns of gender relations. For example, household structure has been
studied in relation to issues of access to a variety of resources and means of social
reproduction. Chant’s (1991) work on Mexico illustrates how an emphasis on both
changing household structure and increased women’s access to resources (in her particular
case study, women’s insertion into the paid labour market) can provide a more
comprehensive understanding of changing patterns of gender relations.

Another analysis that has been linked to changing gender relations and household structure
is that of the life course. Chant (1991) introduced life course analysis into her matrix of
changing household structure and changing gender relations in Mexico as did Delpino
(1990) in her study of Lima. In general, the literature on life course has not been
extensive and has mainly focused on the role that life course positions play in power
relations. Theoretically feminists have been quick to emphasise the fluidity of the life
course concept in order to distinguish it from a fixed notion of life cycle:

What is central to the notion of the life course is not the notion of
stage but that of transition, that is to say of qualitative changes in
at least some aspects of daily living as opposed to gradual and incremental quantitative changes such as those associated with physiological ageing in later life (Harris 1987 p.25).

Empirically, the life course has been used to focus on the diverse mechanisms which help constitute gender relations at different points in time and which also influence household structure under certain circumstances. For example, the role that gendered migration patterns and different employment opportunities for young men and women have played in producing female-headed households where grandmothers assume responsibility for young children for long periods has been documented in various parts of the world (Gordon 1980, Meer 1994, Valenzuela et al 1995). Other general mechanisms which have been identified in the literature relate to issues ranging from marriage (Lie and Lund 1991), demand for wage labour (Chant 1992, Radcliffe 1986) and macro-economic changes which influence specific access concerns such as changes in housing markets (Varley forthcoming).

3) Gender relations and decision-making
The third theme which has been used to measure changing gender relations has been household decision-making processes. Initially, it was assumed that this topic was unproblematic, with both orthodox marxist and neo-classical approaches assuming that household dynamics functioned on a equitable basis and that the position of women would improve if they gained access to a waged labour market. Feminist research, however, has illustrated that the ways in which gender relations are constituted and expressed through decision-making are very complex (Young 1992).

Research on household decision-making has focused on several themes. The issues of access raised above (including women’s access to public and private space and access to paid work) have been covered in a variety of locations, together with a focus on decisions about fertility (Maudood Elahi 1993, Saftilios-Rothschild 1985, Wong and Levine 1992), sexuality (Barrosoad and Bruschini 1991, Lee 1991) and household budgeting patterns (Oughton 1993). Since the mid 1980s, much of the work on the different realms of decision-making has focused on exploding the myth of the unified household by showing
the hierarchy of power relations that exist within households (Bruce and Dwyer 1988). This hierarchy produces tensions and conflicts that have to be negotiated before decisions are reached. These negotiation processes often involve reconciling contradictory differences within households and sometime within personal conceptualisations of self, which may include working through contradictory conceptualisations of work, motherhood and partnership.

**Identity and cultural feminisms**

While gender and development analysis has largely been concerned with changing gender relations in the context of development policies, other feminist research has concentrated on the broader aspects of power relations in association with the formation of gender identities. Largely inspired by debates around post modernism and post colonialism, feminist research in the social sciences has recently given much attention to the formation of identity categories. It has focused on the ways in which gender, sexuality and ethnicity interconnect in specific contexts in the lives of individuals and communities and in the formation of cultural identities and nationalisms (Parker and Russo et al 1992; Blunt 1994; Jackson and Penrose 1993). This research has highlighted the mechanisms which work to maintain and contest identities and has analyzed these mechanisms by focusing on the role of the reproduction and subversion of stereotypes in the formation of multiple identities in specific contexts.

In the broad field of feminist research, identity debates have gained momentum from the critiques made by black feminist writings and post colonial research that focus on white privilege in feminist studies (Abel 1993, Caraway 1991, Crosby 1992, Hooks 1991). This research highlights the partial view and bias conceptualisation to which white/western privilege has given rise. In the context of gender and development, this debate has produced a focus on ‘difference’ that has been politicised and used to question the homogenising approach of much research to date (Mosse 1993, Radcliffe 1994).

Authors such as Mohanty, Russo and Torres (1991) have been particularly critical of work on ‘Women in the Third world’ (including that of geographers), which they claim has cast ‘women in the Third World’ as passive victims to whom global and local processes are
seen to happen. In practical terms, in many social science disciplines, this approach has defined development in purely economic terms because it gives so much emphasis to modernisation and the role of global capital in shaping people's experiences of places. Theoretically, in interdisciplinary feminist studies, it has positioned 'Third World Women' as the exotic other, thereby marginalising them from mainstream theoretical debate (Mohanty 1991; Acosta-Belén and Bosse 1993). Radcliffe (1994) argues that for geographers especially, "Third World women have become privileged loci of knowledge, rather than active, experiencing subjects" (Radcliffe 1994 p.26).5

Methodologically, this debate has provoked an increase in research on 'representation' which seeks to include an analysis of a researcher's positionality taking into account her or his power relationship with the subject. In a world dominated by colonial legacies, Acosta-Belén and Bosse claim that:

the condition of women cannot be separated from the colonial experience since the basic paradigm of power relationships that was established during the era of imperialist expansion between Europe and the New World colonies, and between women and men, has not varied significantly and these relations are still created through contemporary mechanisms (Acosta-Belén and Bosse 1993 p.63).

This approach, together with post modern interests in texts and narratives, has produced new approaches in gender and development studies which seek to place the analysis of gender relations clearly within the context of wider aspects of identity formation. These approaches emphasise the influence that the relationship between colonialism and development paradigms has on the constitution of gendered identities (Stephens 1993).

Despite the current renaissance of a 'cultural geography' which has sought to address issues of culture and representation (Duncan and Ley 1993, Anderson and Gale 1992,

5 Lawson and Klak (1993) make a similar point about geography and development studies in general. They suggest that the construction of geography as a discipline has ensured that the flow of ideas is nearly always north - south.
Jackson 1992) Radcliffe (1994 p.25) claims that feminist geographers have not generally taken on board post colonial debate in research on gender and development.

**Gendered identities: an agenda**

Taking both bodies of research, GAD and cultural identities, and analysing the connections between them produces several, new inter-related approaches to issues traditionally covered by geographical research on development. For the purpose of this thesis these approaches have been identified as new research agendas. The most significant of these approaches is to emphasise strongly that studies of changing gender relations need to be placed in the context of multiple identities and secondly that an emphasis on commonalities and differences between women’s experiences of their identities and oppressions need to compliment comparative studies of mapped gender relations which have typified much geographical work on Gender and Development.

Both of these approaches focus on placing the negotiation of gender relations in the contexts of specific experiences of marginalisation and 'empowerment'.

When these two agendas are broken down further, four specific themes for research emerge:

1) **The contradictions within multiple identities.**

A focus on the ways in which gendered identities and constructions of femininities and masculinities are contested and maintained involves analyzing the contradictions inherent within multiple identities. This process includes pinpointing moments of tension and confrontation when ideologies and power relations are subverted or reinforced.

---


7 The concept of 'empowerment' has been widely disputed in action research and community based development practice - see for example Sen and Grown (1987) and Bhatt (1989) - but is taken in this context to cover the broad themes of consciousness raising.
2) The relationship between multiple identities and gender relations at a household level.

The significance of changing gender relations can be seen in specific tensions experienced at a household level where differences have to be worked out on a daily basis. An analysis of the mechanisms through which these tensions are mediated and their influence on gender roles leads to a research focus on changing constructions of femininities and masculinities.

3) The broader institutional mediation of new femininities and masculinities.

The role of the state and supra-state (sometimes global) institutions in promoting or suppressing new expressions of gender identities illustrates the significance of changing gender relations at more than a local level. The relationship between such institutions and changing ideologies of ‘the family’ highlight both the potential for change and the mechanisms by which hybrid expressions of new identities become legitimised. These mechanisms include strategic representations of femininities (and masculinities) made by states, particular institutions or individuals in specific contexts (such as economic crisis or political upheaval).

4) Representation and the role of coalition politics.

The identification of commonalities and differences between women (and sometimes men) are central in coalition politics. The representation each actor makes of ‘the other’ within a specific coalition helps produce identity politics and provides a context for the constitution of new femininities/masculinities and the negotiation of alternative gender relations. An analysis of the ways in which these coalitions engage with existing family ideologies illustrates how new gender identities and new gendered power relations are articulated at different geographical scales.

In developing this framework of agendas this thesis aims theoretically to move away from the focus that development studies have taken towards ‘gender’ in recent years. The thesis treats gender as a category which can be contested rather than as a container acting as the social mirror of the sexed being. This analysis collapses, to some extent, the clear boundaries around sex and gender that have formed the basis of much gender and
development research in the 1980s. It suggests that the concept 'woman' should be treated with care vis-à-vis a tendency towards homogenising experience and making general assumptions about women's collective and individual experiences of femininity, sexuality, work, motherhood, ethnicity, kinship and community. It highlights that these factors influence any individual's experience of oppression and also help constitute the multiple identities any person holds in tension at a given moment. This approach suggests that identities can be negotiated and mediated via social relations which include relationships between individual people and relationships between individuals and key institutions. These institutions range from local community organisations, to those organised by the state or international development agencies.

In the same way that a shift from WID to GAD approaches in the 1980s was not fundamentally about the inclusion of women but about challenging the very notion of 'development', a focus on gender relations in the context of multiple identities challenges what is meant by 'the gendered woman'. Acosta-Belén sums up the significance of this focus in the following way:

This is no longer a project of inclusion or representation; it is conclusively a substantial epistemological and paradigmatic shift that integrates both the particularities and commonalities of subaltern voices and experiences (Acosta-Belén 1993 p.183).

These links have produced new ways of viewing changing gendered identities which attempt to go beyond an isolated focus on measuring changing gender relations in the context of household structure, divisions of labour and decision-making.

**Spatiality and new ways of seeing gendered identities**

Returning to a review of existing literature, rather than to the identification of emerging research agendas, it is important to note that it is only recently, with books such as Place and the Politics of Identity (Keith and Pile 1993) Mapping the Futures, Local Cultures, Global Change (Bird et al 1993) and Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity (Shields 1991) that geographers have sought to bring together research on
geography and the constitution of multiple identities. Keith and Pile (1993) claim that interdisciplinary research has found it increasingly difficult to explain processes of constitution and mechanisms of identity subversion and reproduction without reference to spatial metaphors. As a result of this broad interest, the notion of spatiality has been used to contextualise, locate and sometimes explain issues of identity. Keith and Pile define spatiality as follows: "We may now use the term 'spatiality' to capture the ways in which the social and spatial are inextricably realized one in the other" (Keith and Pile 1993, p.6). Recently, definitions and understandings of spatiality have been hotly debated (Gregson and Lowe forthcoming), but although such an overt focus on these issues is comparatively new - a phenomenon of the 1990s - empirically some of the strands that make up this body of research can be traced back further.

In the context of Gender and Development studies the genesis of such interests in the role of spatiality and the importance of multiple identities can be found in the dissatisfaction with traditional ways of describing gender roles and measuring gender relations such as those outlined in the earlier section. In some empirical cases such gender analyses could not sufficiently explain the complex patterns of social behaviour that were observed in development research. A desire to move away from measuring gender relations towards hinting at issues of multiple identity can be seen in three specific areas of GAD research that were outlined in the above section: changing divisions of labour, changing decision-making and finally a more recent re-evaluation of life-cycle issues.

Research on changing divisions of labour has incorporated an analysis of broader identity issues for some time. The work of Maria Mies in the mid 1980s (Mies 1986) emphasised the relationship between divisions of labour, colonization and 'Housewifisation'. Her research on divisions of labour has been important in indicating the significance of colonial contexts for the constitution of power relations, because with her research on lace makers in India she attempted to place ideologies of motherhood within specific colonial paradigms (Mies 1982). Chandra Mohanty (1991) who has been a severe critic of the ways in which gender and development studies have traditionally employed 'the division of labour' as a universalising concept, claims that Mies' work:
is a good example of what careful, politically focused, local analyses can accomplish. It illustrates how the category of women is constructed in a variety of political contexts that often exist simultaneously and are overlaid on top of one another (Mohanty 1991 p.65).

The legacies of colonial contexts have also been emphasised by empirical work in other geographical regions. For example, Whitehead and Bloom (1992) highlight the importance of the legacies of slavery and colonialism in Sub Saharan Africa (particularly land holding patterns, unequal access to labour and resources) for gender relations and for what Mies would term 'Housewifisation'. Sharma’s (1986) work on Shimla is another example of this kind of pioneering research as it overtly focused on the interaction of class and caste in differentiating divisions of labour and constructions of good housewifely behaviour. Therefore, the significant of colonial issues for empirical GAD research has been recorded by some authors since the mid 1980s and a focus on multiplicity in the constitution of gender relations has been an increasingly important theme in deconstructing monolithic views of 'the' division of labour. Such research has emphasised that divisions of labour in specific contexts are organised around ideas of 'differentiated' gender.

With regard to changing decision-making, research has shown that the processes of negotiation over household decisions often involves reconciling contradictory differences in order to produce change. These differences are embedded in the myriad of social and cultural norms representing a whole series of different identities. For example, in writing about sexuality and gender perceptions in rural Argentina, Stolen (1991) suggests that "often processes of change contain elements of both a striving for continuity - new ways of behaviour that preserve 'old' gender values - and striving to achieve 'new' values" (Stolen 1991 p.14). She identifies the significance of decision-making processes in the constitution of hybrid identities and emphasises the two-way relationship between decision-making and identity formation. therefore, her analysis moves away from descriptions of clear cut gender relations and gender roles. From her case study in Argentina Stolen’s conclusion vis-à-vis changing household gender relations suggests that while economic transformations and crises may promote change in other aspects of gender relations, decision-making with regard to issues of sexuality is harder to challenge.
Decision-making over the socialisation and parenting of children is another area where much research has indicated that traditional ideologies of parenting produce stereotyped gender roles where most responsibility for children is attributed to mothers. Women are often used as the vehicle through which this ideology, together with practices of son preference whereby daughters are discriminated against in terms of resource allocation and the domestic expectations placed on them are perpetuated (Narasimhan 1993, Duraisamy 1992). Such analyses of the ideology of motherhood are widely supported (Fassinger 1993). In her empirical work on childhood in Lima, however, Ennew (1986) challenges this view as simplistic. From her study she indicates that although there is a distinct gender pattern in the control over children’s access to public space, and differences in access to education facilities and achievements, parents’ expectations of children’s roles in domestic tasks can vary with household structure. Perhaps surprisingly she suggests that households headed by men often expect the same work and participation from children of both sexes. She concludes finally that:

Growing to womanhood in Lima is not a single process and that it is structured not only by gender but also by race and class. Even those last terms have to be qualified, because of the heterogeneity of the population, its ethnic and racial origins, the differences made by birthplace as well as economic statutes. (Ennew 1986 p.63).

Thus, Ennew, writing in the mid 1980s, emphasised an analytical focus on difference and the multiplicity of processes interacting in childhood socialisation. In practical terms, she also introduced some of the issues outlined above in debates around representation. Her work implies that it is surprising that so few descriptions of the socialisation of children in Peru have taken into account their multiple identities (and those of their parents) and she suggests that a possible explanation for the omission lies with the view of the researcher: "perhaps that [omission] has been a consequence of reading girlhood through the eyes of adult women rather than taking the process of girlhood itself as a serious object of research". This point raises important questions about the a priori readings of childhood narratives through the current status of adult women (ie looking for patterns in girls that will explain the oppression of their mothers).
The examples of Ennew's and Stolen's work indicate that the study of changing gender relations via a focus on changing decision-making is very complex. This complexity reaches to the heart of the contradictions inherent in individual weavings of multiple identities. Tensions surrounding negotiation indicate that the mechanisms by which gender relations are constituted and contested are interlinked. Paradoxically, often during decision-making the same sets of 'cultural norms' and expected forms of behaviour can be invoked to reinforce existing gender relations or to subvert them. Stolen and Ennew's empirical research indicates that the specific emphasis given either to reinforcing or subverting will depend on the actors involved and the particular circumstances surrounding decision-making.

The final, more recent attempt at re-evaluating a focus on gender relations by giving emphasis to the constitution of multiple identities, can be seen in newly emerging interest in the concept of the life course. Pratt and Hanson (1993) suggest that recent work by geographers has attempted to link work on the life course with a focus on multiple gendered identities for the following reasons:

The need to deconstruct the category women is now widely acknowledged within feminist theory. Much of the discussion about difference has moved around the experiences of class, race, ethnicity, religion and sexual alliance, with very little consideration given to the ways in which women's experience change through the life course. (Pratt and Hanson 1993 p.30).

In the same edited book Full Circles Geographies of Women Over the Life Course Katz and Monk (1993) attempt to bring together different feminist interests in the life course and "provide cross-cultural perspectives" (Katz and Monk 1993, p.265). In the conclusion, the editors emphasise the metaphor of 'juggling' to show how women cope with the multiple demands upon them. They implicitly suggest that these demands reflect women's multiple identities and oppressions. By focusing on spatiality Katz (in the same volume) takes cross-cultural analysis further. Linking life course analysis directly to the constitution of gendered power relations in particular places, she draws on examples from
Sudan and the US to show how "social power is reflected in and exercised through the production and control of space" (Katz 1993 p.88).

Pratt and Hanson emphasise that in order to avoid essentialising the category ‘woman’ it is necessary to place gender in the context of the constitution of a wider identity rather than just adding a list of differences (eg. class, ethnicity etc.) to the label itself. In this way the concept they use is not one of differentiated gender but rather a process of becoming whereby a multiple identity is articulated through the weaving together of a series of categories. It is this process of weaving that constitutes an identity at any point in time and space.

This section has shown how the new theoretical research agendas identified in this thesis so far and the current interest in multiple identities in some GAD research can be traced back to the dissatisfaction with explanations of change which focus on describing gender roles and measuring and mapping gender relations. It has shown how from the mid 1980s certain authors have empirically identified the importance of the multiple constitution of gendered identities, even though a clear body of theoretical research did not exist to explain such findings.

In order to introduce the specific empirical agenda of this thesis and to trace its origins the next section will take an in-depth look at the ways in which gender relations and identities have been used to analyse issues relating to women and work in Latin America. It describes the broad socio-economic and political contexts in which changes in gender relations and identities in Latin America have occurred in recent decades, before focusing on some of the important issues surrounding women’s work in paid employment and their involvement in New Social Movements. Weaknesses in particular approaches to an analysis of changing gender relations are identified with particular reference to double/triple burdens, survival strategies and practical and strategic gender needs. The ways in which these analyses have influenced empirical research in Latin America in general and Peru in particular are highlighted throughout the section.
Finally, the section concludes by showing how recently some Latin American empirical studies have begun to focus on the multiple constitution of gendered identities. This new trend provides the context for the analysis in this thesis of women’s involvement in emergency employment in Peru.

SECTION II: CHANGING GENDER RELATIONS AND IDENTITIES IN LATIN AMERICA

In Latin America research has suggested that gender relations and gendered identities have been contested in three different spheres of activity: through collective activism in the face of economic adversity, through political crisis as well as through women’s access to paid employment (Radcliffe and Westwood 1993). At the global and continental wide scales, three interconnected processes have acted to raise the importance of these spheres in recent years, particularly during the 1980s and early 1990s. These processes are listed below:

1) Increased poverty and world recession

In 1985 seventy million people in Latin America (nineteen per cent of the total population) were poor while fifty million (twelve per cent of the population) were extremely poor. The 1980s marked a departure from the periods of growth experienced in many countries in the post war era and became characterised by debt, economic decline and increased poverty. In the period 1950-80 real GDP in the continent more than doubled but by 1989 it had fallen below its 1980s levels (Cardoso and Welwege 1992). Per capita growth in GNP for the decade was minus eight per cent (Knippers Black 1993). Philip (1993) says that by 1989 of all the Latin American economies only Colombia and Chile showed signs of reversing the drops in per capita income caused by the debt crisis of 1982. Qualitative measure of poverty also indicate a worsening of the situation for many people, for example in 1990 approximately three quarters of the population of Latin America showed some degree or manifestation of mal nutrition (Knippers Black 1993).

8 Cardoso and Helwege (1992) base these figures on the provision of basic needs in the form of estimates of the cost of a minimum food basket.
While poverty increased in the continent as a whole, specific countries and specific sectors of the populations were more affected than others. In most league tables for the period Peru, Panama, Haiti and Bolivia frequently formed the poorest countries. According to the World Bank poverty was severest in rural areas but it was the self employed and those who worked in construction or public ‘make work’ or emergency work programmes who suffered the most (Cardoso and Helwege 1992). Tonkman (1989) has echoed these findings. As recession hit Latin America and formal industries stopped expanding more people entered the informal sector. Tonkman estimates that by 1989 thirty million Latin Americans were engaged in informal production. Of the people working in this sector between seventy five and eighty per cent earned below the poverty line.

Increases in poverty were also associated with its feminisation as women comprise a greater proportion of the informal sector and of government ‘make work’ programme (PREALC 1988; Tonkman 1989; Buvinic 1993).

2) Feminisation of the labour force

Women's participation in the labour force in Latin America has increased in recent decades averaging about twenty four per cent of the adult female population in the 1950s and reaching approximately thirty three per cent in the 1980s (Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos 1992). While this trend has been occurring slowly since the 1950s (according to Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos at a rate of one per cent per annum), in some countries such as Colombia, Brazil, Panama and Mexico women's participation in the labour force has increased more rapidly. This trend is particularly true for the decade of the 1980s. Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos claim that this trend cannot be attributed directly to economic growth but suggest that it is linked to expanding opportunities for women in the public sector which has been a long-term trend. Other important factors influencing the global increase in women's participation in the paid labour force has been the feminisation of certain 'footloose' industries as international capital has sought out cheap labour in times of economic restructuring (Stichter and Parpart 1990). Such global
processes have been encouraged by the de-regulation of the labour force, free trade agreements, and the growth of export production zones (Standing 1989).

3) The ‘transition to democracy’

Latin America has been experiencing ‘a transition to democracy’ for the last decade. By 1991 every country in Latin America with the exception of Cuba had a democratically elected government for the first time in its history (Green 1991). This process has involved revolution as well as evolutionary strategies and has given opportunities for many women to play new roles as key political actors (Fisher 1993, Radcliffe and Westwood 1993, Kuppers 1994).

During the 1980s and 1990s these three processes have been expressed in a variety of ways throughout Latin America and the particular forms they have taken and the ways in which they have become interwoven reflects the fact that they have been mediated by state and supra state policies in different places. Factors such as the creations of Free Trade Zones, the implementation of adjustment measures, privatisation and the general ‘rolling back of the state’ at the behest of international institutions such as the IMF and World Bank have tailored the effects of these processes in different areas. One cumulative result of these changes is that each of the three spheres highlighted above has provided new circumstances where traditional gender roles and gender ideologies have been called into question. Feminist research during the last few decades has focused on the circumstances in which traditional roles are being challenged and the ways in which gender relations are being contested. The following sections look at these debates in more detail with reference to two spheres of activity: paid work for women and women’s collective action. The approach taken highlights areas where changes have and have not taken place and looks at ways these changes have been conceptualised theoretically.
Women and paid employment in Latin America

Paid employment refers to many different activities in Latin America including factory employment, homeworking, domestic service, vending and various other diverse forms of income generation. In all of these sectors research has assessed the impact of paid employment on changing gender roles and gender relations.

According to Chaney and García Castro (1989) domestic workers account for at least twenty percent of the female paid labour force in Latin America and the Caribbean. Empirical studies have revealed that discriminatory mechanisms are at work producing these labour market patterns. For example in Peru, nearly half the female migrants to Lima are aged between fourteen and sixteen (Ennew 1993) and most of these girls migrate in order to combine work and study (Loza, Luza, Menoza and Valverde 1990). On arrival, however, they are faced with a very limited job market and long hours of work which make adequate schooling difficult to obtain. These specific mechanisms, together with the fact that domestics are rarely unionised, seldom receive fixed wages and in general terms become socialised as workers into private home spaces (Radcliffe 1990) means that domestic work, particularly that carried out on a live-in basis, rarely leads to upward mobility for women and often serves only to reinforce women’s domestic roles as they continue to do what they have always done: work in the home space for little reward or recognition (Chaney and Bunster 1989).

Similar trends have been noticed with regard to women’s involvement in selling activities. Women occupy a disproportionate number of the poor quality vending jobs (MacEwan Scott 1990, Babb 1990) and their jobs often reflect sex stereotyping as they often produce and sell perishable food stuffs or traditional artisan products (FLACSO 1992). Women are frequently prohibited from increasing the scale of their operations or from expanding their ventures into non-stereotyped activities by poor access to credit facilities (Berger and Buvinic 1989) and discriminatory practices by male retailers (Chaney and Bunster 1989) as well as by state and municipal licensing departments.

This type of research has led many feminists to criticised the ways in which debates around employment and the rise of a focus on ‘the informal sector’ have been gender blind. For
example, in her work on labour markets in Lima MacEwan Scott has challenged the use of the term ‘informal’ where it does not explain gender patterns of employment:

In summary then, when we look at the characteristics of men’s and women’s employment in the informal sector, we find that it was women’s employment that conformed to the ideal-typical conception of unskilled and poorly paid and dead-end jobs, and this was true of their situation in both formal and informal sectors. In other words, as currently characterised, ‘formal’ jobs correspond to men’s jobs and ‘informal’ jobs correspond to women’s jobs (MacEwan Scott 1991 p.117).

Ennew (1986) makes a similar point. Although she does not expressly criticise the use of informal/formal, her work on Lima indicates a weakness of this dual concept - ie its inability to explain why some jobs are women’s and why some are men’s:

Studies of women in the labour market in Lima have shown that female employment decreases as male employment increases. Women are confined to specific spheres of employment, often as domestic workers. In general they have lower educational achievements. Social attitudes also help to limit them to child care and domestic tasks. But this does not explain why the labour market is segregated in this way, nor why certain occupations, like textile work, sale of food stuffs in the market place and electrical goods have become feminised or in the words of one economist, why certain economic categories become ‘bearers of gender’ (Ennew 1986 p.51).

Therefore various types of research have shown how complex mechanisms (ranging from the jobs available and sex stereotyping to the theoretical tools used to analyze labour markets) work to discriminate against women’s participation in the labour market. These feminist analyses have been carried through into much of the recent Gender and Development research on employment which has been concerned with the increased role of women in manufacturing industries under the New International Division of Labour.
Women's participation in these industries has not been uniform across the world, however, and authors such as Pearson (1986) and Stichter and Parpart (1990) have been quick to point out that in Latin America there is little history of women's employment in the manufacturing sector. With the exception of the Mexican border areas, parts of the Caribbean and Brazil, Pearson suggests that "Latin America was never a major location for footloose, offshore investment in the garment and electronics and electrical industries which formed the bulk of Third World export processing, the sectoral base of the so-called new international division of labour" (Pearson 1986 p.69). According to Grown and Sebstad (1989) this lack of investment is reflected in the fact that, in global terms, Latin America has the lowest participation of women in the paid labour force: twenty five per cent of all women as compared to thirty six per cent in E Asia, forty two per cent in Africa and fifty two per cent in SE Asia (Grown and Sebstad 1989).

In this context therefore, studies of changing gender relations have been confined to a few key industries in specific areas. Humphrey's studies on the Brazilian garment factory and research into outworking practices in Mexico (not necessarily linked to the New International Division of Labour) have exemplified this type of work. This research has shown how within factory employment, gender bias is often perpetuated. For example, Humphrey (1987) has shown how notions of a male family wage, arbitrary skills allocation and job segregation have consistently discriminated against women and reinforced biased stereotyped notions of appropriate and inappropriate work for both genders.

Other research has emphasised how, as the labour force has become increasingly deregularised, women have been incorporated into poor quality jobs which often pay piece work rates and operate within domestic spaces. One of the key emphases of feminist research has been to highlight the blurred boundaries between formal and informal work that these outworking practices have produced and research on the maquiladora industry in particular, has shown how gendered power relations are reinforced through both global and local processes (Marchard 1994).

\[^{9}\] For a cross-section of this sort of work see for example, Babb (1990), Lawson 1992, Délano and Leymann 1993.
Household economy research associated with a focus on paid manufacturing employment for women has also emphasised that women’s access to wage earning facilities does not necessarily lead to positive changes in household power relations (Jelin 1990, Benería and Roldán 1987, Chant 1994). For example, Benería and Roldán have shown how, despite new employment opportunities, women do not necessarily reap decision-making control as a result of improved incomes. Instead, through male control of housekeeping through pooling systems, where women and men pay into a joint fund women’s budgeting power is limited. The specific mechanisms used by men include withholding information concerning their exact earnings and taking out unknown quantities for ‘personal use’ while denying women the same privilege. Under such regimes women’s earnings are designated for certain goods and men’s, for others, but it is ultimately men who decide these issues. The conclusion of this research therefore is that changes in gender roles and gender relations, as a result of women’s access to wage labour are not automatically forthcoming.

**Women’s collective activism as New Social Movements?**

The second area of study for changing gender relations has been the opportunities provided by low-income women’s involvement in collective activism around issues of community provisioning, collective consumption and political activism in times of crisis in Latin America. The severe economic and political crises that have affected many Latin American countries in recent years, particularly during the 1980s, have been well documented. Escobar and Alvarez (1992, p.1) claim that "since the early 1980s, Latin America has seen, in the minds of many, its worst crisis of the century". While there has been much attention given at the macro scale to the success or failure of adjustment policies and stringent debt management Chinchilla (1993) claims that the social movements that have resisted these trends have been largely neglected. Escobar and Alvarez suggest that a possible reason for this neglect lies in the fact that much of the resistance that has been documented has not been rare spontaneous outbursts of anger, but a diverse mosaic of collective action that makes it difficult to identify as a single popular movement of resistance. They also suggest that certain socio-political circumstances sometimes rendered this resistance submerged and invisible (Escobar and Alvarez 1992 pp. 1-2).
Much of the early research on this topic therefore concentrated on separate elements of resistance and was to a large extent ghettoised within different academic disciplines and approaches. For example, feminist researchers working on issues of women’s popular organisation often worked in isolation from those studying other aspects of grass roots activity. This early feminist research highlighted the extent of women’s participation in popular social movements and the importance of women’s activities for social reproduction in times of crisis; such research did not always involve comparative work on other popular movements but did suggest that these activities represented a new, public space for women (Jelin 1990). Lind expresses the theoretical implications of this approach:

Popular women’s organisations, then, represent a struggle operating at many levels, crossing many false divisions set up in the Western philosophical tradition between "private" and "public". They represent a struggle against engendered forms of power, as embodied in male and female subjects in the everyday sphere, as well as a struggle against institutionalised forms of power inherent in traditional class-based political institutions and in the dominant Western practice of development (Lind 1992 p.135).

Early work on women’s collective activity focused on activities as diverse as soup kitchens, primary health care organisations, self-help income-generating strategies, human rights movements and women’s participation and new roles in revolutionary movements in places such as El Salvador and Nicaragua (Fisher 1993, Randall 1981, Chinchilla 1992). In these activities women’s collective action was conceptualised as ‘doing politics differently’ (Escobar and Alvarez 1992, Jelin 1990).

After documenting women’s roles in these activities analysis focused on their implications for gender relations. Initially these spheres of activity were optimistically seen as providing an emancipatory role for women. Chinchilla (1992) argues that this optimism was partly based on the new contexts in which women’s activities in Latin America were operating by the mid 1980s. She suggests that by this time it was significant that some
women were participating in formal politics, that women's organisations were already established and that a Marxist feminist critique was becoming established in both theory and practice across the continent (Chinchilla 1992 p.41).

As research documented the long term consequences of political and economic adjustment for gender relations however, some of the early optimism started to wane and a more pessimistic analysis suggested that once the period of crisis was over, women were often forced back into, or chose to re-assume, their traditional roles. This change was documented for both economic and political collective action and some of the most depressing research indicated that there was no place in post-revolutionary regimes for the changed dynamics of gender relations (Escobar and Alvarez 1992). This literature described the mechanisms whereby women's collective activities became co-opted by the state or international funding bodies with the result that women's activities sometimes became little more than institutionalised, cheap social welfare programmes (Barrig 1995).

Another aspect of this literature was the realisation that many of these popular women's movements reinforced stereotyped notions of women's domestic role. While women gained public recognition for previously private activities many of these activities did not challenge the ideologies that sustained gendered divisions, as Lavrin (1993) explains:

Some forms of female social and political participation have been generated by harsh economic realities and the solutions - as in the *ollas* and *comedores* - take domesticity into the public domain without changing the basic roles that women play or the ideologies that sustain them (Lavrin 1993 p.17)

Research on soup kitchen movements (strongest in Peru, Chile and Bolivia) illustrates the lack of change in domestic ideologies most clearly. In Peru these movements grew rapidly in the 1980s. For example, Delpino (1990) claimed that soup-kitchens in Lima increased fifteen fold during the five year period from 1983. By 1988 there were at least 1500 in existence. While a large part of this increase can be attributed to the government-sponsored *comedores populares* (public kitchens) programme, other agencies such as the
church, political parties and international NGOs also played a role in stimulating their growth. Spontaneous organisation of *Olla Comunes* (which literally mean ‘common pots’ where people bring their food to share cooking costs) was also common; it was initiated by local women, on a short-term basis, to ‘weather the storm’ of unexpected price increases. State-backed programmes such as the *Vaso de Leche* scheme developed highly organised, although sometimes, bureaucratic networks to distribute a glass of milk a day to children in the shanty town areas. By 1991 there were 6500 groups of women organised into committees to oversee the distribution of this milk in Lima (Vargas 1991).

Overall the Peruvian literature\(^{10}\) suggests that while there are important examples of long-term change as measured by women’s access to resources, by decision-making power within households and by control over communal activity, the general consensus seems to be that these new forms of co-operative social organisation often last only for the duration of a crisis. Few long-lasting influences on gender relations have been documented because in soup-kitchens the aim is for women to do what they would ‘normally’ do in their homes: to cook for their families. As women become involved in soup-kitchens the domestic division of labour within their homes seldom changes (Lenten 1990), and, as Barrig (1989) suggests, women’s traditional labour role is simply transferred to another space, which is not necessarily new or politicised. Some empirical research has shown how participation in these activities sometimes provokes division among women rather than promoting solidarity or an awareness of common problems (Laurie 1988).

In a similar vein, work on women’s overtly political activities in transitions to democracy also took on a less optimist light in the mid 1980s, as research emphasised that women were mainly confined to protesting in their domestic roles as mothers. Empirical studies suggested that the motivation for women protesting was not radical but reflected the fact that the state failed to provide (in a patriarchal sense of provision) basic needs such as security and food. The implication of this analysis is that women entered the fray to fulfil their traditional gender roles rather than to subvert them (Chinchilla 1993).

---

The pessimistic turn in research on women’s participation in both economic and political collective activity in the mid 1980s tended to focus on whether women’s roles were traditional or not. While some of this research can be criticised for its adherence to western divisions between public and private domains, questions concerning whether gains obtained in extraordinary circumstances were long term or whether traditional roles were resumed once the specific crisis passed remain significant issues for research on the constitution and negotiation of gendered identities.

**Conceptualising change: women’s roles, survival, needs and burdens**

While the themes of co-option, long-term versus short-term change and traditional or non-traditional roles have influenced much empirical study, these questions have been framed in a variety of different ways. Research can be categorised into three different approaches: the double/triple burden, survival strategies and practical/strategic gender needs.

The first approach to gain significant sway in development studies in the early 1980s was that of the double/triple burden on women. One of the first authors to highlight the double/triple burden experienced by Latin American women was Audrey Bronstein in her 1982 book entitled *The Triple Struggle: Latin American Peasant Women*. Since then, many authors have indicated that development, particularly within the modernisation paradigm, places more burdens on women. If women enter paid work their domestic burden seldom eases, and instead they are given a double role in production and reproduction. Marxist feminists working on gender issues in the First and Third World have emphasised that this relationship is at the heart of capitalist development as it services capital and allows accumulation to take place (Beechy 1987; Young, Wolkowitz and McCullagh 1981).

Women’s double burden is increased when they assume a third role as community managers and organise collectively for political and or community ends (Moser 1993). A focus on women’s triple burden has gained great significance in the context of current debates within development studies. Research on the social cost of economic adjustment packages shows how women’s role as community managers is becoming increasingly strained as it bears the brunt of cut backs in public sector spending, health care, social
provision and rises in food and fuel prices as subsidies are removed. Authors are suggesting that women are not endlessly flexible in juggling these three roles and current empirical research is indicating that many low-income women, in a variety of economies undergoing adjustment, are experiencing 'burn-out' in physical as well as psychological terms (Moser 1993, Awumbila 1994).

One of the critiques made of an emphasis on the burdens that development processes place on women is that it sets them up as passive victims (Délano and Lehmann 1993, Mosse 1993, Ostergaard 1992). It is partly in response to these criticisms that a focus on survival strategies has attempted to conceptualise women as agents of change rather than as victims. Survival strategies describe the collection of diverse activities in which women engage in order to conduct their everyday lives and analysis focuses on the relationships between these different activities and the mechanisms that women employ to juggle them. In terms of changing gender relations this literature has placed much emphasis on the role of female solidarity and collective organisation for maintaining the social and economic networks that enable survival to take place on a daily basis. Its weakness is that it is often merely descriptive and that it also assumes that decisions are taken in a premeditated strategic fashion.

The third approach that has gained much attention, particularly in the realm of development planning, is the analysis of strategic and practical gender needs. This approach seeks to identify different elements within a collection of survival strategies which, when taken as a whole, are often seen to perpetuate existing power relations. This 'needs' approach distinguishes between those activities that lead to a common goal and those that produce a gender-sensitive agenda for development planning. It is often caricatured into short-term and long-term goals. The terms practical and strategic interests was first used by Molyneux (1986) in her analysis of gender issues in the Nicaraguan Revolution. Her analysis reflected her scrutiny of the long-term gains in gender terms of the Sandinista revolution. Since then, her approach has been adopted widely and has been
used particularly by planners and practitioners in attempts to make policy gender-sensitive\textsuperscript{11}.

The approach, however, has limitations, particularly when used as a planning tool across different cultural and economic contexts. Difficulty arises with the analysis because what is one group’s ‘practical interest’ may well be another’s ‘strategic interest’. The boundary between the two interests fluctuates and therefore it is necessary (although not always easy) to identify the thresholds at which needs are converted from one interest to another. For example, when does it become strategic rather than practical for women to participate in soup kitchen movements which may or may not lead them to criticise the economic policies of the government or the IMF? It is with these sorts of criticisms in mind that Lind (1992) has suggested that the analysis implies a negative hierarchy of needs, with poor women’s activities meeting practical needs and feminist movements meeting strategic ones. Lind says:

Implicit in this approach is the assumption that women’s "basic needs" are different from their "strategic needs" and that a "practical" or a "survival strategy" cannot simultaneously be a political strategy that challenges the social order (Lind 1992 p.137).

Lind suggests that this analysis is based on fixed categories of gender and class rather than on fluid constructions of collective identities. She suggest that the later approach is more useful in analyzing the ways in which women negotiate and challenge dominant ideologies.

Rarely, if ever, is discussion focused for example, on how poor women negotiate power, construct collective identities, and develop critical perspectives on the world in which they live - all factors that challenge dominant gender representations. (Lind 1992 p.137).

\textsuperscript{11} A framework of practical and strategic gender analysis has been promoted extensively by the Development Planning Unit, originally under the directorship of Carolyn Moser. This matrix has had a major impact on the language of policy bodies such as the UN, as well as national practitioners and government agencies.
These points are explored in more detail in the next section with a view to developing a new theoretical agenda for the analysis of women’s activities which draws on research on New Social Movements as well as on alternative approaches to analyses of various paid work situations.

**Conceptualising change: negotiating collective identities**

Recent research has attempted to re-conceptualise the above debates in relation to women’s paid work and social movements by placing gender relations in the wider context of the ways in which collective identities are constituted and contested. This approach is relatively new and as yet does not represent a consistent body of research or a new paradigm in which to place Latin American gender studies. Lind (1992) however, sums up the general tenet of an emerging consensus and sets out a new research agenda with the following words: "It would be more useful to understand change as it occurs at the site of identity production, as well as at the societal level, as new conceptualisations of gender are represented" (Lind 1992 p.145).

The emphasis she places on analysis at the site of identity production is important because in theoretical terms such an approach prioritises the specific mechanisms by which hybrid identities\(^{12}\) are formed in the long and short-term and emphasises their relationship with traditional gender ideologies. This approach attempts to avoid an over-emphasis on public and private divisions and also takes a more cautious approach towards issues concerning sexual divisions of labour:

> Whether or not women directly challenge the sexual division of labour, transformations of identity that occur at the level of the subject and the subsequent ways these transformations are incorporated into organising strategies are at least significant, if not more so. In other words, the transcendence of the existing sexual

---

\(^{12}\) Hybrid identities emerge as a result of a variety of processes. In the negotiation of gender processes of ‘hybridity’ usually refer to the formation of identities which are seemingly ‘new’ but which retain a semblance of ‘the old’ and which are, to various degrees, rooted in (or sometimes grafted onto) previously hegemonic gender ideologies.
division of labour, which in the past, has referred primarily to the productive and reproductive work of men and women, is but one aspect of women’s organising strategies (Lind 1992 p.146).

This approach shifts the emphasis away from identifying evidence for changing power relations in the context of sexual divisions of labour, towards a focus on the fluid constitution of personal and collective identities and the implications of these processes for the negotiation of gender relations.

In general these themes of continuity and discontinuity of changes in social relations and social roles are important to an analysis of New Social Movements because they show how alliances are made between interest groups and individuals during periods of identity formation. Empirically such research could concentrate on the autonomy and cooption of movements and alliances, while theoretically, it should attempt to link these mechanisms with notions of hybridity and the subversion of traditional gender ideologies. An example of such an approach can be seen in the work of Feijóo and Gogna (1990) on women’s participation in transition to democracy in Latin America. They have emphasised the continuity of women’s social movements by suggesting that "paradoxically, what appears to be new could in fact be the permanence of the old" (Feijóo and Gogna 1990 p.107). In other words their analysis suggests that new groups sometimes finally end up representing old interests in the establishment of institutions such as women’s offices, women’s unions and women’s parties (Valdés 1994). Therefore these movements do not necessarily change the way in which politics are conducted.

The notions of continuity, discontinuity and hybridity have not been taken up to the same degree in research on spheres of paid work. Such analyses to date have largely been confined to research on women’s collective activities as part of New Social Movements. Wilson’s (1993) research on outworking is an exception in research on paid work as she emphasises the maintenance of seemingly ‘traditional’ domestic spaces in order to legitimate new activities for young girls.
She takes the continuity/discontinuity agenda in her research on women and paid labour by focusing on gender relations and changing identities in workshop production in Mexico. She highlights the importance of the conflation between a protected domestic space and the physical concealment of de-regularised labour practices in influencing issues of identity formation and social acceptance of change: "This conflation centres on the cultural construction of womanhood and on the sanctity accorded familial relations" (Wilson 1993 p.67). She suggests that while domestic space and household labour relations are upheld publicly "nevertheless, internal meanings and relations inevitably come to be contested and then changed" (Wilson 1993 p.69) as women come to see themselves as wage labourers. Wilson therefore introduces the notion of continuity and discontinuity of actions into her analysis. She suggests that while something may appear to display continuity (to be a ‘traditional’ role or action) internal contestation may mean that the role or action is actually discontinuous with previous views about appropriate behaviour and ways of being. Her findings are significant because they suggest that research needs to look beyond the ways in which changes in gender relations have been analyzed previously (focusing largely on visible - and measurable - changes in outward manifestations such as divisions of labour and uses of public/private space) and also focus on the ways in which notions of appropriate and inappropriate gendered behaviour can be contested internally.

The emphasis that both Wilson (1993) and Lind (1992) place on internal and subtle change (in the context of paid work and collective action, respectively) marks a new approach towards analysis of changing gender relations. They both emphasise the mechanisms by which gender identities are negotiated rather than the visible changes in gender relations that are produced. They suggest that even though the outward manifestations of divisions of labour and labour relations appear to be unchanged (or ‘traditional’) this veneer often conceals inward contestation.

A third important theme in the negotiation of identities in Latin America is the formation of alliances across differences. These differences exist between individuals and form around collective issues such as class, ethnicity, party politics etc. The alliances that form are very important to the continuity of social movements and have been studied in various
geographic and historical contexts. For example, Fisher's (1993) study of feminist and women's networks in the Southern Cone has highlighted the practical as well as theoretical problems that social activists face in making alliances around identity politics. She indicated the tensions that arose between women when those who had been exiled during civil unrest and dictatorships returned to take an active role in women's movements. Her work illustrates how practical problems of forming political alliances have an important influence on the continuity of social movements.

Similar problems with alliances have also been identified within the paid work sector. For example, research has highlighted the problems of forming alliances that cut across class and gender by emphasising women's persistent exclusion from formal union organisations and by identifying the barriers that arise when attempts are made to unionise women working as domestics or as outworkers (Chaney and García Castro 1989).

A fourth theme which has emerged as an empirical focus of this type of research on collective identities is the oppositional or legitimising role the state plays in creating continuity or discontinuity in women's activities (Chinchilla 1993). The 'spaces' (both physical and conceptual) in which established gender relations and identities are questioned and new relationships and identities forged are often very fragile and contradictory. An analysis of the internal tensions within these 'spaces' and the constant threat of their cooption is a useful way of avoiding a division of women's interests into strategic and practical needs. Instead attention is centred on issues of cohesion and transformation of identities and an examination of the mechanisms that maintain and break relationships. In the area of New Social Movements Chinchilla (1992) has shown how collective actions can create a 'space' to engage in new relationships with the state but both Chinchilla (1992) and Hellman (1992) point to the threat of co-option of women's interests by conservative elements, whether it be the state or the church. Chinchilla (1993) has specifically shown how, in a transition to democracy, the formation of alternative identities for women is often very dependent on the goodwill of post-revolutionary regimes. Thus, identifying the role of institutions in mediating change is crucial to a research agenda that addresses the negotiation of identities and gender relations in new social spheres.
If processes of negotiation are assumed to be central to the constitution of collective and individual identities then it follows that an empirical research agenda should seek to identify the barriers that prevent the formation of solidarity among women in the short and long-term. In practical terms, such an analysis provides an important lesson for research inspired by feminist politics that attempts to explore particular contexts where women are subordinated. Taking the case of outworking as an example of this type of research such an approach would indicate that the nature of the relationship between outworking and domestic concealment means that the dominant discourse around appropriate and inappropriate activities for women and girls are not easily challenged. This conclusion, however does not mean that a feminist project should be abandoned; instead it argues that in these circumstances attention needs to be paid to the fact that such 'spaces' sometimes allow for internal contestation, whereby modes of 'appropriate' behaviour are challenged within traditionally safe places. More research is therefore needed to identify the subtle mechanisms used to challenge dominant meanings and practices within protected spaces of this type.

With regard to long term changes in gendered identities, some authors suggest that while it is by no means automatic, exposure to either new paid work situations or social movements can sometimes promote the growth of a feminist consciousness and a change in women’s self-conceptualisation (Chinchilla 1992; Vargas 1991). Other authors have shown that when this occurs, however, it is often a slow and painful process (Fisher 1993; Saporta Sternbach et al. 1992). A methodology that begins by acknowledging the sometimes contradictory nature of identity formation is the approach which is most likely to produce an understanding of the mechanisms that help constitute change.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has shown how trends within the two broad literatures on cultural identities and Gender and Development are producing a new research focus on the constitution of gendered identities. It has also shown some of the empirical agendas that are beginning to emerge from these interests. It has illustrated how some gender research in Latin America is beginning to address the mechanisms by which multiple identities (individual
and collective) are constituted at different levels and maintained and changed in a variety of ways.

A theoretical focus on gender relations in the context of multiple identities is currently producing much debate and this debate has led Stephens (1993) to conclude that "the long term meaning of women's participation in Latin American social movements is unclear" (Stephens 1993 p.84). It is evident therefore that more empirical research is needed. In the context of the contemporary and sometimes rapid changes in Latin American economies this agenda is possibly even more urgent for women participating in new paid work spheres. Most of the recent growth in studies on gendered collective identities in Latin America has been confined to the realm of New Social Movements, and with the exception of Wilson (1993), few researchers have given attention to paid work experiences.

In terms of the scale at which analysis is conducted there have been few empirical studies at the level of the household which have brought the two themes of paid work and new femininities together. By examining the links between changes in gender relations and the constitution of hybrid identities for low-income women in Peru this thesis will aim to draw together these themes. It will focus on the negotiation of these gendered relationships and identities at a household level and will highlight the role of the Peruvian state in facilitating this process through the creation of an emergency work programme.
Chapter Three
Methodology

Introduction
There are many possible approaches to the study of emergency employment. By concentrating on gender this thesis pursues a feminist analysis. Feminist research within contemporary human geography is diverse and contested (WGSG forthcoming) and consequently this chapter addresses the influence of various feminisms on research practice, agendas and methodologies. It asks how power relations influence research: to what extent do they influence the formation of research questions and the approach towards fieldwork? The case studies are placed in the broader context of a discussion of what constitutes ‘a field’ for feminist geographers and specifically asks if ‘the field’ represents somewhere to go or a social terrain?

The practical research strategy examines the ways in which issues in the field of this thesis were tackled. It focuses specifically on the combination of intensive and extensive methods used and assesses the problems encountered in research. By discussing positionality, the conclusion returns to one of the fundamental issues in feminist research. It argues that my positionality as a researcher in ‘the field’ can be best explained by my ‘inbetween’ status during fieldwork.

Negotiating Gender
Feminists of various persuasions have long since emphasised the political nature of their research there is some confusion, however, about what ‘feminist research’ comprises and what makes it political. Two common definitions of feminist methodologies have held much sway in geography. The first suggests that a feminist methodology is defined as being on the side of the oppressed and invisible and the second more specifically claims that a feminist methodology is ‘for women, by women and about women’ (Gilbert 1994). Both these definitions can be helpful in addressing issues in development geography. For example, much of the research on women in Latin America which has focused on
reclaiming 'lost memory' as a political act (making visible the history of those who have been invisible) has been very powerful. This is especially true for work that has adopted innovative methodologies to help de-stabilise oppressive regimes and situations and has used interview material, testimonials and photography to make the voices of oppressed women heard internationally. This work is often 'by women for women and about women' and often focuses on collective voices (Agosin 1989; Bunster and Chaney 1989; Burgos-Debray 1984; Hooks 1991). Such 'reclaiming' experiences can also be significant in the lives of individual women. In the case of the research for this thesis on emergency work in Peru many women valued the experiences they gained in the employment programme. The act of speaking about those experiences for the first time lent a political dimension to the research, it was feminist research precisely because no one else had asked them about their opinions before and many welcomed an opportunity to articulate the significance of these experiences in their lives.

Both of these broad definitions of feminist research, however, can encourage an uncritical conflation between feminism and politics. In its political stance the first definition ignores the fact that many other forms of research, which would not necessarily call themselves feminist, are also on the side of the oppressed and invisible. More significantly, this 'other' research has at times revealed prejudices and biases at work within feminist analysis itself accusing much feminist work of homogenising women's experiences (Mohanty 1991; Caraway 1991). This critique also holds for the second definition which ignores the fact that research for women, by women and about women does not necessarily have to be political in a progressive sense (ie it does not necessarily lead to challenging the status quo and established power hierarchies). Nor does it always include wider questions of gender and sexuality in research.

These issues facing feminist research also have resonance with wider questioning of appropriate research methodologies. Much theoretical debate within the social sciences has been given to methodological approaches which inform the practical techniques used in

---

1 For example, it sometimes isolates the growing interest in masculinities as well as femininities in fieldwork as seen in a recent book entitled "Gendered Fields Women, Men and Ethnography" edited by Bell, Caplan and Karim (1993).
data gathering and collation. While attention has largely been focused on the choice between quantitative and qualitative techniques these debates need to be seen in the context of the wider theoretical questioning of research methodologies. Gilbert (1994) provides a useful set of definitions to set the scene for such comments:

A research method is a technique for gathering evidence, a methodology is a theory or analysis of how research should proceed, and epistemology is a theory of knowledge (Gilbert 1994, p.91).

In a recent review of ‘women in the field’ in the Professional Geographer, Nast (1994) suggests that there has been relatively little attention paid within geography to debates around feminist methodologies. She says that this is particularly concerning given the emphasis that feminist geography has placed on empirical research and also given the predominance of such themes in other social sciences, particularly sociology and anthropology. Nast is referring specifically to the lack of published debate on these issues but it is important to note that there has often been considerable informal debate in conference panels, seminars and casual conversations. Such discussions (many of which have focused on the practical implications of adopting feminist politics in research), have, however, rarely found their way into academic journals. The 1994 review in the Professional Geographer was therefore ground-breaking in its transformation from conference session to journal article and the series of articles it contains highlight some important issues for feminist research, namely the power relations involved in fieldwork and the need to be aware of the ways in which research agendas are developed. These issues are discussed below.

---

2 The masculinist construction of the discipline (as highlighted by Rose 1993) perhaps partly explains these exclusions and silences because it is a masculinist voice that labels such soul searching in research as "a confession to salacious indiscretion" (Oakley as quoted by England 1994).
Fieldwork and power relations

The theoretical focus on social relations in feminist studies raises questions concerning the power relations involved in field research. Much research within sociology, anthropology and literary theory has looked at power relations in two specific research situations: interviewing and testimonial writing. This work provides useful guidelines for developing practical research methodologies which take into account the power relations concerned with fieldwork.

Randall (1991) has suggested that oral history, testimony, testimonial journalism and in-depth interviews are all very similar and represent "a whole other way of listening to and looking at life" (Randall 1991, p.105). This 'whole other way', however, is not without problems and many questions arise, not only about the mechanics of these processes (ie how to do them) but also related to broad concerns about whose voice is being heard and represented.

In order to tackle issues of power relations head on, Ribbens (1989) has suggested that interviewing should be recognised as an 'unnatural situation'. In a similar vein Cotterill (1992) has addressed questions related to abuses of power in interview situations. Rather than questioning 'universal sisterhood' by conceptualising the interviewee always as a passive subject, both Ribbens and Cotteril emphasise the need to avoid seeing power only as uni-directional. In order to do this, both authors point to examples of power shifts and emphasise that both the researcher and the 'researched' can be vulnerable or in control at different points and in different contexts. This situation was my personal experience of fieldwork because in the context of civil strife in Peru I was frequently very dependent on the advice and protection of key informants and those people I interviewed. On several occasions these networks provided me with the opportunity to cancel interviews at the last moment because someone had warned me that an armed strike was going to be called in that location. Economically speaking I was usually seen as a 'gringa rica' (rich western woman). As the economic situation in Peru worsened and essential commodities became scarce, however, I was very dependent on the informal networks established during fieldwork to obtain access to basic supplies such as rice, sugar, oil, milk and flour. At other times with my connections in the school where I was employed I was a source of
contacts for people, especially women, looking for paid work or for a market for goods
they wanted to sell.

In a similar way, when discussing the effects of the race of an interviewer\(^3\) on the
interview situation Rhodes (1994) questions the assumptions about power implied in a
stance that claims that interviews should ideally be carried out by people of the same race.
He suggests that this notion freezes power and assumes that the only significant dimension
of exploitation is racial, even though in particular contexts "other dimensions of social
inequality may often be more significant to participants" (Rhodes 1994, p.556). These
comments are not intended to suggest that the power relations within fieldwork do not
frequently reflect hegemonic hierarchies, structured for example, by masculinist and racist
and imperialist practices. Rather, the intention is to emphasise that in certain
circumstances, power relations are fluid and can be negotiated at certain points on specific
issues. Overall, what these debates suggest to feminist geography is that by debunking
ideas about non-hierarchical interviews feminists have to recognise the need to engage in
complex scenarios of power relations each time they conduct field research involving
people as subjects.

The second issue related to power relations is that of ownership of the agendas
represented and fulfilled through fieldwork. To what extent do researchers (in this context
white, western feminists) impose research agendas through the topics studied, the
interpretation of data and the prioritisation of certain results? These issues represent some
of the most fundamental political challenges facing feminist research.

In her analysis of qualitative methods, Opie (1992) has attempted to conceptualise some
of these issues by considering the interview as text. Her approach suggests that in the
context of research the interviewer 'imposes' everywhere and always to some extent. By
using Said's notions of strategic location and strategic formation\(^4\) she suggests that

---

\(^3\) Race in this sense is used to focus on the effects of racisms on the interview encounter.

\(^4\) Describing Said's (1989) approach she uses the following definition: "He identifies two ways by which
textual authority is constituted. The first he calls 'strategic location' which defines the location of the
author in relation to the material about which she writes; and the second is a process called 'strategic
researchers can begin to recognise the power relations which inform these impositions and can therefore start to de-construct them. De-construction of this nature can help promote research encounters that encourage researchers to question why they think the way they do.

Similar ideas are being used by literary critics in analyses of testimonial literature as a political process which largely focuses on the power relations this type of writing helps constitute or challenge. In particular, literary analysis has looked at the relatively new genre of Latin American testimonial literature to raise questions about the appropriation of voice and authorship in texts. An interesting outcome of this debate has been to show how the power relations that build texts are very complex. For example, taking the question of power relations in the editorship of a book such as *I Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (Burgos Debray 1984), various authors have argued that the way in which the text is written should be understood from the point of view of its role in creating a dialogue (Sommer 1991 and Pratt 1994). This text was used as a dialogue between western feminists and Guatemalan political activists to serve as a catalyst for political protest. These politics depend very much on the representations of subjects in the text and the communication of those representations to a specific audience. They are based on an alliance between subjects which include authors/editors. These alliances do not depend on a shared agenda although sometimes agendas coincide. Either way, in the case of Rigoberta Menchú’s testimony, Pratt (1994) and Sommer (1991) both argue that this is an alliance that is made across difference and that as such it automatically implies contradictions within the coalitions and power relations that are formed. The acceptance of the inevitability of such contradictions and strategic representations is also important, I would argue, in the use of survey and interview materials as ‘texts’. The next section uses some of these ideas to describe how the issues of agendas and power relations were dealt with practically in the research on emergency employment in Peru.

---

formation” which defines how texts acquire mass, density, and reverential power among themselves and thereafter in the culture at large” (Opie 1992 p.56).

See for example two special editions of *Latin American Perspectives* Voices of the voiceless in testimonial literature 18(3), and 18(4) and forthcoming conference proceedings of ”Latin American Cross-Currents in Gender Theory”, University of Portsmouth, 13-15th July, 1994.
Collaborative research and research assistants

The scheduling of interview and survey techniques was intended to encourage flexibility in the research agenda, allowing for issues developed by women in interviews to take a primary role in the development of survey questions, rather than beginning with a predetermined collection of questions set by me. However, this - interview first, survey second - practice by no means guaranteed flexibility therefore collaborative work was established early on in the research programme. Personal contacts in each area acted as research assistants who not only helped carry out the interviews but who also contributed to the final outline of the survey together with modifications from my supervisor. In Lima six women (Sabina, Rosa, Vikki, Irma, Millie and Meche), who lived in the communities where fieldwork was conducted helped in this way. Their personal experiences were invaluable in the development of the research questions. Vikki and Irma were the most experienced in carrying out research, having previously conducted various surveys for an NGO establishing a soup kitchen. They had also both worked in the employment programme themselves for about two years so they knew many of the employees by sight and were familiar with the programme’s functions. Millie and Meche were involved in managing a community development project and were equally experienced in survey work. They also had many contacts in their barrio and were familiar with the way in which the employment programme operated. Sabina and Rosa had little previous experience of this type of work but regular team meetings with myself and the other research associates helped them to learn the basic techniques and reflect on their experiences. I had known all six research assistants as friends for at least four years prior to starting fieldwork.

The research assistants in Andahuaylas were Edy and Maxi, both teachers, bilingual Quechua/Spanish speakers and personal friends of mine. We had known each other for approximately five years prior to fieldwork. Although neither of them were particularly familiar with the PAIT programme they were well known in their communities and had both conducted qualitative and quantitative research in the area previously. Their help was invaluable because fieldwork was sometimes complicated by cultural and language differences between Spanish and Quechua.
For the initial interviews, Edy became the research assistant. Interviews were confined to San Jerónimo (see Figure 3.1 and Plate 3.1) where he was most well known because at this time Andahuaylas was classed as an emergency zone, making people suspicious of strangers. Maxi replaced Edy for the implementation of the questionnaire because Edy had to return to work at his school. They both advised me that it would be better for a woman rather than a man to conduct the survey as the sample was drawn from a large area and they felt an unknown woman would seem less threatening than an unknown man.

In order to carry out interviews, the research assistants made the first contact and explained what I was doing, then two of us visited the interviewee’s home where I conducted the interview. After the interview, the research assistants usually provided me with any important background information that had not emerged during the interview. For example, in several cases I was told afterwards that a woman was a widow because her husband had been assassinated or ‘disappeared’ by Sendero or the army. In two cases I learned that although the women were married their husbands were in jail for drugs trafficking. The research associates also gave me hints about how to elicit and interpret certain more sensitive information such as women’s opinions of their fellow workers, their party affiliation and other such personal information. They also taught me how to interpret language and cultural nuances. This was particularly important in Andahuaylas where some expressions and ways of speaking were different. For example, I was told that women only use certain tools in agricultural work and therefore when they said that they used these tools in emergency employment it was an important departure from their usual habits. Similarly certain words, such as the Quechua word for ‘snob’ or someone who is ‘stuck up’ were explained to me when they could not be fully translated by a single Spanish word. After individual interviews the research associates and myself usually discussed the topics that were emerging with a view to incorporating them in the questionnaire survey.

---

6 With regard to asking for women’s opinions of each other I was advised not to ask about gossips (chismosas) but to raise the issue indirectly by asking whether there were women who formed particular groups within the workforce. On the issues of party allegiances I was told not to say ‘Aprista’ as this could be construed as an insult and instead to ask whether people were sympathisers of any particular party.
Figure 3.1 The town and province of Andahuaylas, Apurimac, Peru

Figure 3.2 The Pueblos Jovenes (shanty towns) of Lima
Plate 3.1: Research associate (Edy Rivas) with a female interviewee (San Jerónimo)

Plate 3.2: Workshop with research associates (Lima)
The questionnaire can be seen in appendix i. In the first instance, it was written in English, commented upon by various people, adapted and then translated into Spanish. This draft copy was then reviewed by the research assistants who highlighted areas I had left out and changed the language to make it more colloquial where necessary. This was particularly important in the case of Andahuaylas where Sierra Spanish is different from that of Lima.

The questionnaire survey in Lima and Andahuaylas was carried out by the research assistants who were paid for the work. After discussions about the time involved in locating interviewees we decided that rates of pay for the field researchers should be established using a combined hourly and piece-rate, based on the number of questionnaires completed and the time involved.

Before the survey was conducted, a workshop was held in Lima to discuss its implementation (see Plate 3.2). The questionnaire was based on the themes that had emerged in the interviews and was designed so that the researchers could ask the questions and complete the forms in a way that would avoid offending people whose literacy skills were poor. We discussed each question and highlighted the areas where it was important not to lead people into certain answers but allow them to answer for themselves. I accompanied the researchers on their first day to experience any practical problems and then I met the Lima team, after approximately ten questionnaires had been completed in each area, to discuss further problems and compare experiences.

In Andahuaylas, because of the distance involved, this level of communication was not as easily sustained. Contact was maintained by telephone and after about thirty forms had been completed I was able to visit and co-ordinate with Maxi.

Despite these attempts to make the research process as un-threatening as possible for those answering the questions (bearing in mind the lack of trust the political crisis engendered in emergency zones such as Andahuaylas and the Lima shanty towns) not all aspects of the proposed fieldwork were completed. For example, a series of short, open-ended questions (see appendix ii) directed at members of PAIT employees’ families which
accompanied the questionnaires were seen as too intrusive. These questions were intended to serve as a cross-reference for the claims workers made about the impact of PAIT on their lives and practices but they only made neighbours and family members suspicious about researchers asking questions. These problems indicate that despite attempting to develop a research methodology appropriate for 'the field', circumstances such as the political context which were beyond the control of the research still had the power to impinge on the desired results.

**Defining the Field**

One of the main issues that the collection of papers in the *Professional Geographer* raises is the uncritical way in which 'the field' has been defined within geography (including feminist geography). 'The field' has usually been treated as a physical thing, a place to go. This has been particularly true for human geography research on 'The Third World' which has the dubious advantage of nearly always avoiding the 'is it geography?' question by virtue of the travel element involved. This definition is in contrast to conceptualising 'the field' in political terms as something "not naturalised in terms of 'a place' or 'a people'; rather located and defined in terms of specific political criteria that operate on different but connected levels" (Nast 1994; p.57). In this sense "a field is a social terrain" (Nast 1994 p.57) and researchers act within this terrain by engaging in relationships both with and as subjects of research.

With this definition in mind, the 'field' element of 'fieldwork' for this thesis was not just two specific places (Lima and Andahuaylas) located geographically in Peru or the social context of the employment programme studied. 'The field' also implies the relationships formed with people and the decision-making processes involved in developing the research agenda and adopting specific 'field' techniques. Politically, 'going to the field' in this case was largely significant in terms of the social relations implied in 'the going' (particularly concerning issues of privilege within the world order - issues of 'rich' researchers in 'poor' areas) and the ways in which social relations ('mine' and 'theirs') became reconstituted as a result of these research encounters.
Fieldwork was conducted on a part-time basis over a period of three years (1989-1992). The first year was spent reviewing the Peruvian literature on gender and development, establishing sources, making key contacts and selecting case study areas. Two different case-study areas were selected to give a rural/urban contrast which included identifying regional and cultural differences in gender roles and gender relations. In the existing research on the emergency employment programme in Peru (Graham 1991, Graham 1989, Houghton 1988, Paredes 1988, Vigier 1986) little attention has been paid to gender issues, at most these studies have noted the feminisation of the programme and described the different socio-economic circumstances of the women who participated in the programme. No studies have examined the implications of this feminisation for gender relations at a household level; and neither have they focused on the rural dimensions of the programme.

The two geographical areas chosen for study were selected because the APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) government who launched PAIT had targeted them as weak areas in terms of party affiliation and support (Graham 1991; Crabtree 1987). Consequently, emergency employment was generated in these areas soon after APRA assumed power in 1985. One case study was drawn from three communities in Villa María del Triunfo in Lima’s southern shanty towns (José Galvez, Villa María Cercano, La Tablada) and the other from three communities in Andahuaylas (San Jerónimo, Andahuaylas Cercano, Talavera) a small market town in the rural, southern Andes (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

Andahuaylas
Andahuaylas was selected because gender roles in this area have traditionally involved divisions of labour where domestic responsibilities have fallen to women in private spheres. While women take a public role in agriculture, the tasks they do are often different from those of men. Generally, they reflect the sorts of gendered roles described by Radcliffe (1986) for subsistence economies in the rural areas of Cuzco where women’s principle roles are planting and marketing low-order produce. Three communities were selected to provide a cross-section of central and peripheral parts of the rural town (Figure 3.1).
As the second largest settlement in the southern Andean department of Apurímac, Andahuaylas, approximately thirty hours from Lima by road or one hour by irregular flights, is a focal point for trade between the surrounding high mountain plateau (Puna) and the fertile jungle valleys to the east. According to the 1981 census the total population of the province of Andahuaylas was 104,892 people. Andahuaylas Cercano, San Jerónimo, and Talavera, the three communities chosen for study, had 18,197, 9,560 and 11,338 inhabitants respectively (Antay 1990). Trade in the area is enhanced by the fact that the town is located on the main road between Cuzco and Ayacucho. Although Apurímac has consistently been among the poorest departments in the country until recent decades Andahuaylas has been relatively prosperous (Antay 1990; Oficina Subregional de Desarrollo 1991). Since the early 1980s, the fierce civil war raging between the military and Sendero Luminoso (the Maoist guerilla movement: The Shining Path) has left much of the area economically and socially crippled. In the face of this conflict refugees have migrated to Andahuaylas and the departmental capital, Abancay, from the upland areas (Contreas Ivarcena, 1991). Fieldwork for this thesis indicated that many of these migrants were young, impoverished women looking for ways to support themselves and their dependants.

Overall, women in the Andahuaylas sample were younger than the women in Lima (they were mostly under thirty five years of age) and their socio-economic situations reflect to some extent the severe impact of the civil war in Apurímac during the 1980s. Figure 3.3 indicates that compared to the women employees in the Lima sample, a large proportion of the women working in the employment programmes in Andahuaylas were young, woman-headed households. Table 3.1 suggests that a number of these women were widows and that even some women who described themselves as single mothers were also 'de facto' widows because although they had not been legally married their male partners had died.
Figure 3.3: Status by Age of Female Labourers in PAIT

Source: Fieldwork
Information gained from in-depth interviews indicated that a significant number of the woman-headed households in Andahuaylas were 'war widows'. Such information is almost impossible to gain from the census and other macro-level data and the impact on the impoverishment of certain women can only be appreciated through anecdotal information to date. In one case, all five women interviewed in Pochota, one part of San Jerónimo were recent migrants from La Mar, a small village near Huanta in the department of Ayacucho. These women had moved after their community was attacked and their partners/husbands assassinated in the early 1980s. In another case, a young girl was allowed to enrol in the programme from the age of ten because her father had been killed by the Shining Path and her mother was sick.

The legacy of the civil war has also had indirect implications for the impoverishment of households in general. As a result of the fighting, many small holders as well as large commercial producers lost the use of their land. In recent years the repercussions of these losses has meant less reliance on the subsistence economy and a rise in the importance of wage income in Andahuaylas. As part of this increased dependence on a cash economy many households have looked for extra income from women’s activities. For many of
these women, access to emergency employment provided their first experience of wage labour relations although a minority had worked as domestics in Lima or Cuzco for short periods during their mid to late teenage years (Figure 3.4).

**Lima**

In contrast to Andahuaylas, Lima case studies were chosen on the assumption that women’s exposure to paid work and to non-traditional divisions of labour and gender relations would be greater in a major urban area. Eighty per cent of Lima’s 6 483 901 population (INEI 1994) live in shanty towns or inner city slums (Matos Mar 1987). Figure 3.2 illustrates that the shanty towns or *Pueblos Jovenes* (New Towns) of Lima are largely located on the periphery of the city and form two distinct areas: the northern and southern cone. In recent years the size of these communities has been increased by the large number of refugees from the government designated emergency zones which by 1991 numbered sixteen out of the twenty five provinces in the country (Strong 1992).

Fieldwork in Lima concentrated on three different *Pueblos Jovenes*: Villa María Cercano, La Tablada and José Galvez, in the municipality of Villa María del Triunfo where the total population in 1991 was 313 912 (INE 1991) (Figure 3.2). La Tablada and José Galvez are more peripheral than Villa María Cercano but all of the *Pueblos Jovenes* have a large percentage of new housing invasions, comprising bamboo shacks with limited service provision where the poorest people and most recent arrivals live. Figure 3.5 shows housing type by zone and indicates that José Galvez is the zone with the largest amount of poor *estera* (bamboo matting) housing. The majority of these bamboo shacks are dependant on illegal electricity taps and water bought from trucks (Figure 3.6 and Plates 3.3 - 3.6).

The majority (seventy nine per cent) of the women in the Lima case study were first generation migrants from rural areas. The most common origins of these women are the departments that make up what Crabtree (1987) has called the Andean Trapezium (the southern-central departments of Apurímac, Cuzco and Ayacucho). Most women, particularly those living in José Galvez, originated from Apurímac (Figure 3.7).
Figure 3.4: Previous paid work experience of women employed in PAIT in Lima and Andahuaylas

Source: Fieldwork
Figure 3.5: Housing type by zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Type of Building</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>Adobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>Adobe (rented)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L3</td>
<td>Brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Adobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Adobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Adobe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: rented adobe has been included because in Andahuaylas this usually represents low-income housing.

Source: Fieldwork

L1 José Galvez
L2 La Tablada
L3 Villa María
A1 Andahuaylas (town)
A2 Talavera
A3 San Jerónimo
Figure 3.6: Household electricity supplies of women PAIT employees (by area)

Lima

- don't know
- no supply
- illegal electricity
- legal electricity

Andahuaylas

- don't know
- no supply
- legal electricity
Plate 3.3a: New *estera* invasion, José Galvez

Plate 3.3b: New *estera* invasion, José Galvez
Plate 3.3c: New *estera* invasion and road built by PAIT (José Galvez)

Plate 3.4: Mixed housing (La Tablada)
Plate 3.5: Established brick housing (José Galvez)

Plate 3.6: The town of Andahuaylas
Figure 3.7 Origins of women in the Lima sample

Source: fieldwork
Fieldwork indicated that the most recent housing areas in José Galvez and La Tablada have the largest proportion of newly arrived refugees from the emergency zones and as such, these areas represent the poorest districts of the municipality and provide a useful comparison with the Andahuaylas samples.

**Household size**

The households that women in the programme came from varied in size and composition. Figures 3.8 and 3.9 provide information about the range of household sizes observed. In Lima the majority of households comprised five or six individuals, whereas in Andahuaylas the size was more varied, the most common being between four and seven people (although in several cases households were as large as fifteen people). The average number of children also varied. Generally, in the Andahuaylas sample, women had fewer children than in Lima although this possibly reflects the younger age profile of the women and life cycle differences. The average number of children in Lima was between three and four, although a significant percentage of women had only two children (Figure 3.9). In Andahuaylas over a quarter of the women had no children at all and generally lived with their parents.
Figure 3.8: Total number of people living in PAIT household

Source: Fieldwork
Figure 3.9: Total number of children in PAIT employee Households

Source: Fieldwork
Women's education and previous work experience

The Peruvian national census reveal great rural-urban disparities in educational provision and standards (Franke 1985; Antay 1990). When comparing educational levels of women in the case studies for this research, however, there was surprisingly little difference between Andahuaylas and Lima. In fact, it could be said that the women in Andahuaylas were better educated than those in the Lima sample because there were more women in Lima who had not completed primary education than there were in Andahuaylas. Table 3.2 shows women's levels of education in both places.

Table 3.2 - Formal educational background of PAIT women
(as a percentage of all respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary complete</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary incomplete</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary complete</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary incomplete</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These data are particularly revealing when seen in the context of the similarity between the proportion of women who have had no schooling at all (seventeen per cent of the women in the Lima sample compared with eighteen per cent in the Andahuaylas sample).
Despite the metropolitan facilities in the capital, more women in the rural areas completed secondary and higher education than women in the Lima sample. An important influence on these trends is the fact that many of the women migrated to Lima at a young age and may not have been able to complete their education. Fifty six per cent of the women who were not born in Lima arrived in the capital before the age of fifteen. Thirty seven per cent of the women who migrated to Lima claimed that they came to the city in search of employment, which as Figure 3.4 shows, usually meant work as domestics. Although many of them would originally have had dreams of combining employment with finishing their education, various authors have documented the mechanisms that operate to make this goal very difficult to obtain (Loza et al. 1990; Ennew 1986, 1993; Radcliffe 1990). Their education therefore, often remained poor, whereas their rural counterparts in Andahuaylas were able to obtain higher levels.

To some extent, the large proportion of women who had attended higher education in Andahuaylas can be explained by the presence of the one of the few teacher training colleges in the province and the limited opportunities for waged employment for women in the town. Secondary and higher education is often therefore an option for girls who live in Andahuaylas itself and for others who come to live in the town from the more remote parts of the province in order to complete their education.

Despite these higher levels of education in Andahuaylas, Figure 3.4 confirms that there were few job opportunities for women in Andahuaylas prior to the emergency programme\(^7\). Most women worked either as domestics (as mentioned above) or as daily labourers (either for a daily wage for agricultural work - or as part of regular reciprocal labour exchanges via kinship group ties) at some point prior to entering the work programme. A significant number of women in both Lima and Andahuaylas worked as vendors. Most of these were *ambulantes* (street hawkers) rather than vendors with fixed, licensed, stalls. Only one woman in Lima and one in Andahuaylas worked as a vendor with a fixed kiosk, which is generally more lucrative than hawking.

---

\(^7\) This figure includes a counts of more than one job for some people (ten women in Lima and sixteen women in Andahuaylas).
A significant number of women in Andahuaylas claimed that they had had 'other' work experiences. Although these jobs were quite diverse, the higher levels of education these women gained is partly reflected in the fact that some women (five in total) stated that they were in higher education immediately prior to the emergency programme. Another five said they had been working in the government-sponsored nursery school scheme, PRONOEI, which requires a certain level of education even though the pay is poor (less than that in the emergency work programme).

The practical strategy of fieldwork

Sayer (1984) has discussed the need to use appropriate methods to answer specific questions and suggests that often a combination of intensive and extensive methods are needed for a variety of questions within a single research project. In the main, intensive methods address the 'how' questions and extensive methods investigate how widespread trends and processes are geographically and socially. Ribbens (1989), Gilbert (1994) and Rose (1993) make similar distinctions within feminist research, suggesting that a combination of methods helps keeps research agendas sensitive to a broad range of questions and issues. Ribbens (1989) also indicates the strength of different forms of questioning in different contexts, showing for example, that questions which seem 'leading' in surveys can often serve to clarify issues in interview contexts. If the parameters of the question are already established and a certain level of relationship and understanding already exists between interviewer and interviewee a leading question can clarify confusion without exacting a solicited answer. In the interviews for this thesis I frequently asked women questions in a way that allowed them to contradict me. For example, after women described the work they did in PAIT I often asked "so you liked the work in PAIT?" in order that they would think decisively about their response. If they said "yes", or "no", or even "it depends" I could follow the first question up by focusing on the specific issues they raised.

In the fieldwork for this thesis I used both intensive and extensive methods, a combination which varied in different contexts. Fieldwork started with semi-structured interviews with
programme employees, most of whom were women. These interviews were taped and transcribed in Spanish in order to identify the issues that the employees felt were significant about the programme (see appendix iii). This method was supported by other intensive research which included newspaper archive work and semi-structured interviews with programme officials as well as more formal interviews with people involved in non-governmental organisations related to gender and development or emergency work.

Following these interviews a questionnaire survey was designed to assess how widespread some of the trends identified in the interviews were and systematically to compare the two case study areas. A random sample of employees for the survey, together with information about specific projects was gathered from government archives.

The questionnaires in both Lima and Andahuaylas were completed over a period of four months from November 1991 to February 1992. There were 215 in total of which 29 were addressed to men and the rest to women (appendix vi shows the breakdown of these questionnaires by location and sex). While socio-economic data were provided in the archives they were often incomplete and consequently basic questions covering these issues had to be included in a questionnaire which made it time-consuming. It was often difficult to maintain people's interest for such an extended period. This was particularly true for women with young children many of whom answered the questions at the door of their homes. There were, however more significant problems affecting the research than these practical matters. The first related to the unstable political situation in Peru during the mid to late 1980s and the second to the overt role that emergency employment played in party politics.

---

8 Some male workers were also interviewed as were some partners and other family members of employees (see appendix iii).

9 In total 11 interviews, lasting 7 hours were recorded and transcribed.

10 For a full list of those interviewed see appendix iv.

11 See appendix v.
The most significant factor affecting fieldwork was the country-wide political, social and economic crisis that influenced Peru during the late 1980s. When fieldwork started civil war had been raging for nearly a decade costing 25,000 lives and displacing more than 200,000 people (Amnesty International 1991; Poole and Rénique 1992). During the early 1980s most unrest had been confined to the southern Andean provinces of Ayacucho and Apurímac and only later spread into the northern jungle areas of Tingo María and particularly the Huallaga Valley where guerilla activities became complicated by narco-trafficking (Scott Palmer 1992; Maust 1987; Contreras Ivarcena 1991). It was not until the late 1980s - early 1990s that civil war spread to the coast and to Lima. Sendero’s manifesto stated their intention to take Lima by 1990. As the 1980s came to a close bombings became more frequent in the capital and violence escalated as the army clashed with both the Tupac Amaru and Sendero Luminoso guerilla forces. In 1990 there were very real fears that the city would be taken as attacks on the electricity and water supplies, armed strikes and road blocks increased, and as many shanty town communities became ‘liberated’ zones or ‘no go areas’ for the police and army (Strong 1992; Poole and Rénique 1992).

In both Andahuaylas and Lima fieldwork was affected because both areas were classified as government emergency zones. In Andahuaylas the long history of unrest and distrust affected fieldwork from the beginning. In Lima it was the short-term ‘seige mentality’ and associated bouts of social panic that made fieldwork in the later stages particularly difficult. These circumstances contributed to the decision to confine interview work to areas where my personal contacts were good and to use research associates to help establish key informants and conduct surveys. On several occasions fieldwork in both the shanty town areas and Andahuaylas had to be suspended as a result of the insurgence of guerilla activity in these areas. This political unrest was made worse by economic collapse and soaring inflation (see Chapter Four) which contributed to social unrest and violence.

The second political influence on fieldwork was the fact the emergency work programme studied, acted as a political tool for the APRA party. In 1989 when fieldwork started the APRA government was rapidly losing public support amidst scandal and allegations of
corruption (El Comercio 10/6/89; La República 23/11/86)\textsuperscript{12}. These factors made it very difficult to obtain interviews with party officials, access to materials and general support for the research. Even interviews with ex-employees were often guarded as people seemed unwilling to speak freely. This situation altered to some extent with the change in government in 1991 and it was easier to talk with ex-employees and the public in general about the programme. In some cases, however there were still problems in gaining access to party officials and those people who had been in charge of the programme under APRA. Accusations that important documents had been stolen by previous APRA administrators were rife and the suspicions these sorts of comments aroused made it extremely difficult to gain access to certain important sources of information (Plates 3.7 and 3.8).

The change of government and a resulting change in administration of the programme, also created a series of new practical problems. The new party in power, ‘Cambio Noventa’, had only been recently formed and there was little political infrastructure to support the government’s administration. New staff, from among party members, occupied a variety of government offices, including the bodies involved in running the emergency employment programme. Many of these people were inexperienced and had little understanding of the programme. Consequently while I was able to gain access to the archives with the change of government, the newly appointed civil servants who were keen to help me seemed unaware of the material which existed and were not generally familiar with the working practices of the programme. This situation made research slow and laborious.

\textsuperscript{12} For a fuller discussion of this see Chapter Four.
Plate 3.7a: Propaganda for David Vargas (ex director of PAIT Villa María del Triunfo)

Plate 3.7b: Propaganda for David Vargas (ex director of PAIT Villa María del Triunfo)
Plate 3.8: Defaced PAIT propaganda (1990)
The archives in both Lima and Andahuaylas were in disarray and I was obliged to spend much time filing and organising before I could use the material. Time was also lost trying to locate people who appeared as employees in the archives but who did not actually exist in reality as many of the addresses and names in the records were false. Whatever the reasons for the inaccuracies, the result was that the search for potential respondents occupied much time. In total, twenty two people in Villa María Cercano and José Galvez could not be located because they were not known in the area or had moved away, or because there was no such address as that given.

Conclusion: Inbetween-ness

The travel time spent going to and from the shanty towns, the lack of safety on the buses, and also, the dependence on fights to Andahuaylas which were irregular, particularly in the rainy season, made fieldwork a lengthy process. There are many advantages of spending so long doing fieldwork, such as the chance to build up good contacts and to continually reassess the direction and relevance of empirical work. There are also practical disadvantages, however, some of which were specific to my personal circumstances and others that are more generally encountered by those attempting to develop a feminist research agenda.

The problems faced by any researcher working in conditions of poverty are always difficult to cope with and throw up many questions and challenges. The contradictions of my own lifestyle, where in the mornings I lived and worked in an elitist environment (I was employed as a teacher in the British Girls' School in Lima) and where in the afternoons I experienced the opposite extreme in the shanty towns, were very draining. While I had good links with grass roots networks I often felt isolated at an academic level, gaining little feedback on my work other than long distance communication with my thesis supervisor.

Some of these problems can be attributed to errors in copying the records as many of them were faint carbon copies, written in a hurried form by hand and rarely printed. Another possible explanation is that many false names or addresses were given to cover up the fact that more than one person in the same household was working in the programme which was not permitted. A more serious possibility is that they represent evidence of the much talked about scam instigated by the programme's administrators whereby payments were made to false names and bank accounts and collected by members of the administration themselves.
As a result of full-time employment before going to Peru I was not able forge the sort of academic links with Peruvian and British researchers that would have been helpful to me before starting fieldwork. While in Peru I tried to remedy this by contacting various research institutes but this was not as easy as I had hoped. By my third year, I had made some progress and received support and critical comments on my work from one Peruvian academic\textsuperscript{14} and a well known documentation centre was particularly helpful\textsuperscript{15}, I also received some feedback from the International Labour Organisation. This situation, however, is not ideal and it would be something that, given the chance again, I would wish to change. These dilemmas, however, did make me reflect on my own shifting ‘positionality’ as a researcher.

Much has been written on positionality and reflexivity in research (Nast 1994; England 1994; Bonnett 1993; Bell et al 1993). In terms of this research the most important aspect of this literature is the recognition that positionality is important, and that it is not fixed (Kobayashi 1994; Rhodes 1994). This approach emphasises the role of alliances between interviewer and interviewee in research and shows how the positionality of the researcher can shift within various contexts and ‘fields’. Staeheli and Lawson (1994) summarise this approach by introducing the idea of ‘between-ness’:

This recognition - that we cannot fully understand others’ subjectivities and speak with authority for them - does not imply relativism and certainly must not lead us to abandon research topics. Rather, we should recognise that the space of betweenness is a site in which we can uncover the experiences and politics of marginalised groups. Situating ourselves in a space of betweenness requires us to build a new concept of objectivity that recognises the partiality and situatedness of all knowledge (Staeheli and Lawson 1994 p.99).

\textsuperscript{14} Maruja Barrig who was working with ADEC.

\textsuperscript{15} Centro de Documación Sobre la Mujer (CENDOC MUJER).
Spaces of between-ness are not difficult to find - they are created every time we engage in fieldwork - but as Kobayashi (1994) suggests they do not remain the same: they shift, and moving with them can be the most demanding, as well as the most valuable, field experience.

The most significant influence on my situation in the field was my personal combination of full-time paid employment and part-time research in very different spaces. While my ‘inbetween’ spaces helped me situate myself as the researcher, maintaining these spaces in ‘the field’ on a daily basis, was demanding and meant having to deal with personal contradictions. I was between the expatriate, English speaking community and the Peruvian elite teachers; between life in the capital’s shanty towns and, at other times, in one of the most isolated mountainous parts of the country. This combination of activities and locations constantly reminded me that I belonged everywhere and yet I belonged nowhere. It revealed my personal contradictions and emphasised that we all hold multiple identities in tension.

In order to cope with this situation and the pressures of moving in different worlds I had to form alliances with people in ways I would not have had to do had I been living only one of the four scenarios. I had to represent those alliances constantly, in order to put people’s minds at rest about the various ‘others’ I interacted with and also to explain (and sometimes justify) why I did what I did. Sometimes this process of representation was very political, and strategic, other times it seemed more like a compromise.

The lived experience of this field greatly influenced the focus that my research took. In methodological terms, it led me to suggest that the dislocation of ‘inbetween-ness’ is one of the most useful tools for reflexivity in fieldwork. In terms of wider questions about feminist methodologies (do they exist? should they exist? what are they?) it prompted me to conclude that from the position of ‘inbetween-ness’ we see the need to form political alliances with other interest groups which share similar, although not always identical aims and to recognise that these alliances necessarily influence the agendas we make. The
implications of this position means that when it is strategic at certain points to speak as a feminist then I shall do so, but in so doing, I also try to recognise that this is not the only voice I have.
Chapter Four
From Work to Welfare: Féminisation, Emergency Work and the Peruvian State

Introduction
Chapter Two discussed the global rise in the participation of women in the paid labour force and focused on issues relating to women and paid work in Latin America. In recent years, most literature on the increased participation of women in the labour force has focused on either the increase in women's employment in global factories located in Free Trade Zones across the Third World, or the increase in informal practices such as outworking in component and textile manufacturing\(^1\). Increased female participation not only characterises the New International Division of Labour, however, but is also emerging as a significant feature in less well documented, state-backed, employment initiatives which target low-income groups in times of recession and crisis. In Latin America the people working in these programmes often represent some of the poorest sectors of society (Cardoso and Helwege 1992).

This chapter focuses on the emergence of these Special Employment Programmes and explores their origins, extent and implementation in Latin America. It examines the contradictory conceptualisations of work embodied in such state-backed initiatives and through empirical archive and interview based research focuses on the example of the Peruvian emergency work programme, PAIT (Temporary Income Support Programme 1985-1990) in order to explore the ways in which the state responded to processes of feminisation. The chapter specifically highlights the relationship between feminisation and a shift in state rhetoric.

---

Emergency employment: a global phenomenon

State-led emergency employment programmes, which the International Labour Office (ILO) have categorised as Special Employment Programmes, vary in size, scope and location. They have very specific goals, either to address problems caused during supposedly extraordinary circumstances or to act as ‘one off’ initiatives geared towards redressing imbalances created by long-term structural trends in economies and labour markets.

Historically, such initiatives have not been confined to Less Developed Countries (LDCs). For example, in the 1930s, Roosevelt’s ‘New Deal’ represented a similar type of Special Employment Programme, which aimed to bring the USA out of recession and stimulate growth (Levine 1988). Currently, many similar programmes operate throughout the ‘developed’ world and according to Freeman (1988, 1990) most countries in the West operated some form of special employment programme during the recession of the 1980s. In recent decades, however, the majority of interest in Special Employment Programmes has focused on LDCs, with most attention being given to programmes since the 1970s in South Asia and Latin America (Gaude and Watzlawick 1992). In South Asia, the best documented projects have been a variety of rural work programmes in India (Gaude and Watzlawick 1992; Freedman 1990; Acharya and Panwalkar 1988). In Latin American the employment office of the ILO, the Programa Regional de Empleo para América Latina y el Caribe (PREALC), has identified a series of government projects as Special Employment Programmes. The following table lists these Latin American programmes, together with the time periods in which they have operated and an indication of the extent of their operations.

98
Table 4.1 - Latin American Emergency Work Programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The labour fronts of the North East</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(On average 500 000 jobs created per year)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>Plan de Empleo de Emergencia de Panama (1978-1980)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Emergency work plan</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(25 000 places of work provided per year)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Social emergency fund</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(20 000 person months of work created each month)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Programa de Empleo Mínimo (PEM)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Minimum employment programme</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Programa de Ocupación para Jefes de Hogar (POJH)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Occupation programme for heads of household</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Operating Since 1976, providing together, employment for 10 per cent of the total labour force)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Programas Regionales de Empleo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Regional employment programmes</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Started 1983. Created 560 day jobs for every million pesos invested. First year spent approximately 350 million pesos)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Programa de Apoyo al Ingreso Temporal (PAIT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Temporary income support programme</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(150 000 jobs created in the first three months of operation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These emergency work programmes were largely crisis-induced, and born of the idea that direct government intervention via job creation would be a quicker catalyst for change in times of crisis than indirect political/economic approaches dependent on market interventions, such as changing subsidies and labour laws for example. In equity terms, such measures were intended to target the poorest of the poor and to ensure against employers lowering wages when labour markets were flooded.

The basic motivation common to governments implementing these programmes has been two-fold: firstly, to reduce unemployment in the short-term, and secondly, to stimulate a flagging or stagnant domestic economy by giving buying power to low-income groups.

In general, Special Employment Programmes have been financed by outside aid and designed with the guidance of international agencies such as the ILO, the World Bank and other donor organisations. For example, in the first year of its operation, the Bolivian social emergency fund (FSE) received ten million dollars towards running costs from the World Bank. This sum matched the amount provided by the Bolivian government and was later enhanced by substantial donations from USAID, as well as the governments of the Netherlands, the UK and Germany (Balcázar and Romero 1988). On the other hand some programmes are funded nationally, for example the Peruvian programme PAIT was funded directly by the treasury although advice in the design and implementation of the programme was sought from international bodies such as the ILO.

Although Emergency Work Programmes had very specific goals when they were implemented in Latin America, they have also served in the longer term as precursors to another set of development strategies known as Social Compensation Programmes. These became popular during the late 1980s and early 1990s. They were implemented alongside structural adjustment policies, as buffer mechanisms to protect the most vulnerable groups in times of programmed economic transition. The first fund to be used overtly in this way was the FSE in Bolivia. Later projects have included the Social Solidarity and Investment Fund in Chile, the Social Investment Funds in El Salvador and Honduras, the National Solidarity Programme in Mexico (PRONASOL) and other social compensation programmes in Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela (Wurgaft 1992;
Cornelius et al. 1994; Carlón et al. 1994). Emergency work programmes have thus played a key role in the long-term national development strategies of a wide range of Latin American countries.

A crucial question in both the earlier emergency work programmes and the later Social Compensation Programmes has been the issue of whether the programmes were to be a temporary or a permanent part of social policy. There has been much debate on this issue (PREALC 1988, Graham 1992, Wurgaft 1992, Gaude and Watzlawick 1992, Montalván 1990). Wurgaft (1988) suggests that the worst scenario is when such projects fall between both camps:

[This analysis] does not imply that the Special Employment Programmes must be permanent or that they must be temporary. The duration of the programme will in each case depend upon the characteristics and situation of the country taking the decision. In this context, emergency programmes are equally as valid as permanent support projects. What is essential, however, is to avoid the situation whereby programmes which define themselves as temporary and are implemented as temporary, in effect become permanent programmes (Wurgaft 1988, p.10).

Therefore, despite the common economic and social themes within emergency work programmes, Wurgaft emphasises the need to tailor each programme to particular national circumstances. Before examining the specific national circumstances at the time of PAIT’s implementation in Peru, it is first necessary to place this case study in the wider context of issues surrounding the targeting and administration of Special Employment Programmes.

**Administering emergency work and targeting the poor**

In order to ensure that the most vulnerable people are targeted by Special Employment Programmes, policy discussions have focused on the importance of a decentralised administration (Gaude and Watzlawick 1992, Wurgaft 1992). The nature of this decentralisation and the role of the state is, however, contentious and national experience
has varied. For example, the Peruvian PAIT programme was highly centralised, functioning through a high profile government office, COOPOP\(^2\), whereas the FSE in Bolivia operated in a decentralised fashion, mediating between NGOs and the public and private sectors to such an extent that it was rarely obvious that projects carried out under their auspices were linked to the state (Wurgaft 1992).

Graham (1989, 1992) has associated the centralisation of emergency work administration with the dangers of political co-option. She concludes that projects such as PAIT are open to much more party/state-led abuse than other, less centrally managed, schemes. Whatever the advantages of the centralised - and decentralised - models, it is important to note that emergency work programmes have often been closely tied to a particular image of statehood promoted in times of crisis. Such images refer to the state as a paternalistic provider/protector of the vulnerable, or as a large entrepreneur creating jobs and stimulating production. These images, together with the programme administration and implementation, greatly affects the types of target populations that are identified and reached when programmes are initiated.

Generally, emergency work programmes have aimed to target unemployed male workers in their role as family providers\(^3\). The pay and the hours were fixed to discourage people in employment from leaving their existing jobs to take up employment in the emergency sector. Usually, programmes paid a wage that was the equivalent of the legal minimum wage, although there is some evidence from the Bolivian FSE that in rural areas the wages were less, due to the low real cost of living and the lack of higher wages in the

\(^2\) COOPOP (Co-operación Popular) was first established under Belaúnde and largely focused on providing rural infrastructure using voluntary community-based labour, which imitated traditional Andean reciprocal labour systems such as anyi and fines.

\(^3\) Wurgaft (1988) has been critical of this approach suggesting that targeting should be defined more specifically by looking at differences in the duration of programmes. For example, he suggests that short term programmes should target the primary earner whereas the medium term programmes should be expanded to include other earners. His analysis, however, focuses on family incomes rather than on individual earnings differentiated by age, gender and ethnicity.
few other paid labour sectors (Balcázar and Romero 1988). The wages for emergency employment were paid for contract work, thereby circumventing most rules concerning insurance and social welfare payments (Paredes 1988, Vigier 1988) and supposedly encouraging people to continue searching for permanent employment (Wurgaft 1988). In the case of programmes with heavy involvement from the private sector, it was claimed that this approach would encourage the private sector to take on employees in the longer-term (Wurgaft 1992). Similarly, the hours fixed were often just short of a full working day in order to facilitate the search for other, better employment (Wurgaft 1988).

Emergency work programmes were designed to target the poorest of the poor. The following table suggests that the wages gained from these sources provided a large percentage of the collective income in many households. For example in most of the programmes between one quarter and a half of the households with an emergency employee relied solely on this wage. The PAIT wage also provided over fifty per cent of the family income for at least half the employees.

Table 4.2 - Family incomes in specific emergency programmes
(Percentage of families for whom the programme income contributes the proportion indicated)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sole family income</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 50% of family income</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: 'Family' is the word used by Wurgaft (1988).

---

4 Some programmes also paid part of the salary in food stuffs and according to Wurgaft (1988) the majority paid in cash in order to avoid the overheads involved in banking systems, although PAIT was an exception as payment was made by cheque.
In the case of Peru more than sixty five per cent of PAIT households received fifty per cent or more of their income from emergency work. Other households were completely dependent on the emergency wage) thus indicating the importance of these emergency incomes for household reproduction.

Nearly all these emergency programmes were gender blind in their inception. Despite the fact that some initial studies suggested to policy makers that certain groups of low-income women were among the poorest sectors of their societies, no programme initially aimed to recruit women labourers. Instead, the language of targeting nearly always referred to low-income families rather than to individuals within households, as the following quote suggests:

[The aim was] to provide income for low-income families (familias de bajos ingresos) affected by unemployment or severe underemployment (Wurgaft 1988 p.4).

This bias is reflected in the most extreme case in the Bolivian FSE where, according to Graham (1992), women represented only one per cent of the labour force, despite high recognised poverty levels among woman-headed households. Whether these programmes reached those most in need is however open to question. For example, the FSE programme did not employ many ex-tin miners who were among the most vulnerable groups in society at this time (Graham 1992, Wurgaft 1992). Overall, Wurgaft (1992) has claimed that often the more visible and the more vocal found emergency employment rather than the most marginalised people. The Bolivian case is, however, unusual because although few of these programmes specifically targeted women, in general women flocked to them (Buvinic 1993). This was certainly the case in PAIT where over eighty per cent of the employees were women. The following table indicates the level of female participation in Special Employment Programmes in Panama, Peru, Chile and Bolivia.

---

5 With regard to the Bolivian FSE, Balcázar and Romero (1988) make specific reference to women looking for work, pregnant women and unemployed heads of households as being among the most needy.
Table 4.3 - Special Employment Programmes and Personal Characteristics of the Participants
(Percentage of the work force)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Panama</th>
<th>Peru</th>
<th>Chile</th>
<th>Bolivia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EWP</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>PAIT</td>
<td>PEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary or less</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Work Experience</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unemployed before entry</strong></td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Heads of Households</strong></td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PREALC (1988)

Note: n.d. = No data available

The figures for education in the EWP programme are PREALC's original data. It would appear some people were registered under secondary and higher education.

Despite the fact that the table indicates that there was a high female demand for this type of employment Buvinic argues that governments have been surprised by this demand and have failed to take serious consideration of gender in targeting strategies. In the absence of gender-sensitive targeting, many governments have developed ad hoc strategies as feminisation has occurred. For example, in the case of Chile, when the PEM programme attracted so many women the POJH programme was devised with the express purpose of excluding women and attracting male employees (Buvinic 1993). The success of this strategy is shown in Table 4.3 which indicates that over seventy per cent of the labour force in POJH were men compared to only thirty four per cent in PEM.
Buvinic (1993) suggests two general reasons for the high level of female participation in emergency employment. Firstly, she suggests that the local nature of the work-place often attracted women and secondly, she claims that the low wages generally deterred men from enrolling. She also mentions the possible significance of issues such as child care provision and the social stigma associated with such employment initiatives. The rest of this chapter explores these issues further in the context of the Peruvian employment programme, PAIT. I argue that in the PAIT case the state played a far more direct role in shaping the continued feminisation of PAIT than Buvinic’s observations would suggest because not only did their actions encourage women to participate but they also indirectly discouraged men from doing so.

**Peru and crisis-led employment**

PAIT operated for the duration of the APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) government (1985-1990). The emergency situation that faced the APRA government in 1985 was long-standing and had political and economic dimensions to it. Chapter Three described the political crisis and state of civil war that the new president, Alan García inherited. The second emergency that his government faced was the long-term economic decline that had been experiencing since the early 1970s. As Table 4.4 indicates in the five years prior to the APRA term of office real incomes do it been declined and inflation rose. For most of the Belaúnde regime economic growth (GDP) remained negative, reaching a low of minus twelve per cent in 1983 (Graham 1989). Glewe and Tray (1991) have traced the origins of this decline back further than the 1980s to the first period of Belaúnde’s rule (1963-68). They indicate that although the growth in GDP per capita averaged just over three per cent per annum in the period 1950-1966 by the late 1960s and throughout the period of the 1970s economic growth slowed and stagnation set in. Peru experienced declining terms of trade for its principle exports - oil, copper, zinc and other minerals and agriculture became less productive as little direct investment was made in agriculture after the land reform in the early 1970s. Overall, Peru’s economy declined and its foreign debt increased. In the late 1970s and into the 1980s economic decline accelerated. GDP per capita in 1980 was five per cent lower than in 1975 and by 1985 it had fallen a further fourteen per cent (Glewwe and Tray 1991).
‘Quality of life’ indicators also show the worsening economic situation in the 1980s. For example, for the period 1980 to 1986 Peru was one of the few Latin American countries where infant mortality rose. Life expectancy in the country was also poor. Peru’s average life expectancy of sixty one years of age was the third lowest in the continent, only Haiti and Bolivia had lower averages in the 1980s (Cardoso and Helwege 1992). Overall poverty levels in the country rose and the proportion of the population living below the poverty line increased\(^6\). In 1970 fifty per cent of the Peruvian population lived below this line and by 1986 the preparation had risen to fifty nine per cent. In 1986 the level of urban poverty was the second worse in the continent with fifty one per cent of the Peruvian urban population living below ‘the line’.

Government investment in health and education decreased in this period. In 1970 twenty one per cent of total government spending went on education and six per cent on health. In 1979 these figures were reduced to fifteen and six per cent respectively. By 1985 only the proportion of the budget spent on education increased and even this increase was almost negligible, representing less than one per cent of overall government spending (Cardoso and Helwege 1992).

Consequently when APRA came into power in 1985 they inherited an emergency situation which had become increasingly grave through the 1980s. It origins, however, stretched back more than a decade.

**APRA and the need for emergency work**

Although APRA is one of the oldest political parties in Peru, 1985 was the first time that it had come into power. It’s most urgent task as the new government was to tackle the economic emergency that the country faced. Thus, one of its first acts in government was to institute an emergency work programme. PAIT came into effect within a month of APRA taking office and was heralded by the party and government administration as central to their new economic programme. Within a few months of its implementation it soon became obvious that far more women than men were enrolling in the programme. In

---

\(^6\) The poverty line was estimated as the cost of two minimum food baskets (Cardoso and Helwege 1992).
fact, overall PAIT attracted the highest level of female participation of all the Latin American Emergency Work Programmes, averaging about eighty per cent of the programme’s work force (Buvinic 1993).

In order to understand the significance of PAIT, its centrality within APRA policy and the contradictions inherent within its practical implementation and assumptions about the workforce it is necessary to outline briefly the historical ideology of the party and the nature of its manifesto when it assumed power in 1985.

The strength of APRA over the years has been analysed largely in terms of its mystical appeal. In some cases, this analysis has gone to the extreme of describing the party in pseudo religious terms (Vega Centano 1991). Mysticism was deliberately incorporated into official accounts of party history (Sánchez 1979) and has been enhanced in several ways over the years.

APRA’s mystic appeal has centred on the personality cult surrounding Haya de la Torre. Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre founded the APRA in 1924 party while he was a student in exile. The remit of the party extended beyond Peru, with its revolutionary ideology based on Pan-American union and anti-imperialistic rhetoric. This rhetoric was geared towards addressing the increasing influence of the USA on politics and economics in South America. Haya’s image as a great leader and the revolutionary platform continued to influence the party throughout its development and beyond his death in 1979. Much of this cult is based on the experiences of persecution the party suffered in the early years of its formation. These experiences involved purges, exiles and at some points violent repression, as in the case of the APRA uprisings in Trujillo in 1932 which were forcibly put down by the military, resulting in the massacre of one thousand people (Graham 1989).

Graham (1989) suggests that this mystic heritage gave APRA’s victory in the 1985 elections an ‘almost messianic appeal’ because the party had spent so many years in the political desert. Therefore, APRA’s persistent failure to gain the presidency added to the general consensus that in 1985 its time as a party had at last come. This messianic context
provided the background for the implementation of economic reforms which included the introduction of emergency employment. APRA needed to do something different to meet party and popular expectations.

This veneer of mysticism is only part of the story, however, because after the 1940s it was not persecution that kept APRA from gaining power but a series of unconnected events, the legacies of which were still influencing the party when it came to power in 1985. Three main factors contributed to keeping APRA from power during the 1970s and early 1980s: the fact that it now had to share the revolutionary platform; its failure to broaden its support base to keep pace with changing social circumstances: and over-dependence on the cult of Haya.

The left wing military take-over under Juan Velasco in 1968 provided APRA with major long term problems since it meant that as a party APRA no longer represented the only ‘revolutionary’ option in Peruvian politics. On a day-to-day basis the party had to resolve issues about the extent to which it allied itself with the left-wing (but non-democratic) Velasco regime. These questions caused tensions and splits within the party which persisted, albeit in a subdued form, into its period in government.

The loss of control over the ‘revolutionary’ platform also underlies APRA’s failure to come to terms with the changing social composition of the electorate at this time. Traditionally, APRA was a regionally-based party, with its strength in the coastal areas of northern Peru. It drew the majority of its support from a specific group of people, the middle classes who had been alienated in the 1930s and 1940s by the influx of large foreign enterprises into commercial farming and food processing in the north and the new proletarian workforce which was associated with this form of industrialisation. By 1980, after a decade of left wing military rule, the voting society was disillusioned with promises from the left. APRA’s traditional ‘left’ platform had lost its appeal and its support base had not extended sufficiently to incorporate changes in the composition of the voting population. Specifically, APRA’s reliance on regional links and union affiliations was not enough to attract the votes of those who lived in shanty towns and worked in the informal sector and who were significantly affecting opinion polls in the
late 1970s. The party’s failure to win the elections marking the return to democratic politics in 1980 reflected its inability to gain wider appeal, and this short-coming, coinciding with the death of Haya prior to the elections, left the party with no real focus.

It was at this point that Alan García entered the political scene. García represented a new generation of APRA supporters who had grown up under the reforms of Velasco. He was charismatic and young. His party credentials were good, as he came from a strongly Aprista family, returned to work full-time in the party after studying abroad and, perhaps most significantly, belonged to a small band of young men personally selected and groomed as successors by Haya prior to his death. García was an impressive orator and succeeded in uniting the party when in 1982 he was elected as the presidential candidate with ninety six per cent of the party’s internal vote (Graham 1989).

In the run up to the 1985 elections certain contextual factors improved García’s position, paving the way for a near landslide victory at polling. The traditional anti-imperialistic message of APRA was particularly welcome in Peru at this time in the wake of the failure of Belaúnde’s neo-liberalism which had been supported by international donor agencies. García’s particular brand of reformist nationalism, to some extent a legacy of the formative role the Velasco experience played for his generation, was especially appealing to low-income groups as Belaúnde had made little attempt to buffer the poor during the severe economic crisis that reigned during the early 1980s. According to Crabtree (1992) another important factor contributing to García’s victory was the strategic campaigning he carried out for the three years prior to the elections. He systematically visited most of the isolated rural provinces of the country, an unusual approach in Peruvian politics at the time.

The 1985 victory indicated that García’s campaigning was successful and that Peruvians were ready for a change. This success, however, belies the true nature of the political situation facing the García regime in 1985. García had all the hallmarks of a populist: he was a charismatic speaker, prone to give frequent, large, public meetings in which he railed against neo-liberalism and foreign domination. The negative side of his populist ticket, however, was that he campaigned without developing or publicising any detailed
plan for government prior to assuming power (Graham 1989, Crabtree 1992). The old
guard APRA were so grateful to him for finally getting the party into power that
throughout campaigning and for the first few years in office he was able to develop an
autocratic approach towards policy making with little comeback from the party. According
to Graham (1989) these two factors meant that when in government, APRA lacked
doctrinal clarity. The practical implications of this lack of clarity were two-fold: "Rhetoric
took on much more importance than the actual nature of reform and policy making
coherence" (Graham 1989; p.6).

Once in power this gap in APRA’s policy-making became the context through which a
series of specific problems emerged, problems which were later to channel the
implementation and management of emergency work. The first and most significant
consequence was that as President, García had to ‘think on his feet’. The ad hoc approach
towards government that this thinking produced resulted in the promotion of a confused
image of statehood where it was not clear whether the state was assuming revolutionary
actions or adopting evolutionary reforms. In general, this confusion developed because of
two sets of unresolved tensions. The first tension focused on the contradiction between
the cult of García the individual on the one hand and the need for party consensus in
government on the other. The second related to the need to develop coherent, consistent
political positions from the often contradictory revolutionary and reformist rhetorics that
García espoused. García’s ability to choose between the tactics of reformists or
revolutionaries meant that quick decisions often contradicted policies geared towards long-
term change. When these tensions were placed in the context of the severe economic crisis
that García inherited from Belaúnde and the need to deal quickly with issues of extreme
poverty while also developing long-term strategies to re-stimulate the economy, it is not
surprising that a coherent economic plan was slow in coming. Graham attributes these
problems to one main cause, namely that in essence "the party remained much more an
electoral machine than a resource for government" (Graham 1989, p.165).
Heterodoxy and emergency work

The broad sweep economic programme that García developed from this contradictory context became known as ‘heterodoxy’. According to Crabtree (1992), this heterodox approach was based on two premises. The first was that normal debt repayment was inconsistent with growth. The second claimed radically that inflation was not the result of excess demand stimulated by excessive public spending. García’s position was that a lack of national demand, rather than excessive, public spending caused inflation. Both assumptions rejected the standard diagnosis put forward by international organisations such as the IMF and World Bank and assumed in structural adjustment measures. García’s analysis relied heavily on the assumption that Peruvian industrial potential was underused. He pointed to ‘industry laying idle’ and high unemployment as evidence of underuse.

Peruvian industry relied heavily on imports and therefore García saw that debt repayment involving the government exporting large amounts of its capital surpluses to service creditors would mean that Peruvian industry could not continue to buy the imports it required. According to this logic, if debt repayment were reduced then government reserves (gained from taxes and nationalised industries such as oil) would not be syphoned off to pay creditors but instead could be used to subsidise industrial re-activation and employment creation (Crabtree 1992). Such an approach would mean that necessary import costs could be met without causing inflation.

Under the heterodox programme established from 1985 García adopted three sets of measures. Firstly debt repayments were curbed to be held to a maximum of ten per cent of the country’s GDP and secondly anti-inflationary measures were devised involving initial rises in prices followed by price freezing for key commodities (such as certain basic food stuffs and petroleum). Along with these changes a MUC (Mercado Unico de Cambios) dollar was developed specifically to subsidise industry whereby a trading dollar rate was fixed at a lower level than on the open market (González Manrique 1993). Thirdly, the issue of unemployment was prioritised because it was estimated that fifty per cent of the population were underemployed (Graham 1989). Formal wages and the legal
minimum wage were raised, industry was subsidised to take on temporary workers and a large-scale job creation scheme was instituted.

Job creation via PAIT was thus central to government policy. Under the National Development Programme launched in 1986, PAIT, together with IDESI (Instituto de Desarrollo del Sector Informal) and PROEM (Programa Ocupacional de Emergencia) made up García's new employment strategy (Paredes 1988). Unlike the other two programmes PAIT relied totally on treasury funding. PROEM on the other hand represented no direct cost to the government as it was geared towards facilitating contract employment within the private sector. IDESI also had a facilitative role rather than being involved in direct employment creation. In the public view the PAIT programme therefore had the highest profile as it directly created jobs and involved direct government spending. In one of his speeches García introduced PAIT in the following way:

"The first time that those who do not have a voice, those who do not have unions and the unemployed of Peru are brought together" (Cited in González Manrique 1993, p.52)

Instituted by decree in September 1985, PAIT lasted for a full five-year term of office and was linked throughout this time to APRA's broad-sweep heterodox plan and the public profile it held. The speed with which it was initiated placed PAIT at the centre of the government's domestic policies and drew public attention to it from the start.

The other important factor influencing PAIT was García's need to consolidate the non-Aprista vote he had won in the elections. While in power, he aimed to create a wide enough support base to ensure re-election for himself and his party five years later and the PAIT programme was ascribed an important role within this plan (Graham 1989, Crabtree 1992). PAIT specifically targeted low-income people in geographical areas

---

7 "La primera vez que se reúnen los que no tienen voz, los que no tienen sindicato, los desocupados del Peru".

8 Decreto Ley no. 076-85-PCM.
where, as a party, APRA had traditionally been weak. Two areas where party support was particularly poor were the shanty town peripheries of cities (where people traditionally gave political support to the Peruvian left in the form of the Izquierda Unida) and in the Andean Trapezium, a collection of remote mountain departments in the southern Andes where the first language is predominantly Quechua (Crabtree 1987, Stokes 1991). This political expedience was to fuel García’s often reactive response to what he saw as potentially problematic situations. One such situation quickly arose in association with the fact that large numbers of women rather than men enrolled in PAIT.

**PAIT, men’s work and feminisation**

Feminisation⁹ was seen as a problem by García because his government had designed emergency work strategies to cater to a demand for work from unemployed men. This demand was expected to come from rural and urban men and the labour-intensive programme was seen as a way of stimulating economic growth by providing these men with wages and buying power. Therefore the programme was designed to provide ‘men’s’ work, involving men in demanding physical labour in productive tasks such as the provision of infrastructure. With this masculinist definition of work in mind, the PAIT administration (mainly comprised of APRA intellectuals and relatively young García sympathisers) together with help of COOPOP¹⁰ nationally and the ILO internationally, developed six different types of projects to be carried out in both rural and urban areas (see Plates 4.1 - 4.10):

1) Constructing access roads
2) Reforestation
3) Painting frontages (schools, health centres)
4) Basic sanitation (schools, health centres)
5) Strengthening foundations (walls and public buildings)
6) Constructing irrigation channels

---

⁹ In this context ‘feminisation’ is used to mean that the programme was designed for men but was carried out by women. It does not mean that men originally worked in the programme and were later replaced by women.

¹⁰ A governmental development agency.
Each project provided short-term contract employment on a three-monthly basis (called a 'campaign') and recruited people to work within their local communities to improve basic servicing.

On average 25,000 different jobs were provided each month and in the first year of PAIT's operation seventy-five per cent of these jobs were in the Lima/Callao conurbation (Houghton 1988). After 1987 PAIT was extended into other provinces, with special emphasis on rural towns in the southern Andes. During the first two years of its operation (October 1985 to June 1987) over $100 million was spent, creating 374,091 jobs (Houghton 1988). Locally this programme had an important effect on the job market. For example, prior to PAIT in 1983 the economically active population (EAP) of the Pueblos Jovenes of Lima comprised 600,000 people of whom approximately thirty per cent were women (Tello 1988). Yet in Villa María Triunfo alone 40,000 jobs were created for periods of three months each between 1985 and 1990, with the majority of employees being women.

---

11 Interview COOPOP director, South Lima, David Vargas.
Plate 4.1: PAIT project: access road to cemetery (Andahuaylas)

Plate 4.2: PAIT project: Site of forestation programme (Andahuaylas)
Plate 4.3: PAIT project: Plaza de Armas San Jerónimo (foundations and bush planting)

Plate 4.4a: PAIT project: school refurbishment (Andahuaylas)
Plate 4.4b: PAIT project: school refurbishment and PAIT propaganda (San Jerónimo)

Plate 4.4c: PAIT project: school refurbishment (La Tablada)
Plate 4.5: PAIT project: Pavement construction (Andahuaylas Cercano, 1986)

Plate 4.6: PAIT project: basket ball court (José Galvez/La Tablada, 1990)
Plate 4.7: PAIT project: Incomplete project (José Galvez. 1990)

Plate 4.8: PAIT project: Plaza de Armas construction (José Galvez)
Plate 4.9: Site of PAIT creche (La Tablada)

Plate 4.10: Site of PAIT rubbish clearance
In Andahuaylas the local impact was just as significant. According to the 1981 census the EAPs for Andahuaylas Cercano, San Jerónimo and Talavera were 5,344, 2,212, and 2,821 respectively (Oficina Departamental de Estadística Andahuaylas 1987). In total COOPOP Andahuaylas (with PAIT funding) created 3,516 jobs over the period 1986 until 1990. This figure, however, does not include extra job creation in 1988 under another PAIT programme (called PRAIT) which provided 231 jobs in Andahuaylas Cercano, 153 in San Jerónimo and 153 in Talavera. Thus, overall during the five year period of PAIT’s operation over 4,000 jobs in all were created in the Andahuaylas case study area.

PAIT propaganda aimed to rouse nationalistic sentiment in support of APRA by highlighting traditional, communal, rural values. Images of men, often in typical clothing (ponchos, knee-length trousers and chullos hats) and working with simple tools in the fields, adorned posters, newspaper adverts and television commercials promoting the programme (Figures 4.1 - 4.3).

Despite the deepening economic crisis in Peru during the 1970s and 1980s and the growing importance of women’s activities in household survival strategies the involvement of women in PAIT was not expected by the government (Paredes 1988, Vigier 1986, Houghton 1988). This oversight highlights the gender-blind conceptualisation of work held by APRA.

---

12 Source: fieldwork, COOPOP archives.
13 Source: fieldwork, Micro Región archives.
14 See for example, CECYCAP (1990); Barrig (1988); Alfaro Moreno (1988); Anderson (1982); Backhaus (1988); Barrig (1988); Blondet (1991); León Gallo (1992); Grandon et al. (1987); Delpino (1990); Galer and Nufiez (1989); Haak and Díaz Albertini (1987); Portocarrero (1990).
This figure indicates the role played by 'traditional' imagery in the promotion of the programme.
This figure indicates that graphics often suggested the workforce was male who worked with ‘traditional’ masculine tools such as the *pala* (iron) rod - as shown by the man in the middle of the scene.
This figure illustrates that the PAIT workforce was often comprised of urban women.
The following quote shows that representatives of the state were initially surprised when women came to dominate PAIT's workforce.

As a programme, we had an experience in PAIT that we weren't expecting. We expected to attract a large number of men as they were supposedly the unemployed in the country. Then we realised that in reality it wasn't like that, because in fact it was women with families who threw themselves into the work force to struggle for an income, for a salary. (David Vargas, PAIT Director, south Lima, 1985-1990).\(^{15}\)

This feminisation and APRA's response to it had important implications for both the state and the women participants.

**Feminisation: options for the state**

The feminisation of PAIT has been explained in various ways. General comments on emergency work programmes paying poorly and providing local work are important factors in explaining the high participation of women. In the case of PAIT, however, Paredes and Tello (1988) suggest more specific reasons for feminisation, with reference to the nature of the female labour market at this time and to APRA's misconceived targeting strategies.

Paredes (1988) suggests that the main problem with PAIT was that it was designed to cope with unemployment while the real problem was not unemployment but underemployment in terms of wages received. People of both sexes were in paid employment but were not receiving enough money to live on. For example, in 1983 forty two per cent of the EAP in the *Pueblos Jovenes* of Lima were under employed in terms of wages received for hours worked (Paredes and Tello 1988).

Tello (1988) uses this idea to explain feminisation. She says that the key issue was that PAIT only paid the legal minimum wage. The people who were likely to take up this contract employment were either unemployed/looking for work or involved in the informal

---

15 Interview, May 1991.
sector (with no security) where they were earning less than the legal minimum wage\(^{16}\). Tello says that only eighteen per cent of men in the *Pueblos Jovenes* involved in the informal sector earned less than the legal minimum wage as compared to forty seven per cent of women working in those conditions MacEwan Scott (1991; 1995) and Tonkman (1989) make similar observations about the women’s poor wages in the informal sector. Therefore she claims that it is not surprising that it was women who initially enrolled in the programme.

This analysis explains why women enrolled in PAIT and, to some extent, why men did not. However, it leaves several factors unexplained. Firstly it does not fully explain why the state expected the demand for the programme to come from men. Secondly, it does not explain the continued absence of men as the economic crisis worsened, and thirdly, it does not consider the importance of constructions of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ work for women and men in the analysis of feminisation and the state’s response. In order to answer these questions it is necessary to explore some of the gendered assumptions behind this sort of employment creation.

State assumptions about a demand for emergency work from unemployed men were largely based on the idea that men need to earn ‘a family wage’. These notions display what Elson (1991) has called ‘male bias’. In the case of PAIT the Peruvian state assumed that a family wage would be earned by men who constituted heads of unified households and made household decisions for ‘the good of the unit’.

While adhering to concepts of a male family wage and a unified household the APRA government believed that the feminisation of PAIT left them with a limited set of options. Because of PAIT’s role in the construction of a positive image of statehood and because it was created by decree law (and therefore could only be terminated through congress) disbanding the programme was not a feasible decision. Terminating the programme would have highlighted the ad hoc nature of APRA’s policy making, consequently, the

\[^{16}\text{Those with secure jobs in the formal sector would have been unlikely to have wanted to give them up in favour of temporary employment because of the loss of benefits such as pensions and social security.}\]
government was left with two options, one relating to wage levels and the other to the rhetoric used to define the project.

The first option assumed that PAIT wages were not high enough to attract male employees who had to provide for their families. If APRA wanted to attract men it is surprising that the government did not take this option and decide to improve wages. The cost of these increases, however, would have been high and perhaps a further explanation lay in the nature of the Heterodox Plan and García’s insistence that labour was underutilized. If men were not demanding the jobs because they already had better paying employment, and women were demanding them then it was more strategic for the government to carry on paying poor wages to women (who would spend them on national goods) rather than risk increasing spending and causing inflation. It may also be significant that the first two years of heterodoxy provided an upswing in the economy which suggested that reactivation was working (Crabtree 1992, Graham 1992, Rudolf 1991, González Manrique 1993). It could be argued that APRA did not want to risk interfering with these positive signs.

Paredes and Tello (1988) seem to accept that the demand for employment was from women and not from men because the recommendations from their study of the first two years of PAIT’s operation emphasised the need to change the programme to address the particular needs of a female workforce rather than a need to change it to attract male employees. Instead of improving wages, therefore, APRA adopted a second course of action which involved changing the programme’s rhetoric away from one emphasising the supply of productive work to unemployed men to one stressing the provision of welfare to needy women.

**Women and welfare rhetoric**

In order to understand APRA’s shift to a welfare rhetoric concerning PAIT it is necessary to examine the gender ideologies which have historically influenced the party. APRA came into power with a mixed bag of notions relating to gender. Radcliffe (1993) has analysed the various notions of femininity that have been supported by the state at different times in Peru’s history. She suggests that these notions are complex and
contradictory, cut across by issues of colonialism and religion and supported and resisted by people in different ways in different places. APRA was influenced both by the gender ideologies of previous administrations and by the particular role that family ideologies had traditionally played in the creation of the party’s support base.

Three specific influences were particularly important in the formation of the gender ideologies that APRA supported. Firstly, the legacy of the Velasco years promoted a paradigm that changed gendered rhetoric away from indigenous identity to one that emphasised class. Radcliffe (1993) says:

During this period, the state’s definition of peasants envisaged them as male farmers with a particular class position. As a consequence of this, the state changed the term applied to Quechua Andean peasants from the historical name indígenas (indigenous people) to campesinos (peasants) (Radcliffe 1993 p.203).

In this paradigm, indigenous women were seen as members of a class struggle rather than as indígenas. Radcliffe suggests that in practice this had the effect of obscuring gender discrimination and marginalising women’s issues from political agendas. For example women were excluded by the reformist measures which gave land rights to men and not to women (Deere 1986, Deere and León de Leal 1985) and which ghettoised women into unions (sindicatos) which dealt only with domestic issues (Radcliffe 1993). Under Belaúnde, these contradictions of class and gender were overlain by a predominantly religious ideology that saw women as self-sacrificing mothers, working in activities such as soup kitchens, to ‘help their families’ in times of economic crisis. Such organisations were easily co-opted by the state.

García inherited both the Velasco and Belaúnde traditions, together with the strong APRA history of grass-roots activities where networking and politicisation was based on the Aprista family as a nuclear unit. Campaigning was based on APRA families acting politically as a unit and not so much on the efforts of individual political activists (Radcliffe 1993, Vega Centano 1991). APRA parents gave birth to APRA children and
party allegiance was a collective cross-generational effort where children where raised through the ranks and groomed for activism in adulthood (Vega Centano 1991). Radcliffe’s conclusion is that Garcia ended up consolidating motherhood but often in a complex and contradictory fashion.

Notions of a male wage being a family wage and a female wage being secondary are influenced by such complex ideological legacies. The definition of welfare adopted by APRA saw women as members of families with a specific role to play and therefore the party conceptualised women’s wages as additional to a household (male) salary. Women’s PAIT wages became an economic help (ayuda) to the household rather than the main support (apoyo) as the title of the programme (Programma de Apoyo al Ingreso Temporal) originally suggested. This idea was supported not only by the government but by the PAIT administration "Partly, it [PAIT] was also an economic help (ayuda) in their [feminine] house, in their family" (David Vargas, PAIT Director, south Lima). Such a ‘welfare’ conceptualisation of the role of women conveniently by-passed issues concerning any pressure on the state to increase the basic PAIT wage.

Welfare and the failure of heterodoxy
This welfare role for women in PAIT became even more pronounced when Garcia’s heterodoxy programme encountered problems in 1987. Initially Garcia’s economic reforms produced an upswing in the economy. Growth in GDP per capita increased from a negative 3.6 in 1984 to a positive 6.9 in 1986. Employment growth also increased, rising from half a per cent growth in 1985 to nearly six per cent growth in 1987 (Graham 1992). The following table shows some of the trends in macro-economic changes in more detail.
When García curbed debt repayments in 1985, however, he became isolated from the international funding community, the IMF and World Bank withdrew their support and García was dependent on the good will of national entrepreneurs and bankers whom he supplied with cheap MUC dollars as part of the heterodox re-activation programme. When he nationalised the banks and froze saving accounts in 1987, however, he lost this national support and the APRA honeymoon period of consensus which had lasted for two years came to an end. The up turn in the economy shown in Figure 4.4 in terms of increases in GDP per capita, consumption growth, real wages and employment, slowed and overall economic growth ground to a halt registering negative growth by 1988 in both consumption and GDP per capita.
At this point the ideological and practical tensions within APRA which prevented it moving successfully from a campaigning mode to government administration, came to the fore and 1987 became a turning point for APRA. In the words of Crabtree "It stands out, separating the period of fast growth of the first two years from the subsequent economic downturn in 1988 and 1989, a period dubbed 'hyper inflation with hyper-recession'". (Crabtree 1992 p.121)

This point marked the dawning of what commonly became known as 'la crisis' in Peru (Rudolph 1991). In political terms this economic crisis also created a political crisis. The public euphoric expectation which had met APRA's promises of full employment, economic growth and social justice in 1985, dissipated. APRA's populist image came under threat as García's personal charisma lost its political appeal and his party's policies and administrative procedures were scrutinised by both the press and the public. At this point, PAIT became the focus of heavy criticism due to allegations of mismanagement and corruption. Headlines in newspapers proclaimed exposes of corrupt practices such as the large scale disappearance of building materials and the existence of false names on pay roles\(^\text{17}\).

As well as allegations of corruption, by 1987 there was widespread general criticism that political campaigning through PAIT had been taken to extremes. As the economy began to collapse APRA moved beyond attempting to win support only in marginal geographical areas. The government was accused of specifically using PAIT as a vehicle to undermine democratically elected municipal authorities (Pease 1989)\(^\text{18}\) and in an attempt at partisan gerrymandering PAIT administrative zones in Lima were designed to cut geographically across municipal boundaries.

This crisis point in 1987 lent an extra dimension to the shift towards a welfare rhetoric. Not only was welfare needed because the economy was collapsing but also APRA needed

---

\(^\text{17}\) Source: fieldwork interviews.

\(^\text{18}\) Scandals erupted in the newspapers over the PAIT-led ousting of the independent mayor, Paublo Gutiérrez from his position in Chorrillos, south Lima.
to use whatever tools it had to try to rebuild it's tarnished image in the light of the failure of heterodoxy.

Even before the crisis of 1987 APRA wanted to make PAIT a public relations success in order to ensure re-election. Thus, once it became public knowledge that PAIT was dominated by women, the Peruvian state took a series of steps aimed at institutionalising this change in rhetoric from productive work to the provision of welfare services. In this way APRA legitimised the presence of women in the programme. This process of legitimisation started in an unplanned way as a response to the immediate 'problems' caused by a predominantly female workforce. It developed, however, into a well-thought-out political strategy aimed at solving practical problems (including the 1987 crisis), facing accusations of corruption and finally explaining away the state's apparent 'failure' to attract men to the PAIT programme. Three distinct stages in the process can be recognised.

a) Phase one: welfarist teaching

The ILO had a long standing interest in monitoring Special Employment Programmes (PREALC 1988). Once it became apparent through media coverage\(^\text{19}\) that the majority of the workforce consisted of women, the Lima office of the ILO gave advice on its management. In these early stages the ILO played an important role in initiating a change towards a welfare emphasis for the programme. In keeping with their international mandate to improve working conditions and removing the drudgery of domestic work (Tendler 1989), the ILO saw the high female response rate as an opportunity to improve working conditions for women. Under ILO auspices, instead of discouraging women from enrolling in the programme PAIT administrators were asked to institute creche facilities to enable women to take part more easily. During the first year of the programme, creches became widespread in Lima with most projects operating at least one such facility\(^\text{20}\).

\(^{19}\) Sometimes this coverage was not favourable: La República 23/11/86.

\(^{20}\) Interview Nick Houghton, Lima-based ILO coordinator with PAIT.
The provision of creches was not itself welfarist, but ILO interests went beyond the provision of basic services for women in the work-place. They identified the creches within the feminised PAIT workplace as potential sites for the training and consciousness raising of women. The nature of this training however, was often very welfarist in both the material taught and the approach to teaching. Generally training focused on welfare topics such as preventative medicine, family planning and child care. Few, if any projects provided skills training associated with the job such as brick-laying or plastering. If these work-related skills were learnt by women it was usually in an informal way such as by watching men work. Equally, the way in which these classes were organised and given was often very informal and ad hoc, lacking professionalism or following any sort of fixed programme that led to a recognised qualification. Classes usually took the form of 'one off' talks (charlas) during which 'the expert' gave a monologue rather than adopting any form of structured, interactive or participative programme of learning. The provision of these classes depended on the skills of people in any given place. Many jobs were created for APRA party card holders in this way and in one case in south Lima a psychologist claimed her party employed her to "just talk to women: frankly I was surprised by how much I earned".

b) Phase two: the crisis of 1987 and welfare targeting

The second stage of movement towards a welfare role for PAIT coincided with the end of the economic upswing in 1987. At this point PAIT’s role was broadened to take on more overtly welfare activities as the government attempted to win public support by dealing with some of the social problems associated with economic crisis.

The original director was sacked amid accusations of corruption. A new director was installed and administrative changes were quickly made. Programme organisers were specifically directed to select the most vulnerable applicants for employment in PAIT and they used a socio-economic questionnaire to aid them in this process. In some cases

---

21 Interview with Nick Houghton.

22 Interview with PAIT psychologist, June 1991.

134
regional PAIT offices were told only to recruit women. If men were employed they were often pensioners or mentally retarded youths.

Official agreements (convenios) were made with public sector welfare institutions such as nursery schools, health clinics, schools and hospitals. In this way rather than defining PAIT as productive employment because of who it employed (men) and because of the nature of the work that was carried out (building roads etc), the government redefined it as social policy because women were used in public sector institutions. One anecdotal twists to this sort of redefinition can be seen in the example of the convenio made with the INPE (Instituto Nacional de Rehabilitación de Presos). Under this scheme former male prisoners who were unable to find other employment were incorporated into PAIT. Therefore instead of the usual scenario of successful women becoming honourary men, these ‘unsuccessful men’ became honourary women, worthy of welfare!

c) Phase three: a welfare administration

The final stage in the shift towards the institutionalisation of a welfare administration came in 1989. At this time the administration of welfare went beyond the use of intra-sectoral convenios to cement the welfare image by officially joining PAIT with PAD (Programa de Apoyo Directo), the government’s direct aid programme. This programme provided direct support to mother’s clubs and soup kitchens, focusing almost exclusively on women’s traditional roles and activities. Under the new merger women were paid for activities such as cooking and the small scale domestic production of goods such as alpaca sweaters and woven baskets.

The implications of this three stage shift in rhetoric and administration are clear. The state chose strategically to represent women’s involvement in emergency work in a specific way. It defined women’s roles away from productivity to one of welfare activities using traditionally ‘female’ skills.

---

23 Interview with PAIT director, San Jerónimo, Andahuaylas (July 1991).
24 Source: fieldwork interviews Lima and Andahuaylas.
This institutionalised change in rhetoric managed to save face for the government by ‘explaining away’ the presence of women in emergency employment. In more abstract terms, however, it further added to the confused set of gender ideologies that the APRA government took with them into power and promoted while in office. As the following sections illustrate, this shift in rhetoric cemented a confused set of assumptions about the nature of ‘the welfare household’ and marginalised men from emergency employment just at a point where they were likely to have needed it most. It also had other consequences, because although the state image of PAIT changed, as Chapter Five will indicate, the public, masculine nature of the work did not.

**The ‘welfare household’ in Lima and Andahuaylas**

While it is clear that a shift in rhetoric took place within the APRA government, it is important to examine empirically the extent to which the assumptions behind this welfare rhetoric are correct. The sorts of assumptions about ‘the household’ and ‘a family wage’ inherent in APRA’s attitude towards the feminisation of PAIT have been heavily criticised by feminist researchers. Feminists have highlighted the inaccuracy of such notions because they have rendered invisible women’s position within households and in so doing have obscured complex sets of power relations.

Much research has highlighted the fact that many households are headed not by men but by women (Chant 1985; Varley forthcoming; Buvinic, Yossef and von Elm 1978; Kumari 1989). Other work has focused on ‘woman-maintained households’ to indicate that even households with an adult man present are often supported principally by women in financial and non-monetary ways, particularly in times of economic crisis and structural adjustment (Buvinic 1993; Moser 1993; Valenzuela et al. 1994).

In the case of PAIT, Paredes and Vigier (1988) and Graham (1989, 1991) have suggested that nationally fifty seven per cent of the women workers were woman heads of household. This figure was estimated only for the period until 1987 however, and does not take into account later changes or differences between rural and urban areas.
Evidence from south Lima and Andahuaylas suggest that these early estimates exaggerate the proportion of woman-headed households when compared with data spanning the full five years of the programme. Local figures suggest that only thirty per cent of the PAIT workforce were woman-headed and that this average figure hides a distinct rural bias in the participation of female headed households. For example, in Andahuaylas forty five per cent of the households were headed by women as compared to only fourteen per cent in south Lima. These data would therefore seem to support the notion that a welfare approach was not misguided because for a significant percentage of the workforce the PAIT wage was not earned by the primary income earner. This conclusion, however, is premature because although the number of woman-headed households in the empirical samples is lower than Paredes and Vigier (1988) and Graham (1991) found the number of woman-maintained households served by PAIT was high. For example, of the sample in south Lima and Andahuaylas fifty five per cent of women claimed they maintained their households with their wage alone. Overall, it would seem that PAIT provided the most significant source of income for over half of the households in the sample, whether woman-headed or not. Again, however, there is a distinct rural dimension to this pattern with seventy per cent of households in Andahuaylas as compared to only forty per cent in Lima claiming to be woman-maintained. Given the significance of the PAIT wage in maintaining households, particularly for women in rural areas with male partners, the issue of the family wage needs to be looked at in more detail.

**Welfare versus family wage**

In changing its rhetoric from work to welfare the Peruvian state implied that the PAIT wage was not able to provide for family needs and therefore did not constitute good or real work for men. This shift in rhetoric, however does not fully explain why men did not enrol in the programme. A change in rhetoric failed to see that PAIT was bad work for men partly because of the way in which the programme was originally designed and later managed. In order to understand more fully why PAIT represented bad work for many men it is necessary to examine the problems associated with the ways in which wages levels were fixed and paid.

---

26 Local estimates were taken from a systematic random sample from PAIT archives in Lima and Andahuaylas covering every campaign in those areas.
Paredes (1988) has demonstrated that PAIT was purposely designed to circumvent legislation on pension and social insurance payments by operating as contract employment involving campaigns of three months. Thus, although PAIT paid the equivalent of the legal minimum wage (at least when the programme was first established) the wage was paid with no fringe benefits and provided no long-term security. Notions of 'a male family wage' influence many aspects of wages, for example, it is not necessarily only the quantity of the wage that makes it 'male' but also the way in which it is paid and the status attached to the wage that can be significant. PAIT was paid on a monthly rather than daily or weekly basis which meant that in times of hyper-inflation the wage could not cover the purchase of basic provisions which rose daily in cost. In the context of rising prices a 'male wage' that paid more frequently than once a month was needed because as one female employee argued:

The wage doesn't suit them [men] particularly the skilled carpenters. It's more convenient for them to work self-employed [por su cuenta] because then they can receive their money weekly, whereas with this work you receive it monthly. (Female labourer, Lima).

Women heading households faced with similar circumstances did not, however, ignore PAIT as a potential source of income even though it did not have the status of full-time, permanent employment neither were they concerned that the programme had become stigmatised as a welfare initiative. Rather, these women participated in PAIT and then also looked for extra employment elsewhere:

It was a help yes, but it wasn't convenient for a person living alone who had to maintain her home, you can't. It wasn't enough for the thirty days. [Meanwhile] you didn't have anywhere to get anything from. You have to force yourself to have two types of jobs. (Female labourer, Lima).
Many of these women looked for other jobs which paid more frequently to replace or complement PAIT employment. These extra jobs were usually in the informal sector, in activities which did not require capital investment:

Laundry work is good here in Lima

(Interviewer's question: do you prefer this to PAIT?)

Well yes, taking into account that we earn a PAIT wage monthly. That's why I wanted to earn a little bit more. There [in PAIT] we earned monthly, whereas with laundry we finish washing and right there and then they pay us. With that we go straight to the shop and buy whatever we can, a kilo of sugar, a kilo of rice, a quart of oil, and that's how the money we earn goes. (Female PAIT labourer and daily domestic in a private house).

The fact that the PAIT monthly wage could not meet the requirements of heads of households discouraged large numbers of men from joining the programme when it was first launched in 1985. By the crisis of 1987 these issues became real disincentives for both men and women heads of household as inflation peaked. When placed in the context of changing male and female labour markets however, the state's assumptions about a male demand for a family wage raise some contradictory evidence.

The male employment market after 1987 was very depressed. Many factories closed and construction work (one of the main sources of informal male employment in Lima) slumped (Instituto Cuanto 1991). Many men working casually could not find employment. The Cuanto Institute in Lima indicates that by 1990 only one in every twenty workers had a job that could be described as adequate in terms of its pay (Instituto Cuanto 1991). The patterns of continued male unemployment are partly explained by the fact that the sorts of jobs that many male partners would have expected to find were the ones most severely affected by the crisis. One woman explained how many factories often went bankrupt:
At the time of the *paquetazo*²⁷ my husband wasn’t working because all the companies had closed down. That was in the *paquetazo* of June or July - he stopped working for three months. (Female labourer, Lima).

As a result of these closures many men were forced to change professions and look for other areas of employment:

Well, that time I also had to work, in PAIT, because he didn’t have work. The factory where he was working also shut down. Uh, that time it was like death, because then he didn’t work and neither did I. We had to find the way, a way "on the side". He had to work as a carpenter because all he knew about was cutting cloth, he didn’t know about construction, nothing. He started to work casually. Casually he learnt how to do construction. So he started to look for jobs that weren’t in his area, he had to work as a carpenter. He was working casually so I also put myself to work, what choice did I have? The first time PAIT came out, I went to sign up. (Female labourer, Lima).

Construction, traditionally a large male employer, was, however, equally vulnerable to the economic crisis in Peru. The construction industry became virtually stagnant during bouts of economic depression and price increases in the late 1980s. It is surprising then, that even though they did not have regular work in other sectors men still did not enrol in PAIT. The official explanation for this lack of enrolment suggested that male unemployment forced women into PAIT:

Here women have a specific experience. At the moment the very fact of the crisis that we are living means that as fathers sometimes we don’t have a fixed income, sometimes we have work, sometimes we don’t. So, the mother has to go out and work. (Male PAIT coordinator, south Lima).

²⁷ The term 'Paquetazo' was commonly used to describe defined periods of large price increases.
Such explanations did have some merit. Women did claim that they entered employment because their husbands did not have work as the following quote suggests:

*I entered PAIT because of a lack of money in my house. My husband is a construction foreman. Before there used to be little jobs but now, there aren’t any because the things have gone up...the materials...now construction is very limited, very low.* (Female labourer, Lima).

Such explanations indicate why women entered PAIT but still say little about why men did not. What these quotes also indicate is that the Peruvian state held traditional views about household dynamics. By referring to men as fathers the quote reinforces the idea that a family wage is a male one. They also, however, expressed state assumptions about women’s secondary income role and by referring to fathers rather than men, they reinforced attitudes about a family wage being male.

MacEwan Scott (1991) indicates that the majority of informal jobs for women in Lima are in the service sector. Even in times of crisis there is a demand for labour such as domestics as basic household reproduction has to carry on regardless: people need to be fed with cooked food and clothed with clean garments. The absence of male enrolment in PAIT therefore is even more striking when seen in the context of the availability of informal work for women but not for men. It seems contrary to the logic of what is good for ‘the household’ for a woman to work in PAIT (earning a monthly wage) and for men to spend most of their time looking for casual work (and not earning at all). A reversal of roles to meet the demands of the job market such that men took up employment in PAIT and women found informal casual work would constitute a more logical household strategy. Such changes, however, were not apparent, even after the crisis of 1987.

Explanations for male non-participation in PAIT, must, therefore go beyond a basic lack of demand and focus on issues related to maintaining traditional stereotyped notions about ‘family wages’, unified households and what is ‘appropriate’ work for men. Initially, when the job market was more buoyant men did not enrol in PAIT because of their assumed need for a family wage (either a wage paying more than the legal minimum or one paying
more frequently). After 1987, however, these notions remained unchanged, even though they no longer represented logical household strategies. As many feminists have suggested this sort of analysis exposes the myth of the unified household. Decisions are not necessarily made for the good of the whole, but rather, they are the product of stereotyped notions of gender roles where household gender relations create situations of cooperative tension/conflict rather than unity (Bruce 1989).

In the case of PAIT dominant notions of masculinity were maintained even though they were contradictory and inconsistent with changing labour markets. Speaking of these mechanisms in the context of the 1970s labour market in Lima, MacEwan Scott makes similar arguments:

Paradoxically then, although the family might have encouraged women to contribute economically to the household, and indeed some poor families may have depended on their support, it was this same institution that confined their options and reduced their capacity to make significant contributions. (MacEwen Scott 1991 p.129)

The difference between the PAIT scenario and the one that MacEwan Scott describes above is that by exposing women to men’s work and encouraging men to stay out of such a programme, the state and the family have worked together to produce an environment where potentially women could start to conceptualise work and gender roles differently. Under PAIT it became superficially acceptable for women to do men’s work publicly because they were participating in a state-backed welfare programme.

If the APRA administration had not been so keen to institute a change towards welfare rhetoric in an attempt to ‘explain away’ the presence of women in PAIT, the programme may well have attracted more men after 1987. It could also have upgraded the skills of a new female workforce. As it was, however, the welfare rhetoric stuck and men were even more alienated from the programme. Soon, nationally, PAIT came to represent one of the APRA state failures, a victim of endemic corruption and party politics.
Chapter Five
The PAIT Project Experience - Women Doing ‘Men’s Work’

Introduction
In this chapter APRA’s welfare rhetoric is shown to be inadequate because in PAIT, many women experienced ‘formal work’ for the first time and also they defined the tasks, tools, conditions and labour relations in PAIT as ‘men’s work’. To illustrate that PAIT employment was a new experience for the largely female workforce this chapter draws on empirical material gathered at the project level from Lima and Andahuaylas. The contradictory nature of the work place is explored by analysing the conditions of work and the divisions of labour in the programme and showing that although the rhetoric of the programme changed the nature of the work remained the same, focused on six productive activities based on manual work. The relationship between divisions of labour/working conditions and the confused programme administration is assessed by examining the definitions of skilled work used by the programme managers. The chapter shows how these definitions discriminated against women.

On the one hand lower, ‘non-skilled’ wages were paid to women because it was claimed that they could not work like men (ie they could not work as physically hard as men or work in skilled jobs). On the other hand women were expected to complete strength-related tasks and told off when they did not do this as well as the men. Some were also expected to take on certain jobs with extra responsibilities, even though they were not paid extra for this work.

The chapter concludes by suggesting that Peruvian emergency employment provided a unique opportunity for the renegotiation of gender relations and the constitution of new femininities because on the one hand PAIT promoted a welfare rhetoric legitimating the presence of women in the programme, while on the other it encouraged those women to take on formal ‘men’s’ work.
**PAIT and new employment conditions for women**

There are several factors relating to the nature of the work-place and the contract conditions which made PAIT different from anything in which many women had engaged previously. These factors refer to the geographical environment in which PAIT operated, the physically demanding nature of the labour required and the formal and semi-permanent basis on which the programme functioned. These factors, together with the provision of creches for much of the duration of the programme, helped make the PAIT work-place unique for many women.

PAIT work was carried out by gangs (cuadrillas) comprising approximately forty people (mainly women). It involved heavy, manual tasks such as excavating rocks, transporting bulky materials or manually clearing land with a few crude tools as the following quote illustrates:

*We went up the hills and excavated the rocks from up there. Then the other group made a sort of chain, passed the rocks from one to the other and then placed them on the road: rocks on top of rocks. Then on the rocks we put small stones so that the lorries carrying water could get up to the shacks. (Female labourer, Lima).*

These tasks were particularly demanding when few breaks were given:

*Well, the work is heavy. More than anything you have to put in a lot of effort. You have to carry rocks; there’s a lot of walking - and it’s because of that that I say it’s hard and heavy. And then they ask you to work harder; you have to make like a line and pass the work on quickly; there’s no rest. They give you a time to rest and you rest half an hour, a quarter of an hour and then it’s back to work. (Female labourer, Lima).*
Both women and men commented on the fact that this work was hard:

It was very hard, hard, hard, too hard. It was totally killing, digging ditches and carrying bricks. We even made bricks to make a containing wall around the stadium and we also made the floors (Female labourer, Lima).

The work that they did wasn’t really paid adequately because it was completely hard work. (Male labourer, Lima).

As well as being hard work, most of the PAIT projects took place in dirty, unpleasant and even dangerous conditions. Working in such conditions was also new for many women. PAIT mainly involved lifting, carrying and a great deal of walking. All of these activities were carried out in conditions where employees were exposed to the elements, which in the Lima shanty towns meant working under the scorching sun for much of the time, in the dusty sand, with very little shade. In Lima, therefore, during the summer, the risk of dehydration was great. These poor conditions were often made worse by the unsanitary sites on which building and land clearance took place. For example, many campaigns focused on rubbish dumps where fly-infested rotting materials exposed employees to high risks of infection.

While the places of work were unpleasant for both male and female employees, there were specific aspects of the programme which made it especially dangerous and unpleasant for women. In order to reach the work location, many women had to walk long distances through dangerous areas where they were physically vulnerable to attack. For women in La Tablada and José Galvez travel to work usually involved walking over the isolated desert hills that separated the two communities (see Plate 5.1).
Plate 5.1a: The isolated hills separating La Tablada and José Galvez

Plate 5.1b: The isolated hills separating La Tablada and José Galvez
Most chose to walk to work with their children or with friends to ensure protection:

There’s a path that goes out from José Galvez, we used to meet there. We all had to be there at 7 am on the dot. At 7 am we’d go. Six of us used to walk. We went to keep each other company because that place is dangerous. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

For one particular woman, her fears of violation were compounded by her personal experience of robbery:

One time they got me, they surrounded me, me and a friend - completely surrounded us. They robbed us with a knife. They were big men and they hit the children, too much. I fell onto the rocks while I was running away. While trying to escape, I fell over. So then we had to come and go in groups because it was dangerous for us. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

As well as being exposed to dangerous circumstances on the journey to work other women spoke of danger in the work place itself:

We had to go and paint. It was a dangerous thing because we had to climb up the walls to strip the paint off. (Female labourer, Lima).

Accidents often occurred on different projects and rumours of these added to the general fears women had about their work place:

There were accidents. For example in Nueva Esperanza they were excavating rocks and some fell on one man, he lost both his legs. (Female labourer, Lima).

These tough working conditions were a new experience for many women and this sort of exposure, together with the heavy nature of the work often meant that women’s health
suffered while working in the programme. Eventually some women were forced to leave PAIT because they experienced a deterioration in their health. One woman for example, claimed to have left because "I suffered with my arms, they used to hurt and ache" (Female labourer, Lima). In total four per cent of women claimed to have left because of ill health, although others claimed they would have left on health grounds if the campaign had not finished.

Another gender-specific health issue exposed through these work conditions related to the treatment of pregnant employees. According to one male employee: "They didn't distinguish between ladies, pregnant mothers or anyone, everyone had to work the same" and therefore many women suffered if they were pregnant while in the programme. In at least two cases, women experienced premature child births as a result of their work in PAIT and the following quote illustrates how dangerous this was:

I gave birth while in PAIT. Not in the campo itself but directly from there they had to take me to the hospital. The labour pains started while I was working there. I hadn't yet reached nine months, that's why my little boy was premature, very little. He was born malnourished too. He's very little but he's still with me: Davidcito. But there are people who lost their babies there because of the work and all that. It only bought me on earlier but I know of miscarriages. In my case I was just working and the labour started. (Female labourer, Lima).

Another woman who was interviewed chose to name her son after her supervisor because he had helped her get to hospital once the labour pains started.

The type of work and physical stress it caused was not an easy new experience for most women. Although the conditions in PAIT were often unpleasant and the work was demanding, however, economic necessity meant that many women enroled as many times as they could. Therefore, even though PAIT was promoted as temporary employment, for many women it became semi-permanent throughout the five years that APRA held power.
I worked for about five years, I went into it in 1985. We started with only four groups, the first, second, third and fourth: four cuadrillas I suppose. We worked locally doing cleaning then we increased to six or seven cuadrillas until in the end we were twenty groups. (Female labourer, Lima).

Many women worked for periods of three months with short breaks between each session of employment (called a campaign). In effect this meant that many of them worked continuously for the first time. Sometimes the demand for this employment was so high that local PAIT offices drew lots to select employees for the next campaign.

We went to work on painting a school, we did that for three months. Then after three months they said that the programme had finished and so they sent us away for fifteen days rest. Then after that, again, we had to go and register either to try to be selected when they drew lots or just to carry on working. (Female labourer, Lima).

Such was the demand for this temporary employment that the queues for registration were often very long.

In order to be more or less close to where they registered, you had to queue up, if not you didn’t get your name down. When I was expecting my baby I went to sleep in the queue all night! (Female labourer, Lima).

The last time there was a programme, I registered. You had to sleep there. I remember the last year I worked you had to go and sleep to get a place in the queue. From nine o’clock at night you had to form a queue, all the way through until the next day. From six o’clock there would be a queue for at least two blocks from here, just to register at nine in the morning! (Female labourer, Lima).
These experiences were unique and memorable for many women. Because they worked in several campaigns, most women experienced various types of PAIT project:

Fifteen days later it [PAIT] came back and so once again I went back to work but this time in a different thing. Then it wasn’t painting (I had worked for about two years continuously in painting, from the time when I entered PAIT). I knew it would be another area of work like road surfacing\(^1\). There was also a urban garden project and tree planting but they didn’t say anything about that. (Female labourer, Lima).

PAIT was significant not only because successive campaigns represented semi-permanent employment but also because the nature of the work (conditions, pay and nine to five work regime under the direct guidance of an overseer) meant that many viewed it as formal employment. For example, one woman from Andahuaylas described how working in PAIT was similar to formal work in a factory:

In PAIT I learnt all about responsibility. For example, to work in a factory you have to work to a fixed schedule, with a starting and finishing hour. There [in PAIT] we had to do the same. We had an hour when we had to start, a time for rests and an hour to leave. More than anything it was about coordinating things with other people [the division of labour] to agree upon "you doing that and me doing this", that’s the same as it is in a factory. In that way if you do that I’ll do this, the work is the same in a factory "you put that on, I’ll put this on". The only differences were that we worked with the land. The work in the campo was about handling rocks whereas in a factory you work with processed materials. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

---

\(^1\) Road surfacing was called *ripiando* and involved levelling the surface, excavating rocks from one area, carrying them to the new road and breaking them into stones and grit to create a smooth surface (Plate 5.2).
Another factor which gave women the impression that PAIT was different from various forms of informal work such as washing, cleaning or selling was the provision of crèches. In most forms of employment (including formal factory work) women had to organise their own child care and in many informal jobs this meant taking their children with them as they worked. In PAIT the situation was different since the provision of crèche facilities enabled many women to leave their children and concentrate on their employment.

In the time of Alan García they gave us crèches. There was a crèche where we could leave the babies and then pick them up afterwards. (Female labourer, Lima).

This sort of provision was very unusual and many women were encouraged to participate because their children were looked after by a responsible adult:

There were crèches and responsible women looked after the babies, I took their food, water and everything and left it with those women in the crèche. (Female labourer, Lima).

Women with formal training and experience in child care or nursing were often selected to work in the crèches:

They put me in the crèche, we had a laugh. Each gang had to have one so that the children were close by. They put us in charge of the children. They put my friend in charge of all of us because she was experienced. She had to take a register of the children, and other than that she and I did the same work. I liked it. I liked the children, even when they cried. (Female labourer, Lima).
Therefore many women in PAIT experienced new forms of paid work with new tasks, new working conditions and new permanency. They also realised that they were capable of engaging in demanding, tough physical labour for which they received a wage. The next section highlights how despite women’s experience of emergency work, the programme administrators and project implementation struggled against recognising their efforts and continued to try to explain their activities in terms of traditional roles.

**Project failure: ‘women cannot work like men!’**

Despite the formal and semi-permanent nature of women’s involvement in PAIT, on a day-to-day basis much of the programme’s implementation appeared confused to employees, the public and sometimes even to project administrators. Some projects did not meet their work targets and the material achievements of individual building, infrastructure and forestation projects within PAIT were often called into question.

The PAIT administrators were all party faithulbs, part of the partisan take-over of the civil service which occurred when APRA came into power\(^2\). Despite their party allegiance, however, some administrators openly expressed their dissatisfaction with women’s high level of involvement in the programme. Underlying this dissatisfaction is the fact that in its ad hoc shift to a welfare rhetoric the APRA government created confusion by making two contradictory demands on the programme. Firstly, the administrators felt a responsibility to provide for needy mothers, while secondly they thought that, even given this need, women could not work like men. These contradictions shaped the way the programme was implemented. The following quote from the programme manager in Andahuaylas illustrates this conflict of interests and the frustration it caused.

\(^2\) Crabtree (1992) describes this process whereby the civil service is replaced every five years when a new government assumes power.
Plate 5.2: The *ripiando* method of road building
(Interviewer’s question: what were the implications of having a female workforce?)

Referring to the work. To my mind it wasn’t the correct thing but maybe given the country’s crisis more than anything in our zone of the sierra, maybe it was a way to be able to motivate the down-trodden people, the poor who needed some finance. Sometimes it was deplorable [lamentoso] the way some women came to complain "I have this many children and I want to work". In the face of these problems we couldn’t shut the doors could we? Given the fact that the government was providing those opportunities of economic aid. So obviously for the government, economically it was a waste [disembolso], in terms of work it wasn’t justified, things didn’t advance. That is to say a woman can’t perform as well as a man, even though they paid them normally but I’m afraid that was the policy of the government and they provided that aid. (Sr Merito García, PRAIT co-ordinator, Andahuaylas).

The response to the dilemma created by these two contrary demands is highlighted by Sr García when he says that men earned a normal wage and that as women did not deserve this wage (because they could not work like men) some of them were given ‘aid’ apoyo económico for their activities.

Such arguments about women not being able to work like men were central to administrators’ justifications for project failure. Arguments about women’s inadequacies were made in several ways. One of the crucial issues was seen to be women’s lack of technical skill. Generally in both rural and urban areas COOPOP believed that women’s low technological skills slowed the progress of individual projects.

If we speak from the social point of view, the programme wasn’t affected. It was a solution to give these mothers of families an income. If we speak of the technical levels, however, job advancement was delayed. (PAIT co-ordinator, South Lima).
Similar arguments were made in Andahuaylas where PAIT officials stated that there were some jobs that women were technically incapable of doing:

There was also a technical factor and that was that the women didn’t know how to do some things. (PAIT co-ordinator, Andahuaylas).

Here the task of street paving was mentioned as being particularly problematic for women:

There were men [in PAIT]. We especially needed men to work in paving.

(Interviewer’s question: why couldn’t women do this?)

Women could do it but they had difficulty aligning the rocks. They didn’t know how to use a level and align the rocks: putting each one on a level. That’s why we needed the help of men. (PAIT co-ordinator, Andahuaylas).

The other inadequacy highlighted by the PAIT administrators was women’s physical weakness:

It’s logical. It’s not the same having a woman digging ditches for the electricity grid as it is a man. Their production isn’t the same. Getting a woman of fifty/sixty years to dig ditches...No! (COOPOP director, San Juan, Lima).

More than anything we needed men (varones) because the jobs were very heavy, like paving jobs. Another job they did was to build a wall in Talavera, in the cemetery. That sort of jobs the ladies (damas) couldn’t do because they also didn’t have the strength (redimiento). (PAIT co-ordinator, Andahuaylas)³.

³ The use of the word ‘lady’ (dama) rather than ‘woman’ (mujer) reinforces the ideas about correct work for ‘weaker’ women. The equivalent of ‘gentleman’ (caballero) is not used in association with ‘lady’ (dama) but rather is matched by the Spanish word ‘varón’, meaning ‘man’.
Such assumptions about women’s technical abilities and lack of strength were implicit in the overall impression given by the male PAIT hierarchy. Their conclusion was that as women could not work as well as men they should not be forced to do so.

There were periods for work and periods for rest. You had to understand that they were ladies [damas], it wasn’t possible to demand more. (PAIT co-ordinator, Andahuaylas).

Under such an analysis, project failure to meet deadlines and complete tasks was conveniently blamed on the inadequacies of the female workforce.

Some of the women employees, however, objected to this explanation and suggested other reasons for failure, such as the lack of expertise and decent leadership among PAIT officials:

But it wasn’t our fault, it was the fault of the engineers because sometimes they’d give orders saying one thing "No, you have to do like this" and then the other one would come and say "No, that’s not how you do it, it’s like this". So consequently no one knew anything.... But in that case the engineers would have had to have known how to give orders. That was the problem. (Female labourer Andahuaylas).

These words indicate that the central problem was not necessarily female incompetence or lack of skill but confusion among project management. The incompetence and lack of co-ordination between management was not just a personal thing but could also be linked to broader contradictions and the basic lack of clarity caused by the two contrary influences on the programme: the need to target women and the belief that women could not work as well as men.

This confusion was compounded by the fact that even with the feminisation of PAIT the overall definition of work did not change and women were still expected to engage in the six areas of work outlined in Chapter Four. In terms of materials and management
individual projects were often not adequately supported, however, resulting in disorganisation over the allocation of resources, the provision of training and the methods of targeting as well as questions about where the ultimate responsibility for managing the programme lay.

Confusion at the project level
The general lack of clarity in the local management of PAIT can be illustrated by four empirical examples: first, in claims that women made about the programme's lack of resources and their poor distribution; second, in the lack of training given to project managers; third, by the ways in which programmes were administered in rural areas such as Andahuaylas; and fourth, in the role that socio-economic questionnaires played in exposing the welfare rhetoric to criticism.

With respect to the first point, many labourers blamed the lack of success of individual projects on the poor provision of resources and materials:

We couldn't do anything in the campo because we didn't have any materials (materiales). All we could do was excavate rocks, carry sand, and that was all. (Female labourer, Lima).

Secondly, evidence from Andahuaylas suggests that confusion about resource allocation and project leadership may well have resulted from the lack of guidance project managers themselves received. For example, when PAIT first came to the sierra (a year after its inauguration), programme directors claim to have received little training or instruction from the Lima headquarters on how to manage the new programme.

In truth no technicians came to train us or assess us in our system of work. But given the fact that for many years Cooperación Popular participated in this type of work in this zone, we just followed the same basic strategies in PAIT. (PAIT coordinator, Andahuaylas).
Initially from 1986 to 1987 eighty six local projects were administered by COOPOP in Andahuaylas:

**First, from 1986, PAIT was under the auspices of Cooperación Popular and I remember it well: all women, and they were painting, painting the schools. (San Jerónimo co-ordinator).**

Historically in the sierra COOPOP had always had a tradition of working with small rural communities with men in productive tasks. It was not used to working in the larger towns or dealing with female employees. COOPOP administrators therefore soon became dissatisfied with their role in the programme and interviews suggested that in Apurímac they were unhappy about the feminisation of PAIT and with the changes that this meant for their work. For example, Héctor Pozo, the Andahuaylas director of COOPOP for five years, claimed that ‘women working’ did not represent productive work\(^5\). It also seems that the introduction of waged labour also caused anxiety and confusion among the general public because in the past COOPOP had always depended on voluntary labour from rural communities.

Thirdly after an initial period of administration by COOPOP in 1988 the programme was placed under the auspices of the Micro Región\(^6\), a government, rural development agency which worked in conjunction with municipal authorities. This switch lasted for a year and caused confusion because the change in responsibility for the programme puzzled the public given that when the Micro Región took over the programme, the work force was still predominantly female and the tasks and projects they engaged in were identical to ones carried out under the auspices of COOPOP. Therefore, to many people there seemed to be no obvious reason for the switch. In response, the programme’s name was changed from PAIT to PRAIT (*Programma Regional de Apoyo al Ingreso Temporal*) in order to cement this reorganisation and to distance the programme from COOPOP. From


\(^6\) Interview with Hector Pozo.
December 1988 PRAIT administered a series of campaigns which lasted over a period of six months.

Despite the switch in Andahuaylas towards administration by the Micro Región, there was still disagreement about which government body should assume responsibility for running the programme. Generally, the Micro Región was not very enthusiastic about administering PRAIT because it saw the programme’s sole aim and justification in social welfare terms.

The requirements were that they should not be people who had secure work and they should be the most needy people and more than anything that they should be women. (Interviewers question: did they say that?)

Yes, it was for women and not so much for men because all of this programme was economic aid. The work didn’t demand as much as it would do for a man. More than anything it was just a mechanism for justifying the economic aid that the government gave. (PRAIT director, San Jerónimo).

Thus, the change of name and of the administering body for the programme was not successful in avoiding tensions at the project level over the feminisation of the programme, the provision of materials and general management problems.

The fourth example of confusion over the programme’s implementation was the introduction of a socio-economic questionnaire. Initially this questionnaire was designed to monitor the workforce who enrolled and to ensure that people were not already employed elsewhere. It listed applicants qualifications and work experience in order help job allocation and to place people in appropriate work teams. As the rhetoric around the programme began to emphasise women’s welfare, however the questionnaire was also used to help select the most vulnerable people for employment. It used a basic record sheet to gain social/economic data on individuals. Its implementation caused confusion.
because eventually it served to expose the welfare rhetoric to criticism. By 1987 this questionnaire played a specific role in the selection process which recruited employees:

They went to the Micro Región and filled in a record sheet with their details and everything. They [the office] signed up approximately seven hundred people, men and women. From there they did some sort of evaluation to see who needed it [the programme] most, that was its object, like I told you to help the most needy class, to pay the most needy people some money. So therefore from those seven hundred people they chose three to four hundred people, from Andahuaylas, San Jerónimo and Talavera. (PRAIT director, San Jerónimo).

As a result of the use of questionnaires it soon became common knowledge that the programme was intended to help the poorest of the poor as the following conversation between two employees shows:

1) PAIT was for the people who didn’t have work, or rather the most needy ones.

   (Interviewer's question: but how did they know who was the most needy?)

1) Generally the overseers knew.

2) No, that wasn’t the case. They asked everyone first. They had a questionnaire that you had to fill in.

1) Yes, that’s right a sort of sheet you had to fill in with all your details, like: how many in your family? What job does your husband have? How old are you? How old is your youngest child? Whether or not your house was built from bricks, bamboo matting...those were the sorts of things they asked first. (Female PAIT employee, Andahuaylas).
Although the questionnaires were intended to improve project targeting this aim was often not achieved. The selection criteria for a programme claiming to serve the most needy were far more exposed to criticism than a non-welfare oriented scheme which did not need to justify who it selected to work. The change in targeting created many tensions for project managers who were often unable to justify or make explicit their selection criteria. The result of the government’s success in creating a welfare image for the programme was that many people then criticised the way in which target employees were identified.

*It wasn’t really the people who needed it who worked. The ones [in the programme] who needed the money were few and far between but at least they could justify being there. At the end of the day though this programme started to add in people who really didn’t need to work, and who didn’t need the wage. Rather, it was in vain, they just wanted to have a good time in it or to keep themselves occupied, rather than be walking about in the street. (Male PAIT employee, Lima).*

Such issues created much resentment within PAIT ranks. They also damaged the public perception of the programme. Such problems fed into the corruption scandals that started to surround the programme within a few years of its operation. One specific example of the problems associated with a welfare justification based on targeting the most vulnerable was found in Andahuaylas. Here at least three interviews with people involved in the programme proved that public suspicions about wealthy women (*señoras de plata*) sending their maids to register in the programme in order to keep the wage they earned were wide-spread.

By focusing on the lack of training for programme managers, ad hoc institutional changes and poor targeting strategies this section has suggested that problems with individual projects was often the result of administrative confusion rather than difficulties with the female work force. The next section looks in detail at the assumptions underlying administrators’ references to women’s lack of skills and strength. The analysis reveals the contradictions inherent in the fact that women were said not to be as good as men (based on assumptions about their abilities) but that they were treated precisely as if they were.
On one hand women in the programme were treated like men in terms of the work expected of them but, on the other, the definitions of skilled work (linked to levels of pay) discriminated against them even when they carried out skilled tasks.

**PAIT women: treated like men**

Male and female labourers in PAIT had the same jobs to do, used the same tools, worked in the same poor conditions and were all paid the equivalent of a minimum monthly wage for working a five day week. Even when PAIT programmes functioned on a part-time basis the equivalent of half a minimum salary was paid for half the work. When asked whether men and women labourers did different tasks the majority of women answered that they did the same ones. The overall impression women employees gave was that men and women worked "igualito": just the same. One woman from Andahuaylas described the situation in her cuadrilla:

*(Interviewer’s question: Did men and women do different jobs?)*

No, they did the same thing, whatever they did, they did it equally.

(Female Labourer, Andahuaylas).

It seems that women and men were also treated in the same way and had equal expectations placed on them. This equal treatment was reinforced by the fact that when women complained that this work was men’s work rather than women’s work they met angry responses from their male bosses:

As women, they made us carry some huge rocks, just like that. We said ‘men carry those easily but sometimes women can’t’. We threw them onto the ground and then the people got annoyed: ‘pick it up and do it again’ they said. We had to fit in with that plan. If it was a huge rock we had to excavate it and then go back and pick it up to pass it on. (Female labourer, Lima).

Despite such claims that women were expected to work like men, however, as the previous section indicated, PAIT officials suggested that women in PAIT did not work
properly because they could not be treated as if they were as skilful or as strong as their male counterparts. Specific examples illustrate how some women contradicted the claims made by the PAIT leadership. One such example is found in the notion of ‘work by the metre’, which referred to the practice of measuring work by the physical distance covered, whether it be in terms of laying bricks, digging ditches or building roads. Although PAIT did not pay piece work there seemed to be a general expectation that achievement in heavy construction tasks should be measured by the amount in terms of metres the construction advanced each day. This was the regime to which men in construction normally worked on building sites. The PAIT bosses claimed that women did not work properly in this way:

In the case of women maybe the work was heavy, for example they moved rocks, but we weren’t that demanding. We always left it up to their own willingness, their own strength, that they do it bearing in mind their capacity. They aren’t demanding because the programme wasn’t in line with our norms: such that they would complete a certain programmed number of metres to pay them their money. They simply had to turn up and complete their required hours not complete the work. (Male PAIT co-ordinator, Andahuaylas).

This assessment of PAIT, however, contradicts all women’s expressed experiences of the work as hard and demanding. In the case of Andahuaylas such a specific welfarist claim was completely refuted by one woman who claimed she gave up work in PAIT precisely because the administration did demand that she work ‘by the metre’ in order to complete her tasks.

I left because I felt ill. I had a very bad haemorrhage and I left because they were making us work by the metre in order to finish the sewage in the nursery school. We absolutely had to complete our work by the metre, that was our responsibility, that’s what we had to do. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).
Therefore it would seem that women were treated like men in as much as they were expected to work as hard as them.

Uncritical assumptions about strength-based divisions were however pervasive and influenced women just as powerfully as they did the male hierarchy. The arguments to justify a gendered strength-based division of labour often seem contradictory and unconvincing when viewed in the context of other tasks carried out by women. Such other tasks may have involved strength but were not categorized as skilled. This contradiction can be seen in the case of carrying heavy rocks and using pick axes. The following quotation from an interview illustrates this contradiction. One woman in Andahuaylas was asked to describe the gender divisions of labour in her cuadrilla. In this group men laid pavements and the women transported rocks from the river. The reason given for women’s non-participation in pavement laying was that the tools and tasks were too heavy for them. This explanation was given despite the fact that transportation was also very heavy work as large rocks were carried over some distance (Plates 5.3 - 5.5).

Taking the rocks out of the river was hard work. I’ve seen many women suffer with this because they carried the rock [in front of them] on their stomachs. They took the rocks to the place where the men were working: the women carried the rocks and the men laid the pavement.

(Interviewer’s question: why did the men and women have different tasks?)
The women couldn’t use the pick or the crow bar and you needed to dig out the soil to put the rock in the right place. We couldn’t do that.

(Interviewer’s question: why not?)
Because it was heavy

(Interviewer’s question: heavier than carrying rocks?)
Well maybe because sometimes the soil is hard and it’s difficult to dig, and so that’s hard for a woman, I don’t know. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).
Plate 5.3: Large boulders used for pavement construction

Plate 5.4: Distance boulders were transported
Plate 5.5: Pavements built by PAIT and APRA propaganda
When the division of tasks by strength are seen in a wider geographical context the contradictions within these divisions are even more apparent. For example, it would appear that in Andahuaylas women were deemed to be physically unable to use heavy pick axes to dig up the ground and rocks in order to make roads, whereas in Lima women spent much of their time in PAIT doing these very things. Such strength-based arguments therefore reflect more about adherence to traditional notions of appropriate behaviour for women than they do to issues of strength.

The distinction between women and men’s skills incorporated another set of uncritical assumptions adopted when the PAIT administration promoted welfarist orientations. These were assumptions relating to the topics and skills in which women received training. Ad hoc official skills training within the programme for women was confined to traditional domestic skills. These skills were not rewarded financially whereas knowledge of certain ‘male’ skills in tasks carried out only by men were paid at a higher rate than jobs carried out by women labourers.

This point can be illustrated by the example of the use of *convenios*, incorporated into the programme after 1987. The COOPOP director in south Lima claimed that *convenios* were used to give certain people specific skills training while on the job:

*One or two from among the same labourers were taken away for training with CENCICO which is a state organisation dedicated to technical skills training in civil engineering. Afterwards they would return not as an unskilled labourer but with the level of a skilled worker. They came with knowledge and they taught the others. (Interviewer's question: did they earn more?) Yes this was financially rewarded. (COOPOP director, South Lima).*

Nearly all this training was given to men: no women in either the Andahuaylas or Lima samples claimed to have been sent on these courses. Under such a system it was seen as justifiable to pay men more not just because of some vague claim to a ‘family wage’ but
also because they had been given a particular skill that women did not have and which women were denied access.

These such issues concerning skills have been of much interest to feminist analyses of women and paid work. For example, one of the important foci of feminist research on gender and employment has been to show how skill-related divisions are often arbitrary. The famous ‘Nimble Fingers’ research of Elson and Pearson (1981) illustrates that wage distinctions are often more indicative of male bias than they are of levels of ‘natural’ skill7. This point is reflected in the gender bias behind the definition of skilled positions within PAIT which, in turn, had a direct influence on wage levels. PAIT contract labourers (mainly women) were under the guidance of supervisors (supervisores), who were almost exclusively men and who were often called engineers (ingenieros) even though they were not professional engineers by training or qualification. These men were permanent employees, whereas male builders and carpenters were contract staff but employed on a skilled wage scale not a labouring level. These men were usually called maestros (master craftsmen) rather than specific but less prestigious titles such as carpintero (carpinter) or albañil (‘brickie’). These maestros had seldom served an apprenticeship and seldom had qualifications in a particular craft. As was the case with the men laying the pavements they usually had a mixed bag of work experience. The following dialogue between two women indicates this distinctly gendered division of labour:

(Interviewer’s question: who were the supervisors?)

1) The supervisors were men weren’t they?
2) Supervisors? Yes they were the top ones.

---

7 This research shows how certain characteristics of women were emphasised when recruiting them into certain jobs in component manufacturing industries. ‘Nimble fingers’ and ‘docility’ were seen by manufacturers as ‘natural’ advantages in a female workforce. Elson and Pearson (1981) have shown how these are socialised and not natural skills and how the lack of productivity-related pay reveal that arguments about human capital determining pay differentials are invalid. Humphrey’s (1987) work on Brazilian textile industries makes similar points and has shown how women’s skills are consistently down graded in relation to male strength-related ones.
1) They went from place to place, they took the budget and work plan with them, I don’t know what they did but they had the supervisor’s position too.

*(Interviewer’s question: were women supervisors?)*

2) There were one or two but mostly they were men. (Female labourer, Lima).

There were no criticisms among the workers of the fact that these male positions of *supervisores* and *maestros* were not categorised as labourers and were therefore paid more. Generally, overall there seems to have been an uncritical acceptance among both men and women of the fact that men held leadership positions in PAIT.

There was another hierarchical division among PAIT labourers, however, that did not receive financial recognition: the position of overseer (*capataz*). *Capataz* is a word usually used in an agricultural context. It is the person in charge of a chain gang or a group of day labourers. In a non-PAIT context this post would usually be filled by a man. In PAIT, the *capataz* was chosen from among the gang of forty workers to take a daily register and keep an accurate account of when people clocked in and out. Specific responsibilities were as follows:

*I had to get there before the labourers to take a register. The clocking in time was eight o’clock, eight on the dot. I had to be there five, maybe ten minutes earlier to take the register, to check who was there. At lunch time I blew the whistle and they had lunch and rested for half an hour. I also worked with them. I liked it because it was as if I were just like them, one more labourer. I worked but when I had to do other things (add up the lists) I sat down and did them. There was always one thing or another to do. Sometimes the kids would fight each other and I had to get a plaster for them, that sort of thing. I also noted down who was absent. I would ask them to explain why. Sometimes the workers came and asked my permission to leave. I nearly always gave it, they didn’t complain about me. (Female overseer, Lima).*
In PAIT, the majority of these positions were occupied by women:

(Interviewer's question: the overseers were men and women?)

1) In the last year I worked they were all women. (Female labourer, Lima).

2) In my group they [overseers] were women, the men were the supervisors. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

In total in Lima and Andahuaylas twelve women from the sample of one hundred and eighty five were capatazes. Despite the responsibilities involved (including having the power to decide who had worked a full day or not), this position carried no financial reward.

(Interviewer's question: as an overseer did you earn more?)

No, we earned the same.

(Interviewer's question: but didn't you have more responsibilities?)

Yes, I had to keep the register, keep a record of all the workers and all of that but the pay was the same, I didn't earn any more or any less than them. (Female labourer, Lima).

The lack of financial reward for this position was even more discriminatory given the fact that some women were chosen for the job because they had relevant experience.

In the organisation people were formed into cuadrillas, work parties. These were under the responsibility of a person [overseer] who already had, in some way, a level of technical know-how. This person knew them and directed them in the work. These [people] were separate from the engineers - we had civil engineers, and depending on the type of work we also had architects. (David Vargas, PAIT director, South Lima).
Therefore, although the tasks, tools and conditions of PAIT did not reflect gender-stereotyped divisions the organisational structure and wage-related hierarchies did. Technical skills used by men were financially rewarded but not those displayed by women. It was automatically assumed that women could not do ‘men’s technical jobs’. Generally, certain jobs were designated as women’s jobs (and therefore as not skilled even if a skill or extra responsibility was involved) and these were distinct from jobs which required technical knowledge and ‘male’ skill. This arbitrary division became institutionalised when the welfare rhetoric was in full swing in a way that relegated women to cleaning and excluded them from even having the opportunity to participate in other tasks such as transport, pavement laying, painting etc.:

As generally we had formed a women’s work programme we organised tasks like cleaning parks. They cleaned the park called ‘Lampa de Oro’, and they also cleaned the cemetery. With regard to the participation of men they did jobs (trabajos). In the Andahuaylas cemetery they laid paving stones. In that way the type of job was determined with respect to the participation by sex. (Andahuaylas COOPOP leader, referring to PRAIT divisions of labour).

In this way men did jobs for wages and women did cleaning as a pretext for aid. The hierarchical organisation of PAIT and the definition of skilled work discriminated against female employees and maintained essentialist stereotypes concerning women’s capabilities. This evidence supports wider feminist research which has highlighted how skills-based divisions often rest on essentialist claims about natural ability. As in the case of other feminised places of work such as the electronics industry examined by Elson and Pearson (1981) and the Brazilian textile industry studied by Humphrey (1987), PAIT divisions of labour have consistently undermined the contribution of women’s labour. In this way, as an employer, the Peruvian state has operated in a similar manner to corporate interests which have helped confine women’s work to the realms of cheap labour. Women’s tasks as capatazes became down-graded to a ‘natural’ female ability - neatness and the ability to keep lists/tallies and to carry out ‘tidy’ administrative tasks. The responsibility of being in charge of the gang on a daily basis, of deciding who was working hard and who was
not, and the authority to decide who deserved to receive a full day’s pay were ignored, together with the fact that these capatazes were carrying our extra duties on top of their labouring commitments.

Men’s roles as contract carpenters and supervisors on the other hand became upgraded to the position of maestros and ingenieros which implied technical training and knowledge where often it did not exist. These titles gave men authority over those people (women) whom it was automatically assumed did not have the necessary knowledge. Such a hierarchy of title also justified higher wages for men. The skills distinction in PAIT therefore became one of the factory floor, of the labourer/foreman/manager relationship, where the managers became ingenieros (permanent paid staff), the foremen who were men became maestros and received skilled pay but where the foremen (capatazes) were women they received nothing extra than a labouring wage.

Although in general, women in PAIT did not directly challenge this gendered wage hierarchy, the next section indicates that they subverted stereotyped assumptions and discriminatory practices in at least three subtle ways. In practical terms, women contested the non-skilled category in which they had been placed by learning skills informally. In specific circumstances this process involved making alliances with some men over issues of learning skills and in some cases concerning matters of physical strength. Finally and perhaps most significantly, PAIT women refused to accept that what they did was ‘welfare’ work for women and instead conceptualised their role as that of being women engaged in (and capable of) doing ‘men’s’ work.

These subversions, and specifically this conceptualisation of ‘men’s’ work, were particularly important given the fact that PAIT was carried out in public spaces and that for many women it represented their first experience of paid employment.
**Women subverting skills stereotyping**

While participating in PAIT many women acquired ‘men’s’ skills. Most of these technical skills were learnt informally in two ways: either from fellow workers:

> I learnt these things there because the others already knew them and so they taught me (female labourer, Andahuaylas)

or by watching men (paid as skilled workers) doing specific tasks:

> Some things we learned a lot about. Working like that in PAIT we made the foundations [paving and cement] for the Plaza de Armas, we also did the same in the police station and we built houses. We learnt how to measure cement by wheelbarrow loads, they [the men] taught us that. I learnt how much you can get out of a bag. At that time we used three wheelbarrows for one bag of cement. (Female labourer, Lima).

The experience of women in Andahuaylas was similar in painting and decorating:

> For me it was a total learning experience. I learnt to paint, at least how to prepare the paint, mix it and paint with it. About calculating all of those little things I learnt a lot that time when we worked. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

In terms of strength-related tasks, women claimed that they learnt how to use their strength more strategically:

> For example there [in PAIT] I learnt how to work a lot harder, how to push the rocks, how to ease them out carefully because sometimes there were accidents and you could crush your hand. That gave you the experience of hard work and that experience was personally useful, for example how to lay paving rocks without them falling. (Female labourer, Lima).
In certain cases, however, when rocks were too difficult to move some women claimed that within their gangs they had informal arrangements with individual men, although the emphasis was still on team work:

When it came to lifting heavier things the men lifted the things that we couldn’t do...We worked together, all as hard as each other: what we couldn’t lift the men lifted that’s how we worked señorita. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

As well as learning practical techniques a second way in which women subverted skills stereotyping was by appreciating the value of what they had learnt and putting their skills to practical use.

I leant how to landscape a garden, not so much about specific measurements but more about what is suitable for a particular type of house. For example, maybe there’s a house that’s not very attractive/comfortable. But by locating a small garden there or arranging plant pots it can be changed. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

Women often put these skills, learnt ‘on the job’, into personal use later. The following set of quotes, referring to the skills required to lay pavements, is a good example of this learning process. It involved not only learning specific sets of technical skills but also changing conceptualisations of self because women learnt to value their potential and use what they had learnt.

The men taught us how to pave the street. At the moment when we were placing the rocks they would show us how to locate them properly, to align them using a level, so that you didn’t end up with one sticking out and one sinking down. So sometimes we would take the level and they would put the rocks down. That’s the way we learnt how to do it.
(Interviewer's question: and have these things been useful to you?)

Oh yes, a lot, for example all that about paving, afterwards I paved my own patio in the same way so that the house didn’t always get full of mud. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

This example of learning to pave is even more striking when placed in the context of the claims made by PAIT official that this particular skill was one that women could not learn (see page ***).

Women were seldom given the opportunity formally to learn any new skills and instead were automatically allocated to the traditional realm of women’s jobs such as cleaning, and paid accordingly. For example, when the COOPOP administration admitted that women learnt skills informally they made these comments in conjunction with patronising remarks about enthusiasm for cleaning:

(Interviewer's question: was there a technical factor, some things the women didn’t know how to do?)

Well with regard to the technical factor we weren’t so demanding but without doubt the people in charge gave instructions about how they should do things. In the case of cleaning parks I don’t think that you need any technical experience just simply some curiosity and enthusiasm. (PAIT co-ordinator, Andahuaylas).

The third way in which women contested the welfare stereotype that undervalued their contribution in PAIT was to insist that what they did was to work like men in men’s work. This conceptualisation referred to the way they worked and the tasks they carried out, as well as the tools they used.
Women doing men’s work

Many women claimed that the type of work that they carried out in gangs was masculine because they had to work like men:

Well for me, since I started working, we have made tracks and roads. We worked like the men in order to improve things. (Female labourer, Lima).

Some women even claimed that they worked harder than men.

For us there was no such thing as hard work señorita because in the campo we practically climbed up with crowbars and dug out the rocks. We carried some enormous rocks. So señorita, we worked harder than a man. (Female labourer, Lima).

Men participating in the PAIT programme also felt that many of the tasks were not ‘women’s work’, as one male employee from La Tablada explained:

Look, for me it hit me a bit hard because you could say that the women worked too much. The tasks were very heavy, for example they carried sand, they carried bricks: they did the work of a man. (Male labourer, Lima).

It was not only in the tasks they did that women broke stereotyped gender roles but also in the use of the masculine tools to carry out those tasks. The tools used in various activities such as road building and different forms of infrastructure provision were new to many women. As a result some objected to having to work like men and having to use ‘male’ implements:

It was OK I worked very well but afterwards they changed the PAIT bosses and they put in other methods of working so that we had to work like men who work gripping pickaxes and those sorts of things. (Female labourer, Lima).
Other women did not reject male implements in the same way but still attached a symbolic masculinity to them by suggesting that as they used them they worked like men.

We grabbed spades, pickaxes and wheelbarrows all those things. We worked the same, men and women. (Female labourer, Lima).

Well first we were in the Plaza de Armas which was just sand. Men and women, we were paving all the plaza, they gave us wheelbarrows, spades and they donated cement. (Female labourer, Lima).

Some women found this sort of work with these tools particularly liberating. The importance of women using these tools can be seen in the fact that, in the sierra, in agricultural work women seldom use pickaxes (picos) or palas (crowbar type iron rods with long handles) but instead work only with spades (lampas)⁸. The following quote from Sra Gómez, who lives in La Tablada but is originally from Cajamarca (northern sierra) shows how she enjoyed working very hard with a spade but also with the other ‘masculine’ tools. Even though she is a married woman with four grown up children, a first generation migrant with no paid work experience prior to FAIT (ie the typical ‘traditional/non liberated woman’) she says that if she could now find work her favourite job would be digging foundations and laying sewage pipes. She says that while in FAIT she found using these tools particularly liberating, suggesting that they made her feel even more womanly when she used them!

Well, for the most part we like to work like this, well me at least. I like to grab the spade and be like a woman [hacer a la señora] when I carry. I don’t know why but I like carrying: full up, full up, I put in a lot. I don’t know why but I enjoy myself, I carry a lot, with the spade (lampa), and also with a pick axe and with wheelbarrows, carrying a lot I enjoy myself. (Sra Gómez, female labourer, La Tablada).

⁸ Source: fieldwork interviews with COOPOP director in Andahuaylas and two key informants.
Therefore, for many women the tasks in which women were involved in PAIT, the way they were required to work and the tools they used defined what they did as men’s work.

**Public work for women**

The key thing about the nature of PAIT employment was that it employed large numbers of women working in public, open spaces. They worked collectively in gangs and were therefore highly visible. They depended very much on each other sharing tasks and taking part in organised ‘chain gang’ activities to transport heavy material. Therefore, even if individually a certain task, a certain tool or a certain demand of strength did not challenge gender stereotypes the collective impression of gangs of up to forty women engaged in these activities did. Such a picture gave a clear overall image of women collectively doing ‘men’s’ work. These women worked in very visible locations and they could be seen from a distance working in gangs in public open spaces such as rubbish dumps, squares/plazas and roads:

Señorita, I started work and all of us [nosotras] were working in a public road, here in Avenida Pachacútec, imagine! (Female labourer, Lima).

It was the public nature of the work that gave PAIT such a high profile within local communities. This visibility made it quickly obvious to the government and to people at large that PAIT catered mainly to a female and not a male work force, even though the work involved suggested otherwise.

**Conclusion**

As Chapter Three indicated for the majority of women in the programme PAIT was possibly their first experience of paid work and definitely their first experience of work of this nature. Even for rural women in Andahuaylas, who had been used to working on the land, PAIT was something different.

I liked PAIT because I was used to working on the small holding (chacra). I liked it because I was used to working, but even so in PAIT we had to work very hard. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).
Even though the work was often a shock, it was one to which women became accustomed to it as their conceptualisations of work and themselves changed.

Well really for me it [PAIT] was a shock because it was very tough. I had never worked like that and it shocked me but now I’m used to it.

(Female labourer, Lima).

The Peruvian state and other people in local communities also had to cope with the shock of large numbers of women carrying out heavy work, men’s work, in public spaces. It was this process of adjustment, together with the mechanism of changing rhetoric that the state used to cope with feminisation that made PAIT a contradictory space fraught with tensions. On the one hand women worked hard for a wage in a job that in many ways they defined as male. On the other hand, they were only allowed to continue in this space because it had been defined as something it was not: a women’s welfare programme giving aid.

At the project level women encountered both support and discrimination. It was the very nature of this contradictory project implementation that created the potential for social change. Potentially change could occur by women developing of new conceptualisations of work and of ‘self’ while under ‘the blessing’ of participating in a ‘women’s’ welfare programme.

These changes and the contradictory space in which they developed, however, were fragile. Both the changes and the space itself encountered resistance to varying degrees from the state, from women’s family and friends as well as from the PAIT women themselves.

In order for the PAIT experience to influence gender roles, the negotiation of gender relations and even the constitution of femininities, its legitimacy had to be maintained. The following chapter indicates the complex ways in which this process occurred and focuses on the implications it had for a variety of social relations and social practices.
Chapter Six
Representations of Women in the PAIT Work-Place

Introduction
This chapter outlines the nature of the new space created by women working in PAIT and the different forms of opposition towards it, focusing specifically on opposition from household members (particularly male partners) as well as from the wider communities where households were located. These oppositions drew upon a variety of representations of women in the PAIT work-place. The nature of these representations indicate that the veneer of respectability covering female participation was fragile despite state legitimisation of women’s involvement in the programme. The chapter illustrates that the new space created by women working in PAIT was contested in different ways; it highlights the mechanisms women used to cope with resistance towards their participation in the programme. The chapter suggests that the strategic representations made by women concerning their identity in the workplace were important ‘survival strategies’ that helped maintain their participation in PAIT employment and helped pave the way for changes in gender relations and the constitution of different femininities. Both in the workplace and in women’s relationships with household members these mechanisms were based on PAIT women identifying difference from and commonality with their fellow female workers and at the same time reproducing and subverting stereotyped ideas concerning ‘appropriate’ behaviour for women.

The PAIT work-place: a new space
Chapter Five highlighted that working in PAIT was a new experience for many women. In many ways PAIT represented a new social and physical space for them. In the programme women came together in large groups *(cuadrillas)* of up to forty women and while previously they may have met in smaller groups of friends or in neighbourhood community activities, the context for their meetings in PAIT was different. In the first instance, women met as labourers who worked together and shared the same employer. The social relations of production in PAIT therefore influenced the ways in which women
related to each other on both an individual and collective basis. Under the PAIT regime individuals did the same work and were paid equal wages. While some of the demands on women’s relationships were the same as in any social interaction some were unique to paid work and others were specific to PAIT.

In a paid work setting employees experience distinct divisions of labour, together with institutional hierarchies which often express patriarchal values (Walby 1986). In PAIT, this patriarchal hierarchy meant that men were classified as engineers or skilled workers whereas women were mainly labourers. Even when both men and women worked together in manual tasks men were assumed to be better at the job. The organisation of PAIT work into gangs and the role of the capataz (usually a fellow female labourer selected from ‘the ranks’) helped structure the ways in which women related to each other. Labourers working in work gangs, relied on each member of the team to ‘pull her weight’ and to work with equal skill and strength.

This PAIT work ethic, which depended on work gangs, together with the emphasis given to time-keeping in the programme, opened up a space for specific tensions, jealousies and complaints to be aired between employees. The potential for these tensions to arise was particularly high given the diverse nature of the work force and the fact that women from many different backgrounds were involved in the programme. When women enrolled in PAIT they had different experiences of formal education and faced different social circumstances at home:

There were young and old women there, many of us who worked were single mothers. There were also some who were widows, some who weren’t and some who were married and really only worked to help their husbands out. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

There were women who had completed secondary school, some who had given up half way through in the third or fourth year, others who had only finished primary education and some who didn’t know how
to read or write but they all worked together, what I mean is that it was a very diverse gang. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

For many of these women working in PAIT was the first time they had regular close contact with women who were not like themselves. This exposure often demanded personal self-examination and re-conceptualisations of others because, as one woman explained, new PAIT acquaintances often initiated a process of questioning:

After a while you realise that you meet every type of person there. Mainly you meet women with different ideas from yours who come from different places. [In PAIT] there are submissive women and also women who actually like swearing. So as they work, all of these [differences] are intermingled. Those women who were submissive see all of these things and possibly think that those women are doing the right thing, they begin to think that it’s good fun or that it’s normal, others retreat because up until then they have had a life that’s very different to what they are seeing. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

These new socialisation experiences in PAIT were also underscored by the general pattern of women in public areas engaging in ‘men’s work’ for the first time. It was the combination of the workplace’s new social milieus and the ‘masculine’ nature of the work that meant that PAIT represented more than just a job for many women. PAIT also constituted a new space for women both physically and metaphorically because it was a place where they could meet together, question things and experience change.

Contested space
PAIT’s role as a state-backed programme gave women a degree of respectability which allowed them to mix with different (‘other’) people and to do things that would otherwise have been deemed unacceptable for them. The legitimisation that the state offered, however, only acted as a fragile veneer. This ‘new space’ was contested at a variety of different scales including communities and households which despite the overall state ‘welfare’ legitimisation of women’s inclusion in the programme were often sites of
opposition for women who went to work in PAIT. Opposition towards women working in PAIT functioned at different scales which mutually reinforced each other. For example, opposition in local, geographical communities both produced and was reinforced by antagonism within families. These tensions were expressed in male opposition towards women working in the programme. Women encountered this opposition from male partners as well as from their male colleagues. This opposition was largely founded on negative representations of the PAIT work-space.

The following section describes these different scales of opposition and suggests that at each level stereotyped gendered notions of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour for women were drawn upon and reproduced.

Local opposition: a new space contested by ‘the world at large’

Local opposition towards the female PAIT work-space was often quite strong. The degree of community opposition towards women’s involvement in the programme is illustrated by the fact that seventy five per cent of women in the sample mentioned that their neighbours’ comments were the feature they most resented about working in PAIT. None of the women mentioned that they liked hearing what their neighbours said about them working in the programme which suggests that the remarks were usually derogatory. Therefore the representations of the PAIT work-space and the women working in it were often negative at a neighbourhood level.

The following comments by two different women labourers from La Tablada illustrate that the images the public held of the labour force were negative. The first quote speaks of the way in which public opinion marginalised them and the second refers specifically to the fact that criticisms often took the form of public abuse.

(Interviewer’s question: what was the general opinion on the street [de la gente, así en la calle] about the women working in PAIT? Did they have ideas, images?)

Well people marginalised us a lot. They really did marginalise us. Obviously sometimes it was because there were some people who didn’t work and
therefore the government was wasting money on them but they were a minority and the people marginalised all of us. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

This abuse commonly, although not exclusively, came from men.

*(Interviewer’s question: who shouted like that?)*

Generally it was the men. But also young boys would go past and insult us and shout "you’re idle (ociosas)" at us. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

Male comments often centred around issues of appropriate work and behaviour for women.

There was a lot of criticism. When we were working in the street *(vía pública)* the men in the lorries and trucks that passed by would shout abuse at us. They’d say things like "You’re idle (ociosas), lazy (flojas), as mothers you should be working in something like handicrafts. What are you all doing carrying things, are you playing with the sand?" (Female labourer, La Tablada).

Generally women in PAIT complained about the public ridicule to which they were exposed and, as the first quote suggests, many were at pains to point out that these public images of them were incorrect.

**A female space both supported and contested by PAIT workers**

Patriarchy in the work-place was expressed through a male bias in the PAIT hierarchy and general assumptions relating to women’s abilities and strengths. As Chapter Five has shown, these assumptions often reflected attitudes about ‘appropriate’ and ‘inappropriate’ behaviour and work for women. Despite this opposition, however, when representing the PAIT work place to the outside world, male employees seemed keen to squash negative rumours about women employees. The majority of male employees spoke highly of the women in the programme. This scenario was particularly evident in Andahuaylas where
male employees and bosses emphasised women's respectability and hard work in an attempt to counter any negative public opinion.

Although generally male employees gave positive representations of their female colleagues, some negative stereotypes were reproduced uncritically. These images were very specific and usually referred to women as lazy gossips (flojas, chismosas). In general, male workers only reproduced these particular images for outside consumption and did not refer to negative representations of women's moral behaviour or appropriate work.

In interviews women workers did not resist this specific male opposition as readily as they did broader negative public opinion. Instead, in the majority of cases in both Lima and Andahuaylas women accepted the criticisms of their behaviour and seemed to collude with essentialist notions of women's characters that men put forward. In this way potential conflict between men and women in the work-place was avoided but representations of women as gossips and lazy workers were left unchallenged. The following quotes by women illustrate this process of collusion:

*(Interviewer's question: What was the treatment of men and women like?)*

The men always chivvied us along. More than anything they used to say things like: "do that quickly, let's get on". They used to give us an incentive because sometimes we would chat, gossip and things like that and then men would say "right let’s get to work". (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

They used to order us about, they had the voice of authority, well you know it's said that women often chat and so they would tell us "come on do it quickly, let's finish this bit and then you can chat".

*(Interviewer's question: And did you accept that?)*

Oh yes, it was correct (correcto).

*(Interviewers question: Did they say things to the women there?)*

Yes, they would say that we didn’t get things done and [they would
joke and say] that it was because we would spent time squatting to urinate on the floor and things like that. It was a laugh. Just a game, nothing serious. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

With such comments women colluded with their male colleagues and reproduced stereotypes concerning women working being lazy and gossipy.

**A space contested at home**

Family members also contested women's space in PAIT and for the majority of women this home-based opposition towards their breaking social norms was far more serious than opposition at work or hostility from the community in general. This domestic opposition was based on expectations of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour for women especially in their roles as wives, daughters and mothers. These notions defined the power relations embedded in processes of household decision-making.

Generally, most women (sixty nine per cent) said the original idea for them to work in PAIT was their own whereas only six per cent reported that it was their male partner who urged them to join. In the context of household decision-making dynamics, this imbalance hints at potential struggles over obtaining male approval for women's employment. The following table focuses on the reactions of male partners towards women enrolling in the programme.
Table 6.1 - The reactions of male partners towards women enrolling in PAIT
(as a percentage of all respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reactions</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male partners agreed</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male partners disagreed</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male partners agreed conditionally</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women did not tell their male partners of their plans</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male partners said nothing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men and women gave various justifications for these reactions. While fifty five per cent of women said that their partners did not object to their working in PAIT, the reasons they gave did not necessarily reflect a selfless or gender-aware stance on the part of the men. The majority said their husbands' reasons were related to the economic necessity behind their activities. Comments like "he saw we had two incomes" or "he was pleased because we would be better off" were used to explain their male partner's attitude. In some cases a lack of disapproval from a male partner indicated that he did not take his wife's activities very seriously rather than suggesting that he positively supported the venture. One woman from Lima said that after she had told her partner she was going to work he had laughed at her and said "you call that work!"

The table also illustrates that more than a quarter of the women said their partners were categorically opposed to their enrolment. A further eight per cent of men only agreed to
their participation on a conditional basis, that is, they stipulated certain limits to women’s participation and placed specific conditions and constraints on their activities. In the survey data these constraints were linked to notions of good mothering and good wifely attitudes. For example, men who agreed only grudgingly laid down conditions relating to their partners’ reproductive responsibilities and gave permission for their participation with the proviso that their children and/or the home (hogar) were not neglected.

There were tensions between me and my husband because he didn’t want me to go, he told me not to neglect (descuidar) my children because he was also working. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

Male fears about neglect covered concerns about physical abandonment of the building (making it a security liability) and of children (leaving them alone in the house) as well as more abstract notions concerning women abandoning their traditional roles.

Other male constraints related to a woman’s only being allowed to work or ‘help out’ until her partner found himself employment. One man from Lima summarised the general tenet of these male restrictions by saying his wife could work as long as ‘nothing generally was upset’, i.e. she could work as long as her activities did not negatively impinge on his life.

Interview descriptions of outright male opposition focused on the fact that men ‘were angry’ and ‘opposed’ to the idea. Women used a series of phrases to describe how their partners felt: no estaba de acuerdo (he did not agree), se negaba (he refused), se opusó (he opposed it), hubo desacuerdo (there was disagreement), se molestó (he got angry), no aceptaba (he didn’t accept it), me llamó la atención porque no le gusto (he told me off because he didn’t like it). For many women this opposition implied physical opposition as well as verbal prohibitions, although few women were openly willing to discuss domestic violence and phrases such as "he was almost discontent" (casi descontento) left a lot to the imagination of the listener.
In general, opposition from male partners within the household focused on issues concerning what was required or expected of ‘a good wife and mother’. For most men these notions were potentially undermined by the new space that PAIT provided for their wives to mix with ‘undesirable women’, acquire habits they should not learn, and have the opportunity to neglect their homes and responsibilities in pursuit of personal gain and possibly sexual liaisons. Male partners’ fears were focused on the assumption that women’s personal ideas of appropriate behaviour would be upset by their exposure to a different set of circumstances and a different social milieu. Such notions of inappropriate behaviour painted a picture of a downward spiral starting with changes in personal attitudes and leading to transgressions of acceptable gendered public conduct.

Key to this set of male assumptions was the idea that the women who worked in PAIT were ‘common’ and therefore represented something ‘different’ from the ‘good wives and mothers’ who partnered them. In an interview, Señora López from José Galvez described this rationale:

(Interviewer’s question: why didn’t you want to tell him?)

He wouldn’t have wanted it because he had said to me that there [in PAIT] you learn many things because the women are very impudent and they swear a lot. Well he just wouldn’t have wanted it. (Sra López, female labourer, José Galvez).

Some men justified these assertions about the general attitude of PAIT women by saying that their impressions had been gained from personal experience (whereas their wives, it was is assumed, had previously led a more private, sheltered life and therefore lacked such experience!). For example, Señora Gómez, also from José Galvez, described the behaviour her husband had witnessed:

He didn’t want me to go because he had heard a lot of things. Where he works in the south there’s a lorry that picks them [PAIT women] up and he said that they hassled (fastidiaban) the men. So, when I told him that I was going to work in the campo, he said that they are the
worst sort of people because he's seen them go by and hassle (fastidiando) the men almost as if they had been selected because of that very quality. (Sra Gómez, female labourer, José Galvez).

These sorts of comments about 'hassling the men' and being exposed to bad behaviour fed into male fears about their women transgressing the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour for wives. Many women said their husbands feared they would meet another man in PAIT and be unfaithful. The following quote indicates that fears of unfaithfulness were directly focused on the new opportunities made available to women by the work-space itself:

Well my husband criticised me in some things. They [husbands] thought certain things about the women. The husbands thought that the women would go [to PAIT] and do what they wanted there with a man. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

It was the combination of an opportunity to 'misbehave' and the bad example set by others that women often claimed their husbands feared most.

He thought I'd find another man there...well there were all sorts there - housewives, and then some who were a bit lively and who said things they shouldn’t say - and my husband said to me "if you go you’ll learn those things it’s better that you stay in your house (en tu casa)". (Female labourer, La Tablada).

For other men, particularly in Andahuaylas, with less of a tradition of women in paid work, opposition focused on the loss of face for men associated with their wives working. These complaints implied that men feared public knowledge of their inability to provide for their family and drew on fixed notions of the role of men earning a family wage. Sra Huamán said her husband’s main complaint was "what will people say?".
This domestic opposition to women working in PAIT was very significant for most women because it impinged on their daily lives. It fuelled comments from men in the work-place as well as public opinion. There is also evidence that these fears were communicated to other members of the household, especially sons and fathers.

Now my eldest son is saying to me "you’re not thinking about going to work in PAIT?". He doesn’t want me to go because now it’s the hot weather and you get burnt. Your skin turns black. All of my hand is black, it will never go back to its normal colour. Although I’m in the campo team I’m inside with the children but even so during the journey there and back we turn black. Now my son doesn’t want me to go. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

The next section illustrates how, in the face of this criticism at home, women negotiated their involvement in their new space by representing their work-place to male partners in a non-threatening way, thereby gaining male approval for their employment and successfully coping with contestation.

**Coping with contestation: PAIT women and multiple identities**

Analyses of coping mechanisms and survival strategies have largely focused on the multiple activities adopted by women and men in times of crisis. This section takes a different approach towards the issues of coping and survival by looking at the situated practices women used to negotiate their participation in PAIT. For PAIT women, coping with contestation meant dealing with multiple and contradictory representations. These representations related both to the new PAIT space and to themselves as women workers. The practices they adopted drew various representations together into common sense-notions based on ideas of ‘other’ and difference. This process reproduced some stereotypes while subverting others.
Drawing boundaries and reproducing stereotypes

PAIT women's representations of the work-place drew boundaries between themselves as 'good' women and those who could be considered 'bad' influences. The categories they constructed formed what can be called a 'moral economy of difference' whereby certain forms of behaviour, attitudes and individual people were identified as 'immoral' and consequences isolated as 'different'. The following quote illustrates this process and highlights how women communicated these boundaries to their male partners:

He heard a lot of comments but it really depends on individuals because sometimes some of us are women who like to joke and we encourage people because sometimes there are men working there and some women do what they shouldn't do. That's why I said to my husband that it's all down to individuals and whether you make people respect you. I'll go and work anywhere as long as I can make them respect me and I said to him 'if you don't trust me go and see for yourself'. (Female labourer, La Tablada)

In this way PAIT women negotiated gender relations with male partners, family members and the wider community by reproducing stereotypes and then isolating them from the women who were stereotyped as 'bad'. The formation of cliques and groups in PAIT articulated a particular definition of 'other'. 'Other women' were bad workers, wives and mothers they were lazy, vulgar, gossips, flirts, unfaithful and unruly.

The mechanisms that led to the formation of 'good' groups were based around friendship and commonality. As Señora Gutiérrez explained women formed small cliques which often moved between cuadrillas.

We made many groups, groups of about five from the larger group [cuadrilla] of 25-30. They were my friends, we were groups of five or six people who knew each other and sometimes my group would go to another cuadrilla and we would say come here with us we're going to
be working here, that's how we sorted it out so that everything went well. (Sra Gutiérrez, female labourer, La Tablada).

These cliques defined people who were not like themselves as a series of 'others'. These others were defined by binary conceptualisations of 'good' and 'bad' behaviour/women. Wilson (1993) has identified the origins of this type of dualism in post-colonial Latin America through processes of mestizaje and associated gender ideologies of 'honour' and 'shame'. She says ideas of honour and shame:

led to the representation of a unified image for men: the cult of violent, virile manliness. But for women it led to a dichotomized sexual identity: one being expressed by the pure, sacrificing mother and the other by "la puta" or the promiscuous, shameless, "sin verguenza". (Wilson 1993, p.73).

The rest of this chapter argues that in some cases women reproduced this binary categorisation by identifying a series of bad 'others'. It also indicates how in some cases they subverted it by recognising that not all bad women were (all or always) bad. The main argument, however, is that when the same women carried out both reproduction and subversion their actions can be interpreted as a deliberate manipulation of the dualism which ensured their continued participation in the PAIT space and which also initiated a process which questioned the formation of gender identities. The reproduction and subversion of stereotypes allowed women to negotiate gender relations differently.

a) Difference and the 'lazy other'

The issue of laziness was particularly related to the work-place and the gang nature of the work involved. Women relied directly on each other and their biggest complaint about fellow women workers was that they were lazy. Women raised this issue more frequently than any other to distinguish themselves from the 'bad workers'. For many women this tension concerning laziness did not arise in other contexts because women's activities are often carried out by individuals in private spaces but in the paid work environment where everyone was paid the same wage and in a PAIT 'chain gang', where everyone relied on each other, it became a bone of contention.
In general, women were classified very clearly into two groups: those who were lazy and those who were hard working. As a result of this binary classification two distinct cliques who kept themselves physically apart from each other were formed in the work-place:

Some people got annoyed, well I did when some people got on with it and others didn’t. For example, there were some señoras who would arrive and sit down or for a short time they would carry two spades and nothing else, the capatazes would watch them and ask them to do more, then when it was our turn we would do it as it should be done and put the sand to one side, then they would get annoyed. Then we’d begin to fight about it but we would try to avoid it by each one sticking to their side. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

The bosses and capatazes often played an important role in reinforcing these divisions:

The bosses selected us, the hard working ones, and they kept us to one side and they’d take out the lazy ones and in that way there were two groups. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

In the interviews a distinct language of "us" and "them" was used to communicate these divisions. In relating a specific incident women said that the bosses would often be called upon to arbitrate between the two factions as the following example shows:

Sometime they didn’t work well, some would stand about and they didn’t carry rocks and they would be told to get to work. That’s why we had the bosses to keep a watch on them and say "right get to work" they had to work the same as us. Sometimes they would stand around or sit down so we would shout at them "do some work" because the rest of us had to work continually. Some of the girls would stay sitting down so we would call to the boss, "look they have to work too".
(Interviewer's question: did that cause problems?)

Yes sometimes they would say "why are you complaining? Work if you want but we are not with you, we are over here and we work if we want to work". That's what they used to say¹. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

Vehement antagonism over the issue of wages was evident from both sides of the fence as women who were labelled ‘lazy’ replied with equal anger to the accusations of ‘good’ women and therefore reinforced the boundaries established between the two groups:

Sometimes there was a group that worked as they should and then another group that sat down and gossiped and when you said "C'mon get to work, you have to work to earn your daily bread don't you?" they replied "what's with you, do you pay me or what?" (Female labourer, José Galvez).

The members of the ‘good’ clique were a self-selecting group chosen by each other for their ability to work hard, their experience and their skills.

(Interviewer's question: and how did you select people?)

We picked the hardest workers (chambeadoras), and we used to say, ok who are the ones who like working? For example we would focus on painting, who could paint and so we would start to look for someone. So we selected people according to their size and skill and people who knew how to do things because that is important in the work, well the skill is the most important thing. (Sra Gutiérrez, female labourer, La Tablada).

¹ Author's emphasis.
According to Sra Gutiérrez, these criteria excluded ‘lazy’ women:

We mostly selected people with skills because everyone knew who the lazy ones were and who the hard workers were. There were some people who only came to put in the hours and who were there spending their time looking around, watching the clock for the time to leave, but there were other people who really liked to work and they did work hard. I say that because in my case I like to work. But there were people who used to say, "I want to leave now" and at the breaks they take a break but then they stay chatting and you can only get them working by saying "hurry up, c’mon hurry up" that’s how it was in my cuadrilla (Sra Gutiérrez, female labourer, La Tabalada).

While this division was very clear from the interview material the labelling was not always uncontested and one woman explained how she objected to being singled out as a lazy woman:

People complained that I was absent a lot. Well my baby was due and I took a medical certificate and everything but they didn’t want to accept it, they would say "No, this girl also has to work, she must work". They wouldn’t at all believe that my baby was due and I had to leave because my other baby was born like that while I was working, it was born two months early. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

She was unsuccessful in her protests and was forced to give up work even though in her eyes her difficult pregnancy gave her a valid excuse for not working as hard as the others.

This binary division concerning laziness was very strong and there is little evidence of a fluid in-between category. There is some evidence, however, that certain women resisted categorisation by opting out completely and keeping themselves apart from both camps. They were identified as loners by the majority of women.
In each group there were always some women who were a bit isolated, in my group there weren’t many but you saw it more in other groups, a woman standing by herself or two of them who were on together. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

The fact that women were labelled as lazy did not prevent their also being categorised in other ways. A multiplicity of identities were used by women, with a tendency, however, to create an almost photo fit identity of ‘the bad other’. This division into ‘good’ and ‘bad’ relied on a conflation of women’s roles as worker, mother and wife.

The following quote indicates that the "them" for one woman from Villa María Cercano were those who combined laziness with the frivolity of youth. She suggests that this combination also encouraged them to develop other inappropriate forms of behaviour in the work-place:

Many women and young women especially who could work enroled in the programme but they didn’t work because they were lazy there. The ones who moved most earth were the ones who were hard working. The ones who didn’t work didn’t really care about anything, they’d stand there with their arms crossed looking about, some times they’d play around and sometimes they did other things too! (Female labourer, Villa María Cercano).

b) Difference and the gossiping other
Some women said that they kept themselves apart from the others because they did not approve of those who gossiped:

I liked the work, it was a good chance to get to know a different set of people, there were bad ones and good ones and I got to know all of them. I kept myself a part a lot from people though because I didn’t like being involved in it all because a lot of the time they would tell tales or gossip so I backed off. (Female labourer, Villa María Cercano).
This representation of PAIT women was often related to complaints about laziness and the two images often went hand in hand.

The comments of male partners and male workers stereotypes about gossiping and laziness were not so vehemently challenged as more damaging suggestions about women’s vulgarity and misconduct.

c) Difference and the vulgar other
Definitions of ‘the vulgar woman’ largely revolved around the ways in which women were assumed to behave. These notions were reinforced by the vocabulary the vulgar women were heard using and by the ways in which they addressed each other. The public nature of this behaviour was seen to be particularly shocking to some women. Characteristically, they swore a lot and so ‘good women’ physically separated themselves from their influence.

They had a different way of life from the type that one was accustomed to, some had a very vulgar mouth and had lived loose, liberal lives. They didn’t think about things. We didn’t join up with them, we didn’t join up with the very lively ones and we tried to separate ourselves and from the other groups.

They used gross words like "no jodas mierda" [don’t fuck me you shit] which are horrible words and they had a very brusque way of speaking, using slang like "cojudo" [moron]. They used these words among themselves and when they passed by each other they would say things in a very vulgar manner "estas hueveando" [you’re wanking around] or when they weren’t working they’d say "C’mon moron estas hueveando" that’s how they would talk or they’d say "anda pues concha a tu madre" [go on, go fuck your mother]. (Female labourer, José Galvez).
Many workers suggested that the ‘vulgar’ women were a very visible group in PAIT and therefore it was easy to label them ‘the others’. Given the general public nature of PAIT work, the fact that these (often loud) women were ‘visible’ in the group meant that good women feared their image would label the whole cuadrilla and the programme in general. ‘Good’ women therefore emphasised that they were not used to behaving like that or even witnessing those things and consequently the only way they felt able to cope with the new experience was to distance themselves from the vulgar women.

They knew each other before, they were often neighbours and that’s why they treated each other in that way. So when they clashed with a woman who was not accustomed to this that’s when there were problems. There were people who were not used to hearing words like that so when there were exchanges of words, las otras (the others) were used to saying vulgar things but for those of us who were not brought up like that it was a shock so we distanced ourselves from their group. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

The behaviour of the ‘vulgar’ women provoked reactions from women who said they were unaccustomed to interacting in this way. Women emphasised however, that these reactions did not conform to male fears about ‘good women’ being corrupted, they did not become like ‘bad’ women, instead they reacted in a way that reinforced the idea that ‘good women’ could not cope with this sort of thing.

They thought that swearing was OK. For example when a woman like that insulted other women they reacted because [in PAIT] there were also women who were very quiet and when the other one got involved shouting and insulting the reserved one who wasn’t used to it she became quiet and started to cry. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

In terms of gender relations the danger that this group represented for ‘good women’ was therefore neutralised by distance, separation and tears, a stereotypical ‘female’ response.
This scenario was communicated by the women to their male partners in order to allay their fears.

The strength of the separation between these two factions was also emphasised by women who were labelled as 'vulgar'. These women reinforced the boundaries between themselves and the 'good' women by also playing the labelling game. For example, Sra López explained that if she was vulgar at least she was not 'uptight' like the ones who did not bother to chat and be friendly:

I think that there are some people who aren’t friendly and they like working. Sometimes when someone chats with a person and we share jokes with the people who go by we get a bad reputation. I see the whole thing differently: yes, we are vulgar people, only vulgar people would be working there and there are women who shout things, those things. But there are also women who’ve known each other for years but who only get to speak to each other there, they are more uptight, God knows how many years they’ve known each other but as they don’t know us at all we just say hello to them and they respond to the greeting but nothing more and two or three of them go off together to sit in a corner, they chat with each other, work and then leave. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

In this classification of vulgarity there does not seem to be any in-between category. In the eyes of all the women labourers you either were or were not vulgar. This binary division echoes the clear distinction made between lazy and unlazy women.
d) Difference and the flirt

Another category used to label women as ‘other’ was that of ‘the flirt’. Many female labourers claimed that certain types of women only came to work in order to flirt with the bosses or the male labourers:

Some of them just came to flirt with the bosses (Female labourer, La Tablada).

Sometimes they just went to hassle the men and they didn’t do any work, they just encouraged the men not to respect them. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

In certain circumstances those women who were labelled as flirts were also blamed for encouraging vulgarity, laziness and gossip.

Some people said that the women fell in love, that they lost their virginity, some said that it was just like a whore house (alcahuetería). It was like a whore house because instead of coming to work they just came to flirt with the men but not in an up front way but slyly. It caused problems within the group because the boss said that they shouldn’t work like that because the gossip was causing damage. The ones who went along to be lazy were the ones who got into that trouble. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

In some cases these attitudes and actions led to scandalous incidents and illicit sexual relations that the majority of women claimed to condemn:

They just used to flirt and laugh and they encouraged the men to take them over the back to be with them behind the shacks instead of working. When the men didn’t take any notice of them they would call them "puffs". In my group there were five girls, they mainly went off with the young men, and now I see them with their pregnant bellies. (Female labourer, José Galvez).
The links between sexual relationships and the work place were condemned even more strongly when they involved married women.

e) Difference and the adulterous woman
The adulterous woman was given most blame for the bad reputation of the PAIT work force. She was censured because she allowed (*dio plaza*) the advances of the men with her generally loose, vulgar behaviour. In the words of one woman from La Tablada "*but at the end of the day the man is a man and a woman is left dirty*". Many women described the unfolding of this adulterous scenario and its implications for PAIT’s image:

*(Interviewer’s question: where does the bad image of PAIT workers come from?)*

There were some girls who joined PAIT who were very lively and badly behaved. They came into PAIT and they got to know a young man and fell in love with him, usually he was married to someone else. They’d get to know each other better and better until she became pregnant and that’s when the talk began: "you’ve been with my husband" or "yes my wife led me a song and dance". All of that together with the gross language they used it was no wonder that people thought bad things about them. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

These accusations also extended to the behaviour of the female *capatazes* as well as female labourers.

*We used to go to the hills to work and some people would get together, not actually at work but leaving work. On the other hand I also found the *capataz* actually hiding away there, doing it in the work-place (ha, ha) Imagine! What a thing to do! That’s why people talked.* (Female labourer, José Galvez).

Some women claimed that these situations arose because women did not take their work seriously enough.
I knew of a case of a girl who was married and she had a baby. She fell in love with someone else in PAIT and she had a baby by him and so her husband left her. When that happened she then separated from the father of the second child because he also left her and so finally she was left with two children from different relationships and now she’s with someone else with whom she has a baby. I think this is because we are sick in the head it’s the result of joking with male friends that these things happen to us and so all of this happens because individual women aren’t more serious in the work-place. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

The fear expressed by male partners of employees that PAIT women would spiral downwards into bad conduct was generally supported by the women in the programme. The ways in which wise ‘good’ women avoided this spiral was to separate themselves from the ‘others’ who were like that.

f) Difference and ‘the dyke’
In most cases when sexuality was raised as a topic it was in the context of heterosexual flirtation and extra-marital affairs as discussed above. Despite the general silence around other aspects of sexuality a few women raised the issue of homosexual identity by claiming that PAIT attracted and gave a space to women of a homosexual orientation. It is not possible to make any real assertions about how widespread homosexuality was among the PAIT labour force because cultural taboos meant that it was not widely discussed in interviews. The issue was raised twice however, once at length by a psychologist employed by PAIT and working with women in the campo, and another time in conversation with three women labourers in José Galvez who were key interviewees throughout the three-year period of fieldwork. In a formal interview the psychologist summed up the situation in the work gangs and the reactions of the workforce:

I knew the situation with the lesbians well. They acted like men and tried to win the attention of the pretty girls, the ones with the nice figures. To begin with the girls didn’t give in to the attentions and
invitations of the lesbians but little by little they did, it was as if they had a magic power to get what they wanted. I heard the comments of the mothers who were very worried as they worked there too, often together with their whole family.

I suppose this threat always existed in the barrio but they took advantage of the situation because there were usually one or two lesbians in each cuadrilla having close contact in small groups. It didn’t take them long to win over a girl, not even five years or so but just a matter of months since getting to know them. Even now I see at least one of the couples together. (Female psychologist working for PAIT).

The material in these quotes seems to attribute special, almost magical powers of seduction to ‘the lesbians’. From the comments of the three labourers the reaction of the women in the work-place to ‘the special influence’ of ‘the lesbians’ was clear. They saw them as ‘other’ and claimed they tried to avoid them because they were very different from ‘nosotras las señoras’ (we married women).

Cross-cutting identities
There were also other aspects of socio-cultural identities to which women referred which were not linked to the moral economy of difference identified above, but which caused women in PAIT to form groups and identify differences among themselves. These influences relate to the wider contexts of ethnicity, class, and party politics. These identities often cross-cut the binary individual labelling and the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ personal identities outlined above and as these wider identities often formed the basis of discrimination and privilege within the work-place they caused conflicts between women often complicating other faction splits.

The identity referred to most frequently by PAIT women was that relating to party politics. As Chapter Four suggested party paternalism and the need to broaden APRA’s
support base fuelled PAIT’s implementation and consequently ‘Apristas’ made up a large part of the work force.

I’ve always liked politics, laws and things so I joined the party. I became an Aprista and I’ve been one ever since, I was one of their militants and I’ve always enjoyed it, so that’s how I entered PAIT and I became a ‘compañera’ ['real' supporter] of the APRA party because PAIT was created by the APRA party. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

This paternalism often served to strengthen the allegiance of party members but also caused tensions because non-party members felt alienated. For example, there were many examples of party favourites being promoted out of the labourer category and into skilled employment as the following quote from an Apristas psychologist suggests:

Just before the third campaign I was standing at the bus stop and the woman in charge of social work recognised me - she’s only ever seen me once. She gave me her phone number and told me to call if I wanted to come back to work. She knew that I had only been receiving a labourer’s wage [one minimum legal wage a month] and so I knew that if she was asking me to sign up I wasn’t only going to get that wage. They gave me a level three technical wage.

(Interviewer's question: how much was that worth?)
It was a lot, about three times the labourer’s wage for working half days. It was fabulous!

(Interviewer’s question: were you an Aprista at the time?)
Well, look I’ve been an APRA sympathiser since I was in my mother’s womb! I’m not a party member but I’ve helped them in canvassing.
(Female psychologist working for PAIT in south Lima).

Within the work gangs it was also often alleged that party-card holders did not have to work as hard as the others, that they were not chastised as frequently and that they were
also more likely to get re-selected for subsequent campaigns. In this way party politics often combined with nepotism to give preference to certain people.

(Interviewers questions: how did you become a capataz?)

I didn’t go to register in PAIT but as my husband is in charge of the materials here he went to COOPOP and said to them "you don’t have anyone trustworthy in charge of the tools", and then he said to me, "why don’t you go and see what they’re working on and at the same time you can control the tools and materials" and so that’s how I came to be working here. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

This link between party privilege and family ties caused outrage among many workers who felt that nepotism was rife and served to discriminate against them.

The capataz would arrive and call the register. Some of the girls were very bad and because they knew their families they would arrive late or would be absent and the capataz would mark them down as if they had been present. For example, this is how it worked one day a señora wouldn’t come so her space would be blank but the capataz would sign for her anyway, there were many cases like that in that group and nearly everyone was from the party, they were all party members. (Female labourer, José Galvez)

The issue of party affiliation became a defining characteristic for many women in the work-place and served to set party card-holders apart from non-party members who treated the Apristas as hostile and privileged ‘others’.

Although party affiliation was the most common cross-cutting identity, class and ethnicity were also mentioned by some women as significant classifications around which tensions formed. Issues of class usually focused on complaints that some of the women who worked were not ‘needy’ but were members of the middle classes who owned shops and had maids.
They said that the people who owned their own houses or who had shops weren’t allowed to enrol, but it was a lie. Many people who were poorer than oneself couldn’t even enrol because there were people who had shops or people of a good social class who worked in the programme. (Female labourer, José Galvez)

Class-based grievances of this kind became particularly significant after the first few years of the programme when the APRA administration legitimated them by emphasising the welfare role of PAIT in its rhetoric. People complained that some were more deserving of the programme than others because they were poorer.

Issues of difference around ethnicity were not spoken about as openly or frequently as divisions by party and class. The issue was hardly raised in the interviews in Lima although it was implicit in many of the comments made during the survey work in Andahuaylas many of which were conducted in Quechua².

One woman from Totoral, a small village outside of Andahuaylas, summed up her frustrations about the programme by saying:

As I didn’t wear trousers and I was the only one who went in a pollera [traditional skirt] they made me work harder than the other achoradas [campesinas] because they were huerequeques³ [pitucas: snobs]. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

These different expectations of indigenous women were based on traditional stereotypes which portray Quechua women as having an important role in agriculture and being used

---

² These issues were spoken about more readily in the surveys than in the interviews in Andahuaylas because women spoke in Quechua to Maxi the field assistant without having to wait for translations into Spanish for me. Although the surveys were not tape-recorded Maxi noted down word for word the extra comments that were made.

³ Huerequeques is a Quechua word.
to hard manual labour. The majority of the women in Andahuaylas who worked in the programme whether Quechua or not were used to working on their family small holdings and were used to physical labour. Thus, there was no reason, other than racism, to expect some women to work harder than others just because they ‘seemed more indigenous’ as a result of the language they spoke and the clothes they wore. This sort of discrimination against ‘more indigenous women’ was an issue in Andahuaylas in some ‘mixed’ gangs of mestizo and Quechua women.

This section has shown how the women in PAIT identified difference among themselves. In the first set of specific identities stereotypes were used strategically to help some women distance themselves from others whom they labelled as lazy, vulgar and flirts. The second set of identities women evoked responded to categories of class, politics and ethnicity. This multiplicity of identities for PAIT women labourers were often evoked most strongly in the context of a marriage relationship where the woman labourer strategically used the ‘I’m not like them’ argument to convince her partner that it was acceptable for her to work in PAIT.

The next section highlights a second strategy adopted by women and shows how sometimes women chose to resist largely male opposition by subverting these established stereotypes. They did this by identifying solidarity with rather than difference from each other.

**Finding commonality and subverting stereotypes**

Rather than identifying difference in others and isolating themselves from certain people in the work force many women chose to emphasise the solidarity they found working together as a large group of women. By emphasising their solidarity, and in some cases their commonalities, women subverted the negative stereotypes about the work force. The following quote indicates that even if they wanted to reproduce stereotypes uncritically, the gang method of working encouraged women to communicate with each other and question group boundaries to some extent:
I had my friends, my group, but also there were people that you knew, acquaintances that you didn’t ‘know’ as such but the type of work sometimes obliged you to talk to those people to ask them a favour or to help with the work. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

This context of working in close proximity to other women made many reassess and sometimes change their general attitudes towards ‘others’. The following table indicates that overall, nearly twenty per cent of the female workforce said that their view of women had changed since working in PAIT.

**Table 6.2 - Answers to the question "has you attitude towards women changed because you have worked in PAIT?"**

(as a percentage of all respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Has you attitude changed?</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>181</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the thirty women who claimed that their attitude had changed twenty five indicated that their views had changed positively and only five claimed that their views had changed negatively. As the following set of open-ended comments from the survey shows, these answers can be categorised into three aspects of positive change: changes in women’s conceptualisations of women as workers, changes in their views about women’s solidarity and general changes in their own self-esteem.
Figure 6.1 - Positive answers given by PAIT women to the question "how had their attitude towards women changed?".

**Changes in the expectations of solidarity**
- I learned about *compañerismo* (solidarity)
- I learnt about friendship and developed trust about knowing them as people
- Their behaviour was more serious than I expected
- I can easily share my secrets with them
  - So many suffer the same as me to provide for their kids
- The friendships have lasted and there's more *compañerismo* (solidarity) in my life
- They understood my family situation
- They are like a family
- They are like sisters

**Changes in self-esteem**
- I felt better
- I now know that as women we can learn to value ourselves
- We change for the better and aren’t the same people
- It isn’t like before, now I have better communication and more experience
- I’ve learnt to value women’s ability and understanding
- Now it is better for me than before

**Changes in conceptualisations of women as workers**
- Now I think we must work
- Now I think everyone must work
- Women can also work
- Once we start working we women believe in ourselves a lot
- Now I would encourage women to work in anything
- We women without a profession can also be useful in some jobs
- There are many women who sacrifice themselves an awful lot for a wage
- There were many women who were tired from looking after their kids but they still worked the same as a man
- Women have a right to work and have their own money
The list suggests that for a significant number of women the PAIT experience made them reconsider their views and begin to understand the situations that other women found themselves in. The interviews also supported this position as the case of two different women from José Galvez illustrates; one explained how she had come to think differently about ‘the vulgar women’ and another married woman described the compassion PAIT had inspired in her with regard to the situation of single mothers:

I began to think well, maybe their way of life had not been very tranquil, maybe they had been abandoned by their husbands, maybe they were like that because their husbands treated them badly, or maybe their childhood hadn’t been too good and so they think that you have to treat the whole world in that vulgar way and so they think that speaking with a lot of swearing is OK. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

There were many single mothers working there and they had many problems. Many of them couldn’t find other work and they had one, two or three children. Even those with only one, couldn’t get enough to eat with what they earned. Those señoras who were single mothers with kids sometimes didn’t have anything to eat and the time when they were waiting until the end of the month to get paid was a terrible thing because they didn’t have any food. We would talk with them and they would tell us about their problems. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

The relationship between subversion, commonality and difference was often a positive one and this point is emphasised by in the words of one woman:

(Interviewer’s question: what did you learn?)
In relation to all the gossip and criticisms I learnt that not everyone’s like that. (Female labourer, José Galvez).
In summary it appears that in order to cope with the ways in which the new PAIT space was contested, some women in the programme emphasised the differences between themselves and other members of the labour force while others focused on the commonalities between women workers.

**Strategies for survival: manipulating binaries**

While focusing on this form of representation as a survival strategy, it is important to emphasise that these two opposing positions were not necessarily adopted by mutually exclusive groups of women. Women who reproduced binary stereotypes and expressed them to their male partners were also the same women who in other circumstances changed what they thought about the women they had stereotyped in negative ways.

In practical terms, women who attempted to distance themselves from certain images also allied themselves with the subjects of those images when they emphasised female solidarity in the work-place. These seemingly contradictory processes allowed individual women to complain about the hard, unwomanly work they all had to do in PAIT while at the same time distancing themselves from images of ‘the lazy woman’ and claiming a right to carry on working in that space.

Through these situated practices women supported and refuted different stereotypes at the same time, thereby producing a complex interplay between the reproduction and subversion of stereotypes on an everyday basis. At certain junctures these complex sets of practices and strategic representations created a space where new relationships with men were forged through negotiation.

The site where opposition towards women working in PAIT was located influenced the ways in which processes of reproduction, subversion and alliance were interwoven. These differences also affected the overall success of female/male negotiation. In the context of communities in general, women tended to resist the negative public images presented of them as a work force whereas in the PAIT work-place itself, facing opposition from male employees, women seemed to agree with the stereotypes that were presented to them by men. This alliance sometimes created a harmonious working relationship between
employees and thereby countered negative comments from the wider community. In the work-place, however, the idea that as women they should automatically be responsible to a male hierarchy remained uncontested. In these two sites of opposition the role of women in supporting or subverting stereotyped representations of themselves as PAIT workers was fairly clear cut. Opposition at household level, particularly from male partners, was, however, more complex and reflected the fact that women adopted three different strategies.

The first of these strategies can be labelled as 'defiance': when, despite the opposition of their partners and other male members of the household such as sons and fathers, women claimed "I went anyway" (se opuso pero me fui a la fuerza). One woman described how, through defiance, she dealt with her father’s prejudice about her work in PAIT.

My father didn’t like it, and he would tell me, (well he’d really say it more to my sisters) he’d say you’ve got to work (to study at school) because if not you’re going to spend all your time doing that sort of work, and that type of thing isn’t for the type of person who ‘gets on’ it’s only for the dredges who don’t want to try. That was my father’s view of PAIT. But for me my work is work and when it’s honourable and healthy it doesn’t matter does it? Because then you can walk in the street with your head held high. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

The second strategy women used often appeared in the face of sometimes violent opposition within the household. In these circumstances a large proportion of women chose not to tell their partners of their enrolment. Instead they concealed their activities from them. Silence was the tactic adopted by many women employees, particularly those working in their first campaign.

---

Table 6.1 indicates that only six per cent of women claimed that they did not tell their husbands they had enrolled in PAIT. The interviews, however suggest that more women were silent about their activities but that many did not want this recorded on a survey sheet.
They (the husbands) used to say I’m not going to send my wife to PAIT but even for those men a time came when their wives went to join without saying anything to them. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

This silence sometimes involved alliances with other household members and friends. In the case of one woman from José Galvez her daughters frequently made excuses for their mother’s absence from the house. Neither their elder brother nor their father knew that she was employed in PAIT.

The third and most common strategy adopted by PAIT women, however, was negotiation. This process reflects most clearly the mechanism of identifying difference and commonality as outlined above. The complex ways women wove their own personal versions of their multiple identities met with significant success in terms of gender relations. For example Table 6.3 indicates that less than one per cent of women reported they had left PAIT because of opposition from their male partners. These women were successful in negotiating opposition towards their working even though originally nearly a quarter of their husbands said they did not agree with their women working.
### Table 6.3 - Reasons why women stopped working in PAIT
(as a percentage of all respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons why women stopped</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Programme finished</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She became sick</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband disapproved</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work was too hard</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage was too low</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>184</strong></td>
<td><strong>91</strong></td>
<td><strong>93</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The level of success in negotiation was based on women's ability to convey an understanding of boundaries to their male partners. They described the boundaries they drew around and between themselves as women workers and convinced their men, with their descriptions of difference and separation, that the female work environment was non-threatening. These ploys were largely successful as women carried on working and male partners were re-cast as allies. This success also extended beyond the home. For example, one woman was able to use the same arguments to convince a sceptical neighbour who objected to his wife working in PAIT:
One time when I was speaking with my neighbour I said to him "No, vecino (neighbour), we aren’t all the same, it depends on each individual woman to make people respect her. If a man comes to me and speaks to me with a bad intention I put him in his place, but if we women like that sort of thing what other choice is there left for the man but to carry on?" (Female labourer, La Tablada).

In this way, this particular woman labourer used the strategy she developed in her own household to counter opposition she met in her wider community. In this case, the man she was talking to was unaware that his wife was already working in PAIT and the collusion between the women indicates that often the webs woven between silence, defiance and negotiation were maintained by women’s solidarity.

In individual situations strategies of negotiation were part of a long term process and sometimes followed on from an initial period of silence or defiance as the following quotes suggest:

Now I go out and I say "ciao" but it wasn’t like that before. Before we would end up fighting and he would tell me off but I went out anyway. But now it’s not like that, he just says "ciao" and "have a good time" and makes a joke about me meeting someone else. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

**Conclusion**

The relationship between silence, negotiation and defiance is complex and reaches to the heart of the dynamics of gendered power relations. Through (re)presenting their workplace women were able to tackle the issues that affected their everyday experience of opposition in their households. At the same time representation became part of ‘survival strategies’. This conceptualisation of survival strategies focuses on the negotiation of power through the simultaneous subversion and reproduction of stereotypes. It does not describe the collection of activities that women do in times of crises but rather shifts the
analysis towards an understanding of the ways in which the scenarios leading up to those activities are played out.

These scenarios were played out through negotiations within contradictory contexts: the combination of PAIT work (masculine in nature and dependent on women mutually supporting each other in gangs); welfare legitimation and the different social mix of the female work force. Women held these contradictory influences on them in tension by using representation strategically to locate themselves 'respectably' within the programme.

This process of location, however, also went hand-in-hand with women's solidarity. Although, groups and cliques formed in PAIT, female solidarity in the work-place was still important. In some cases it led them to question 'photofit' characterisations of good and bad women by recognising that not all (bad) women were 'all bad' and by implication, neither were all (good) women 'all good'.

The following chapters suggest that the contradictory assumptions surrounding PAIT together with changes in women's conceptualisations of themselves and their co-workers (compañeras) also subtly helped reconstitute gender relations in innovative ways. The chapters indicate that sometimes female solidarity and the changes in conceptualisation of self experienced by PAIT women encouraged open negotiation with male partners. Chapter Seven analyses the role of female solidarity in changing social relations at a local/household level. Chapter Eight will take this analysis further by focusing on the specific issue of household budgeting to show how subtle changes in solidarity, social relations and self-realisation can have a direct influence on the negotiation of gendered power within budgeting. Both chapters highlight the new alliances made by women in times of crisis and suggest that alliances formed with both women and men via PAIT were necessarily linked to changes in women's conceptualisations of themselves and 'others'.
Chapter Seven
PAIT Women ‘Organising The Social’

Introduction

Women’s roles in social organisation and the ways in which these roles change when women gain access to paid work have been long-standing interests in feminist research. Since the 1970s marxist feminists have emphasised the role of women’s work in household reproduction in different places, illustrating how without women’s domestic labour a wage labour force could not be reproduced cheaply (Mackintosh 1981, Bennholdt-Thomsen 1981). Some writers have used this analysis to focus on the importance of women’s unpaid domestic work in capital accumulation throughout the global economy (Leacock and Safa 1986, Mies 1986). As a result of this research the domestic labour debate has become a key contribution of feminist researchers to development studies (Mies 1986).

Empirically, during the 1980s this debate led to a proliferation of studies which sought to make visible the importance of women’s domestic work in household reproduction and link these findings to the significance of women’s work in the wider economy. Much of the early research focusing on a development context documented women’s time use and aimed to map the importance of their contribution to household reproduction (Momsen and Townsend 1987, WGSG 1984). Through these case studies it soon became apparent that many women were conducting double lives. They had responsibility for domestic work in their homes and then often took up some form of paid work or income-generation in times of economic hardship. Because much research has documented the double burden on women it has also suggested that household gender relations changed little as women gained access to paid work. Time-use studies focused on identifying the long double days of particular groups of women with some of the earliest work of this nature highlighting the burden placed on woman-headed households earning the sole income for their families.
This chapter addresses how women's roles in social organisation changed as they gained access to PAIT employment. The chapter examines gender relations in the context of new forms of social organisations that appeared as women in PAIT made alliances with each other. These alliances often helped break down the boundaries between their public and private spaces.

The chapter highlights how when some women experienced paid work and found solidarity with each other in the work-place they formulated new conceptualisations of self and new forms of community activity. These changes sometimes led individual women to reassess their positions in relation to the other members of their immediate households.

At a practical level, this chapter highlights the double day and triple burden that different women experienced as they became involved in paid work and shows how household divisions of labour changed little as women gained access to paid labour through PAIT. It also suggests, however, that analyses need to go beyond the question of whether or not divisions of labour are traditional or not by emphasising the importance of the new, innovative ways in which women handled double and triple burdens by finding solidarity with each other in PAIT.

PAIT women's new social networks were also important in the constitution of gender roles which were sometimes challenged by women learning as a group, and collectively encouraging each other. In the long term, this solidarity helped to break down the personal isolation of many women in PAIT.

**The PAIT experience: breaking down personal isolation**

Women's personal isolation was broken down in two ways: firstly, as they found friendship and formed new social relations with other women working in the programme and secondly, as they began to use feel able to use public spaces more frequently.
Women workers and compañerismo

PAIT provided many women with their first opportunity to get together in large groups, as they met in the work-place. Because of this, new friendships were made and new social networks were established. Over eighty per cent of women said that one of the things they liked most about working in the programme was the chance it gave them to meet other women. These networks, together with the physical act of leaving the home space on a regular basis each day, gave women a new opportunity to move beyond the private sphere of their household. By working in PAIT they moved in public spaces both literally and metaphorically. Chapter Four indicated that while women worked in PAIT they laboured in exposed, public sites and therefore physically moved in public spaces. The act of coming together as a group of women in this way was more visible than the other communal activities with which they may have been involved. For example, PAIT was more public than participation in a soup kitchen or a mother’s club where women met each other inside a building (usually a private house). In a metaphorical sense PAIT women engaged publicly as they made friends and shared information with other women about private issues which, if they had been discussed at all, would probably only have been shared with family members previously. By talking about themselves, women took personal issues out of the private sphere and found solidarity by speaking them out loud to other women. Specific mechanisms were used to create these new social networks which helped erode invisible boundaries that kept women’s social awareness focused on private spheres and limited their social activities to confined spaces.

The first set of mechanisms related to the types of networks that were formed by women. The social networks established in the course of working in PAIT often reflected the geographical nature of the programme. PAIT attempted to recruit its workforce from within the communities where projects were implemented. Therefore, as they worked on local projects many women got to know neighbours who were also enroled in the programme. New friendships were made between women who had not previously come into contact with each other or who had only know each other superficially prior to PAIT.

It was only while working in PAIT that we make friendships with various women from José Galvez. We were from the same place but
we didn’t know each other so we made friends there. We chatted and sometimes we fell about laughing and talking. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

These geographical networks also cut across traditional class and social boundaries, unifying women in a time of crisis by their economic needs. Women claimed that through their shared experiences they reached a level of understanding with each other that previously they did not possess. They learnt to mix with all types of women: women from different places as well as different social backgrounds. In the case of Lima, many workers were originally from the provinces, especially areas of the sierra and were therefore first generation migrants to the city. These women shared the common experience of doing the same job and identified with women in similar economic situations as themselves.

The atmosphere was nice because we worked in groups and talked with people form outside of La Tablada and with older people. We would tell each other our problems by asking "why are you working here?" Mainly we were single mothers or widows who were working. There were others who were married who were working just to help their husbands out.

(Interviewer’s question: did you make new friends?)
Yes, I got to know a lot of women there who were really good. Older women who gave us advice, me and my friend were younger than the others. Others were our neighbours. We waited for each other, I would let them know about the enrolment "hey, PAIT’s enroling shall we go and register?" "Yes, OK then," so we became united and we would go together. We’d find out where people were working and from José Galvez one group would go somewhere else and from Villa el Salvador or Nueva Esperanza they would do the same and we would all go together so that we wouldn’t feel alone. (Female labourer, José Galvez).
(Interviewer's questions: apart from economic things what else did you like about PAIT?)

I think that more than anything it was being able to get together with people in the same economic conditions as yourself. I'm not talking about social status because there were students with university education, housewives and illiterate women, there were all sorts, girls with secondary school education and older señoras who had completed primary school or some who possibly hadn't. But the economic need was a common denominator, so therefore we shared in the work-place. We chatted, we worked and we helped each other. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

At the most basic level, the mechanisms that helped establish these networks operated because of the enjoyment women experienced in coming together as a group. In both Lima and Andahuaylas employees claimed that the company of other women made the work fun.

For me it was a moment of happiness between compañeras. With such a big group of people we always played jokes on each other. We used to play with the work. We used to make a human chain, like a queue, to pass lots of things along it. Sometimes you'd just get rid of the load and some more would come and the women would speed up to see who would be the first to drop it. It was a laugh and that way you didn't notice the time. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

It was a help for my house and as it was a distracting job you could also have a good laugh. One gets used to having to work always, in order to fulfil your obligations in whatever way you can but because of the way it was I thought it was a very good job. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).
The PAIT experience gave those women who had worked in the programme a unique bond because of what they had shared.

(Interviewer’s question: did you make friends?)
Yes, I made a lot of friendships. I made many, many friends and ever since then when those of us who worked in the programme see each other we always have a unique bond of kindness. Why you ask? Well because we are all women who shared a job, we struggled together. So therefore we are always glad to see each other. When we meet we greet each other very fondly. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

Secondly, the common bond and trust that was formed through these experiences created a space in which personal problems could be aired and women could learn from each other.

We got experience there because we learnt about different problems. Every one has problems and we talked about our problems and we gave each other advice. That’s why I worked almost every time in PAIT. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

(Interviewer’s question: what did you like most about the work?)
Mostly I liked the compañeras because you get used to being there every day, talking. It was fun. You made friends and I got used to that. We would talk about everything and forget about our problems. You forget your problems there because it’s a distraction and even though it’s with previously unknown people at least you have someone to talk to. You got to know more people and some you got to know very well, all from different places. (Female labourer, Villa María Cercano).

This sharing meant some women realised that others were dealing with situations more stressful than their own. Younger women also mentioned the importance of having an
opportunity to hear the experiences of older women with whom they had formed a relationship but who were not close family members and whose advice they could therefore hear without resentment.

(Interviewer’s question: what did you like most?)

Some of the older mothers helped the younger ones to understand things: "that’s how you should behave like that, like this". (Female labourer, La Tablada).

Thirdly, for other women the importance they placed on being involved in community activity expressed the significance of solidarity for them. The following table illustrates that as well as finding friendship a significant number of women mentioned that one of the three things they enjoyed most about working in PAIT was having the chance to do something for the community.

Table 7.1 - The three things that women liked and disliked most about working in PAIT
(as a percentage of all workers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Things women liked or disliked</th>
<th>Liked</th>
<th>Disliked</th>
<th>Unmentioned</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jobs carried out</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical skills learnt</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work timetable</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing something for the community</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of work</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbour’s comments</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having personal money</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaving the house</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total respondents: 185
For one woman, Sra Larco, this type of work meant improving what she saw as other people’s communities as well as working in her own area, refurbishing the local school where she herself had studied:

Well in my case since we started working we’ve built tracks and roads, we worked like men to improve things. Obviously it wasn’t my area but at least we left something that was well done there and now it’s the same here. I’m working in the school where I studied and that’s why I’m pleased about it. If they tell me to paint twenty chairs I would finish them by lunch time because as I said to the man in charge "because it’s my school I’m going to work like a mule" (voy hacer harto), he just laughed and said, "OK do it!". (Sra Larco, female labourer, La Tablada).

PAIT therefore also provided an opportunity for women to recognise ‘their communities’ in new ways and to receive payment for activities which they saw as beneficial to others.

For many women, sharing in all these ways enabled them to break the isolation of their own pain and sadness which was usually confined to the private domain. In the course of interviews many women spoke about the importance of escaping from their homes where their domestic problems hemmed them in:

It was a bit of fun between friends, the time went quickly. You would forget your sadness (pena) when you were upset or something, talking would cheer you up. Some gossiped but when some of them had a problem at home, something like that, you would forget it, you’d distract yourself - have a bit of fun - working. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

In the case of women who experienced domestic violence, getting out of the house was an important act because it took their minds off the things that happened there. After
describing the persistent beatings she received from her husband one woman, Sra Suárez, claimed that the women in PAIT acted as her only escape:

The atmosphere with the señoritas was really friendly, you had a distraction it wasn’t like being shut in your house, like that thinking about things. No it was more fun, it was an escape. (Sra Suárez, labourer José Galvez).

Therefore, employment in PAIT gave women more than just an income: it also gave them a chance to have a laugh and to get out of the house. It provided a forum where women could start to create new social networks which could help them manage their daily lives in new ways and begin to think differently about themselves and their roles.

PAIT and women’s use of space
In the case of PAIT, these changes did not entail a direct movement away from participation in a private sphere to involvement in a public one. Changes were more subtle and long-term. The following table, for example, indicates that very few women (only ten per cent) claimed that they went out more socially after they started working in PAIT.

Table 7.2 - Changes in women’s social behaviour after working in PAIT
(as a percentage of all PAIT women)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>After working in PAIT, women went out socially:</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than before</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than before</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same as before</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>165</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At first glance, this pattern would suggest that the PAIT programme did not influence women's use of public space beyond the work-place. When the power relations influencing women's social behaviour, rather than the patterns themselves, are analysed, however, the results indicate a slight shift in the way in which women perceived their power position within their households. This shift is illustrated by changes in the decision-making process governing women and men's social behaviour once women became involved in PAIT. Women's experiences in the programme seem to have changed their negotiating position vis a vis their male partners. Analyses of which person in a household takes the decision concerning whether women can go out on their own (salir a pasear) suggests that overall PAIT prompted more negotiation and that women took on new roles in the decision-making process over this specific issue. The following table illustrates these points.

Table 7.3 - Changes in decision-making concerning whether women with male partners can go out on their own (salir a pasear)
(as a percentage of women in the survey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How decisions were taken</th>
<th>Joint decision</th>
<th>Male partner's decision</th>
<th>Woman's decision</th>
<th>Other person's decision</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before PAIT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100% (98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100% (69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anda*</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100% (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After PAIT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100% (90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100% (64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anda*</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (26)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Anda* = Andahuaylas
Overall in the sample it appears that the power of autonomous male decisions governing whether women can go out on their own diminished slightly. In some households, where this issue had been a male ruling, it became a joint decision or one that a woman started to take by herself. This change is particularly evident in the case of Andahuaylas where previously forty five per cent of women claimed that this was a male decision as compared to only nineteen per cent after their involvement in PAIT⁴.

The issue of the time until which women with male partners could be ‘out in the street’ also showed some changes in decision-making power. Although there is little change in the overall sample, in the case of Andahuaylas, there was an important change in favour of a joint decision over this issue. On this issue there was little movement towards women directly gaining power from men and taking unilateral decisions either in Andahuaylas or Lima.

Table 7.4 - Changes in decision-making concerning the time until when women with male partners can stay out alone (estar en la calle)
(as a percentage of all women with partners)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How decisions were taken</th>
<th>Joint decision</th>
<th>Male partner’s decision</th>
<th>Woman’s decision</th>
<th>Other person’s decision</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before PAIT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100% (98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anda*</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100% (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After PAIT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100% (91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anda*</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100% (26)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Anda* = Andahuaylas

¹ It is not necessarily important whether in fact male decision-making power changed or not. Nor was it as important to ask men whether or not their thought their power had changed. What was important, was that women themselves thought there was a change. I would argue that it is women’s perception of their power that affects their bargaining position within their households, not necessarily the reality of it.
Another interesting aspect of changes in the decision-making process reflecting changing gender relations are changes in decisions governing the time until which men were allowed ‘to stay out in the street’. Table 7.5 illustrates that such a shift in perceived power over this decision took place in Andahuaylas.

**Table 7.5 - Changes in decision-making concerning the time until when men with women partners in PAIT can stay out alone (estar en la calle) (as a percentage of all women with partners)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How decisions were taken</th>
<th>Joint decision</th>
<th>Male partner’s decision</th>
<th>Woman’s decision</th>
<th>Other person’s decision</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Before PAIT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anda*</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>After PAIT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anda*</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100% (22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Anda* = Andahuaylas

In Lima the power men had over this decision seemed to increase slightly after women’s involvement in PAIT, whereas in Andahuaylas there was a large decrease in men’s unilateral decision-making and a greater move towards joint decisions, even though, overall, the trend in most PAIT households was for men to take the decision about how long they were allowed to stay out at night.
These changes in the decision-making process indicate that changing gender relations should not only be measured by the level of women’s direct involvement with the ‘public sphere’ but that the decision-making process concerning women’s access to those spaces (as well as men’s) is also a significant factor. The next section concentrates on the ways in which women’s new social networks improved their access to information and promoted new ways of organising social reproduction.

**PAIT households: women workers and the double/triple day**

PAIT illustrates this extra burden placed on women once they assume paid employment. The general trends of increased pressures on time use, a double day and little change in household divisions of labour were all significant influences on women’s everyday lives once they enrolled in emergency employment. In the majority of households involved in the programme it appears that PAIT increased the burden on women overall as they continued to assume responsibility for domestic work in their homes. For many women this ‘double day’ scenario epitomised their definition of hard work:

> For me hard work is to have double work because having to work in my house and then having to work elsewhere is the most burdensome thing for me. However you look at it you have to work elsewhere as well as working in your house. If you have help in your house then I think you can do the other work better because being in the two places is always harder. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

In the Lima shanty towns domestic work was always time consuming, prolonged by poor infrastructure, inadequate services, the ever-encroaching desert sand and flimsy building structures. In times of hyper-inflation during the 1980s, shopping for daily food provisions took a long time as women were obliged to queue and travel in order to obtain scarce food stuffs such as oil, milk, sugar and flour. In these circumstances domestic work

---

2 Thirty six per cent of households in the Lima survey had *estera* (bamboo matted) houses and thirty two per cent had no electricity supply or at best an illegal one where the voltage was very unreliable (see Figure 3.6).
was often stressful, heavy and time-consuming and the need to leave the home in search of paid work made domestic tasks even more pressured for many women.

In Andahuaylas the situation was similar. Service provision was even worse than Lima\(^3\) and women's domestic labour in rural areas was made harder by the collection of fire wood and caring for animals in addition to the usual cooking, child care and cleaning.

Once they enrolled in PAIT women usually had to do these household chores before they went out to work. Poor storage facilities resulting from non-existent or unreliable electricity supplies meant that prepared food could only be left for short periods and therefore much of women's early work before PAIT largely involved them leaving food cooked and prepared for their children to eat when they came back from school. In both the urban and rural areas where PAIT operated once women became involved in the programme they also had to find new ways of coping with child care. Informal arrangements for joint child care were very common, especially after most official PAIT crèches closed due to financial crisis in 1987. In some cases these activities involved women caring for each other's children in the work-place and in others it meant that women shared paid or unpaid child care in their homes. For many women, such as Sra Rodríguez, the pressure of child care was significant because she had to travel a long distance by foot from Villa María Cercano to La Tablada in order to get to work. This meant that she had to be up, cooking for her family, at 4 am. One particular friend helped her in this.

I had a neighbour who worked with me. We would take things together. Sometimes we would take food jointly and eat together. She would take one things and I would take another and we would share it out there. We would also travel together sometimes I went only with my baby and left the others behind so I could help her carry her kids. Also, in order to go to the bank we would go together. One would go first to get in the queue and save a place for when the other one arrived.

\(^3\) Fifty five per cent of households in the Andahuaylas survey had no electricity at all.
She doesn’t live here any more she moved to Canto Grande [north Lima]. I miss her a lot because we always went round together. Her name was Adelaida. I would shout "Adelaida what time is it, let's go, are you ready?" She used to say "just coming" and we would go together. Sometimes she would say "You go ahead with my kids and I'll catch you up" so I would take the kids there. (Sra Rodríguez, labourer, Villa María Cercano).

The questionnaire survey of PAIT workers in Lima indicated that thirty eight per cent of the women interviewed were obliged to re-organise the things they had to do in the day once they started working in PAIT. In Andahuaylas the impact of PAIT on domestic work seems to have been greater than in Lima because fifty eight per cent of the women employees stated that they had to reshuffle their domestic tasks in order to work in PAIT.

Table 7.6 indicates how women in both places described the ways in which they re-organised their domestic lives once they enrolled in PAIT.

**How women re-organised their domestic day
once they worked in PAIT**
(as a percentage of all respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How the day was re-organised</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planned things better</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared Jobs among other household members</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did domestic work earlier</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did domestic work more quickly</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The ways in which women in both places changed the organisation of their domestic lives related mainly to time management. Over half of the women in the sample claimed that they had to do their domestic work earlier because of their fixed schedules in PAIT. In the latter years of PAIT, in certain places the programme operated for half a day, this meant that women working the afternoon shift could do their domestic work in the morning:

I cooked quickly and sat my kids down to eat, fed the animals and then I went [to PAIT] from 2-5pm. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

However, for those working a full day in PAIT or those on morning shifts, doing domestic work earlier could mean getting up between 4 and 5am, cleaning the house and cooking meals for the rest of the family, before setting off by foot in order to clock in to work by 8am.

Thus, when women took up employment in PAIT there was very little change in the domestic division of labour. In total only fourteen per cent of the households in the sample claimed that the domestic division of labour changed because other members of households shared the domestic tasks. The table indicates that when these changes did occur in PAIT households they happened mostly in Andahuaylas. Interviews, however, indicate that this process usually involved children (often, although not always, daughters) rather than male partners assuming more responsibility.

An over-emphasis on the double burden of domestic work and enrolment in PAIT, however, conceals the fact that for many women paid work involved more than employment in PAIT. As Chapter Three suggested, a large proportion of women, especially those forming woman-headed households, had to juggle more than one paid job in order to cover all their needs, as their PAIT wage alone was not sufficient. Therefore, in many ways, the load represented by paid work and domestic work was more than a double burden.
I thought to myself, maybe they will only pay me monthly and what will I do for the rest of the days in between? What will we eat?

(Interviewer’s question: so while you worked in PAIT you worked in private houses in the afternoons on an hourly basis?)

Yes, I would get up early, at five o’clock and would be cooking food to leave. Then I would work in PAIT and then afterwards I would go and work in private houses. (Woman head of household and PAIT labourer in Villa María Cercano).

Most of these other paid activities were in informal selling or domestic work which could be fitted around PAIT’s fixed schedule.

It helped me a lot because we worked [in PAIT] half a day and then I could come back to go out to work even if it was only doing some washing. (Female labourer, Villa María Cercano).

In some cases in both Lima and Andahuaylas women also worked in agriculture in their ‘spare time’:

Sometimes the women in PAIT worked until one o’clock, then they would go back to their houses and go out again to the chacra to look for camote and things like that. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

For most women the combination of domestic work, informal paid jobs and enrolment in PAIT led to long working days and the need for new personal time-management. As well as working this type of double day many women in PAIT also participated in some form of community activity.

The literature on household survival strategies has indicated that women’s communal, voluntary organisations play a crucial role in the reproduction of households in times of crisis (Moser 1993). The sorts of communal activities that are highlighted in this literature are diverse, including soup kitchens, local political activism (in block committees in urban areas or peasant unions in rural areas) and women’s groups which work on issues ranging
from preventative medicine to human rights. In Peru, Vargas (1991) has suggested that these activities constitute one of three streams of popular feminism.

The survival strategy literature highlights that in times of crisis, women involved in communal activities can be influenced in two ways by participation in the paid labour force. Some women continue to do all three activities giving them a triple burden on their day whereas, in the face of competition for their time, other women decrease their participation in communal activities and replace previously voluntary work with paid employment.

The following section examines the ways in which the solidarity women found in PAIT enabled them to develop new, innovative ways of dealing with double and triple burdens.

**Social networks and social reproduction**

The social networks that women established not only helped them in terms of psychological solidarity but also served useful, practical purposes too. These networks gave women access to a variety of different forms of information which helped them ease the double and triple burdens on their time. At a basic level, they provided women with access to resources: where to get something they needed, how to interact with institutions and where to seek advice. Gaining access to things they needed meant finding out about how official institutions functioned and which popular communal activities were best to join. In times of severe crisis these networks also provided information concerning where and how food-aid was being distributed and where scarce goods could be obtained.

In a more long-term context, PAIT also served as a way of getting information about jobs. For some women these networks helped them to find paid work for the periods when PAIT was not functioning.

*I did something between campaigns because we had a fifteen day break or sometimes a month so I went out to look for work, washing, cleaning and ironing.*
(Interviewers's question: through contacts you had from before?)

No, through PAIT some señoras who had become friends sometimes couldn’t go to the places where they worked and so they called me and passed on the information and so I went. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

For others, these networks enabled them to maintain contacts that ensured continual employment in PAIT.

We formed almost a sisterhood to such an extent that if we didn’t meet or if one day someone didn’t go, we missed each other. We looked out for each other, so much so that as soon as one of us heard that there was registration [for PAIT] we would go and seek our friends out. That’s the sort of familiarity we had built with each other. It was through each other that one managed to get into PAIT again. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

After the PAIT programme finished fifty one per cent of women who had been in the programme looked for another form of paid work (sixty per cent of the Lima sample and forty two per cent of the Andahuaylas sample). The following table suggests that PAIT networks helped a small percentage of the ex-labourers to look for the work they sought.
Table 7.7 - The methods PAIT labourers used to look for paid work after the programme finished
(as a percentage of all respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methods used</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Via PAIT contacts</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Via other friends</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Via family members</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking around the street</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that there were more job opportunities for women in Lima than in Andahuaylas is reflected in the low numbers of women looking for paid employment in the rural town once PAIT finished. In interviews, many women said they had not bothered to seek paid work in Andahuaylas because there was none available. Although the percentage of women looking for paid work via PATT contacts is not as great as the percentage using other contacts, it seems that these contacts were particularly important for women who were single mothers supporting households by themselves. Sra Quispe, who lived in Andahuaylas and called herself an abandoned mother, had previously given up work in a state-funded adult literacy programme in order to work in PAIT because it paid more. When PAIT finished, however, she returned to the literacy work but also took along with her other women she had met in PAIT. These women were in the same situation as herself.

When PAIT stopped working all of us were left in the air, we didn’t have anywhere to go and four or five of us from PAIT joined the literacy programme. I dragged two or three women along and I begged
the director to give them jobs because they were abandoned mothers like me and they didn’t have any way of supporting their households since PAIT had finished. (Sra Quispe, female labourer, Andahuaylas).

Similarly Sra Ramírez from La Tablada, Lima, who also supported her household by herself made contacts that enabled her to find a secondary job that provided cash on a more regular basis than the monthly payments from her PAIT wage.

One time when I was working in PAIT I worked with a woman and I said to her "I have to wait a month for my PAIT wage but I want to work in something else to get some money". She said to me "do you know how to knit cuffs and collars?" "yes" I said "well there's a woman who is paying so much for that, you get paid by the length." "Good" I said, "take me, I am going to improve things." And so she took me. (Sra Ramírez, female labourer, La Tablada).

Other women who had receive knitting training via PAD used the skills that they learnt to form communal income-generating ventures which acted as another source of income.

At that time when PAIT was working they had a training course to make jumpers and I remember that a group of five señoras got together and between them the five put a certain amount of money in a pot and they bought mixed wool and knitted nice jumpers. One or two of the women took charge of selling the jumpers to the shops, Scala in San Isidro and Monterrey⁴. They divided the profit between the five or six of them in the group.

---
⁴ Up market shops in exclusive neighbourhoods.
(Interviewer's questions: did they get to know each other in PAIT or elsewhere?)

In the very same PAIT, because the women who knew how to knit taught the others. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

There were also examples of other informal communal credit schemes developing in both Andahuaylas and Lima. In one case in Lima, a group of women pooled their wages and travelled to Arica, on the Chilean border to buy lucrative contraband goods, a trip which all of them claimed they would not have undertaken alone. In their case the initial contacts made in PAIT led to previously un-contemplated actions which added even greater breadth to women's experiences and provided a further income as they re-sold contraband goods at a profit in Lima.

The relationship between PAIT and the third element into women's triple burden, that of community activity, is more complex. For example, in Peru, political activists, NGOs and feminist academics have criticised PAIT because they claimed that as a result of its implementation women stopped participating in the community activities in which they had previously been involved (Paredes and Tello 1988)5. I want to suggest, however, that this was not the case. Instead of stopping their involvement in community activities altogether, PAIT women became more strategic about the activities in which they chose to become involved and the points in their lives at which they decided join these activities. For many women these strategic choices represented new ways of organising their social responsibilities and, in the long term, by their experience in PAIT.

Before enrolling in PAIT nearly half the women (forty seven per cent) were involved in some form of community activity. Participation in these activities was greatest in Lima where eighty seven per cent of the women in the programme claimed to have had affiliations with some form of community group as compared to only fourteen per cent of the women in the Andahuaylas sample. Vargas (1991) and Delpino (1990) have shown

---

5 Some researchers have taken this analysis further and suggested that the programme has been used by the government as a tool to undermine the ground swell of popular political radicalism that developed during the Velasco regime in the 1970s.
how women’s community organisations in Peru have increased enormously in recent years in response to the economic crisis. Soup kitchens ranged from those run by the state to privately-organised ones funded by the church or national and international NGOs. As the following quotes suggest women became involved with these organisations because they provided cooked meals and/or milky drinks on a daily basis, often targeting children under a certain age. While some gave all of these things free others required women to pay a nominal fee or to take turns in cooking:

For me work is work. You have to do what you have to do no matter where. I always had a little extra job, ironing, washing in order to help out in the house, to make ends meet. I also worked in the soup kitchen.

(Interviewer’s question: did they pay you?)

No they only gave me five rations free because I cooked. We also did breakfast. You had to get up at 3 o’clock in the morning because at a quarter to five we used to give out the breakfast.

(Interviewer’s question: was this a Comedor Popular [State soup kitchen]?)

No it was the local parish one. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

In the morning it was PAIT work and in the afternoons I wasn’t just going to be in the house, that wouldn’t have been practical. It was better that I went to the club. So in the afternoons I went to the club because they gave out milk. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

Soup kitchens were not, however, the only form of community activity with which PAIT women had been involved with. OFASA, a food-for-work programme originally founded by the Adventist church was also popular. In OFASA women would sometimes do similar work to PAIT - for example transporting rocks to build roads - but the project’s main emphasis was on cultivating small urban vegetable plots or teaching skills such as knitting or embroidery. Sra López combined PAIT, OFASA and informal selling activities all in one day.
I worked in PAIT during the day and at night I sold bread. I had a little cart at the corner of the street.

(Interviewer's question: how much time did you sleep for then?)

I slept for about four hours because I worked in PAIT where I finished at lunch time and then I went to a group, to OFASA, I'm still in it. So that's how it worked. I would leave PAIT and go straight to OFASA. Then I would finish at five o'clock. From there I would go and collect the bread and sell it, working until, 7, 8, 9 or 10 at night and then I'd get home and have to do the housework and see to the kids. (Sra López, female labourer, José Galvez).

Some women in Lima became involved in more than one community organisation, participating in both OFASA and a soup kitchen. The following table illustrates the variety of activities women were involved in prior to entering PAIT.

Table 7.8 - Women's communal activities before they joined PAIT
(as a percentage of all respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OFASA</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Club</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedor (Soup Kitchen)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>185</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most obvious trend illustrated by the table is that women enrolling in PAIT in Lima had far more exposure to forms of women's collective activity than their counterparts in
rural areas. The only significant communal activity for rural women was in ‘mothers’ clubs’. In the Lima sample, however, a large proportion of the women labourers had been involved in the mothers’ clubs prior to joining PAIT. Although the term ‘mothers’ clubs’ is often used in a general way to cover activities ranging from food-aid distribution to community health care, adult literacy and income-generation, it has a distinct political heritage and Vargas (1991) has suggested that historically mothers’ clubs have tended to be more conservative than other forms of communal activity.

In emphasising the negative impact of PAIT on community activities the Peruvian literature has focused mainly on the numbers of women who dropped out of community activities and the fact that even those who stayed in projects and clubs were not as committed as they had been previously. Table 7.9 below indicates that twenty eight per cent of the women in the Lima sample claimed to have left an activity once they joined PAIT; however slightly more women said they joined one when they took up paid employment in the programme.

### Table 7.9 - Changes in women’s involvement in community activities
(as a percentage of all respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Changes in Women’s involvement</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women who entered an activity once they joined PAIT</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women who left an activity once they joined PAIT</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women who joined an activity once they left PAIT</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The categories in the table are not mutually exclusive as women could enter and leave activities at different points.

---

6 The term originally came into vogue under the Belaúnde regime when women’s groups were heavily promoted nationally under the patronage of the president’s wife.
The main reason women gave for leaving community activities was linked to a lack of time. Statements like "well now I was working" were used to explain their leaving the mothers’ clubs. These same explanations, however, were also used by women describing why they chose to join soup kitchens once they enrolled in PAIT. Comments like "now I am working I don’t have time to cook" were common in the questionnaire answers. This suggests that some women chose to participate in specific community activities to help ease the double burden of domestic and paid work, whereas others chose to leave in order to avoid a triple burden.

The need to negotiate domestic responsibilities in a way that suited them personally led different women to reassess the most efficient use of their resources now that their personal circumstances had changed. The data do not address the issue of the quality of the community activity in which women were involved but they do suggest that the relationship between community activities and paid employment is not a simple case of women leaving the former to take up the latter. These patterns indicate that a symbiotic relationship between the two activities developed as women developed a range of survival strategies.

The table above also illustrates significant points about the relationship between PAIT and changing ideas about the importance of community activities to women in the long term. It shows that over half the women interviewed in the Lima sample said they joined an activity after their registration in PAIT ended. This increase suggests that their awareness of what they could do personally to improve the situation in their homes had changed. Most said they began to participate in these activities because they were in great need, particularly mentioning problems in providing food for their households.

Some of these women had been involved in these activities at some point prior to PAIT but for others this was the first time they became involved in this way. It seems that both the PAIT and community activity networks served to reinforce each other in encouraging women’s activities and also in some cases the relationships between these two networks encouraged women to stay in community activities which they were considering leaving.
(Interviewer's question: why did you carry on in the club if you were working in PAIT?)

Because the women who went to work in PAIT were from World Vision [soup kitchen funded by international child sponsorship], some were from other clubs but we were from World Vision, nearly everyone belonged to a club. We were in World Vision for what we could get for the kids, I'm still in it, through the kids we receive aid from World Vision. (Female Labourer, José Galvez).

Women's involvement in communal activities after PAIT indicates changes in their expectations of what they could do. For those who had not been involved in such activities before it also marked the continuation of their new uses of space established under PAIT. After PAIT finished, spurred on by feelings that they were able to contribute something, these women became involved in activities such as soup kitchens and OFASA operating outside their domestic sphere.

In this way PAIT opened up space to them in the long term, beyond the duration of the programme. In some cases this combination of experiences also led to changes in the ways in which they related to other people, the social networks they developed and the attitudes they had towards their male partners.

For example, some women who had been involved in community projects before PAIT learnt to think differently about themselves and about the things they were doing in these groups. The case of Sra Martínez, the leader of a World Vision community project in José Galvez illustrates this point well:

Sometimes [in the club] I used to be afraid of the other mothers, because of their criticisms...In PAIT I learnt a lot about how to be more free to answer back and that not all [woman] are the same. Sometime when we arrived late the capataz would say that they were going to dock our pay. Some mothers complained and they said to me, "why don’t you protest too, shout about it, you have kids too?" Until
then I had always been quiet.

(Interviewer's question: was this the first time you said such things?)

Yes

(Interviewer's question: did these experiences influence you in the club?)

Without PAIT I couldn’t have been vice president of the club, I learnt a lot in PAIT. I even have a neighbour who comments on it she says "since you went into PAIT you’ve changed a lot. You were too quiet, now on some things you answer back". (Sra Martínez, female labourer, José Galvez).

The case of Sra Martínez also highlights the importance of the interplay between paid employment and voluntary community participation in terms of changing gender relations within households. The following dialogue followed the above exchange:

(Interviewer's question: has that changed your relationship with your kids, with your husband?)

Well probably with my husband because before when I didn’t answer him back he used to beat me and I just stayed quiet. But not now, now I answer back and he doesn’t hit me.

(Interviewer's question: does he say anything about the club?)

Yes, he says "what are you doing involved in that? It’s not as if you are earning there, so what do you do?" And so now I always tell him about the club. (Sra Martínez, female labourer, José Galvez).

The sorts of processes outlined by Sra Martínez represented gains for women in terms of negotiating positions in the context of gendered power relations within the household. Not only did her strategic use of PAIT and voluntary activities help her build on solidarity with other women, gain confidence and value her soup kitchen participation more, it also encouraged her to change the gender relations within her household in the long term and in practical terms it helped her combat physical abuse.
In some cases these processes also encouraged women such as Sra Martínez to continue arguing with male partners about their ‘right to work’ once their involvement in PAIT stopped.

I’m sure PAIT helped me to have my own opinions. It helped in overcoming the prejudices of my husband. For example now I’m a teacher and I go long distances, I work away from here. Now he’s not jealous, we don’t fight about it. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

Negotiation of this nature, however, is never easy or straight-forward and, as the following case illustrates, when women negotiated their new position in the context of the triple burdens in their lives extra pressures were often passed onto other people. In most cases it was children who picked up the extra burden of household work.

I thought "what do I do in the afternoons? Nothing", so I cooked quickly, made my kids eat and then went out from two until five. He said to me "Don’t go". "No", I said "I want to go, if not I don’t do anything in the afternoons". I cooked quickly and my kids replaced me looking after the animals when they came back from school.

(Interviewer’s question: you learnt to answer back?)
Yes, then I did, I said I wanted to work and I still tell him I want to work. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

In some cases the heaviest burden fell on daughters, who had to replace their mothers either in PAIT employment or in a community activity.\footnote{Similar observations have been made by Moser (1993).}

I always went to replace her, usually on Saturdays, well in fact every Saturday (Young woman, daughter of José Galvez labourer, aged 18).
In the afternoons I was also registered in OFASA to do knitting but as my daughter who is 16 also knits it was OK. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

These trends therefore suggest that even with negotiation, innovation by female employees sometimes meant that when burdens were shared they did not fall equally among members of the household, and that stereotypes about the roles of children were often slower to change than those about women workers themselves.

These contradictions indicate that women's solidarity was not uniform, neither was it always liberational in all areas of an employee's life. It had to be negotiated through representation (as shown in Chapter Six) and through a household divided by gender, age, life course and the need to balance immediate necessities with plans for long-term change.

In certain contexts, however, solidarity did present 'a united front'. When women faced collective, public problems the new social relations they had formed sometimes liberated politically. For example, in some cases PAIT solidarity prompted women to protest and use a collective voice in bargaining over specific issues outside the domestic realm. At several points collective action became focused on resistance in the work-place as women learnt to protest about working conditions and to agree upon a collective course of action.

Sometimes with my compañeras we used to say that we couldn't carry very big rocks, we decided to carry small ones especially for the wage we were getting. So we all agreed and only carried small rocks. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

As the corruption in the APRA regime came to a head in the late 1980s many women joined together to protest about delays in the payment of their wages. These protests were particularly significant in times of hyper-hyper-inflation when each delay in payment cost women severely.
Everyone was annoyed, at least everyone who worked in the campo. They said "why have they said that they are going to pay us on this date when people don’t have money now and when they are dying of hunger and are broke?. How long is this going to go on without them paying us?". So someone said "we have to go on a march" and everyone went.

(Interviewer’s question: did you get what you wanted?)

Yes, after that they paid us. (Female labourer, Villa María Cercano).

For some labourers the relationships they had made with other women in PAIT and the corporate nature of the protests led them to speak out for the first time. When they spoke, however, they recognised that solidarity was not based on a lack of difference among them:

Everyone’s different aren’t they? But when they didn’t pay us (well they were meant to pay us every fifteen days but sometimes it would go for more than a month) some women said "that’s enough I’m going to shout, you have to say ‘that’s enough’." And that’s what we did. There were always some women who led it. (Female labourer, La Tablada).

Thus, the solidarity that PAIT women found with each other enabled some of them to organise their social worlds within their households, communities and beyond them, in strategic political senses.

Conclusion

The practical advantages that these social networks gave PAIT women during the mid to late 1980s in Peru cannot be underestimated. They contributed to the gamut of social relations that provided low-income women with a range of strategies which they deployed in times of severe personal and corporate crisis. These networks also gave women a basis for longer-term change. By participating in the networks women gained emotional support and solidarity. For some the walls around their private worlds were broken down and
many started to see themselves differently. They reassessed their relationships with their partners and with other women. Many also re-evaluated the type of things they could imagine themselves doing.

The following chapter follows up many of these themes in an in-depth study of one aspect of household dynamics. By analysing budgeting practices and the meanings associated with them, Chapter Eight focuses on one specific aspect of life where as a result of their PAIT experience some women changed their household practices. Chapter Eight argues that even when these women were performing seemingly ‘traditional’ roles, many of them started to conceptualise themselves differently as a result of negotiation over budgeting within the contradictory space created by PAIT.
Chapter Eight

Gender Relations and Household Budgeting

Introduction
This chapter uses the framework developed in Chapter Seven and makes an in-depth analysis of one aspect of social organisation: household budgeting. It asks whether or not the changing patterns observed in gender relations and social organisation in Chapter Seven are also evident in household budgeting practices. It specifically examines the importance of ‘traditional’ gender roles in household decision-making relating to budgeting and asks whether or not change occurred as a result of the opportunities created by the PAIT wage. It argues that analyses need to look beyond whether gender roles are traditional or not in order to identify the mechanisms by which change can occur.

The chapter begins by outlining the household budget debates and describing the budgeting patterns of PAIT workers. Next, the decision-making processes and gender roles involved are assessed in order to highlight how power relations are reconstituted through seemingly traditional, and yet hybrid, roles. By introducing the importance of hybridity the chapter emphasises the need for feminist research to address the symbolic meanings women give to certain budgeting activities in order to understand how they conceptualise their bargaining position within households.

The household budget debate
Neo-classical and marxist approaches in development studies have at various times assumed that paid work for women automatically leads to their liberation. Feminist analyses of gender relations and household budgeting practices, however, have challenged these assumptions as feminist critiques of the unified household have shown how budgeting practices often mean that women do not reap the benefits of their wages and that gender roles are rarely challenged through women’s access to paid employment. Decision-making relating to budgeting within households has been highlighted by Bruce and Dwyer (1989); and Sen and Grown (1987) as a source of co-operative tension/conflict within households. Along with the work of people like Whitehead (1981) and Young
(1992), their approach has done much to dispel the unified household myth which assumes the existence of a single, united, strategy to promote the survival and development of a household. In contrast to these assumptions, feminist research has identified and emphasised patriarchal power struggles existing within the household decision-making processes. However, the concept of the unified household still underpins many development policies. Bruce (1989) suggests that its persistence can partly be attributed to development planners adopting a narrow view of targeting strategies. She suggests that many planners would claim that identifying household negotiation processes does not significantly change the nature of each household’s overall needs. This argument can be misleading as it assumes that the outcomes of negotiation are fair, based on individuals bargaining from the same power base. Such an approach ignores generational and gender power differences, something which feminist researchers aim to highlight.

When the issue of female paid labour is placed in the context of this household debate, feminist marxists have claimed that women who discover the ‘leverage’ associated with bringing in money are potentially in a better position to negotiate over budgetary decisions made within households than those who do not (Young 1992). However, Benerfa and Roldan (1987) have illustrated that the relationship between power and money within households is complex. Their work illustrates how women’s power can be limited by different budgeting systems such as pooling resources. They have shown how men are often ultimately still able to control the flow of money within households even when women have paid employment. They identify various checking mechanisms such as men’s ‘right’ to take out unspecified quantities from the ‘shared’ pool of money and men’s control over what percentage of their wage enters the pool. They have also indicated that many women do not know how much their male partners and relatives earn and that they are not therefore in a position to comment on how much these men ‘should’ contribute to a shared budget.

Women working in PAIT earned the equivalent of the legal minimum wage and, as Chapter Four indicated, for many of them this was the first time they had received a salary. The next section examines what happened to this wage and asks whether or not women labourers kept control of it.
‘Household’ money: his or hers?

Having access to money was obviously significant for many PAIT women, as over half of the employees in the sample said that one of the three things they liked most about PAIT was having ‘their own money’ (see Table 7.1). Evidence suggests that to a large extent many women employees kept control over the money they had earned. For example, Table 8.1 below, indicates that the majority of women employees (eighty eight per cent) said that they either spent their wage as they received it or that they themselves looked after it and budgeted with it (saved it themselves).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percentage of all women in Lima and Andahuaylas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gave a part or all to their husbands</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saved it themselves</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saved it in the bank</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spent it immediately</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents: 184</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Very few, (only three per cent), claimed they gave part or all of their earnings to their husbands. These trends therefore suggests that many of the checking mechanisms identified by Benería and Roldan were not operating at an obvious level in the households of PAIT women employees because women generally maintained control over their money. In the case of women with male partners this control often meant identifying their wage as different from ‘his’ money, and recognising the bargaining power it brought. One woman summarised this situation as follows:
He complained why are you going [to work in PAIT]. He had another job and even up until now he’s never let us go without but I wanted to have money for myself because sometimes trying to get it out of them is terrible. Sometimes when men give you money they speak at you, order you and so I wanted money myself. That’s why I went to work. Then he didn’t complain to me that first month, and so then afterwards I went for the next two months. (Female labourer, Lima).

An important question raised by such responses to paid work by women is what the phrase ‘women’s control over budgeting’ actually means. The analysis of budgetary control has two research implications. The first is basic: to identify whether or not women spend their money in different ways from men. The second is more complex and involves the power relations associated with purchasing. It questions how gender relations are articulated when women and men buy similar rather than different items. The approach to these questions adopted here involved analysing decision-making processes leading to purchasing and asking whether or not PAIT women hid their actions from their male partners, and whether or not they gained power within households in specific situations. These questions need to be addressed, however, within the context of external influences on household budgeting during the period when PAIT operated. The most significant influence on budgeting at this time was the economic crisis that faced many low-income households. Explanations of why women in PAIT seem to have had so much control over their income relate to the context in which domestic negotiation was carried out. This context is linked to two factors, firstly, reactions to their participation in PAIT (the fact that women’s involvement was both supported and undermined by male partners, the state and the women themselves) and secondly the fact that it occurred within a period of severe economic crisis.

1 Author’s emphasis.
‘Household money’ and the economic crisis.

The economic crisis and periods of hyper-inflation experienced by Peru during the mid-1980s was obviously a very important influence on the budgeting practices of individual households and specifically it meant that a woman’s wage gained significance during ‘la crisis’ and periods of male unemployment. Household activities in this period became increasingly centred on survival as opposed to growth. Many working class people lost what little savings they had, together with any faith they had left in the banking system. This situation is reflected in the fact that only three per cent of women saved their PAIT wages in the bank (Table 8.1). If wages were saved at all they generally assumed the form of cash dollars bought informally as part of short-term budgeting strategies. Money was changed into Intis regularly in small quantities, to make it last as long as possible. These factors, together with hyper-inflation ensured that at many points between 1985 and 1990, when the crisis peaked, negotiation about budgeting happened in the context of overriding basic needs to feed and clothe household members.

Male unemployment had particular repercussions for a woman labourer’s wage. For example, even though men in informal occupations may not have considered themselves unemployed they spent only a small proportion of the month earning an income. This trend in many forms of informal work placed a great burden on women’s income:

> I spent my PAIT money on the house, on food, as my husband only worked sometimes. There are days when he has work and weeks when he doesn’t. He installs electrical appliances, selling water heaters to businesses, sometime orders come, sometime they don’t. (Female labourer, Lima).

The most common expression found among women working in PAIT to describe their male partner’s employment was that he worked *eventual* which literally meant ‘conditional upon circumstances’ or that he worked casually, as and when he could. Such a trend in male unemployment, however, was not equally significant throughout the areas where PAIT operated.
In Andahuaylas, where most men were occupied in the agricultural sector, and many in subsistence agriculture, the issue of male unemployment was not as serious as in Lima. Even with limited male unemployment in Andahuaylas, many men did not object to ‘their women’ working in PAIT. Some even positively encouraged women’s participation because it provided an extra income for the household. Despite the apparent insignificance of male unemployment as a motivating force for women who entered PAIT in Andahuaylas, Table 8.2 indicates that for seventy per cent of these PAIT women in the rural town their wage was the only source of income during the periods when they were enroled.

For women without male partners the wage was also a very important life line. These women spoke of using this regular wage to pay off debts with local traders. The maintenance of such lines of credit were crucial to them in times of crisis.

Therefore, it seems that in both rural and urban areas women’s wages in PAIT constituted significant elements in household incomes during the crisis. The next section explores what items women bought with their wages to see whether purchases reflected traditional gender stereotyping.

Table 8.2 - Sources of household support while women worked in PAIT
(as a percentage of all households)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources of support</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Only her PAIT wage</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her PAIT wage and her resident male partner’s wage</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her PAIT wage and her non-resident male partner’s wage</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sources</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Respondents</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

255
Chapter Four indicated that the number of woman headed households in PAIT represented a small proportion of all women employed in the programme. The number of women maintained households, on the other hand, was considerably higher because out of all the households in the sample, fifty four per cent relied solely on the woman’s PAIT wage as a means of support during the period of her employment.

Initially, many women saw PAIT merely as a temporary way of helping their unemployed husbands. Over time, however, as one woman indicated the work took on a personal significance:

Well in one way or another we help each other in at least something, don’t we? Because at that time there were many men who didn’t work, who didn’t have a job. What’s more, they couldn’t find jobs easily. Therefore both the father and mother lived off this [PAIT wage]. Mainly it was a help because obviously for most people things were a little difficult, they had children in school, little babies too. The women went to work carrying their little babies. But there, it was a laugh, time went quickly among friends. (Female labourer, Lima).

It was these changes in women’s personal expectations of the programme which also fed back into their motivation for re-joining PAIT after each campaign. For them, entrance into the work-place became something not only born of necessity, but somewhere where, as women, they could ‘have a laugh’ and meet their friends while at the same time experiencing some sense of self worth. In this way changing conceptualisations of self and work, together with the sorts of changes in social organisation outlined in Chapter Seven, helped fuel women’s continued participation in the programme. The new contributions to household budgeting also influenced their continued interest in the programme.
Spending patterns and items bought

In order to obtain a cross-section of the items bought and an understanding of the priority women gave to them a series of questions in the survey addressed the hierarchy of purchases. Items identified in the interviews were listed and respondents asked to indicate their four principal purchases. Table 8.3 illustrates the results.

Table 8.3 - The purchasing priorities of women with PAIT wages
(as a percentage of all responses for that choice)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priorities</th>
<th>1st Choice</th>
<th>2nd Choice</th>
<th>3rd Choice</th>
<th>4th Choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily family food</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport to work</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food while at work</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal clothes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School costs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household bills</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s clothes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household items</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical costs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household building costs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>173</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Women’s interests - food, school and clothes

The most significant budgeting pattern that emerged from this survey was the emphasis women working in PAIT placed on using their wage to fulfil their traditional roles as mothers and carers by buying basic provisions. For the majority of the employees the first priority in the use of women’s wages was food. The second most important use was for school fees/charges, uniforms, books and stationary. The predominance of these two expenditures can be seen in the fact that thirty seven per cent of all women who claimed that their first priority was food also named school fees/charges as their second preference.

Buying food was important for nearly all women in PAIT although single women without children also spent significant proportions of their wage on personal education costs and buying clothes for themselves. The third set of priorities was household bills such as water, light, gas and kerosene, although clothes for the children was also a significant purchase for many women.

Although food and schooling costs took precedence, household items ranging from furniture to kitchen utensils and bedding, together with medical costs, were also important purchases, playing a significant role in many women’s lower priority choices. The general pattern, however was for women to prioritise items concerned with the basic reproduction of the household.
Regional differences in women's interests

There were some regional variations in purchasing behaviour which partly reflected rural/urban contexts and differential costs.

Table 8.4 - Regional differences in the purchasing priorities of women with PAIT wages

(as a percentage of all responses for that choice)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priorities</th>
<th>1st Choice</th>
<th>2nd Choice</th>
<th>3rd Choice</th>
<th>4th Choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily family food</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport to work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food while at work</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal clothes</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School costs</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household bills</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's clothes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household items</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical costs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household building costs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In both places the cost of food took up large proportions of the female wage. In Lima, however, money was mostly spent on short-term perishable items or services. For example, household bills were a higher priority for women in Lima. This difference is largely explained by the fact that in Andahuaylas water does not have to be bought from tankers and cooking is carried out using wood which is often collected for free, rather than gas or kerosene which were prohibitively high during the peak periods of crisis as prices were linked to the cost of gasoline and therefore increased overnight at times as the following woman explains:

When the shock came, I didn’t have enough to buy even a litre of kerosene, because a litre used to cost 250, now that money was worth nothing. I couldn’t do any shopping, not even kerosene. I went out to shop and just about managed to get bread, we had to pay 200 for four bread rolls, forgetting about buying the kerosene to cook things. (Female labourer, Lima).

Another specific domestic consumption cost in Lima was education and schooling costs for children. While the questionnaires were being conducted the state schools were on strike. Many women said they had enroled their children in private schools for the period of the strike in order to avoid their children falling behind in their studies and failing the year. This became an extra cost for women in Lima although the same practice did not seem to occur in Andahuaylas.

A second specific expenditure for women in Lima was the purchase of food for them to eat while at work. Many of the places where they worked were remote and isolated from their homes and therefore the women were obliged to eat at work.

I worked that far from Villa María where I lived that I had to leave at 6.30 am to get there by walking and had to take my lunch with me. Working all day even the food went off and the drinks I took became hot in the sun. (Female labourer, Lima).
While some women prepared their own food to eat, other women took extra food to sell to their colleagues. Table 8.4 'food while at work' mainly refers to these costs. In Andahuaylas these lunch time expenditures were not as significant. Many campaigns operated in very local sites and even when women worked further afield the Ayuni tradition of offering food as payment for communal work meant that women were accustomed to taking and sharing food they had prepared earlier rather than buying from each other. Evidence suggests that in some of the remote rural areas the ayuni privilege became abused as in the case of Argama where local women provided food free of charge for men working as PAIT employees on a local building site, even though the women themselves appeared on the pay role².

As a result of the different lifestyles and relative costs of living, together with the various PAIT administrative and management styles, it would appear that the PAIT wage signified different things in different places. In Lima it was mainly taken up by consumption costs whereas in Andahuaylas for some women it was available for other items, hence the higher priority given to household items and children's clothes. These differences in the ways in which certain groups of women spent their money were even more evident in the case of 'special' purchases.

**Special buys and 'dignity'**

When women were asked whether they had bought anything special with their wage many said that it was only enough to cover survival needs. Woman-headed households, in particular, could not rely on the PAIT wage for anything more than basic provisions. In total in Lima and Andahuaylas, only twenty nine per cent of the women claimed that they had bought anything special with their wage. The most common special items named were household goods, electrical goods, furniture and construction materials. In Andahuaylas, less than ten per cent of the women said they had bought anything special. This point seems to contradict my argument about the lack of pressure on the rural women's wage. However, when these women from Andahuaylas were asked whether they had bought any goods without consulting anyone else, many of them mentioned buying small electrical

---

² Interviews, Argama, January 1990.
goods such as food mixers or radios, and some mentioned buying ‘fashionable’ clothes for their children. Others mentioned buying ‘special food’ or treating their family to a meal at a restaurant. These treats depended very much on the value of the wage at that particular time. For example, the last campaign under APRA seems to have been particularly profitable as a conversation between two Lima women, speaking with pride about their special purchases, indicates:

1) **In the last of the campaigns we were able to buy clothes for our children. I bought myself a blouse, shoes for my kids, that was money that was!** (Female labourer, Lima).

2) **I remember, I ordered a new set of teeth. That’s what I remember about PAIT! A good souvenir I’d say, I ordered my denture plate to be made with my money when I went to PAIT.** (Female labourer, Lima).

In Andahuaylas a similar pattern occurred as women did not necessarily say they bought anything special but did remember specific items they bought alone. In Andahuaylas seventy per cent of all the items listed as being bought alone were bought by women. This means that they chose what to buy without consulting anyone else and also purchased the item by themselves. Special food stuffs were particularly significant, including items that had to be imported from the coastal region. Clothes were also mentioned as special items imported from the coast. In order to understand the significance of items bought alone the value that women placed on purchasing rather than just the items that they bought therefore needs to be looked at in more detail in order to understand what their purchasing capacity and the items they bought meant to them.
‘Women’s interests’ and change  

In considering the issue of gender stereotyping, it is easy to miss the significance of women’s buying power associated with their PAIT wage by seeing their emphasis on food and clothing purchases only as an extension of domestic roles. What women bought is not necessarily as important as how they valued their purchasing power nor as significant as the decision-making processes involved in purchases. Purchasing items with the PAIT wage often involved a new set of social relations for women. Thus, even though many women saw their role in buying food and children’s clothing as ‘natural’ this did not necessarily mean that purchasing these items did not provide them with new dignity and encourage them to think differently about themselves and therefore develop hybrid understandings of their roles and identities. The next two sections explore these issues. Firstly it is argued that the role of food purchasing is more than a reproductive responsibility for women and secondly it is claimed that women’s motives for working (to buy items for their children) can give them significant, ‘legitimate’ bargaining power in discussions with their male partners.

Food as more than a reproductive responsibility  

In trying to indicate PAIT’s link to improving the domestic economy the APRA party’s propaganda highlighted an important point about the significance of food bought during their term of office. Sr Pérez, director of PAIT in one of the three COOPOP administrative zones in South Lima), placed much emphasis on the increase in chicken consumption at this time. He said:

If you look at the statistics for Lima and Piura they are the two most densely populated departments in the country. They show us that overall in the population there are more women than men, so that’s part of the explanation. Many people ask why that’s so? Well, there are many single mothers, many abandoned mothers...When they had more income the population can consume more. To give an example - it’s incredible - they say that here in Lima there’s never a scarcity of chicken. Why then, was there a scarcity during this time? Because the consumption of chicken increased, the consumption of vegetables
increased! People had more capacity to provide nutrition and to eat. (Sr Pérez, director of one of three administrative zones in South Lima).

The table below indicates that the majority of women workers in PAIT claimed that the quality of their diet and that of the other members of their households improved during their term of employment in PAIT.

Table 8.5 - Changes in individual and household diet during the periods of PAIT employment (as a percentage of all respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Changes in Diet</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Lima</th>
<th>Andahuaylas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Diet of Women</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stayed the same</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Became Worse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Diet of other members of the Household   |       |      |             |
| Stayed the Same                         | 29    | 34   | 24          |
| Improved                                | 70    | 64   | 76          |
| Became Worse                            | 1     | 2    | -           |
| **Total Number of respondents**         | **183** | **91** | **92** |

Women labourers spent their money on food but the food they bought was of a different quality or type to that which they had previously bought. Thus, unlike Sr Pérez's version of changes in food consumption I would suggest that the diets of households improved not because there was overall more income in households at this time but because women
earned the household income instead of men and women also kept control of it. Thus, women were not as dependent on pooled housekeeping arrangements and were able to spend the extra cash they had on more food and different types of food. For example, when PAIT women in Andahuaylas received their wage, many bought certain items in bulk - sacks of rice or sugar and drums of oil. One woman explained how the women labourers encouraged each other to spend their money wisely:

Were we going to fritter it away on momentary pleasures or were we going to buy something important for our homes? Someone recommended that this money, that we were earning with so much effort and sacrifice shouldn’t be badly spent. "Buy something good" she said, "for example buy sugar, rice, buy specific things". (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

With a history of many goods unexpectedly becoming scarce these bulk-buying practices enabled women to budget in a different way. As these goods were imported from the coast they were expensive and consequently items such as rice, cooking oil, sugar and tinned food represented not only basic food stuffs but it could be argued that they took on the status of types of 'high order goods'.

With these changes in the types of food bought can come increased status for women, giving them pride in their management and potentially providing them with new status in household negotiation processes. Evidence suggests that these purchasing practices also prompted women to form new social relations, which in turn changed traditional purchasing practices. For example, in order to buy imported goods in bulk many women in Andahuaylas pooled their wages together in order to buy costly items. These items were then either be re-sold in smaller quantities at a profit or used gradually on a daily basis in individual households. In this way women in Andahuaylas were able to ease the strain of their roles within domestic reproduction in a new way by sharing costs, and as the following quote suggests, also by sharing the physical act of going shopping.
We made up a group of us and we all went to the shop together to buy our things. We bought the things that we lacked in our houses and in that way the money wasn’t badly spent. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

Shopping as a group in this way was not just a social outing for the women, nor was it merely a co-operative savings venture. For some women, especially those for whom Spanish was not a first language or those who were not numerate or literate, communal shopping was also a learning experience. Sra Quispe, who had previously worked in an adult literacy programme, explained how important the corporate shopping experience could be for certain women:

Some of the women didn’t know how to work out a budget, or how to add up or work out their money so we used to teach them. We would say, "look, with what I’ve got here I’m going to buy this" and in that way we explained it, focusing on what was lacking in our houses. So a lot of the time we would get them going and say, "come on we’re all going to go and buy things together." (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

Cooperative ventures such as those described above, served to further cement the relationship between women as they pooled their financial, as well as skills resources in new ways.

Another innovation in terms of social relations concerning food budgeting was the fact that while some women bought food in the PAIT workplace other women employees in PAIT were making a profit by selling that food.

If we arrived late they took money out of our wage that’s why we took our breakfast to eat there. When we arrived only then would we eat, we had breakfast together, me and my friend. We did the same when we had rest breaks. There were some women who didn’t lose time and they took food to sell! That was a business! There were also many
couples, women who didn’t need the employment but even so they worked to earn a bit extra, I don’t know their reasons, or maybe it was to make a business of selling food, they took food and you can guess the sorts of prices they sold it at! (Female Labourer, Lima).

Thus, women were buying food but at the same time they were encouraging entrepreneurial behaviour in their female colleagues.

These examples of food purchasing indicate that the innovative social relations described in Chapter Six also existed in household budgeting practices. It could be argued that women’s roles in budgeting became hybrid because although they still fulfilled their domestic responsibilities by buying food the meanings attached to that food and the social relations involved in budgeting were different. Concentrating only on the fact that women spent wages on seemingly traditional female purchases such as food can obscure the changing nature of the social relations around those purchases. Such an approach also ignores the symbolic value of the exchange and any resulting changes in women’s negotiating position within their households. The following analysis of purchases regarding children’s needs illustrates these arguments further.

Children’s needs as a bargaining point

Many women stated that providing for their children’s needs was the motivation for them working. In the eyes of many husbands women earning money to spend on children’s clothes and schooling costs was a legitimate reason for women to enter PAIT.

He had another job, I don’t know how much it paid, 10, 000 Intis? I wanted to buy a little something for my children. I became interested in the afternoon shift [saying to him] "What do I do in the afternoons? I don’t do anything" When I got my wage I was pleased because I had something to buy things for my children with. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).
Such 'legitimate' motives also provided a context for domestic bargaining and discussion. One husband explained his wife's participation in the following way:

At that time all my children were studying, therefore we needed money. She saw that my money wasn't enough and so she said "I'm going to give you a hand, I'm going to help you but I'm going to work in PAIT". I said "are they paying that much? Where are you going to work?". She replied "here in the Zona Nueva". Various of her friends and acquaintances had gone so I said "yes alright, if you all go accompanied". (Sr Jiménez, husband of female labourer, Lima).

Such bargaining, however, does not necessarily lead to an immediate sustained change in household gender relations. For example the same husband then later explained:

Then I didn't have enough money so I told her to go. But now that two of them have left [school] I said to her "right no more, now don't go to work, stay here in the house, do whatever you like in the house, now I have got sufficiently enough to pay".

In this particular case the woman still wanted to work but negotiation leading to a long-term change in action was not possible: the husband completely forbade it.

Even in cases such as these where a man changes his attitude when circumstances are different, a woman's desire to work may be important in the long term because she has experienced changes in her perception of herself and her potential purchasing power. For example, it is significant that many of the items bought for children like the special purchases mentioned previously were items that the women remember 'buying by themselves'. The example of a woman from Andahuaylas who experienced opposition from her husband emphasises the pride some women felt in being able to make special purchases for their children.
The little he [husband] gave me was for me but what I wanted was to buy something for the kids. Just at that moment that year we were coming up to the rainy season and I needed to buy boots for my children. That time they cost 2 500. I had enough for everyone because they paid us 10 000 and I was pleased because I also had enough for a kilo of sugar. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

This experience was something new for her: it helped her to see her potential negotiating power. In her case this awareness even led her to continue working without telling her husband:

The same necessity makes one go [to PAIT] because you don’t have anything to draw on when the prices rise, the number of children increase, those children want more and as they grow up they want to dress better etc. That’s why I wanted to go, I wanted to buy them boots and I didn’t have any money. The first month I bought pure wool for their jumpers. I bought wool and at that time I think it was 1 500 each ball. My husband said "it’s up to you, but don’t go". "No I want to go". That’s what I said, I told him I wanted to work, even now I say I want to work. Before when I was sick he complained, he told me not to go, but then I didn’t tell him anything about going I carried on the following month. I wanted to go the next time but I didn’t get in. (Female labourer, Andahuaylas).

This woman remembers the ‘milestone’ experience of her purchasing power almost two years later. After periods of hyper-inflation and rocketing prices she was still able to recall the cost of what she bought and the value of her wage. The PAIT experience for her prompted different actions for a while and in the longer term, it encourages her to change her view of herself including her potential as an employee.

The examples above have suggested that by taking a different approach to the issue of budgeting, which focuses more on the process of decision-making leading to what is
bought, rather than on the flows of money, illustrates how, even when male checking mechanisms operate, there is still scope for re-negotiation of decision-making power. In simple terms, an approach which shifts the focus away from how much money is available and what is bought, towards an analysis of how women feel about such purchases can identify the symbolic as well as practical significance women attach to purchasing. It is this value that changes their negotiating position. Such an analytical emphasis reveals potential changes in power relations that are not always measurable through observing direct budgetary practices. The final section illustrates these points with the example of changing decision-making processes for specific gender-stereotyped purchases.

Decision-making - who does the buying?
The questionnaire survey distinguished two different examples of stereotype purchases, in order to assess whether any changes had occurred in the decision-making processes surrounding these buys. The analysis assumed that buying construction materials (what to buy, when to buy etc.) would be a predominantly male decision and that decisions about the purchase of clothes for children would be predominantly taken by women. Table 8.6 indicates that prior to PAIT these decisions were highly gendered and that the purchase of construction materials was a ‘traditionally male’ purchase and that clothing for children was ‘traditionally female’.

The information in Table 8.6 only refers to households where women employed in PAIT had male partners in residence. Nearly ninety per cent of the decisions about buying construction materials were taken by men or the couple, whereas women had more say in decisions about clothes for the children. These pattern were particularly marked in Andahuaylas where the majority of decisions about the purchase of construction materials were taken by men alone.
Table 8.6 - How decisions were taken before and after PAIT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who takes the Decisions</th>
<th>Construction Decisions</th>
<th>Children’s Clothing Decisions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Together</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Partner</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAIT Woman</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Person</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of respondents</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How decisions were taken after PAIT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various significant changes in the decision-making processes surrounding these two types of purchases occurred after women’s involvement in PAIT. The main trend worth noting is that in both purchases there was more negotiation between male and female partners. Women did not suddenly start taking all the decisions by themselves. Their purchasing power did not lead to such a radical redress of the household power balance; it did however produce a movement towards a renegotiation of decision-taking along more equitable lines.
For example, overall, women claimed that after they had received a PAIT wage sixty eight per cent of all decisions about household construction issues were taken together, as opposed to only fifty seven per cent prior to PAIT. In Andahuaylas this shift was particularly significant as prior to PAIT sixty one per cent of these decisions were taken exclusively by men. After PAIT sixty eight per cent of all these decisions were taken together. This change indicates a greater participation of women in the decision-making process over a traditionally ‘male’ issue.

Similarly, in the realm of clothes for children negotiation between partners appeared after women became involved in PAIT. Although women still took many of these clothing decisions by themselves there was an increase in joint decisions (from fifty six to sixty four per cent) and a decrease in exclusively male decisions. Again, this pattern was particularly marked in Andahuaylas. Previously sixty five per cent of decisions about children’s clothes were taken together and twenty three per cent by the men as compared to ninety two per cent of decisions taken jointly after PAIT.

Such a double shift in decision-making power is perhaps more surprising than if women had gained ground in the male domain and not conceded their position in their traditional ‘female role’ in the purchase of children’s clothes. It is precisely this two-way movement that points towards a process of negotiation rather than confrontation within households. This emphasis on negotiation is in keeping with the arguments made in Chapters Four and Six about the important of strategic representation within such a contested and contradictory space like PAIT. The fact that men were sometimes happy and sometimes unhappy about their women participating in the programme meant that women’s negotiation with their partners over their participation in PAIT was particularly important and depended upon successful (and amicable) negotiation within the household over practical issues such as budgeting.
**Conclusion: the complexities of power, bargaining and budgeting**

Although the power balance within households does not always immediately change as a result of women's access to paid work, the case of PAIT does seem to indicate that women's perception of their position within household power structures can change. Sometimes these changes can promote hybrid gender identities as women see themselves as mothers doing domestic tasks in different ways, with new meanings attached to old practices and with a different evaluation of what they do. These changes are a significant step in forging new conceptualisations of themselves and their work. Some women articulated these challenges overtly:

"I started to feel in charge (sentir la cabeza) and my husband got annoyed and he said "it's better that you don't go to that job, you're better in this" (I was in OFASA). (Female labourer, La Tablada).

The wage is enough to buy something. My husband works only to feed us...now I am the head (cabezona) because it's coming round to school time and I have to buy book and shoes for the kids. (Female labourer, José Galvez).

The survey results for women in Andahuaylas suggest that changes in the perception of women's bargaining positions even occurred within the most 'traditional' scenarios ie among rural women with male partners. These changes were intimately linked to changes in conceptualisation of work and changes in the expectations of what individual women were capable of doing:

"Now for me everything to do with work is easy because I've been in that programme, I learnt a lot. (Sra Quispe, female labourer, Andahuaylas)"

---

3 In Spanish the 'ona' ending on a word is used to re-enforce it.
In other cases changes in power relations occurred because women stated categorically that their money would not be spent on food. In their eyes this was the traditional responsibility of their male partners. Many of these women therefore kept information about their activities and their income secret from their men for fear of opposition or the appropriation of their wage. Such separatist approaches towards household negotiation parody the tactics of the traditional patriarchal checking mechanisms outlined by Benería and Roldan. It could be argued that by parodying them women used them subversively, by being more secretive and separatist about their income than their menfolk. In simple terms these women became aware of their money's power.

The significance and dignity of a PAIT wage cannot be ignored for another group of women in different domestic circumstances: those without male partners. For many women, especially those who headed their household, the PAIT wage provided the basic means of survival during very difficult years. For the majority of women in the programme, whether single or married, with or without partners, PAIT offered them credit for another month on the basis of their secure wage, for some it provided the dignity in negotiation which meant they did not have to beg from male partners, other relatives or even strangers.
Chapter Nine
Conclusions

There are a variety of empirical conclusions that can be drawn from this research which relate to both the particularities of PAIT as a programme and to general, much argued, feminist debates on the relationship between gender formation and women's access to paid work. This concluding section will summarise the key empirical findings about PAIT and the negotiation of gender, discuss the implications of these findings for theoretical frameworks currently used in gender and development research and finally make some suggestions concerning policy making and the emergence of new research agendas.

**Short-term survival and long-term change**
Nationally, the PAIT programme of the APRA government was seen as an economic disaster, it did not stimulate economic development, neither did it create a political support base to ensure García's re-election in 1990. It did, however, have a number of positive spin-offs for some women as it provided them with the economic means of survival through very difficult, lean years. The thesis has shown how this survival was based on economic support in the form of wages and social support via contact with new social networks which helped women employees gain access to other (non-waged) means of survival.

More importantly in the context of the negotiation of gender, this thesis has also argued that in the long-term, PAIT created an environment in which it was possible for many women to re-negotiate gender relations. Chapter Five indicated how gender relations were challenged as employees realised that individually, and collectively 'as women', they were capable of doing what they had traditionally considered to be 'men's work'. Chapters Seven and Eight indicated how gendered power relations were also challenged as women took on more negotiative roles in household decision-making processes.
The significance of the PAIT contradiction

The major contradiction within the PAIT programme was the fact that the government did not expect so many employees to be women. Originally APRA expected a male demand for these ‘men’s jobs’ because the tasks in PAIT were physically very tough and sometimes dangerous. Although the large number of women in the programme can partly be explained by the local nature of the employment and the hours worked, the convenient nature of the work does not explain why there were so few men enrolled during a time of economic crisis. Nor does it show how the presence of women, usually as ‘mothers’ in many cases, and sometimes also as ‘good wives’, was justified to themselves, to their male partners and to the community in general. These questions have been central to the analysis presented in this thesis.

Among the reasons given by both women and men for the lack of male employees in the programme was that PAIT work represented ‘bad work’ for men - bad work meaning temporary employment, low pay, poor conditions, monthly wages, no social benefits etc. Given the hard physical nature of the work, in this rationale of what is expected from men and women it seems that women’s work and the ideology of motherhood were turned on their heads - rhetoric was used to justify women doing bad ‘mens’ work. Under this logic PAIT could be summarised as ‘bad enough for good women but not good enough for bad men’!

The way the programme was initially set up and the shift towards a welfare rhetoric meant that during the five years that the programme functioned men preferred to be ‘unemployed’ or rely on sporadic work rather than take up employment in PAIT. The long-term implications of the programme for many women was that it changed their conceptualisations of themselves, of ‘other’ women and of work.
Rural/urban differences in the negotiation of gender

Using material from two case study areas (one a metropolitan shanty town in south Lima, the other a rural town) the thesis has indicated that PAIT was a completely new experience for the majority of low-income women who worked in the programme. This was true for both the rural women - few of whom had had experience of paid work - and for women in the Lima sample who had worked previously in the informal sector. Even if PAIT women had been involved in paid work before it was not work based on legal contracts, formal monthly wages - paid in cheques, let alone work that involved them in heavy manual labour in public spaces and allowed them to experience solidarity with other women.

In both samples women’s involvement in the programme resulted in little change in the more obvious outward manifestations of gender relations such as household divisions of labour. The thesis argues, however, that there were important changes in conceptualisations of self and work. These changes altered women’s perceptions of their bargaining position viz à viz male partners in the context of household decision-making processes.

In general household decisions about women’s access to public space and domestic budgeting were negotiated over more after women worked in PAIT than before. This was particularly marked in Andahuaylas where it was not the case that women earned money but reaped no decision-making benefits, neither was did the other extreme situation occur where women assumed total decision-making control over budgets and their social lives as a result of PAIT. Rather, this thesis indicated that in Andahuaylas the PAIT experience encouraged more negotiation between women and men over gender stereotyped decisions. Therefore empirically, it could be said that gender relations changed most significantly in what are often seen as ‘traditional’ environments - ie in households where PAIT employees were older, married women living in rural areas.
Changing gender relations and the state
The role that the state played in these changes in gender relations was very significant although it is important to highlight that this role was assumed more by accident than by design. The shift in the rhetoric of the programme away from one of productive work (for men) to one of welfare (for women) justified the presence of women in the programme but also set up an important contradiction because the heavy nature of the work and women’s perception of it as ‘men’s work’ did not change with the promotion of a welfare rhetoric.

The state’s legitimation of women’s participation in ‘men’s work’ acted as a thin veneer covering opposition towards their involvement in PAIT, particularly when opposition came from male partners. Central to the argument laid out in this thesis is the idea that it was precisely the fragile nature of the legitimation of women’s participation that made the programme particularly significant for the re-negotiation of gender relations. As the ‘space’ created by their participation was fragile women had to hold the contradictions surrounding their participation in tension in order to avoid conflict with their partners, with their employers and with other women participating in the programme. Therefore, this research has shown that although the state created this fragile ‘space’, it was women who maintained their participation in it by the representations they made about their workplace and about the women there.

New femininities: the relationship between gender relations and identities
This thesis has argued that new femininities emerged through the contradictory nature of women’s involvement in PAIT because it often encouraged women to re-evaluate what constituted ‘appropriate’ and ‘inappropriate’ forms of behaviour. Empirical material suggested that women not only questioned what was meant by ‘women’s work’ but that they began to think differently about each other as they related to fellow employees from a variety of different backgrounds. Chapter Six illustrated how the mixed social milieux and women’s close, interdependent working environment in PAIT meant that their previously fixed ideas concerning ‘good’ and ‘bad’ behaviour were challenged through contradictory processes involving both the reproduction and the subversion of gendered stereotypes. Fieldwork indicated that in some cases new femininities were forged in the
context of new work experiences and changing conceptualisation of self and others: ideologies of motherhood were strong throughout the explanations of why women wanted to work in the first place but also in many cases these ideologies changed to incorporate definitions of themselves as paid workers.

The fact that such changes in conceptualisations were often achieved under the guise of seemingly traditional behaviour (such as women buying food for ‘the family’ with their wages) has important implications for the theoretical frameworks used to analyse changing gender relations in development contexts. For example, the representations women made about the programme and each other were often very strategic. The analysis made in this thesis has argued that these representations should be seen as forms of survival strategies because they helped maintain women’s presence in the programme and thereby contributed to the creation of a ‘space’ through which gender relations and femininities could be re-constituted. Such an analysis does not conceptualise survival strategies as the collection of activities that people carry out in particular circumstances (usually economic crisis) in order to ensure breadline subsistence. Instead, the type of approach taken in this thesis places power relations at the centre of survival and looks at the different mechanisms through which those power relations are negotiated.

Theoretically this approach argues that decision-making power is always negotiated at some level and that negotiation is not merely the act of taking decisions but also involves sometimes contradictory processes of representation of self and ‘others’ in order to gain a negotiating position from which to institute change.

In developing its approach this thesis has critiqued the narrow use of some gender and development analytical tools, particularly emphasising that often analyses only measure changes in gender relations in terms of evidence of outward manifestations of change (such as changes in the household divisions of labour or changes in women’s double/triple burdens). Such analyses need to recognise that subtle changes in identity formation also influence the long-term negotiation of gender. At the simplest level, this thesis argues that in theoretical terms a woman’s perception of her household bargaining position should be seen as equally as important as the outcome of a household debate or the final decision
taken. It also argues that while it is important to note whether changes in domestic divisions of labour occur as women gain access to paid work, sometimes by over-emphasising such a focus on divisions of labour it possible to miss the innovative ways in which women try to ease their double and triple burdens. These arguments claim that innovative ways of easing burdens are important because they are based on solidarity between women (ie new social relations) and usually involve practical and abstract learning experiences which produce changes in the ways in which women value themselves and their abilities. Such changes in the value placed on particular gender roles and relations help constitute new identities. In terms of gender relations these changes affect how women evaluate their worth within domestic situations and alter their perception of their bargaining positions. By focusing on the relationship between identities and gender relations such an analysis indicates how internal contestations of power relations and notions of ‘appropriate behaviour’ can be occurring even along-side what appear to be very fixed gender roles.

Policy implications and new research agendas

If, as this thesis has argued, PAIT had an influence on the negotiation of gender then the policy implications of these findings need to be considered for other emergency programmes of this type. There are several qualifications, however, that must be made before policy can be discussed. Firstly, it is important to underline that PAIT was never set up as a gender-sensitive planning tool, neither did it have changing gender relations as one of its goals. In fact few, if any, emergency programmes have been implemented as a result of gender-sensitive planning during the 1980s and 1990s. Secondly, although currently there are a variety of emergency programmes operating in Latin America and elsewhere in the Third World (most of which include employment creation) the nature of these programmes has changed since the mid 1980s. Almost without exception these programmes now form some type of social compensation scheme designed to cushion the effects of ‘shock’ economic adjustment measures. These new programmes are the antithesis of PAIT’s role in García’s original heterodox economic plan. García’s plan did not see emergency work as a cushion for adjustment but envisaged it in opposite terms.

---

1 The one exception is possibly the recent Female headed household programme implemented by the Chilean government as a pilot programme from 1992 to 1994.
seeing emergency work as a stimulus to growth. In other words, PAIT was not a poverty alleviation scheme based on a neo-liberal market but instead constituted an overt economic interventionist measure which also had strong overtones of party politics.

In sum, the goals of PAIT and contemporary emergency programmes are somewhat different. The distinction between rhetorics of productive work verses welfare provision are more easily blurred in contemporary programmes. The reasons for and the consequences of this 'blurring' are an important research agenda for the 1990s. Programmes operating in the 1990s do not make overt claims about providing productive work. This lack of 'production' rhetoric has important consequences for the gendering of such programmes. Research agendas need to address issues of gendering: to distinguish between gendering in the sense of who is employed and gendering with reference to the gender ideology implicit in the definitions of development embodied in such programmes; to ask whether or not social compensation is constructed as the 'soft' welfare side to counter 'hard' adjustment economics. This agendas raises a series of specific research questions:

1) Is it the case that adjustment measures directly affecting structural economics are being cast as 'real development' or 'real work' while social compensation programmes are seen as 'softer' welfare provisioning (targeting women)?

2) To what extent is this macro-level gendering of policy contradicted or supported by the type of jobs created both through adjustment and via social compensation?

3) To what extent are the labour conditions similar in both types of employment (ie temporary, precarious, with no fringe benefits)? and what do these changes in employment conditions signify for the changing construction of 'good' or 'appropriate' 'men's work' as well as 'good' or 'appropriate' 'women's work'.
Such questions suggest that at a policy level current changes in the nature and implementation of emergency work programmes need to be analysed in terms of the masculinist notions of development they are potentially reproducing.

Whatever new theoretical research questions emerge from this thesis, it is important that the practical lessons concerning the intimate role the state plays in creating positive environments for the negotiation of gender relations and femininities are not lost on either development planning or feminist oriented development studies. The relationship between the state and the construction of femininities and masculinities via job creation is an critical research issue. In practical policy terms it means that definitions of targeting need to be analysed. This thesis has suggested that, at the very least, definitions should be broadened out to include not only gender-sensitive approaches to meet practical and strategic gender needs but also to question the way policies create spaces (physical and conceptual) where femininities and masculinities can be produced, subverted and contested.

In conclusion Gender and Development should continue to address the ways in which paid work help structure gender identities. Specifically, there is a need for comparisons between the ways in which these processes occur in different contexts. New analytical tools, which examine the relationship between gender relations and identity formation as a central part of the analysis, are required. Empirical research needs to focus on the different ways in which femininities and masculinities are currently being constituted, contested and changed. The goals of Gender and Development approaches in the 1990s should be to reveal and critically assess the hegemonic gender identities being promoted by different development paradigms currently prevalent in different contexts. Given the almost uniform support for neo-liberal economic policies in Latin America in the 1990s the key focus for feminist analysis should be to examine how different expressions of neo-liberalism are gendering identities in the continent and opening up or closing down spaces where alternative models of development and alternative constructions of gendered identities can be produced.
Appendix i

CUESTIONARIO DE PAIT

1) ¿De qué vivía su familia durante el tiempo que trabajó en PAIT
   a) Sólo con su sueldo de PAIT [ ]
   b) Con su trabajo y el de su marido/conviviente. [ ]
   c) Con su trabajo y el de su marido que no vive en la casa [ ]
   d) Otro [ ]

2) ¿Dónde nació?
   Provincia ____________________________
   Distrito ____________________________
   Departamento ________________________

3) ¿Cuándo llegó a Lima?
   Antes de los 15 años [ ]
   Después de los 15 años [ ]

4) ¿Vino sola? [ ]
   Acompañada [ ]
   Detalles____________________________________________________

5) Después de 15 años trabajó en alguno de los siguientes:
   (No incluir PAIT)
   a) Empleada (cama adentro) [ ]
   b) Empleada (cama afuera) [ ]
   c) Obrera [ ]
   d) Ambulante sin puesto [ ]
   e) Vendedora con puesto permanente [ ]
   f) Lavando ropa [ ]
   g) Tejiendo, cosiendo etc. [ ]
   h) A jornal en el campo [ ]
   i) Trabajo sin paga en la chacra de la familia [ ]
   j) Otro ____________________________

6) ¿Cuál fue su trabajo en PAIT?
   Campo [ ]
   Taller [ ]
   Cuna [ ]
   Otro ____________________________

7) ¿Qué hacía? ______________________________________________________

8) ¿Fue Usted capataz? Sí [ ]
   No [ ]

9) ¿Qué opinabas de los sueldos del PAIT?
   Bueno [ ]
   Regular [ ]
   Malo [ ]
   Otro ____________________________

283
10) ¿En qué usaba su sueldo principalmente? (escoja cuatro según su preferencia poniendo números en orden de importancia 1-4)
   a) Comida diaria para la familia [ ]
   b) Movilidad al trabajo [ ]
   c) Refrigerio durante el trabajo [ ]
   d) Ropa para usted. [ ]
   e) Gastos escolares (no considerar uniforme) [ ]
   f) Agua, luz, gas, kerosene, etc. [ ]
   g) Ropa para sus hijos [ ]
   h) Cosas para su casa [ ]
   i) Gastos medicos [ ]
   j) Ahorros (soles o dolares) [ ]
   k) Construcción de vivienda [ ]
   l) otros _________________________________

11) ¿Qué hacía con su sueldo apenas lo recibía?
   a) Lo guardaba Usted [ ]
   b) Lo guardaba en el banco [ ]
   c) Se lo entregaba a su marido [ ]
   d) Le daba una parte a su marido [ ]
   e) Otro _________________________________

12) Mientras trabajaba en PAIT su alimentación fue:
   Mejor que antes [ ]
   Igual que antes [ ]
   Peor que antes [ ]

13) Mientras trabajaba en PAIT la alimentación de los demás en su casa fue:
   Mejor que antes [ ]
   Igual que antes [ ]
   Peor que antes [ ]

14) ¿Compró algo especial con su sueldo durante su trabajo en PAIT?
   Sí [ ] No [ ]
   DETALLES _________________________________

15) a) Con su sueldo de PAIT ¿qué cosas eligieron comprar Ud.y su marido juntos?
   ___________________________________________________________________

b) Con su sueldo de PAIT ¿qué cosas eligió comprar Usted sin el consejo de otra persona?
   ___________________________________________________________________

c) Con su sueldo de PAIT ¿qué cosas eligió comprar su marido solo?
   ___________________________________________________________________

d) Con su sueldo de PAIT ¿qué cosas eligieron comprar juntos Usted y alguna otra persona (que no sea su marido)?
   (Especifique quién) ___________________________________________________________________
e) Con su sueldo de PAIT ¿qué cosas eligió comprar alguna otra persona (que no sea su marido)?

(Especifique quién)________________________________________________________

16) ¿La manera cómo se decidían las compras era diferente antes de que Ud. trabajara en PAIT?

Sí [ ]  No [ ] Explique_____________________________________________________

17) ¿La manera cómo se decidean las compras cambió cuando dejó Ud de trabajar en PAIT?

Sí [ ]  No [ ] Explique_____________________________________________________

18) ¿Algún otro miembro de su hogar recibía dinero durante el tiempo que Ud. trabajó en el PAIT?

Sí [ ]  No [ ] Detalles_____________________________________________________

19) Antes de trabajar para el PAIT era Ud. miembro de :

a) Comedor [ ] e) Club de madres [ ]
b) Grupo de capacitación [ ] f) Taller [ ]
d) OFASA [ ] g) Otro _________________________

20) ¿Durante el tiempo que trabajó en PAIT Ud. ingresó a una de estas organizaciones?

Sí [ ]  No [ ]

Si fue así especifique cuál y dé la razón. _________________________________

21) ¿Durante el tiempo que trabajó en PAIT dejó de colaborar con alguna de estas organizaciones?

Sí [ ]  No [ ]

Si fue así especifique cuál y dé la razón. _________________________________

22) ¿Cuándo dejó de trabajar en el PAIT empezó a colaborar con alguna de estas organizaciones?

Sí [ ]  No [ ]

Si fue así especifique cuál y dé la razón. _________________________________
23) Del grupo que sigue nombrar tres cosas que más le gustaron y tres que menos le gustaron de su trabajo en PAIT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Le gusta</th>
<th>No le gusta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Los trabajos que realizó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Compañerismo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Cosas técnicas que aprendió</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) El horario de trabajo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Hacer algo útil para la comunidad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) El lugar del trabajo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Comentarios de sus vecinos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Tener su dinero propio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Salir de la casa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Otro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24) ¿Cómo se enteró del trabajo de PAIT?
- Periódico [ ]
- T.V. [ ]
- Radio [ ]
- Amigos [ ]
- Parlantes [ ]
- Otro [ ]

25) ¿Quién le dio la idea de trabajar para el PAIT?
- Usted misma [ ]
- Amigos [ ]
- Su marido [ ]
- Otros [ ]

26) ¿Qué dijo tu marido al principio sobre tu trabajo en el PAIT?

27) ¿Cambió la actitud de su marido después de un tiempo?
- SI [ ]
- NO [ ]
- Si cambió, explicar cómo:

28) Antes de su trabajo en PAIT quién decía en su hogar sobre los siguientes temas: (Poner Y si fue Usted, M si fue su marido, J si lo hicieron juntos, O si fueron otras personas)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Usted</th>
<th>Marido</th>
<th>Juntos</th>
<th>Otros</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) A qué colegio deben ir los niños</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Si Usted puede salir sola a pasear</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Gastos para reparar o construir la casa</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Si Usted debe tener un trabajo pagado</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) La ropa que se compra para los niños</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) La carrera que deben estudiar los hijos</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Hasta qué hora puede estar en la calle Usted</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Hasta qué hora puede estar en la calle su esposa</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29) Después de haber trabajado en el PAIT ¿quién toma las decisiones sobre los temas anteriores? (Marcar en la segunda columna)
30) Después de haber trabajado en el PAIT:

a) Va Usted a reuniones sociales
   i) Con menos frecuencia que antes [ ]
   ii) Con más frecuencia que antes [ ]
   iii) Igual que antes [ ]

b) ¿Su actitud hacia las otras mujeres ha cambiado? Sí [ ] No [ ]
   Si la respuesta es Sí, explique cómo:

_____________________________________________________

c) Discute Usted sobre las decisiones que se toman en su hogar:
   i) Máis que antes [ ]
   ii) Menos que antes [ ]
   iii) Igual que antes [ ]

d) ¿Usted ha cambiado la organización de las cosas que debe hacer durante el día?
   Sí [ ] No [ ]
   Si la respuesta es Sí, explique cómo_____________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________

e) ¿Su actitud hacia los hombres ha cambiado? Sí [ ] No [ ]
   Si la respuesta es Sí, explique cómo _______________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________

f) ¿Su actitud hacia las tareas de los hijos ha cambiado? Sí [ ] No [ ]
   Si la respuesta es Sí, explique cómo: _______________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________

g) ¿Su actitud ante las autoridades ha cambiado? Sí [ ] No [ ]
   Si la respuesta es Sí, explique cómo_____________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________
31) ¿Por qué dejó de trabajar en el PAIT?
   a) Terminó el programa [ ]
   b) Usted se enfermó [ ]
   c) Su marido no estaba de acuerdo [ ]
   d) El trabajo era muy duro [ ]
   e) El sueldo era muy bajo [ ]
   f) Otro __________________________

32) Cuando dejó de trabajar en el PAIT ¿buscó otro trabajo pagado? Sí [ ] No [ ]
   ¿Por qué? __________________________________________

33) Si la respuesta fue Sí ¿qué tipo de trabajo que busco?
   a) De obrera en una fábrica [ ]
   b) En un puesto de mercado [ ]
   c) Empleada [ ]
   d) Ambulante [ ]
   e) Otro __________________________

34) Necesitaba dinero para empezar este trabajo? Sí [ ] No [ ]
   Si la respuesta es Sí indique de dónde lo consiguió __________________________

35) ¿Cómo buscó el trabajo?
   a) A través de amigas del PAIT [ ]
   b) A través de otros amigos [ ]
   c) A través de la familia [ ]
   d) Caminando por la calle [ ]
   e) Otro __________________________

36) a) ¿Consiguió el trabajo pagado? Sí [ ] No [ ]
   b) Si la respuesta es Sí, qué trabajo consiguió?
      i) El que buscaba [ ]
      ii) Otro mejor que el que buscaba [ ]
      iii) Otro peor que el que buscaba [ ]
      iv) Otro parecido al que buscaba [ ]

38) ¿Cómo era el nuevo trabajo comparado con PAIT?
   a) Mejor que el PAIT [ ]
   b) Peor que el PAIT [ ]
   c) Otro __________________________
   ¿Por qué? __________________________________________

288
ESTAS PREGUNTAS SON OPCIONALES

39) ¿Qué edad tiene Usted? _____________________________

40) ¿Cuál es su estado civil?
   Soltera [ ] Viuda [ ] Conviviente [ ] Casada [ ]

41) ¿Qué documentos tiene?
   LE [ ] Partida de nacimiento [ ] Partida de matrimonio [ ]
   LM/Boleto [ ] Pasaporte [ ] Otro______________________________

42) ¿Fue Usted al colegio? Sí [ ] No [ ]
   Si responde Sí, ¿cuál es su nivel de educación?
   a) Primaria incompleta [ ] c) Secundaria incompleta [ ]
   b) Primaria completa [ ] d) Secundaria completa [ ]
   e) Superior [ ]

43) a) Cuando Usted trabajó en PAIT, ¿cuántos hijos tenía? [ ]
   b) ¿Cuántos vivían en la casa? [ ] ¿Cuántos trabajaban? [ ]

44) ¿Quiénes más vivían en su hogar cuando trabajaba en PAIT?
   __________________________________________________________

45) ¿Quién gana el dinero para mantener a su familia ahora?
   __________________________________________________________

********************************************************************************************************************

NOMBRE ______________________________________________________
ZONA____________________________________ NUMERO DE REFERENCIA _________
TIEMPO QUE DEMORÓ LA ENTREVISTA _________
A QUE HORA SE HIZO LA ENTREVISTA___________

Tipo de casa:
Adobe [ ] Estera [ ] Ladrillo [ ] Otro_________________________

Electricidad:
Ninguna [ ] Legal [ ] Ilegal [ ] No sabe [ ]
Appendix ii

Open ended questions for family members

CUESTIONARIO PARA LA FAMILIA O VECINOS
DE LAS OBRERAS DE PAIT

1) ¿Sabía Usted que su señora/familiar/vecina trabajaba en el PAIT?  
   Si [ ]  No [ ]  
   Si la respuesta es sí por cuanto tiempo? [ ]

2) ¿Qué hacía su señora/familiar/vecina con su tiempo antes de trabajar en PAIT?

3) ¿Mientras trabajó en PAIT su señora/familiar/vecina cambió la organización de casa?  
   Si [ ]  No [ ]  
   Si la respuesta es Sí, ¿cómo? _______________________________________

4) ¿Mientras trabajó en PAIT su señora/familiar/vecina cambió el trato con sus hijos?  
   Si [ ]  No [ ]  
   Si la respuesta es Sí, ¿cómo? _______________________________________

5) ¿Mientras trabajó en PAIT su señora/familiar/vecina cambió el trato con los demás miembros de su familia?  
   Si [ ]  No [ ]  
   Si la respuesta es Sí, ¿cómo? _______________________________________

6) ¿Mientras trabajó en PAIT su señora/familiar/vecina cambió su trato con los vecinos?  
   Si [ ]  No [ ]  
   Si la respuesta es Sí, ¿cómo? _______________________________________

7) ¿Mientras trabajó en PAIT su señora/familiar/vecina cambió su forma de vestir?  
   Si [ ]  No [ ]  
   Si la respuesta es Sí, ¿cómo? _______________________________________

8) ¿Mientras trabajó en PAIT su señora/familiar/vecina cambió su forma de hablar?  
   Si [ ]  No [ ]  
   Si la respuesta es Sí, ¿cómo? _______________________________________
9) ¿Mientras trabajó en PAIT su señora/familiar/vecina estaba fuera de la casa con
   (i) Menos frecuencia que antes [ ]
   (ii) Más frecuencia que antes [ ]
   (iii) Igual [ ]

10) Si contestó "con más frecuencia" en la pregunta anterior, a donde iba? ________________________________

11) ¿Su señora/familiar/vecina conversó con Usted sobre el PAIT?  Si [ ] No [ ]
   Si la respuesta es Sí ¿Qué comentó? ________________________________

12) Usted vio algún cambio en la persona de su señora/familiar/vecina durante su tiempo en PAIT  Si [ ] No [ ]
   Si la respuesta es Sí qué vio? ________________________________

13) ¿Qué hizo su señora/familiar/vecina cuando dejó de trabajar en el PAIT?
   ________________________________

GRACIAS

*************************************************************************

¿Cuál es su relación con la obrera en PAIT? ______________

Edad [ ]  Sexo [ ]
Appendix iii

Interviews with PAIT employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of Interviews</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lima: Villa María</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima: José Galvez</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima: La Tablada</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andahuaylas: San Jerónimo</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix iv

List of Interviews

(programme officials and interested parties)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Hector Pozo: COOPOP director, Andahuaylas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Nick Houghton, ILO Lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Juan Crusado Mantilla Director General of COOPOP Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>TACIF, Peruvian NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Parent-teacher committee, school refurbished by PAIT in La Tablada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Head-teacher, school refurbished by PAIT in La Tablada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>David Vargas, Director of PAIT/COOPOP Villa María del Triunfo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Director of PAIT/COOPOP Sector 10 (San Juan de Dios)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>David Vargas, Director of PAIT/COOPOP Villa María del Triunfo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>PAIT psychologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Gustavo Gutiérrez, COOPOP Andahuaylas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Co-ordinator of PRAIT, San Jerónimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>José Perez Carrer, Director of PRAIT, Andahuaylas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Fidel Rivas, Micro Région, Andahuaylas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix v

Archive Work and Sampling
The PAIT regional offices have archives relating to the activities of PAIT since its creation in 1985. The archives in Villa María del Triunfo and Andahuaylas served as sources of three types of data:

a) The names and addresses of all employees who had worked with PAIT in those areas during the García government. This acted as a source from which to select a random sample of employees for the questionnaire;

b) Information on the socio-economic background of each member of the work force;

c) The type, size and quantity of projects implemented;

The socio-economic background of workers was recorded on record sheets when people first applied for acceptance into PAIT. These records noted basic information such as the sex, marital status, number of children, current employment status and the job workers were being recruited for and their address.

In the case of Andahuaylas the complete records of all workers were copied from the archives, totalling 477. In Villa María del Triunfo, the workers were so numerous that sampling selected every fifth record sheet per project. All projects in every campaign in José Galvez, Villa María Cercano and La Tablada were used to obtain a sample of employees. I decided to choose every fifth record sheet because the total sample needed to be of a sufficient size to make it representative for later statistical analysis. Individual projects usually comprised one or two cuadrillas of 30 - 40 people and this meant that the overall sample had between 8 and 16 women who had worked on the same project.
In La Tablada there was only evidence from three campaigns (periods of PAIT activity) which yielded 42 record sheets where as in José Galvez there were four, giving a sample size of 55. In Villa María Cercano there were as many as six campaigns during the García administration, which provided the largest sample of 90 records. In total the potential sample size selected for Lima was 187 (of which, 104 were eventually located for the questionnaire survey).

As well as providing information about the socio-economic structure of the PAIT labour force, the personal record sheet was also used to create the sample population for the questionnaire survey. The addresses and names of employees were noted in order to compile a list of people to be visited at a later date. In the case of Andahuaylas the record sample was so large that in compiling the list, locations closest to San Jerónimo, Talavera or Andahuaylas itself were chosen. In total a list of 100 in each area was compiled (of which 111 were eventually located for the questionnaire survey).

The local PAIT archives also yielded information about the duration of each PAIT campaign, the number of projects implemented, the type of tasks carried out, the number of people required and the location of these activities. While the budgets for each project were also in the offices access to these was not permitted.

**Problems of access to information**

Access to documentation was particularly troublesome in the case of Villa María del triunfo where I was never able to find the record sheets for several campaigns and where I was told that descriptions of individual projects had been ‘removed’. I was able to track down the person accused of taking them who admitted having his ‘personal’ copy and showed it to me promising access to his archives. After about 5 months of asking to be allowed to see these documents I had to abandon this source as I realised the political scandal associated with the archives disappearance was causing the delay.

In Andahuaylas a similar delay occurred with the archives. COOPOP records indicated that hardly any women had worked in emergency employment in the area. Yet, evidence from my interviews strongly contradicted this data. After a long search, which included
tracking down previous administrators, I established that certain aspects of the programme were managed by the Micro Región not COOPOP and that all the more complete records were housed there. After several hours of looking in dusting rooms I eventually found the women’s archives stored in an abandoned bathroom, stacked on top of the toilet seat and covered in mice droppings and dead cockroaches!
# Appendix vi

## The Number and Location of Questionnaire Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lima: Villa María</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima: La Tablada</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima: José Galvez</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>87</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andahuaylas: San Jerónimo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andahuaylas: Talavera</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andahuaylas: Cercano</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>99</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>99</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Andrade, A. y D. Cordano 1987. Las organizaciones económicas populares de San Martín de Porres: el caso de los vendedores ambulantes y las talleristas de tejido. En


300


El Comercio 10/6/89


La República 23/11/86.


McDowel, L. 1992 Space Place and Difference: a Review of Ten Years of Feminist Geography unpublished paper department of Geography UCL.


