

Gender Roles and Rural-Urban Divide in the Peruvian Andes: An Analysis of the District of San Marcos

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I . Introduction

Strict division of gender roles is a prominent feature of the Andean social life (Babb 1985; Deere and León 1981; Mitchell 1986, ch2). The strict division of gender roles in the Andes has been articulated through rather contrasting concepts, such as the term like complementarity (Silverblatt 1987, 147) which assumes egalitarian gender relationships in contrast to the concept of gender subordination (Stein 2003, 426) which prioritizes inequality and violence committed based on gender. The presence of contrasting perspectives on gender roles in the Peruvian Andes implicates that the division of gender roles encompasses not only technical division of labor by gender but distinctive gender ideologies

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often termed as *marianismo* and *machismo*¹⁾, shaping the social order of the Andean societies. The presence of such strict division of gender roles in the Andean societies runs parallel to a series of dualist imageries which are often evoked for the analysis of the Peruvian societies including the dichotomy between highlands and coasts (del Castillo 2003); the Indians and mestizos (Sørensen and Sorensen 2003); countryside and townspeople (Stein 1985); Indian and ladino (de la Cadena 2001); Quechua and Spanish (García 2003). These dichotomous entities of Peru have been elaborated through the ‘two Peru’ trope (Mayer 1991, 477-478) where the simplified categories of ‘official Peru’ and ‘deep Peru’ are conceptualized as an umbrella term provoking specific correlations to these dualist entities (e.g., ‘official Peru’ associated with coasts, mestizoes, townspeople, ladino or Spanish while ‘deep Peru’ portrayed through highlands, Indians, countryside or Quechua).

The purpose of this article is to analyze variations in gender roles within the Peruvian Andean societies which are normally correlated with the ‘deep Peru’ category in the ‘two Peru’ trope. To identify diversities in gender roles within the Peruvian Andean societies will enable me to question the tendency of the dualist imageries which ends up portraying the Andean culture as an endogenous and homogeneous entity (This tendency has been widely criticized by scholars on the Andean culture, see del Castillo 2003; Starn 1994; Zoomers and Salman 2003). For this purpose, this article presents a case study of the correlation between gender roles and diversified social and economic structures of the Peruvian Andes which are approached from the vantage point of rural-urban divide. To analyze how gender crosscuts with distinctive social entities drawn by the rural-urban divide, I first

1) *Marianismo* normally refers to the ideology legitimatizing women’s superiority in the decision making of economic and moral matters inside the household while *machismo* refers to the male authority in the public sphere as a household representative (Bourque and Warren 1981, 78).

compare women's life history in the commercial town and rural villages of San Marcos, a field site of this study located in the northern Peruvian Andes, and examine how women in the town and countryside are differently positioned in their experiences and choices. After comparing four women's life experiences, I analyze how rural-urban divide is reflected in gender relations, generating distinctive gender roles in the town and countryside of San Marcos. In view of the literature on gender in the Peruvian Andes, this article identifies three analytic frameworks to analyze gender roles in San Marcos which are defined as follows: 1) the type of productive labor and sexual division of labor; 2) household composition; 3) community organization.

II. Rural-urban divide of San Marcos

Located in the northern Peruvian Andes, the district of San Marcos has a total population of 10,725 persons among whom approximately 3,332 residents live in the commercial town and the rest belong to rural villages (INEI 2005). The commercial town and rural villages of San Marcos are distinguished not only in their geographical and ecological conditions but in their socioeconomic structures. Nested at the valley floor, the town which also becomes a capital city of the district simply referred to as San Marcos operates as a center of traffic through which movements among and within diverse levels of rural and urban sectors are made. Hosting a series of administrative and commercial institutions, the town also exists as a center of political and economic life of San Marcos. The concentration of economic and social functions in the town has enabled people in the town to have a broad range of occupations including small business, market trade, administrative work, school teaching, private sector employment in the mining company or in the health center among the others. The importance of the town as a center of administrative and economic activities has grown since the mineral

production of the Compañía Minera Antamina (CMA) began in 2001 which has accelerated the urbanization of San Marcos.²⁾ In contrast to rather homogenous ecological configurations of the town area, rural villages are spread across a broad range of elevation from 2,760 meters up to 4,700 meters above sea level with varied topographical features including valley floor, ravine regions characterized by steep slopes and rocky terrain, and puna region (the high Andean plateau). While subsistent farming is a major means of living in rural villages, diverse micro-climates make the scope and mode of agro-pastoral production of each village differ by its elevation. The most important and oldest institution in rural villages is the peasant community (*comunidad campesina*) through which most of community decisions are made including the allocation of communal properties. A total number of 28 peasant communities are currently registered in the district and five of them are classified as a Population Center (*Centro Poblado Menor*) based on the total size of residents which needs to be over 500 adult persons.

While these dissimilar economic activities as well as the presence of separate socio-political institutions in the town and countryside make the boundary between them seem somewhat fixed and permanent, it should be noted that they are dependent on each other to maintain and reproduce their systems. The interdependence between the town and countryside becomes obvious simply by tracing the flow of goods and people. Specifically, sustained by subsistent farming, rural villages rely on the market place of the town for the purchase of goods that are not locally produced such as household commodities, processed foods, dairy products, fruits and vegetables. Even though their proportion in the

2) Between 1993 and 2005, the total population of the urban area in San Marcos has grown from 2,794 to 3,332 persons while the population in the rural area has decreased from 8,876 to 7,393 persons. With this change, the proportion of urban population to the total population has increased from 24 percent to 31 percent while the proportion of rural population has decreased from 76 percent to 69 percent during the same period (INEI 1993; 2005).

whole market place is not considerable, locally cultivated agro-pastoral products or simple meals prepared at home like chicha (drink made by fermented maize) and chocho (cooked white beans mixed with onions, tomatoes, and fried corns) as well comprise important items exchanged at the urban market, in this case peasant women participating as a vendor at an irregular basis. As local peasants are dependent on the urban market place for the purchase of basic goods, they constitute the second largest clientele group for the tradesmen in the town after the residents in the town area who comprise the most important client (Macrogestión 2008, 47). The importance of the market economy in the town also stems from the fact that it operates as a major channel through which people in rural villages get involved in cash economy, both as a consumer and as a seller, which is not fully developed inside the countryside.

The town and countryside are also interconnected through the movement of people. As a source of supplementary income in rural economy, temporary labor migration is normally practiced at a seasonal or temporary basis which seldom exceeds six months in its total duration with a favorite destination to coastal cities such as Huaraz, Huacho, and Lima. While temporary labor migration is conventionally practiced by married adult men in rural villages as a survival strategy, rural to urban migration within the district is more extensively practiced by the younger generations who move to the town with an intention to permanently leave their home villages and start their career at the urban basis. According to the census data of Macrogestión (2008, 24), more than half the population in the town was born in other regions, and has migrated and settled down in the town. It also indicates that one out of four persons in the town was born in rural villages. These rural migrants in the town play a central role as an intermediary between the town and countryside through their kinship or fictive kinship ties.

III. Women's life experiences in the town and countryside

In this part, I examine four women's life history in San Marcos. To compare the life cycle of women in the town and countryside will elucidate how women are positioned differently in their choices and strategies throughout their life depending on a myriad of factors including not only changes in personal situations such as education, employment, marriage, divorce, childbearing, migration but also social structures in which they are involved such as sociopolitical events, economic opportunities, social networking, etc. For data collection, fieldwork was carried out for a total duration of 15 months spanning from January 2006 to December 2008 in the town of San Marcos and in two peasant communities of Carhuayoc and Huaripampa. Primary research methods were in-depth interview, open-ended survey and participant observation. Data on baseline survey were collected through open-ended survey. Usually, but not always, open-ended survey became a starting point to progress into an in-depth interview which allowed me to share a life history of the interviewee. Participant observation was conducted in a variety of places such as the informants' houses, *chacra* (outside field), market places, public meetings, streets, restaurants, etc.

Case 1) Juana in the commercial town of San Marcos (52 year old)³⁾

As one of the most successful merchants in the commercial town, Juana and her husband, Filo, are a very well respected couple in San Marcos. Coming from low rank peasant families, local respect toward them is very much related to the fact that they have made their own way by working hard. Born in a small hamlet, Filo moved to the town when he was a teenager to help an old widow who was running alone a small

3) To protect the privacy of interview participants, I am using pseudonyms to refer to the interview participants throughout this article.

lodging house in the town area. As a hard working person, he found out after working for the lady for several years that he finally won the trust of the lady who did not have any offspring or any other close relatives, and who at last decided to leave her property to this diligent young man. The inheritance from the lady as well as a decade-long experience that he had built up working for her enabled him to become a very promising trader in San Marcos. Moreover, Juana, who was 10 years younger than Filo, was a very trustful and devoted wife becoming the most reliable co-worker of Filo's business. As soon as he inherited the lodging house from the lady, Filo and Juana converted part of the space into a restaurant. Although the administration of the restaurant was in charge of Filo, Juana became a practical hand in the business as she cooked and waited on the customers while Filo frequently stayed outside searching for additional economic resources, especially taking care of the agricultural cultivation in his chacra which he had inherited from his parents.

The business of Filo and Juana had gone through several ups and downs. The biggest challenge came up in the late 1980s when the guerilla movement of the Shining Path made its presence in San Marcos, provoking insecurities to local merchants in the town area. Filo and Juana decided to temporarily leave for Lima with their four children. The savings would cover them to survive a couple of years in Lima until political and social turmoil driven by the Shining Path would calm down. After spending a couple of years in Lima, they came back to San Marcos in the early 1990s without a dime at hand. Their oldest daughter, Maria, decided to stay in Lima searching for a job. It was not difficult to resume their business in San Marcos because they maintained the ownership of their property in San Marcos while they were staying in Lima. As their business in the lodging house and restaurant start getting back on track, they sent other three children to Maria in Lima so that they could study and find a job over there. The arrival of CMA in San Marcos during the late 1990s represented a crucial opportunity to Filo

and Juana. Located in the Main Square (*Plaza de Armas*) area, their restaurant soon became a favorite for visitors. Moreover, Filo differed from other local merchants in that he was astute enough to make an investment with the capital that Juana and he had accumulated so that they could buy a local space near the main square and change it into a five-story hotel with modern facilities, which would make them one of the wealthiest merchants in the town within a few years. The expansion and success of their business did not change a lot everyday activities of Juana and Filo. Juana has continued cooking at the restaurant serving the customers while Filo became more dedicated to the administration of hotel. These days, Filo and Juana are considering the possibility of handing over the management of the hotel to their oldest daughter who is in need of cash for her children's education in a private school in Lima.

Case 2) Rosa in the commercial town of San Marcos (29 year old)

Born in the *puna*, she is the fifth among her nine siblings. Her experience in the city started very early when she was still an elementary school student. Entrusted to her uncle's family who were running a small restaurant in Lima, she spent most of her adolescent period helping her uncle's business in Lima. She reflects her life in the city as challenging because it presented further opportunities as well as frustration and insecurity. After graduating from high school in Lima, she came back to San Marcos to continue studying for a higher level of education at the technology institute, a single higher educational institution in the region run by the state free of tuition. Studying the computer science at the institute, she recalls how she used to walk to the school in the town from her house at *puna* as she could not afford for transportation, a trip normally taking some six hours on foot. Having many siblings has been a great advantage in her life because her older ones had already explored life outside the *puna* providing her a place to

stay when she needed it. While studying at the institute, she fell in love with a young man who came for work to San Marcos from a coastal city near Lima. The relationship evolved very quickly and they started living together in the commercial town without legally getting married.

The relationship with her husband, Miguel, represented an important breakthrough in her life. First of all, it signified a permanent break from her home village of the *puna*. Temporarily visiting once or twice per year mostly to get together with her parents and her youngest sister who stays in the *puna* along with parents, she confesses that she is not comfortable with living in the *puna* any more. The climate is too harsh for her and she cannot bear the inconvenience of living without facilities which are easily accessible in the town. The marriage with Miguel also signified an access to a range of new networks which Miguel has built up through his family relations in the coastal city as well as through his work in San Marcos. As Miguel's monthly salary barely covered their daily living costs in the town, Rosa started making money by cooking for Miguel's colleagues who came from outside cities for work and thus normally ate all their meals at local restaurants. While Rosa cooked and served, Miguel managed earnings obtained through Rosa's labor. After cooking meals for two years, Rosa succeeded in persuading Miguel to let her have a separate share of the earnings so that she rents a small piece of farm land in the coastal city near the Miguel's parents' house. Based on her experience in the *chacra* as a child, she decided to plant garlic in the farm for commercial purposes, regularly staying for a duration of one or two months at the house of her parents-in-law to take care of the farm. The marriage has worked very well economically and emotionally both to Rosa and Miguel. However, the only concern was that they have not been successful in having a child, which makes Rosa and Miguel sad and depressed. Sometimes, they feel that it is useless to work hard because they are afraid that they will not have anyone to inherit their property as they get older.

Case 3) Eugenia in the peasant community of Carhuayoc (37 year old)

These days, Eugenia is often seen walking around the village with an anxious look. It was a misfortune that the accident of her two sons happened one after another. Even though her sons were slightly wounded from the accidents, she still realizes that the money that she has at hand will not be sufficient to cover for the medicines that the doctor at the medical post prescribed. She is thinking that probably Juan, a local coordinator of the *plan piloto*, would help her to get selected for the next round of job assignment because he saw her entering the medical post in the town yesterday. Otherwise, she will have to talk with Raulo, her husband, this Saturday when he comes back home from the *puna* for a break to see if he has any money available for the boys. Although it was a relief that Tina, her oldest daughter, could settle down in Lima with her oldest son, Julio, helping their uncle at the restaurant, it will still take several years so that they start making money to be of any help to the family. These days, she finds out that it is becoming much more expensive to take care of her 6 children who are too young to go out for work to the city. It has been a long time ago that they spent all the money for living which they had received from the Antamina company in return for the land in Yanacancha. She realizes that after selling the land, they cannot count on cattle in the *puna* any more through which they used to feed the children. Except a small portion of potato that she receives once a year from her sister in the *puna*, it is frustrating that she should buy all the food for her family from the local market with such a small amount of money that Julio bring by working either as a carpenter at the *puna* or as a *jornal* (daily laborer) at the Contonga mine. It is amazing to see her children growing up so fast. However, she often feels that life is too harsh for her with too many responsibilities. She hopes not to have any more child, although Julio does not permit her to use any contraceptive measure.

Case 4) Auristela in the peasant community of Huaripampa (35 year old)

Born in Huaripampa as a second one of three children, Auristela is a mother of four children. Although she feels these days that she has finally found some peace in her life, she sometimes gets anxious that this peaceful time would not last long. It still hurts to recall her childhood because it reminds her of the absence or abuse from her father who used to spend most of his time drunken, and the abuse from her mother who sometimes became violent towards her and her siblings. After dropping the school at the third year of the elementary school, she cannot still write well which has always been an obstacle whenever she attempted to get any decent job outside her home village. When she was eighteen year old, she went to Lima expecting to have a chance to change her life. In Lima, she stayed about 7 years, 4 years working as a housemaid, and 3 years working as a servant at a small restaurant. Working in Lima was not easy particularly because job paid very little from which she could barely make any saving and because there were many people who abused her and tried to take advantage of her. This was one of the major reasons why she agreed to come back to her home village with Jorge, a young guy from a small highland village in San Marcos, whom she met in Lima. She was glad that she finally could have a separate space with Jorge in her home village where only her mother stays alone after all other families left to the city. Planting some vegetables at a small plot of in-house chacra, Jorge worked irregularly as a paid worker in the town of San Marcos. When he finished training at a job-training center in the town as a cook based on his experience in Lima and when his training paid off enabling him to find a job at the mine as an assistant cook, she was very glad that he would finally bring money home regularly. However, it did not take long that he stopped coming back home, and she found out that he got engaged with other woman who was living in other rural village near their house. Jorge stopped giving her money as he got involved in other relationship. Left

with three children, she realized that she has no other resource to feed her three children. Then, she started making chicha and sold it sometimes in her home village and other times in the market place of the town. To make a living as a single mother was not easy at all. Although her mother sometimes helped her to take care of her children, she struggled to let Jorge pay certain portion of his salary for the maintenance of their three children. In a couple of years later, she met another guy, Manuel, in the same village who was five years younger than she. He was very nice to her and her children and he used to buy some stuffs such as cloths and shoes for her children. As they got to know each other better, they decided to live together and they rented a small space to use as their room. Two years after living together, she gave a birth to a daughter with Manuel, who is making their relationship very stable. Still, she continues to turn in a petition to the judicial center in Huari so that Jorge starts paying monthly alimony for their children.

Implications

Women's life experiences reveal an important dimension of how the range of choices that women make in their life is constrained both by personal situations and by socioeconomic factors. First of all, the above cases imply that women, whether they are from the town or rural villages, usually have certain experience of living in the coastal city, which is related to the high frequency of rural-urban migration in the region. Rural-urban migration among women mostly takes place either as a single young woman or along with family members once they get married. Temporary labor migration as a single woman is an important channel through which local women get exposed to cash economy and participate as a salaried labor force mostly in the form of housemaid or restaurant helper. Second, the above cases show that women's economic access is largely determined by their marital relationships. The cases all show that women actively participate in productive activities whether

they are based in rural or urban setting even though the degree and intensity of their participation varies depending on a number of factors such as the extent of their responsibilities for reproductive labor, the range of productive activities that are available, education, or age. Despite such extensive engagement of women in productive activities, their access to economic resources seems to be highly determined by their marital relationship. For instance, the experience of Juana and Rosa illustrate how they got engaged in commercial activities in the urban economy through the mediation of their male partner's resources including capital for business (in the case of Juana) or networks (in the case of Rosa). On the other hand, the experiences of Eugenia and Auristela illustrate that their attachment to rural economy constrains their access to commercial activities. The participation of women in rural villages in productive activities seems to be mostly concerned with agricultural production which is unremunerated by its nature. In the absence of male partner's economic support, Auristela had to get engaged in commercial activity as a street vendor. However, the lack of capital as well as responsibilities for reproductive labor compelled her commitment to the street vending to become irregular and temporary. Although the idea of man as a household breadwinner was strongly observed both in the town and in the countryside, women in rural villages seem to be more dependent on their male partner as a source of household income compared to women in the commercial town, which is related to the condition where peasant women have much less access to cash economy compared to women in the commercial town.

IV. Gender roles and rural-urban divide

In view of studies on gender roles in the Peruvian Andes, this article identifies three broad sets of organization through which variations in gender roles have been explained in these studies. The first category

relates to the type of productive labor and sexual division of labor. Susan Bourque and Kay Warren's (1981) comparative analysis in the two Andean communities offers an important point of reference in this aspect. After comparing gender ideology and sexual division of labor in the commercial center of Chiuchin and the agricultural village of Mayobamba, Bourque and Warren come up with the observation that while "women in both places are not free from sexual hierarchy or limitations of sex role stereotyping (1981, 148)," the greater accessibility to capital among women in Chuichin enables them to take a better share of resources and to achieve higher social status with less mediation from their male partners or male family members compared to peasant women in Mayobamba. Several anthropological studies on the market women in the Andean towns in Peru (Babb 1989; de la Cadena 1995; Seligmann 2004) also come up with relevant observations regarding how market women differently experience sexual hierarchy and sex role stereotyping compared to peasant women.

The second category is concerned with household composition. The resource deficiency in the Andean highland intensifies the unequal resource allocation among households, accelerating stratification among households within the community (Deere 1990; Mayer 2002, 38, 114, 209). While there can be diverse factors causing this stratification among households, this article is particularly interested in Deere's (1990) observation that the domestic cycle of each household is one of the major determinants dictating the status of each household within the community. To operationalize the domestic cycle of each household, this article examines whether the household is male-headed or female headed. In the Andes, it has been extensively observed that the absence of male head either by death, divorce, migration, or abandonment significantly changes women's status within household and women's daily responsibilities (Bourque and Warren 1981, 36).

The third category is related to the type of communal organizations that women are involved in. It is well noted that households in the

Andes are strongly and extensively interconnected each other for their livelihood (de la Cadena and Mayer 1989; Mayer 2002, 33). As Marisol de la Cadena ably points out, “households cooperate because they have to.” (re-quoted from Mayer 2002, 37). This condition of interdependence of households leads them to acknowledge community as a key institution which manages common property and decides how to allocate and consume resources (Mayer 2002, 39-41). Peasant community is a focal point not only in economic aspect but also in political dimension of village life in the Andes. Whereas peasant community takes a central position in determining the village livelihood, prevailing sex role stereotyping assists it to be a male dominant space where women are likely to participate in community management tasks either through their male family member’s mediation or through the participation in separate grassroots organizations like *Club de Madre* (mother’s club) or *Vaso de Leche* (glass of milk).

Type of productive labor and sexual division of labor

As the women’s life experiences display, women actively and extensively participate in productive activities whether they are based at the town or rural villages. In spite of such women’s important role in productive activities of both economies, the type of women’s labor and the degree of their responsibilities compared to their male partners differ considerably because of the distinctive economic structures between the commercial town and rural villages. In particular, in the case of rural villages, women’s productive activities mostly take place in the arena of subsistent agricultural production. The labor-intensive nature of subsistent agro-pastoral production, which has a household as its basic production unit, involves the engagement of diverse family members as its labor force which include not only nuclear and extended family members but also fictive kinship networks. The extensive labor participation in agro-pastoral production, however, takes place within a

scheme where each task is rather strictly divided among family members by their sex, age, and particular availabilities.

The sexual division of labor in subsistent agricultural production which I have observed in Carhuayoc and Huaripampa during the field work corroborates the general patterns presented by the relevant literature on the subject (Barrig 2001; Bastos 2007; Deere 1982; Deere and León 1981; Elena et al. 1993; Mayer and Glave 1999; Mitchell 1986). Sexual division of labor in agricultural production of these communities can be examined from its three aspects. The first aspect is related to what Deere and León calls as the “technical division” which takes place by a particular task in the process of work (1981, 341). This type of labor division in agriculture reflects the widespread attitude which perceives agricultural work being composed of gender-specific tasks. The table 1 describes how each task is divided by gender in agricultural production in Carhuayoc and Huaripampa.

<Table 1> Technical division of labor by gender in Carhuayoc and Huaripampa

	Men's Task	Women's Task
Agricultural activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • plow • plant • thresh • lift heavy loads • apply fertilizer and pesticide • fix tools • repair infrastructural facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • plant • process grains • prepare products for storage • prepare meals for field workers • sort potatoes • sell crops at a market
Animal husbandry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kill animals • butcher • buy and sell livestock 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fetch grass and water • graze and herd animals • clean animal • collect eggs • shear sheep • buy and sell livestock • sell animal products at market

Source: elaborated by the author based on the field work, reference was also made from Knox-seith 1995, 138-139; Mitchell 1986, 95-97

The list of sex-specified tasks in table 1 indicates that men's tasks are mostly concentrated on the work at the outside field (*chacra*) while women's responsibilities encompass a more broad range of tasks which are concerned not only with the work at the field but also with agricultural processing and servicing work such as handling grains, storing, selling, and preparing meals for the field laborers. Moreover, the list in animal husbandry illustrates that women take more extensive responsibilities compared to their male partners, working as a primary care-taker of animal while men's role is rather supplementary to women's labor. The greater responsibility of women in animal care partially stems from the situation where the majority of local people in the researched villages raise only small house animals such as chicken, guinea pig, pig, rabbit, or sheep with a slight importance of big farm animals such as horse or cow. The division drawn in the table 1 is normally abided by when there is a presence of both female and male labor forces at the household. However, there are moments when the division becomes flexible especially when there is an absence of adult labor force due to migration, accident, death, or other reasons.

The second aspect of sexual division of labor in rural economy is concerned with sexually divided household space. As the sex-specific tasks in table 1 indicate, men's tasks mostly take place in the outside field site (*chacra*) while the majority of women's productive labor is carried out inside the house such as animal care, agricultural processing and storing work. The sexually divided household space in which women's work mostly takes place inside the house while men's are usually carried out outside the house is also concerned with women's greater responsibilities in reproductive labor such as child care, cooking, laundering, and house cleaning, which should mostly be done inside the house. As Deere and León note that women's responsibilities for reproductive labor are rather homogenous cross-culturally in comparison with productive ones (1981, 339), women both in rural villages and in the town take full responsibilities for reproductive labor

while men's responsibilities tend to be complementary or improvised. Despite such similarities of women's responsibilities for reproductive labor, higher fertility rate⁴⁾ and undersupplied facilities in rural villages seem to make peasant women's burden on reproductive labor much greater compared to that of women in the commercial town.

The third aspect of sexual division of labor in rural villages is related to the seasonality of the agricultural cycle. Due to underprovided irrigation systems, agricultural production in San Marcos is strongly dictated by climatic changes composed of two distinctive seasons, the rainy season from November to April and the dry season from May to October. As are well noted (Knox-seith 1995, 51-91; Mayer and Glave 1999, 361), agricultural activities are carefully planned and structured in advance based on the annual calendar of agricultural cycle. The plan for a temporary labor migration is also discussed within this annual scheme. As agricultural production can barely cover household subsistent needs, income through a wage labor is indispensable for household survival. As it is frequently and extensively observed in the Andean highland societies, temporary labor migration to outside cities has been an important household strategy in rural villages of San Marcos especially before the arrival of CMA. Mostly taking place between June when the harvest season ends and October or until November when planting starts, temporary labor migration is conventionally conducted by an adult male of a married couple. The seasonality of the work in the field facilitates the mobility of married men. In the same context, women's lower mobility compared to their male partners is related to the nature of responsibilities that women are assigned with, which require a constant care and labor throughout the year such as animal care, processing and storing of agricultural products, and reproductive labor. Male temporary

4) According to the 1993's census of the INEI, the average number of children (among women at the age of 40-49) at Carhuayoc is 7, Huaripampa 7, Huaripampa alto 9, Ayash 11. The number seems to be much higher in the pastoral highland (*puna*) (e.g., Antamina 13, Ayash 11, Juprog 8, Pujun 10) while the birth rate in the commercial town is recorded to be 6 on the average.

labor migration is an important source of greater flexibilities in sexual division of labor as women are compelled to play a substitute role for their male partners in cooperation with other family members.

Compared to the strict sexual division of labor in the rural area, sexual division of productive labor in the commercial town seems to be more flexible due to the diversity of economic activities in the urban area. Women's economic engagement in the town encompasses a broad range of activities such as small-trade at the market place, school teaching, administrative jobs, service work in diverse places including restaurants, stores and hotels. Although it is extensively observed that men take the status as a manager of household income even though the income is created through the collaboration with their female partners, women in the town still have much greater and more frequent access to cash compared to peasant women because of their direct engagement in cash economy. Moreover, as women are involved in almost all the dimension of economic activities of the town and as male temporary labor migration is not such an important household strategy in the urban economy as it is in rural economy, there is not such a clear difference between men and women in their mobility. As Bourque and Warren observes (1981, 128), the greater access to cash through economic activities among women in the commercial town compared to peasant women signifies that women in the town need to go through less male intervention in managing the household economy in comparison with peasant women. Moreover, the diversity of women's economic activities in the commercial town implies that the pattern of sexual division of labor in the commercial town tends to be more complex and heterogeneous compared to rural villages.

Household composition

It is well noted that the absence of an adult male, either temporary or permanent, is a major source of changes in sexual division of labor

within the household (Bourque and Warren 1981, 36; Deere 1990, 310). The strict division of labor in the rural area which associates men's arena with the field work and wage labor and women's task with animal care, complementary agricultural work, and reproductive labor⁵⁾ operates in a contradicting manner to women in the absence of their male partners. Left without the male partner, women are forced to find a substitute male labor force either among the available family members or by hiring a paid labor. If they cannot afford any, women are eventually compelled to fulfill the tasks which have been conventionally considered as men's in addition to their ordinary tasks. While the absence of male labor force can end up intensifying women's responsibilities for productive labor especially when they do not have any access to other substitute male labor force, it can also enable women to take a more complete control of the household matters including the allocation of diverse resources. Moreover, the male absence prompts woman to take part in activities which she would have not done otherwise such as participation in temporary wage labor or in communal activities as a representative of her household. Due to the prevalence of male temporary migration in rural villages, the majority of rural households are likely to go through a period without the presence of adult male members at certain points during the year. While male labor migration serves as a condition instigating women to take a temporary household headship, the proportion of households with a permanent female headship driven by various occasions such as single motherhood,

5) Santiago Bastos explains the strict division of men's and women's household role in the Andean rural economy in relation to the perception that considers man as a provider and woman as a caretaker of the household and children (2007, 122). In his account, men and women consent with these distinctive gender-roles for pragmatic reasons considering the contractual nature of such relationship (2007, 111). A concept of "responsibility" is devised and widely circulated in order to impose a binding force to these distinctive gender-roles. Although the concept of "responsibility" is mostly used to force man to fulfill his role as a provider, it can also be used to simplify man's role at the household. In this scheme, Bastos says, the infidelity does not damage male status as a responsible head of household as long as he completes his role as a household provider (2007, 111).

divorce, death of male partner, or abandonment also comprises a substantial portion of all the households in San Marcos, which is shown in the table 2.

<Table 2> Household compositions in the town of San Marcos, Carhuayoc, and Huaripampa

	Town	Carhuayoc	Huaripampa	Huaripampa Alto
Total population	1400	720	223	237
Female population	710 (51%)	349 (48%)	120 (54%)	130 (55%)
Male population	690 (49%)	371 (52%)	103 (46%)	107 (45%)
Civil status	902	448	132	127
Consensual (conviviente)	107 (12%)	78 (18%)	25 (19%)	28 (22%)
Married	385 (43%)	157 (35%)	50 (38%)	47 (37%)
Single	349 (38%)	181 (40%)	40 (30%)	41 (32%)
Others	61 (7%)	32 (7%)	17 (13%)	11 (9%)
Household headship	318	153	53	42
Female	79 (25%)	29 (19%)	12 (23%)	6 (14%)
Male	239 (75%)	124 (81%)	41 (77%)	36 (86%)

Source: INEI-IX Censo de Población y IV de Vivienda 1993, elaborated by the author

Although the census data in the table 2 does not represent the entire local population by the time of the survey, it can, however, be used to provide an estimated look at the type of marriage and the proportion of female and male headship in the commercial town of San Marcos, Carhuayoc, and Huaripampa. According to the 1993 census data in table 2, the female headship ranges from 14 percent to 25 percent with the commercial town having a higher rate compared to Carhuayoc and Huaripampa. The specifics on how the female headship is composed are not provided by statistical data in the above table. In this respect, Deere provide the 1972 census data in Cajamarca showing that among 25 percent of the female headed households, 29 percent were widows, 23 percent were single, and 43 percent were in a relationship either through marriage or consensual relationship (1990, 310). The Cajamarca case allows me to make a speculation that the female headship in the table 2 is likely to include the household which has the absence of male adult due to temporary labor migration at the point of the survey, although it is not supported by specific data. It is also of interest the pattern provided in the table 2 which shows a relatively higher proportion of consensual couple and a lower proportion of married couple in rural villages compared to the commercial town. I could not identify any customs or socio-cultural factor during the field work in order to explain such a higher proportion of consensual union in rural villages compared to the commercial town. Nonetheless, it needs to be reminded that consensual union is a less preferred type of relationship than a legal marriage among women in Peru particularly because it does not provide the rights that women would be entitled to in a legal marriage especially after they are separated from their male partners (Bourque and Warren 1981, 100). Accordingly, I speculate the higher proportion of consensual union in rural villages compared to the commercial town might reflect the disadvantaged position of peasant women in their access to institutional resources which could be exercised through legal marriage.

Community organizations

As a legal entity entitled to the administration of communal properties, the organization of peasant community retains the binding force in rural villages through which the majority of communal matters are discussed and determined. Because of the nature of peasant community through which its community residents identify their belongings and formulate their networks that are activated not only in socio-cultural occasions but also out of economic rationale, peasant community tends to stimulate both direct and inclusive local involvement. Compared to this direct and inclusive local involvement in rural villages channeled through peasant community, the binding force of political institutions in the commercial town tends to be much weaker and more restricted in its scope. As most of the local matters are discussed and determined through the municipal bodies in the town, local participation tends to be indirect entailing various levels of intervention of governmental officers, most of whom are contracted from outside cities such as Huaraz or Lima.

The gender dimension of communal activities in the urban and rural areas of San Marcos, therefore, needs to be examined in consideration of these distinctive features of political institutions in the town and rural villages. When it comes to communal activities in rural villages, I agree with previous studies on peasant women's status in the public space of the Andes (Barrig 2001, 106; Elena et al. 1993; Harvey 1989) in considering that they tend to have much stronger representation of male residents compared to that of female residents. Male dominance in the institution of peasant community is produced and perpetuated in diverse ways. Male community membership is one of major channels through which male household headship is institutionalized. In contrast to Huaripampa where women are equally eligible for the status of comunero (official community member), male membership is abided by in Carhuayoc where women are disqualified for the status of community member when they have a presence of male household head. Having the

status of comunero is a crucial condition to live in rural villages because it entails rights to the administration and use of communal properties and greater decision making power on communal matters through the attendance on communal assemblies. In that sense, male community membership in Carhuayoc considerably prohibits women's representation at the communal assemblies institutionalizing male dominance at the public space.

Even when women are registered as a *comunera* and officially entitled to the same rights as their male partners, women's marginalization still takes place in different manners. For instance, I observed during the field work that peasant women seldom expressed their opinions in communal meetings especially when they were attending along with their male partners. In this regard, one woman in Huaripampa explains that "They (men) are very machos. You will see how women are silenced at the assembly. Sometimes when a woman speaks out, they would yell or frown at her". Peasant women's lack of participation in the public space is partially related to the lack of their language skill in Spanish.⁶⁾ High illiteracy rate and deficiency in Spanish among peasant women turn into a substantial barrier hindering women's representation at public meetings. It also reduces women's access to the leadership in local institutions, the

6) For instance, the 1993 INEI census shows that in Carhuayoc, 15 percent of men were illiterate (57 persons out of 371 male population) while the proportion almost doubled among women which was reported to be 32 percent (112 persons out of 349 women). In Huaripampa and Huaripamap Alto, the illiteracy rate among men was 20 percent (42 persons out of 210) while it more than doubled among women which was 43 percent (108 persons out of 250). The higher illiteracy rate of women compared to men is also found in the commercial town of San Marcos. According to the 1993 INEI census data, 61 men were illiterate out of 690 total male population which is 9 percent. On the other hand, the illiteracy rate among women was 15 percent which was 106 persons out of 710 surveyed women. This data indicates that the overall illiteracy rate in the commercial town is approximately half the rate in the rural villages while women were almost twice more likely to be illiterate than men in the commercial town as well as in rural villages of San Marcos.

position which requires frequent contacts with outside people who often communicate solely in Spanish.⁷⁾

Peasant women's marginalization in the public sector has been also analyzed through the concept of power. In this regard, Bourque and Warren adopt the term of influence in order to conceptualize the type and manner of control that peasant women exercise in major public organizations where male dominance has been institutionalized and perpetuated by diverse measures (1981, ch. 2). In this account, the influence is differentiated from the concept of power because the former is strategically conceived in reaction to the marginalization in order to affect or restrict the latter. In that sense, peasant women are portrayed to play a mediating role, exercising influence in somewhat informal and indirect manners in order to make an intervention in the public sphere which is controlled by the male power. Women's marginalized status at the public space is profoundly grounded on sex-role ideology defining women's status as a manager of household economy while men's as an administrator of cash economy and as a household representative in the interaction with outsiders. The high proportion of Quechua-monolingual female population underpins such dualist imagery of sex-role ideology which associates women with traditional sector and men with modern one. Moreover, the clothing habits that peasant women get dressed in traditional ways while men are not required to follow any particular dress code perpetuates such dualist imagery portraying women as a carrier of tradition while men are allowed to have greater flexibilities (Deere 1990, 307).⁸⁾

7) Although peasant women's representation at communal institutions is very much limited, there are few organizations which are created and sustained mostly by women participants like Glass of Milk (*Vaso de Leche*) or entirely by women participants such as Mother's Club (*Club de Madre*). Although these organizations are task-oriented by its nature thus having little influence in local politics, these are an important channel through which women take the leadership, taking the status of local authorities in communal meetings.

8) For instance, peasant women are clearly and immediately distinguished from women in the commercial town because of their traditional look in which they wear their hair plaited in long tails behind and they are dressed in traditional ways with the *pollera* (long skirt composed of several layers), *manta* (colored shawl which is worn all the time and used for various purposes such as to carry miscellaneous items, to carry a

Women's marginalization in the public space is also observed in the commercial town although its mode and intensity is somewhat different from the experience in rural villages. First of all, the lack of collective activities channeled through social organizations in the town reduces the room for local participation in the commercial town as a whole. There are few occasions where local people exercise influence as a decision-maker of communal matters and the majority of public meetings or events are organized through the mediation of district municipal officers. In that sense, we can consider that political structure of the commercial town marginalizes local people as a whole whether they are men or women. The feeling of alienation from political decision making in the town, thus, is elaborated with little reference to its gender dimensions. Women's marginalized status in the public space of the town, thus, tends to be more ambiguous and difficult to pinpoint compared to rural villages. Still, there are certain arenas through which we can identify women's uneven access to communal resources compared to men in the commercial town. For instance, the male dominance in high-ranking positions of the municipality such as in the position of district mayor, governor, register, etc. or male leadership in a range of organizations which were sporadically created with an intention to become a representative body in the interaction with the mine such as the *Frente de Defensa de los Intereses de San Marcos*, or the *Comite de Medio Ambiente de San Marcos* reflect how women in the town also took a secondary position to men as a decision maker of communal matters. Moreover, the absence of local organization in the commercial town which is equivalent to Mother's Club in rural villages where women socialize without any intervention of male members further deprives women in the commercial town of opportunities to represent their own gender needs and interests.

baby, to screen from rain or sunlight, or to use as a mat when during a quick break), and a dark-colored hat which is sometimes decorated with a feather or flower-shaped fabric. On the other hand, peasant men do not have a particular item that differentiates them from men in the town except a hat that they frequently but not always wear.

V. Conclusion

In this article, I explored how rural-urban divide is reflected in women's experiences and in gender relations compelling women in the town and countryside to be differently positioned in their choices, relationship and livelihood strategies. Specifically, the comparison of women's life history in the town and countryside reveals that women are actively engaged in productive activities regardless of the type of socioeconomic organizations that they belong to. However, the scope of economic opportunities that they have seems to be strongly influenced not only by the type of social and economic organizations but of their marital relationships. To compare gender roles in the commercial town and countryside, I identified three analytic frameworks: type of productive activity and division of labor by gender; household composition; community organizations. First, through the analysis of gender division of labor, I argued that sexual division of labor tends to be more strictly drawn in the countryside compared to the town due to the nature of agricultural production. The strict sexual division of labor resulted in peasant women's much lower mobility compared to their male partners which was not clearly observed among men and women in the town. Second, in relation to household composition, I could not find any remarkable differences in the sex-ratio of household headship between the town and countryside. Yet, some remarkable difference was observed in the composition of civil status through which I speculated the difference might reflect peasant women's disadvantaged status in accessing institutional resources which could be obtained through marital relationships compared to women in the town. As a final point, the comparison of women's status in the public space illustrated that women as a whole are marginalized in the decision making of communal matters whether they are located in the town or countryside. However, the comparison of their experiences suggested that the mode and intensity of women's marginalization vary due to the distinctive organizational structures of the town and countryside.

To understand the correlation between gender roles and rural-urban divide is important because these are one of the most profound features shaping the social order of the Peruvian Andes. Furthermore, it is well noted that due to the strongly divided sex-roles, a series of socio-economic changes including modernization and ensuing class-stratification (Deere 1977; 1982), neo-liberal restructuring (Hays-Mitchell 2002) and economic crisis (Vincent 1998) generated different ramifications to men and women in the Andes. Further study needs to be carried out to elucidate how such division of gender roles which is differentially constructed in line with rural-urban divide operates as a source of individual as well as collective strategies as a response to ongoing social changes in the Peruvian Andes.

Abstract

본 논문은 페루 안데스 사회의 농업지역과 상업지역 간 분화된 경제적, 사회적 구조에 주목하고 젠더역할이 이러한 도농간 분화와 어떻게 상호 연관되어 형성되는가를 분석한다. 젠더역할의 분석을 위해 본 논문은 두 가지 접근법을 취한다. 먼저 농업지역과 상업지역에 거주하는 네 명의 여성의 생활사 비교를 통해서 교육, 이주, 출산, 결혼, 이혼 등 다양한 삶의 경험과 그들이 속한 사회의 경제적, 사회적 구조가 이들 여성들의 선택과 생계에 어떠한 영향을 미치는가를 분석한다. 이어서 본 논문은 성별 노동분업, 가구구조, 공동체조직의 세 가지 분석 범주를 설정하고 이를 통해 농업지역과 상업지역의 젠더역할의 유사점과 차이점을 분석한다. 비교 분석을 통해 본 논문은 농업과 상업의 대조적인 노동구조와 농업지역과 상업지역간에 존재하는 임금노동의 기회의 차이로 인해서 농업에 종사하는 여성들은 상업에 종사하는 여성들보다 보다 포괄적이고 엄격한 성별노동분업 관계를 맺게 되며, 이는 두 집단간 유동성의 차이로 나타난다고 주장한다. 가구구조와 관련해서 본 논문은 인구통계자료를 비교하고, 농업지역과 상업지역간에 성별 가구주의 비율은 주목할 만한 차이가 없지만 이들 지역간에 혼인관계의 구성에서 차이가 발견되는 점에 주목한다. 마지막으로 본 논문은 농업지역과 상업지역의 여성들은 다양한 방식으로 공동체 조직의 의사결정 과정에서 배제되고 있지만 그 유형과 정도는 각 지역의 공동체 조직의 구조적 차이로 인해서 상이하게 경험되고 있다고 주장한다.

Key Words: Women's Life History, Gender Roles, Rural-Urban Divide, Sexual Division of Labor, Peruvian Andes / 여성의 생활사, 젠더역할, 도농격차, 성별노동분업, 페루 안데스

논문투고일자: 2010. 04. 04

심사완료일자: 2010. 05. 07

게재확정일자: 2010. 05. 11

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