

**The Role of an Agriculture Association
in the Wellbeing of Women Farmers in Southern Chile**

By

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Abstract

This case study based paper throws light on the role played by a Chilean agriculture association in the wellbeing of its women members. It takes a documentary approach and is based on comparative research and first person interviews. It looks at the many benefits of associating, but also carefully considers the difficulties faced by these women smallholder farmers. It concludes with institutional and legislative changes, and recommendations for improving the efficacy of the agriculture association.

A women's regional agriculture association, the *Asociación Gremial de Mujeres Campesinas*, was established in 2005 by the graduates of an ongoing government development initiative. While the INDAP – PRODEMU asset transfer and skills training program gives the women tools to establish small farming enterprises, and the association provides them a forum and a network, their potential success is held back by institutional and cultural barriers. Chile's marriage laws, lack of land tenure and widespread domestic violence impose significant limitations on the wellbeing of the women and in turn the scope of the agriculture association.

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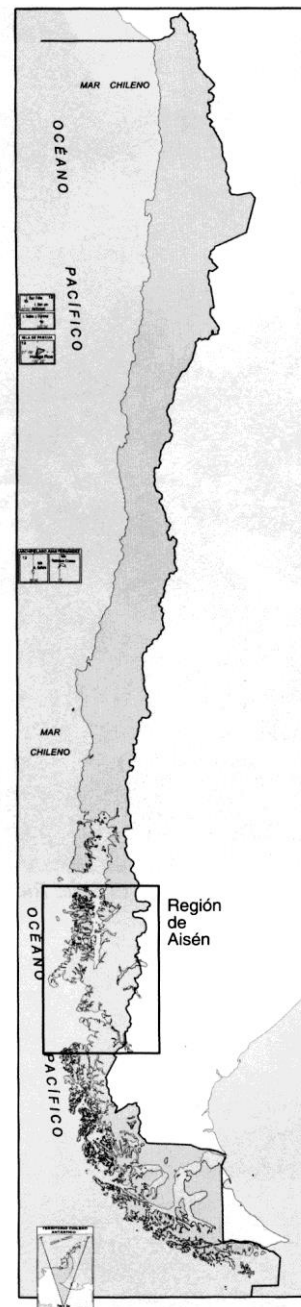
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Map of Chile, showing the Aysen region (Sernatur)

List of Abbreviations:

CONAF – *La Corporación Nacional Forestal*. Chilean forestry service, a public private institution.

EU – European Union

FAO - Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

FOSIS - Fondo de Solidaridad y Inversión Social. Public fund for poverty reduction

INDAP – *Instituto de desarrollo Agropecuario*. Public agency for agricultura development

INIA - *Instituto de investigaciones Agropecuarias*. Institute for Agricultural Research

MOP - Ministerio de obras Públicas. Ministry of Public Works

PRODEMU - *Fundación para la Promoción y Desarrollo de la Mujer*. Public/prívate foundation for the development of women.

PRODESAL - *Programa de Desarrollo Local*

SAG - *Servicio Agrícola y Ganadero*. State Agriculture and Livestock Service

SERNAM – *Servicio Nacional de Mujer*. State Agency for Women’s rights

UN – United Nations

1. Introduction

“Since women are on the frontlines of food security, we need to put their needs and rights at the forefront of trade and agricultural policies and investments.”

Michelle Bachelet¹, Chile’s President, in a keynote speech at the 2011 world food day celebrations at the FAO meeting in Rome.



Women are often the cores of smallholder family agriculture worldwide and they tend to be subsistence farmers more often than men. Food security depends on them. In free market economies, like that of Chile, home grown food is the only cushion families have against volatile commercial prices.

Yet women farmers have fewer resources and much less recognition than men (Rueda, Vera, Miranda and Oxman 2008). The United Nations, through summits and declarations, has been

¹ President of the Republic of Chile 2006-2010, Executive Director, UN Women 2010-2013, re-elected as Chile’s President in 2013.

instrumental in shining an international spotlight on the plight of women and women farmers. In fact it has declared 2014 to be the International Year of Family Farming because family farming is so important to global food security and poverty reduction. One of the approaches to empower women is to encourage their participation in organizations that focus on their economic, social and other needs. This is especially true in the remote areas, and my paper focuses on one of these areas.

In the Aysen region of southern Chile, rural smallholder women farmers grow almost all the local food. Their role in terms of food security issues in the region is very important because the Aysen region is one of Chile's most isolated and most of the food consumed is local. All merchandise and food which is not produced locally has to be trucked in from the north and this implies a 2- to- 3 day trip through neighboring Argentina or a 2-day weather-dependent ferry voyage. While meat is ranchered on large farms, all other food is produced by smallholder agriculturists. In short, strengthening the capacity of women farmers would mean much improvement in local food security.

This Final Project, using a case study approach, focuses on the role played by a woman's farming association in the wellbeing of its members in a rural area of southern Chile. It will discuss a range of needs of women farmers and explore whether and how the association meets these needs. By addressing some of the limitations of this association, and the obstacles faced by the smallholder farmers, it will attempt to answer why only 1% of the rural women of the region are members.

The group of my concern is the *Asociación Gremial De Mujeres Productoras Campesinas De La Patagonia Aysen (A.G)*, a farming guild in the Aysen region of Patagonia, southern Chile. I

will be referring to it as the Woman's Agriculture Guild. In 2012 I interviewed five women whose participation in the association has ranged from full participation to marginal.

Box 1. My relationship with this isolated corner of Patagonia and its inhabitants is longstanding: I have been going there since 1988 as a photographer, documentary filmmaker and tourist. My interest in the farmers began when I purchased 2 acres of land from a smallholder family some 16 years ago.

Institutions and development:

In the 1980s Chile's military government² established a market-based economy, and since a return to democracy in 1990³ the administration has continued to focus on growth. Although the country has progressed economically, it has had the highest level of income inequality compared to the other countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2013) and some of the least progressive laws with respect to women's rights.

Chile's economic growth includes the agriculture sector and insomuch as 91% of Chile's farmers are smallholders,⁴ the government has recognized the importance of supporting family agriculture. Many of these farmers are women. Hence the State initiated programs for women small-scale farmers -- primarily through INDAP,⁵ the State agriculture development agency and PRODEMU⁶, an NGO were set up under the patronage of the President's wife. Since the

² General Pinochet overtook the country after a coup d'état in 1973.

³ Chile returned to democracy after a plebiscite in 1989.

⁴ 91% of Chile's farmers are smallholders who exploit less than 12 hectares, FAO 2013

⁵ *Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario*, a government agency

⁶ *Fundación para la Promoción y desarrollo de de la Mujer*

government was concerned primarily with growth, most programs created to assist these women farmers focused more on increasing their productivity and less on the women's overall wellbeing. Simultaneous to these programs, SERNAM,⁷ a Chilean government institution which advocates for women's interests, interceded and has promoted a policy of equal opportunity in the agricultural sector.

The INDAP and PRODEMU programs which began between 1992 and 1993 set up women's farming groups throughout the country as a way to increase the visibility of rural women and to address their needs (INDAP). Much of the development work in the rural sector has been done through these groups and the *Asociación Gremial De Mujeres Productoras Campesinas De La Patagonia Aysen (A.G)* which was established in 2005 in the Aysen region of Patagonia, southern Chile, is a product of that work.

⁷ *Servicio Nacional de Mujer*, a government agency

Box 2: Gender politics in Chile:

Chile is a deeply patriarchal society which has always been influenced by the Catholic Church. While women got full suffrage in 1949, very restrictive legislation persisted. A semblance of change started to happen in the 1970s and early 1980s with a feminist movement which simultaneously struggled against Pinochet's military rule and promoted women's rights. This coincided with an international impulse toward women's rights and the United Nations Decade for women which began in 1976.

There was a strong campaign for the rights of women during the run up to the 1989 government plebiscite⁸ and "*Soy Mujer, Tengo Derechos*" - "I am a woman, I have rights" --put women actors on the political stage. Since then, women have slowly entered the political process and the percentage of women in the Chilean Parliament has increased from 7.5% in 1997 to 14.2% in 2013 (UN, MDG)⁹. Chile elected a woman President, Michelle Bachelet in 2006 and again in 2013.

In 1991 the Servicio Nacional de la Mujer, SERNAM, was established to provide an official avenue for bringing gender into public policy. While advances have been made in women's rights since then, such as changes to use of gender in the language of the constitution, the legalization of divorce law, and an amendment to the marriage regime, most of the advances have been made to serve the interest of the state rather than the interests of women per se. (Moony, 2008, p.12-30).

Women in the farming areas of Patagonia:

To the outsider, the farms of this part of Patagonia, as in many other rural areas worldwide, have the look of a pastoral idyll -- but the women who live and work there have difficult lives -- "*vidas sacrificadas*" (as they describe their lives) -- difficult, self-sacrificing, and laborious. My observation during field trips in 2013 is that the women I interviewed have limited access to mechanized equipment and, despite a rural electrification program; some still don't have electricity on their farms. Most don't have driver's licenses, and they are all responsible for the welfare of their children. It is taken for granted by their husbands and society in general that

⁸ 1989 plebiscite in Chile was to decide whether there would be a continuation of the military government or a transition to democracy

⁹ <http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/SeriesDetail.aspx?srid=557>

they will grow the vegetables for home consumption, cook all the meals, clean the house, look after the chickens, feed orphan livestock and help with general farm work. Moreover, they are largely dominated by their husbands who make the household decisions and control the family resources. Their needs, therefore, are much more than economic, as I discuss in the next section.

Factors of wellbeing:

For smallholder farmers, economic growth and the non-economic aspects of their wellbeing are intrinsically linked. Without the latter, the former is impossible. In their overview of the literature of wellbeing, Conceição & Bandura (2008) point out that economic benefit alone is inadequate and that the non-economic indicators¹⁰ of wellbeing matter just as much. These include education, health, empowerment, leisure, community participation, human rights and personal freedom (p.4).

Beatriz Gonzalez Manchón and Morna Macleod (2010), in their study *Challenging gender inequality in farmers' organizations in Nicaragua*, observe that in Nicaragua, where over two-thirds of the rural population lives in poverty, significant issues of gender inequality faced by women food producers include land ownership, cultural attitudes towards the roles of women in society, and the lack of credit facilities. They argue "food security will not be achieved unless women farmers are treated as economic agents in their own right" (p. 5). This is very similar in

¹⁰ These include Measures of Economic Welfare (MEW) which makes adjustments to GNP based on consumption, investment, adds the services of consumer capital, leisure and household work and corrects for negative externalities such as pollution and congestion. Physical quality of life index (PQLI) considers infant mortality, life expectancy and adult literacy; and the Human Development Index (HDI) combines income per capita (in PPP terms), life expectancy at birth, adult literacy and education enrollment ratios.

Chile.

Study framework:

The study will focus on the farming association and its role in promoting the wellbeing of its members. I will consider economic factors, such as access to credit and land tenure that enable the women to build productive assets and improve their net income. I will also analyze the effects of less tangible indicators such as learning (information exchange and technology transfer), physical and mental health, social standing, and psychological wellbeing. Just how *sacrificada* or successful the lives of the women smallholder farmers are depends on the combination of these elements, both short and long term.

The data for the analysis in this paper comes from both primary and secondary sources: primary data was from interviews with farm women and agriculture extension agents; secondary data was from reports of agencies from my research carried out in Chile and other Latin American regions, as well as from United Nations, OECD and World Bank reports.

Box3. Demographics of Aysen

(2012 census)

Total population: 94,271,
Total rural population: 20,406
Total urban population: 73,865
Urban Women: 37,363
Rural Women: 9,318
Members of women's agriculture guild: 120

Case Studies:

Five adult women small-scale farmers are included in this study, each with a different

personal situation: married, widowed, unmarried, single, A.G members, agriculturist, artisan, a member of another guild and a woman who is not a formal guild member. Each of them has received assistance from state institutions. I have used their experience as a lens through which to look at the role a guild can play in rural development.

Box 4. Interview methodology:

I drew up a list of potential subjects by interviewing agriculture extension agents who are engaged in the capacity building of poor farmers. I then contacted the farmers and went to visit them so as to introduce myself and explain the nature of this study. Once they had given me their consent to participate we set up an interview time. This recorded interview took place in their homes and lasted between one and two hours.

The interview included questions about farm production and the dynamics of labor produce sales and marketing, community group membership, education and technology transfer, financial assistance, subsidies and credit, ownership of animals, machinery and property and family history.

The complete questionnaire is included as an annex. I returned to the farms of these women on two or three further occasions to make portraits and photographs of their daily work. The interviews and subsequent visits took place between May 2012 and December 2013.

I transcribed the interviews first in Spanish and then translated them into English, keeping the time codes from the original media as reference points.

The five women included in the study are:

Noelia Retamal, who is in her early fifties, is an unmarried farmer. She lives with and cares for her aged father. Their farm is about 20 miles south of Coyhaique. Her income is derived from the vegetables she grows, the sale of eggs and occasional sale of livestock. In the winter she sews and makes handcrafts to sell. Although she is near a paved road, Noelia has a hard time getting her produce to town because she doesn't have a vehicle.



Norma Quijada, who is in her mid-sixties, is married and lives on her husband's family farm which is on a gravel road about 25 miles from town. Their joint income is from the proceeds of wool and livestock sales. She makes money for herself through rural tourism and the production of jam and liquors. They have a vehicle, but Norma doesn't have a driver's license.



Pamela Vega, mid-forties, is married and has moved to town to accompany her daughter who is in high school. She is supported by the income of her husband, which is derived from the sale of wood and livestock from his family's farm, about 2 hours from town, where they used to live. To make money for herself, Pamela sells the articles that she weaves.



Before she moved to town she grew vegetables and made jams.

Marcia Catalan, who is in her early thirties, lives with her partner and their daughter in town. Together, they work fields and greenhouses on rented land. She keeps bees and sells honey and wax candles to make money for herself. They have a vehicle; she drives and is independent.



Edith Aguilar Foitzick, who is in her early fifties, is a widow and she lives on the land that had belonged to her husband. The farm is close to town and she has a vehicle which she drives. Edith supports herself by growing vegetable in greenhouses and occasionally selling livestock.

Noelia, Norma and Pamela are all members of the women's farming guild, A.G. as they refer to it. Marcia is a member of a Beekeepers guild and Edith has chosen not to be a member of any farming association.



2. The Aysen Women's Agriculture Guild

(Gremial de Mujeres Productoras Campesinas de la Patagonia Aysén)

The formation of the *Asociación Gremial De Mujeres Productoras Campesinas De La Patagonia Aysen*, the Women's Agriculture Guild, the history of its formation and a case for gender specific farming associations.

The *Asociación Gremial de Mujeres Productoras Campesinas de la Patagonia Aysén* was formed in 2005, by groups of women farmers in the Aysen region of southern Chile. It is open to all rural women in the region and has very modest membership dues. For the purposes of this paper, I am going to refer to it as the Women's Agriculture Guild (A.G). In this chapter I will look at the history of its formation and the arguments for a gender specific, women's association.

2013 General Assembly

"The official program began with an exhibition by Conaf¹¹ highlighting subsidies given to forestry path improvement, followed by a talk by SAG¹² about the commercial and medicinal use of native plants...This was followed by information about rural housing benefits. Then the midwife gave a talk about the self breast examination and the prevention of breast cancer. Rural tourism was the next topic, followed by a presentation about the new social welfare regulations. Two of the A.G. members began the official opening ceremony which included a prayer, offerings of flowers and produce, the lighting of candles and an emotive rendition of the national anthem. The A.G. President's discussion of the year's programs focused on the approval of the building of a Center for Rural Women and the date for the laying of the cornerstone ... After a barbeque lunch, there was social time and then an evaluation of locations for the next meeting." **From the minutes of the October 2013 General Assembly:**

The Women's Agriculture Guild is a product of the United Nations Women's Decade (1976 – 1985) and Chile's return to democracy in 1988¹³ after 15 years of military rule. During

¹¹ CONAF: *Corporación Nacional Forestal* . Chilean Forestry Service.

¹² SAG: *Servicio Agrícola y Ganadero*. State Agriculture service

¹³ Chile's transition to democracy was in 1990, after a plebiscite in 1988

the early 1990s, in the spirit of a global human rights impulse, the new government created public and private institutions committed to improving the wellbeing of women and their families. To alleviate the poverty and inequity suffered by rural women, the State initiated programs to form and strengthen civil society groups and to develop civic leaders.

To this end, in 1992 Indap¹⁴, a public institution which focuses on technology transfer and economic support for small family farmers allied with Prodemu¹⁵, a public private institution dedicated to improving the lives of women. Together they began a program to form women's farming groups throughout the rural areas of Chile. In keeping with Chile's market based economy, these institutions aimed to interest and train rural women in commercially productive activities and entrepreneurship so that they would be in a position to sell their goods (INDAP-PRODEMU, 2003). The Women's Agriculture Guild was established as a permanent organization for the women who have taken part in these training groups. To be a member of the A.G you have to be a rural woman, a "campesina". There are no other prerequisites and all that is required to join is a letter of request. While there is no active membership drive, notices about the association's activities are announced on the local radio stations, which are still the main sources of information in this region of southern Chile.

¹⁴ INDAP: *Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario* Began in 1962, oriented exclusively to enhancing the productivity of small, family farms through lending and technical assistance (Valdes, 2008).

¹⁵ PRODEMU: *Fundación para la Promoción y Desarrollo de la Mujer* - began in 1990, is supported by the President's wives and funded by the Ministry of the Interior. It is an organization dedicated to increasing the wellbeing of women and their families, to start and strengthen civil society groups and develop civic leaders.



Prodesal Saturday women's market in Coyhaique

Cooperatives versus Guilds in Southern Chile

The farming associations in the Aysen region of Chile, which I will refer to as guilds, are organizations of people with mutual interests and goals who associate for the benefits of sharing ideas, attaining skills and advocating their needs.

They are not cooperatives which are business organizations owned by their members who share the costs and profits.

The farmers of southern Chile are the children and grandchildren of frontier homesteaders and as a result they are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. Moreover they are often also distrustful of each other and generally don't like to work within groups. Osvaldo Gallardo of PRODESAL¹⁶ suggested that a regional distrust of cooperatives harks back to Pinochet's overthrowing of Allende's socialist system (O. Gallardo, interview, 2012). As a result of these factors, while cooperatives function in other areas of Chile, the Aysen farmers prefer to work independently, but at the same time they are looking for ways to improve their quality of life. While none of my interviewees articulated this directly, they all made it clear that guilds were more acceptable to them than co-operatives.

Marcia Catalan said that since associations (guilds) are non-profit entities there isn't the potential for financial problems to occur between members. In her opinion cooperatives can generate conflict whereas in the case of guilds or [farming] committees this is not a problem.

¹⁶ Prodesal, *Programa de Desarrollo Local* is a program run by INDAP for family farmers of limited means.

She said, “Of course you need to do business to improve one’s quality of life, but the topic of money is not foremost” (M.Catalan, interview, 2013).

Increasing Human Capital

Norma Quijada was recruited by an agriculture extension agent who came to the farms in her sector:

“It all began about ten years ago with an idea to form some sort of productive group where we [women farmers] could work together to do something for ourselves. It is not that one didn’t do anything, but there was nothing that gave an extra income ...

... [when] we were all together ... we said, “well, what work are we going to do?”... And we realized that in the group there were 3 or 4 women who knew how to weave, and ... so a group of artisans formed. They would weave on a loom and wash sheep’s wool. On the other side, [of the room someone] ... said, “Well, we have a lot of fruit here, “we have apples, gooseberries, plums, cherries Let’s make jams.” We have it here ... we don’t have to go out and buy it, which brings down costs. For example a chair is expensive to make, but not if you have the prime materials, and so we made jam because we have the produce. All we have to buy is the sugar and the jars.

And so the groups were formed. Each group gave itself a name, formed a directive and began to work ... [My group] began working making jams and liqueurs... and then a number of years past and...[other] groups were formed, ... throughout the province. The A.G has approx 120 women... from Raul Marin to... to Villa O’Higgins. So it is one of the biggest associations here [in the region]” (N. Quijada, interview. 10.57).

Through programs like the INDAP-PRODEMU alliance women have been encouraged to form working groups within their local farm districts. Each group receives on-going training in organizational development, personal development, farming technology, food preparation, and traditional handcraft skills. The women are taught how to access grants and INDAP’s technical and credit services¹⁷ and they are offered assistance with contracts and other paperwork such as

¹⁷ Between 1992 and 1993 groups of rural women were formed throughout the country. Coyhaique incorporated in 1993. By 1994 the program included subsidy funding for farm production projects that were considered to be economically profitable and of social benefit. By

internal revenue forms, business startup certificates, and health department certificates. In addition to the assistance they offer, the institutions have made it advantageous for women to be members of the guild by giving points towards grants to members of agriculture associations.

Pamela Vega was already selling handcrafts and jams to the owner of a nearby tourist lodge before she became a member of an agriculture group:
“Sra Jianella Saeni ... came to me ... about 8 years ago... [when] she was gathering women into groups, 7 or 8 people, to enter the INDAP/PRODEMU project, and at that time I began with a group” (P. Vega, interview. 27.01).

Overcoming distrust

Since the rural farmers of the Aysen region are distrustful of outsiders the success of the INDAP-PRODUMU project rests on the project enrollment strategies. When the program began, two local women functionaries went from farm to farm, door to door in an attempt gain the trust of the women. Because most rural women are beholden to the men in their households, the INDAP functionaries had to convince these men to grant the women permission to attend activities outside their homesteads and to also provide them with the necessary transport. Isabel Reyes hypothesizes that because they spend time with their peers away from their husbands’ control; the women who do manage to participate in the association develop a sense of autonomy and trust over time. (I. Reyes, interview, May 2012).

2002 eight thousand women had received training, and of the 270 groups which were formed, 100 groups had started their own companies, and the project grew in complexity and magnitude.

For **Noelia Retamal**, who is unmarried, it was important that the recruitment officer and her father knew each other:

“I got the opportunity to join a group when they were being formed by the INDAP-PRODEMU [alliance] [Their objective] was to enable us to specialize more, to have our own incomes ... from our smallholdings and our vegetable gardens - from our own efforts.

Janela Saini and Marcos Gallardo came to my house ... and they invited me to participate in the Cello la Virgin group ... and ... my father knew Janela Saini from when she was a small girl.

Our group was called the Los Illusions of the Virgin hills. We began to work in the cultivation of garlic [and] ... we were assigned a technical assistant. I have always sown garlic with my father ... but with technical assistance one learns more things. I did very well and we harvested and in the first year we sold to the supermarket, which at that time was Mulitmas here in Coyhaique ... this was something good for the farm women, and there were many..., many women, in all the sectors of the Aysen region who took advantage of the assistance that was offered. We did well. Many women were able to help their husband maintain their households” (N.Retamal, interview, 2012).

Maximizing Social Capital – Strengthening Communities

There are extensive benefits to community-based organizations like the A.G according to a Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) report on family farming. By associating, small farmers assisted by public institutions and other structures of support, can better strategize to improve their relationships with established markets and find new markets. This can lead to reduced transaction costs, access to training and technical assistance, and enlarge the scale and range of their production. Furthermore, by associating, the farmers transcend their sphere of production and strengthen their social networks and the cohesiveness of their communities. This, in turn, can lead to community and rural development: Feedback from associations helps to identify common problems in communities, such as land titling or substance abuse and domestic violence. These problems can then be addressed and resolved by

appropriate policy (FAO, March 2012). I explore these socioeconomic, education and social benefits in the course of this paper.

Making a case for gender specific women's farming associations

When the women's farming groups were set up, many farmers associations and committees already existed but they were of mixed gender and tended to be male dominated. For example, the *Federación Agrícola y Ganadera de la Aysén* (FAGA)¹⁸ which was established in the 1970s has between 5 and 7% female membership. Domingo Medina Catalan (2103), the president of FAGA said that this had been as much as 20% at one time, but that most of the women had attended as spouses, not in their own right. He said that they encourage women to join and that there is one woman on their board of directors (D. Catalan, interview, January, 2013).

Edith Aguilar Foitzick has chosen not to join the Women's Agriculture Guild, or any other association for that matter. She attended some FAGA meetings as a spouse when her late husband was alive and on one occasion she went in his place on a group educational trip. She explained that when the trip was offered "he said ... Edith you go... [and] I went to Quillota in Chiloé. That was the most I got involved." She commented that the trip didn't have any educational value to her since the women went because it was a free trip, "not to learn anything" (E.Foitzick, interview, 2012. 56.31).

This speaks to the research by Toalá, García, Martelo, and Beutelspacher (2010). They

¹⁸ FAGA: Aysen Agriculture and Livestock Federation

analyze women's participation in a mixed gender Mexican coffee producers union, UPOSIS¹⁹, and argue that women need to have full participation in an organization in order to gain any real benefit. Only full members who own land have a vote within the association, but although the UPOSIS members' wives who don't own land can attend meetings and training sessions, they can't make decisions or vote. Thus while the women who are full members have a voice, the wives of members have limited opportunities for participation (p.160). Toalá et al (2010) argue that the benefits gained by heads of households (usually male) don't necessarily reach the rest of the family. This means that even though the spouses work actively in agriculture production, in this case coffee cultivation, they are excluded from the benefits derived from the commercialization of the produce they grow and from opportunities for personal growth (p.161). The UPOSIS study shows that over and above this, gender roles in society make it difficult for all the women, even the full members, to fully participate in the organization because they are held accountable for their families' needs and they do all the domestic work. Furthermore, they have little freedom of movement because they are beholden to their husbands of whom they are often economically dependent (Toalá et al. p160). This is echoed in southern Chile. Isabel Reyes, the director of INDAP's rural women's program in Aysen notes that the many challenges faced by the women she assists include difficult access to health care, the invisibility of their work, and their sense of family responsibility -- especially towards their children's education. She said they go to great lengths to keep them studying (I. Reyes Interview, May 2012).

Edith's experience in the south of Chile points to the qualitative difference between

¹⁹ UPOSIS: Unión de Productores Orgánicos San Isidro Siltepec - Union of Organic Farmers of San Isidro Siltepec

attending association meetings and participating in them. Considering that male chauvinism is so engrained in the culture of rural Chile, I think that even if women do become members of mixed gender agriculture associations such as FAGA, just like in Chiapas, they are unlikely to be empowered to participate in a meaningful way and it is doubtful that their opinions will be taken seriously.

According to Toalá et al, if the women of their UPOSIS study do get to attend meetings, they often face a multiplicity of problems within the organization of the association. These include their illiteracy or low education levels and their work being under-valued within a masculine pyramid structure of community power. The women often end up doing typical “female “work and find themselves preparing food and cleaning up after meetings. If women get into a leadership positions, they have to jostle with men in situations of management and conflict resolution; and they face prejudice from institutions and authorities when applying for resources. For women to be empowered and equal they need the opportunity to initiate projects and be a part of decision making in organizations (p.160). I will further discuss the obstacles that women farmers face during the course of this paper.

Beatriz Gonzalez Manchón and Morna Macleod (2010) came to the same conclusion in their study *Challenging Gender Inequality in farmers’ organisations in Nicaragua*, which looks at the efforts taken to engage women farmers in meaningful participation by the National Federation of Cooperatives (FENACOOOP). FENACOOOP, a mixed-sex rural organization with a membership of 620 groups, was founded in 1990, the same era as the Chilean rural women’s program. It functions to strengthen agricultural cooperatives and aims to bridge the gender gap (FENACOOOP website). Gonzalez et al. (2010) found that while farmers often seek to increase

their influence through collective action, this avenue is only of limited use to women, since most rural organizations are male-dominated and marginalize women's voices. The gender mainstreaming of women farmers in FENACCOOP has assisted the women to change this and to "claim their space and rights" (p.379).

The regional cultural perceptions of what constitutes male space influences the degree to which women can participate or not. In the case of southern Chile, all commercial farming and especially livestock ranching is considered a male occupation. Women have an easier time gaining entry into other areas of the rural economy, such as handcrafts, flower cultivation and honey production. I hypothesize that this is because these activities are not threatening to the men. An example of this is the mixed gender Aysen beekeepers guild, the *Asociación Gremial de Apicultores de Aysén*. Of its 30 members about half are women.

Marcia Catalan, the president of the guild: "INDAP got the bee keepers together [in 2006] and we formed a honey association, and through that association we began to get training, technical assistance and we also went on trips. At the national level there are always workshops and symposiums during the year, and so we began to attend these events and in that way acquired more knowledge." (M Catalan, interview, 2013, 2.49)

With respect to women having a voice within the mixed gender beekeepers guild, Marcia said one doesn't "see any conflict or anything," and that women tend to speak more than men at meetings. She explained that the "men always try to help and to assist the women. Sometimes there is heavy work in apiculture where one needs a bit of strength or help from a man and when they are asked for help, they are happy to assist." She said "in general there are always

more women in the organizational aspects of the guild. For example the president and the treasurer are women and the secretary is a man.” She remarked, however, that women participate more actively in organized activities. “It is as if the men are lazier. They might participate in, I don’t know, in other things, or go to, for example, training or to do practical things in the in the fields. There they participate more.” (M.Catalan, interview, 25-27). From this I conclude that the need for gender specific associations, or the gender mainstreaming of women within organizations depends on the depth that the women infringe on male preserves.

The Women’s Agriculture Guild has a multitude of membership benefits for the rural women who are right in the center of that male domain. It gives them access to subsidies, skills training, field trips and participation in biannual General Assemblies.²⁰ These activities provide an environment where they can exchange ideas and information unmediated by their husbands and fathers. They can get assistance to address issues such as women’s health and inter-familial violence and advocate for more equitable inclusion in the acquisition of assets and entry to the market place. In other words the guild can serve as a vehicle to improving the wellbeing of its members. In the following chapters I will discuss the problems faced by the rural women of the Aysen region, including an agriculture gender gap, land tenure, the civil code and domestic violence. While I will look at ways in which the Women’s Agriculture Guild assists in overcoming these obstacles, I will also consider the guild’s limitations.

²⁰The General Assemblies are held on or near the United Nations International Women’s Day in March and on or near the United Nations Day of Rural Women in October.

3. Gender Gap and the Demographics of Agriculture in Chile

This chapter explores the inequity of access to resources, the invisibility of the labor of women smallholder farmers and the culture of a masculine rural work space.

After telling me that she “only worked in the house” **Norma** went on to say that she also helps in the corral with the livestock, de-parasites and separates animals, milks the cows, keeps the vegetable gardens, makes jam, runs a small ecotourism business, and cares for the chickens, turkeys and the dogs. When pushed to consider it, she came to the conclusion that she works the same number of hours as her husband (N.Quijada, interview, 2012). I estimate that she probably works longer hours than he does.

As mentioned in the previous section, the Women’s Agriculture Association was created to develop the productive and entrepreneurial skills of rural women. As such, it also serves as an intervention to improve equity in the agriculture sector across the genders.

Many of the obstacles faced by Chilean female farmers originate in, and are sustained by, gender inequality -- discrepancies in opportunities and status between the women and their male counterparts. They have less access to agricultural resources and they have to deal with prejudicial cultural attitudes and laws, inadequate health services, and long distances to their children’s schools. These disparities impair their personal, profession and economic development and wellbeing. At the same time, despite the fact that they have little agency when it comes to making farming decisions, these rural women are taking on commercial activities as a survival strategy.

Resources:

It is noteworthy that ever-present gender gaps are some of the biggest challenges for smallholder farmers everywhere (FAO, 2012). Rueda, Véliz, Miranda and Oxman (2008) observe

that women worldwide tend to be subsistence farmers more often than men and have fewer resources: they have less social capital, land, physical infrastructures, equipment, farm machinery, and livestock (p.29). Chile is not an exception and the 2007 Chilean agriculture census study shows that this difference is especially pronounced with respect to individual producers versus companies. Farm machinery was used as a measure of asset accumulation and productivity potential and it was noticeable that a higher percentage of women used animals rather than machinery for farm work (such as plowing) than men did (Rueda et al, 2008, p.47).

It is not surprising that this lack of resources affects farm production and according to a report by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), globally there are lower crop yields reported on land managed by women than that managed by men. However, if women could obtain the same resources as men their crop yields could increase by 20-30 percent. In fact “If women in rural areas had the same access to land, technology, financial services, education and markets as men, worldwide agricultural production could be increased and the number of hungry people reduced by 100-150 million” (FAO, 2012).

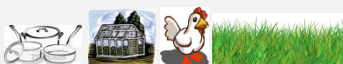
Varying factors contribute to the situations of the five women I interviewed. Four of them have far fewer assets than their husbands, or their husbands’ families. **Norma Quijada** and **Edith Foitzick** are restricted by their matrimonial regimes, (which I discuss further in the next section), **Pamela** by her daughter’s education needs, and **Noelia Retamal** by being responsible for the care of her aged father and his land. **Marcia Catalan** however has managed to leap over the gap by running a successful small apiculture business.

Box5: Assets and liabilities of the 5 women in the case studies:

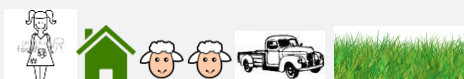
Noelia: has three small greenhouses which she built herself, and a small house next to them which she built with the proceeds of her horticulture. She has a small house in town that she received from a government subsidy program. She doesn't own any farm machinery and works her land by hand. She has some chickens and a few sheep of her own, and she looks after the livestock owned by her ageing father. Her father gave her some land, but she lives in his house, on his land and cares for him. She has recently bought a car but does not have a driver's license yet.



Norma: owns a piece of property which she inherited, her kitchen utensils and some small livestock. She doesn't own the farm she lives on, nor the farm vehicle, livestock or equipment - they are shared with her husband in a community of property marriage. She doesn't have a driver's license and since there is no public transport to the area where she lives, she is dependent on her husband, son and neighbors for transport. Her two adult children are independent. One lives in the USA but is undocumented and so can't return to visit.



Pamela: has a small piece of land which she bought, a subsidized house in town, a few sheep which are the remainder and offspring of 11 sheep she got through the Indap/Prodemu project. The old truck she and her husband use for hauling firewood is also in her name. She doesn't drive or have a vehicle to use for personal trips and, like Norma, is dependent on her husband, neighbors or public transport. She has left farming because of her daughters schooling needs.



Edith: has eleven hoop houses, some sheep and some cows. She owns a jeep, a rotocultivator and some farm machinery which she bought from the sales of her lettuces. Her house and the land she lives on belongs to the family inheritance. Her two adult children are independent.



Marcia: has a teenage daughter to care for. She owns all her apiculture equipment, which she bought using agriculture subsidies. She has a driver's license and owns a pickup and her house is also in her name



Gendered space:

In southern Chile, there is a perception that economic production in the rural sphere is masculine. As Nuria Pena et al. observed -- rural women are not perceived as independent producers but are generally seen to be helping out their husbands (as cited in Manchón and Macleod, 2010, p.375). For this reason, the agricultural activities that are carried out by women are not considered to be of economic importance, nor is it considered imperative that they own land (Rueda et al, 2008, p11). Chile has a patrilineal social system inherited from the Spanish and the perception that men are the natural heads of households persists. Although Chile has a female President, the role of rural women is the same as it has been for centuries. They do domestic work, keep vegetable gardens, greenhouses, and orchards, raise fowl and small livestock for subsistence consumption, lamb the sheep and goats, milk cows, make cheese and preserves, keep bees and cook for other farm workers. They also sometimes make handcrafts which they sell along with surplus farm products in the local informal sector (Rueda et al, 2008, p74). In their 2012 report on Chile, The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) observes, "there is a persistence of traditional stereotypes regarding the roles and responsibilities of women and men in the family and society, which overemphasize the traditional roles of women as mothers and spouses and continue to affect their educational and professional choices" (CEDAW, 2012, p.4). This plays out in the agriculture sector where rural support programs were traditionally directed towards men, and it has been difficult for women to insert themselves in these programs (Rueda et al, 2008, p25). The fact that the rural productive space is regarded as masculine is a significant problem considering that women are at the core of small scale farming and usually provide food for their families.

Invisibility:

The stereotypes that devalue the farm labor of women also render it invisible to society. Because the agriculture work of women is often omitted from official information gathering it is easily overlooked by institutional policy makers. According to Rueda et al. (2007) the work of rural women has been largely hidden from official figures due to the fact that most census taking looks at permanent workers and does not consider the work that women do within their own homesteads nor their seasonal work (p.10). Furthermore, rural women seldom report that they are working, even though they feed their families from their vegetable gardens and sell surplus produce (Rueda et al., 2007, p21). In the Aysen region, women are also much underrepresented in the Census because forestry and ranching (cattle and sheep) are considered to be the most important form of rural labor; and these are perceived to be male activities (Rueda et al., 2007, p.16). Since culture is ubiquitous, the women also think of the rural economic sphere as masculine.

In fact, the gender gap is perpetuated by the very process of census taking because the census forms are filled out by the designated heads of the families. This leads to unreliable information regarding the roles of the other family members and is very likely to leave out the unpaid work done by women. It was found that if the respondent was male, the census information would be less likely to include information about other workers; however, if the head of household was an older female, the census form was more likely to include all other working family members (Rueda et al., 2007, p.71). The information is also dependent on the reliability of the census officials. Norma told me that the recent census was very flawed. She

said that she knows one person who was only asked a couple of questions and another who was asked forty two. She said she supposed that the officials invent things to do less work, she laughed and mimicked an official: “I went to a house and there were 2 people and they said they can read, and I suppose that it is so [correct] because it seemed that they could read” (N.Quijada, interview, 2012, 40.56). She was not far wrong – an independent commission recommended that Chile scrap its 2012 census because it missed nearly 10% of the population (BBC news, 2013).

In the past ten years the visibility of women in agriculture production has increased somewhat. The 2007 agriculture census showed that 30% women participated in agriculture production in Chile, up from 20.7% in 1997 (Rueda et al., 2007, p.53). While these figures could indicate that more women are farming, it is just as probable that more women are reporting themselves as farmers. It is likely that the rural woman’s farming groups, like the A.G. have contributed to this increased visibility by giving the women the confidence to insist on the acknowledgement of their roles. However, many women still do not consider themselves to be the main breadwinners -- even when they are.

Urban Migration of women:

Pamela: “You have to be with your child if you want them to succeed; the most important is for the mother to always be at their side” (P.Vega, Interview, 2012, 01.25).

While increased visibility of women farmers has put them onto the playing field, so to speak, it doesn’t mean that this field is now level. Far from it. My interviews indicate that in 2013, many

rural women are often still disempowered both economically and psychologically and many are being forced by circumstances to move to urban areas.

According to the 2007 Agriculture census of Chile 13, 2 % of Chile's population is employed in a rural area and of those, 46, 7% are women (Rueda et al., 2007, p.9). This takes into account those working their own soil and those employed as farm labor. In Chile, with the borders between rural and urban becoming blurred, farm workers are losing the right and possibility to live on the land where they work and are now living in nearby towns (Rueda et al., 2007, p.75). They are either selling their land themselves, or if they are tenant farmers the land is being sold from under them. This is the result of the cities expanding over productive small farms, city dwellers using rural areas for recreation and the growth of agribusiness. Farms are being agglomerated and seasonal labor increased (Rueda et al., 2007, p.5). Female smallholder agriculturalists are being especially affected by these changes because of their multiple responsibilities which include farming, community service, domestic work and motherhood.

Traditionally, the elder daughters of Chilean peasant farmers have moved to cities to work (often as domestic servants) to supplement the income of their rural parents (Rueda et al., 2007, p.80). While there has been a high rate of urban migration for women since the 1950s, this is increasing and many of these women end up living in the ring of shanties that have begun surrounding many of Chile's cities.²¹ This could be a result of women leaving rural areas in search of better opportunities in the city for themselves or their children, or simply out of economic necessity (Rueda et al., 2007, p.70).

²¹ According to a comparison of the 1992 and the 2002 censuses figures.

In the Aysen region there is a tension between the agricultural activities of women and their concern for educating their children. Since there are no high schools in the rural areas and for some families even elementary school is a three or four day horseback journey, many women leave the countryside to accompany their school age children in the towns. Although the government pays to house rural children in family homes near schools, many women, like Pamela, prefer to move to town with their children, especially their daughters. In this part of Chile, teenage pregnancy is very common, as is sexual abuse.

Pamela, who went to a farm school and got married at 15 instead of continuing her education wants a different future for her daughter. She and her daughter attended the same rural elementary school, but now that her daughter is of high school age Pamela decided to move to town with her. She told me that when her daughter is older she would like to go back to the farm, but “in the meantime I am here, accompanying her. She has recently begun 8th grade. She is 13.” The municipality would have paid for her to lodge with a family, but Pamela was afraid to send her off on her own. She said that that “there are some people who take advantage of [government subsidized] lodging; they find it works for them”, but the majority of mothers from her rural sector come to town with their children when they start high school (P.Vega, Interview, 2012, 04.56).

Moving to town comes at a big cost to the family in general and the women in particular, because they often end up living in small houses on the periphery of the urban areas and working as domestic servants. Not wanting to leave the



Pamela with her daughter Carla

countryside, Pamela looked for alternatives. She has a subsidized house in town and would have liked the municipality to pay her mother, instead of an unknown family to look after her daughter, but the municipality wouldn't allow that.

Pamela: "So we decided to come here. Sure, one has to leave everything behind, but they are your children, and you have to do it."

When she first moved to town Pamela worked as a housekeeper for a small hotel, but now she works as a cleaner, cook and nanny for a family. She continues to weave at night and makes jams for her family's consumption. She hasn't been able to establish a vegetable garden because there isn't enough space next to her house. She said, "It is difficult living here, a huge change. Imagine living all your life on the farm, bringing up your children there, and then ..." (P.Vega, Interview, 2012, 02.08).

Influence of Education:

Pamela applied for grants to buy wool and to cover the cost of renting of studio space for her loom, but she didn't get them because she isn't sufficiently educated and computer literate. She said that "you have to fill out the forms on the internet and it needs someone who knows, who has the ability to answer all the questions." When I asked about getting someone to help her, she said that everyone is busy and that "it has to be someone you trust" ((P.Vega, Interview, 2012, 43.22).

On the other hand, **Marcia's** education has given her the tools to get grants, run a successful business and in general navigate around some of the obstacles that create the gender gap. She started out at a farm school and went on to become a certified technician at the agriculture college in town. Her mother, who was with Marcia when I interviewed her, is of the opinion that girls study more than boys. Of her three sons, only one completed high school.((M.Catalan, Interview, 2013,16.52). Marcia doesn't own any farmland and so she lives in town with her partner and their teenage daughter. When her grandfather died the family's land was split up into small properties and those became urbanized when they were sold.

Noelia completed her higher education despite the restrictions imposed on her by her father. Her story is unusual in that she put herself through high school while she worked. Her mother died when she and her sister were toddlers and her father, a peon (a ranch-hand) brought the two girls up and sent them to the local farm school (N.Retamal, Interview, 2013, 02.27). She told me that when it was time to go to high school in town, her sister didn't want to go and so her father decided that neither of one nor the other would continue school. She still struggles economically, but has been able to apply for and receive various subsidies and grants.

“And so he cut my arms because I wanted to go and study. I told my sister, with anger and grief and all, that the day I reach adulthood nobody would be able to cut my wings and just as I was called Noelia I would finish high school. And that was where the idea came from that I would go and work and study.” (N.Retamal, Interview, 2012, 54.18).

Edith, who attained a high school diploma, has also applied successfully for grants and has maintained an ongoing relationship with the large supermarket where she sells her vegetables. She has inserted herself into the economic sphere on her own terms. It seems that as a widow she has claimed an un-gendered space and she has sufficient education to hold onto it.

Considering these personal stories, it is not surprising that in the Aysen region the education levels of rural women are higher than those of men (Rueda et al., 2007, p.40) and that in general rural women in Chile have similar or higher education levels than rural men²², especially amongst younger people. However, both genders have lower educational levels than those in urban areas (Rueda et al., 2007, p.77) and many people over 55 years have a limited functional literacy (Rueda et al., 2007, p.88)²³.

Box 6. An assessment of the literacy of women in Aysen by SERNAM showed that 7.5% of the women interviewed had no formal schooling, 39.5 % had not completed their elementary education, and 47% of those interviewed could not do basic tasks of comprehension, writing, and math (Duran, p.14).

²² 2007 agriculture census, taking into account age, economic situation and location

²³70% of older people have either incomplete or nonexistent education

This means that these women do not have sufficient education for many of the training workshops offered, or for learning organizational skills, completing project applications, dealing with authorities, or marketing of their products. They can't even help with their children's homework. Courses often include reading materials and report writing and so the lack of functional literacy is a big handicap for those who do attempt to participate. It can be such an insurmountable hurdle that it prevents some women from even imagining attending courses. **Marcia** said that the older women in her Beekeepers guild generally have less formal education and they have difficulty taking on administrative or leadership roles (M.Catalan, Interview, 2013, 41.00).

Norma told me that when the A.G was recently started there were many illiterate people because "in the past it was much more isolated here. To go from here to Coyhaique was tremendously difficult, while it is relatively close, it seemed very far away because there was no road, and to go to Coyhaique was a huge effort. There were no schools here and so as a result the people did not have access to much education in the countryside." She said that there are fewer illiterate people now because the older people have retired or died. (N.Quijada, interview, 2012, 49.120)

Despite the fact that rural women nowadays have equivalent or higher levels of education than the men, most rural women (aside from paid seasonal labor) still work without remuneration. According to the 2002 census, of the 49% of women who worked in the rural sector, only 14% received payment. So although in 2007 more women reported that they worked in agriculture, they were still working without pay (Rueda et al., 2007, p.70).

Gender, Marriage and Health insurance:

Health insurance, like other social services offered in Chile favor those who are married. This adds to the disadvantages suffered by rural women who decide not to marry. **Marcia** pointed out that since she is not married, she would have no health insurance if she wasn't earning her own money to pay for it.

Marcia: "When a woman has independent work it is not a problem, but if a woman is a housewife... then health insurance becomes a problem. When the children are born you need to have benefits to get health insurance ... and if you are living together [unmarried] you don't get this benefit. The children might have insurance because the father works, but if the women doesn't work, and she is not married, then she has nothing. She doesn't receive any benefits, she doesn't have health insurance." (M.Catalan, Interview, 2013, 57.22).

The Vicious Cycle of the Continued Rural Masculine Space:

The complexity of the gender gap is entwined with the traditional roles of the rural male and the pressures put on these men. They are expected to be macho cowboy heads of their homesteads and the providers of the household finances. Between the economic need to send their teenagers to work and the difficulties of getting them to high school, many farm families suffer the frustration of seeing their children, especially their boys, not complete higher education (Duran, p.14). These uneducated young men become uneducated husbands who then feel the need to control their wives and daughters.

Since they do not earn any money these rural women have to rely on the good will of their husbands to share the money they earn, and as a result economic resources are often not

shared equally within a household. Additionally, despite their knowledge and aptitudes, any new projects they initiate or investment they want to make in a farming enterprise depends on their husbands, which makes it very difficult for them to make the decisions necessary for their success. On top of everything unless women own land, they have to apply for subsidies, grants and credit through their husbands. I will look at the links between land tenure, assets and the Chilean marriage regime in the next section.

4. Land Tenure, Lack Thereof and its Effect on Women Farmers

Examines the relationship between Chile's matrimonial regime, the land tenure of women and access to credit and subsidy programs.

Pamela: "I also had to have land in my name, because if not you can't do anything - or he had to give me a legal permission or a rental agreement, I don't know, but in the end it would have been more complicated, so I have a smallholding in my name. With that I could apply to get sheep from INDAP" (P.Vega, interview, 2012, 12.03).

In the Aysen region, only 26% women who work on farms (full time or part time) own land (Rueda, Véliz, Miranda and Oxman, 2008, p40). This is typical for Chile – and the fact that most rural Chilean women own less land, proportionally, than rural Chilean men is largely a result of the effect that the Chilean marital regime has had on land tenure. While reduced land tenure is a large factor in the economic gap between Chile's rural men and women, it also leaves rural women weakened in other aspects of their lives. It is harder for them to make effective personal and family decisions and they become subject to emotional blackmail from their husbands.

Property Administration and Chile's Marital Regime

Chile's matrimonial regime is still based on a civil code of 1857. Until 1979, married women were considered incapable of administering their own properties. In order to sign the 1979 United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Chile amended its constitution to state that "persons," rather than "men," are "born free and equal in dignity and rights." It also added the proviso that "men and women are equal before the law". Chile ratified the UN Convention in December 1989 and it was entered into force in

January 1990 (CEDAW, 2004, Article 19 (2.1)). By 1990 all 19 Latin American republics had ratified it. However, despite the fact that Chile's constitution eliminates discrimination between men and women, many Chilean women still don't have the right to administer their own land.

It comes back to the marital regime – if women are married in community of property their husbands are the legal administrators of the household's common property and have rights to control not only their own property, but their wife's as well (Deere & Leon, 2003, p.932). Most older women are married in community of property and it is still the default option, so even though there are now three different matrimonial regimes many rural women are still married this way. **Norma** said that she believes everyone of her age in her area is married in community

of property. She said that when she sells animals that she runs on her own inherited land the money goes into the common family pot. This by Chilean law would be administered by her husband. The only money she keeps for herself is from the sales of her jam. (N. Quijada, Interview, 2012, 1.05.40 -1.11.49).



Norma Quijada sells jams out of her house. Her husband watches on.

As a result of its outdated civil code, Chile now lags behind the other Latin American countries with respect to women's rights. It is also the only Latin American country that doesn't recognize consensual unions and grant these the same property rights as marriages" (Deere & Leon, 2003, p.936). If a woman decides to live with her partner instead of marrying, she will

maintain the rights to any of her own land but will not inherit anything unless it is left to her in a will. The 2012 United Nation's Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) report ²⁴ notes that legal reform of the Chile's Civil Code has been pending since 1995 and urges the Chilean government to expedite the bill which amends it and other laws governing the matrimonial property regime to ensure that women and men have equal rights during and upon dissolution of marriage (CEDAW, 2012, p.10). It also recommends that women are provided with information that enables them to make an informed choice under the new matrimonial property legislation. Moreover, the report urges Chile to consider adopting new legislation on de facto unions and to "fully respect the principle of non-discrimination and equality between women and men" (CEDAW, 2012,p.10).

Marriage, land tenure and local custom

The obstacles created by the marital civil code to women's land ownership are compounded by the propensity of women to move to the paternal home of their husbands (Deere & Leon, 2003, p.931). **Edith**, for example, who was brought up by her grandparents, moved into her mother-in-law's house when she married at 18 and then onto her husband's family's land. He died suddenly some ten years ago and the property didn't pass into her name, but instead into a succession with her children (E.Foitzick, Interview, 2012, 2.13).

²⁴ CEDAW/C/CHL/CO/, **Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women , Fifty-third session 1 – 19 October 2012 5-6/** (p10)

History of Property Ownership in Chile

Land titles have been concentrated in the hands of few through Chile's colonization by the Spanish in the 16th century, through its war of independence from Spain between 1810 and 1818 and into the 20th and now 21st century . This was to change somewhat with the institution of land reform in the 1950s, but it changed mostly for men. David Hojiman (1989) writes that these reforms "conspicuously" failed to provide the conditions necessary for women to acquire land. He argues that this was because of entrenched cultural familial traditions (p.113). For example, while the reform laws of Frey's government did not discriminate explicitly against women, in practice it favored men because its beneficiaries were heads of households, and when a man and a woman shared a household the man was automatically assumed to be the head. It was also limited to permanent workers, which tended to be male.

Allende's socialist government created collective farms and their members could be adult women or men, temporary and permanent workers, household heads or not. Once again however, "ideological pressure was exerted on women to stick to their traditional roles. Mother's Centers were created where women were taught cooking, sewing, knitting, flower arrangement and handicrafts....[and] women were excluded from decision-making in all areas " (D.Hojiman,1989, p.113).

After the 1973 military coup, illegally invaded land was returned to the original owners and legally expropriated land was divided into family-size plots (of about ten hectares) and allocated to beneficiaries. Women were again largely excluded because the new owners had to be permanent workers and heads of households (D.Hojiman, 1989, p113).

In regions such as Aysen, where livestock and forestry is the predominant agriculture, rural women have been excluded from paid farm work and have been left to earn a living by selling vegetables, handcrafts or collecting wild herbs. When rural shanty towns formed around farm schools or administrative centers they were inhabited by landless laborers or women who needed to look for work in shops or domestic service. Hojiman argues that “Allende’s land reform kept women in the countryside and Pinochet’s agrarian policies pushed them out” (p.122).

Land Ownership, power and credit in other parts of Latin America

Chile is not alone with respect to the lack of land tenure for women. In Latin America “women rarely represent more than one-quarter of land owners” according to Deere & Leon (2003, p.928). For example, approximately 65 per cent of rural Nicaraguan women do not own the land they till. During the Sandinista revolution from 1979 to 1990, massive land reform took place. Although this reform was aimed at ‘the poor’, it did not explicitly recognize women as direct beneficiaries (Manchón & Macleod, 2010, p.3). Instead, land reform benefited the heads of households - a status which was invariably claimed by men. Furthermore, the agrarian reform law documentation favored male agriculturalists (Deere & Leon, 2003, p.935). Manchón & Macleod point out that since land is needed as collateral for subsidies and credit, Nicaraguan women farmers were receiving a pitifully small percent of the credit assigned to rural areas²⁵. As a result there was a move to put land jointly into women’s and men’s names and the National

²⁵ About 11 percent in 2010

Assembly of Nicaragua created a special fund to provide credit to rural women for land purchase. This increased the land security of women and made them eligible for credit, with some women even managing to purchase their own land. However, while there have been 'apparent advances' in policies and legislation in recent decades, women remain much less likely than men to own land. This is because cultural attitudes and traditions do not see women as producers, but continue to perceive them as 'helping out' their husbands (Manchón & Macleod, 2010, p.8).

Moreover, Manchón and Macleod note, the voices of women remain largely excluded from policy debates. While farmers often seek to increase their political and economic influence through collective action, membership in agricultural organizations is often determined by land ownership, and land is predominantly owned by men. (p.4)

Land tenure and Patriarchal Institutions in Chile

The situation is similar in Chile. Although access to land is not an official requirement for membership in the Aysen Women's Agriculture Guild, it is a de facto prerequisite because without access to land the women cannot apply for any institutional assistance. Land tenure, in the form of ownership or rental, is a prerequisite of most farming programs in Chile and many institutional structures are still patriarchal (Rueda et al, 2008, p73). The guild doesn't have funds to offer grant support to its members and so women without access to land cannot get subsidies or any other financial assistance.

Isabel Reyes: “the law is inflexible, it was created when men were in charge and receiving assistance, [and] there are no exceptions” (I.Reyes, Interview, 5.23.12).

Isabel Reyes, who oversees INDAP’s Aysen program for women, explained that women have to apply for grants through the men with whom they live, but some men will not cooperate. She said that some men won’t do it because they see themselves as livestock farmers and consider it to be beneath their dignity to apply for horticultural assistance, and others because they don’t want their wives to have an independent income. In order for a woman to apply for herself, if she is married in community of property, she has to get a *contrato comodato* – a contract by which the husband cedes or loans a part of the land to her for her use without payment. While this contract can be organized by an INDAP officer without charge, it needs a notary signature, which is relatively costly. All the women I interviewed for this paper’s case studies could apply for and receive government assistance because they have access to land – through ownership or a rental agreement.

Edith: “I had to get a [document] that gives me access to 10 hectares from my children so that I could continue to work. If not, I would not be able to work at all because those with a succession don’t get any [institutional] support at all” (E. Foitzick, Interview, 2012, 51.07).

When **Edith** she started her own farming initiatives her husband applied for the grants and technical assistance. After her husband died she became dependent on the goodwill of her children (E. Foitzick, Interview, 2012, 2.13). She is fortunate that her children are very supportive as was her husband and she now runs a successful smallholder farm.

Norma lives on her husband’s family’s farm of 190 hectares, on which she and her

husband raise sheep, cattle, horses and alpacas. Her family had land nearby and she now owns about 30 hectares which she inherited from her mother (N.Quijada, Interview, 2012, 1.10.12).

Norma: while landless women can still be members of the guild, “the problem is that they cannot apply for grants. For example, the grant to make improvements for those that work with chickens... or If someone works in rural tourism and wants to ... for example, offer accommodation, and she wants to apply for a grant to improve, say, beds. If she doesn’t have the support of her husband, the permission, she can’t do it, and so she will lose the possibility of the benefits that INDAP offers.”

Norma said that a requirement of the Women’s Agriculture Guild is for all members to really live in the rural sector. She said “not like I go to hang out on the farm therefore I am a farm woman, no”. She explained that that the women have to live off the land so that they can receive Guild benefits from INDAP as well as other benefits from being members of the Guild. “In this way”, she said, “[They] can apply for all the assistance that there is, as a farmer.” While land tenure is not a prerequisite for membership to the women’s farmers association, she pointed out that “You have to have property; it doesn’t matter how much... or you have to be renting [property], and you have to live there. You could have one hectare, [for example] but it has a greenhouse and you live of the sales from the greenhouse” (N.Quijada, Interview, 2012, 42.55-46.27). The women also have to have the capacity to put a personal contribution towards the grant and this too depends on their husbands’ volition. Norma said that sometimes the husbands don’t think that it is important or don’t believe their wives will make any money.

Grants, subsidies and land ownership

Noelia, who has never married, has two and a half hectares to farm. She also shares 15 hectares that her father gave her and her sister. She told me that she grows crops on her piece of land and that they “used those 15 hectares as pastureland when [they] had cattle, and [they] have always had a vegetable garden on the farm which [her] father plants” (N.Retamal, Interview, 2012, 03.24).

Pamela has 12 hectares of land which she bought herself and half a hectare that she was gifted. She said that since INDAP gives grants for land which is two hectares or more she could apply for a grant using the 12 hectares. She said the land “goes from the road to the river... [and] is a beautiful place” (P.Vega, interview, 2012, 17.28).

Pamela: “Yes, I bought it by selling my handcrafts, with my animals, because we also had livestock, cows, lambs, and I paid it off in quotas. With my work, praise the lord, the same with this house. Working, yes.”

“The other piece, the half hectare, was given to me because it was his [her husband’s], through his inheritance. But all the same I bought it in my name. It was a good gift. Because I could apply for my business with this half hectare.” (P.Vega, interview, 2012, 17.28)

While Pamela has a cooperative husband, I asked if there were women in her area who could not get their husband’s permission. She replied, “Yes, but not that many, because nowadays the men are always giving their wives legal permission or a rental agreement, I think that the men are not as selfish anymore. I believe that the majority of them give to their wives; I think there are very few cases where they deny [their wives].” However, her sister in law could not get a land rental document from her husband.

Pamela: “her husband only has a tiny piece of land, and if he gave her some he also wouldn’t be able to apply to INDAP for a grant. ... That also happens, when the land is very small, the husband, even if he wants to, can’t because there isn’t enough to take from. For sure, in the case of a very small piece of land, it is always the man who keeps it” (P.Vega, interview, 2012, 15.48 - 16.30).

Thus in Chile, land tenure is critical for the wellbeing of women smallholder farmers because land ownership affects a woman’s negotiating power in her own household and in the community. Women with land are more empowered to make decisions with respect to the distribution of income and the family members’ use of resources. This is important for food security and the education opportunities of the family because women’s productivity/earnings go to the family’s wellbeing more often than that of men. Conversely, the lack thereof is one of the biggest factors that perpetuate the rural gender gap. As more and more women become the heads of households because of male work migration, the rural gender gap becomes increasingly relevant to family security (Deere & Leon, 1999, (p.27).

Considering the wellbeing of the women and their communities, it is very evident that Chile’s civil code needs to change in such a way that all women have equal access to land and other associated assets. However this is unlikely to happen unless women push for change. It is in associations like the Aysen Women’s Agriculture Guild that women can be informed about the laws that affect them and their right to equity. Thus the seeds for change can be sown.

5. Benefits of Guild membership

This chapter addresses both the economic and the sociopsychological benefits that women stand to gain through membership of an association such as a farming guild.

“You always get more things as a group.” Norma Quijada

There are economic advantages to guild membership, and there are also very important benefits that are less tangible --such as the social interaction inherent in being part of a community, peer support, wider information networks, knowledge, increased access to health care and the potential for personal empowerment. For women who work from dawn to dusk the leisure time offered is important too. The Chilean government development policy may focus on improving welfare through economic means but as it turned out, the use of groups to deliver training has proven to have equally important non-economic benefits for the wellbeing of women farmers. While all farmers with land can apply for subsidies and training, only the members of associations have these more abstract benefits.

In acknowledgment of the multidimensional positive attributes of association membership, the Aysen Women’s Agriculture Guild and the institutions which support it have embraced a holistic approach to development. Thus along with technological, financial and marketing assistance to their members, they offer personal development programs and encourage peer to peer learning. The binannual Guild Assemblies provide a female space for the psychological growth of its members, as do the group workshops that are run during the course of the year.

Norma: "... as well as having an [agricultural] technician to [teach us to better] cultivate garlic, we [also] had a person to teach us organizational development. We also had a psychologist, [and] we had Marcos Gallardo who taught us how to launch our produce to the market. [It] had to [be packed] very hygienically, and well presented with its label and its mesh [bag], ... and so we went to sell our first produce to the supermarket." (N.Retamal, interview, 2012, 08.00)

Economic benefits: Grants, Subsidies and Credit

If for no other reason, by virtue of the fact that it is Chilean policy to make it easier for members of associations to receive development funds, it is advantageous to be a member of one of them. For example, each year INDAP gives the Women's Agriculture Guild a grant for its running costs and the cost of holding biannual members' assemblies, as well as separate grants for training and field trips. Furthermore, in Chile, farming association members get extra points towards agriculture grants and subsidy applications. This is an important benefit for small farmers who constantly need to buy seeds, breed animals, build new greenhouses, and make improvements to their farm buildings and irrigations systems. It is especially significant because Chilean banks don't offer small or soft loans and INDAP is one of the only sources of subsidies, grants and low interest financial assistance for rural people in southern Chile.

All the women I interviewed had received agriculture grants and subsidies and they all made it very clear that they have never raised money through a bank because getting credit that way is a sure path to ruin. For example, **Marcia** said that to meet government health standards she had to get stainless steel beekeeping equipment such as a centrifuge and drums. It was a big investment at first but she could do it through INDAP subsidies. (M.Catalan, interview, 47.03.)

Noelia began growing garlic when she received institutional assistance through the three year INDAP – PRODEMU agreement. This included training and grants which didn't require repayment.

Noelia: "You had [to know how] to use the money – for seeds, fertilizer, fencing and mesh... You had to put in the labor. The support they gave us was very good. And so in the third year we had a cash subsidy and we already had the garlic seed... and it is the same seed that I save up to now. So, you see, this was something good for the farm women. There were many women... in all the sectors of the Aysen region who took advantage of the assistance that was offered. We did well [and] many women were able to help their husbands maintain their households" (N.Retamal, Interview, 2012, 11.10 – 12.26).

Isabel Reyes said that there are times when the INDAP agricultural grants provide a window to the financial difficulty faced by many rural women. Since these are the only subsidies available to them, they find ways to take money from the subsidies to pay for the things their children need at school. She said they build smaller greenhouses or skimp on their house improvements and in turn the INDAP staff find ways to turn a blind eye. Notwithstanding that, although women are more responsible than men in repaying loans, they only account for 33.6% of credit given out by INDAP (I.Reyes, interview, May 2012).

It is important to clarify that while it helps to be a guild member to get a subsidy, it is not essential. **Edith** has received money and agriculture assistance from INDAP as an individual applicant. She told me that she first built three greenhouses with subsidies and INDAP credit²⁶ and when she had paid that back she built four more and then four more again. She explained that INDAP "gives you a percentage of the cost of the project. They give you, for example, ...

²⁶ Interest rates to INDAP are between 5 and 7 % per year.

one and a half million pesos[US\$3,000]; and with that million and a half you have to build a greenhouse, but within that million and a half is also your money, [some of] which could be in the form of the labor you contribute.” She asserted that she has “never asked for a [bank] loan” (E.Foitzick, interview, 2012, 46.45 - 44.49).

Although Edith considers association membership to be a waste of time, I think it is instructive that she increased her agriculture production and started selling produce to a supermarket through the collaboration and support of a woman who lives nearby. Before that, she had one small greenhouse and was selling some produce at a friend’s vegetable shop. Edith said that one day her neighbor Ildegard suggested they sell lettuces to the local supermarket.

Edith: “And I said, neighbor, wouldn’t it be too much to think about selling at the supermarket, we only have a very small amount of produce. And she said, look, if we submit between the two of us, we can complement each other’s produce”(E.Foitzick Interview, 2012)

Edith agreed to give it a try and recounted that Ildegard would pass by on the road and “honk her horn and shout, “Edith, neighbor,... I need 20 lettuces!” Ildegard had a tax number and would invoice the supermarket for the two of them and so they worked together for a number of years. Edith expanded and built another, bigger greenhouse and eventually when she got her own tax number they sold their produce separately but helped each other take it to town.



Edith waiting to deliver lettuces at the Coyhaique supermarket.

“You always get more things as a group” Norma Quijada

Marcia said that the monthly beekeepers guild meetings are good platforms to share problems and find solutions. Over and above that, she and her peers can access more resources as a group than if they worked alone and her guild applies for institutional projects/grants as a group. For example they received a two year grant from the Chilean Economic Development Agency (CORFO) to work with the local university and get technical assistance to improve their methods of honey production and honey product manufacturing. The grant includes national training courses and field trips (M.Catalan, interview, 2013, 33.40). It also costs less to purchase bee medicines together. Furthermore, they sell their products as a collective at local markets and the annual agriculture show. “We rent a stall togetherand all the members take their products there” (M.Catalan, interview, 2013, 1.12.24). By selling their produce together, be it at

agricultural shows or local markets, the women also create alliances, and those who are successful in farming and marketing can become role models to other women. In addition, according to Beatriz Gonzalez Manchón and Morna Macleod (2010), women who participate in public events become more visible to the society at large (p.10).

Being a member of a group is good for sales because you can sell things to other members and to those who associate with it. At the Guild Assemblies **Noelia** sells handbags and belts made from recycled plastic bags and beer can tin, Norma builds clients for her conserves and liquors; and Pamela sells her weavings (N. Retamal, interview, 28.34). **Pamela** explained that she uses the biannual Assemblies as an opportunity to meet other women and to make contacts with the people who attend from other institutions. She said that with each meeting, her clients increase (P.Vega, interview, 2012, 01.08.57).

And if you have a shared gallery or showroom space, you can market your goods year round. Since the Guild members haven't had a permanent central sales location, they petitioned for and have been given land by the municipality for a building. They plan to have a sales room in it and also to use it as a guesthouse for the members. It would serve as accommodation during the meetings and for women who have to come to town from remote locations; for example for medical treatment (N.Quijada, interview, 2012, 34.43). Although Norma didn't mention it, I would imagine that it could also serve as a safe haven for women to take a break from their abusive husbands.

Community Participation, Social interaction and Wellbeing

Since group membership is not a prerequisite for economic assistance, the non-economic elements of wellbeing are what the members gain over and above everyone else. One of the most important of these is community participation, which is not surprising considering that humans are social beings. Helliwell (2003) calls attention to the positive association between degrees of connectedness, measured by the participation to voluntary organizations and subjective wellbeing (p.15). Helliwell (2012) writes that when people are in bilateral social relationships that involve one person helping the other, it is often, or perhaps usually, the giver who receives the bigger boost in subjective well-being (p.25). He writes that prosocial behavior results in “great well-being consequences” (p3).

Perhaps this is a reason for the solidarity between the Guild members. They believe that an important part of their mission is to support other women farmers who live in isolated areas. **Norma** explained that if a particular group within the Guild has a need or a goal, the leader of that group presents this during the biannual assembly and “step by step” the directorate “works towards getting what they need”. She said, “For example if they want to work with plants under plastic, they need training” (N.Quijada, interview, 16.28).

Helliwell (2012) uses studies by Harrison et al 2011 and Balliet 2010 to argue that stronger social ties lead to increased cooperation in a social network and moreover the cooperation between people is further increased by “face-to-face connection”. This is illustrated by **Marcia’s** experience. She said that she has noticed a difference in the behavior of the members of her Beekeepers guild -- that people are beginning to share information and

advice with others, something they were not used to doing when they worked alone. Her guild facilitates this by having half an hour at the beginning of meetings to provide “a space for conversation and sharing” (M.Catalan, interview, 2013, 43.28 - 47.03). She feels that through her work with guild she has learnt to manage people and deal with conflicts that occur within an organization. Moreover, she has made new friends with common goals and now she has a circle of 5 beekeepers with whom she is always in contact. (M.Catalan, interview, 2013, 36.20)

Based on studies of adversity and social cohesion, Helliwell (2013) concludes that even simple social activities, “significantly increase physical and presumably mental capacities to deal with challenges” (p.4). **Norma** commented that oftentimes people live in very poor conditions because it has never occurred to them that they can do something else, but that “it is incredible how much the lives of people [can] change,” (N, Quijada, interview, 22.59).

Norma related the story of a guild beekeeping member “who was always negative about the excursions” and “always said it is a useless expense to go on a pleasure trip.” The year before, Norma said, they convinced her to go with them to Santiago to visit other women farmers. Apparently during the field trip they visited a beekeeper who was doing very well with flavored honey, “... and on her own, without anyone saying anything, she began to chat with the woman and they exchanged ideas and contacts and they became friends and even phoned each other and ... that woman gave her all her secret [recipes] because she was so far away that she was not going to be competition...” The guild member returned home and started to make her honey with flavors and has given two presentations and tastings of flavors and now buys honey from other people because she doesn’t have enough from her own hives. “And we always say, “you see!””

Education:

The women's agriculture guild organizes local skills training and they get sponsorship for travel to workshops in other regions. Most of the guild members lead very isolated lives and it is only through these group activities and field trips that their knowledge and network of connections is increased. While some of the members have high school educations, and most of the members can read and write, these learning opportunities increase their effective literacy.

Wider perspectives

"many people have never left here, so they don't know anything beyond what they know of from here, and so from lack of knowledge they feel tied down... And when they travel outside [the region] and they get to see how others live...[they]can learn that there are a heap of things that they can do here" (N.Quijada, interview, 2012)

Norma has been with groups from the Guild on a number of trips. She said that at one of them, a seed exchange and a seed saving workshop in Puerto Montt (a city an hour's flight away) older women in the association who learned how to cultivate and store seeds "from their forefathers" shared "their secrets" with the others. Another trip was to see greenhouses, field plantings and beekeeping near Santiago, Chile's capital city. She learnt to use her oven to sterilize her jam bottles from women in Argentina. She feels that by visiting other places one has the opportunity to learn new things as well as to learn how "to use what you have and in some way give it a new value, an added value" (N.Quijada, interview, 2012, 18.29 & 20.58 - 22.59).



Norma harvests rhubarb for jam

Noelia applied for a grant to buy sheep through a local micro business course on how to manage money. On another occasion, during a field trip to neighboring Argentina she learnt about permaculture, new ways to work with seeds, natural pesticide remedies

and innovative ways to build and to recycle.

Noelia: “What we had never done before was work ... with horse manure and clay to make bricks and build houses. They used bottles in the walls, they recycled everything... Afterwards at the A.G. we told about our experience and based on what I saw of the bottle recycling that they did ... I [began to] paint bottles, without anyone teaching me, just because of what I saw, and so I paint bottles in such a way that they are recycled. Also ... I started to encourage the women at A.G. [to recycle]. I gave talks about how we could get rid of our plastic bags” (N.Retamal, interview, 2012, 26.07).

Noelia said that she also learnt how to make better compost and that now she gathers the sheep manure each week and adds ash and plant matter to it to use as fertilizer. This way, she said, she doesn't have to buy fertilizer. “I learnt that the compost is ready when you can take it in your hands and squeeze it and your hands remain clean. I even plant potatoes with that compost” (N.Retamal, interview, 2012, 44.15)

Pamela learnt to improve her weaving and dye wool through regional training grants, and she, like Noelia bought eleven sheep during a business management course. (P.Vega, interview, 2012, 38.12) **Marcia's** organizational and leadership skills were developed in the courses that she

did through the Beekeeper's guild. She said that through her guild membership she has also always had access to technical and managerial advice (M. Catalan, interview, 45.38- 46.23).

Marcia, whose financial success is a measure of her entrepreneurship, attributes a lot of what she learnt about marketing her honey from her trip to a beekeepers conference in Buenos Aires, Argentina. She said she now



adds value to her honey by selling it in gift packages and uses the wax to make candles.

(M.Catlalan, interview, 2013, 35.38 and 13.41)

Empowerment: Advocacy and Negotiating institutional regulations

Norma: “We were going to work together and make jam as a group, we had a room for production but with all the requirements we never managed to get the sanitary certificate, they were always asking something – and so what happened, my partners [colleagues] who were 60 years old, are now ten years older, and we still haven't acquired the certificate and they no longer want to work, so it fell apart, there is nothing left of it. The people got tired of waiting for us to be able to have something and so it didn't work out” (N. Quijada, interview, 2012, 31.43).

The Guild members are finding a voice to campaign for change in the unreasonable local regulations. For example, most rural women could not meet the stipulations of the food sanitation certificate, but without it they could not sell products like honey and jam in local shops, neither as a group, nor individually. The requirements are the same for buildings on farms and in towns and amongst other things the Health Department requires the plans of the

establishment and its drainage system to be signed by an architect. Norma said, “Imagine ... this house was build 60 years ago when architects didn’t even exist here...On the farms...we are in bad shape because we don’t have potable water that is chlorinated, neither do we have water drainage supply systems”. Norma said that it is beyond the budgets of smallholder farmers to pay the costs for architectural drawings of their houses and the chlorination of their spring water and so “for years we have been asking the Department of Health to be more flexible in this case and not to have so many requirements.” As a result of meetings with the regional Ministry of Agriculture, the regulations have recently been modified to be more applicable to the realities of rural life. The house plans no longer have to be signed by an architect, there don’t have to be three drainage lines, and potable water no longer has to come from a third party provider (N. Quijada, interview, 2012, 27.19 - 29.44).

Health

Access to good medical treatment and health education is very limited in rural areas of the Aysen region. The women of the guild look out for each other and assist their elderly peers and as a way to help its members, the Guild arranges for a mobile clinic to be present at all of their biannual assemblies. This includes a dentist and an ophthalmologist. Free eyeglasses are given to those who need them.

Noelia: “The mobile clinic comes and [provides] dental exams, blood tests to detect cholesterol, [and so on] and the tests are free. We arranged this through the Association. We request the mobile clinic [be present] or every meeting we have. They also do pap tests, which are very important” (N. Retamal, interview, 2012).

Over and above this, according to Helliwell (2012) “a large and growing literature” shows that “greater happiness predicts better health”(p.6). He argues that “social engagement ... makes people happy” (p.5) and that studies have shown that those who spend time with networks of family and friends are more satisfied with life than those who don’t. He contends “people with supportive social networks feel more sense of belonging in their communities, which adds even more to their satisfaction with life.” In other words, social networks, happiness and health go hand in hand.

In summary, the Women’s Agriculture Guild members have opportunities to improve their economic wellbeing through increased farming competence, opportunities for finance such as grants and subsidies, and improved access to the market. But just as important, through membership they live less isolated lives, become a part of information networks, increase their levels of education, have the possibility to travel, and have greater access to medical care. They become better communicators by being a part of a supportive peer community and over time they build the self-esteem necessary to stand up for themselves and negotiate change.

6. Domestic Violence and other Obstacles to Joining the A.G

This chapter explores the barriers to the participation of women in the Guild – including distance, household responsibilities and the custom of domestic violence and incest in the region

“Men don’t like their women to go out” Pamela Vega

There are a number of interconnected obstacles which face rural women who want to participate in the Aysen Women’s Agriculture Guild: distance, household responsibilities, caring for children and elderly parents, a lack of independence and domestic violence. While in the previous section I addressed the ways in which women farmers are held back by limited land tenure, in this section I am primarily concerned with their being trapped in isolated locations by the threat of violence. The Guild offers women the empowerment skills to slowly change this situation, but is challenged to find ways that are acceptable to them and their families for them to attend meetings. I think that this is one of the main reasons that there only 120 guild members out of the region’s 9314 women farmers²⁷.

Clipped Wings and Household Responsibilities

Since motherhood, in all its dimensions, is considered a primary role for Chilean women, women on farms are expected to take on all the housework and all the responsibility for rearing children and caring for the elderly. This leaves rural women little time for themselves or to go to Guild meetings.

²⁷ Chile Census 2012

Moreover, without land and resources it is nigh impossible for them to be independent of their husbands. This lack of independence is one of the main barriers facing women who want to attend A.G meetings. Isabel Reyes (INDAP) observed that many rural women are controlled by their husbands and male partners who devalue their work and undermine their capacity to participate in decision making. She said that the men, who often administer the marital property, are chauvinist and inflexible (I. Reyes, interview, May 2012). Aysen's rural women, most of whom don't have driver's licenses or vehicles, are thus stuck on small farms subject to their husband's whims and on dirt roads hours away from guild meetings.

There are women who have told **Noelia** that their husbands won't let them speak to anyone: She quoted them saying "My husband has kept me between these four walls and I have to make the food, wash [the clothes], bring up the children and I couldn't even go to Coyhaique". On the other hand, Noelia pointed out, there are also women who have had the courage to farm for economic gain, join the guild, and to encourage their husband to work in the fields with them. She said, "First you have to break their fear of leaving the house" (N. Retamal, interview, 2012, 51.54 - 51.57).

When I interviewed **Pamela** Vega she commented that while some women aren't motivated to attend meetings, there are others whose husbands won't let them attend. She said that sometimes new members say that their husbands get angry when they attend meetings or workshops, and tell them that "they are going to be doing stupid things and that they will be wasting their time with useless things." She said although the women sometimes attend regardless of their husbands, the majority say that they have had problems at home. "I think that it happened to all of us." She supposed that the husbands get used to it in the end, but

that they “don’t like it when we go to meetings, nor when we go away from the house for a week. Men don’t like their women to go out.” (P.Vega,interview, 2012, 50.02).

During the interview Pamela’s husband was pottering about in the background and when she spoke about an intensive weaving course she had attended, her husband joined the conversation and asked her, “If you already knew how to weave, why attend a course?” She answered that “there were many benefits, and I got to meet people.” He said to her, “it negated what I taught you.” So Pamela said, “It didn’t negate your tuition, but I learned other, additional things. One never stops learning ... There is free travel. You see,” she says to her husband, “you saved money. When are you going to buy me a ticket to Chiloe? With cabin accommodation and all.” She talked about her trips to Santiago, Chile’s capital, as well as other regional cities. She said, “If he has to spend a few days alone it’s not a big deal, I have been with him for more than 20 years.” She laughed, “I have won him over bit by bit” (P.Vega, interview 51.42).

Domestic Violence

Box 7. Domestic Violence statistics: In Aysen approximately 63% of women between the ages of 15 and 49 have experienced domestic violence in some form (SERNAM, 2006, p.85). This is even higher than the already alarming national figures which reveal that more than 50% of the women of Chile have suffered some form of domestic abuse – of which about 54% is physical and 17% is sexual (CEDAW, 2012).

Domestic violence is pervasive in the south of Chile. It negatively impacts emotional and physical health and wellbeing, it curtails the personal freedom of the victim, and is widely considered to be a violation of human rights.

Gender inequality is associated with domestic violence. A SERNAM²⁸ study (2006) which looked at the prevalence and effects of domestic violence in the Aysen region found that a woman is at increased risk of domestic violence when she is subordinate to the man in a relationship (p.82). Rural women, Isabel Reyes said, get trapped on the family farm and become prey to a vicious cycle of machismo and domestic abuse.

Pamela commented that “years ago”, men treated their women very badly. She said that the previous generations of men “were bad people with their women -- they kept their women on the farms, having children there, cold from the snow, and bringing up more than 15 children.”

Pamela: “My godmother Marina had 18 and that man made her suffer, he hit her, he kicked her, and he beat her, [while] she had her children ... and I believe that she hates him even now that he is dead... He was so wicked, and my godfather on top of it. He died years ago. The girls hated their father [but] I have never heard her speak badly of him. I always go and visit Marina but I have never heard her speak badly” (P.Vega, interview, 2012, 52.46 - 53.28).

The SERNAM (2006) report notes that by local custom, because men manage everything, they also establish the norms of right and wrong. Thus women often feel responsible for the violence perpetrated against them – as punishment for something they did. There are many women who believe that men have a right to beat women if they don’t fulfill their domestic duties, neglect their children, are disobedient, don’t agree to have sex, ask about other women, or if they suspect that they are unfaithful (p.82). It is notable that those who are victims of

²⁸ SERNAM: Servicio Nacional de Mujer, a Chilean State institution

domestic abuse are more likely to believe that domestic violence is deserved than those who aren't (p.83). When I was interviewing Pamela, her mother came over to join the conversation and said, "[Sometimes] one is to blame, yes, [but] you should never be hit by an unknown man, you should never let a stranger hit you, someone who is not your husband." Pamela argued with her, "Not even for that, not even for that."

Pamela: "We have an uncle - now that man was so awful to his woman that he cut her hair with his knife. They said that he had fits of jealousy, mad jealousy. In those years that poor humble woman suffered. They say that he grabbed her long hair and cut it off with a knife. Tio Toto. He was wicked with that woman. He kicked her; he threw her out into the night when he was in his moods. He took out his anger on her. He kicked her, and hit her and it was said that he shot at her. I heard that in winter, when it was all snowed over, meters of snow, that poor woman was thrown out barefoot. There, in the area where we live there were very bad people, who were terrible to their wives (P.Vega, interview, 2012, 54.46).

Pamela, her mother and now her sister continued to discuss the fact that while things are better nowadays, there are still men who abuse their wives. Pamela's sister commented "Now they kill them, now they arrive and kill them, they don't beat them, they kill them." However, they concluded that "women are also bad"" That some "women also take advantage and go out alone, go out to dance."

It is evident from the CEDAW (2012) report and the SERNAM study (2006) that women struggle in all aspects of their lives as a result of domestic abuse ²⁹ and that there is a strong

²⁹ **CEDAW 4 report (2012):** 350. It has been found that 63% of Chilean women who have experienced physical or sexual violence in a partnership show seven or more symptoms of mental health disorders¹⁷². Those symptoms include: diminished appetite, difficulty in performing daily activities, a feeling that they are unable to play a useful role in life, and contemplation of suicide. Such symptoms make it difficult for a woman to lead a normal family, professional or social life and to have confidence in herself, in her family, her community, and society in general.

relationship between domestic violence and mental health deterioration. Claudio Riquelme³⁰ of the Chilean Public Health Service said that there is a high incidence of depression and alcoholism among both genders in the rural sector. He noted that domestic abuse is rife as is incest; and that domestic violence, both physical and psychological, is very hard to monitor because only serious injuries get reported to the police. He estimates that fewer than 50% of the cases get reported. He believes that the domestic violence is an outcome of the Aysen region's isolation and recent homesteader colonization. It would seem that rural people consider violence against women normal because they have become accustomed to living a rough life. He said that aggressive masculinity (machismo) is a part of the local culture and when it is combined with alcohol men make bad decisions (C.Riquelme, interview, 2013). Jorge Montecinos, Director of Family Health, corroborated this and added that since domestic violence is considered to be culturally normal in the rural world it is very hard to get information about individual cases. In addition, health teams don't have the training to deal with these issues because they focus on biological disease (J.Montecinos, interview, 2013).

Sexual Abuse

Montecinos said that a big problem in the region is the sexual initiation of teenage girls. He estimates that over 50% of rural girls suffer sexual abuse, and that in 90% of the cases the

³⁰ Department chief, Department of Quality of Life, Aysen Public Health Service

perpetrator of the abuse is a family member or someone close to the family – uncle, grandfather, step father (J.Montecinos, interview, 2013).

Incest and sexual abuse is seldom verbalized by women and is a precursor to depression and to the acceptance and expectation of domestic violence in their marriages ³¹ (SERNAM, 2006, p.39). In Montecino's experience when women are members of a group their world opens, they get a chance to see other realities and their self esteem improves (J.Montecinos, interview, 2013). The Women's Agriculture Guild is just such an association and the benefit to the women who participate cannot be underestimated.

The Women's Agriculture Guild and Remediation

INDAP, in an effort to confront the problem of domestic violence, sponsored a psychologist to run a session about domestic abuse at one of the bi-annual meetings of the Women's Agriculture Guild. Isabel Reyes said the psychologist brought in actors who mimicked a matrimonial dialogue, and then showed ways and tools to reverse the situation. After the enactment, lots of the women told their personal stories – of the hidden violence of their men folk, and that they would no longer let the men hit them. One of the women from a particularly isolated area became very emotional. She said that it was very important to her to feel solidarity with other women, and not feel alone. Reyes pointed out that these situations are very delicate. This was an attempt to help women relieve their pain and also to teach them that they could live

³¹ Sernam (2006) study set in the Aysen region: 60% of women who were sexually abused before the age of 15 suffer from domestic violence

without violence in their lives, and that there are places to go for assistance (I. Reyes, interview, 2012)

According to the SERNAM (2006) study, women go for help when they can't bear the abuse any longer, when their children are suffering and when they are encouraged by friends and family to seek protection (p.65). This really shows the importance of circles of trust, such as the women's guild in the physical and mental wellbeing of the rural women.

After Chile ratified CEDAW, and other United Nations and Organization de Estados Americanos (OEA) conventions on preventing and combating violence against women, Chilean government institutions, under pressure, developed active policies and new laws against the discrimination of women and domestic violence. There have been campaigns against domestic violence, studies such as the 2005/6 SERNAM report and centers for abused women have been established, such as the Centro de la Mujer Rayen in Coyhaique. The Chilean police created a special branch to deal with intra-family violence and the Ministry of Health has taken charge of dealing with the cases.

Despite these efforts, statistics for domestic violence are much underestimated and change in Aysen has been slow because of the difficulty in penetrating the veil of silence that conceals the aggression within the southern farm culture. It is very difficult for women with no land rights and no independence to seek assistance. If they leave their husbands they potentially lose their homes and the land they farm. It is these very women who would most benefit from the solidarity of others in the Women's Agriculture Guild but they are least likely to be able to join the guild and attend the meetings.

Many of the rural women are worn down by their non-stop work, society's expectations of them, and their threatening husbands. It would seem that in many cases the costs of being seen to be a poor wife, not living up to the society's expectation of good mothering, and the threat of punishment are just too great for them to join the Guild and go to meetings.

7. Conclusion

The farmers in this study who are members of the Women's Agriculture Guild consider their membership to be beneficial on a number of levels. They perceive an improvement to their productive and commercial capabilities -- which they attribute to the Guild and to the INDAP-PRODEMU development initiatives. But moreover, the women all indicated that their association membership has kindled their self-confidence and self-esteem through education and peer support networks, and lessened their isolation.

There are 120 guild members and about 9,000 rural women in the Aysen region. Considering that the Guild plays a substantial role in improving the wellbeing of its members, it is surprising that the membership is such a low percentage of the population. This indicates that either the personal cost of membership outweighs the perceived benefits, and or that there has been insufficient outreach from the guild for new members.

The guild is providing substantial short term capacity building and sociopsychological benefits for its members; however, changes in society need to take place for it to reach its development potential in the long term. Both the guild and its members are being impeded by institutional bias and the gender inequity embedded in Chilean culture and law.

Strengths of the Guild:

The Guild plays a role in improving its member's economic wellbeing and it influences their sense of self-esteem and personal empowerment. This in turn contributes to their improved mental and physical health. In short, the women who are guild members have been

able to do more, bring money into the family coffers and generally feel better about themselves.

The guild also provides a network through which the women can look out for each other.

- Agriculture technology transfer workshops and the advice of extension officers has enabled the guild members to increase their production and claim a space (albeit small) in the market. This in turn has improved their economic wellbeing.
- Education in organization and marketing has given the women tools to better commercialize their products.
- The Guild provides information about services, grants and other financial assistance offered by the public institutions.
- Assists members navigate beaurocracy. It is difficult for rural women to navigate the varied program offerings of the many state institutions. The guild helps distill and integrate this information.
- Building community: By bringing them together for the purpose of workshops and assemblies, the Guild has been effective in drawing rural women out of their isolation and giving them a local and regional network of peers. Through field trips the farmers have an opportunity to expand their horizons.
- Psychological support. The women's only meetings provide an environment of confidentiality and solidarity where the members can disclose and discuss difficult home situations.
- Increased primary health care: The mobile clinics which are in attendance give the women access to medical and psychological attention.

Limitations of the Guild:

The guild is limited in membership and scope. Clearly the Guild has functioned as a vehicle for development, but it has done so with a small engine and sticky brakes. Its effectiveness is held back by the same restraints that affect the women -- the culture of domestic violence, Chile's civil code, and the lack of land tenure for women. Until these restrictions are removed, it is impossible to speak of true wellbeing for all its members.

- Relatively few women have joined – less than 2% of the region's rural women even though it is open to all rural women and the membership fees are very small.
- Little civic engagement. While its members have achieved some changes in local bylaws and regulations to accommodate their rural realities, they don't see themselves or the guild as having a role in civic engagement. Inequity is such a part of the women's lives that they can't imagine it any other way.

Building on the strengths of the guild:

- Member's survey: Much is surmised but there is very little information available about the true demographics of the present members -- for example their living conditions, literacy levels, family size, economic situations, whether they are caring for children or elderly parents, and so on. Norma said that the Guild is aware of this inadequacy and is trying to raise money to run an in-house survey of its members so that it can better address their needs. This should be a priority and in the future this information could be gathered from all new members at the time of application.

- Membership drive. A campaign encouraging the present members to bring in new members, especially younger women whom the present members could mentor. Considering that the women are very often restricted by their husbands from participating in associations, this membership campaign would need to be developed in a way that is non-threatening to the men in the society.
- Use global text messaging to inform the women about events, new programs, deadlines for subsidies etc. While this communication is effectively transmitted by radio, it is not transmitted in a written form and information can be easily missed.
- Access to legal advice: Legal charges are very high in Chile and it would serve the Guild members to have access to reduced cost or free legal or paralegal advisor services, as well as a negotiated discount at notaries public, which are often prohibitively costly. A legal clinic could be setup at Assemblies alongside the mobile health clinic. The services could include advice for women who are subject to domestic abuse, land title issues and with marriage regime decisions.
- Subsidized driving instruction. Most of the rural women don't drive and they all live in isolated places with very limited, if any public transport.
- Internet access and training. Most of the rural women have cell phones but no internet access. The new headquarters building in Coyhaique would be a good place for an internet connected computer.
- Classes in basic computer and internet usage. This is very important because ever more information is available online, and most grant and subsidy applications have to be filled out on line.

- In the future a Guild webpage could be set up with links to grants, training videos, agriculture information, legal advice, other farming associations and so on.
- The formation of community based savings groups for members who have no access to credit or grants.
- Group discounts for services or stores - this could serve as a membership incentive.

Legislative and Institutional changes needed:

If the guild is to play a meaningful long term role in the wellbeing of women smallholder farmers, the Chilean civil code needs to be amended and institutional discrimination must be removed.

The Mesa Rural and SERNAM, with the support of the farming associations, are well positioned to advocate for these changes.

- Land tenure should not be the only criteria for subsidies and credit.
- The wording on institutional documentation should be gender free. SAG is already working towards this; INDAP hasn't made it a priority.
- Women should be brought into management positions in the INDAP Coyhaique regional office. At present all the higher management positions in INDAP are filled by men.
- The provision in Chile's marriage regime that gives men administrative control over marital property must be completely removed.
- The civil code should include equity for all persons whether single, married, or in civil unions.

To Conclude:

While the Women's Agriculture Guild presently plays a significant role in the wellbeing of its members, it falls far short of its potential. In the short term, it is serving as a conduit for education, information and financial assistance and in doing so it contributes to the increase of female social and human capital in the farming community -- but it reaches a very small group of women. If the membership were to increase, the guild's role could increase. In the long run, as greater numbers of rural women become aware of the possibility of a reality other than their own, there will be a time when they feel sufficiently educated, empowered and supported to push back against the culture of *machismo*³² and create meaningful legislative change. The Women's Agriculture Guild's most valuable role in the future may be, while continuing to provide effective services, also to bring this chorus of rural women's voices to the public and political spheres.

³² male dominance

Annex I. TABLE OF STAKEHOLDERS WHICH PLAY A ROLE IN THE WELLBEING OF RURAL CHILEAN WOMEN

Regional stakeholders			
	Smallholder farmers: women		Have legal, economic, cultural and social constraints
	Small holder farmers: men		Have their own economic constraints, and also economic, physical and cultural control over the women
	<i>Asociación Gremial de Mujeres Productoras Campesinas de Aysén:</i>	Aysen Women's Agriculture Guild	Agriculture association for women smallholder farmers
	<i>La Mesa Regional de la Mujer Rural:</i> Rural Women's Committee	Rural Women's Committee	And advocacy committee that is made up from Civil Society Organizations such as the Women's Agriculture Guild; and representatives of all the public institutions representing the interests of women, such as: SERNAM, INDAP, MINAGRI, MINSAL, INTRAB, MINEDUC, MINECOM, PRODEMU, CONADI, IPS, MOP y Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales.
	Regional departments of the institutions directly contributing to women smallholder development	INDAP, <i>Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario</i> PRODEMU, <i>Fundación para la Promoción y Desarrollo de la Mujer.</i>	INDAP – PRODEMU agreement

	Department of Health		Provides mobile clinic at assemblies
	Other Regional departments of all the institutions related to the government	E.g. SERNAM, SAG, CONAF	Variously give talks at the Guild Assemblies. Are present with representatives of the Guild at Rural Women's Committee meetings.
	PRODESAL <i>Programa de Desarrollo Local</i>	INDAP program for local development	Assist male and female farmers in low income bracket
State institutions			
	<i>Congreso Nacional</i>	Legislative branch of Chilean government	Responsible for maintaining the inequitous civil code
	SERNAM	<i>Servicio Nacional de Mujer</i> : national Agency for Women's Rights	Created in 1991. A public institution to advocate for women
	INDAP	<i>Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario</i> : a public institution oriented towards the promotion and modernization of family/smallholder agriculture - productivity of	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1991 INDAP applied for funding for family farming from the Ministry of Social Development (MIDEPLAN) and received funding in 1992. - Formed an alliance with PRODEMU in 1992 to start and strengthen women's civil society groups and develop civic leaders, and to assist rural women to participate equally in society, the market, and within their families

		small, family farms through lending and technical assistance	
	MIDEPLAN	Ministry of Social Development	
	FOSIS	<i>Fondo de Solidaridad e Inversión Social</i> , The Fund for Solidarity and Social Investment	Created in 1990. Finances social development interventions that contribute to increased income levels and improved the quality of life of the poor.
	PRODEMU	<i>Fundación para la Promoción y Desarrollo de la Mujer</i> : Foundation for the Development of Women. Public-private institution to assist women. It is supported by the President's wife and funded by the Ministry of the Interior	Created in 1990. Formed an alliance with INDAP in 1992 to start and strengthen women's civil society groups and develop civic leaders, and to assist rural women to participate equally in society, the market, and within their families
	SAG	<i>Servicio Agrícola y Ganadero</i> : Agriculture and	Has gender mainstreaming programs in the regions.

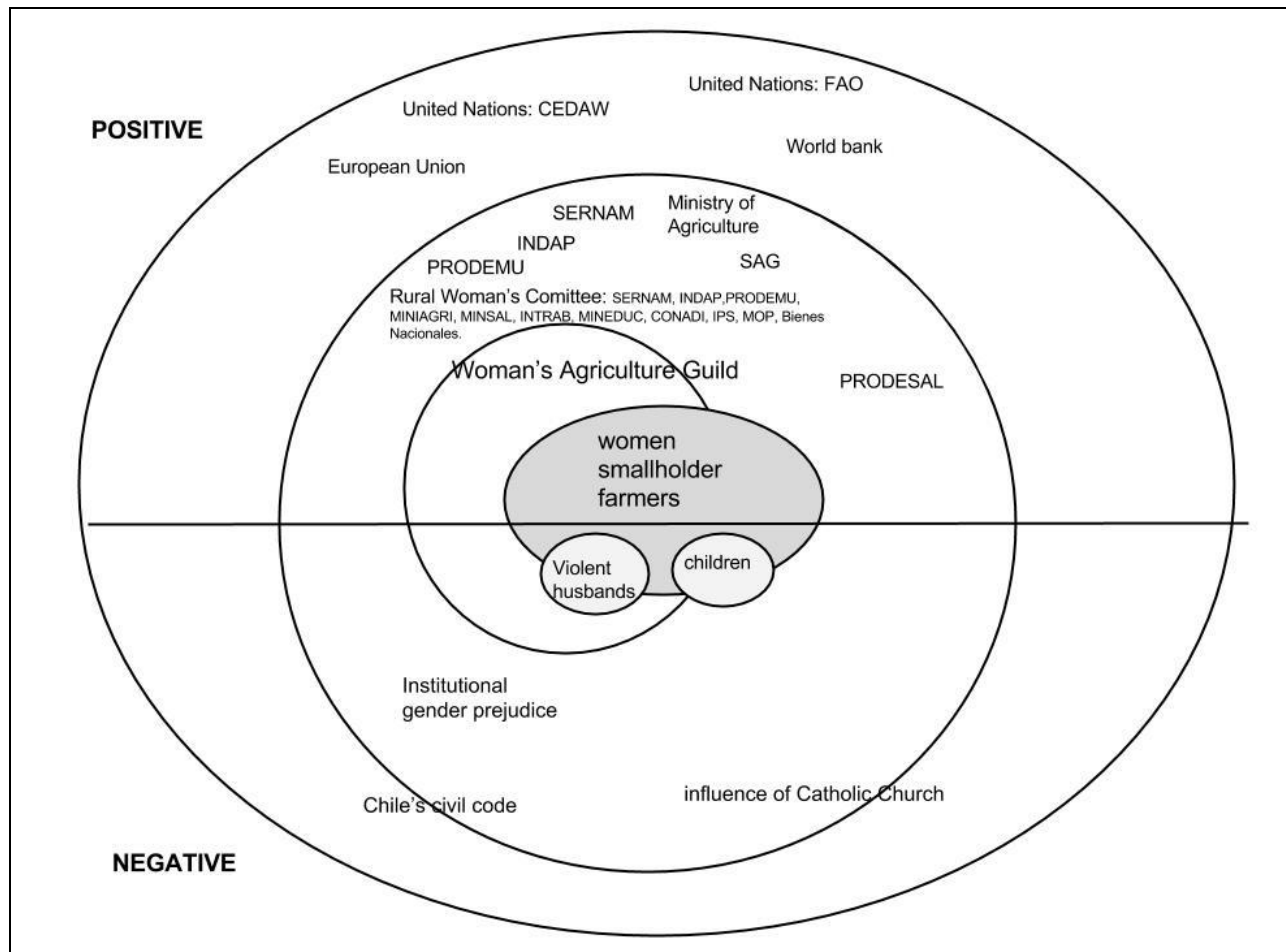
		Livestock Service	
	INIA	<i>Instituto de investigaciones Agropecuarias:</i> Institute for Agricultural Research	Under the Ministry of Agriculture, runs agriculture courses for farmers
	MINAGRI	<i>Ministerio de Agricultura:</i> Ministry of Agricultura	Oversees INIA, SAG
	MINSAL	<i>Ministerio de Salud:</i> Ministry of Health	Administer health care through regional hospitals and mobile clinics, such as the clinic which is present at Agriculture Guild Assemblies
	MINTRAB	<i>Ministerio de trabajo y Prevencion Social:</i> Ministry of Labor	
	MINEDUC	<i>Ministerio de Educación:</i> Ministry of Education	
	MINECOM	<i>Ministerio de Economía, Fomento y Turismo;</i> Ministry of Economy, development and Tourism	Has policy to increase gender equity
	CONADI	<i>Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena:</i> National	Many of the Aysen rural women are of indigenous descent. CONADI offers some subsidies, but hasn't worked through the Guild.

		Corporation for Indigenous Development	
	MOP	<i>Ministerio de obras Publicas:</i> Ministry of Public Works	
	Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales	Ministry of Public lands and National assets	Land titling is very costly – it could have a program to assist women title their lands.
	CONAF	<i>La Corporación Nacional Forestal:</i> Chilean forestry service, a public private institution under the Ministry of Agriculture.	Provides and approves forestry management plans, gives tree planting subsidies and tree-cutting permits.
	Catholic Church		Influences lawmakers and civil society to maintain the traditional family
International Interests			
	UN	United Nations	United Nations Women’s Decade (1976 – 1985) brought policy changes to Chile. Chile signed The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) in 1980 and the legislature ratified it in 1989, but the State hasn’t overall ratified the treaty because aspects of its civil code are not fully consistent with the terms of the Convention. (http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reservations-country.htm). - Impulse to changes in women’s rights

			- Joint fund to support projects from civil society organizations that promote gender equality in Chile. http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/6/european-union-and-un-women-to-fund-initiatives-for-gender-equality-in-chile/#sthash.m3reyTIX.dpuf
	EU		Joint fund to support projects from civil society organizations that promote gender equality in Chile. http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/6/european-union-and-un-women-to-fund-initiatives-for-gender-equality-in-chile/#sthash.m3reyTIX.dpuf
	FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations	Funds projects which support family agriculture, encourages opening spaces for women.
	World Bank		Advisory role and funding to the Ministry of Social development on development projects. Chile aims to be a developed country by 2018, but the world bank notes that it needs to respond to gender equity issues. It is engaged in (i)improving quality, financing, and equitable access to tertiary education services; (ii) improving the social protection system for the poor; and (iii) increasing the access of rural population to markets for their products” (World bank (2011, p.22)

Annex II.

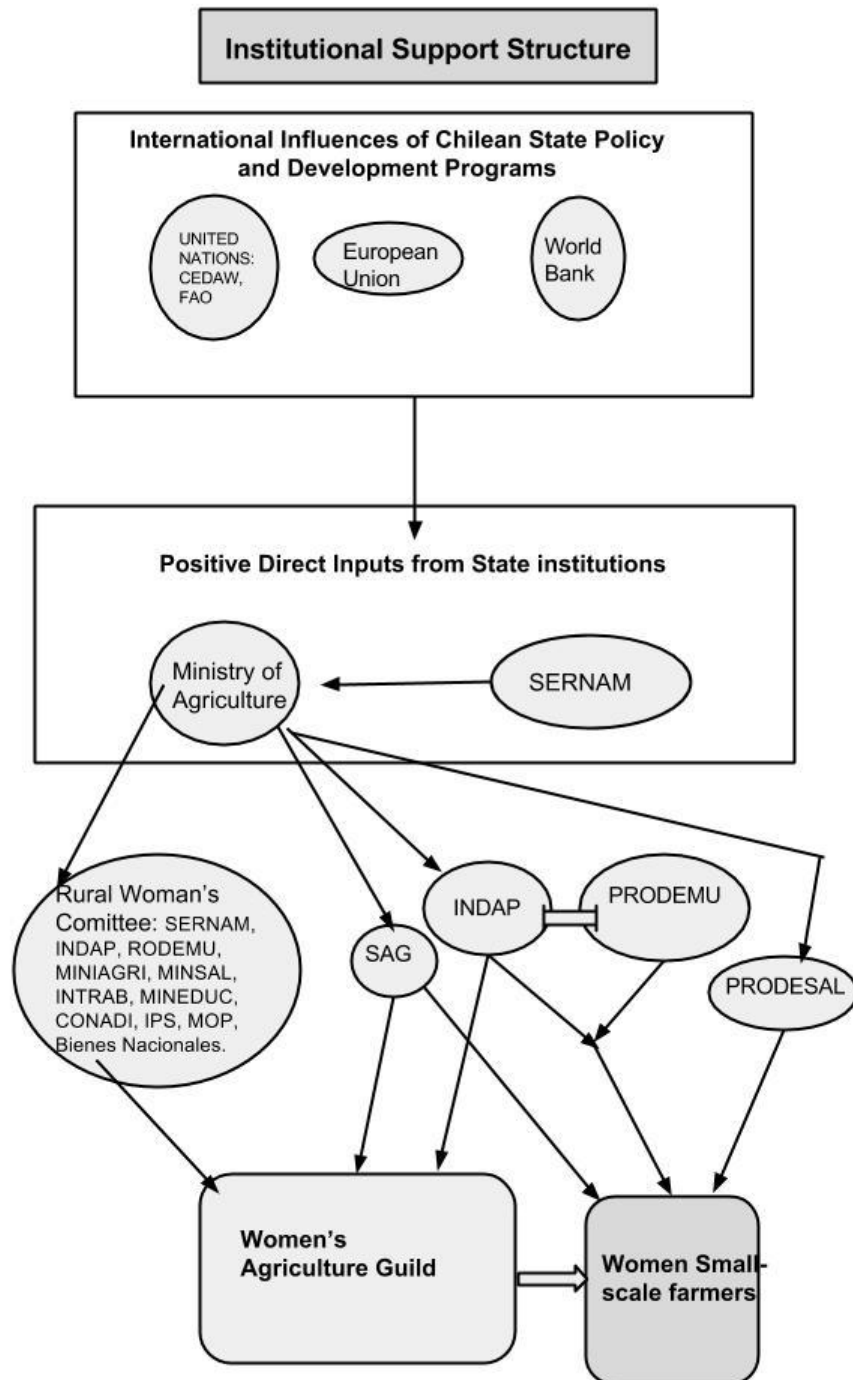
Stakeholder Influences on the Guild and Women Smallholder Farmers



Legend:

1. Concentric circles indicate local to international stakeholders
2. Upper half shows stakeholders in supportive roles
3. Lower half show stakeholders which hold back the guild and women's development.

Annex III. Tracing the Origins of the Women's Agriculture Guild: Historical and Current Support Structure



Annex IV. CHILE – Basic Facts



Map:
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/1981.htm> (retrieved 3.16.14)

Geographic Location:

Chile shares the southern cone of South America with Argentina, its eastern neighbor. It is bordered by the Pacific Ocean to the west and the Andes mountains to the east. Peru is to its north and Bolivia is to its northeast.

Size:

Chile is 302,778 sq. miles; nearly twice the size of California.

Region of Aysen (The location of this study) is 52,000 mile² (a little smaller than North Carolina).

Population:

Chile: 16, 341,929 (2012 Census)

Santiago, (Capital city): 6, 604,835

Aysen del General Ibáñez del Campo: 94,271.

Government:

Chile is a democratic republic with a President. It is divided into 15 regions. Each region is headed by a presidentially appointed regional administrator (*intendente*), and an indirectly-elected regional board (*consejo regional*). The Regions are divided into provinces, each of which is headed by a governor (*gobernador*), also appointed by the President. Provinces are further divided into communes, which are governed by municipalities.³³

Language:

Spanish is the official language. Mapudungun is spoken by indigenous Mapuches of the south.

Religion:

The Christian population is mostly Roman Catholic, but with growing Evangelical Protestant influence.

Ethnic groups of Chile:

Spanish ancestry predominates with other European influences being Irish, English, German Italian, Croatian, Basque, and Palestinian. A high percentage of the population is mestizo. Of Native Americans, small groups of Aymara and Diaguita groups live the northern deserts and high plains and about 800,000 Mapuches live in the south-central area.

³³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regions_of_Chile (retrieved, 3.6.14)

Education:

12 years of schooling is compulsory, and there is 95.7% adult literacy rate (UNEP). ³⁴

Health:

Infant mortality rate: 8/1,000. Life expectancy: 79 years³⁵

Economy³⁶:

GDP (PPP): \$268.3 billion (2012)

GDP per capita: 22,36 (2012)

GINI index: 52.1 (2009)

Approximately one-third of GDP are exports of goods and services. About three quarters of the total exports are commodities. Copper alone provides 19% of government revenue.

Trade: *Exports* \$77.94 billion: copper, fruit, fish products, paper and pulp, chemicals, wine

Major markets: U.S., Japan, China, Netherlands, South Korea, Brazil, Italy, Mexico.

Imports: \$75.7 billion (2013) petroleum and petroleum products, chemicals, electrical and telecommunications equipment, industrial machinery, vehicles, natural gas

Import partners: US 22.9%, China 18.2%, Argentina 6.6%, Brazil 6.5% (2012)

³⁴<http://www.unep.org/resourceefficiency/Consumption/EducationLifestylesandYouth/EducationforSustainableConsumptionESC/PilotProjectonESC2011-2013/Chile/tabid/101318/Default.aspx> (retrieved 3.16.14)

³⁵ *ibid*

³⁶ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ci.html> (retrieved 3.16.14)

Annex V. Aysen Region, Background information

The Aysen Region of Chile is isolated from the economic and political centre of the country by its rugged geography. Mountains, rainforests, glaciers and fjords impede land travel. As a result of its homesteading history it has a culturally idiosyncratic population -- its inhabitants are independent, have strong ideas about how things should be, and they are slow to accept change.

Aysen is situated in Patagonia about two thirds down Chile and it extends over about 42,000 square miles (which is a little smaller than the state of North Carolina). Coyhaique, its largest town is 1,400 airplane miles from Santiago, Chile's capital city. It is situated at about 45°S and 72°W. While it is not at the end of the world, locals say that you can see it from there. Until 1988, when a gravel road was opened through the forests, the only way to the north of Chile was by air, boat or through neighboring Argentina. Much of the region is still only accessible by horse, foot, or small boat.

Demographics:

There are now three towns and a number of small villages. According to the 2012 census, the total population is 94,271, of which 20,406 are rural and 73,865 are urban. 37,363 of the women are urban and 9,318 are rural. Coyhaique (founded in 1929 as an administrative centre) has a population of about 55,200, Puerto Aysen (established in 1914 as a quay and warehousing facility for the *Sociedad Industrial de Aysen*) has 22,000 inhabitants, Cochrane (founded in 1930) has 3,000 inhabitants, and Chile Chico has 4,660 inhabitants.

Commerce:

Today's commercial activity is revolves around sheep and cattle farming, logging and mining (zinc, silver and gold). Coyhaique is the largest city and financial centre. Puerto Chacabuco is the region's main port and the centre of the archipelagic fishing industry and has a number of fish processing plants.



Coyhaique

Salmon is farmed extensively in the fjords. Tourism is growing.

Colonization history:

This region was colonized by Chileans from the north in the early 1900s, shortly after the frontier with Argentina was demarcated.³⁷ Before this the fjords were inhabited by native the Alacaluf and exploited by the inhabitants of Chiloé Island who came in search of fish and wood. European seal and whale hunters also found their way there. The steppes had been the domain of nomadic Tehuelche peoples who hunted guanaco and ostrich-like rheas.

Three large farming concessions were granted to limited companies; on condition that they settle the land and export their products through Chile (Argentina was the easier option because of difficult access to the Pacific). In 1901, the *Compania Exploradora del Baker* was set up on 80,000 hectares, the *Sociedad Industrial de Aysen* was established in 1903 with 826,900 hectares

³⁷ 1902, the Patagonia border was established through mediation by Edward VII of England

and the *Sociedad Ganadera Cisnes* in 1924, with 150,000 hectares. Their shareholders were all of mixed European and British descent. Men, from the island of Chiloé and other areas to the north, made their way south to work as ranch hands. At the same time, encouraged by Chilean government, homesteaders trickled in to stake claim to land on the periphery of the large estancias. They herded their animals from central Chile through Argentina, often taking years to do so. Many were also of Mapuche origin, displaced by land titling and colonization policy in their territories.



Homesteaders travel the region on horseback

Geography, flora and fauna:

The landscape is dominated by the volcanic Andes which form a rain shadow to the east and drop off into a labyrinth of fjords on the west. San Valentin, (13,313 ft), the highest peak



San Valentin and the Exploradora glacier

in Patagonia stands above the north Patagonia ice

fields which surround it. Glaciers stretch both westward to the Pacific Ocean, and eastward where they melt into immense lakes. Rivers are plentiful. The climate is as varied as the geography with the temperate forests of the coast getting nearly 10 feet of rain every year, and the steppes only about 16 inches. The whole area has summer temperatures averaging 53F, but in winter the steppes freeze over. The wind is ever-present.

Dense temperate evergreen forests and stands of understory bamboo cover the mountainous islands of the archipelago while the foothills are covered with varieties of beech and other deciduous trees. The vegetation becomes more scrub-like towards the east until tussock grasslands predominate over the steppes.

There is not much wildlife – small numbers of Pudu deer, the world’s smallest, inhabit the forests and Andean deer, huemul live in the hilly transitional areas between forest and

scrubland. Guanacos are found in the steppes, while pumas and foxes range over most of the region. Other than that there are armadillos, skunks and various rodents.



Southern Highway (*Carretera Austral*)

Annex VI. Interview Questions

Farm production and the dynamics of labor:

What do you farm/produce? How many hectares do you work? What percentage of the farm do you work? How long have you been farming? Who else works the fields with you? What is the division of labour? How much do you produce in a season? How long is the season? From when to when?

Produce sales and marketing:

Where do you sell your produce? What would you consider your seasonal profit to be? How does that compare with the past 5 years? Is it greater/the same/less? What do you attribute that to?

Do you feel more productive?

How does that compare to other folk in the area?

Community and group membership:

Are you a member of a community group or co-operative? Is so, which, when do you meet?

What are the themes of discussion? In what ways, if any do you think these groups have been of assistance to you?

Now that you are a guild member, do you know more about the needs of your peers?

Have you learnt new things about the problems in your community?

Do you have new friends from the guild?

Are there any particular people in the guild who give you support?

Are you less isolated, or the same as before?

Technology transfer:

Are you receiving or have you received assistance from any organization? Which, what? How?

Did it change the way you farm or market your produce? Did you see any change? If so, what?

Financial assistance/credit loans:

How do you pay for your seed, fertilizer etc? How easy is it to get a loan? Who would you get the loan from?

Ownership of animals, machinery and property.

Do you own any animals?

Do you own any vehicles or farm machinery? If so, how did you buy it?

Who has title of the land? How long as the land been in the family?

Family history:

How long have you been living here? Where are you from originally? Where was your family from? Do you think that this influences your farming or marketing approach?

Personal Situation:

Do you think that your personal circumstances have been improved by guild membership?

Can you solve economic problems? How?

If you have personal problems, who do you speak to?

How do you acquire new information?

Have you learnt new skills?

If so, where do you learn them?

Annex VII. Consent form for Research

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Rhonda Klevansky, a graduate student at Duke University in the United States. The goal of the study is to determine the elements that contribute to the improvement in the livelihoods of women small-scale farmers in the south of Chile. Participating involves an interview. The information you provide in the interview will be used to develop a case study which will be a part of an academic paper about the challenges faced by women small-scale farmers.

The interview will take approximately an hour and will be tape recorded for later transcription and translation. As a participant, you will be free to decline to answer any of the questions and withdraw from the interview and the study at any time before the paper is completed. With your permission, I would like to use your name and your photograph in my report. If you would prefer not to be identified, I will not take your photograph and use only your initials to identify your statements during the interview.

The research paper will be handed into Duke University where it will be kept in the archives of the Master of Liberal Studies, The Sanford School of Public Policy and the Duke University library system. It may also be submitted to journals and published.

There is no monetary compensation for the interview.

The researcher may / may not use my name in your report of this research.

The researcher may / may not take my photograph and use it when you report the results of your research.

Signed:

Interviewee: _____

Interviewer: _____

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Personal Interviews

Marcia Catalan: Interview 12.5.12

Edith Foitzick: Interviews 5.24.12 ; 11.26.12

Oswaldo Gallardo: Interview 1.23.12

Heamna Manzur Véliz: Interviews 11.22.12

Domingo Medina Catalan: Interview 5.26.12

George Montecinos: Interview 12.5.12

Norma Quijada: Interview 5.21.12; 11.25.12

Noelia Retamal: Interviews 5.23.12; 11.28.12

Claudio Riquelme: Interview 12.5.12

Isabel Reyes Zuñiga: Interviews 5.23.12; 11.22.12

Pamela Vega: Interviews 5.26.12; 11.24.12

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Interview Transcriptions

Edith Foitzick Interview.

5.24.12. Edith's farm house, 5 miles from Coyhaique

Edith: He said to me, "you know what I have been thinking about renting out the pasture that we have here for him to bring his calves, and how do you feel about looking after them. Me with animals...I was still living in Coyhaique. .. So he said to me, Edith, I can offer you a salary, which was the minimum, and in those years that was 9,000 pesos, imagine, 9,000 pesos, plus 10% of the animals that survive – which you can chose. You have to let them graze in the morning, graze in the afternoon, and give them food. It meant opening the gate in the morning so that they could go into the pasture, and Herman, who worked as a labourer came two times a week to clean away the manure. "OK" I said. He brought me 60 calves, between them males and females. Do you know, of the 60 calves, not one died, the all lived and so I received 6. Cows. The next year, it was 2 years, I made that up to 12 cows, which were mine because I brought them up. I couldn't work outside in the corral because the cows always followed me and so [when I needed to] I disguised myself in very colourful clothes and all the cows rushed into the corner. I had a big shed where I gave them their food, with troughs for their food, wooden things, and so I would go in there while they were scattered all over the place outside, and then when I shouted, "come to eat" they would all come inside because they heard my voice. [But] If they saw me come in with food they would be all over me.

I did this for two years, and I still have cows. The cows here are from that beginning. I have kept breeding them, and have never bought one. That was the first farm work I had.

2.13 RK: Did you grow up on a farm?

Edith: No, when I was 5 years old I left my house. One day I got bored and I was taken to Coyhaique and never went back. I was 5 years old. My parents were from Coyhaique Alto. My father had farmland in Coyhaique Alto and so when I was small, my father told me that I was too small to be alone, because I was on my own. We were 8 siblings, 9, but one died, they brought me to get to know my grandmother, I didn't know Coyhaique - that was the first time.

My mother when to live on the farm and didn't come back, so they took me to my grandmother and because she was alone she fell in love with me and I didn't want to leave. So that's why I always say that when I was 5 years old I got tired of the farmland and went to Coyhaique. I grew up with my grandmother, that's how I was there and afterwards, when I married, we lived a year, no longer, with my mother-in-law and after that year we lived in Lago Atravesado and from there we came here, in 1980, and my son was born. And then, well, we did so many things, there were difficulties, but we were happy.

3.23. RK: Did you finish school?

Yes, strangely, I finished middle school early and they said to me, Edith, what are you going to do when you finish high school? I said that I am going to get married. They were shocked. They called my guardian, who was my neighbor and he said I need to speak with you. " My elderly neighbor told me that you are going to get married as soon as you finish your high school", and really, I didn't know what I was going to do 4 years hence, it was a joke, but I got married! And I got married, just as I had always said, I who got the top grades in school, and they said, but Edith you have good grades.... But I got married, happily I married Reynaldo.

4.41 RK: How old where you when you were married?

I was 18 years old. I finished school and married, as I said, destiny. I had 25 years of married life.

5.04 RK: How old was Reynaldo when he died?

Edith: He was 45 years old. I was 42. He died of a heart attack. It was very difficult. To be talking with someone and then....that's how it was. That day they went to Coyhaique, my daughter was studying at Inacap and we went to fetch her and first we went to do some things, to see my mother, and he ate an apple at my mother and then we left. He said that the apple made him feel sick and then... a few days later he wasn't feeling well and and I said let's go to the hospital but he said, no, I am not going, and then it was about 11 o'clock, 10. 50 approximately and he said he didn't want to go. And you know we went to bed. He said I will drink a glass of water and the feeling with pass; and well, we went to bed and you know what, this has happened to me two times, I got terribly sleepy, a sleepiness that came in seconds and wiped me out. We went to bed and I felt that Reynaldo got up but the sleep kept me down, but I felt the sudden noise in the bathroom. I awoke with the bang and he was in the bathroom. The same thing

happened to me when my father died, and my grandfather, I always called him father, and he died here. So I went to see him but the sleep got the better of me.

Reynaldo said to me that he would eat cilantro from the garden, the garden was in front, where the chicken coup is now, that large area was the garden. So he said he was eat cilantro, and there was a sofa there or here rather, because the house was just up to here en those year and...when I opened the door Reynaldo woke me up, my father was there and I go inside to give him food he was already gone... and the same thing happened with Reinaldo, this terrible sleepiness.

We did what we could. We took him to the hospital. He arrived alive at the hospital but they could not do anything. If he had lived, I am not sure how he would be because he was a long time like that [unconscious]. So they told me, he would not have been normal if he had lived because it took a long time to get to Coyhaique. These are terrible things that happen because they happen so fast. There is nothing that you can do.

7.35 Edith: For me, destiny is destiny....

7.58 Edith. I was going to tell you that this was the first work that I had, because I was always with Reinaldo with the business of the farm machinery and brokerage. When we started we had a butchery for a year, but we got tired of it because we spent so much time out of the house and the children were alone. My father stayed here with the children, he stayed here and prepared their lunches. We had the butchery for a year and we closed it and I still had my cows. The butchery was after I got my cows.

After this, one day, Ildegard, I had a small greenhouse in the front, Ildegard said to me, hey, she said to me, at that time I was selling produce at a friend's vegetable shop – lettuces, things like that, a little cilantro, some strawberries, we had planted strawberries, and I sold those things. So one day, Ildegard said to me, he, why don't we submit our produce to Brautigam [the supermarket]? That was years ago. And I said, neighbor, wouldn't it be too much to think about selling at the supermarket, we only have a very small amount of produce. And she said, look, if we submit between the two of us, that which I lack you can complement and vice versa. OK! She passed by on the road that you use over there and honked her horn and shout, "Edith, or neighbor, she called me, more than anything, I need 20 lettuces! Ok, I said, and she would go

that way and prepare her lettuces and [later] she would pass by and collect the 20 from me to compete the total and so I began to work with Ildegard and she did the paperwork and all, she had a tax number so that she could sell vegetables and she could invoice and so we worked together and after that we went to Multimas, as it was called [the other supermarket] and the people from Brautigam came here to inspect and we spent two years selling to Brautigam and Multimas. For that I build another greenhouse,.. and I began to plant more, and so we began to hand in more produce. We worked a number of years together and were the first suppliers of local produce to the supermarket in those years. I think we worked together for, I don't know, perhaps 4 years, and then we began to take in the merchandize, before she always took it into town, and I would say to her, Ildegard, I need.... She laughs, and we began to have a lot of merchandize between the two of us, so what did we do, we separated, we split, but I always took in her produce and she always took mine. When I could invoice my own produce and she hers, we separated. Reinaldo got a tax number and he had his livestock and could also sell agricultural products, so we did it that way.

10.45 RK: What year was this?

Edith: Oh, I don't remember, let's see, my grandfather died in, let's see, 86, he died in 86, my grandmother died in 83, my grandfather in 86... and when my grandfather was alive, no it was after, so it had to have been around 89, that I began to sell produce, yes, I think that is the year it must have been, because it was after my grandfather died.

11.26 RK: Why did you decide to start selling vegetables?

Edith: Listen, there was a niece, a cousin in El Claro, she sold carrots and other vegetables at a vegetable shop, and so I said to my husband, you know what, why don't we plant carrots, for sale to the schools and the prison, and so that was the first thing we did, before we began to sell lettuces it was carrots, I worked with my husband and we sold carrots. We planted where Carolina's house is, where the corral is, all of that area. And so we handed in carrots to a man in Aysen and he sold them to the schools and the hospital and that was the first thing we did and afterwards I began with the vegetables. The next year we began to see a few lettuces. I sold eggs, I went with Reinaldo to drop the kids at school and twice a week I sold eggs to the same person, and at the same time I left a list of the vegetables I had – lettuce, coriander,

potatoes, carrots, beets, peas, fava beans, I took a small list with all the prices and she would tell me to bring her a few peas and so forth.

12.29 Edith: She gave me orders every week and paid me monthly, and I had I don't know, perhaps 5 or 6 clients, not more, and afterwards I began to sell in the vegetable store of a friend in Pratt Street, and after that I began with Ildegard. With Ildegard I began after I had already begun to sell to friends, with the people to whom I sold eggs and I made some cash every week because some people paid me straight away, and others paid me at the end of the month. And so I began with these things, with eggs, and then vegetables a little at a time, and then with Ildegard and afterwards I became independent of Ildegard and continued alone. We handed in a large amount of merchandise, to two or three providers, not more and in that way we handed in 60 to 80 bundles of carrots, the same numbers of potatoes, lettuce, two hundred head of lettuce three times a week, two hundred head of lettuce, three hundred in the end, and now I continue with the supermarket. Reinaldo dies and I continue handing in produce to the supermarket.

13.35 RK: Where do you sell? Who to?

Edith: Unimarc

13.41. RK: How did you learn to negotiate with the supermarket?

Look, they have always simply asked us to bring the hundred lettuces. The lettuces have to be washed, without roots and we hand them in....

13.58 RK: So you didn't have to negotiate the prices?

Edith: They always set the price, they set the price and imagine, at that time, people in the guilds are selling their vegetables in the street every Saturday, and now they are taking them to the market up the hill, and I don't know if they sell them. They charge, say, 100 pesos a lettuce and we sell to the supermarket at say, 70 pesos, everyone said, how can you sell for less, you are giving away your work, but the difference is that I take 100 lettuces at 70 pesos a lettuce and then I come home and sleep or rest or do what I want. They take perhaps 100 lettuces but perhaps only sell 50 because people don't buy the rest and they have to then sell cheaper to the vegetable shop, I don't know what their system is, but in the end they begin to sell to the supermarket...and I was the stupid one! They said that we were foolish selling our produce so

cheaply to the supermarket, sure but they have seen the progress and when you do your accounts in the end, your profits are in quantity.

15.17 Edith: And so I handed in vegetables, huge deliveries, large amounts and I worked alone. Reinlado helped me very little because he was working with the farm machinery, but he helped me to prepare vegetables, carrots for example, he helped me to put together the bunches. At three in the morning we would manage to finish putting together the 700 bunches of carrots, which were what we most delivered, with a truck load with the thousand kgs right up to the top.

Three in the morning is when we would go to bed, and set the alarm for 7 in order to deliver the produce at 8. By 11 in the morning we would go to sleep. It took the whole morning. Since then, more people have arrived with produce to sell and the quantities received have dropped because they began to distribute the demand between producers, but I am still there. There are many people who have left. They left because they sell at a higher price at the farmer's market and so it suits them, but I sell in quantities. I can deliver 200 lettuces. The production of 200 lettuces depends on the weather, for example if there is a lot heat you can't produce lettuces in the greenhouse, and so on, so much coriander, and so much chard. And so I go and take the order and the next day I deliver it all, and I tell them straight away, I still have this much lettuce, this much coriander. I keep moving forwards, and that way you fill the week with produce, all the produce that you need to sell.

16.56 Edith: This year the strike affected us a lot..... re strike...

18.44 Edith: But the success of business is also luck, luck – luck that you get on with people, because you are not going to get along with everyone everywhere, for example there might be people in the supermarket you don't like, but you have to deliver there anyway, so you have to pretend not to notice. I say to myself, it doesn't matter because I am not an employee of the supermarket, I am a supplier to the supermarket, and that person who is unpleasant to me today most probably won't be there tomorrow, they will be gone, they'll be thrown out. They are not going to throw me out, and over the years I have seen grumps and grumps and grumps.

19.25 RK: Do you work alone?

Edith: Yes, alone. Herman has gone, I am alone, alone.

19.44 RK: How much do you plant?

Edith: Less than half a hectare.

19.57 RK: How do you achieve so much with so little land?

Edith: I have greenhouses, 11 greenhouses.

20.05 RK: How do you manage to work alone in 11 greenhouses?

Edith: I don't know, I guess I am organized. I am very organized, and have always been very organized. I have always said, ok, tomorrow I will clean this, this and this. I get up at a certain hour and go to work for 2 hours. I don't work more than that in the mornings and the afternoons because that is all the time I have. So I organize to do some things in the mornings and some things in the afternoons.

20.23 Edith: In order to plant in a greenhouse the first thing you have to do is pass through with a roto-cultivator and leave lines. Then you can sow the seeds. It is no problem to take a roto-cultivator into the greenhouse, it moves the earth. With lettuce you have to sow en masse, and then afterwards transplant the seedlings. When it is time to transplant, I transplant everything and then leave it. After that about 20 days go by the lettuces will have grown and as long as no grass grown between them all is well. I weed two or three greenhouses twice a day. It is not difficult to weed because I don't let the weeds grow much. I clean two or three one day, then two or three others the next, and in that way I have all the greenhouses kept up to date in a couple of days. And then I wait for the produce to grow.

21.34 Edith: Now, when the produce is ready for delivery that is a day of work to deliver and another day to clean the area that you have harvested and re-plant it again.

RK: How do you take the produce to the supermarket, do you take it in your jeep?

Edith: It depends on the quantity. In the Jeep I can take 150 lettuces on their own, maybe even 200, up to the rood that is. If it is over 200, or if I take lettuces and corianda, for example, I have to take the pickup truck. I load it on my own. If I am taking carrots, mind you, and I don't have anyone to help me, I take two planks, this is whether it is the jeep or the pickup and I get by bags and pulls them along to the truck and then roll them onto the truck.

22.35 Edith:I am knows at the supermarket as the woman who works on her own, and it is mostly women who work there in any case....well sometimes there are also women, but the boss is a woman I have known for many years now.

23.00 RK: Do you think that having a woman in charge at the supermarket has made it possible for women to supply the supermarket with produce?

Edith: No, that's not it. I think that the woman who works there has known me for many years, she worked at the vegetable shot Refrisur, ...in the years when I hadn't even thought about vegetables, she worked there, and then afterwards we met each other again at the supermarket and in the end she got the receptionist job and she makes the orders and so I call her by telephone and thus I have known her for many years. But there has never been what sometimes happens, bribery between us, never.

23.59 RK: Would a woman in charge have more sympathy towards other women?

Edith: No, I don't think so, there was a woman with whom I had a problem. In those years there was a young woman who was the receptionist, and she counted my carrots wrong, I delivered 600 bunches and she counted 280. No I said, you have to count them all again, imagine – I count the bunches when I harvest them, count them when I wash them, count them when I put them onto the vehicle. I might make a mistake with 10 bunches, right? But more than 100 bunches, impossible. That women stayed on as receptionist, I tell you, but she had a thing for my husband, she was one of those women who only attend men well, if you are a women you are a treated like crap. Well my husband died and she was still the receptionist, but do you know what, they moved her shortly after that, and then they got rid of her. I had problems with her, but there are men who are also sometimes, as receptionists are not helpful at all. ...one day my cousin delivered goods, and they wouldn't receive his garlics because they were crooked garlics... but garlics don't all grow straight, they are crooked.... Sometimes they put people there to receive goods who have no idea.

25.52 Edith: chats about Manuel's cousin Ricardo Riquelme who was a difficult receptionist at the supermarket and would taste the lettuce.....

26.50 Edith: And others, since I have been delivering produce for so many years don't even count it because they know that I will bring the exact amount, never less and of good quality. I

check the lettuces so that they are clean, don't have bugs, and all that, so that they know I will deliver good produce and so they don't check mine at all, after all these years that I have been delivering.

27.22 RK: How much do you produce per season?

Edith: Last year I delivered 5,000 lettuces, 5,000 heads of lettuce in the season and the season begins for me in November, because it is very cold here, it is difficult to deliver before. November until May is possible, if there isn't frost. And every year I keep a note of what I deliver. There is also coriander. I am not sure how many bunches of coriander, but I think I probably harvested about 3,000 bunches. I delivered lots of coriander. Also, the year before I delivered more than 1,000kgs of carrots, while before I have delivered more than 15,000 kgs of carrots a season, but I have since planted fewer carrots. I was not getting good results so I decided to go more for green vegetables.

28.28 RK: What else do you plant?

Edith: I deliver radishes, but less because they sell less and chard, which is very saleable but I don't work it 100 percent yet. I have begun with a little because chard is very difficult to maintain, the earwigs eat it, but this year I delivered more chard than the previous year.

28.50 RK. How much chard?

Edith: I think that with chard this year, I don't know how many bunches I delivered but it was probably around 550; but if one dedicated oneself to it, this could easily reach 4,000 bunches.

29.07 RK: Can you live well off this, or do you have to have other sources of income?

Edith: Other sources of income. It is a short season and so you have to diversify. I used to take all the income and divide it up by month, but now it doesn't give me enough to say I can live on it through June, July, August, September, it is not possible. There is not that much that one needs to buy, and we have had problems with the supermarket, so everyone has a lowered production, I have had problems with their new coding system. They say that the new codes aren't ready and while the codes aren't ready I can't sell, coriander for example. You can't take a whole lot of coriander or radishes and when you get there there isn't a code. You would have to throw it all away. It's your work, a waste of time, a month lost.

30.27 RK: What other income do you have?

Edith: Que otro entrada tengo yo? The hay. I sell half and use the other half for my cows and my calves. The calves.

30.45 RK: And milk?

RK: Sheep?

Edith: No.

Edith: I keep sheep for my own consumption. I eat them myself. (Laughs). And so you have to have many small incomes in order to get ahead, if not, it is not enough. In any case, I work nothing more than to live....I now work to subsist, but in those years I bought the pickup truck with my lettuces, with the vegetables.

31. 40. Edith: So I live mostly off my vegetables and my house in Coyhaique. I have a house in Coyhaique which I rent out, so I live off the vegetables and the rent, and if I am short I get money from the calves, but I usually hold that money because in the hay season one has to buy fuel and one has to pay people to bring in the hay, but generally I don't use the money from the hay or the calves. I live more off my vegetables and the house rent. And also I don't have many expenses. I live alone and organize myself. For example, every month, I am very organized, every month I would leave 250,000 for my costs, light, telephone, fuel, food, glasses, and one day I said to myself, why am I spending so much money? So I started to take out less money, for example 20,000 for the week, and put that into my handbag and with that I would have to last the week.

Edith: I would go to Coyhaique and could not spend the 20,000 pesos.

I sell a calf, and then use the money to buy in bulk pasta, oil, sugar, and the rest of the money is for perishables – fruit, milk products, bread, because I am lazy and don't make it. So I find that I end up saving money. But I also save money, you know why? Because now I don't go to Coyhaique like I used to. If I go to the supermarket to buy a few things I always leave with a heap of things, but now if I only get what I need, and save on the cost of fuel I can save 90 to 100,000 pesos a month.....

34.59 Edith: Long story about returning from Punta Arenas, tax, accountant and the strike....

40.00 Edith: last year I went to Chiloe, with a group of people to learn how the people work in Chiloe. They took two people from the supermarket, independents and other people from

groups so that they could learn. They were people who were just starting out. There was a group that concentrated on growing garlic and others from Balmaceda. They were all small groups of women who went to learn how other people worked, how they worked in Chiloe. We were taken, Irene and me, because we work a lot with the supermarket and we could contribute ideas. She began working with the Claro guild, an agricultural association that is here. But Irene left the group and began to work on her own, because, she realized, told me, that it wasn't necessary to be in those groups and that they can cause problems for your deliveries because you have to do the same as 10 or 20 people. Each person sows garlic in their own area and then all the head of garlic are gathered together and sold. But not everyone grows garlic in the same way. Once they said that we had to deliver in association with others or they wouldn't receive our produce and they wanted one person to do the invoice for two or three people, but it didn't work. Why didn't it work? Because the quality was different. I have a certain quality of lettuce, I hand in my quality and another person comes along with poor quality and that makes me lose my business. I think that that is the most difficult part of selling in groups/associations.

41.42 Edith: Now, those people that are in the groups in the Claro or lower Coyhaique, each one has their own tax number and each one sells their own produce. For example, those people who are in associated groups, they are also related to each other. For example, in those areas they are all family. They put together a group and even bought a pickup truck with a grant from Indap so that they could bring their produce to town. How the group is working nowadays, I don't know. Perhaps because they are all family it is not difficult.

42.29 RK Have you ever thought of joining the AG?

Edith: No, I never chose to, and less now.

RK: What about the training and social opportunities?

Edith: Well, we have had training at the supermarket. In things like how to prepare food, I also have a diploma in marketing, how to prepare herbicide and so on, And we did various things in the supermarket with a project that the supermarket had, I don't know if it was with Corfo, I can't remember, it was a few years ago. They offered us various courses.

43.05 Edith: I don't know, to belong to a group doesn't matter. For the market I have never had problems, I deliver and deliver all my varieties. I know what I hand in, for this reason I say that they people who sell up at the farmer's market, each one of them takes their own produce, they have their own stand, their quality and they sometimes participate in [government or NGO] projects, for example the store front that they are requesting is a project, it will be a place for them to sell their produce. They were given the money to buy the land, for the construction and everything. But as far as I know, I don't know what other benefits they receive.

I, also, as an independent, have received benefits from INDAP. I have built a greenhouse with the benefits from an INDAP [grant], from projects [grants, subsidies] I have built greenhouses, a wash area, a room for storage and working, a storeroom for herbicides and insecticides, an irrigation system, yes year ago, I was one of the first people to put in a fertilizing irrigation system, I bought a roto-cultivator with an INDAP grant, and I did it alone. So there is no need to be a part of a group because if I had bought a roto-cultivator with a group then it would be for everyone [I would have to share it].

44.30 Edith: And so if you need it today, and with the climate being so difficult, that if there is suddenly a good day in August everyone is going to want to [work the land], and if you have to do so in a group, only one person [can use the roto-cultivator] and the rest end up not being able to do what they need to, so I think that it is better for me to work independently.

44.49 RK: Have you got credit from INDAP?

Edith: I have never asked for a loan. No, you know when those big subsidized greenhouses arrived, and in those those years many people invested in subsidized greenhouses, but they were very expensive. A person came by, Janella Saene, who passed away a while ago, and she came to ask me why I didn't want to buy a subsidized green house and why I used only handmade, artesanal green houses, and I answered by would I pay for something expensive that will take perhaps 2 seasons to pay off that green house, and what would I do in the meantime? I prefer to have a handmade green house that costs, I don't know, perhaps 400, 000 pesos, that I can pay for, I can pay for a whole greenhouse with one production [crop/harvest], and then the rest is mine, I don't owe anything to anybody. So as I said, I have never taken out

credit, because I have always worked with artesanal greenhouses. I prefer to use bamboo supports and polyethylene [plastic] that last me 5 years. So every 5 years I have to redo a greenhouse and as I said, with one production, I take out all the lettuce, and I pay for the greenhouse. I can do up to 3 crops of lettuce in a season, and so the second 2 are mine, to buy seed, to cover my costs. Why pay for something so expensive, it might last longer, but no, I chose not to.

46.16 RK: (Was that when Carmen and Manuel bought their greenhouse?)

Edith: Yes, that was the year, they were very expensive, about 2 million pesos for each greenhouse, for that reason they came and asked me why I didn't want to. And Yanella said that I had a good reply, that I was right, that I would have had to work about 2 years to pay it off, and I think that nowadays I wouldn't do it either.

46.45 RK: Was that an INDAP project?

Edith: Yes, those that are there, the new greenhouses are from a Indap subsidy, I first began with three, and then made up the money that I owed, a million and a half, and then I did 4 and then 3 or 4 more. The big ones I built 2 years ago, and now, this year, I didn't apply for any subsidies [grants].

47.17 RK: Are these projects from credit or subsidies from INDAP?

Edith: Subsidies. They give you a percentage of the cost of the project. They give you, for example, to give you a figure, one and a half million; and with that million and a half you have to build a greenhouse, but within that million and a half is also your money, which could be in the manpower [work] you will contribute.

47.40 RK: Did you apply for subsidies when Reinaldo was alive? I understand that if women want to apply for funding their husbands have to rent them the property...

Edith: Yes, In my case it was different. My husband had a tax number and so we sold produce under his name. When Reinaldo died, we set up the Reinaldo Foitzick association [company] and I worked for 2 years as part of the association Reinaldo Foitzick. The [management] at the supermarket were very considerate to me about this.

48.26 Edith: When I was working as part of the Reinaldo Foitzick association the cheques from the supermarket went to Reinaldo, and into a bank account in his name in the Banco de

Santander, where I had signing power and could get cheques in my name, but when the supermarket changed hands and because Unimarc [I couldn't continue with that system] and I had to get my own tax number and I began as Edith, and after Reinaldo died I applied for subsidies as Edith and nobody asked me for anything extra. Nobody asked me for anything extra because they knew me, and my husband had also applied for subsidies and so when he died the money was designated to him, [money] for planting the 5 hectares that are over there at the back and for the barn, and so when he died I still had to sow the field and they didn't want to give me the subsidy, and so I went to them and said, what do I do with the 5 hectares that are already plowed, what do I do, I can't seed it on my own [without the subsidy], they are 5 hectares, and so Mr Henny said ok, we will subsidize it, and you can build the barn. They gave me a month to finish the barn, and I did it, I built a 60m² barn, I had just enough for the roof and I finished my barn. That was the first thing that I did on my own, and the subsidies came in my name from INDAP and that's where I started from, and I then built the wash facilities, the store room, another store room that is here, and afterwards the last 4 greenhouses and an enlargement of my irrigation system, also as Edith. But this year I am awaiting the 2nd call from the CIG (?) for fertilizer, because now they are asking for a lot of [documentation], now they are asking for the title of the land, and before they never asked for it.

50.43 Edith: So now they are asking for it and I, we are a succession, and as a succession they will not give me any help.

50.51 RK: What does succession mean?

Edith: Those who succeed that person who came before. This is a succession, not a society. It means the people who are left after a person dies.

51.07 RK: So the property didn't pass into your name?

Edith: No, it is in the name of the three of us. And so, for me to work, to get a tax number, I had to get a [document] that gives me access to 10 hectares from my children so that I could continue to work, if not, I would not be able to work at all, because those with a succession don't get any support at all. And so I have the document from my children. I have the right to 30 hectares here as owner, and ten hectares to work. Now I [hope to] submit my paperwork to

the second call of SIG, to see if I [can get a subsidy] because I have been fertilizing for 2 years at my own cost, but there is a subsidy. The first year there wasn't money, and then next year the person who was going to write the grant for me didn't tell me in time and I lost the opportunity and this time I even have a soil analysis, but I am still waiting for the second call.

52.05 Edith: The SIG is a project to give access to fertilizer to improve pastures, that's what it refers to, the other is the PDI, which is for infrastructure, SAG is for fertilizer, seeds, cleaning the fields and so on.

52, 27 RK: Is this part of INDAP?

Edith: Yes, INDAP. SAG also offers subsidies, but for people of a different category, with more (laughs) money, and a few more (laughs) hectares. But in the year that we became a succession SAG offered assistance to succession, but I didn't want to apply because the land isn't that many hectares and generally the people who have more land work with SAG.

53.06 Edith: Re A.G membership

And so, I think that for the people who don't know how to [make a living from farming] these forms of groups are good, but one can work perfectly well alone. I began with very little, you have to begin and try things out, you have to pay for your apprenticeship, as they say. I didn't begin planting and harvesting straight away, for example [when I started] I didn't know much about growing lettuces, when you have to irrigate [water],...yes, I had losses in the beginning, but now I know, from the years of experience, exactly what I have to do, on what date, and how, everything. But in any case, you never stop learning,

53. 54 RK: These days so you still go to training courses, or do you mostly learn alone by doing?

Alone, but we have training at the Supermarket, and every now and again they call [about courses] and for example, this year there was an animal treatment course which they invited me to. So I did an animal treatment course and I learnt to inject, oh a lot of things. That was at the Austral University. It was a project from the Austral University, so every now and again they invite one to participate. When they have your information they phone. They invited me to participate in the watershed project. The watershed project is of the Concepcion University, I think that's what it is. The productive watershed, that's what they call it. They evaluate your

farmland by satellite and help you [utilize it well]. But I couldn't take part. The first time they called me I was busy working with the calves, working in the corral. Later they called when I was about to leave for Comodoro [Rivadavia, Argentina] the next day, and the researchers said that I should go by the office on my return, but I haven't had time. I think that it is probably over, I think so because they haven't called again. It's not that I didn't want to do it, I am interested but couldn't because I work alone, I have to take care of the planting, the animals, and the farmland itself. I do it all alone, and so I don't have time.

55.25 RK: Do you think that you have been more successful than many other women because you had a good husband?

Edith: Yes, it influenced a lot, because he was my support. He supported me and I always, if I do something and it doesn't work out I don't do it again, but my husband always said, no, you have to continue, if it went badly this year then the next year it will be better, you have to think that way, and I believe he influenced me a lot in that, because I was the kind of person that if I did something wrong I wouldn't want to continue. But that is not a way to be, and I learnt that and if things don't work out this year, for example the carrots didn't work out this year, then I will not give up on carrots, the next year I will sow more, but I will do it in a better way. I think that the earth wasn't fine enough and there were lots of lumps and bits of grass and so not all the seed grew, because I got huge carrots, nearly a kg each. They were huge, but very strange. They grew very big.

56.31 RK: Do you think that the AG is helpful for women who have difficult husbands?

Edith: No I don't believe so, because if the husband is difficult it is unlikely that he will let the women participate in these kinds of things, because there are a lot of chauvinists so I don't believe it [the organization membership would help].

I think, I don't know, that at times people participate in these groups so that they can go out, because I went to a meeting a few years ago, they invited me, to a pruning course, INDAP invited me, the associations phone me, Sra Edith, why don't you participate in these things, they have my information, and so I go. I go and there I am. We did a course about pruning and grafting. So I went to a barbeque and the group was organizing a trip to Santiago to learn about working better and to see things there. So they asked me why I didn't I join this group to go on

trips with them later. I said no, I have travelled, I went to Chiloe, I went to Quillota a few years ago and I was in a group, my husband was a member of FAGA, he joined and I participated, that was the most I got involved. He joined [the group] and then said, Edith, you go.

On top of that, I was the one who worked, then Alejandra, the girl who was in charge, she said that when they came here [to our farm] she thought that he lived alone, because Srsa Edith was never there and one day there was a meeting here and I arrived, and they thought, oh Edith, must be the maid.

My husband was very well known, ... and Alejandra told them, it is really the wife, the wife who works. So it was me who worked and him with the [farm] machinery business. So [one day] there was a meeting here [at the farm] and he said to the people, "let's go and see the greenhouse, let's go and see the crops", and they said, "wow, but how lovely", and I wasn't there, and he was happily showing off everything that there was, but you know it was me that did the work, and no-one knew that it was me that worked, but afterwards they laughed about it. It was me that did the work, because he was very business minded, my husband, he had very good ideas, but he didn't like [to work] the earth, well, I don't much either but it is profitable. Because many years have passed and I am a bit tired, I am not so young either, not so young, so I get tired, like I said, I work now to subsist, not more, because my children are now grown up and now I have to wait to go and accompany my husband over there where he awaits me (laughs). There I will tell him everything I have done here, and I will ask him why he didn't help me, why he left me along, yes, you had to help me, I will tell him, you left me alone.

59.10 Edith: But like I said, I am very reluctant to be in a group.

RK: What about joining FAGA?

Edith: I was there because my husband put me there, one day he came and say, Edith, there is a trip to Quillota, and I thing that you should go because what would I do if I don't sow [the field]. And I went to Quillota. We went to see [what they were growing] there, and I have always thought, why take people to the north? They just go to go on a trip. For me, if there was a possibility to go to Punta Arenas, I would there. Why? Because Punta Arenas is colder than us and so we would learn more there, for sure. I could learn a lot in Punta Arenas, but what am I going to lean in Quillota? I knew that they grow mostly tomatoes, and I have planted tomatoes,

but...there have been some nice tomatoes, but not a lot. So it wasn't useful and to go to Santiago, why? It's not useful, for us Punta Arenas would be useful and I don't think anyone has gone to Punta Arenas.

And so to participate in a group in order to go on a trip, no, that doesn't interest me. To learn, but not to go on trips [for the sake of going].

RK: So the projects are only good in some things?

1.01.20 Edith: No because if they taught us to use [planting containers] it would be ideal, I would like to do it, but if they don't teach us how to prepare the soil and if we don't have the materials then it is of no use to us. I have the trays, I bought them in Quillota and I brought them, Alejandra brought them for me to Aysen,.. but this goes with other ingredients so that you can take out the plant, complete.

1.01.56 Edith: And there are other kinds of things, such as the fact that INDAP makes us have a person, an agriculture technician to advise us. INDAP pays one part and we pay the other part, and this also gives us points when we apply for projects, that fact that there is an advisor. But do you know what, sincerely, the last advisor that we had didn't help a bit. Many times I phoned him with a problem, for example a pest that had got into the greenhouse, and he would say I will call back shortly, I'll look it up in the book, and the call never came.

In the end I spoke to another producer, who I have known for years and asked him, and he said, do this, do that. But the adviser didn't do anything for me, he would say, Sra Edith, I can't help you much because I am from Quillota and I know mostly how to grow tomatoes, so I need to learn from you all. So what help was that to us?

I swear, the last time I didn't pay anything. I said to him, I am not going to pay you because you were no help to me, you didn't give me any support. So he said to me, Sra Edith, I would like to teach you to use fertilizer in your irrigation, before I leave, because afterwards he resigned. I have the system from a project. They gave us the equipment to fertilize at the same time we irrigate, but we never did it because we never had [all that we needed].

1.03.25 Edith: So I went with this young man to buy the hoses and the joints for the hoses, everything that I needed for the system to put fertilizer in the irrigation, but then he left and I had all the hoses bought, and so I couldn't compete it, and it failed. There is only one person

who fertilizes with irrigation, there is only one person that I know of and he is in the Claro sector. We went to see what he was doing and then we bought everything, and tried to do it, but it didn't work out. So everything got half done, and didn't work.

1.04.09 Edith: So, I don't know, but these people who are in groups, what benefits they receive. I don't see much benefit, only, as I said, to go on trips, but they go to places that aren't useful for us because we don't have the same soil or climate as Santiago. ...

Talks about wanting to learn to do hydroponics, but they have never taught it.

1.05.18 Edith: For me, to go to a meeting of an established group, and just listen to complaints, listen to "I have this debt", "I didn't sell", "things didn't work out for me". I prefer to stay at home and work. For me, to go out and participate in a group it must be to learn something, or at least find out about what you need to know. They always complain that there aren't new people participating in cultivation, and they are right, because we, the people who are in this group, the suppliers for example are all [older] people.

1.05.57 RK: Do all the suppliers of the supermarket work individually?

Edith: There are those who work individually, but there is also the group from the Claro area, (SEA), who deliver goods together. I don't know how they organize it, but they do it. For me, it is better when each person provides the quantity that is requested because [otherwise] you see all types. You see different types of coriander, also different types of lettuce. You see that the difference between different people in the way they prepare the produce. Well there are also those from Atravesado Lake, and those that are from lower Coyhaique – but they mostly deliver up top, to the farmer's market, and some of those deliver to the supermarket, but usually as individuals, not as an association.

The people [from Atravesado Lake] deliver as a group as they have a small pickup truck to transport their produce – which was from a grant. This year they said that we could deliver in group, but you can't because we all have different varieties, and different ways of preparing things. I have my experience, and I am diligent in the delivery of my goods, the washing of [the produce]. Imagine, I have all the installations of a wash room here, with everything well organized and that is how I deliver produce. And then if someone arrives with poor quality they

could cause me to lose my [contract]. These are the things that I think that go against working as a group. I don't know, that's just my idea.

1.07.37 Edith: People ask me, Sra Edith, why do you work alone? Because I don't let anyone enter my greenhouses, they stay outside the door. Only I go into my greenhouses, and I harvest my vegetables, because I have seen that others step on the plants and so I am very possessive of my greenhouses. Years ago I employed people to clean the carrot crop, but I looked for women, because women are much more careful than men, who are more clumsy. Also, women work harder, they work harder than men.

Men always cut corners, take cigarette breaks, and stare because they are oglers, so men [workers] no! I don't let men into my house! (Laughs).

1.08.27 Edith: I like to work alone. I relax, prepare my things well. Sometimes Yohana and Nano [daughter in law and son] come when I have to bag 200, 300 lettuces, they come to help me bag [them]. I wash everything, leave everything prepared and draining, and they come afterwards to put on the bags, and help me, when it gets difficult for me. When you have to prepare 200, 300 lettuces it is a lot.

1.09.00 Edith: I consider myself lucky when it comes to work, I have had luck. I learnt doing it, from nothing, and I tell you, from nothing, because the first year I had only a little, and then it grew to bigger quantities. I believe that people today want everything to happen at once. People live very accelerated lives. They want to produce big quantities, but then they can't work.

I plant radishes, coriander, chard, lettuce, carrots. I could plant many more things but they don't all have the same irrigation [needs], they don't all need the same amount of water, so if you plant too many things then you lose some to save others. So I prefer to work [plant] this and nothing else.

If I were to plant peas now for the house, and I have some kgs left over, then I sell them, but not to the supermarket. This year I tried with some cucumbers and zucchini, and I ended up with lots of zucchinis. The zucchinis grew in the greenhouse. Beautiful zucchinis grew, all of them grew. They were from seed from the year before, but it is difficult to get zucchini to seed, so I had huge zucchini but without seed. I don't know why. Sure they were delicious zucchini.

I bought some cucumber seed, green cucumbers, and they grew coffee coloured, a novelty. But lots of cucumbers.

When I went recently to Argentina, there was frost here, and everything got burnt by the frost and the kids didn't bring in the vegetables, and so the cucumbers, and tomatoes got burnt by the frost.

Tomatoes, when they ripen are lovely, but you have to know what types of tomatoes to plant. Cucumbers, I bought green cucumbers and one day, at Christmas, I went to the greenhouse and I said, oh no, my cucumbers are rotten, they are yellow, I have lost everything, how stupid I am. I picked them, and they were hard, and I opened them up and they were that variety. If you looked at them, they looked like a stuffed potato. I gave some to Isolde – they were delicious, but unfortunately I couldn't sell them in the supermarket because they didn't get the famous code to me. So I gave them away, ate them, and then afterwards the frost go the rest, but I have seed to plant again this year, out of stubbornness. I hope you get to see them and take a photo of them.

End of tape.

Marcia Catalan interview

January 2013, Marcia's house in Coyhaique.

Marcia: Well, I concentrate on beekeeping, I am tax registered in that field, and as well as that, I work with my husband in agriculture. We cultivate vegetables in a greenhouse, in fields and we grow potatoes.

0.33 RK: How many bee hives do you have?

00.46 Marcia: There are 35, and each hive consists for a box, which has a chamber for breeding, a second box for storing food for the bees (the worker comb) and a third box with honey for harvesting. That's called the honey comb layer. One can have one or two honey comb boxes for harvesting.

1.35 RK Where are the hives?

1.43 Marcia: They are in a place which we rent.

1.51. RK: How much space do you need for 35 hives?

Marcia: It is a very small area, it could be about 20m x 30 m. The closes that the hives can be to each other is a metre and a half, and so you don't need much space to have hives.

2.17 RK: How did you begin?

I studied in the agricultural school here in Coyhaique, and there I learned the basics of apiculture and then well, my husband also likes bees and so we started to work together.

RK: What certificate do you get when you leave the Agricultural school?

2.49 Marcia: Agriculture technician. We learnt the basic there and afterwards we got organized. Indap got the bee keepers together and we formed a honey association, and through that association we began to get training, technical assistance y we also went on trips. At the national level there are always workshops and symposiums during the year, and so we began to attend these events and in that way acquired more knowledge. That way I began to lean better management techniques and we began to buy equipment. People used to use steel equipment, but they have begun to require us to use stainless steel, and so we began to buy it – a centrifuge, extractor, honey drums. It is a big investment in the beginning because all the equipment is very costly.

4.30 RK: Do all the bee keepers have all the equipment?

Marcia: No, not all.

4.36 RK: What does everyone else do?

They get hold of equipment, and we also, sometimes in summer, we provide the service of honey harvesting.

4.58 RK How long ago did the AG beekeepers start?

The guild began in 2006.

5.24 RK: In the greenhouses, you work together with your husband?

Yes.

RK: are you members of any agriculture associations?

5.32 Marcia: No, he is in the horticulture committee, and the potato guild. I don't participate in that.

RK: And the AG campesinas?

Marcia: No, that neither, only the beekeepers guild.

5.59 RK: so you are in the beekeepers guild and he sees to the agric. Guilds?

6.05: Marcia: Yes

6.11 RK: So when you rent the space for the bees, who does the rental?

Marcia: I do it. I manage all the business aspects.

6.47 RK: Do you have any of your own land?

No, all the places we work are rented.

7.08 Marcia: He was raised here in the city.

7.09 How come he decided to study agric?

Because he likes farm work.

7.42 RK: Who works in the beekeeping?

Well, he works directly with the hives in the farmland. He has worked alone there for the past two years. With the hives. He checks them and sees to all that has to be done in the field, including any medical treatment needed, and I accompany him to harvest the honey. He does more manual work, I concentrate on the bottling of the honey, the sales and we also work with bees wax. We process all the wax that is in the box and convert it into a new comb.

08.50 Marcia: The hive has ten frames, and each frame needs wax, and so we recycle the wax. It is melted down, processed, and turned into new sheets of wax to be placed into the frames. This wax has to be renewed all the time. It gets old with use, the bees make it old and it becomes black. When it gets dark, it has to be recycled, to be reprocessed. It is cleaned and returned to the hive.

9.30 RK: and the bees...,and do you use the wax for other things?

9.37 Marcia: Also to make candles. I am now involved in a project that I was awarded by Sercotec for the use of bees wax. Previously we made altar candles for the church – those are the big candles – we made them out of the same sheets of wax.

10.17 RK and so the candles that you make are to sell?

Yes, to sell.

RK: where will you sell them?

Marcia: In shops here in Coyhaique, in the handcrafts market and other areas where tourists can buy them.

10.38 RK: You don't have your own place to sell, do you?

Marcia: No, a place to sell, no. I sell the merchandise to the traders and they re-sell it.

11.18 RK: Since the beekeepers guild started have your sales improved?

Marcia: I began in 2007. I bought the equipment necessary to make the materials. To send it out to be made has a cost that makes it not worth the re-sales value.

12.10 RK: How did you learn to work with wood?

Marcia: That's what my husband does. I don't work with wood. He learnt a lot of carpentry from his father, and he likes the tools that are used in wood working. He bought a lathe, an electric sander. He already had a big sander, he has lots of tools for wood working, and it's what he likes to do. He is very excited about making the little boxes and he wants to make other models – that have space for two containers in a box that looks like a hive. The idea is to add value to the honey, because if I sell it like this, in a 1000 products I use 25kgs of honey and so I can earn more and the same from the wax. This is from a third of a sheet and so I can add value to the wax as well.

13.41 RK where did you get the idea to do this?

Marcia: I saw this in Argentina. In the trip to Buenos Aires I saw a souvenir that was like this and very pretty, with a card that you could adapt to any occasion - birthday, wedding, anniversary. You can have cards made up that serve any occasion.

14.19 RK: Did you go to Bs As on holiday?

Marcia: No, it was a world apiculture seminar. The event is run every 2 years and all countries that have apiculture attend, which are about 130 countries, and we went. We got a grant through the guild and we went to BS As. Seven of us went and we were there for the 4 days of the event.

15.36 RK: Was this the first big event you have attended?

Marcia: Yes, this was the first international conference.

15.49 RK: Do you have internet at your house?

Marcia: Yes, from my cell phone, I am connected all the time. 16.01 At home I also connect at night, but in general I use the internet on my cell phone.

RK: have you a computer at home?

Marcia: Yes, there is it. In the afternoons when I daughter arrives she uses it. And so in the evening I connect to the internet and that way I can also control her usage.

16.29 RK: How old is your daughter?

Marcia: She is 12, the only one. She is here in the school with is next door, but she just has this year there and then she goes to high school.

16.52 RK where do you go to school?

Marcia: In El Claro. The school there used to have boarding. I was a boarder, from the first grade to the seventh. I did eight grade here in a school in Coyhaique and from there I went to the agriculture school.

17.28 RK When you were in Coyhaique at school, where did you live?

I applied to JUNEAP, a student hostel. There was a student hostel in the agriculture school [premises]. The student hostel was right next to the agriculture school. And so from there I went to the agriculture school.

18.09 RK: Was it difficult to get a space?

Marcia's mother: No, she had good grades.

18.22 RK Does the hogar you went to still exist?

Marcia: Nowadays lodging is in private houses, there is no longer a hostel specifically for children from the rural areas. Nowadays children from the rural areas go to private houses. There are houses, there are people, who have space available in their houses to receive children as lodgers. The government pays for this, yes.

18.58 RK: How does that work? Compared to before?

I think that now there is more control [over the children], well, maybe not more control, but it is more homely, more... I don't know if it is better, because I don't have experience with children in hostals ...

Marcia's mother: The homes are more like family, because families are taking in the children,

19.36 RK: If you were needed to send your child nowadays, what would you do? Do you think it would be better to send your kid to boarding school or a family?

Marcia's mom: The children who stayed in the hostel became very independent. Nowadays they are not as independent.

RK: same question to Marcia:

Marcia: I haven't thought about it, but well, if I had to do so, it is complicated, because you have to have, the parents have to communicate well with the people who have their daughter in their house. But, it is more difficult. But the children who want to study also have to adapt to the rules of that house, to the schedule. The people who are looking after the child also have to create a schedule for him/her with times to be home, and so there can be more monitoring.

21.04 RK: so there is more control compared with boarding?

21.08 Marcia: At the hostel [we were] also controlled, a lot. There were [specific] times for breakfast, times for lunch, a time to go to bed. When we went out it was noted down, but still, since there were many of us, it was more disorderly. There were, for example, 100 children and three inspectors and so there was control, but not specific to each child.

21.59 RK: I ask because I wondered if it is easy, or difficult for a farm kid to access education?

Marcia: It's the same, in that it is managed by JUNEAP, and JUNEAP supervises the cases, because sometimes there could be various problems experience not only the child, but also by the family that has that child.

22.39 RK How many siblings are you?

I have three brothers.

RK: What do they do?

Marcia's mom: There is one in Punta Arenas, one in Puerto Cisnes.

Marcia: The eldest work in tourism in Torres del Paine. The next one works in a fish plant in Pto Cisnes and the other is still in the house on the farm. He works there, and therefore he is in charge of the farm. Yes, he works there.

23.29 RK: So all the kids finished high school?

Marcia's mom: No, not all. She finished, Joselito who is there finished his high school, and the first didn't finished because he had learning difficulties and so he only finished 11th grade and didn't want to study any more.

24.11 RK Do you think that girls study more than boys?

Marcia's mom: Yes, I have a brother who has three children, and never of the boys finished high school but the girl did.

24.34 RK: You are president of the guild, is that right?

Marcia: Yes.

RK: it has men and women?

Marcia: Yes, men and women, yes, there are 30 member and about half are women.

25.12 RK: If there are both men and women in a group, do the women have problems in development within the guild?

Marcia: No, you don't see any conflict or anything. In that sense, the men always try to help and to assist the women. Sometimes there is heavy work in apiculture where one needs a bit of strength or help from a man. But when they are asked for help, they are happy to assist.

25.47 RK: who speak more at meetings?

Marcia: The women, Yes, in general there are always more women in the organizational aspects of the guild. For example the president and the treasurer are women and the secretary is a man. There are always more women than men in the leadership.

26.25 Marcia: When activities are organized women participate more actively. Yes, it is as if they lazier. They might participate in, I don't know, in other things, or go to, for example, training or to do practical things in the in the fields. There they participate more.

27.00 RK: Do men turn up at the meetings?

Marcia: Yes, they come.

27.08 RK: Do the male bee keepers do this as their main source of income?

Marcia: As a first profession, no. The majority don't, but there are 2 or 3 who do. With respect to most of the activities, well, the men participate in reunions the same as the women, they give their opinions and in that sense they are also very active. Sometimes they have more practical farming experience than women, but with respect to business, marketing, or in doing

other things that require further work, women participate more. Because in apiculture there are [other] ways to can use the wax and the honey. You can make cosmetics with the wax and and you can make liquor and other preparations. It is here that women work more [than men].

28.53 RK – honey as primary income for men?

Marcia: The majority, no. There are three or four who do apiculture for a living, for the rest it is an additional activity.

29.10 RK: and women?

Marcia: The same with the women, there are three or four who do apiculture for a living, those that make confectionary out of the honey or sell bottled honey.

29.31 RK: the women who do this are also working with the bees?

Marcia: Yes.

29.34 RK: and the rest?

Marcia: The others do various work. In the city and on farms. [Beekeeping] isn't their primary activity. 29.51 There is a lot of variety. For example there is a woman who is a social worker, she works Monday to Friday in her profession, but she also keeps bees to harvest honey.

30.22 RK: are most people professionals, those that don't do it as their primary income?

Marcia: Yes, the majority are.

RK: They aren't house wives for example? They all have other jobs?

Marcia: Well, yes, there are two women who are older than 62, 63 years, and they work exclusively with the bees and are housewives, work at home and keep bees for a living.

31.08 RK Of the members, how many live in the rural sector, farms?

31.14 Marcia: About 15, or 16, half. Women also.

RK: What do the women who live on farms do aside from beekeeping?

Marcia: They are active in agriculture.

32.14 RK: Regarding A.G. Do you think that you have a better situation in life being a member of the guild?

Marcia: Yes, because there are lots of benefits in group membership. Well, generally we meet once a month where we talk about each person's bees, if they have any problems, we give each other advice, in beekeeping one has to treat the bees to keep them healthy and we talk about

which medications we are going to use, or if we are going to order it from another place. We order things together – medicines and whatever other product we need.

33.08 Marcia: We also organize training workshops and days out together to see work in the field. We also apply for grants during the year, as an association. We can apply to institutions that give resources to organizations so that they can function and this also helps us a lot. We have even been able to hire professionals to help us.

33.40 RK: What projects have you applied for this year?

Marcia: This year we are applying to Corfo to be a apiculture node. It is a program where we would have technical assistance for 2 years, because it is a 2 year project. Along with the assistance, the situation of each person who participates in the program is evaluated and given advice and help to improve - to improve their production process. And with this, there is training in the manufacturing of other bee based products. There are also technological trips, workshops in other cities, and specific training according to the interests of each participant, for example there is a laboratory course if someone wants to take it. There is also a course in the breeding of queen bees. And so it includes various activities associated with beekeeping.

35.07 Marcia: Also, we would get the support of a university, because we don't have the recourses to back the whole project. And so the university would create projects with us as the beneficiaries. This is what we have applied for and if it is approved we begin in 2013.

35.38 RK: with what funding did you go to Bs As?

Marcia: We applied for a grant from Sercotec to strengthen our trade organization. We worked for 2 years in that program. We worked in 2010 and 2012 with Sercotec. They gave us a certain amount of money for the year so that we could function and one of our activities was the trip to Apimundo.

36.20. RK Do you have more friends since you have been an AG member? Or are your friends from other sources?

Marcia: Yes, one makes friends. Not with everyone, but one makes friends. I think that there are about 5 people who I am closest to. We are always in contact, and we give each other a lot of assistance. There are always those who are closer than others.

37.25 RK: At the AG, do you touch on political themes? Or only bees.

Marcia: With respect to the business, as a succession, we have registered to sell our products in various markets and all our members can go and sell their goods.

38.19 RK: What about community problems?

Marcia: No, we are only focused on apiculture, which is the production and commercialization [of bee products] and on getting increased training. We have concentrated our efforts on getting more training.

38.56 RK: have any of the members had problems to be members?

Marcia: Yes, because we have an internal rule, because the basic rules of trade associations don't cover our purpose. And so, since we are an apiculture organization, only people who work with bees can be members. It does not suit us to have people who isn't a beekeeper. We accept people who want to keep bees but don't yet have them, but they would not have the right to vote, because they are not yet working in the field. They can get training so that they can at a later stage get their bees. So we have active and passive members. Active members have their bees and passive members don't yet have bees but are beginning to get training so that they can work with bees in the future.

40.26 RK: have women had problems becoming members?

Marcia: Women who have children find it harder to come as do those people who work on farms – when we have a meeting on a specific day they often can't come. In winter is it harder because the weather is very bad and the roads are sometimes impassable, and so in general we don't have meetings in winter, because not everyone comes. When we have to make important decisions the majority has to be present, if the majority is not there, we can't do anything.

Education: Well, not the majority, but at least half. There are also many older people as well. There are 4 people over 60 who didn't finish their elementary schooling, perhaps they completed 3 or 4 years of school, and then there are also people who have finished high school and who work in other things.

RK, the older people are women?

Marcia: There are more women, yes. There aren't any who are illiterate, but there are those who have less schooling.

RK: Does this present obstacles for them?

When there are more advanced things to do, for example projects where one needs to work with money or do accounting, yes. It is difficult for them to have a position in the directive, or to have a job with responsibility. In general they don't assume these responsibilities, but instead participate in other things, work together in other activities.

43.28 RK: Has being a member of the AG had any effect on your personal development – self esteem etc.?

Marcia: Yes, when I joined the guild I was 24, or 25 years old, and so I was the youngest of all the apiculturists and I was given this responsibility but in the beginning I struggled because I didn't have much experience in managing people. I had worked a few times with groups of people but now I worked a year, two years with people and I began to work within projects where a times it was difficult to get all the people to meet. It was a little difficult. There were also problems due to my in-experience, problems managing people we hired to work with the guild. But as time passed things changed and also I learnt what I needed to do, or things not to do, in order not to make so many mistakes. It has been very good, one learns a lot, one learns a lot about working with people and how to manage each person, because everyone is different, and so one learns to manage conflicts that would occur within the organization.

45.38 RK where did you learn all of this?

With training, organizational management, leadership courses. From Prodemu.
(Mother leaves)

46.23 Marcia: I did courses through Sercotec. They are always running courses and also, through Indap, we have always has technical assistance both with matters of production and also for the organization, the [development and] management of the organization.

47.03 RK Do you see other people within the A.G with changed lives?

Marcia: Yes, for example there are people who have always worked alone, who are not used to working with others, or sharing the information that they have. And they have changed and are not so.... Because after all there is space for everyone. It is not necessary for one agriculturist to compete with another because there is space to sell, there is market for everyone, and so before you would see no one giving information to anyone else, or advice; but now this is

changing, because before the meetings start, we have a half hour for [social] conversation and everyone arrives and starts asking about each other's bees – "how are you bees?" "And yours?" "I don't know, but mine are ill, I don't know what is happening to them", and the other person arrives and gives with advice and after that we start the meeting. This way there is a space for socializing and conversation.

48.44 RK and so you could say that the AG functions also to disseminate information?

Marcia: Yes

RK: If you have personal problems, who do you speak to about them?

Well, personal difficulties, - well, first the family and then close friends.

RK: are these fellow AG members?

49.36 Marcia: No.

49.45 RK: if you have economic difficulties, who would you go to?

Marcia: In truth I don't know, but in general one could go to an institution to ask for a loan, but I don't imagine asking for help and asking for money, no...

50.32 RK: Where did/ do you get financing to get your new equipment? Ban loan? Savings?

Marcia: From subsidies. Well, we got the majority of the machinery through Indap. We are subscribers to Indap and so we apply for projects [grants] and they finance a part of it.

51.12 RK: and where do you get that other part?

Marcia: For the moment, when you can't [yourself] you get credit, since the credit is annual, one can ask to pay the following year.

51.29 RK: where do you get the loans?

Marcia: Indap as well.

51.44 RK: Do you take out the loans, or does your husband do so?

Marcia: I take out that which pertains to apiculture. He works more with the vegetable side of it, and so he requests and applies to [those] projects and they subsidize a part of the vegetables [gardens]. He also has a separate tax registration. He is also registered as an apiculturist and as an agriculturist and so he can apply for apiculture projects as well. He has also acquired some equipment.

52.29 RK: But you don't go apply for agric. Projects?

Marcia: No, only apiculture.

52.39 RK: Do you have other animals that are yours?

Marcia: No

52.50 RK the beekeeping equipment is in your name?

Marcia: yes, yes, there is equipment that my husband has acquired, but I have obtained most of it.

53.16 RK: so you have your own stuff.

Marcia: Yes

53.39 RK: In what way are you married – separate, community property...?

Marcia: No, we just live together, we aren't married. Because we were young. I had my daughter when I was 20 years old and so we didn't want to marry because we were young and we didn't know how our relationship would turn out and now the years have gone past and we have begun to work together.

54.11 Marcia: When we started out we didn't work together. He had his work and I had mine, but when I had our daughter, we went to the farm land and began to work together. We started and then we began to acquire things and we never talked about getting married, but I still retain hope that I will marry. Laughs. But you don't need the paper to...

55.02 RK: Are your friends mostly married, or living with partners?

Many of my friends are married, but there are also many living with their partners. The majority live together [unmarried].

55.24 RK: Who makes that decision?

Marcia: I think that it is a decision made by both.

55.44 RK: what's better for a woman here, to be married or not?

Marcia: When a woman has independent work it is not a problem, but if a woman is a house wife and the husband works then health insurance becomes a problem. When the children are born you need to have benefits to get health insurance.

RK: To have that, do you have to be married?

Marcia: Yes, and if you are living together [unmarried] you don't get this benefit. There are many people who don't have health insurance because they are not married. The children

might have insurance because the father works, but if the women doesn't work, nor is she married, then she has nothing. She doesn't receive any benefits, she doesn't have health insurance. But if I work independently, I can have benefits [health insurance], if I pay for them myself. It is going to be obligatory. Before it wasn't obligatory, those who could paid, but in the end it is a benefit for oneself.

57.22 Marcia: But when [women] work at home, as house wives, they don't receive any benefits.

57.33 RK: Your friends – work for bosses or independently?

57. 44 Marcia: The majority work independently.

58.14 Marcia: I have friends who have their own businesses, and there are also those who are married and stay at home, look after the home and children, and others who are single and have jobs. A mixture of all.

58.51 RK: What is your family history? Where did your grandparents come from?

Marcia: They came here to work for the estancia. Afterwards they stayed and went to the Claro. They settled there with animals and crops.

1.00.19 RK: They were pioneers of El Claro?

Marcia: Yes, my grandmother still lives there. She was born there.

1.00.43 RK: Did both sets of great grandparents arrive to work on the estancia?

Marcia: Yes. [But] The brother of my grandfather stayed in the 8th region.

1.01.11 RK: Do you know why they left the 8th region?

Marcia: No, I don't know.

1.01.23 RK: did they come through Argentina or by boat.

Marcia: By boat.

1.01.45 RK: Who does the Claro land belong to?

My grandmother.

RK: Do your parents have any title deeds?

1.02.22 Marcia: Where my mother is, yes. She has [title deeds] because she bought land from my grandmother. When my grandfather was alive he built her a house there, and so she stayed there. But afterwards, when my grandfather began to sell land, my grandmother sold [some] to

my mother so that she would stay there. If not, if she suddenly died, everything would be sold and she [my mother] would have to leave, and so, to prevent that from happening she bought her land. She has half a hectare, a parcel, yes.

1.02.59 RK when your grandfather died,...inheritance?

Marcia: She received a part. There were 15 siblings. My grandmother was one of 20, 20 siblings. She had 15.

1.03.40 RK: So the land will be divided between many... do the others also have land?

My mother is the only one with land there, the others don't live there, only my mother.

1.04.09 RK Does your dad have land?

Marcia: No. I know nothing about him. I have never had contact with him. I only have my mother's last name, and so I have no information about him. My mother married, had three children, the three older ones, boys, and then she separated and then she had me. After she divorces she had a partner for more than 20 years.

1.05.38 RK: do you think that your family's history influences your life?

Marcia: I don't think that it does much, because in general I feel very different from the rest of my family. I have that feeling, I don't know, my field for example, nobody works in the same field as me. My grandfather had bees. I grew up seeing the bees at my grandfather's [place]. So that was an influence, but nobody else in the family chose to work that [bees]. Not the cousins, not the uncles, and so...

1.07.16 RK: did anything else about your grandfather influence your life?

Marcia: Since I was brought up as a border [at school] I went from the farm to the school, from the boarding school to the farm, and so I lived my childhood on the farm and so that stayed with me. There was a time when I didn't want to go, I didn't want to be on the farm, I didn't want to work or be on the farm, but my husband liked it, he liked it a lot. He was brought up in the city and he was very happy on a farm, and so from that I began again, but there was a time when I didn't want anything more to do with [farming].

1.08.15 Marcia: I worked some years here in Coyhaique. I worked with groups of women, running training sessions about things that I had learnt. After that I went back to working in agriculture.

1.08.57 RK: And your husband's family?

Marcia: They came from Cochrane. But they lived in town, his father worked in construction, and well, he learned a little from him, but I don't know where he got his [love of] farm life, because no one else in his family [is a farmer]. He has an uncle who likes farm life, but he lives in Pto Montt. But apart from that, no one else. They came from Pto Montt.

1.09.54 RK: Differences between guilds and cooperatives....

Marcia: Because we are a non-profit, problems around financial matters don't develop between our members. The members are all people who are looking for the benefit of knowledge, rather than business, and so the question of profit and lucrative gain doesn't get in the way. Conversely, cooperatives generate more conflict. But guilds, trade organizations or farming committees don't have this problem. Obviously people are looking for ways to set up a business to improve their lives, but money isn't a central theme.

1.11.17 RK: With cooperatives you can reach the market in a different way?

Marcia: Yes, that is true.

1.11.13 RK: do you ever sell honey jointly within the AG?

Marcia: Yes, we sell honey together, that happens, that is a benefit of the AG, that we all sell our things [together] and share the profits. This happens a few times a year.

We also order medicines together. We put in a single order and then shares it out and everyone pays their part.

1.13.20 RK: Do you have to pay fees to be members of the AG?

Yes, there is a fee to join and a monthly fee. It is 1000 pesos per month, and 5,000 to join.

- The End -

Interview with Noelia Retamal

5.23.12 at her farm house, 22 miles from Coyhaique

Noelia: Well, what I can tell you is that I was born and brought up on a farm. I was born near here on a farm and when I was a very young girl we lost our mother, two and three years old, we were brought up by only our father. It was difficult because my father was an employee [peon] and he had to worry about us and so we got ahead until he managed to buy this farmland.

03.02 Noelia: He has always done farmwork, and so when he bought this land, he bought other land as well and he gave those 15 hectares to me and my sister.

03.24 RK: How much land do you have?

Noelia: I have two and a half hectares to work, and the 15 hectares that my father gave us are in my name because my sister hasn't done the paperwork for her title deed yet. We used those 15 hectares as pastureland when we had cattle, and we have always had a vegetable garden on the farm which my father plants. I grow crops on the other piece of land over there. Next time you come I will show it to you.

04.17 Noelia: I got the opportunity to join a group when they were being formed by the [joint] INDAP-PRODEMU project. So that is where I started, and began to learn more deeply about growing crops. This work was to enable one to specialize more, to have your own income, that doesn't come from outside, but from your small holding, from your vegetable garden, from your own efforts.

06.02 RK How did you know about this?

Noelia: Janela Saini and Marcos Gallardo came to my house, they arrived here and they invited me to participate in the Cerro la Virgen group because they were lacking [members] at the time. I don't remember very well how many women had to be part of the agreement, but we were more than 5 to be able to work, and well, my father knew Janela Saini from when she was a small girl and from there began this whole story of planting vegetable crops. We formed [the] Cerro Virgen group and began to [work in the cultivation of garlic. For this we were assigned a technical assistant, Ricardo Riquelme, and he taught us. I have always sown garlic with my father, we always grew garlic, but with technical assistance one learns more things. You learn to recognize the imperfections of the garlic, how you have to have....

There were many things that this [agricultural] technician taught us about working with garlic. I did very well and we harvested and in the first year we sold to the supermarket, which at that time was Mulitmas here in Coyhaique.

08.00 RK: Did you sell as a group/cooperative?

Noelia: We sold as a group. How did we approach Mulitmas? Well. We went to offer... We had all been taught, because they taught us, as well as having an [agricultural] technician to cultivate garlic, we [also] had a person to teach us organization development. We also had a psychologist, we had Marcos Gallardo who taught us how to present [offer] our produce to the market. This product had to [be packed] very hygienically, well presented with its label, with its mesh, because garlic is delivered in small mesh [bags] and so we went to sell our first produce to the supermarket.

09.18. RK: How did you establish a good price at the supermarket?

Noelia: At that time the garlicks that arrived at Mulitmas were very small and we took our garlic sample and so they were [impressed] and said that they would buy our produce. Now we sell our produce but the payment.....

We get paid weekly, or every 15 days, or at the end of the month, but we also weren't registered or tax. This was another thing that as a group, one of the women had tax invoices and so we could sell and she could invoice the merchandize, in her name. There were various things, when one is starting out there are lots of obstacles in the road and when you fall you have to lift yourself up. Suddenly no-one buys because [they tell you] it is too expensive, well, they didn't tell us they wouldn't buy because they were too small because our produce was well presented and the bulbs were big. I'll show you a photo of the harvest from that year, to demonstrate to you.

11.10. Noelia: Well, so from there I began with my [production] of garlic. The Indap – Prodemu agreement lasted 3 years, and that was the support we received – [from] Indap-Prodemu to have a source of income. They worked together because Indap could apply to PDI for grants of money so for that reason the two institutions worked together. Prodemu- Indap. Indap supplied the money and Prodemu distributed it. Prodemu specialized in area of work...

12.10 The money did not have to be repaid, you didn't have to give back anything, it was a state subsidy, because Indap is a State [institution].

12.26 Noelia: You have [to know how] to use the money – for seeds, fertilizer, fencing – mesh, because you have to fence in the produce. The labour, you had to put in the labour. So, you see, this was something good for the farm women, there were many women, many women, in all the sectors of the Aysen region, who took advantage of the assistance that was offered. We did well. Many women were able to help their husband maintain their households. The support they gave us was very good. And so in the third year we had a cash subsidy y we already had the garlic seed. Now we didn't have to buy it, we had seed from our own produce and it is the same seed that I [still] save up to now.

13.50 RK Where did the first seed come from?

We bought it here in the centre, all the garlic that we planted. But also, in the second year we didn't only work with the planting of garlic. The Cerro Virgin group also worked in greenhouses. We cultivated vegetables and potatoes, and so we [grew].

14.27 Noelia: Well, I must tell you that from the sale of the garlic in the first year I brought myself some sheep, because I didn't have sheep. The idea was to keep doing things that added value to your farm. I bought about 8, I don't exactly remember, but at that time sheep were inexpensive, so I began to do other things. And now that you ask me, that year I also bought ten hens,to have something else to sell. I hadn't done it before because my father had hens, my father focused on keeping hens, but that year I said to myself, I am going to buy hens so that I can sell, because I sold at the Saturday market in the Angol Square in Coyhaique, and we also had a market at the AG, therefore....

RK: and the market in La Quintas?

We can also sell there but you have to pay 3,000 pesos and in the Angol Square we pay 2,000 pesos and that 2,000 pesos is equal to about 4 or 5 lettuces, depending on the price you sell them. So, from here I have to pay for transport to go to Coyhaique with my things and so if I have a lot to take I have to pay. I phone a taxi to come and get me here and so it is also....

16.11 RK: – problems

Noelia: It is a problem in the farmland when you don't have a vehicle of your own to go out and sell your produce, which is in my case, and that of many farm women, it is not only my case.

16.28 RK – Do the other women in your group live far from here?

16.39 Noelia: The rest of the group live 2 to 3 kms from here.

RK: Do you go together to market?

Noelia: Not any more, now we are not part of the Indap-Prodemu project anymore. Now if we want to apply for a grant we have to do so directly with Indap, [or] apply to PDI.

RK – do they help with transport?

17.06 Noelia: No, but they gave us a tremendous amount of support, and the monetary subsidy they gave us was very good.

17.32 RK: Do you work with Prodesal?

Noelia: No, now Prodesal is the market, the market is Prodesal's and they gave me the opportunity to go to their talks and to sell my produce there.

RK - Are you a part of Prodesal projects?

Yes, also.

RK: re Osvaldo Gallardo.

Well, he came to give talks, and he gave me seeds because Prodesal doesn't have much money to give out, I don't know....to distribute money....nobody is happy. It would seem that Prodesal is smaller. I don't understand much of how it works.

Chit chat.

19.57 RK: Before you got your own land, did you work with your father?

20.05 Noelia: Yes, my dad, after we came here in 1980, when he ceased to be employed as a peon, as they say here, I was here for a while with him here, and afterwards I went to Coyhaique to finish my studies because I had not finished high school and so I began to study. I went to San Jose, which was a Catholic school, and there I began to study sewing and well I also got my certificate through a project of the Santiago Workers University, Infocal from Santiago and Fonda here in Coyhaique.

RK: What was the certificate in?

20.58 Noelia: Fashion, sewing, here I will show you so that you can understand better.. For me it was very easy, And so that was 1992, they awarded me the certificate.

RK: Did you finish school?

21.43 Noelia: I finished high school and while I finished high school, and I studied all those years at night....after I was given the opportunity by Funda and the Inacap University, and the Workers university, to get a certificate, we did a test of a number of questions and we had tohere I will show you, I have done lots of things, to tell the truth, here I have certificates from the Indap/prodemu project. Our group was called the Los Illusions of the Virgin hills, that is was we were called, and here I will show you that I had the opportunity to take a course that was called, "Growing with a Micro-Business". They gave us lots of management [skills],that was by Fundesa,,,,that is where I did my calling cards like a designer and so I also designed.....here I will show you the card.

I must also tell you that also....this certificate was for a course that was offered by Fosis and the Coyhaique municipality, where we applied for 400,000 pesos, and so I bought sheep with that money and so we were to learn with that amount of money, that small project, we learnt how [to manage the money] and we had to give a presentation about how we were going to work with the money, and I was approved and so here is the certificate.

20.43 Noelia: I also had the opportunity to go to El Bolson, Argentina. We went with....the vicarage spoke to us about going to learn about permaculture in El Bolson. And also about greenhouses and how they work with seeds and so on.

25.25 RK: after the trip, did you change you manner of cultivation?

25.33 Noelia: Yes, in lots of things. What we had never done before was work like them with horse manure and clay to make bricks and build houses. They used bottles in the walls, they recycled everything.

RK : Did you use any of the info that you learned there?

26.07 Noelia: Yes, sure. Afterwards at the A.G. we told about our experience and based on what I saw of the bottle recycling that they did, and also taking into account that our farmland is at the edge of the road, and that we are greatly affected by plastic bags, and so I [began to] paint bottles, without anyone teaching me, just because I saw, and so I paint bottles in such a

way that they are recycled. Also, the plastic bags, (shows me the bags) I started to encourage the women at A.G. [to recycle] – I gave talks about how we could get rid of our plastic bags.

RK: are you going to sell them?

27.18. Noelia: These were ordered, and these as well. The one I haven't sold is this (gives me one) , and so this is also part of what I do, and so if you were to ask me what rural life is like, well rural life is how you want to live it, if I wanted to be a bored person, I could sit and stare out the window and not do anything, therefore if I want to make my life more useful, and my rural life interesting, so that I don't get bored, I have to do something.

28.30 RK: What are you going to do with the bags and the knowledge?

28.34 Noelia: At the A.G we have a display case. I also work in tin from cans of pilsener, I make belts and things. Sometimes when we go to sell at the market, we can take these things too. But I had a lot of luck because I showed [my work] at the guild and I sell the handbags there, directly. ...and the AG is very encouraging of work, we make lovely things, we Pamela Vega who works very well in weaving dyed wool. She does very well.

RK: In AG there is a mxture...?

29.37 Noelia: We do everything, as women, because nowadays you have to do everything. Well, here are my first paintings on fabric, I have done a lot of things in my life, I embroider and do crochet work.

30.20 RK: what about selling in a store in Coyhaique?

I would have to look for a place to sell. I think the best place would be in the handcrafts [market]. I ... think that there are a lot of people who migrate to the city because they think that they farmland doesn't provide [opportunities] to be able to work. They emigrate to the city but what can we do in the city if we don't have a profession? If we don't sometimes concentrate on taking courses, try to improve ourselves and learn a little more. So I don't say that I would never go to [live] in the city, I have a house there and when I worked in studied in Coyhaique I applied for a house, with a lot of effort because I never married, I have always been single. But afterwards I came [here] because my father was left alone here on the farm and I had to do something. You have to motivate [push] yourself on the farm to do things because..... It is a sacrifice.

RK: Where were you in the 80s when you father bought this land.

31.45 Noelia: In 1980, I went in 1990 to Coyhaique.

31.50 Noelia: This was all logs, all logs. There was no pasture here. It took a lot of effort.

32.06 Noelia: When I came here with my father, my sister was married and it was the two of us alone. There were no people [laborers] because we couldn't pay them, my father couldn't pay anyone because.... We had to make the effort ourselves. So we cleared the farmland and in the last, recent years, they paid people to clear the farmland and we could clear all of it. The [previous] owners of the farmland had logged all the wood... when you came to the farm you saw some small green trees, ...that my father grew by taking cuttings and now small saplings are growing in the wetland, saplings from the trees that they logged. It was cleared and everything began to settleafterwards we probably won't see [the trees] when they are big, but....

33.04 Noelia: My father has 55 hectares. With all the effort that we put into, if....

33.17 Noelia: And to be both father and mother is not easy.

33.29 Noelia: And there on my small holding I also have some saplings, I asked for 5 hectares there and I have some...

RK: re govt tree planting initiative

33.48 Noelia: I don't have a vehicle and so I couldn't go there and request trees.

RK: re trees.

34.13 Noelia: Ricardo Riquelme is there in Salto Chico , he was my garlic advisor. He grows potatoes...

RK chatter.

37.04 Noelia: There was a raffle in my group and I won a trip.

37.24 RK: But is it just the 2 of you, you don't contract anyone?

Noelia: No, my father comes to help me sometimes. It's just that there aren't people [laborers] here, and if you find someone, they charge a lot, ...and often they don't want to work.

37.54 RK: what are you growing?

37.55 Noelia: This year potatoes, garlic, the carrots didn't work out because the seed only came up in some places, and in my greenhouses I have lettuce, cucumber, pumpkin, chard, tomatoes and strawberries as well.

38.29 Noelia: I sell at the Prodesal [market], as the AG has representation there.

38.40 RK is this enough to live off?

38.41 Noelia: No, you have to have other income, I get by with my sewing, and the rent from my house in Coyhaique. I cannot leave it empty because vandalism is very common in Coyhaique, therefore I rent it out. And it is an income, 80,000 pesos. I can't charge much because the people don't have the money to pay more. Many times the renters have not paid me anything and have left behind debts for me as well. It is not easy. But with my sewing and the rent of my house I get by.

39.32 Noelia: Well, my father has his pension, but that is not much. We don't pay for water, we don't pay for firewood and so we only have to pay for electricity. We have meat right here, we don't have to buy it, we don't have to buy potatoes either, nor carrots, my father's grow well, and so we are self-sufficient for food. I make jams and preserves, I just have to buy the fruit and sugar.....I have jams in winter and summer.

40.19 RK: Do you have fruit trees?

On this farmland it has been very, very difficult to grow fruit trees. The fruit trees grow but [the time] when the fruit [starts growing] is about when the frosts come, or if there is frost when they are in flower [the fruit] fails. We have a very wet piece of land and in summer there [are a lot of springs]. In winter where you walk there is water, and so it is very cold. [We tried to grow a curtain of trees over there], which I planted eight, nine years ago, but none of them took. Growing trees has been very difficult for us.

41.45 Noelia: Greenhouses....in a month...when most people have(unintelligible)

41.57 RK: generally when does the season start?

42.02 Noelia: In November I had coriander, I had coriander in November.

RK Chatter

42.32 Noelia: The season ended in March. Perhaps it continued in the Simpson Valley, but here, because of the frost, the first frosts of March, everything got frost bitten.

43.10 Noelia: We leave most of the lambs for our own consumption, as there are not many, and we used to have cows here, not a lot, but to make cheese, which was another form of income. But... they slaughtered the cows up there, people stole them, they slaughtered the cows in the fields, they left us the heads and the feet and so we decided, my father decided to sell all the cows...

Chatter

44.15 Noelia: Nowadays they even slaughter the sheep. We bring the sheep in, we herd them together – you can see how the front lawn is filled with manure. I sweep it every week and gather it as fertilizer, I use it for my compost. I pile up this manure, and put in a small amount of ash and then the plant matter and I mix it all together and leave it to rot. So when I go to plant, instead of buying fertilizer I use this compost. I even plant potatoes with that compost. That way I don't have to buy fertilizer. I learnt how to do this during the [prodemu-Indap] grant and then also afterwards when we went to El Bolson because there they only use organic fertilizer.

45.09 RK: re convenio being from Indap and Prodemu. Chat about temperature of mate.

45.28 Noelia: I made compost in that way but always asked myself, when is this compost ready for me to use? In El Bolson I learnt that the compost is ready when you can take it in your hands and squeeze it and your hands remain clean.

45.49 RK: Are there other women in the AG utilizing info learned in El Bolson?

46.00 Noelia: Well, the group, from the Cerro de la Virgen here, we are all now using compost and before we went to El Bolson we had already started [doing so]. But I don't like the closed compost systems.....I pile a lot up and mix it and afterwards it works well.

46.40 RK: how would things have been if there without the Indap-prodemu Project?

If I hadn't been able to partake in this project then how would I have managed?

47.00 Noelia: Well, we would have continued to plant but I believe there are always contacts who tell you, look, I do it this way, I am working with such a fertilizer, [and] I like to buy books and to read. The moment would come when I would stumble over a book because one has to look for things. [So] I believe I would still be working, well, I made cheese, I made good money from cheese. I had an income. But the sewing, I am starting to do sewing again. With the studies I felt saturated – the machine, cutting the fabric, and such activities.

47.57 RK: You are very empeñoso (persevering)...what about women who aren't as diligent and... what can be done to incentivize them?

48.20 Noelia: Well, we at the Asociacion Gremial [guild] are always telling them about things, for example, as I told you, I spoke about the recyclables, the plastic bags. I said to them, ladies, for each plastic bag that we throw away, or that gets thrown into our farmland a cow dies, so realize that and if you have animals and a cow dies, open it, to see what it died from.

48.49 Noelia: Because what happened to me is that a cow died andit was there, where we threw all the material that was in the stomach of the cow, it did not decompose, nothing, it just dried out in the wind and when I went there to see what had happened I learned that there was a bunch of plastic bags in the stomach. That is the way one realizes [what happens]. But you have to live it; you have to see it to believe it. At that moment I did not have a camera in my hands, otherwise I would have taken photos. So I spoke to the ladies in the Association. I said that for each plastic bag we throw away, a cow dies. And so it is important to realize this and from that time on I recycle everything.

49.48 RK how often do the groups meet?

49.56 Noelia: The A.G meets now in March, the International Women's day and the other meeting is in October. The other group was disbanded because after three years the Indap-Prodemu project came to an end, but we all participate in the A.G. After the three year project you can become a member of the Asociacion Gremial de Mujer Campesina [women small-holder farmer's guild]. So we take group trips to other places where they work with greenhouses and we bring lots of ideas back from other areas.

50.45 RK: to be a member of AG...

50.50 Noelia: You have to be a women small-holder farmer and you have to work the land.

50.59 RK: What impedes women joining, why aren't all the farmers members?

51.06: Noelia: Many times when we call for new members [have a membership drive] women simply don't come.

RK: why?

51.13 Noelia: I have always asked myself the same question, because when the Indap-Prodemu project called for women to join they didn't enroll. There were some that were afraid, they

didn't like to participate in a group and others whose husbands didn't let them. We have come across women who have said that their husbands won't let them speak to anyone. "My husband has kept me between these four walls and I have to make the food, wash [the clothes], bring up the children and I couldn't even go to Coyhaique".

51.57 Noelia: That's what we have found out, and well, then they have said no to [their] husbands, "well I am going to enroll, I am going to work", and they have shown that they have an income and have encouraged their husbands to work together with them in the fields and well, that makes me happy, that's what I like about the program. First you have to break the fear of leaving the house.

52.31 RK – how can you do that?

52.41 Noelia: At this moment, if there was a woman here, near me, whose husband wouldn't let them [enroll], I would wait until the husband left the house and I would go and talk to her, and I would say to her, don't be a fool, try to leave, look for other new things [to do] and you will have an income to assist your husband and when he realizes that he will recognize that the reality is different to [what he imagined], it would be, living here.

53.06 RK so you have to try to speak to women when their husbands are not around

53.08 Noelia: Well yes, that is what I would do.

53.31 RK: but if you can't do that how else can get you reach women trapped in their houses?

53.36 Noelia: Well, have a dialogue, that is, get to the bottom of the problem that she has, I don't know, how to get there and get her alone for a few minutes and say to her, listen, I have wanted to speak to you for a long time, I see that you are very closed in, I don't know, offer her an idea to ...look for a way.....

54.10 Noelia: The truth is that we have lived that in A.G, with women who cried telling their experiences.

54.18. Noelia: Well, it wasn't my case because my father, despite being very strict with us, very strict, because I also believe that he was afraid of being father and mother, most likely he was afraid that something would happen to us, but I say tell you that in those years when I was brought up the people weren't bad and did not have bad intentions because on many occasions

when we were very small, my sister and I, we stayed alone in the house. So the people weren't bad like nowadays, and my father, like I said, was very strict.

When we finished primary school at the school in El Blanco and had to go and study in Coyhaique, where [there was the facility so that] we could finish secondary school, my sister told my father that she no longer wanted to go to school, that she didn't want to study more. So my father said that since we [the two of us] were so united that "if one goes to study will miss the other one and won't do well; and the one who stays on the farm will miss the other one and will get sick, and so what do I do?" [He decided that] neither of one nor the other would study and so he cut my arms, because I wanted to go and study. So I told my sister, with anger and grief and all, that the day I reach adulthood nobody would be able to cut my wings and just as I was called Noelia I would finish high school. And that was where the idea came from that I would go and work and study.

56.05 Noelia: When I reached 18, which is the age of adulthood, my father still kept a tight [rein] on me. My father was very strict. For us, our boyfriends were [kept] very far away. My sister never showed [introduced to my father] her boyfriend, who is now her husband. When the time came for him [boyfriend] to ask for her hand, and it wasn't even the first time because she went to tell him [father], and well, it was a time of anger and anguish because my father was so bad that instead of scolding her or asking why she is getting married, he started crying. It was very hard.

RK: where does your sister live now?

56.55 Noelia: She lives in Coyhaique and has a small house and a piece of land as well. I have been encouraging her to enroll in the Inda- Prodemu program. Although the previous grant ended, through the AG we have spoken to the director, sent letters, and have [also] spoken personally to him. Nine groups of ten, or even seven, women need to get together and so I have encouraged my sister and she is now with 7 in a group. So I have cleared the road ahead for them. ... I became involved in the subject and began to look for people to form a group here. We need nine groups in order to begin to work.

58.03 Noelia: Nine groups of 7 to 10 [women]. Sure, if there are not more women, they can begin with 7, but there needs to be nine groups for the project to go ahead, so it has been a little difficult.

RK: so you have been looking for women participants?

58.22 Noelia: In my case I did so here in this sector, but I don't know if Norma and the other ladies have done so in the other sectors. Sometimes people are a little slow.

RK: and your dad, and your sister and her husband...?

58.41 Noelia: Yes, now the grand daughter has been born, my father has two great grandchildren – a great grand daughter and a great grandson. I am the only one who has not been fruitful, but now it is not going to happen.

RK chatting....

59.56 Noelia: Well, my niece tells me..... she wanted a cousin, well I tell her, I gave you everything, like an older cousin, and I love you as a daughter,... she said the only thing she wanted to see was me holding my own child, but it wasn't to be...

01.00.49 RK. How does the ficha de protección social work? (welfare system)

01.01.05 Noelia: There is a questionnaire which each person must fill out and it [the benefit] depends on what points you get. But I also think that it is unjust because since I am at my father's side I don't work, I don't have a monthly salary and my farm production is seasonal. I do sewing when I get it, I get rental of 80,000 pesos, but who can live off 80,000 pesos. If we start to think about how we are going to live, in pure hygiene items the cost of toothpaste, soap, shampoo, lotion etc, etc. How are we going to live off 80,000 pesos in that situation? And so what happens? I was interviewed as an independent worker because I don't work for a boss. One would presume that an independent worker is a business person, or if they are not business people they at least have the means to be so. I could sell the 7 and a half hectares to obtain 20 million pesos but in two bits it would slip through my fingers.

01.02.25 RK why are you considered to be an independent worker?

01.02.32 Noelia: Because I work alone, I work independently. For that reason my points are too high and now I can't apply for grants with those points. When I had ... [lower] points I could, now it is too high. I think that perhaps we are being punished because we received lots of

benefits from the state, but, if the benefits have been [necessary] good, that is certain. What happens is there is frost when the potatoes are in flower and the plants freeze and we don't harvest not one potato? We don't have an income, and this region is cold, so sometimes the system is unjust...

01.03.28 RK: How does the point system work relative to income?

Noelia: Look, the other day we had a meeting with the Rural Council and one of the points that I brought up was the social benefit scale. I told me that the social benefit scale was frozen until they could look into it and reevaluate it and that in January we would get a letter explaining the new system.....they were studying the situation because they have discovered many faults and that people who didn't need benefits were receiving them. We are probably paying the cost of people who gave incorrect information and we are all being blamed even though we were truthful. So sometimes there are people who are capable of destroying the system.

01.04.52. RK so before you could apply for project according to your benefits needs rating?

01.04.58 Noelia: Now if I went to FOSIS to apply for a grant, with my points I can't do so, I can't do so.

01.05.16 RK no micro-credit or anything?

Noelia: No, I would have to go to the bank to get a loan, and risk everything I have, so I would not do that.

01.05.52 RK: where do you get health care?

01.06.17 Noelia: It depends on your benefit index... With me, they have to evaluate if I can get a health card to get free health care. The card that I have, no one knows about it. I obtained it during the previous government and thank god no one has taken it from me because I have hypertension and I need attention, but the attention is bad if you don't pay for it. It is terrible. The dentist won't attend to you if you don't pay. I recently went to get my teeth cleaned and with FONASA you have to pay [separately] for x-rays, which cost 5,000 pesos and you end up paying here and there and in the end you pay the same. The free attention in Chile is not good and if you go to the hospital and they give you a script [for medicine], you have to go to the pharmacy and buy it all the same.

01.07.34 RK: is there a break for rural women?

01.07.41 Noelia: No, there isn't. On that day at the Rural Council meeting I brought to attention that us women who in many instances are caring for our parents, caring for the elderly, do not get any subsidy, nothing, it is not that I am against the grandparents getting gifts for their gold anniversaries, they get paid in money, but they don't think of the people who have greater necessities. Why throw money at people who are married for 60 years, rich people who don't need it and are not capable of saying no – there are people who need it more. There is a certain selfishness amongst those who have. The more they have the more they want.

01.08.41 RK...and via the AG?

01.08.57 Noelia: The Association has been good because through it we have requested a mobile clinic from the hospital and if we go to, for example Chile Chico, the mobile clinic comes and [provides] dental exams, blood tests to detect cholesterol, [and so on] and the tests are free. We arranged this through the Association. We request the mobile clinic [be present] or every meeting we have. They also do pap tests, which are very important.

01.09.49 RK Can any women go or only members of AG?

01.09.59 Noelia: You have to belong to the Association – which is for all rural women who work the land. Now the Association works a lot with elderly women. If an elderly grandmother arrives and asks the Association, it is most probably that the directive will say yes. The Guild has given food baskets to the elderly. Not a lot, last year we handed out two or three if I remember right. Because of [personal] difficulties or advanced ages they don't have any resources. The Association works a lot for the elderly.

01.11.11 RK: seems that the women who work the land are an aging population. Are younger women returning to the land?

01.11.37 Noelia: Yes, I believe that this happened because before they were not granted a space, but in the *Concertacion* governments, and I am not saying this as a political statement, women were given many opportunities. Those women who did not take advantage lost out, because in this government we are losing, like I said, the Prodemu-Indap grant, and so the Association have worked at it and like I said, if new groups don't get together, if it probably that we might not be able to recoup it.

01.12.07 RK when did Prodemu begin?

01.12.17 Noelia: With the *Concertacion* government – well, the government of Eduardo Frei had [programs], people, people don't recognize [remember] this, i don't like politics, RK...chatting – ONU, earthquake....

01.15.14 RK: would it be correct to say that the AG is giving providing more space for women?

01.15.20 Noelia: Yes, the Indap-Prodemu grant opened the doors for those smallholder farm women who wanted to enter [participate]. Nowadays Sra Isabel of Indap has also registers women who didn't go through the grant, and so it [the Association] is giving women a place to participate, so that they plant, and have a place to sell their products. They [The Association] obtained a site at the top of Coyhaique . It was given by this government, you need to acknowledge everything that the government does. When Norma and I were part of the directorate we built a small structure with a roof and shingles to sell produce out of. So those who enroll [in the Association], with the spirit of a worker to plant, have their space where they can sell [their produce]. But now we have to apply for a tax number and register as a business. This means that we will have to pay an accountant and the accountant will charge us 20,000 pesos per month, which already takes away.... So we have to see how this can be done, if it should now be the Association which registers as a business and charges the people who go to sell there, to pay the accountant. I don't know how the new directive will sort that out, but we have paid for the tax number registration.

01.17.13 Noelia: Smallholder women farmers have to get over a lot of obstacles in order to be able to sell. The other day I was speaking to Osvaldo Gallardo [at Prodesal] and he said that we will most probably this year also all have to register as a small business, and that will cut off my arms because I can't do that. I can I register as a small business and be able to pay an accountant. I would have to sell the potatoes in order to pay the accountant.

01.17.53 RK: And what about men famers?

The small holder male farmers [campesinos] who are working, some are with Prodesal, some apply to PDI, they look – if I apply for a grant I look for a consultant who does the documentation and I apply to the grant. But now, what damns us is the social benefits scale. The man who has land will work through INDAP.

01.18.25 RK: so is it just as hard for male famers?

Well, the male farmers who took advantage and cleared their land got an income in money, because they were paid to sow, they were subsidized. If men have land, and animals, and they work, they earn money. If they have land and have firewood, they sell the firewood and sort themselves out [make money] as well.

01.18.52 RK: Why easier for men?

Noelia: That's a good subject. You have to have a husband in order to know why it is easier for him!

01.19.08 RK: do any of the women you know belong to general agriculture associations?

01.19.23 Noelia: There are the farm committees which belong to men and women. Here we have an electricity committee which is a development committee. It was put together because the electrification committee will become obsolete when its objective is achieved. But more women go than men

01.20.03 Noelia: In general women participate more than men. They have more patience, they don't tire of the meetings, and they are more persistent/perseverant

RK: are you also a member of the *Committee de Campesino*?

Noelia: I am applying for electrification – there on the table is the folder because I am treasurer of the committee. It is a committee to develop the system of electrification.

RK: what about other farm associations?

1.20.37. Noelia: There is FAGA, which is a group....

END -----

Norma Quijada Interview.

5.21.12. Norma's farm house, 15miles from Coyhaique.

00.16 Norma: Here in this sector, in summer you can grow practically, not everything, but for example lettuce, everything that is vegetables – peas, fava beans, potatoes, coriander, cabbage, parsley. Everything is possible, straight in the earth, without needing to be under plastic. Well, under plastic you can grow cucumber, tomatoes too, you can achieve under plastic.

00.59 Norma: We everything that you can name, I plant outside, and this year, for the first time, because I didn't do it before, I built a greenhouse, but just for use in the house [home consumption] – there I planted cucumbers, basil and tomatoes.

1.24 RK: Why no greenhouse before?

Norma: Because things grew outside, lettuces grew very well, radishes, carrots, all the rest, cabbage, and so it wasn't necessary. This year I did it for more than anything because I saw that I could have cucumbers, and I said, ok, I will experiment, and in truth the results have been very good.

1.50 Norma: We work together, we have a person who helps us with the vegetable garden, and then between us all we do everything. We are only a few here; we are three, no more.

2.21 Norma: The vegetable garden is for the house or for selling?

Only for the house, for home consumption. I don't sell anything from the greenhouse, nothing.

2.39 Norma: We live more from livestock. We are livestock farmers, we have cattle, sheep, cows horses and also alpacas.

3.10 RK: How many hectares do you have in production?

Norma: Here there are 190 hectares. You can use almost everything, yes, because it is flat, everything that you see from here, everything up there.

RK: Do you have employees?

Norma: Only us. We have a person here in the house who helps us, but we have always worked just us [alone].

3.57 RK: What size is the vegetable garden?

Norma: No, it is small, I don't know how much it could be, maybe 60 metres, something like that. Maybe 100, not more. It is small, ...it gives us enough to give away, we don't need to buy anything [vegetables]. For example we grow lettuce, coriander, parsely, chard, carrots,

potatoes, peas, - all these things, but we are few, we are mostly two in the house, so we have enough to give away (laughs).

5.00 Norma: I have two sons, well one really, there is only one who lives here, and he is 22 years old. My older son is in the USA, in California, where he is working – in a company that makes fibre glass for surf boards or something like that. He has been living there for about 12 years. Many years ago, about 12 years ago, we had a person here who worked with us when he was little and afterwards he decided to go to the USA to work looking after animals, and he went, he went for three years and came back, and he was supposed to go back, but he fell in love and didn't go back, so he had to send someone in his place and one day he was chatting to my son, telling him that he needed to find someone and my son said, "I'll go". He was 19 and he went, we went to Denver, from there he changed to Idaho and then 7 or 8 years ago he established himself in California, in Sunset Beach.

(RK, NP chatting)

7.43 RK: Have you been?

Norma: Never, I would love to go, because my son can't come, he made the mistake of not coming back when he was supposed to and so it got complicated, and then he married and now he has a family – he has 2 children, but he doesn't have his documents. It is complicated.

(Lots of chatting about grandchildren, son coming, or not, visas etc)...

10.57 RK: asks about women's agric guild.

Norma: In truth it all began, about ten years ago, with an idea to form some sort of productive group where we could work together to do something for ourselves. It is not that one didn't do anything, but there was nothing that would give an extra income. I didn't do anything [to gain an income]. And so when this idea came up we formed a group here of women and we began working making jams and liqueurs. That's where the idea bubbled up from, and then a number of years past and then all these groups were formed, distributed throughout the province. The A.G has approx 120 women all along, from raul Marin to O'Higgins, to Villa O'Higgins. So it is one of the biggest associations that is here.

Well, in each of these areas, people work with productive groups that do various things. – working with greenhouses, with handcrafts, with weaving, making jam, and so the women do many diverse things.

So from that came the idea to form a women's farmer guild because first we were just groups, and well, the association was formed, I don't remember with how many members but with a reasonable number and from there other sectors were incorporated, other women, and well, [we felt] the benefit of working in association, well, you always get more things as a group. And also it was a way of helping other groups that were further from Coyhaique . Because, for example, we are fine here close to everything, but the people who live in Villa O'Higgins, Cochrane, Chile Chico, La Junta, Puyuhuapi, and even more into the interior. And so on this basis, the Asociacion of Women farmers was formed.

12.20. Norma: We, at this moment, and always, to tell the truth, we have always worked with the support of Indap. It is thanks to Indap that this all works. They have always supported us, in the sense that, for example the Rural Council has funds with Indap gives to us to be able to have meetings, the Assemblies that are held every year. There aren't more than two Assemblies per year because of the distance we are all from each other. Well, with the money that Indap grants us, with that we can gather two times a year, in different parts, because we rotate, it is not always here in Coyhaique, for example we have done them in La Junta, we have done them in Chile Chico, in Cochrane and so on, and each time there is an Assembly everyone goes.

14.42 RK: Does Indap put up all the Money?

Norma: All the money that they give us, and it is used during the year. We always tel them what we are going to do, if we are going to meet, and we know that far these assemblies which are going to take place in the year, we will need travel costs for all the people who come. We have to do a budget for the fares, pay the buses, and also pay for the accommodation, and food for the attendees. And if we rent a venue to have the meeting. Generally if the meeting is in Coyhaique then we rent a venue, but if it is, for example, in Cochranche, the we always speak to the mayor and we get a place, such as the boarding school – we always have the assembly on a weekend and the children are not there, and they lend us the school [facilities]. We take our own food and so on.

15.46 RK: what conversations do you have during a meeting?

Norma: Well, we talk about all the things that we have done, that is directive, all the things we have done during the year, each person discloses [talks about what they have done or what they need], and step by step we work towards getting what they need, for example, if the sector, say La Junta, needs, let's say something, we will get it for them, the directive takes charge of doing those things during the year, during the year they do those things.

RK: Do people bring their needs to propose to the assembly?

16.28 Norma: Yes, that which they need, if they need anything specific, something for their group, or it could be also, training, one can get training in all the areas [the women] work, for example with they work with plants under plastic, they need training in order to be able to..

17.10 RK: how do you organize training for those who need it?

When we have internal meetings, as we have here, we ask the people, the directos, of INDAP, SEREMI, and so on,.

17.35 RK: You ask other government agencies for training?

Norma: Yes, [we ask] the various institutions, we ask the functionaries – SAG, CONAF, wherever the need is we coordinate with those institutions and they tell us when they can come to meetings or assemblies that are run, within their, they are willing to go and give training to the people.

RK: 18.29 what projects did you do this past year?

Norma: Last year, for example, apart from the money I told you about, which came from Indap, we also applied for a grant from Indap which is a fund that we could apply for so that we would also have money for training and also another project that we did with Sercotec, and with this we could do excursions, - a seed exchange which happened in Pto Montt, for the women who cultivate and store seeds for example from their forefathers, seeds which they save, they are the keepers of these seeds, they did a training workshop, for example they went to pto montt and there they could exchange these seeds, that they themselves have grown and saved. And so people from the association, older women, who have their secrets and they share them with other people, so they are in charge of that part, everything that has to do with seeds.

The idea is that we, for example, keep everything clean, that nothing has pesticide, nothing, totally free of everything. Therefore, this also includes the seeds, the people harvest them in their own piece of land, and here they pass them to other people, as an interchange, so that they don't have to be buying so much.

20.58 Norma:

And there are also other excursions, for example, further north, nearer Santiago where people went to see greenhouses, and field plantings, and I don't know, um, bee keeping, like they are working, also it is good to see the other women because what happens here is that many people have never left here, so they don't know anything beyond what they know of from here, and so from lack of knowledge they feel tied down and they say, "how am I going to do this?". And when they travel outside [the region] and they get to see how other's live, on much smaller [properties] than we have, what we On the other hand, what we have in essence is a large property and we feel as if it is less, while there are people, people who love, for example, such as those near Santiago, where there was a whole family, there were about 6 families, who lived, they has a property no more than a hectare and half and there they grew for example raspberries and as a result there were about 6 families living of that, that cultivated field that was nothing, and it was enough, they lived well, and we, well, perhaps we could do that too, (laughs).

So it is so that people can learn that there, and a heap of things that they can do here and sometimes for lack of knowledge....I don't know, they can do it.

22.38 RK: Do they feel more powerful?

Norma: Yes,, they do, the fact that they can go out and see how other people work..

22.59 RK: Change in self-esteem?

Norma: Yes definitely. It is incredible how much the lives of the people change. I can tell you an example of a woman, a woman who has was always negative about the excursions. She always said, "no, why are they going to go? It is a useless expense to go on a pleasure trip, it is senseless" and so on. Last year, we made an effort to get her to go, and in the end she went because her sister was supposed to go but had a problem at the last moment and so she went instead. You know she works here, she has bees, she works with honey, and we visited a group

where there was also, I don't know, maybe thirty or forty of those boxes ...but it was also a group, about 6 families or more lived off that, and so one said to oneself, how do so many live off such a little?

But that woman was doing well, they had an inauguration of her honey and she started to do honey with flavors, and so she became so interested in that woman, because she had honey, naturally she liked the subject, and so on her own, without anyone saying anything, she began to chat with the woman and they exchanged ideas and contacts and they became friend, and even phoned each other and later she came here and that woman gave her all her secret [recipes] because she was so far away that she was not going to be competition, with the one person near Santiago, and the other here. And well, now, she [AG member] came back here and started to make her honey with flavors and now there isn't enough supply, she has given two presentation and tastings of flavors and now she is buying honey from other people because she doesn't have enough from her own hives. And so she realised! And we always say, "You see!"

It is good to go out [travel to other places], because one learns other things and at least use what you have and in some way give it a new value, and added value. [For example] now it is not just honey, it is honey with flavors, garlic, banana, strawberry, flavors of all that live offers.

26.22 RK: The association is not a co-operative, is that right? Do people work together or market their products together?

Norma: The truth is that the Asociacion, the idea is that hopefully all these groups, those that make honey, jams, could get their sanitation certificates because there are few people who have managed to get their sanitation certificate and it is one of the things that the supermarket requires in order to sell your products. If for example, the honey doesn't have a sanitation certificate then it is impossible to sell it. Only on the black market, hidden. Without the certificate you can't...

27.19 RK: How do you get the "resolution"?

Norma: Well, this year, for example, we managed to have a conversation with the Director of the Office of Agriculture, to see if he could speak to the director of health to see if they could be a little more flexible.

For example, the problem is that the Sanitary requirements are the same for farms as for Coyhaique, and so, imagine that on the farmland from the get go we are in bad shape because we don't have potable water that is chlorinated, neither do we have water drainage supply systems. Also, the Health dept is requiring that in order to get a sanitary certificate you have to have the plans of the house signed by an architect. The plans of the drainage system signed by an architect. Imagine if the house was build 60 years ago, when architects didn't even exist here. (Laughs).

And so, where and what does this mean in terms of money. For a smallholder farmer it is impossible to pay those costs, so, for years we have been asking the department of health to be more flexible in this case and not to have so many requirements.

Here, I think, the most important thing is things are clean and that they are wholesome. Because if you begin to see, you could say that for the certificate they ask for so many things on the farm, but well, that woman who is selling donuts in the street, where is her drain system, her potable water, and so on. So, there are so many places you go to and they are unsanitary. And so what are we talking about?

29.44. Norma: Unfortunately there was no other way, but this year, the Director of the Office of Agriculture, well, we spoke to him and he had a conversation with the minister of health who agreed to be a little more flexible and not have as many requirements. And so this year, for example., there will be a quota for 5 people to , also though Indap, to apply, there is a fund that will also help so be able toand now, with this, with this certifications that they are asking for now, the house plans don't have to be signed by an architect, there don't have to be three drainage lines, the potable water does not have to come from a [third party[]] provider. Now it is enough if you have a tank you can throw in a pill or a certain quantity of chlorine and the water is... before no, it had to come from a provider, had to come from a provider, and so imagine the cost of that.

30.43 Norma: Here, my water is 100% potable, year ago, about ten years ago, some neighbors that we have here, they don't have water ads so we gave them water from our well, and they are from Argentina and they, not trusting the water to be 100% potable, took it for analysis in Argentina and they said it was 100%. It is a spring, water from a spring.

31.43 RK: asks about people working together.

We as a group, we had a room for production but with all the requirements we never managed to get the sanitary certificate, they were always asking something – and so what happened, my partners [colleagues] who were 60 years old, are now ten years older, and we still haven't acquired the certificate and they no longer want to work, so it fell apart, there is nothing left of it. The people got tired of waiting for us to be able to have something and so it didn't work out.

32.41 Norma: Now we are waiting for them to fulfill their promises...

32.46 Norma: As an Association, in reality, we have achieved many things and we are very grateful to the Ministry of Agriculture which has been our pillar [of support] because we have managed to get a place [piece of land] in Coyhaique. The only purpose of this site is to one day have a building which would serve as a guest house and a sales room for the Association, because, as I said, every year we have the same problem that we have to be applying for grants to be able to finance the costs of the meetings and we think that at some point the funds will end – they won't fund us forever. So to that end we are working and we have achieved, as I said, they have given us a piece of land to use and soon they will give us the title deed. And there is more. Last year, through conversations with the agriculture authority and the Intendent, I managed to get funds [for the house], and now there is an architect working on the plans for the house. Last week I signed the plans and in 2013 we will be inaugurating the house.

34.43 NP. Where is it?

Norma: It is in Coyhaique, up top, between Lautaro and Irrazuriz..... chat about area....And so the house will be built there, just as we want, because, in the Association we are many members, and we are all far apart, and so sometimes, for example, if a women from Villa O'Higgins has to come, and generally they don't have family in Coyhaique, she would have to pay for accommodation, and if she were ill, ...and so instead, to have a house with

accommodation for her, so that she only has to bring her food and she could stay there. Also during the meetings there would be a place for people to stay.

Because, well, Indap has been supporting us all these years, it is now the seventh year since we formed as a group, but at some point they are going to have to leave us, and so for that reason we need to be sure that the day they leave us we know how to be administrators and that we can continue with this house.

36.47 RK: What about training in organizational development?

Norma: We have received lots of training.

RK: what about administrative training?

Norma: In essence, we have all had, all the groups have had [training]. There was, and still is an agreement between Indap and Prodemu and by this agreement between Indap and Prodemu, Prodemu does its part and visits all the groups and gives training to the groups in business administration let's say, because each group has its own things [the things the members do]. There are, for example, the women in La Junta, there are 7 or 8 groups, and each group does different things, they don't all do the same thing. For example on group has greenhouses, another makes jams, another makes handcrafts, others do weaving, or work with wood. There is a great diversity in the things that they do, therefore Prodemu offers training to these groups, management, everything, that which the members ask for.

38.35 RK: How many groups are there?

Norma: There are many groups, it depends on the sector.

39.01 RK: Does the association have a manifesto?

Norma: Yes, there are regulations. The Association has all that. There is a book where all the women in each sector registers, each area. So we know, well, now... In truth we don't know all they we would like to know. We are now trying to do, this year, to find a way to, through the government naturally, who is going to help us with money, to make an inventory of all the women who are members – what is their life situation, because in truth, we know their names, most likely their telephone numbers, we know what they are doing, but not more. We don't know, how many children live in the house, if there are elderly people, things like that. That is what we are trying to see to now, how to do it.

40.56 RK: Who will do this work?

The idea is that we would, well that is another thing – because at first they told us that it could be done and like all things there is a person who goes out to do these, from the institution. The truth is that we don't want that, we want the funds that were destined for this to be given to our Association and we could for example say, in La Junta we know a person who is responsible and who we know knows all the sectors and who will be able to get to the furthest corner and so we would pay that person to do the survey in La Junta.

Another is Chile Chico, O'Higgins, Caletta Torte, various places. Because, we, already in the census that is being done now, sometimes people go out to do the census and I have heard two people who said, "Did they go to take a census at your house?" The other person said "yes, "and the first said, "why did they ask me so few questions?" The other was asked 42, and so you see that people don't legally carry out things [their work].

For us it is what we do. To have another person, sure, "I will go and say that I went to a house and that there were 2 people and they say they can read, and I suppose that it so it seemed that they could read" and they invent the rest so that they can move on quickly. (Laughs)

42.55 RK: Seems that the members have taken charge and are more powerful, (have agency)?

Yes, you know what, we have had a lot of help and also there are requirements within the Association, for example all members have to really be from the rural sector – not like I go to hang out on the farm therefore I am a farm woman, no, you have to live off the land and so we always require that the member be a farm woman - that she lives off the land, and that way she will also be a beneficiary of Indap, together with other benefits that she will be receiving as member of *the Asociacion*. This is apart from the assistance she received from Indap in a private capacity. She can apply for all the assistance that there is, as a farmer.

44.26. RK: other requirements?

Norma: You have to have property, it doesn't matter how much.

RK. You have to be a property owner?

Norma: Yes, you have to have property, or you have to be renting [property], and you have to live there. You could have one hectare, but [for example] but it has a greenhouse and you live of the sales from the greenhouse.

44.48 RK: If the husband is a landowner, can the woman be a member?

Norma: Well, yes, if you don't have separation of property marriage. If you have a community of property marriage then yes, you can automatically also receive benefits.

45.13 RK: and if they don't have community of property?

Norma: In that case if the husband makes a property rental agreement for that which [the wife] is going to do, for example if she is going to build a greenhouse, or work with sheep. There are women, who work with sheep, and there is also rural tourism, and so you need this land to have... [do it].

45.45 RK: and what about if the husband doesn't...?

Norma: Yes, that happens, each person has their own problems, and there are always people, the husband won't give a rental agreement

46.09 RK: and if that happens...?

Norma: Well those are the women who have a problem, they have a problem in that sometimes they cannot apply for the benefits that Indap could give them.

46.27 RK: Can they still be member of the guild?

Norma: Yes, of course, but the problem is that they cannot apply for grants. For example, the grant to make improvement for those that works with chickens. [Another example] If someone works in rural tourism and wants to give, for example, offer accommodation, and she wants to apply for a grant to improve, say, beds, if she doesn't have the support of her husband, the permission, she can't do it, and so she will lose the possibility of the benefits that Indap offers.

47.17 RK: apart from Indap, in the AG is there support for women who can't apply for grants?

Norma: No, we don't have money that is the problem. That which we get is for...

47.36 RK: for example if there is training ...?

Everyone can attend training [workshops]. Anyone who wants to improve their quality of life can attend – there are people who want to, and those who don't want to. People request training but then unfortunately they don't arrive, and it isn't a problem of not having it, it is a problem of people not taking the time [to go].

48.08 RK: What other problems have the farm women in the region?

In this region, sometimes the problems are, sometimes presented by the husbands. They don't give their permission, there are always people who say "no, my husband doesn't like me to go out" and I think that they don't see the benefits. People sometimes want everything to happen immediately, but with everything it is necessary to begin little by little, you can't accomplish everything all at once. And so there are people who sometimes have these types of problems. And then there is a great lack of education, there needs to be more.

49.12 RK: Are people illiterate?

Yes, some are. I don't know about now, but in former years. Now, in the Association I have hardly seen it in the recent year, but when the Association recently started, one saw many illiterate people, because in the past it was much more isolated here. To go from here to Coyhaique was tremendously difficult, while it is relatively close, it seemed very far away because there was no road, and to go to Coyhaique was a huge effort. There were no schools here and so as a result the people did not have access to much education in the farmlands.

50.00 RK: You said there used to be more illiterate people in the association – now there are fewer – is it because they left the association, or because they went to classes and learnt to read and write?

Norma: Well, many went to classes and others, well due to their age, have retired, and other have died. Because imagine that this Asociacion has been going for 7 years, and the same people are now going for twelve or thirteen years. It is same people whp after much time formed the Association, but basically there are still a big majority of people who started when the production groups that I mentioned to you were founded.

50.50 Norma: Because before this there wasn't anything, each person simply lived their own lives. The farmers were not known because they were from the rural areas, because each one lived in their own house, and didn't do anything, and in truth this started, this agreement between Indap and Prodemu and their functionaries, from both Indap and Prodemu, those who were in charge, from both Indap and Prodemu, went looking for women who lived on farms.

51.50 Norma: These women functionaries went to the farmland to look for women and tell them that the agreement existed and that they could form groups and that both Indap and Prodemu would provide training and teach whatever the people wanted to do. And so, each

one, when the groups were formed, no one knew what they were going to do, until we were all together and we said, “well, what work are we going to do?”. And so, one person said, “I don’t know, what are we going to do?” and suddenly, we realized that in the group there were 3 or 4 women who knew how to weave, and they said, “we can weave” and so a group of artisans formed. They would weave on a loom and wash sheep’s wool.

52.26 Norma: On the other side, [of the room] we said, “what are we going to do?”, and then we said, “well, we have a lot of fruit here,” for example we have apples, gooseberries, plums, cherries, and so we said, “let’s make jams since we have fruit here”. We have it here, and there is no cost, we don’t have to go out and buy it, which brings down costs. For example a chair is expensive to make, but not if you have the prime materials, and so we made jam because we have the produce. All we have to buy is the sugar and the jars.

53.13 RK: how did you end up doing jams?

Norma: Just as I told you. First they came here and we formed the groups. They arrived knocking on the door, it was a functionary called Janella Saeni who came and Nelly Perez, for Prodemu. And so they told us that there was an agreement between Indap and Prodemu and that they wanted to work with rural woman, and so they wanted to form groups of ten people. The minimum had to be ten.

In those years there were many [women] and so it was quick to form a group of ten people. They went to all the houses and told everyone the same story that they told me and so we became excited. So one day we attended a meeting and got together at someone’s house, [in our group] we all came to here [to my house] and they told us [about the program] and that it would be a way for us to make some additional income, over and above what we were doing, which in essence was not much more than waiting for the livestock, or agriculture, in those years, that was all there was.

54.33 Norma: It was a way to make some money, a little extra cash, and so we were excited and between us all, in the group, we said, “what will we do?” and we all wanted to do something, but what would we do, and do, as I told you, in this sector all the women had fruit and so we said, let’s make jam and conserves, and so the groups were formed. Each group gave itself a name, formed a directive and began to work. In the beginning we met twice a

week. At first there was a bit of training, and so on. Afterwards, Prodemu began to ask Prodemu [for training] and for example they sent a woman who taught us about jam making.

55.57 Norma: Where the women were gathered as a weaving group they send a woman who knew more to teach them. And they looked for supervisors to run training and although one already knew [how to do things], it was to improve on what one already knew.

56.23 RK: How much jam do you produce now – in bottles or kgs?

Norma: Now, this year, I made very little, almost nothing, but last year I made about 500 jars. At that time there was a lodge that I sold to, and fishing lodge, “El Encantado”, but now they aren’t buying any more, but I sell to many people in Coyhaique, because they know me and order [from me].

57.26: RK Do you have a marketing plan?

No, never. The truth is that, thank god, they have always bought from me here, and so I haven’t needed on, but that is one of the problems, sometimes there is nowhere to sell the products.

For that reason we came up with the idea of having a house with a sales room. Because [such a place] doesn’t exist. The problem is that the majority of women don’t have their [sanitary] certificate, and they can’t take things and put them in the supermarket, and ever less the farmer’s market, nothing. In my case I can’t, because I still don’t have the certificate. Here, for example, this year, I sent off for some sales stalls for the place we have so that the women could sell vegetables- they sell lettuce, carrots, potatoes, at the plot that I told you about, that we have.

59.07 RK: Does it have anything to do with Prodesal?

Norma: No, it has nothing to do with Prodesal. Every Wednesday, well to date, because perhaps now no-one has anything to sell, because we paid for permission, we took out a license and paid the internal revenue service so that the women could sell their produce, the things that they have – chard, radishes, well, on Wednesdays the women sell at that stall. But we have to pay tax to the internal revenue service. But that is only for them, because everything else, jam, cheese, is impossible, because we don’t have the sanitary certificates. And so people are now applying.

1.00.0 RK Who pays the tax?

Norma: The association pays. Well, we, for example, last year we held a farm bingo to raise money for the Association. Last year we did the bingo once in the Aysen Regiment. And we held a raffle also, an internal raffle, well, not that internal, each member committed to sell tickets. This is a fun that the Association has to pay for [ad hoc] costs. The money we get from Indap or Sercotec, that money is used only used for specific projects, and it can only be used in that way. I cannot take money from there to buy, I don't know, a ticket, that has not of that project, and so all unexpected costs, those we pay from the money we raise.

1.02.23 RK: Why didn't you make jam this year?

Norma: This year, well I had a lot of work to do with the Association, to tell the truth it is a lot of work, it is very, very demanding. I was hardly home, but now I hope to hand it over, because I haven't handed it over yet, because we are still waiting documents for the Ministry.

1.03.00 RK: Before the association, how did you make a living?

Norma: I was just here, I was just here, I only worked in the house.

RK: Did you work on the farm?

Norma: Yes, we all did a little, yes.

RK How many hours a week did you work on the farm, during the season?

Norma: I have never calculated that, but I have had the job,, for example de-parasite, help in the coral, separate animals, milk the cows and so on.

1.04. 40 RK: And the vegetable garden?

Norma: No, an hour, maybe two, it is not necessary to be there ever day, a while here. It is small and so it looks after itself. Sometimes, I have to clean, [weed], and I spend the whole morning there, it's not regular, steady.

1.05.01 RK: When you think about it, honestly, do you work the same hours, or do you work more, being the woman?

Norma: No, we work the same hours because in reality, well, he works outside and the work that I do more in the house, so we work about the same. I feed the chickens, give food to the dog....

1.05.40 RK: Do most people around here have community of property, or separated?

Norma: The truth is, I think, well, if we are talking about round about my age, I believe that nearly everyone from that era is married in community of property, because before, I am sure not. Just now people are starting to, to have separate [property], but in past times you didn't see that. And so the majority of people had community...

RK: And Young women?

Norma: Here no, here in this area, no, there are very few young people, there aren't people left.

1.06.43 RK: are there no young women farmers?

Norma: No

1.06.54 RK: How old is the youngest person in the guild?

In the Asociacion, [the youngest person] is about 26, 27 years old.

RK: So there are young people in the guild?

Norma: In the Association, yes, in this area there aren't any young people, but in the Asociacion, si, there are many young people, in other areas, 27, 30 years old.

1.07.38 RK When is the next meeting?

Norma: The next general meeting in in October. We had one recently, the 20th, it should have been in March but it didn't happened because....social movement.... The Directive has [frequent] meetings with various institutions.

1.09.12 RK: Where are you from, where were you born?

Norma: I was born here.

RK: And your grandparents?

Norma: They were also for here, on my father's side; they came from near Temuco, near there, the family of my father, the grandparents. On my mother's side, they also came from that part in the north, but they came through Argentina. Everyone in those days, everyone went to Argentina and from Argentina they came here. Well, my father and mother were Argentinean; I am Chilean with Argentine parents. No, my father was Argentinean and my mother was also Argentinean, the parents of my parents, they were Chilean.

1.10.12 RK: Where did you grown up?

Norma: Here on the farm. This is from my husband's family. We, my mother, had land a little higher up, towards the Pollux, we had land there, and we still have it.

1.1.18 RK: Who owns that land?

Norma: I do, that is what I have there, it is not much, about 30 hectares, the inheritance of my mother, it is mine, it is what I have there. [The farm] here, that is his. Over there, I have [the land] fenced and have animals. I take animals [there].

1.11.49 RK: Who gets the Money when you sell the animals? You, family fund?

Norma: Everything is together, yes, of course. The jam is mine, sure, that is mine.

1.12.21 Norma: In truth is that so many of us, farm men and women, get a lot of help from Indap. In essence, all our help, because the small holder farmer doesn't have other options. There are options, but the people, out of habit, don't go to other institutions, like Corfo. People are even afraid of Corfo, no everyone is always with Indap, yes...

1.13.04 RK: How did you learn to apply to Indap?

Norma: Well, they talked about it at the group meetings and conversation. There are, for example, specific projects [grants] that one can apply for, with [the assistance of] a consultant, telling them what it is you want to do. If you want to do something like clearing the fields, fencing, and so on.

1.13.39 RK: Does Indap have Money, or do you have to get it from the bank?

Norma: No, they have funds, not the bank, the money comes directly from Indap.

1.13.02 RK: What was the last Project you got help from Indap for?

Norma: I have a barbeque area here, and I do, I also work with rural tourism, and so I make typical Patagonian barbeques, and so I applied for a grant so that I could make it bigger. In truth we already had a barbeque area [building], which we had for the use of the house, and so I wanted to extend it and so I applied and they gave me the funds.

1.14.53 RK: What do you have to do for them?

Norma: We look for a consultant, someone who is in charge, and tell them what we want to do, what we want the funds for and they put together the application. You only have to sign it afterwards.

1.15.13 RK: Why don't many more people go to Indap for funds?

Norma: I think that in essence, what happens is that for all these grants one has to also put in an amount, a personal contribution. Sure, it is not a large amount of money, but you have to have it.

RK: maybe some people don't have?

Norma: I don't know, look, sometimes there are people...

1.15.37 RK: Or maybe their husbands don't let them?

Norma: Yes sure, maybe it isn't important to them because they think that it won't be...

RK: Maybe the women think it is important and the men don't?

Norma: Yes, more likely because they don't think that they will make money, and as I said, all the things that you start, you can't expect to earn immediately, everything goes slowly, and that is what people often don't understand. People think that you can arrive and put up [something] and earn immediately, but that is impossible. You have to find clients, you have to win over people, I don't know, you have to keep improving, renovating, and seeing that your product is of quality.

1.16.35 Norma: So sometime things don't work out so well, sometimes here, I don't know what it is like in other areas, but you see that sometimes people, people start sometime, food maybe, and for the first months everything functions well, but afterwards it starts declining and so people begin moving away and it [the business] ends up failing. Because there wasn't a continuity, instead of improving, sometimes, perhaps to lower costs, or to earn more, I don't know, they lose. It is difficult for people to understand that they can't do that.

1.17.30 RK: Why do you think you have had more success than others?

Norma: I don't know, but perhaps I have been more consistent, that's all. Because one tries to improve what one has, for that is it [the key]; and I see that people, to lower costs, do things in a different way and then it is no longer the same, but they want to earn the same. (Laughs)

1.18.46 Norma: Sometimes the people are also very comfortable, I say comfortable, but at the same time lazy.

RK: But some people live in miserable conditions?

Norma: But exactly for that reason, because people don't make an effort, people have bad habits, in essence, they have the bad habit of expecting to be given everything, and then they learn that there are people who can, like I saw in the north, live on one hectare, 6 families. And here, the smallholder farmers, there are few small holder farmers with less than 50 hectares ...so you tell me!

1.19.53 RK: is it laziness or lack of knowledge?

Norma: It is also because of that, because they don't know, or because it has never occurred to them what they can do, but there are some many things that people can do, like greenhouses....

- End of disc. -

Pamela Vega Interview

5.26.12 at her house in Coyhaique

RK: What do you do as a rural woman?

Pamela: Handcrafts, and I also cultivate vegetables, yes, and in a greenhouse, all of that.

RK: do you still grow vegetables?

Pamela: Now not, this season I was here, but here, this season we are going to grow things here, at least a few vegetables, lettuce, for our own consumption. It becomes more and more difficult to have a big vegetable garden.

RK: Are you going to stay here or go back to the farm?

Pamela: When Carla [daughter] is a little older I want to go back, but in the meantime I am here, accompanying her. She has recently begun 8th grade. She is 13.

01.25 RK: If you hadn't come to town, what other options would she have had?

Pamela: Lodging in a family house perhaps, but she didn't want to stay in lodging; it is hard for a young girl.

01.35 RK: Is there a boarding school?

Pamela: Here, no. It would have to be lodging, or the house of relatives. But it is never the same, you have to be with your child if you want them to success, the most important is for the mother to always be at their side, yes.

02.08 RK: Who pays for the family lodging?

Pamela: The state pays, yes, they pay. One applies to the municipality and they look at the cases and according to the case, they evaluate the child and the family and then provide payment for the accommodation. But they don't permit that lodging to belong to a family member. In my case I could have stayed in the farm and given the lodging [money] to my mother, for example, since she lives with us here, like they had told me I could do at the school.

Since Carla has good grades and all that, I tried to have them give the lodging to my mother, give her the money to look after her and I wouldn't have had to abandon the farm, but that didn't work out, and anyway, I would have missed Carla. So we decided to come here. Sure, one has to leave everything behind, but they are your children, and you have to do it. It is difficult living here, a huge change. Imagine living all your life on the farm, bringing up you children there, and then ... The offer up to the 8th grade where I live, in El Gato.

04.56 RK: Are most of the women of El Gato sending their children to lodging, or are they coming to town?

Pamela: The majority is coming, still there are some people who take advantage of lodging, and they find it works for them, but the majority of mothers come with their children.

04.21 RK: Is there state help when you come to town?

Pamela: No, and on top of that, they took mine away. Carla got a scholarship, but they took it away. It was an indigenous person's grant, based on her grandmother, and the mother of my husband. And do you know, they took my grant away because I have a minimarket. They removed me from the Indap grant, they took away Karla's scholarship, they didn't give me a home improvement grant, all these things, because I have a minimarket, a license for a minimarket, because of that I lost all the grants. The points of my social benefits survey were high and so I got eliminated from everything. Carla doesn't have any other option, no other scholarships or help from the authorities.

When we lived there, they offered her a scholarship because she was an outstanding student. She was always the best student in school and they said they could help her with scholarships, with a computer, but she didn't even get that. (...more about not getting the computer.....)

06.45 RK: So you had to leave the farm for your children?

Pamela: There should be more opportunities for people who live in an area like El Gato, there should be more opportunities. Instead of giving assistance they took away the little that we received, 40,000 pesos – it would have been useful. They give out that scholarship twice a year.

07.21 RK: do you rent this house?

Pamela: No, it is ours, in my name. Thank goodness it occurred to me to apply for it those years ago, about ten years ago, more, I think, that we have had this house, otherwise we would never have ...

We bought this plot here with a subsidy, we applied for a rural subsidy and we were given the house straight away. We have done a lot of alterations, because it was very small, it was like the houses that they gave out before, everything very small. We have extended it, and now we just made that piece over there bigger.

08.11 RK: And the house on the farm?

My brother is there and is looking after the business. He also has a child in school there, in 3rd grade, so they are there and looking after everything while they can.

08.28 RK How many siblings do you have?

I have 2 daughters, and I have 2 brothers, we were 4, but my one brother died.

08.49 Pamela: Two daughters, yes, one is now married, the elder is gone, she married young, just like her mother (laughs). Yes, I got married when I was 15, I have my 2 daughters, one is 22 and the other is 13, and a grandchild of 4. Nobody believed that I am a grandmother, yes, that's my grandson, in the photo in kindergarden, and there, in that photo is my brother who died, my younger brother, of cancer, he was 20 when he died.

09.33 RK: And your parents?

Pamela: They are separated. My mother lives here and my father is on the farm, at El Gato, where we live.

09.44 RK: does your father work on the farm?

Pamela: My father harvests firewood there on the farm, he has land there.

09.55 RK: You have land in the Gato? Is it in your name?

Pamela: Yes, I have a smallholding of 12 hectares that is in my name, and a half hectare.

10.12 RK: Did you buy them, or how did you get them?

Pamela: Yes, both of them, I bought both. One 12 years ago, the 12 hectares, and the other 6 years ago, the half hectare.

10.33 RK: How did you manage to buy land?

Pamela: When my husband Daniel's father died, the land was divided between them and his mother got half, and my mother-in-law sold me 12 hectares.. When his mother was widowed she began to sell the land that she was left and she sold me 12 hectares.

11.20 RK: when your father in law died, did the land pass to her or ...

Pamela: It was divided between the sons and she got that which corresponded to her, according to the law.

11.46 RK: You are married?

Pamela: Yes, we are married, yes.

11.51 RK: So your husband also has land?

Pamela: Yes, he has the piece that he got when the land was shared.

12.03 RK: How did you manage to buy your land? Selling veg, handcrafts?

Pamela: Yes, I bought it by selling my handcrafts, with my animals, because we also had livestock, cows, lambs, and I paid it off in quotas. With my work, praise the lord, the same with this house. Working, yes.

12.35 RK: not a problem for your husband that you are buying your own property?

Pamela: No, never. He has [property] in his name, and I have in my name, but in essence although I say this is mine, it belongs to the two of us.

It was simply that when I wanted to work in tourism I needed to have a piece of land in my name and so his mother decided to sell it to me, so that it would be in my name, yes, but I paid for it with my work, but in essence it belongs to both of us.

The other piece, the half hectare, was given to me because it was his, through his inheritance. But all the same I bought it in my name. It was a good gift. Because I could apply for my business with this half hectare. It is near the bridge. You know El Gato don't you? Our house is before you get to the bridge, it's a big house with a second floor, it has 3 bay windows at the top, it's a beautiful house, with shingles, and in the front it has lots of wood, and three large windows, that's our house. We have thought of selling it if someone wanted to buy it and buy a house in Coyhaique.

15.00 RK: re woman having to have land to do projects...

Pamela: Yes, I also had to have land in my name, because if not you can't do anything, or he had to give me a power of attorney or a rental agreement, I don't know, but in the end it would have been more complicated, so I have a smallholding in my name. With that I could apply to get sheep from Indap. I applied twice to that grant, but now they have disqualified me from Indap.

15.48 RK: do you have women friends in the sector who would like to do things but don't have permission from their husbands?

Pamela: Yes, but not that many, because nowadays the men are always giving their wives a power of attorney or a rental agreement, I think that they men are not as selfish anymore. I believe that the majority of them give to their wives, I think there are very few cases where they deny [their wives].

16.30 RK: But do you know people who have not been able to get ahead?

Pamela: Yes, my sister-in-law, I know that she, well, ... But also, her husband only has a tiny piece of land, and if he gave her some he also wouldn't be able to apply to Indap for a grant. In his case, with the little that he has, if he gave his woman, his partner, he would end up without assistance from Indap. That also happens, when the land is very small, the husband, even if he wants to, can't because there isn't enough to take from. For sure, in the case of a very small piece of land, it is always the man who keeps it.

17.13 RK : What size land does it have to be?

Pamela: Well, Indap gives grants for land which is two hectares or more.

17.28 Pamela: With the half hectare I can't, but with the 12 that are mine, which go from the road to the river. Yes, it is a beautiful place. My smallholding is just before you get to the school.

18.03 Pamela: With half an hectare, yes, you can do things, you can have a greenhouse, a vegetable garden, but if you want to have livestock, sheep or cows, you can't raise them in such small spaces. Vegetables you can, and fruit, fruit trees.

18.39 Pamela: I do all those things. I used to sell lots of jam. I did a bit of everything. I used to deliver to the hotel, I sold lots of jam. In my father's garden there are gooseberries, rosehips, apples. His land is very lovely, there is everything there, and strawberries which you just harvest in the fields. I got plums in Manihuales. In Manihuales there is a lot of fruit. People give it away because people don't know what to do with it. I never buy fruit, I just harvest it from people I know, - apples, quince, such things.

19.26 RK: How much did you make?

Pamela: I made a lot, I think about 20 kgs, and I also left some for my house. I made for Mrs Erica as well. When the fruit was going to waste, since she knew I liked to do this, she gave it to me, and I made jam for her. But she also bought from me. But I am no longer selling it, just making it for the consumption of our house. In previous years, when I was on the farm I had more time to dedicate to it, because I didn't have work obligations like I do now that I have a boss. I used to bring it here and sell it. I never buy jam, and we have jam for the whole year. I think that I have made at least 40kgs of sweets [jam] as gifts. I bring it here, and give it to my friend, to my daughter.

20.49 Pamela: Well, sometimes I also sell it, yes, to people I know, to people who work at Indap.

21.25 RK: did you grow up in the farmland?

Pamela: Yes, I grew up there and studied there, nowhere else.

21.43. RK: Where are your parents from?

Pamela: My father was born there on the farm, where he lives, I think that is where he was born. My grandmother had [gave birth] to him on the farm, with the help of a midwife, she had him right there.

The same with my husband. His mother brought him up there in the mountains and in the end we lived there and married there. Close by there. We are all from there, we have always lived in El Gato. But not my mother, she was born here in Coyhaique, but my father is from El Gato.

22.24 Pamela: My grandparents, the parents of my father, came from Valparaiso, and Union.

The grandmother from Valparaiso. My grandmother Carmen and the parents of my husband Daniel came from Chiloe. You should interview Sra Eliza, the old lady, Daniel's mother is 89 years old, she also weaves and makes things, she is a good, wholesome person. She used to hand in weavings to Sra Erica, mostly blankets and bead covers, those sorts of things. She still weaves, and she is 89 years old.

23.13 RK: When did she come from Chiloe?

Pamela: They are in this region for about 65 years because your [husband's] elder brother is about 64, the same age as my father, so it is about 63 years since she arrived in the region. She loves to talk about Chiloe...

23.48 RK: Did she teach you to weave?

Pamela: She taught me to weave, but she taught me on the Mapuche loom that she has, or Chilote loom, as she calls it. It is on the floor, and she weaves there.

24.04 RK: How old were you when you learned to weave?

Pamela: I was 15 or 16, because I married, I joined with him when I was 15 (she laughs), and he teaches me too, because they all know. When she gave me the thing and it all tangles up or it cut off, I would cry with anger and he would always arrive and patiently untangle it and give it back to me, because he has always helped his mother, and so he taught me afterwards, and to this day we work together. He makes the frames for me, helps me to set the warp threads. There, in that photo on the dresser he always helps me. He helps me to weave – one of us sits on that side, the other this side and he passes the shuttle to me over here and I pass it back...and so on. (More about the weaving process). He also helps me twist [the wool]. He helps me a lot.

25.42 Pamela: Now he works on the farm, [harvesting] firewood and in the afternoons he works at the Parque Austral [sports complex], yes he loads trucks of firewood in the mornings, and works there in the afternoons, every other day. Here you have to make an effort to do

something [to get ahead]. There are weeks when he goes to EL Gato, for a couple of days, to see to the livestock and to spend time with his mother.

26.20. Her mother arrives.

RK: how do you sell your handcrafts?

Pamela: When I was in El Gato, I sold the majority of my things to Sra Erica and then afterwards when I was in Indap/Prodemu I started to have more contact with people by word of mouth, more than anything, and then what I needed most was a place to sell from.

27.01 RK: How did you begin to work with Indap?

Pamela: When Sra Jianella Saeni , I don't know if you knew her, well, she came to me once, about 8 years ago and [when] she was gathering women into groups, 7 or 8 people, to enter the Indap/Prodemu project, and at that time I began with a group. I was president of the workshops at that time.

RK: is the group still together?

27.44 Pamela: Now, everyone works for themselves. We were in a group for 4 years, and each one, well, there is still Sra Ilse and a sister-in-law, and the three of us always worked together. I sell the things [made by] Sra Ilse, Daniel's mother, as she weaves steadily [regularly]. I try to sell for her because it is more difficult for her to sell her things.

28.05 RK: Who else still sells their goods together?

Pamela: Sra Ilse and Silvia, Daniel's sister-in-law. (Shows photos). These photos are about 12 years old, but she is just the same as she was there – see how she is weaving on the ground. She is wearing a shawl that she herself made, it makes her too sad to sell it because she wants it as a memento.

29.12 RK: Silvia also weaves?

Pamela: Yes.

29.29 RK: What are the roots of Daniel's mother?

She is Mapuche, because Carla got that scholarship. Her parents were from Spain and Antillanco, but she was born in Chiloe, in Quillon. It is a beautiful place. I went there once with Indap – it was a sponsored trip and we were there for a week. We went all over the place, it is lovely there.

30.14 RK: before you met Erica, did you sell to anyone else?

Pamela: Yes, I sold to the first people who started working at the house, what was his name, Arturo – I first sold to them. When I was recently married the first things that I learned to make were those little knitted hats. I made many hats and they bought them all from me. That was the first thing I started to make.

30.48 RK: conversation about working for Art and Luisa, and her mom...and Eduardo and Jimmy

32.57 RK: what benefits does the association bring you?

Pamela: It is a place where I can make contact with people, and I can sell my handcrafts, especially at the meetings where someone always comes and takes my things – I am always selling there. I also get new clients there, and each time my clients increase, that's what I most like.

RK: Are your clients other members?

Pamela: People from various institutions come when we have our meetings and so [I have access to] different people, from other institutions, people from other places.

33.44. Daughter arrives, says hello.

33.50 RK: What other benefits?

Pamela: Well, we are thinking about having a headquarters, and this will benefit all of us because we will have a place to take our things, or to have market days every so often.

34.18 RK: And training?

Pamela: So far we haven't achieved that. We have to do so, we want to have courses this year.

RK: And last year?

Pamela: No, not through the Association. But this is what most interests us, I don't know why we don't have more....well, I have been distanced from the AG, in the past two years I have been to few meetings but from what I know there haven't been any courses. But I would like to go to a weaving course, because I know that there is a heap that you can do on a loom, and I know only a very small part of it. There needs to be more of that – that is what I like to do.

35.10 RK: Are there other women in AG who weave?

Pamela: There are two other people, out of the hundred and so of us, it seems that we only three of us do this. There is one [person] in La Junta and another women nearby in El Blanco, who I met only recently because she is new, a new member. Her name is Isolde, I don't know her last name, and the other woman is called Lucy, or Lucia, I also only met her recently, I don't know why, but she also weaves.

35.49. RK: Have you had the opportunity to Exchange weaving ideas?

Pamela: No, I haven't seen the work of either of them. I don't know what kind of loom they use, because in these meetings we don't get to chat much. There is so little time.

36.00 RK: How do you know about AG meetings?

Pamela: Always from messages. They put messages on the radio, Radio Santa Maria, and sometimes they also call me, Sra Isabel does.

36.32 RK: how about training courses through Indap?

Pamela: No, but grants yes. That was when we were with Indap/Prodemu at that time. Those three year there.

37.01 RK: Is that when you went to Quillon?

Pamela: Yes, it was at that time that we did a trip to Quillon. There we also did personal development, and business management, and then the group that we had got a grant. For example there were two seasons when we bought eleven sheep, and then the other year we got money to buy pots, dye and wool which we shared amongst us.

RK: You bought 11 sheep between you?

Pamela: Yes, there were 8 of us, I don't remember how much money there was at the time, but we had enough to buy 11 sheep each. We were a group of 8 members. The next year, we bought materials, wool, a pot for dyeing, and at that time we also did a course to learn to dye. A course to dye leather as well as a weaving course. At that time we weren't yet members of the A.G, but we joined afterwards, after three years of being in a group, we became members of the AG. I am still a member, but the other people have become very distanced from it. Sra Ilse is also still a member, and she sends money for her dues, but now she doesn't come to meetings, because of her age. She is very interested, but can't go because of her age.

39.17 RK: How many women A.G members in the sector El Gato?

Pamela: Now I am not sure because I think that those people who don't come to a certain number of meetings are going to be removed [lose their membership]. We have just got a [new] directive and I am the secretary of AG. We had a meeting to choose the directive but since then we haven't met up, but that is a condition that we want to bring in – that people who have not attended three or 4 meetings will be eliminated [lose their membership] because it shows that they are not interested, that they haven't paid their dues and so on. A message will be sent out to advise people that those that don't fulfill the requirements will lose their membership of the AG, because people sometimes only arrive when there is a trip, for example when we went to Chile Chico, or La Junta. There, we gathered together 80, 100 women, but at the meetings 20 or 30 people arrive, sometimes fewer, and so....

40.30 RK: Have you received credit for your projects?

Pamela: Loans, no. It has been offered to me but I never wanted to become involved with banks, not even a bit. I have always worked with my

RK: Who has offered?

Pamela: The bank, Banefe, Indap as well, but me, no.

RK: Why not?

Pamela: Because I don't want to go into debt, I don't like loans from banks. Also, I get by from my sales. Since I sell the things I weave, I sell a few things and if I want to buy something, I buy with the same money I make. For example the wool that I am always buying, alpaca wool, - which is more expensive.

Sometimes I find that there is little help from the institutions for artisans. They require so many details, and every time there are more requirements and fewer options. Once I applied to FOSIS, last year, and I was at the point of getting the grant, but when they evaluated me and they interviewed me, and because I have a house in El Gato I was disqualified. But I only came to town because of my daughter, to help her, but because I have a house there and here they disqualified me. It wasn't much money but with it I could have bought wool to send to have spun. It was something like 200, or 300,000 pesos, but in the end one can't get those benefits. And even less apply for a grant from Sercotec, because that is always for people who have

more, who are much more advanced. Well, I have applied for [their] grants, but have never got one.

42.57. RK: Do you know why not?

Pamela: There is always something that they reject, that the application is not well done, or the address is wrong, always something that they find...

43.22 RK: Isn't there anyone to help you at Sercotec?

Pamela: No, one has to do it oneself, and now you have to fill out the forms on the internet and it needs to be someone who knows, who has the ability to answer all the questions. I am sure that if one were to go and ask Srs Isabel or ...but these are people who are always busy because of all the meetings, but it has to be someone you trust.

No, in Sercotec it is very difficult. I wanted to apply for a room which I could use as a studio. I need the space, and also somewhere that I can put out my handcrafts. There is only one area here where they are selling alpaca wool, and so I wanted to get some with help from the Municipality, those sorts of things. I wish they could see about providing me a space where I could work and be independent, because I was used to working that way on the farm, alone. To rent something would be very expensive and so cost too much for me, and so it would not be in my interest to do so. Rents are very expensive, even small spaces are very expensive.

44.52 RK: And the center for handcrafts? And have someone else sell for you?

Pamela: It is not really to my benefit, I asked a woman there, at the Square where people take things, and she said that I should leave it there and she would try to sell it, but I haven't done it, no.

45.13 RK: do you still have livestock in the campo?

Pamela: Yes, just like before. We still have cows and sheep. They belong to the family, everyone has some. Even Rafa is the owner of livestock. The girls, Daniel, we all have a few.

46.14 RK: And the sheep you got from Indap?

Pamela: There are still some of them, the younger ones, and now there are their offspring. It's been a long time and the sheep were already old when we bought them, and so we have had to one by one do away with them. We bought them at the Bano Nuevo estancia and there were not very good.

46.34. RK: Do you have a vehicle?

Pamela: We have truck, which is old now; we bought it for hauling firewood. It is in my name.

47.10 RK: Why are so few women members of AG, thinking of all the women in the region?

Pamela: It is worthwhile to be a member, yes. I don't know why people have drifted away, perhaps because they see few benefits for them, perhaps because of the distances. After all they are kept informed, there are always notices on the radio. Perhaps because of that, I don't see any other reason, because most people know that you can put together groups. The [local government] is always advertising the value of the people of Indap. Or perhaps because there are fewer and fewer women left in the rural areas. The majority of women are coming to the town, like me. It also could be that.

48.34 RK: How many members?

There are about a hundred. But you have to consider who comes. Nobody wants to work in the AG, there are about 40 women, no, 50, who make the effort to gather. There are not more than that at the meetings. The women are not motivated, or their husbands don't let them because some are still dominated [controlled].

49.13 RK: Do you think there are lots like that?

I think so, because sometimes when new people arrive they say that their husbands have said to them that they are going to be doing stupid things and that they will be wasting their time.

RK: How do they manage to go to meetings?

Pamela: They say that they speak [to their husbands] and for better or worse the go out, but the majority of women say that they have had problems at home for the past eight years, and I think that it happened to all of us. They don't like it when we go to meetings, nor when we go away from the house for a week. Men don't like their women to go out...

I think that has happened to the great majority of women. Yes, I have spoken to two or three of the news members and their husbands get angry because they come to these meetings. They tell them that they are wasting time with useless things. And so there are women who heed [their husbands] and stay at home, others go out anyway and in the end their husbands get used to it, at first they got angry but now they don't.

Argues jokingly with her husband about going to meetings and leaving him alone:

Husband: “but it was terrible because you were always in a meeting”. Pamelas: Those three years of course, because we had to attend, there were talks ... husband: “every now and again it’s ok, but it was so much time...” Pamela: But that was the agreement that we had, Weaving workshops, for example were 48 hours and we had to go every day. There have been various courses that we have had to attend. There were 8 of us and for three years we weren’t much in the house – between meetings here and there, in the chapter house, the school, or we travelled. But we had a great time. He (points to her husband), hated Prodemu (everyone laughs).

RK: But he let you go anyway?

51.19 Pamela: But I would go anyway...

RK: In the long run was it of benefit?

Pamela: She argues a bit more with her husband regarding the value of the courses).

Husband, “only so, so, if you already knew how to weave, why attend a course?”

Pamela: But all the same, there were many benefits, and I got to meet people.

Husband: it negated what I taught you.

Pamela: It didn’t negate your tuition, but I learned other, additional things. One never stops learning.

51.42 Pamela: There is free travel. You see, she says to her husband, you saved money, when are you going to buy me a ticket to Chiloe? With a cabin and all.

I went to Santiago and was there for 4 days. Various women from the region went. There are things that you have to be grateful for, because I would never have been able to go on these trips alone. I have also been to Chile Chico, Cochrane, La Junta. You get to know so much due to this.

If he has to spend a few days alone, I have been with him for more than 20 years, it’s not a big deal. I have won him over bit by bit, he’s lost now. Laughs.

Years ago, men abused their women, previously when they were very chauvinist, very bad, at least we are talking about one’s grandfathers, who were bad people with their women, they

kept their women on the farms , having children there, cold from the snow, bringing up more than 15 children.

My godmother Marina had 18 and that man made her suffer, he hit her, he kicked her, and beaten, she had her children. And so the abuse of the men was a lot and I believe that she hates him even now that he is dead, I think that she hates that man, even dead. He was so wicked, and my godfather on top of it. He died years ago. The girls hate their father. I have never heard her speak badly of him, I always go and visit marina but I have never hear her speak badly.

Pamela's mother:

You should never be hit by an unknown man, you should never let an stranger hit you, someone who is not your husband. If one is to blame, yes.

Pamela: Not even for that, not even for that.

We have an uncle, now that man was so awful to his woman, that he cut her hair with his knife. They said that he had fits of jealousy, mad jealousy. In those years that poor humble woman suffered. They say that he grabbed her long hair and cut it off with a knife. Tio Toto. He was wicked with that woman. He kicked her, he threw her out into the night when he was in his moods. He took out his anger on her. He kicked her, and hit her and it was said that he shot at her. I heard that in winter, when it was all snowed over, metres of snow, that poor woman was thrown out barefoot. There, in the area where we live there were very bad people, who were terrible to their wives.

54.46 Pamela:

Nowdays it has changed, although I think that there are still some, but very few, older people, who are bad to their wives.

Pamela's sister:

Now they kill them, now they arrive and kill them, they don't beat them, they kill them.

Pamela:

Yes, there are still people, bad men.

(Conversation about a case in town of a man who killed his wife)

Pamela's mother:

But not only men, women also kill.

Pamela:

Women are also bad, women have also abused the situation.

Other woman: In the news there was a story about a woman who punched her husband because he came home drunk. Yes, but women also take advantage and go out alone, go out to dance. Discussion about women taking advantage of the law and hitting their husbands.

End of disc.....
