

THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN SPANISH AGRICULTURE: ANALYSIS FROM THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUSES, 1962-1982.

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As in other countries, women's contribution to work is undervalued in Spain, and women's work in agriculture is, indeed, no exception to this pattern. In an attempt to throw some light on the nature of women's contribution to agricultural activities in Spain, this paper examines and evaluates the available published statistics. The paper is in three parts. The first focuses on the key concepts that lie behind most of the theoretical discussions on women's labor in agriculture and also provides a quick picture of the evolution of Spanish agriculture in the last decades. The second part evaluates the data that can be gathered from the available Agrarian censuses in Spain (1962, 1972, and 1982). In the third part we analyze these data to explore changes in agricultural work, focusing on women's contribution to paid and unpaid work.¹

1. THE GENERAL CONTEXT

The Conceptual Framework

A lively debate is still taking place about the reasons why female contributions to Third World Agriculture have declined during a process of agricultural intensification (Burton et al. 1986). Most of the traditional explanations of that decline viewed women as being "pushed out" of agriculture because males took over plowing and

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irrigation. Some authors, however, have suggested—and with very good reasoning—that women are “pulled into” additional domestic work with the intensification of agriculture and that this additional work and a higher fertility explains the relative decline in women’s contribution to agriculture (Ember, 1983).

Though the contents of this debate may only fully apply to the historical period of most of the agricultural systems in the First World, the whole issue of domestic work is still the Achilles’s heel for a full evaluation of women’s participation in the labor force of present day agriculture in the developed countries. Indeed, domestic labor has become “invisible” labor in our societies. Only remunerated work is considered “real” work and only commodity production is considered “productive.” This is especially true for the agricultural sector. If we move beyond this narrow definition of farm labor, some authors have been able to point out that more than three times as many farm households than non-farm households have women who produce goods for consumption by members of their household (Reimer, 1986). Since on most of the family farms the household and farm budgets are interdependent, the labor expended by women even contributes directly to the operation of the farm. Thus the basic problem is that the concept of labor generally used in much of the theoretical and empirical research and in statistical publications excludes or undervalues a significant proportion of the work necessary for the production and reproduction of the family farm which is traditionally done by women (Garcia-Ramon & Canoves, 1988).

But not only is the concept of labor too narrowly defined, the concept of family and the implications of its use are also not fully explored. The family is treated as an integral unit obscuring the social divisions and inequalities within it—in particular the gender identity of wifehood and the nature of domestic work that is associated with it. Also overlooked is the role of the family in perpetuating patriarchal gender relations (Whatmore, 1988b, Pahl, 1988). A small but growing body of feminist literature including some relating to rural women, advocates the need for a new theoretical framework that could integrate the analysis of the patriarchal gender relations within the family and society into the Marxist approach to the sexual division of labor (Beneria, 1979; 1981). The aim of this paper is to contribute to the clarification of such issues in the context of Spanish agriculture. The available statistical information (the Agrarian Censuses of 1962, 1972 and 1982) provide some information concerning women’s work but, when closely looked at, the data are quite biased by both, a conception of family only as an integral unit without internal inequalities and a narrow

definition of labor that, in fact, obscures the important role of women for the production and reproduction of the family farm.

The Factual Context: The Evolution of Spanish Agriculture

After the difficult decades following the Civil War (1936-39), dramatic changes took place in Spanish agriculture in the 1960's as part of a generally remarkable process of economic transformation of the country. After the Stabilization Plan of 1959, the economy was "opened" to foreign investment and technology, which led to rapid industrial development in the Basque country, Catalonia and Madrid, while a tourist boom promoted spectacular growth along the Mediterranean coast (Garcia-Ramon, 1985). These developments, combined with emigration to north-western Europe, caused a massive exodus from agriculture, which in turn, gave a great boost to mechanized farming. In addition, changes in consumer habits abroad and in urban Spain led to a surge in demand for vegetables, dairy products, meat and more fruits. Farmers strove to adjust quickly to the new circumstances. Some of the large holdings in Andalucia underwent rapid mechanization and introduced new crops such as sunflower and cotton. At the same time, large areas of the interior of Spain (especially the northern and southern *meseta*) were virtually emptied as poor farmers left and quite a few farms disappeared altogether. Elsewhere, however, family farms proved better able to adapt themselves to the new economic environment. In the Mediterranean regions of Catalonia, Valencia and Murcia they intensified their production techniques to produce fruit and vegetables now in demand, while many farms in the humid north (Asturias, Cantabria, Basque country and the Pyrenees) increased their output of meat and milk. Galicia did not participate so much in this process of modernization due to its landownership structure of minifundia.²

Thus mechanization, specialization and intensification were the keys to the transformation of Spanish agriculture in the 60s and 70s. Nevertheless, new social problems arose (Cruz-Villalon, 1987), for example, the widening income gap between

2. Latifundium (plural: latifundia) is a generic term for a large farm, usually above 300 Hectares. Minifundium (plural: minifundia) is a generic term for a small farm, usually below 1 Hectare. Minifundium is the predominant landownership structure throughout the Northern half of Spain, in particular in Galicia and Asturias. Latifundium is the predominant landownership structure in the Southern half of the country, in particular in Extremadura, Castile-Mancha and Western Andalucia.

the agrarian and non-agrarian sectors. Even today, areas of low income still tend to coincide with the areas of mainly agricultural employment. In 1986 the entrance of Spain to the EEC began to accentuate these regional disparities. And while the agriculture of some areas – mostly in the Mediterranean coast – is quite promising, this optimism cannot be applied to many of other rural areas of Spain – especially the north-northwest and the interior – where the outlook remains grim.

Of course, at this point, we might wonder what has been the role of women in such an evolution. Given the weight that the family farm has had in this process, we might hypothesize that women's unpaid work – basically family help – has maintained itself or even slightly increased in those regions based on family farm regardless of the nature of change in agriculture. However, we have to remember that the rural exodus meant that many small farms disappeared and that women's unpaid work was probably concentrated in this type of farms. We therefore need to examine women's unpaid work in terms of farm size, rather than by examining farms in general. As far as the evolution of paid agricultural labor is concerned, we might expect that it would slightly decrease. We have to take into account that in an expanding economic context, rural exodus might involve more women than men since women are not usually the farm operators nor the owners of the land.

2. THE AGRARIAN CENSUSES OF 1962, 1972 AND 1982: AN EVALUATION

It has already been pointed out that the statistics underestimate women's contribution to production due to the narrowness of the definition of labor. This is especially true in agricultural statistics because farm women probably produce more goods for household consumption than do women from non-farm households. Those goods make a direct contribution to the survival of the farm by cutting costs and making extra cash available for the operation of the farm (Reimer, 1986). This type of contribution is seldom, if ever considered, and this situation is found all over the world (Dixon, 1983; Monk et al. 1986; Recchini, 1986). In this context, it should not surprise us that Spanish agricultural statistics also underestimate the contribution of female labor and, in general, are quite inaccurate for our purposes. But, if what we want is to draw a general picture of women's role in Spanish agriculture, we do not have much choice at present; and we have to use the Agrarian Census that is the most relatively complete source for agricultural labor.

The Agrarian Census (*Censo Agrario*) has been carried out three times, in 1962, 1972 and 1982, that is every ten years, according to FAO recommendations. Because Spain joined the EEC in 1986, the country was also involved in the 1987 European Community Inquiry about the structure of the farms. It included detailed information about labor, especially paid work, but none of the results are yet available. Other statistical sources on the economic activities of the Spanish population, including agriculture, are also available. The best known are the Population Census (*Censo de Poblacion*), the Municipal Register of Inhabitants, (*Padron Municipal de Habitantes*) the Survey of the Active Population (*Encuesta de la Poblacion Activa*), the Survey on the conditions of life and work (*Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida y Trabajo*), and some regional ones like the Survey on the Population in Relation to Activity (*Encuesta sobre la Poblacion en relacion con la Actividad*), carried out by the Basque Government.³

Only the Agrarian Cenus, however, carries information at the farm level and this is a key issue for the study of the agricultural sector and, indeed, for the study of women's contribution (Solsona, 1989). The basic unity of information in this census is the farm with data provided on its structure and organization (labor, land use, live-stock, crops, irrigation, and machinery). Most of the data are given by farm size and are the result of an exhaustive survey, but some others are obtained through a probabilistic sample. The basic spatial unit of information is the province (there are 50 in Spain), although some data are also disaggregated at the municipal and county level. In the 1982 Census the information was also aggregated at the Autonomous Region level (*Comunidad Autonoma*). There are seventeen Autonomous Regions – a result of the new political territorial division introduced in the late 70's – and this is the most appropriate level for the analysis of this paper.

The information is gathered directly by the Census agent, quite often at a meeting at the town-hall of all the farm operators which follows a complete inventory of all the farms. Of course, most of the informants are men, so women's work is probably underestimated by this methodology as well as in ways previously mentioned. The reference period of the Agricultural Census is the whole agricultural year and this means that the data are not biased by the seasonality of work. The data related to labor

3. The Labor Department of the Catalan Regional Government did a similar one in 1987 but, as far as we know, it never published anything.

are the most relevant for studying women's participation in agricultural activities; however, the information given by sex is scarce, especially in the first Censuses. The basic categories used in all the three Censuses are paid labor and unpaid labor (occasional paid work is not always included); nevertheless the publication of the data unfortunately follows slightly different criteria every year and this obliges us to be cautious in the comparison of these data. The categories of farm size are quite disaggregated in the Census of 1962 and 1982 but not in the 1972 Census (at least in relation to sex) which creates some problems for comparisons; nevertheless, the information can be worked out, at least, for three categories in the three Censuses (<20 hectares, 20-100 hectares; >100 hectares). This is not the case for the information about age; the grouping is quite different for every Census, making comparisons quite difficult. The only group that can be more or less discerned is a kind of central one (18-64 years old for 1962; 20-64 for 1972; 25-65 for 1982) and this is the one that we will use in the comparative analysis. But let us look more closely at each Census.

The Census of 1962

This census included only two tables with information disaggregated by sex. It gives data on the number of unpaid and paid workers (including occasional paid work). The age-groups are not particularly relevant to study women's work because one group ranges from 18 to 64 years old! Besides, no information is disaggregated by sex below 18 years. The categories for farm size are very disaggregated and are quite useful, at the lower level, for studying women's participation (it included all the farms under 0.1 hectare in size).

The Census of 1972

This census published more tables with information disaggregated by sex than the previous one. In the category of paid labor, however, only permanent work is included, (understood as a full day work). The grouping of the age-groups is much more relevant (<14; 14-19; 20-24; 25-64; >64), for studying women's work in relation to her life cycle. The census also included a survey of the total population of farms by sex which can be useful. Farm size categories are somewhat disaggregated but much less than in the other censuses (at least in relation to sex) and this poses a problem for comparative studies.

In this census we have to take into account that farms below 0.1 hectares are only included in a sample and then added to the general survey; this fact really creates problems for comparative studies as we believe that this census underestimates the total number of these type of farms. In general, we can assert that this census is the less accurate of the three and that is the one that poses more problems for an analysis of change.

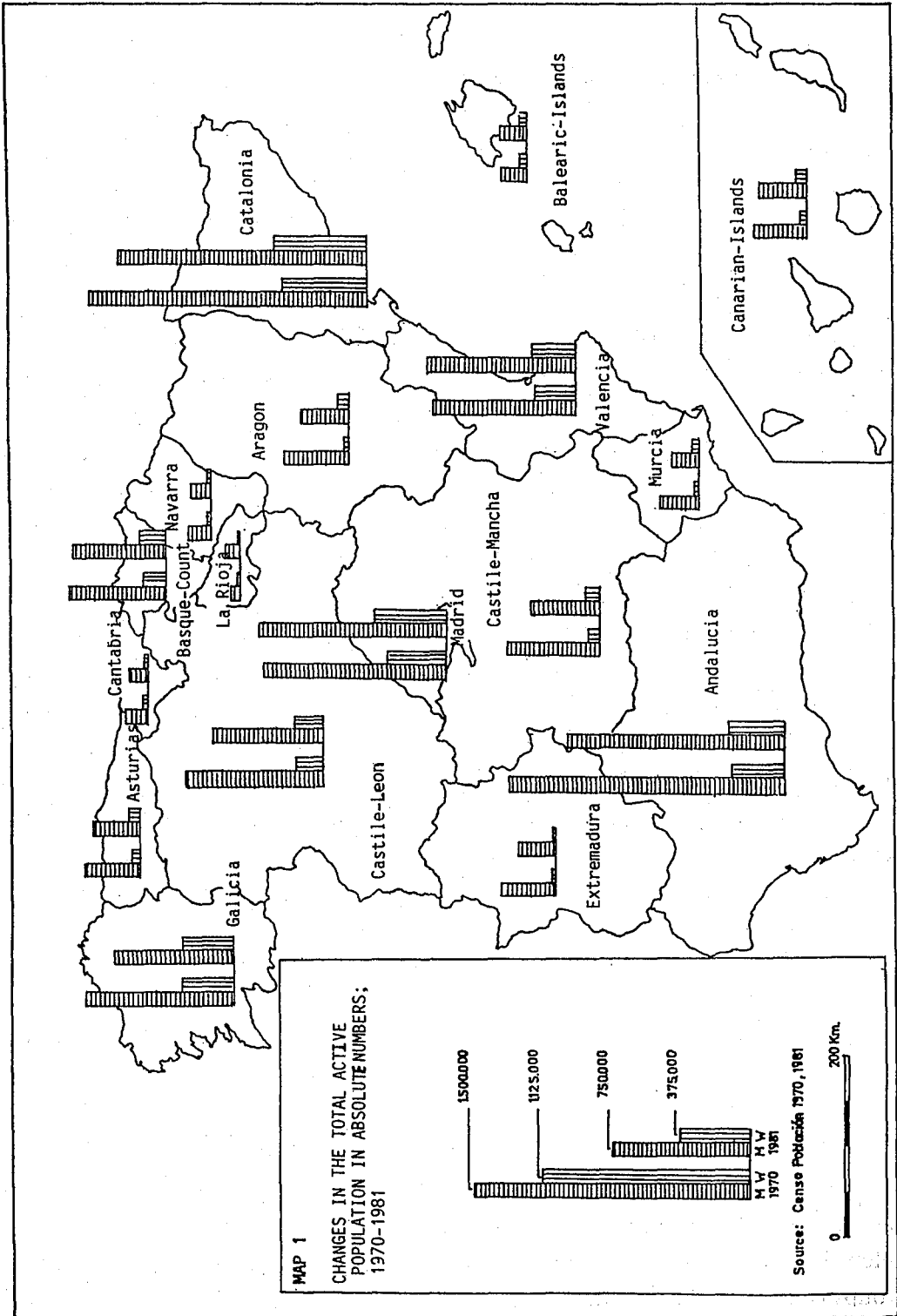
The Census of 1982

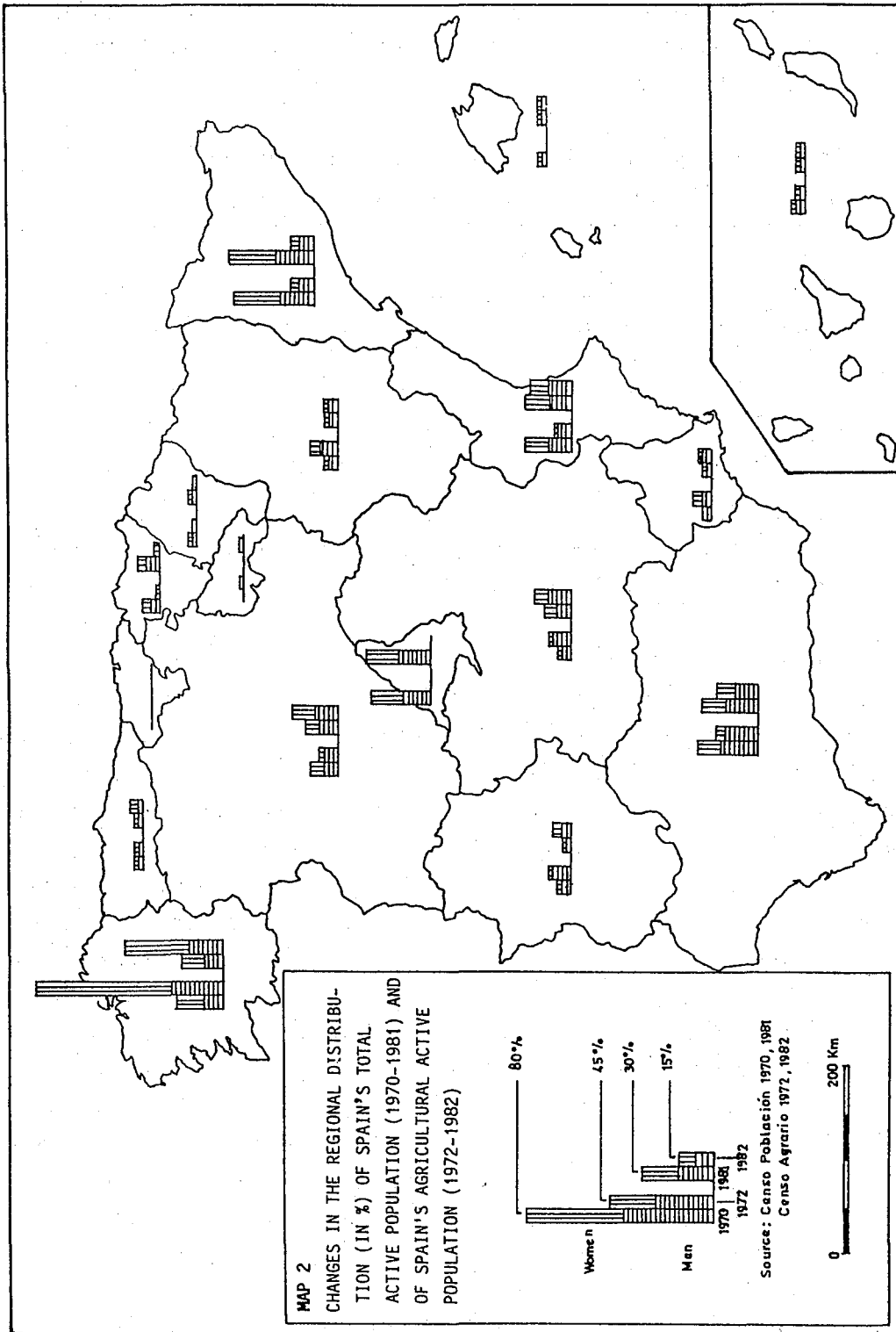
This census included fifteen tables with information about labor, but only four of them are given by sex. The category of paid work included permanent as well as occasional workers, but for the latter the information is not given by sex. For the first time, unpaid work is disaggregated into two categories: farm operators and "family help." This category is quite ambiguous, however, as it included the work performed by the farmer's wife, children and other relative who live with the family but do not receive any payment for their work. In general, we can state that the data of this census provide a more accurate accounting of women's work. On one hand the design of the 1982 questionnaire encourages the registration of "family help" and a great deal of women are in this category; on the other; the newly established social security system encourages the registration of part-time paid workers (and a lot of them are women). As far as the categories of farm sizes is concerned, the level is again disaggregated and it is very useful for the study of women's contribution. The disaggregation by age groups is not so useful for the same purpose (<25;25-65;>65) as the central group should be divided at least into two.

3. THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN SPANISH AGRICULTURE

Women and the Evolution of the Active Agricultural Population: 1962–82 (Maps 1 and 2).

In 1986 the share of women in the total labor force in Spain was only 31.2%, well below the western European average (Economic Commission for Europe, 1985). Nevertheless, if the different age groups are taken into account – in particular those below 35 years old – the picture would reveal higher rates of participation among some groups (Casas, 1987). According to the statistics, women's share in the labor force in





Spanish agriculture has never been particularly significant. It should be pointed out, however, that in the last decades, the decrease of women in the agricultural sector has been slower than that of men (Table 1).

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of Economically Active Men & Women by Major Economic Sectors in Spain (1950–1982)

	Women			Men		
	Agriculture	Industry	Services	Agriculture	Industry	Services
1950	25	25	50	54	26	20
1960	18	28	53	40	34	26
1970	14	31	56	28	39	33
1982	16	21	63	18	42	39

Source: *Economic Commission for Europe, The Economic Role of Women in the EEC Region*. New York: United Nations, 1985

Looking at the data from the 1962 census we observe that contribution of each region to the Spanish total agricultural active population is relatively even if we take into account the absolute number of population (as shown in Table 2, the information by sex is not given). Only Galicia stands out with almost a third of the total, although Andalucia and Castilla-Leon (northern *meseta*) have also some significant weight in the total – and as the *meseta* is sparsely populated, its contribution is still more significant. In 1972, Galicia stands even higher, a sign of economic stagnation in the context of a general process of development in Spain. Conversely, the northern *meseta's* contribution has decreased and in this case it is clearly the result of the rural exodus. If sex is taken into account, again in Galicia, women's contribution is extremely high (almost two thirds of the Spanish total). In contrast, none of the other sixteen regions show any significant participation. In 1982, the Andalucia and Castilla-Mancha have increased and, together with Galicia, they show the highest contributions to the Spanish total – although only Galicia really stands out again (this time the contribution has gone down to 30% of women). All three regions have not been much touched by the industrialization; and their agriculture, which is quite traditional, still plays an important role in the net regional GDP.

If we look at the picture from a different perspective (that is to say, the propor-

Table 2. Contribution of Each Region to the Spanish Total Agricultural Active Population. 1962, 1972, 1982.

Autonomous Region	1962	1972		1982			
	Total %	Men %	Women %	Total %	Men %	Women %	Total %
Andalucia	14.16	15.32	5.45	12.11	17.79	14.14	16.61
Aragon	4.18	7.00	2.86	5.65	5.08	2.78	4.34
Asturias	4.29	4.54	6.80	5.28	3.13	4.75	3.65
Balearic-Islands	1.14	1.07	1.11	1.08	1.14	1.33	1.20
Basque Country	2.04	1.67	2.31	1.87	1.88	2.02	1.93
Canarian-Islands	2.85	3.29	2.33	2.98	3.43	3.47	3.45
Cantabria	1.97	1.74	2.49	1.98	1.56	1.81	1.64
Castile-Leon	13.57	6.94	1.60	5.20	10.95	10.73	10.88
Castile-Mancha	7.11	6.94	1.60	5.20	9.94	7.45	9.13
Catalonia	0.98	7.14	4.03	6.13	6.04	5.09	5.73
Extremadura	4.99	7.14	3.04	5.80	5.34	3.47	4.74
Galicia	31.68	23.15	59.34	34.91	14.31	29.59	19.26
Madrid	0.88	0.98	0.42	0.80	1.12	0.61	0.96
Murcia	2.20	3.32	3.04	3.23	3.51	2.51	3.19
Navarra	1.15	1.50	0.50	1.18	1.88	0.91	1.57
Rioja	0.95	1.03	0.19	0.76	1.30	0.73	1.12
Valencia	5.86	7.24	2.90	5.83	11.59	8.60	10.62
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Own elaboration from the Agrarian Census, 1962, 1972, 1982.

tion of women and men in the active agricultural population within each region), we observe that in 1972 Galicia, again, shows a high percentage of women's participation (Table 3); however, some other regions also stand out, including Asturias (41.9%), Basque country (40.0%) and Cantabria (40.8%). Like Galicia, they are also located in the humid north-northwest and have a traditional mixture of crops and livestock, an agrarian complex which usually involved a good deal of female labor (Canoves, 1989). In 1982 we find that in 13 out of 17 regions, the proportion of the agriculturally active population that is female has suddenly increased and, in some cases, in a very remark-

Table 3. Sex Composition of the Active Agricultural Population within Each Region, 1972-1982. (100 = Total Regional Active Agricultural Population)

Autonomous Region	1972		1982	
	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
Andalucia	85.38	14.62	72.44	27.56
Aragon	83.54	16.46	79.24	20.76
Asturias	58.14	41.86	57.92	42.08
Balearic-Islands	66.65	33.35	64.30	35.70
Basque Country	59.99	40.01	66.06	33.94
Canarian-Islands	74.56	25.44	67.38	32.62
Cantabria	59.21	40.79	64.28	35.72
Castile-Leon	90.02	9.98	68.08	31.92
Castile-Mancha	90.02	9.98	73.60	26.40
Catalonia	78.65	21.35	71.28	28.72
Extremadura	82.99	17.01	76.29	23.71
Galicia	44.76	55.24	50.26	49.74
Madrid	82.87	17.13	79.29	20.71
Murcia	69.44	30.56	74.50	25.50
Navarra	86.15	13.85	81.24	18.76
Rioja	91.79	8.21	78.82	21.18
Valencia	83.82	16.18	73.79	26.21
Spain	67.50	32.50	67.64	32.36

Source: Own elaboration from the Agrarian Census, 1972, 1982.

able way (the only regions that do not increase are the ones that had the highest participation in 1972!). We could, therefore, conclude that Spanish agriculture has experienced a strong process of feminization. However, we should be very cautious about this statement because the 1982 Census is much more accurate in registering women's work. As we have already explained above, the 1982 questionnaire and the new social security system encourages the registration of "family help" and part-time workers (many in these categories are women) and, on the contrary, the 1972 Census underestimates the number of marginal farms where women's labor is quite conspicuous (Tulla,

1989).

Indeed, if we take into consideration the size of the farm we observe that in 1962 (Table 4) the percentage of women in the active agricultural population is higher than that of men in those farms below 20 hectares and this also holds true for 1982. As far as regional differences, women's participation is much higher in the humid north and northwest where small and medium farms predominate. In general, we can say that, for this period, there is a trend towards a major concentration of women's active population in farms below 20 hectares.

Table 4. Active Agricultural Population of the Central Age Groups on Farms below 30 Hectares within Each Region, 1962–1982. (100 = Total Regional Active Agricultural Population for Each Sex)

CCAA	1962		1982	
	(18–64 years old)		(25–65 years old)	
	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %
Andalucia	58.08	60.85	89.78	80.34
Aragon	69.57	68.90	68.92	66.08
Asturias	98.43	98.09	96.40	95.21
Balearic-Islands	82.36	80.64	83.04	78.02
Basque Country	90.78	87.62	86.36	84.16
Canarian-Islands	83.57	83.18	94.51	91.67
Cantabria	98.73	97.82	98.05	95.66
Castile-Leon	79.92	67.12	74.42	61.39
Castile-Manxa	61.73	52.31	78.03	65.46
Catalonia	84.22	84.11	79.93	77.17
Extremadura	77.02	60.37	85.14	69.77
Galicia	97.58	96.10	97.12	95.96
Madrid	56.84	49.07	83.72	65.16
Murcia	69.52	77.37	89.13	86.93
Navarra	86.42	66.82	83.11	79.03
Rioja	89.29	86.45	91.16	87.99
Valencia	84.15	89.74	96.02	95.42
Spain	85.49	73.88	88.90	80.30

Source: Own elaboration from the Agrarian Census 1962, 1982.

Women as Paid Agricultural Labor: 1962–82 (Map 3)

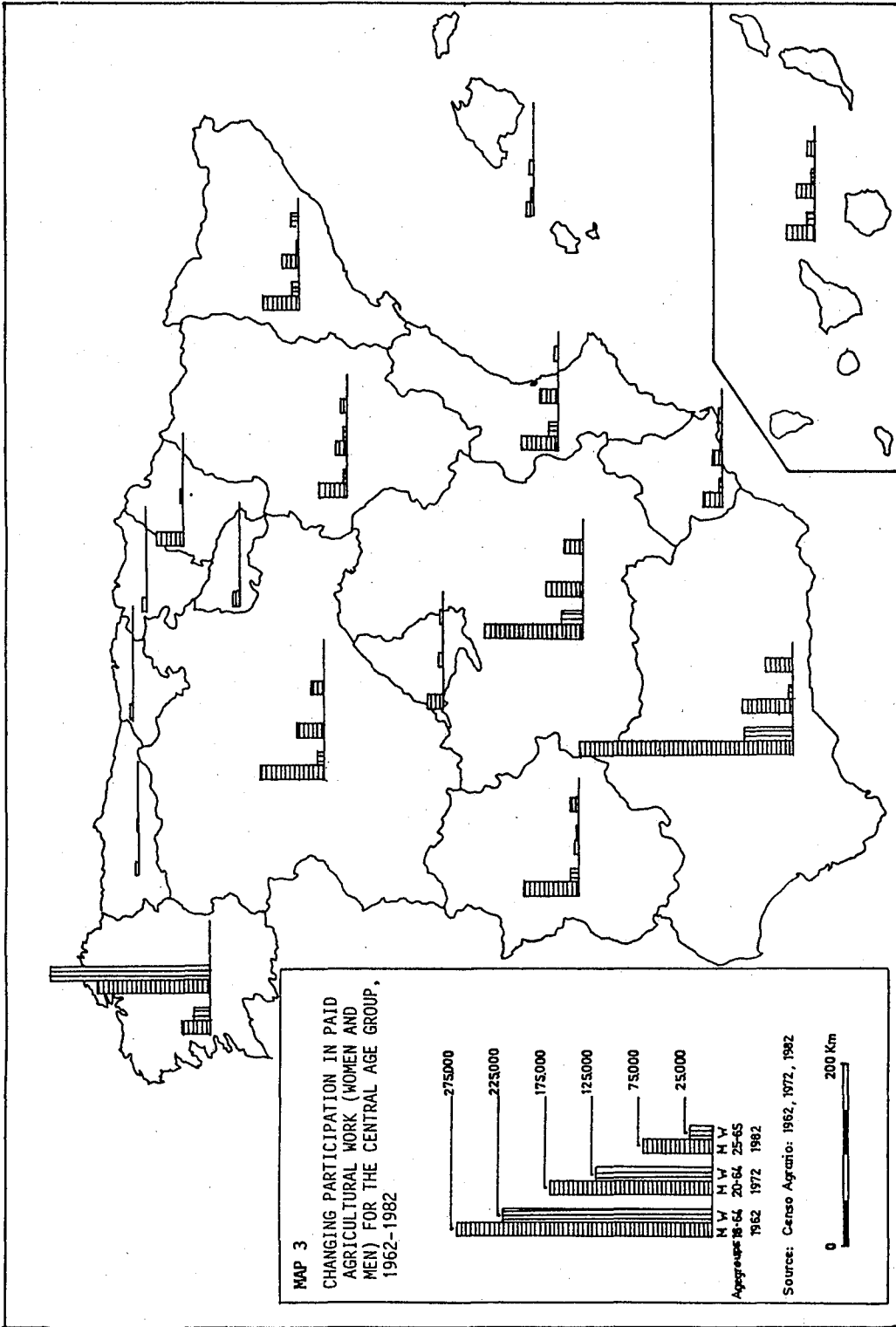
The percentage of paid work that is performed by women is quite low with the exception, again, of that reported in the 1972 census, where we have already noted, problems in the interpretation of the data. In general, the censuses probably highlight part-time paid work and women are, often, quite abundant in this category.

Looking at the percentage of paid agricultural labor in each region that is performed by women in relation to the Spanish total, we observe that in 1962 (Table 5) almost 50% of women's contribution is concentrated in two regions where latifundia

Table 5. Regional Distribution of Paid Agricultural Work in Spain According to Sex of Worker, 1962–1982.

Age Groups Autonomous Region	1962		1972		1982	
	18–64		20–64		25–65	
	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
Andalucia	29.97	32.68	15.75	3.10	22.53	12.74
Aragon	3.83	1.73	3.67	1.95	4.91	2.16
Asturias	0.57	1.12	0.53	0.33	0.37	0.91
Balearic-Islands	1.23	2.08	1.17	0.81	1.38	7.33
Basque Country	0.83	0.45	0.52	0.19	0.68	0.26
Canarian-Islands	4.13	4.50	5.99	2.03	8.53	28.84
Cantabria	0.46	0.31	0.35	0.11	0.72	2.00
Castile-Leon	9.35	5.39	7.56	0.82	16.77	4.10
Castile-Mancha	12.75	14.54	11.17	0.45	13.97	5.47
Catalonia	5.73	4.53	5.41	1.30	7.15	14.56
Extremadura	8.60	7.22	1.50	2.34	8.95	1.22
Balicia	4.19	12.15	33.77	84.59	1.40	8.47
Madrid	2.17	1.23	1.90	0.16	2.55	3.10
Murcia	2.55	2.21	2.86	1.08	1.28	0.66
Navarra	3.77	1.11	0.92	0.06	0.73	1.66
Rioja	0.98	0.56	0.43	0.02	3.31	1.91
Valencia	8.90	8.19	6.52	0.65	4.77	4.59
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Own elaboration from the Agrarian Census, 1962, 1972, 1982.



are important. Andalucía (with almost a third of the total) and Castilla-Mancha (15%); Galicia stands also out with a relatively high percentage (12.15), and in this case many farms are minifundia. So, women's paid work seems to be important in regions where these contrasting land tenure systems are most common. By 1972, Andalusian women make up a substantially small proportion of the total female paid labor force. This might be related to the important rural exodus of the 60's but, conversely, it might reflect different occupational patterns of the population on the basis of age. As Table 6 indicates, the highest contribution occurs among women younger than 20 years. Galicia, again, stands out, recording the highest percentage of men's and women's paid work; but in this case the highest figure is found in the oldest age group and this seems to be a consequence of an old population structure (at least in the countryside) and of a "generational effect." In general, what is important to point out is that the

Table 6. Regional Variations in Women's Participation in Total Agricultural Work According to Age, 1962-1982. (100 = Total Paid Agricultural Work of the Corresponding Age Group)

Age Groups Autonomous Region	1962	1972			1982		
	18-64 %	< 20 %	20-64 %	> 64 %	< 25 %	25-65 %	> 65 %
Andalucía	18.43	24.04	9.20	14.72	14.14	2.69	15.96
Aragón	8.57	22.41	21.47	24.24	11.19	2.10	16.35
Asturias	29.13	38.98	24.32	43.13	5.56	10.77	30.77
Balearic-Islands	25.95	25.18	26.19	24.60	18.70	20.61	27.78
Basque Country	10.04	25.40	16.15	25.60	18.13	10.04	40.91
Canarian-Islands	18.41	35.94	14.86	9.90	44.89	14.20	15.75
Cantabria	12.30	14.06	14.50	36.63	7.39	11.96	55.56
Castile-Leon	10.67	12.26	5.29	30.84	4.57	1.88	17.70
Castile-Mancha	19.11	7.63	2.02	10.92	8.80	1.18	15.79
Catalonia	14.07	40.41	11.02	12.64	19.43	9.06	10.76
Extremadura	14.83	20.41	44.50	13.48	7.37	0.66	44.93
Galicia	37.56	49.29	56.30	54.54	29.51	22.79	51.40
Madrid	10.52	15.66	4.10	13.58	13.39	2.74	6.67
Murcia	15.21	51.15	16.23	26.35	4.35	5.62	16.67
Navarra	5.75	13.24	3.10	4.65	10.30	2.47	3.37
Rioja	10.67	14.29	2.88	7.27	18.68	1.85	0.00
Valencia	16.02	58.90	4.89	10.55	35.53	4.50	10.45
Spain	17.17	26.64	33.96	23.81	18.21	4.66	19.60

Source: Own elaboration from the Agrarian Census, 1962, 1972, 1982.

tendency is clearly downwards for the whole period.

If we look at women's paid work from the perspective of its contribution to the total within each region (Table 6) we find that between 1962-82 the general trend is towards a decreasing importance of women (in 16 regions out of 17) and, in some cases, the decrease is quite a strong one. It should be pointed out however that in 1982 especially, within the youngest age group, women's representation is quite high (between 30% and 45%) in Canary Islands, Galicia and Valencia. In Galicia and in Canary Islands this might reflect the lack of economic alternatives for women; and in Valencia it might be related to the increasing production of horticulture and fruits that depend on the substantial use of cheap labor. But, although between 1962-72, salaried women decreased in numbers in relation to men, it is also clear that women's paid work has tended to concentrate in farms below 20 hectares and men's paid work shows a very strong tendency in the opposite direction (Table 7). Thus we can assert

Table 7. Paid Agricultural Work of the Central Age Group on Farms below 20 Hectares within Each Region, 1962-1982. (100 = Total Regional Paid Agricultural Work for Each Sex)

CCAA	1962 (18-64 years old)		1982 (25-65 years old)	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%
Andalucia	28.23	28.08	37.04	12.20
Aragon	43.36	41.03	40.71	16.91
Asturias	95.08	87.62	69.49	55.01
Balearic-Islands	59.36	59.96	41.97	34.15
Basque Country	86.69	65.84	46.30	33.47
Canarian-Islands	43.40	63.92	45.14	66.32
Cantabria	87.95	84.50	90.77	52.24
Castile-Leon	49.57	30.93	18.88	12.28
Castile-Mancha	41.00	20.42	13.91	7.59
Catalonia	66.28	66.68	48.99	42.71
Extremadura	60.77	20.83	18.99	5.76
Galicia	93.20	81.23	76.55	57.98
Madrid	39.48	25.25	24.19	16.47
Murcia	52.84	58.55	40.30	26.12
Navarra	63.28	37.00	51.16	25.59
Rioja	64.03	62.36	47.06	29.19
Valencia	74.86	78.35	33.89	47.70
Spain	51.09	40.17	44.10	22.90

Source: Own elaboration from the Agrarian Census 1962, 1982.

that women's paid work tends to be relegated to marginal farms, especially in those regions where the predominant land tenure is the minifundia and agriculture is becoming a sluggish sector of the economy as in Galicia, Asturias, and Cantabria.

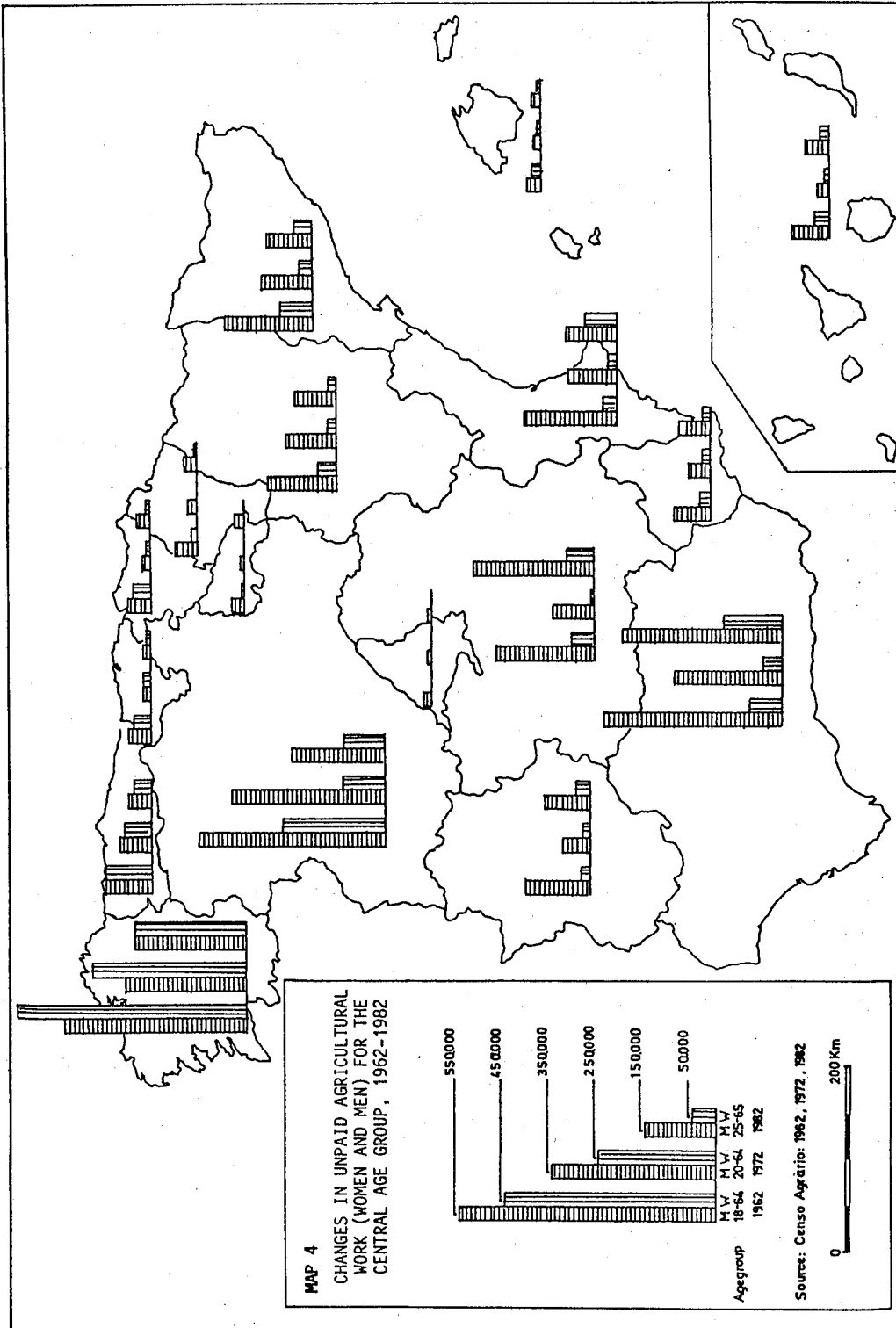
Women as Unpaid Agricultural Laborers: 1962–82 (Map 4)

Women's unpaid work is, in general, much more important than their paid work for the whole period with some exception for the 1972 census (which might have some underestimation of marginal farms and, therefore, of women's participation). In 1962, Galicia stood out for its very high contribution (37.23%) to the Spanish total of women's unpaid work (Table 8) Asturias (18.10%) and Castile-Mancha (16.92%) also

Table 8. Regional Distribution of Unpaid Agricultural Work in Spain According to Sex of Workers, 1962–1982.

Age Groups Autonomous Region	1962		1972		1982	
	18–64		20–64		25–65	
	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
Andalucia	14.63	5.45	14.05	5.00	17.95	14.69
Aragon	5.80	3.04	7.41	2.83	4.85	2.85
Asturias	4.08	18.10	4.30	8.41	2.87	4.81
Balearic-Islands	1.36	1.92	0.96	1.16	1.08	1.39
Basque Country	2.21	3.21	1.63	2.52	1.75	2.04
Canarian-Islands	2.93	3.30	2.39	2.25	2.80	3.36
Cantabria	1.98	3.41	1.76	2.75	1.45	1.92
Castile-Leon	8.01	3.88	5.80	1.74	13.97	6.87
Castile-Mancha	15.29	16.92	20.52	13.17	10.65	11.30
Catalonia	7.56	5.33	6.87	4.45	5.62	5.61
Extremadura	6.22	1.95	4.96	2.66	4.85	3.49
Galicia	15.22	37.23	16.27	45.06	13.03	28.00
Madrid	0.92	0.33	0.69	0.39	0.93	0.56
Murcia	2.70	2.04	3.14	3.11	3.57	2.79
Navarra	1.94	0.72	1.48	0.56	1.82	0.85
Rioja	1.33	0.62	1.12	0.22	1.27	0.57
Valencia	7.82	2.56	6.65	2.99	11.54	8.90
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Own elaboration from the Agrarian Census, 1962, 1972, 1982.



had significant participation. By 1972, Galicia's contribution is even higher (45.06%), followed very far behind by Castile-Mancha (13.17%). In 1982, Galicia's contribution to the Spanish total has diminished (28%) but it is still very high in comparison with other regions; it is followed far behind by Andalucia (14.69%) and Castile-Mancha (11.30%). All these regions – and in particular Galicia – stand out for their traditional type of agriculture. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that women's contribution in Valencia is also quite significant (8.90%), especially if the absolute population is taken into account. In this context, this relatively high figure should be interpreted as a consequence of a very dynamic agriculture based on the family farm.

If we look at women's unpaid work in relation to the total unpaid work within each region (Table 9), we find a general trend between 1962-1982 towards a slight

Table 9. Regional Variations in Women's Participation in Total Unpaid Agricultural Work According to Age, 1962–1982.

Age Groups Autonomous Region	1962	1972			1982		
	18-64 %	< 20 %	20-64 %	> 64 %	< 25 %	25-65 %	> 65 %
Andalucia	15.84	26.90	13.96	14.30	27.93	27.28	28.93
Aragon	20.90	33.20	14.85	14.20	18.50	21.23	24.00
Asturias	50.03	45.50	47.11	0.60	34.89	43.42	41.78
Balearic-Islands	41.48	39.90	35.68	29.40	35.08	37.11	35.13
Basque Country	42.27	44.50	41.37	37.60	28.03	34.79	35.91
Canarian-Islands	36.26	35.50	30.06	23.00	26.70	35.45	34.84
Cantabria	46.54	40.10	41.61	41.90	28.90	37.69	35.26
Castile-Leon	19.67	22.20	12.03	11.30	33.73	18.41	29.66
Castile-Mancha	35.85	41.10	22.63	34.60	25.30	32.73	32.83
Catalonia	26.26	28.00	22.81	19.70	24.63	31.39	25.66
Extremadura	13.68	32.00	19.62	18.70	25.51	24.83	27.71
Galicia	55.26	49.90	55.80	55.40	46.45	49.62	51.21
Madrid	15.15	33.90	20.49	22.10	16.14	21.67	30.08
Murcia	27.58	42.10	31.09	29.70	21.80	26.39	28.60
Navarra	15.71	19.90	14.81	13.80	14.90	17.62	32.44
Rioja	19.16	12.90	8.29	8.60	19.12	17.02	36.84
Valencia	14.19	33.30	17.00	16.50	21.49	26.13	30.10
Spain	33.55	40.80	31.16	34.42	27.93	27.28	28.93

Source: Own elaboration from the Agrarian Census, 1962, 1972, 1982.

decrease in the significance of women's work, though not as great a decrease as is paid labor (Table 6). This discrepancy might be the consequence of the persistence of the family farm system in Spanish agriculture. And, indeed, if we take a closer look we see that women's unpaid work has substantially increased in seven regions; some of them do have a thriving agriculture like Valencia, Catalonia and Navarrac which suggests the importance of women's unpaid work in non-marginal and highly intensive agricultural systems, whenever the family farm is predominant. The data also shows a very strong decrease in women's unpaid work between 1962 and 1972 (in 14 regions out of 17) that is difficult to interpret. It may reflect the 1972 census's disregard for farms below 0.1 hectares in size.

If we take farm size into account (Table 10), we observe that in 1962 and 1982 a

Table 10. Unpaid Agricultural Work of the Central Age Group on Farms below 20 Hectares within Each Region, 1962–1982.
(100 = Total Regional Unpaid Agricultural Work for Each Sex)

CCAA	1962 (18–64 years old)		1982 (25–65 years old)	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
	%	%	%	%
Andalucia	79.58	80.52	90.14	87.23
Aragon	71.36	74.02	69.09	69.58
Asturias	98.49	98.52	96.43	95.57
Balearic-Islands	85.38	86.12	84.65	81.95
Basque Country	90.89	90.02	86.60	85.64
Canarian-Islands	90.16	90.13	97.69	97.09
Cantabria	98.89	98.60	98.11	97.17
Castile-Leon	81.08	73.60	74.62	65.92
Castile-Mancha	71.07	67.19	78.32	73.33
Catalonia	86.08	87.98	80.53	80.25
Extremadura	84.29	76.40	85.31	78.06
Galicia	97.75	97.30	97.17	92.20
Madrid	64.68	65.42	85.25	77.33
Murcia	71.70	82.59	89.54	89.95
Navarra	90.74	83.84	83.29	81.68
Rioja	92.03	91.64	91.31	92.45
Valencia	87.72	93.64	96.25	96.81
Spain	89.60	83.70	89.20	84.70

Source: Own elaboration from the Agrarian Census 1962, 1982.

very high percentage of women's unpaid labor – about 89% – is highly concentrated in farms below 20 hectares. This is also true of men's unpaid work but the figures are somewhat lower. What is significant is the concentration of family help or unpaid work in small farms which leads us to think that the survival of the family farm in Spain is closely connected to the persistence of unpaid labor on small farms in which women tend to be more conspicuous than men. To evaluate the data on unpaid labor properly, however, we should remember that the absolute number of female unpaid workers is much higher than of males; in 1982, for example, the percentage of unpaid women workers in relation to total women workers was 62.6 versus only 24.9% for men (Garcia-Ramon, 1989).

Within the category of unpaid labor the 1982 Census, for the first time it registers women who are farm operators. The proportion of women to the total reaches almost 20%, twice the percentage of women among farm operators in France and also higher than the proportion in Britain (Henshall-Momsen, 1989). But we will not go further in this analysis as it has previously been reported (Garcia-Ramon, 1989) and comparisons over time are not possible because the 1962 and 1972 censuses do not carry information on this item.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

National and international statistics underestimate women's contribution to production because they define labor narrowly. This is especially true in agricultural statistics; farm women probably produce more goods and services for household consumption than do women from non-farm households and, in this way, they make an essential contribution to the survival of the farm. In this context it should not surprise us that the Spanish Agrarian Censuses also underestimate the contribution of female labor and, in general, are not very accurate. But if what we need is a comprehensive and overall picture of Spanish agriculture, we have no choice other than to use the Agrarian Census that is, for the moment, the most relatively complete source for agricultural labor.

During the 60's and 70's, dramatic changes took place in Spanish agriculture as part of a general and remarkable process of economic transformation of the country. Mechanization, specialization and, above all, intensification were the key factors in the

transformation of agriculture. It is very clear that the family farm proved to be well adapted to the new economic environment in many regions, and it is also noticeable that its survival is closely linked to the persistence of the "family help" in which women's contribution is more conspicuous than men's, particularly in farms below 20 hectares.

It is true that, according to the statistics, women's share in the labor force has not been particularly important in Spanish agriculture (with the exception of farms below 30 hectares) but in the recent decades, women's participation in the agricultural sector has decreased more slowly than men's. Women's unpaid work — basically "family help" — has maintained itself or even slightly increased in those regions based on family farms where there is a thriving agriculture, as in some parts of the Mediterranean coast, or a stagnant one, as in most of the humid north and northwest. Women's paid work shows a general trend downwards for the whole period; but if we analyze it by size of farm we observe an upward trend in small and medium farms (below 20 hectares). Thus, salaried women tend to be more relegated than men to marginal farms; and this is specially true in those regions with minifundia where agriculture is becoming a sluggish sector of the economy.

In view of the results from the statistical analysis, we have to stress again that Spanish agricultural statistics are partly responsible for the overestimation of economically inactive women because they use a very narrow definition of farm labor. Indeed, domestic work is *still* the Achilles's heel for a full evaluation of women's participation in the labor force of present day agriculture. It is obvious that most of the female tasks on the farms are quite difficult to classify as they can fall partly into *either* sphere (production or reproduction) depending whether the products of labor are destined for the market or for home consumption. But domestic labor has become "invisible" labor in our societies: only remunerated work is considered "real" work and only commodity production is considered productive. Thus, Spanish Agrarian Censuses must incorporate a wider definition of farm labor in order to include all the activities that are necessary for the production and the reproduction of the family farm (in which women are crucial). And, although the basic unit of information in the Agrarian Census is the farm — and the legal owner who is usually a man — additional information about the other individuals of the farm should be recorded, like civil status, number of children, level of instruction etc. And, furthermore, the ambiguous category of "family help" should be clarified and broken down into several other

categories as family help includes too wide a range of individual situations and types of work.

But, in the meantime, it is clear that if we only based our analysis on statistics we would not understand the long hours which farm women declare that they work, as pointed out by several empirical studies (Berlan, 1986). Thus, we consider that though statistical analysis is necessary to evaluate women's contribution to agriculture in a comprehensive and general way, it should be complemented by fieldwork, whenever possible. It is obvious that fieldwork will always be restricted as far as time and space is concerned, but it should be also considered quite necessary for the analysis of women's economic activity in the agricultural sector. This will hold true as long as agricultural statistics do not incorporate a wider concept of labor, one that does not exclude a significant proportion of the work necessary for the production and reproduction of the family farm which is traditionally done by women.

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婦女在西班牙農業中的角色變遷： 1962—1982 農業普查資料分析

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(中文摘要)

本文是藉由農業普查資料之分析提供對西班牙婦女在農業中所扮演角色的概括性了解。文內共分成三個部分。首先，著眼於大部分的婦女農業勞動力之理論性探討背後的重要觀念，繼而對西班牙農業近十年的發展做一個簡要描述。第二部分則在評估從農業普查所獲得的資料（1962, 1972 與 1982）。第三部份則集中於分析從普查資料中所透露的婦女在西班牙農業中的改變；包括了有酬與無酬的工作。

由統計資料的分析可以清楚見到：在以家庭農業為主的區域中，無論農業是否蓬勃或遲滯發展，女性都扮演了重要的角色。但是另一方面，從分析結果可見：西班牙的農業普查低估了婦女工作的份量。基本的問題在於他們所使用的勞動力的概念排除或低估了對家庭農場的生產與再生產兩方面都極為必須，但傳統上由婦女所從事的工作。

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**THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN SPANISH AGRICULTURE:
ANALYSIS FROM THE AGRICULTURAL CENSUSES, 1962–1982.**

(ABSTRACT)

This paper draws a general picture of women's role in Spanish agriculture through the analysis of available census statistics. The paper has three sections. The first focuses on the key concepts that lie behind most of the theoretical discussions on women's labor in agriculture and then moves on to provide a quick picture of the evolution of Spanish agriculture in the last decades. The second evaluates the data that can be gathered from the available Agrarian Censuses (1962, 1972, and 1982). The third centers on an analysis of changes in women's work in Spanish agriculture revealed by the census data, considering both paid and unpaid work.

From the statistical analysis it is clear that women play an important role in regions where the family farm is predominant, whether the agricultural sector is a thriving one or a stagnant one. But the results also demonstrate that Spanish Agrarian Censuses underestimate women's work. The basic problem is that the concept of labor that they use excludes or undervalues a significant proportion of the work necessary for the production and reproduction of the family farm which is traditionally done by women.

Key words: Spain, Women, Agriculture, Unpaid Work, Agricultural Statistics, Family Farm.