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*The Californization of Chilean Farms:  
Preliminary Study of the Social Consequences of  
Chilean Campesinos in a Global System of Production*

Panel  
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"Structure Adjustment, Liberalization and Peasantry"

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Good afternoon everyone, it is both a pleasure and an honor to be here today at LASA to share with you some of my preliminary findings. Hopefully, they will find themselves into my Ph.D. dissertation in the future. There are several reasons why I have selected this research topic. I am a Chilean-American. That is I was born in the U.S of Chilean parents. Therefore I have a strong tie with Chile and its people. I was raised to be socially conscience of individuals so I found anthropology to fulfill these needs. I can both study and apply the knowledge that I gather for the prosperity of people, in particular campesinos (farm workers). I have spent several years doing research among Mexican and Mexican origin farm workers within California's thriving agribusiness. The realities of the social consequences that they face day in and day out have brought me to study why this is happening. The reality that industrial capitalist agriculture requires its farm workers to work as "cheap" labor in California and now in other countries. This reality of industrial agriculture has grown in the fields of Chile.

Chile, with a population of 13.3 million (Censo Chileno 1992), is the world's leading exporter of winter fruit for the Northern Hemisphere (Long 1994). Chile exports its cash crops around the world, 52 percent to the United States, 36 percent to Europe, and the rest is divided among the Middle East, Latin America, and East Asia (see Graph #1 & 2, *Asociacion de Exportadores de Frutas* 1995). It has a long growing season and the capacity to supply its summer fruits to winter markets in the Northern Hemisphere from December to March (Goldfrank 1991; de los Reyes 1992). Evidence indicates that this export agriculture is primarily (however not solely) the result of introducing and adopting California agricultural management and marketing methods. Field recognizance during January and February 1997 allowed me to observe how Chilean agribusiness had grown from the previous years that I had visited, as well as research whether Chilean farms were imitating the California model of agriculture. The California model of agriculture demonstrates certain characteristics that other nations are attempting to emulate. According to Walter Goldschmidt (1978), three fundamental and divergent traditions of farming may be isolated in America. First, is the small landholding pattern introduced in New England and the North Atlantic by early colonization; second, is the plantation system of the South; and third is the industrial farming and large-scale ranching and farming of the Southwest (Goldschmidt 1978:3). The third tradition is what we find in California, that is, the industrialized agriculture or agribusiness as it is referred to today. "The

industrialized agriculture pattern has its origins in an amalgamation of several historic traditions. It received its early impetus from the Spanish hacienda and it was further developed by the giant land grants and land grabs of the early period of California statehood" (Goldschmidt 1978:5). Certain characteristics and the combination of social, economic, political, environmental, and historic assets allow the California agricultural model to thrive year after year. The history of industrialized agriculture in California has been well documented by scholars particularly; Paul S. Taylor, Varden Fuller, Walter Goldschmidt, Carey McWilliams, and Tom Vasey. It is these scholars along with more contemporary scholars that realize that together with crop intensification and large-scale organizations has come the commercialization of California agriculture. This commercialization is highlighted by its higher capitalization, increased production for cash market, and increased technology thus offering increased yields. According to Goldschmidt;

Though the nature of California's climate and terrain make industrialized farming profitable, we must beware of the simplistic explanation in this statement. The early establishment of great land holdings acquired through genuine and spurious Spanish grants presented the background for the present agricultural pattern. The introduction of cheap labor, which heightened land values, has been a heavy contributing factor, as [Varden] Fuller has shown (Goldschmidt 1978:23).

The characteristic of farm labor in California farms has been around since its beginnings. California agribusiness has been and is a heavy user of labor. In contrast to other states California has been and is dependent on a large labor pool of hired wage laborers rather than family labor (Palerm 1997:10). "Experts agree that California farms early on created a distinct and separate labor market (McWilliams 1939 and Fisher 1953) and at least one claimed that the development of California agriculture was possible only because an inexhaustible supply of immigrant workers were readily available (Fuller 1940)" (quoted from Palerm 1997:10). Therefore it is the combination of these characteristics that encompass the California agricultural model.

Taking the California agricultural model labor history as a base for comparison, I have been investigating the probability of similar patterns in labor recruitment and labor management developing in Chile. A necessary aspect of my research is developing an understanding and analysis of the labor changes that are occurring, and describing the different methods that Chileans will use to solve their agricultural labor needs. The question arises; will Chile

develop a similar labor system given its "new" California structure of agriculture? In addition, as in the case of California, industrial agriculture cannot depend solely on a domestic labor force. That is, the problems faced with the use of distressed dust bowl migrants from Oklahoma and Arkansas is evidence to the difficulties of using domestic labor in California (Gregory 1989, Daniels 1981, Steinbeck 1939). Therefore, it appears likely that, any nation implementing the California model will also need to turn to a new source of "cheap" labor rather than solely depending on a domestic workforce.

I hypothesize that Chile will have four options in solving their agricultural labor needs. First, Chile will engage in the use of transnational migrant labor from neighboring Peru and Bolivia. Second, Chilean women will be incorporated into Chile's modernizing agribusiness. Third, a proletarianization of the peasantry in the communities surrounding the growing corporate farms will take place. Fourth, the domestic migration of moving laborers from southern to northern Chile will occur. In sum, capitalist agriculture in Chile will pursue labor development and labor recruitment as an intensified use of imported migrant laborers as seen in California history. Furthermore, I hypothesize that the labor management techniques used in Chile will change, simulating California agricultural labor management strategies. I predict that there will be several outcomes based on these changes. One will be demonstrated by a rise in the level of poverty within the rural communities surrounding "corporate" capitalist agriculture. The hypothesis on "corporate" agricultural communities described by Walter Goldschmidt's in his ethnography *As You Sow* 1947 and later developed further in 1978 has demonstrated this outcome for California. Goldschmidt revealed that there is a causative relationship between large-scale "industrialized" agriculture and quality of life in California. In his work, he demonstrated that this type of "industrialized" farming creates class difference in surrounding communities. It is also evident by the studies of more contemporary scholars who have reached similar conclusions for California; LeVeen (1976), Palerm (1991), Garcia (1992), and Griffith and Kissam (1995). In addition, Goldschmidt's ideas are applied to other areas throughout the United States and around the world (Young 1994; Green 1985; Gilles & Dalecki 1988; Harris & Gilbert 1982). The California model of agricultural production, with its large land holdings and high capital investments, Goldschmidt argues, needs a large farm labor force in its production; and because of the numbers involved, the workers are not housed on the farms but in the surrounding communities. In addition, due to the nature of agribusiness laborers are not

paid a "fair wage" nor guaranteed permanent employment. Therefore, they can only afford to live in substandard housing. Lacking political clout and financial resources, the workers do not become active in civic affairs and do not open businesses in their communities. Hence, together with low incomes and poor living conditions a result is an impoverished farm worker community in the midst of agricultural economic prosperity. I plan to ascertain this cause of poverty in the rural communities by documenting the per capita income as well as their living conditions of these farm workers. I foresee that evidence will demonstrate a lowering in the per capita income of farm workers and destitute and distressed living conditions caused by overcrowding and dilapidated houses, apartments, and other forms of living quarters. This will be further compounded by a lack of infrastructure demonstrated in the community as a whole. Further, as California is evidence, Chile will need to incorporate an immense shift in their agricultural technology. This will be made possible by establishing and continuing the systems of cooperation with nations and corporations that offer technological advances.

#### **Why is Chile Imitating California Agribusiness?**

The process that I refer to as the "Californization" of Chilean farms builds off of the hypothesis that Chile is importing the California agricultural model. Why is Chile imitating California agribusiness? There are several reasons behind this development that is occurring. One factor that drives nations to change is the reality of demonstrating economic profits. Therefore it can be seen that economically California's agricultural profits of \$26.8 million in 1997 are nothing but impressive (See Graph #3, CDFA 1998). In addition, according to some scholars California is the unchallenged epitome of capitalist agriculture (Palerm & Urquiola 1993:314). Hence, it is not surprising that the California agricultural model is envied by most and emulated by many, including Chile. California embodies the ideal quest of most agricultural development efforts within the U.S. and worldwide (Palerm 1997:9).

The successful development of California's large-scale and lucrative agriculture is the result of the felicitous combination of various natural, historical, social, and political circumstances. Among them: (a) its benign climate and rich soils; (b) the development of a state-supported irrigation infrastructure; (c) the Spanish-Mexican legacy of large landholding systems; (d) the harnessing of university resources and scientific expertise for research development purposes; (e) the entrepreneurship of farmers; and (f) the availability of cost-effective labor (Palerm 1993:315).

Among these circumstances Fuller (1940) claimed that the supply of labor was the determining factor in the evolution of farm structure in California. Chile has several of the same ecological, political and social conditions. They include: (a) favorable climatic conditions and fertile soils, (b) the use of university resources to develop marketing and technology for agriculture, (c) high levels of educational attainment by Chilean growers, (d) cooperation agreements with nations that offered agricultural modernization, (e) free-market agricultural policies passed by politicians, and (f) the availability of cost-effective labor. It is these conditions that enabled the strengthening of Chilean agriculture in global markets. Not with standing, Chile is also environmentally and ecologically similar to California, or as some scholars have stated, Chile is merely California on its head.

### **Overview of Chile and California Agricultural Histories**

It is my opinion that it is not possible to discuss Chile's agricultural history without giving some attention to changes in its political economy, namely its investment in Neoliberalism. Today Chile is portrayed as a "Free-Market Miracle" (Collins & Lear 1995). In addition it has captured the hearts, minds, and pocket books of the United States establishment. In particular, with discussion of its incorporation into Hemispheric Free Trade Agreements, that would remove tariffs of imported goods from Chile (Clinton 1994). As a result, Chile's economic model is being hailed as a successful case of free-market democracy. These signs of economic prosperity for a few and poverty for many has demonstrated enormous social, economic and political changes over the last twenty years in Chilean society.

Three transitions have been instrumental in producing Chile's current economic status. First, the transition from a democratic socialist economy into a free-market economy. Second the transformation from an authoritarian military regime to an elected civilian regime. Third, a shift in exports, primarily agricultural, from traditional forms of domestic consumption to capitalist farms dedicated to export production.

Although Chile's dominant political culture supports neoliberal policies, protesters have taken to the streets in an attempt to regain what was lost during the military dictatorship. Neoliberalism's revival in the 1980s and 1990s entailed the repression of the revolutionary Left during the 1970s.

The violent overthrow of Salvador Allende's socialist government in 1973, by the military regime headed by General Pinochet initiated what was to be one of the continent's most radical experiments in social change. By halting and

reversing a broad trend in socioeconomic developments that had been several decades in the making, unfortunately the coup accomplished its aims. The regime's aims clearly stated by General Pinochet on September 11, 1973 were to bring about profound transformations in Chile. His program had four primary initiatives: 1) open the Chilean economy to the workings of global capital by removing existing barriers to its free movement in and out of the country, 2) reorient national production toward the world market and export agriculture, 3) increase the scope of the free enterprise in the economy through large-scale privatization of the means of production and drastic cuts in state spending, and 4) expand capitalist production (Petras & Leiva 1994). This experiment yielded annual rates of aggregate growth beyond the norm for the region as a whole, giving rise to talk of an "economic miracle." For example, Milton Friedman stated that Pinochet "has supported a fully free-market economy as a matter of principle. Chile is an economic miracle" (Newsweek, Jan. 1982).

However, this so-called "economic miracle" arose due to substantial intervention from the United States, in particular the appropriation of economic strategies from the University of Chicago (Collins and Lear 1995). The pillar of the military regime was a program of economic policies designed by the "Chicago Boys," a group of young economists with postgraduate training at the University of Chicago. The role of this cadre of intellectuals cannot be understated. They have maintained a close relationship with the military since 1972 and, according to some experts, they played a key role in the coup itself;

In August of 1972 a group of ten economists under the leadership of Os de Castro began to work on the formulation of an economic program that would replace [Allende's]... In fact, the existence of the plan was essential to any attempt on the part of the armed forces to overthrow Allende as the Chilean armed forces did not have any economic plan of their own (Bortzutzky 1991:8).

The apparent economic success of this model of export-oriented free-market development has risen a series of critical concerns for the people of Chile. In its 16 years of dictatorial control of the state, the Pinochet regime imposed the conditions necessary for the implementation of an austerity program of structural adjustments based on a neoliberal model of capitalist development. This gain has been characterized as "Prosperity through Pain" (Petras 1994).

Today's twice-elected civilian regime that was brought forth by Patricio Aylwin's victory in December 1989 has given new hope to the people of Chile. The optimism

demonstrated at the end of the Pinochet dictatorship would also attempt to bring about the end to widespread suffering and poverty inflicted upon them by more than a decade and half of neoliberal economic policies. In contrast to Pinochet, President Aylwin's development strategies have included the following: 1) develop an unbreakable commitment to macroeconomic stability, 2) create a fuller and improved commercial and financial integration with the world economy, and 3) enhance social services within the constraints of a balanced fiscal expenditure program (Petras & Leiva 1994). The political changes that Chile has undergone over the past decades have made its export agriculture thrive. It is evident that both regimes had plans of integration into the world economy. This was accomplished by entering into a capitalist mode of production, enabling them to compete in a globalized world. Collins and Lear (1995) state that economists such as those from the University of Chicago triumphantly point to Chile's fruit boom as a "miracle" that justifies faith in the free market, demonstrating what can be achieved only through opening up an economy to the international winds of competition and free private enterprise from government meddling (Collins and Lear 1995).

Chilean fruit exports are in high demand around the world; however, this was not always the case throughout Chilean history. In the mid 1950s, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC) stated that the backwardness of Latin American agriculture was a consequence of low productivity of land and labor. They maintained that this was the result of a lack of capital and modern technology. It was evident during the 1950s that agricultural production was almost stagnant. The concentration of land ownership in Chile was among the highest in the world. By 1955, 4.4 percent of Chilean landholders owned approximately 80.9 percent of the total farmland, 77.7 percent of the agricultural land, 51.5 percent of the arable land, and 43.8 percent of the irrigated land (Thiesenhusen 1966:10). The Ministry of Agriculture of Chile states that from 1955 to 1960 "...while the population of the country grew by 2.7 percent ... agricultural production grew by a mere 2.29 percent" (de los Reyes 1992:7; Thiesenhusen 1966:4).

The geographic and climactic conditions of Chile have also made it possible for the country to develop a fruitful system of agriculture. Chile's temperate latitudinal position and its locational position on the West Coast have given it a Mediterranean type climate, similar to that of Italy, Greece, Palestine, or the Southern portion of Spain. This made the introduction of Mediterranean agriculture plausible. Grains and fruits found a new home with few difficulties. The readily adapted introduction of wheat,



barley, alfalfa, olives, grapes, figs, and citrus fruit brought from southern Europe had little to no problem. However, this climate is present only in Central Chile. In 1936 McBride stated, "it is seen that agricultural Chile is limited to almost entirely the central longitudinal trough ... this small area of Mediterranean climate has constituted the basis of Chile's agricultural development." Therefore, Chile needed to turn to another model of agricultural development in order to feed its growing population and compete in the global markets, and California's agricultural history offered one.

### **California Agricultural History**

California has demonstrated a prosperous history of economic profits for its capitalist owners. California occupies 2.5 percent of the nation's cropland and a mere 11 percent of the state's territory. In addition, its twenty-some billion dollar agricultural industry easily outperformed and out produced all other major agricultural states in the United States, as it has for the past 50 years (California Agricultural Statistics 1995).

As many have realized, rural California is not like the rest of rural America. California farms produce over 250 different commodities that translate to roughly 25 percent of the nation's table food. Fruits and vegetables are the leading contributors to the state's farm value (See Graph #4). However for this lucrative agribusiness to succeed, prosper, and flourish it must depend on a large influx of "cheap" labor. Immigrant workers have historically filled this. In the past and present, California has been linked to the presence of highly exploitable labor forces; that is, farm workers willing to work long hours for low wages, amenable to insecure, irregular, and intermittent jobs with few employment opportunities (Palerm 1991:2). The labor for these farms has been accumulated through a process of immigrant replenishment as described by Carey McWilliams in *Factories in the Field* (1939). Currently evidence suggests that the success of California agriculture hinges, in great measure, on the presence and availability of cost-effective, immigrant and migrant farm workers from Mexico (Palerm & Urquiola 1993:311).

In 1871, 516 men in California owned 8,685,439 acres of land (McWilliams 1939:20). With such large spreads of land it was only a matter of time before they would need to hire labor to tend to the farms. However, it was not until the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in the 1860s that California agriculture turned to immigrant labor. Chinese immigrants generally filled the demand for labor in the construction of the transcontinental railroad, and by 1860 there were 45,000 Chinese immigrants in California

(McWilliams 1939:66). The immigrants were working in the mines, railroad and beginning to work on the bonanza farms throughout the state. Through legal and illegal methods a small number of Americans began to cultivate California, thereby creating a large-scale industry. By 1870, 90 percent of the agricultural labor of California was performed by Chinese. California farms developed on the strength of immigrant wage labor and on the assumption that imported workers, able to accommodate themselves to the requirements of the industry, would continue to exist indefinitely (Fisher 1953; in Palerm & Urquiola 1993:319). As stated above, first the Chinese immigrants became the labor used in the fields, however it did not take long for the Japanese, Filipino, and other immigrants to be exploited. The reason behind the replacement of different immigrants for California agriculture is demonstrated in the discrimination legislation passed in California. The sentiment of animosity towards the Chinese rapidly became crystallized into a fixed determination to drive them out of the state. It was during 1882 that the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, putting to a close the Chinese immigrants as agricultural laborers. The following wave of immigrants came at the same time as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The Japanese were recruited quickly in order to supply labor to the California farms. However it did not take long for the anti-Japanese sentiment to grow. It escalated when they began to own small plots of agricultural land. Hence no longer being wage laborers, but in contrast becoming owners. Therefore by 1913 the Alien Land Act was passed as well as federal restrictions on further Japanese immigration in 1924. The following waves of immigrants used in California agriculture were the Hindustani. They began to harvest cotton in the Imperial Valley when it became evident that they were able to labor in areas of extreme heat (McWilliams 1939). As mentioned above, one of the principle factors that made California agriculture an economic success was the ample supply of "cheap labor" (Fuller 1940). Therefore, any nations intending to emulate this model needs to set into motion some drastic changes in their labor management and labor recruitment.

### **Chilean Agriculture and its Dependency with Labor**

The increasing importance of agriculture in Chile has caused a shift in the labor demand. Currently a large number of agricultural laborers are needed during the months of November through March. Currently employment in agribusiness is primarily seasonal. Chilean sociologist Sergio Gómez notes,

*desde la situación de la hacienda donde prevalecía el  
inquilino y otras categorías de trabajadores*

*permanentes, se ha pasado a constitución de los grandes complejos agroindustriales - frutícolas y forestales - en los cuales predominan los asalariados temporeros (Gomez 1991:17).*

(since the situation of the hacienda where tenant farmers and other categories of permanent workers prevailed, this has changed to the large-scale agroindustrial complexes - fruits and forestry - where seasonal wage laborers predominate)

The labor required by agribusiness in Chile is separated into two types: permanent workers numbering 100,000 and the seasonal workers ranging from 350,000 to 460,000 (Gomez 1991:17). Currently Chile's fruit growing area has expanded from 116,000 acres in 1965 to nearly 400,000 acres in 1991 (Goldfrank 1991). Through a series of cooperation agreements Chile has been able to increase its agricultural yields. Technological transfers, including genetically improved plant varieties, high-tech irrigation, field packing, elaborate packing houses, cooling facilities, advanced commodity transportation, and a systematic labor system have made this possible and profitable. Many of these transfers can be traced to California, where agriculture thrives and continues to play an important role in Chile today.

Within the last decade the government of Chile has made an intensive effort to develop the nation's agricultural exports. In order to achieve this goal Chile had to change its methods of production and labor management. In 1981, an agreement between Chile and the United States was of particular impetus to this change. The *Memorandum of Understanding Between the United States of America and Chile* (Aug. 28, 1981) set into motion the agreement of cooperation in agricultural research and development to further advance the technology of both countries. Under this agreement Chilean agronomists were able to transfer the most advanced fruit and vegetable production technology to Chile.

A valuable component was a program linking the University of California and the Universidad de Chile. The University of California and Universidad de Chile link contributed to the improved agricultural production and the advancement of plant genetics that has made California farms so bountiful. The agreement also created a link between the University of Chicago and the Universidad Católica de Chile that enabled the training of a large number of agricultural economists and trade experts that helped create a new managerial strategy for Chilean agrarian firms to enter the global market. In addition, a strong link with Israel also aided Chile in modernizing its agriculture. Experts on irrigation systems from Israel helped Chile place the northern desert regions into production (Goldfrank 1991;

Rivera 1991). This can be seen comparatively to California's San Joaquin Valley in the North and the Coachella Valley in the South. The agricultural potential of these desert valleys in California was not expanded until a state irrigation system was installed. These same events are beginning to be documented in the case of Chile's *Norte Chico* (northern desert valleys). The desert regions that were said to have no agricultural value in Chile during the 1960s (Thiesenhusen 1966:8) are now producing a fair share of the table grapes for export, primarily to the United States (See Graph #5). The combination of Israel and California irrigation technology has actualized a new agricultural zone that was historically barren. The production of these new export commodities has created a need for more and more seasonal laborers. The fact that Chile has dedicated so much energy to the incorporation of agricultural technology and marketing while ignoring the reality of who will harvest all the new crops is not unusual. This phenomenon has been occurring throughout California's agricultural history. However, California has been fortunate to have immigrant laborers able to work as "cheap" labor. Chile had to try to do something different to supply its growing agricultural industry with cost-effective labor. Chile's four options stated at the beginning are; the use of transnational migrant labor from neighboring Peru and Bolivia, the incorporation of women as laborers, the connection with the peasant communities surrounding the growing corporate farms, and the use of a domestic workforce that migrates from southern to northern Chile are all solutions to their labor demands. The rising importance of capitalist agriculture had been concentrated in a few regions in Chile. Of the twelve regions that comprise the nation with the first bordering Peru too the twelfth region that reaches Antarctica, the primary capitalist regions are in central and northern Chile. The most recent incorporation of the northern desert regions as agricultural powerhouses directs me to investigate their development.

### **Case Study Location**

The area that I have selected to conduct my field research is the Limarí valley in Chile's semi-arid Norte Chico. This area is located in the IV Region approximately 29°-32° south parallel and 70°-72° west meridians. It is the beginning of the Desert Zone as one travels north from central Chile where Santiago is located. The IV Region has a surface area of 3,964,700 hectares, which represents 5.24 percent of the total area of Chile. The principal export economic activities in the region are mining, agriculture, and fishing. Documented in the 1992 Chilean Census, the

region has an estimated population of 420,000 inhabitants of which sixty percent are urban and forty percent are rural. Urban centers, such as the region's capital of La Serena, are home for sixty percent of the population, whereas communities on the peripheries of the larger cities are predominantly rural. The region is divided administratively into three provinces (Elqui, Limarí, and Choapa) which have 15 townships.

The main economic activities in the agricultural sector are grape production, both table and pisco grapes (Pisco is an alcoholic beverage made with the rinds of grapes). With Chilean macroeconomic policy favoring exports, the regional comparative advantage of producing early grapes in Chile's Limarí Valley could operate on the scale of global economic markets. Although several exotic specialty crops are produced in this area, the primary export crop is table grapes. The timing of the harvest period (November to January) became particularly advantageous by supplying the growing demand in the Northern Hemisphere. In addition, table grape prices in the United States are high in November and December, as it is the time of year when global supply is outstripped by the demand in the United States. The productions of these export crops are predominantly around the valley floors with irrigation; (e.g.: Elqui, Limarí, and Choapa Valley's). Irrigation projects have greatly facilitated farmers' productive transformation as in the irrigation of former drylands. The greater security and consistency in the supply of irrigation water leads to increases in yields and allows the introduction of new crops and other productive activities which previously were unfeasible, risky or unprofitable. Therefore, today fruit production for export dominates the region. However, there is also the production of vegetables for both domestic and export markets.

The IV Region has demonstrated delayed progress in comparison to the rest of the country. This was primarily due to the semi-dry desert environment and meagerness of advanced irrigation systems that made the region unsuitable for agriculture in the past. In contrast, today fruit production occupies a surface area of 11,125 ha., based on estimates of Instituto Nacional Estadístico (INE) that corresponds to 6.5 percent of the fruit surface area of the entire nation. Along with the main crops of table and pisco grapes, other crops have grown in importance and acreage, namely, avocados, chirimoyas, papayas, lemons, plums, pears, apples, and lúcumas (*Pouteria lucuma*) regularly produced for specialty domestic consumption. Other varieties of fruit such as, Kiwi and strawberries have also been introduced more recently.

Both ethnographic and statistical data demonstrate that table grapes in the IV Region and other fruit producing regions have grown exponentially. In particular if current production data is compared to data from the 1975 Chilean Agricultural Census. This data reveals that grape production has increased 18 times in hectares and today represents 67 percent of the fruit production surface area. Furthermore, grapes have a regional production level of 68,000 tons, based on estimates of the 1988-89 data. Table grapes are some of the most important crops for the IV Region. During the 1989-90 season the port of Coquimbo exported to the Northern Hemisphere 12,100,000 cases of which 8,000,000 came from the IV Region and the rest from the III Region, also desert area.

Based on estimates by the Chilean Institute of National Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística) the IV Region had a population of 459,600 inhabitants in 1989; of those, 107,400 (23.27%) of the population lived in rural areas. The percentage of the rural population varies from province to province. There is a convincing percentage in the agricultural provinces of Limarí and Choapa with a 41.51 percent and a 37.1 percent respectively. The province of Elqui in contrast is classified more as a urban area, thus only demonstrating 9.11 percent of its population concentrated in rural areas. Both areas offer distinct employment opportunities to their populations. Within the rural areas the predominant form of employment is either agriculture or mining.

### **Closing Remarks**

The "Californization" of Chilean farms has opened the opportunity for a comparative study of rural agricultural communities in Chile. I predict that the Chilean rural agricultural communities will soon resemble the corporate agricultural communities of California. The fact that industrialized farming creates poverty in the surrounding communities (Goldschmidt 1978) will become a serious issue for the future of campesinos in Chile. It is pertinent that more studies of the social consequences of campesinos be done in Chile. In particular the impact that the California agricultural model of industrial capitalist agribusiness will have on the rural Chilean population. With the use of California agricultural history, I am investigating the probability of similar patterns of labor recruitment and labor management developing in Chile. Furthermore, I hypothesize that this labor will be demonstrated in the form of immigrant laborers; therefore causing similar social, economic, and political immigration problems as historically and currently experienced in California.

Gracias,

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