

Have Women gained Access to Land in Cuba? Gender, Agrarian Reform and Re-Peasantisation, 1959-2018

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*C*uba represents a paradigmatic case where the peasantry is not an anachronism. The Cuban peasantry played a key role in the past and returned to the political agenda after the Revolution with special emphasis under the government of Raúl Castro (2008-18). However, the role of peasant women has not been significantly explored with a long-term vision that links post-revolutionary achievements from a gender perspective with the agrarian reform process initiated in 1959 and continuing today. Through secondary sources and a historical review of Cuba's agrarian reform process, this article attempts to answer –from a qualitative perspective– the following questions: What role have women played in the celebrated process of agrarian reform and re-peasantisation in the past and present, and what are the real opportunities for peasant or landless women through the new Decree-Laws from 2008 to 2018?

¿Accedieron las mujeres a la tierra en Cuba? Género, reforma agraria y recampesinización, 1959-2018

PALABRAS CLAVE: Cuba, reforma agraria, mujer campesina, usufructo.

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Cuba representa un caso paradigmático donde el campesinado no es un anacronismo. El campesino cubano jugó un papel clave en el pasado y volvió a la agenda política tras la Revolución, con especial énfasis bajo el gobierno de Raúl Castro (2008-2018). Sin embargo, el papel de las mujeres campesinas no ha sido explorado de manera significativa con una visión de largo plazo que vincule los logros posrevolucionarios desde una perspectiva de género, con el proceso de reforma agraria iniciado en 1959 y que continúa en la actualidad. A través de fuentes secundarias y de una revisión histórica del proceso de reforma agraria en la isla, este artículo intenta responder –con un enfoque cualitativo– a las siguientes preguntas: ¿Qué papel han jugado las mujeres en el célebre proceso de reforma agraria y recampesinización en el pasado y en el presente? ¿Cuáles son las oportunidades reales de las mujeres campesinas o sin tierra bajo los nuevos decretos-ley de entrega de tierras en usufructo de 2008 a 2018?

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1. INTRODUCTION

The right to land transcends the mere possession of a resource, as the survival of a social group depends on its use. Land tenure reflects power relations and interactions between the state and civil society. This is especially significant in Latin America, the most unequal region in the world, in terms of both income and land distribution, and where access to power and wealth has historically been linked to access to land (Ezquerro-Cañete & Fogel, 2017)¹. Discrimination on the grounds of gender and race has historically shaped tenure systems and people's socioeconomic status. Research on Latin America (Deere & León, 2001a; FAO, 1992, 1996; Razavi, 1995) shows that most agrarian reforms have primarily benefited men as the "head of household" and representative of the family. This is evidenced by many legal regulations (civil and family codes) and also by social and domestic practices in rural areas. Land reforms –though being very heterogeneous– share a common element, namely the legal-institutional, structural, and ideological inequality of women's access to land use and control and other productive resources. Despite the lack of sex-disaggregated statistics for land access in most countries, the impact of land reform (whether through land markets or land allocation by the state) has been very limited for women (Fonseca, Contrera & Argote, 2017). In Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Venezuela, women have been active participants in social movements. However, subordination criteria have prevailed in land adjudication and titling to the detriment of women (Deere, 1985, 2017).

Deere and León (2001a) analyse women's access to land and its connection to transnational social movements in different Latin American countries. The authors compare the Cuban case with other land reforms that excluded the gender dimension, such as Mexico and Bolivia. Deere and León (2001a) also explore state intervention in Latin American agriculture in the 1990s, based on land titling programmes designed to promote tenure security and encourage land markets. Their close examination of seven of these projects suggests that the reforms were often designed without sufficient attention to civil codes and marital regimes that protect women's property rights. They often ignored the fact that a household's land endowment can consist of three forms of ownership: the wife's, the husband's and joint ownership. By assuming that the family farm is owned by the male head of household, these projects ignored women's property rights. Nevertheless, the proportion of women beneficiaries of land titling has been much higher than the

1. A Gini above 0.75 corresponds to very high inequality. The Latin American Gini coefficient for land is 0.79; 0.85 in South America; and 0.75 in Central America (ranging from 0.67 in Costa Rica to 0.91 in Paraguay) with very similar data since the 1980s (OXFAM, 2016: 22). The only available data for Cuba is the Gini coefficient for income: 0.407 in 1999 according to MONREAL (2017).

percentage of women land grantees in land reforms of previous decades. This is partly because the main way in which women acquire land is through inheritance, which appears to be more gender-equal than other forms of land access. This is also the result of more gender-equal land legislation in recent decades and of the impact of women's movements in the state (Deere & Leon, 2001a; Deere, 2017). Deere (2017) also addresses the disjuncture between women's formal land rights and their attainment in practice, examining the four land reforms carried out by four Pink Tide governments after 2000: Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador and Venezuela. Their study concludes that while these countries strengthened women's formal land rights, only the reforms in Bolivia and Brazil resulted in a significant proportion and number of women beneficiaries. In both countries, the existence of strong rural women's movements at the national level was key from a gender perspective. These movements emerged as the main drivers of women's land rights in a context where they also formed part of the coalition that brought these left-leaning regimes to power².

Although Cuba never implemented a land titling programme such as the one followed in other Latin American countries in the 1990s, and it is not a country of the so-called Pink Tide, the island shares some characteristics with these new-left governments. Since the Special Period, Cuba has promoted radical development goals (mainly at the beginning of the twenty-first century) such as those based on the granting usufruct over land and food sovereignty institutionalisation. However, within this new agrarian question, the gender dimension has hardly been explored. Few studies offer an in-depth analysis of the role of women in the first agrarian reform laws; there is even less research on women's access to land under the last Decree-Laws on usufruct land delivery³. The term *campesina/usufructuaria* does not appear explicitly in any of the agrarian reform laws (1959, 1960, 1993) or in the recent usufruct Decrees (259, 300 and 358). *Peasant* is used in general terms, but the gender dimension is not made explicit. However, Cuba has two strong civil society institutions, the Federation of Cuban Women (Federación de Muje-

2. In Bolivia, women have benefited primarily through joint land titling to couples in the country's massive land regularisation programme. Brazil's reform has been the most redistributive, with women benefiting through the priority given to female heads of household, as well as mandatory joint allocation of land to couples in agrarian reform settlements (DEERE, 2017).

3. In the national literature there are some general studies such as ARCE-RODRÍGUEZ (2012), FONSECA, CONTRERA and ARGOTE (2017). Also, MARTÍNEZ MONTENEGRO and BAEZA (2017). See also gender approaches in studies of recent agrarian transformations (LEYVA, ECHEVARRÍA & VILLEGAS, 2018), in particular, ROMERO, BENÍTEZ FERNÁNDEZ and MIRANDA (2018). In the more international literature, see DEERE and LEÓN (1987) and for a comparative perspective DEERE and LEÓN (2001b). But Deere and León do not limit themselves to the case of Cuba; they carry out a comparative study of the gender approach in the first agrarian reform laws up to the 1970s, highlighting the role of Cuban women in the process of collectivisation of the peasantry.

res Cubanas, FMC) and the National Association of Small Farmers (Asociación Nacional de Agricultores Pequeños, ANAP), which have both promoted and institutionalised a clear gender focus in the Cuban re-peasantisation process, interacting directly with the state.

Cuba also constitutes a paradigmatic case within the agrarian reform processes implemented since the 1960s in Latin America. Far from being an anachronism, the Cuban peasantry, played a key role in the past and returned to the political agenda after the Revolution with particular prominence after the Special Period to counter the lack of food imports from the Soviet bloc. After the global food crisis (2007-08), Raúl Castro's government further addressed the need to produce food for domestic consumption (2008-18). According to the latest Land Use Panorama (ONEI, 2017), small farms represent 40.1% of agricultural structures, compared to state farms whose occupation of cultivated land fell from 82% in 1988 to 19.9% in 2018; that same year 31.1% of the island's agricultural area was in the hands of usufructuaries (small individual producers). The latest Decree-Law 358 on the delivery of land in usufruct enacted by Miguel Díaz Canel in 2018 further enhances the process of Cuba's land decentralisation as well as the recent Food Sovereignty Programme presented in February 2022⁴. However, within this more specialised literature, the role of peasant women has not been explored with a long-term vision that links post-revolutionary achievements from a gender perspective with the ongoing agrarian reform process initiated in 1959 (Deere, 1985; Deere & León, 2001a)⁵. Meanwhile, there is abundant literature on the role of women since the triumph of the Revolution that attempts to characterise the achievements and institutionalisation of equal opportunities between men and women (see Molyneux, 2001, among others). However, these two bodies of literature, gender and agrarian reform, do not seem to have established connections that allow us to understand the role of women in the agrarian reform process that began in 1959 (only Deere, 1985; Deere & León, 2001a) and continues today. Nor is there any research that connects the work of Deere and León on the role of Cuban women after the first two agrarian reform laws with the role of peasant women in the subsequent agrarian reform and usufruct laws.

This paper attempts to fill this gap in the literature by providing a long-term view through an analysis of secondary sources and a historical review of Cuba's agrarian reform process to understand the role of peasant women from 1959 to the present day. In

4. See, for example, MINREX (2022).

5. Section 4 provides preliminary evidence to enhance our understanding of the role that women have played in the Cuban rural world, especially after the application of the first Decree-Laws on the granting of usufruct land (259 and 300).

this sense, Section 2 analyses the existence of parallels between the institutional advances achieved by women in Cuba since the triumph of the Revolution and the important civil society participation and access to agrarian activities, linking these two bodies of literature. Section 3 explores the necessary paradigm shift promoted in Cuba during the Special Period (1990-2008) and its impact on women by encouraging greater female involvement in food production during this stage. The subsequent granting of usufruct lands and the opportunities for Cuban women within these processes are described in Section 4. The article concludes with some reflections arising from the conversation between the different bodies of literature (gender and agrarian reform in Cuba) pointing out the need to build a more holistic and coherent approach that relates gender, agriculture, and rurality.

2. TWO TRIUMPHS OF THE REVOLUTION (1959-90)? LINKING GENDER AND AGRARIAN REFORM

2.1. Revolution and gender policy

During the insurreccional struggle before the triumph of the Revolution, Cuban women actively participated in the uprising in the Sierra Maestra. Their participation was marginal in the countryside and more prominent in the clandestine struggle in the cities (Stubbs & Álvarez, 1987). They generally held menial jobs, traditionally considered “women’s jobs”, and in many cases were paid less for doing the same work as men. The triumph of the Revolution and the declaration of a socialist system in Cuba transformed the role of women in the island’s development process. From the first years of the Revolution, gender equality became a primary objective of social development within the new political structuring of the country (Caram, 2005: 1)⁶. From the beginning of the Revolution, the Cuban Ministry of Labour recognised equality between men and women in salary, promotion, benefits, and equal access to training, even though in those years there was no conception of gender and inequalities as there is today. The Maternity Act of 1974, the Family Code of 1975, the Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1977, the Safety Act and the Criminal Act of 1979 constituted significant steps towards equality. During the 1980s, the Labour Code and the Employment Policy Regulations were enacted. The amendments made to the Constitution in 1992 more clearly reflect the equity between

6. See also the preliminary steps of these changes after the Revolution described by CHASE (2015). This author analyses the causes of the forgotten women’s activism of the 1950s and argues that women also played an important role (although considered auxiliary) in the logistics of the armed groups, including the M-26-7. See also MAQUEIRA (2020), and also some works on the clandestine fight of women in the guerrilla, such as SIPPAL (2020).

men and women that Cuban society advocates (Núñez Sarmiento, 2001:145). The new Constitution, adopted in 2019 (articles 41 to 44), ratifies the Cuban state's commitment to gender equality and non-discrimination in all spheres of life (Valdés Sánchez & Vallellano, 2021).

The massive incorporation of women into the workforce did not strictly respond to the search for equal rights but to the strategic need to expand the workforce (Bunck, 1995: 427; Macías, 2011; Núñez Sarmiento 2001: 145). Women were inserted into the productive process so that the country could achieve its socio-economic and political goals. It was not an autonomous movement for the sake of defending equal opportunities⁷. However, within this context of change and need for employment, women became dual recipients of both the social policies applied to the entire population, on the one hand, and of those designed especially for them, on the other. As a result, Cuban women were special beneficiaries and essential protagonists of the established changes⁸.

From the beginning of the Revolution, the role of civil society in gender issues was fundamental. The creation in 1960 of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) was key to coordinating and promoting women's emancipation, participation, empowerment and well-being on a national level. The FMC went on to become one of the most active and transformative institutions in Cuba's contemporary history (LópezVigil, 1997: 29)⁹. The exclusion of gender issues in formal party politics and in the economy (especially during the Special Period) were countered by positive gender-based activity within civil society, especially represented by the FMC. Although not absent in either the formal political or economic spheres, gender relations in general lacked an explicit foundation for social activity. There were no women's parties or all-women economic groups. In civil society, ho-

7. According to CHASE (2015), the M-26-7 did not initially propose a specific agenda for women, but had to develop one as it went along, spurred on by the fervent women's activism that took place in 1959 and the first months of 1960, when a myriad of women's associations sprang up spontaneously.

8. Before 1959, women accounted for 12-13% of the employed workforce. By the late 1990s they accounted for 42% (CHAN & FREYRE, 2012). According to the 1953 census, 13.7% of the employed rural population (1,754,000) were women. Although there is no information on the tasks they performed before the Revolution, according to STUBBS and ÁLVAREZ (1987) women were basically day labourers working on coffee, tobacco, and sugar plantations.

9. The creation of the Federation of Cuban Women in August 1960 sought to bring civil society associations together and make them subject to the leadership of Vilma Espín, Raúl Castro's heroic wife. However, it should not be considered the starting point of the Cuban women's movement and the mass mobilisation of women in revolutionary Cuba, but rather the end of a golden age of popular, pluralist and spontaneous mobilisation. Fidel Castro's famous declarations in favour of the "liberation" of women also came later, once he had decided in favour of socialism and has appropriated the communist platform (CHASE, 2015).

wever, whether in the form of NGOs, publications, neighbourhood associations or other informal groups, gender was the fundamental basis for organisation and activity (Molyneux, 2001)¹⁰.

In general terms, the FMC carried out very important work for the incorporation of women in all spheres of the country. One of the first measures to integrate women into the social project was the organisation of sewing schools for peasant women who were transferred to and housed in the capital. Although this action was an important step in the incorporation of women into the workforce, the main objective of the project was the implementation of functions historically assigned to women. Campaigns were also run in rural areas to encourage women to work the land, but the majority continued to carry out their traditional roles within the family. By 1975, more than 20,000 women were working in construction brigades and many others joined the sugar cane harvest, breaking the pattern of traditional female employment¹¹. From the outset, the main activities of the FMC were marked by the interest in transforming discriminatory attitudes against women and actions were aimed at alleviating female domestic burdens and tasks. The FMC also promoted educational activities to address individual, social, family, and political conflicts and to integrate women into the productive life and social development of the country. The FMC also encouraged the incorporation of women into cultural activities, the diversification of their roles –especially those traditionally reserved for men– and their incorporation into the national economic and scientific spheres, including marginalised women such as peasants, housewives and even prostitutes (Stubbs & Álvarez, 1987). Progressively, the FMC also encouraged the integration of women into skilled employment. However, within all these processes and measures, the real access of Cuban women to land –considering the historical tendency of access/ownership of land by the mainly male head of household– under the first agrarian reform laws is not clear.

10. MAQUEIRA (2020) situates the post-1959 Cuban Revolution in the debate over domestic labour of the 1960s and 1970s, particularly the relationship between feminism and Marxism. She focusses on three central axes: the pathways to “women’s emancipation”, the role of domestic labour and the relationship between accumulation and patriarchy in two periods, 1959-90 and 1990 to the present day. A critical debate on the relationship between feminism and Marxism, crucial for both the construction of a feminist agenda and the elaboration of public policies from a feminist lens.

11. There were schemes that probably contributed to a greater participation of women in agricultural and livestock activities. Particularly, the so-called *escuelas del campo* trained young students of both sexes in basic crop farming while receiving secondary and pre-university education. However, it is difficult to determine whether these schools had any influence on the incorporation of women into agriculture. See, for example, GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ and REYES (2009) on development of education in Cuba after 1959, and AVALO (2016).

2.2. First agrarian reforms and peasant/rural women

After the Revolution, on 1 January 1959, Cuba became a socialist state with the capacity to transform rural conditions on the island, handing over land to the peasants through two consecutive agrarian reform laws that would combine collective and redistributive patterns. The first agrarian reform law was implemented in May 1959, eliminating private plantations of more than 402 hectares and certain precarious forms of exploitation such as sharecropping. The new law dispossessed large landowners and guaranteed land ownership to those who worked the land with more efficient forms of production, such as cooperatives (with the creation in the 1960s of the Credit and Service Cooperatives, CCS) (Álvarez, 2004)¹². There is little research that analyses the opportunities created by this first agrarian reform law for peasant and landless women on the island. Comparative studies for Latin America conducted by Deere (1985) show that only in Cuba and Nicaragua neither sex nor kinship status constituted a legal barrier to women's inclusion in the agrarian reform process. In both countries, female heads of households as well as wives and daughters were able to become members of cooperatives. Moreover, the incorporation of rural women was an explicit policy objective of the state in Cuba and Nicaragua. In Cuba, the role of ANAP and the FMC and their interaction with the state in the process of women's inclusion in land access is particularly remarkable.

Deere and León (2001a) explore precisely the 1959 Cuban agrarian reform law and its impact in terms of gender. This first phase of reform based on the idea of "land to the tiller" benefited mainly male heads of household (Deere & León, 2001a: 65). In the text of the law, there is not a single reference to land ownership in the hands of women, referring to "peasants and agricultural workers" (INRA, 1960: articles 22 and 23 for example); *i.e.* basically to men as landowners¹³. Bearing in mind that the first land title granted by Fidel Castro in 1959 went to a woman, Deere and León (2001a) indicate the existence of women heads of household among the beneficiaries of this first agrarian reform law, representing probably 5% of the new title holders.

In October 1963, a new agrarian reform law was implemented which expropriated the remaining rural middle-class properties, those larger than 66.4 hectares, but did not redistribute the expropriated land (Blutstein *et al.*, 1971). Although the state agricultural sector –heavily based on intensive practices– became dominant, the peasant sector still

12. The first agrarian reform law also established a maximum limit of 100 *caballerías* (1,340 hectares) for the most efficient farms of sugar or rice plantations or cattle estates (KAY, 1988).

13. The rest of the agrarian reform laws also lack a specific mention to peasant women (*Gaceta Oficial de la República de Cuba*).

contributed more than 40% of the agricultural and livestock output in 1964 (Aranda, 1968; Kay, 1988; Rodríguez, 1965). In the small agricultural sector, peasant associations were initially created as simple associative forms to obtain political and social representation and to receive assistance. At the same time, credit and service cooperatives (CCS) emerged to socialise the management of the main services necessary for production, where each family owned its individual plot of land. Within the CCSs, men ended up representing the household in the peasant organisation ANAP¹⁴. Nevertheless, the CCSs and the support of ANAP brought about a significant change in the lives of female heads of households (*e.g.*, separated), improving their precarious situation, as suggested by Pérez Rojas and Echevarría (1998: 13) based on different accounts of women landowners.

The development of an explicit state policy favouring the incorporation of rural women into the agrarian reform process was the result of both the ideological and economic considerations mentioned above. As the Cuban Revolution developed its socialist character, the question of equality, not only between social classes, but also between men and women, had to be addressed. Drawing on Marxist classics, Cubans accepted the theoretical premise that gender equality required the incorporation of women into the workforce. This was a necessary step both for women's own social development and for the transformation of social relations in Cuban society (Castro, 1981; PCC, 1976). At the end of the 1960s, rural women's participation in agricultural production increased due to the growing shortage of labour in this sector and the rapid expansion of sugar production. In 1966, ANAP and the FMC converged in the promotion and creation of the FMC-ANAP rural women's brigades. At that time, a specific policy to integrate rural women into the workforce took shape (FMC, 1975). Initially, the brigades consisted of voluntary labour (temporary and unpaid) and provided a mechanism through which thousands of rural women were able to participate for the first time in social production (Bengelsdorf & Hageman, 1979). The FMC-ANAP brigades increased from 2,360 (with 27,012 members) in 1970 to 7,672 (and 108,328 members) in 1977 (Valdés de Paz, 2010: 52). However, the FMC-ANAP's organisation of rural women was not limited to the role of women as a seasonal labour reserve. They also promoted the incorporation of women as permanent workers on state farms and as members of the CCSs (FMC, 1975). The FMC-ANAP brigades that had been organised within each CCS to recruit women into seasonal farm work began to focus on creating a support structure to increase women's explicit participation in family farm work and cooperative decision-making (FMC, 1975). In this con-

14. On 17 May 1961, the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) was constituted as an organisation that represented the interests of the Cuban peasantry. The work of the Organisation is aimed at guiding, uniting, and organising cooperative members, peasants and their families in the realisation of the Agrarian Policy of the Party and the Revolution (ANAP, 2021).

text, they became the channel for the provision of specific technical assistance to women. For the first time, they could access the agronomic and veterinary knowledge necessary for modern agriculture and specific skills for their own income-generating projects (FMC, 1975). To further encourage women's participation in the brigades, it was necessary to address their reproductive roles. The FMC played a central role in promoting the development of day care centres in the countryside, as well as the expansion of community kitchens in rural workplaces (Deere, 1985). It is estimated that in the mid-1970s, women made up more than half of the seasonal labour force for the sugarcane, coffee, tobacco and fruit harvests (FMC, 1975). By the mid-1970s, ANAP already had one of the highest proportions (16%) of women in local leadership positions of all Cuba's mass organisations (PCC, 1976: 30).

After the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba in 1975, the creation of the Agricultural Production Cooperatives (CPAs) marked a real path towards the collectivisation of the peasantry and the inclusion of women in the collective sector¹⁵. With the aim of recognising the peasant sector and promoting agrarian modernisation, the state offered resources for the construction of agricultural communities together with a series of incentives to promote voluntary collectivisation. The new agricultural communities were conceived as work centres that allowed the socialisation of many women's domestic tasks, recognised the right of women to be members and guaranteed women's employment in CPAs. These communities provided more modern housing with running water, sanitation systems and electricity as well as health centres, nurseries, schools, community kitchens and shops with basic necessities¹⁶. The most substantial change came in the 1970s, when ANAP changed the criteria for membership of the cooperatives. Formerly, only household heads could be members, but after this point, all adult members of the family were able to join and work in the CPAs. This was a key factor for women in agricultural households. They were often the chief instigators of a household's decision to collectivise. The CPAs offered many women the possibility to work full-time for the first time and thus become financially independent from their husbands and fathers. In addition, rural women who joined the CPAs were able to access social security benefits for the first time, including paid maternity leave and retirement pensions. Precisely, maternity was another factor that formerly placed female cooperative members at a disadvantage. As Deere (1985) points out, only in Cuba cooperative wo-

15. The CPAs were conceived as socialist economic entities to promote collective production and cooperation at the height of the Cuban peasant movement (KAY, 1988; NOVA, 2013).

16. Interviews with women farmers conducted by DEERE and LEON (2001a) in 1980 reveal that these communities offered substantial benefits for women, alleviating the burden of domestic work and increasing the standard of living of their families.

men gained coverage under a national social security system that included paid maternity leave among its benefits.

The positive response of rural women to collectivisation was evident in 1979, when only 725 CPAs had been organised nationally and women represented 34.7% of the 14,696 members. That same year, women represented 6.9% of the members of CCSs and other peasant associations, and 5.5% of the members with individual land titles (Stubbs & Álvarez, 1987: Table 8.1). Thus, the visibility of women in the collective cooperative sector far exceeded that of the state or private sector. According to the 1981 census, women represented 14% of the permanent workforce on state farms and held only 6% of professional positions (*ibid.*: 143). Subsequently, the number of CPAs expanded to over 1,400 in 1983; women then accounted for 27.7% of the 82,515 members. Women's participation in management positions in cooperatives also increased steadily, reaching 12% in 1985 (Stubbs & Alvarez, 1987)¹⁷.

On the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union, 78% of the cultivated area was in the hands of the state, 10% belonged to CPAs and the remaining 12% to CCSs and individual farmers¹⁸. The two agrarian reform laws empowered small producers to obtain –and definitively guarantee– land, providing them with the possibility to create cooperatives as a new form of productive organisation. The agrarian reform did not directly take gender into account. A subsequent and complementary concerted effort by the state and peasant and feminist organisations was necessary to increase women's participation in agriculture and in the cooperative sector (Deere & León, 2001a; Deere & León, 2001b: 76-79). In comparative terms, Deere (1985) points out that of all the agrarian reforms implemented up to the 1980s in Latin America, the Cuban example is the most paradigmatic. Data available at the national level suggest that in the 1980s, Cuban women represented a significant number of the real beneficiaries of agrarian reform. Women constituted 26% of the 78,000 members of the country's 1400 production cooperatives in the mid-1980s (Benjamin, Collins & Scott, 1984). The available data further show that women joined as wage labourers on state farms¹⁹. However, women were still under-represented as seasonal labour on state farms and CPAs (Croll, 1979); they received substan-

17. Although gender-disaggregated data on cooperative leadership is not available, data on women in leadership positions in ANAP show by the mid-1970s that 16% of these positions at the local level were held by women (PCC, 1976: 30).

18. For a more in-depth understanding of the different types of cooperatives within Cuba's non-State sector, see Appendix I.

19. In 1968, 44,000 women were employed as permanent workers on state farms, and by the mid-1970s women accounted for 53% of permanent workers in the state tobacco industry, 41% in the dairy industry, 19% in the industry, and 7% in the sugar industry (FMC, 1975: 9, in DEERE, 1985).

tially lower incomes in the cooperatives and had shorter working hours due to their domestic responsibilities (Benjamin, Collins & Scott, 1984). In this context, Cuban state policy recognised women's double workload and their limited role in terms of a full participation in production. The Family Law, implemented in 1975, required men to perform an equal share of child rearing and domestic chores when their wives worked in social production (Stone, 1981: Appendix 2). This was an innovative step by the Cuban state in recognising that women's participation in social production was not sufficient to guarantee equality between women and men (Deere, 1985).

3. THE SPECIAL PERIOD (1990-2008): THE FORCED PARADIGM SHIFT, WOMEN AND SELF-CONSUMPTION

The Special Period (1990-2006) in Cuba forced a paradigm shift towards an alternative and more sustainable model of agriculture to feed the population without strategic imports from the Soviet bloc. The main changes arose in production patterns, which, encouraged by researchers and academia, shifted towards low-input agriculture. The state also promoted changes towards a cooperative and smallholding model through the conversion in 1993 (with Decree-Law No. 142) of state farms into Basic Units of Cooperative Production (UBPCs). A series of additional measures were implemented to liberalise the domestic food market (*e.g.*, Decree-Law No. 191/94 for the creation of free markets of supply and demand in 1994) and in this way, cooperatives opened spaces for peasants in food production for national consumption. While the state sector decreased from 75% in 1992 to 35.8% in 2007, the non-state sector (formed by UBPCs, CPAs and CCSs) increased from 25% to 64.2% during the same period (ONEI, 2007)²⁰. The essential change in Cuba's agrarian structure was the gradual expansion of land in the hands of individual smallholders enhanced by the interaction between the peasant movement and the state. However, what opportunities did decentralisation and state-peasant movement interaction create for peasant and rural women?

At the end of the 1990s, women joined UBPCs as cooperative workers. In this way, women attempted to produce for self-consumption, increase their income levels, extend their participation in economic activities and obtain the possibility to access housing. However, few women participated in this new form of agricultural organisation, limiting their access to decision-making and boards of directors. In 1990, women owned 1.6% of land in the non-state sector, and the same figure for the private sector; in 2008 this figure rose to 2.3% for non-state ownership and 8% for private ownership (Arce-Rodríguez, 2012).

20. See Appendix I and II for a more detailed description on Cuba's non state sector.

These data indicate that women had a much lower access to land (both state and private) than men. The agricultural cooperative sector employed only 0.8% of the island's female labour force in 1989²¹. According to Galán (1998), 13.6% of the people who joined agricultural UBPCs and 11.2% of the sugarcane UBPCs were women. Respectively, 17.3% of the members of CPAs and 9.2% of CCSs were women in the mid-1990s (FAO, 1996). It should be noted that economic and productive diversification, self-consumption programmes and handicraft work (resulting from CPA readjustments during the Special Period) created certain prospects for the empowerment of women and their integration in new productive activities (Galán, 1998).

The FAO report (Galán, 1998) on women's legal access to land shows that in the 1990s, although women members of cooperatives worked in communities, their activities were not very attractive; positions of greater responsibility and hierarchy were held by men. In addition, the average number of working days per month of women in cooperatives was lower than men's and consequently, their remuneration was also worse. Arce-Rodríguez (2012) also highlights the unequal employment opportunities for Cuban women considering the diversity of jobs they perform in the domestic sphere. During the worst years of the Special Period, many of them abandoned their jobs in industry and other sectors to take on domestic tasks (caring for the home, children and the sick), commonly assuming a "double working day" (Caram, 2005). In this context, women began to engage in self-employment activities, mainly in jobs associated with female traditional activities such as preparing food for sale in peri-urban and neighbourhood areas (Arce-Rodríguez, 2012).

Lundgren (2010) underlines the relevance of changes in gender relations after the economic crisis of the 1990s. From that moment, the focus on legislative reforms seeking to change the situation of Cuban women ran the risk of reinforcing the separation between a state discourse and gender ideals in everyday life, with the apparent contradictions that this separation entails (Lundgren, 2010). For Molyneux (2001), while the failure of capitalist society has been the refusal of the political and economic spheres to adequately address gender inequalities and issues raised by women's groups within civil society, the failure of socialist models has been the refusal to allow civil society, including gender-based civil society, to function fully. Cuban women's interests, long-represented, rhetorically by a powerless bureaucracy and continually exhausted by the costs

21. However, overall, in 1994, women made up 21% of the agricultural labour force. This figure declined according to FMC statistics, which show that women accounted for 17.4% of the agricultural labour force. However, in statistical terms it is difficult to make comparisons because there are no disaggregated and updated figures according to forms of organisation/tenure. See Appendix II.

of revolutionary excesses, needed to achieve greater and more independent articulation (*ibid.*: 46).

In the context of crisis, the Cuban Peasant Movement, ANAP promoted effective alliances with the state and several external actors, showing a clear capacity to influence policies and programmes promoted “from above”. Most importantly, ANAP became the first organisation in the agricultural sector to have its own gender strategy (approved in 2005) aimed at improving not only the quantity of employment for rural women but also the quality and working conditions of these jobs, a strategy already and jointly promoted by the FMC since the 1970s. Although ANAP was formed by male and female household heads, female participation was still low in 1992 (with women accounting for just 14.5% of its membership and 18.1% in the Bureau). However, this organisation has made great efforts to promote equal social and economic opportunities in terms of women participation, to improve access to quality social services –especially in rural areas–, to increase awareness with gender training and sensitisation, and to elaborate gender statistics and indicators on a national level (Chan & Freyre, 2012; Galán, 1998). ANAP projects have been carried out in line with other international and national NGOs such as ACTAF (the Cuban Association of Agricultural and Forest Technicians) and ACPA (the Cuban Association of Animal Production) and have been supported by different ministries (Arce-Rodríguez, 2012; Chan & Freyre, 2012). Since the 1990s, ANAP, ACPA or ACTAF programmes have attracted international and cooperation funding to enhance the role of women as producers and create equal employment opportunities. These programmes have further facilitated access to information, participatory spaces in a traditionally patriarchal work and family environments and have focused political and social attention on the world of rural women (Machín *et al.*, 2010)²². The main components of their programmes and work content have especially sought to strengthen women’s participation in decision-making and community actions related to food security (Galán, 1998). More recent research by Chan and Freyre (2012) point out the importance of ANAP’s achievements, still modest and unknown, but with potential under the new usufruct land delivery laws that will expand opportunities for peasant women in Cuba²³. These authors also highlight the 7.1% growth in women’s participation in administrative positions; the number of women

22. See, for example, the chapter by ROMERO, BENÍTEZ FERNÁNDEZ and MIRANDA (2018) for experiences of innovation and gender equity under local agriculture programmes (Programa de Innovación Agropecuaria Local, PIAL). See also the study by ECHEVARRÍA, ROMERO and LORENZO (2018) on gender in development’ approaches of international NGOs in Cuba’s rural development projects. See also, MACHÍN *et al.* (2010: 68-71) for Cuban women in ANAP and the Agroecological Peasant Movement.

23. Further information on ensuring gender equity in agriculture can be found in CHAN and FREYRE (2012: 93-8), chapter 3 on local development and sustainable agriculture.

members of cooperatives grew by 0.8% and the number of women landowners increased by 0.2% in two years, from 2006 to 2008 (Castañeda, 2007; Machín *et al.*, 2010).

In general terms, women readapted their forms of employment to new sectors during the Special Period. They also consolidated their importance as a pillar of the agricultural workforce (fundamental since the 1960s and 1970s), both in their homes and in rural workplaces and communities. Their presence was particularly visible and strong in agrarian development programmes such as urban agriculture –and since 2011-12 suburban agriculture–, which, in 2008 employed 67,576 women, representing approximately 20% of the workforce (Chan & Freyre, 2012; Machín, 2010). According to Martín and Reyes (2008), rural women were the group that directly benefited most from education and employment, showing the effectiveness of strategies aimed at the most disadvantaged groups. However, between 1997 and 2001, they only represented approximately 18% of employment in the agricultural sector due to the difficulties and conditions of agricultural work (Martín & Reyes, 2008). The problems of reconciling family and working conditions (such as the need to make working hours and schedules more flexible and reduce demands on rural and peasant women) and complementary social services (for the care of children or adolescents) together with their invisible domestic work continued throughout the Special Period. These patterns limited their more direct incorporation into agricultural activities. According to ANAP data and despite the important process of redistribution, decollectivisation and women's access to agricultural employment during the 1990s, in 2007-08 only 11% of women were landowners (Chan & Freyre, 2012; Machín, 2010).

4. USUFRUCT LAND DELIVERY: OPPORTUNITIES FOR FEMALE FARMERS? (2008-18)

After Raúl Castro came to power, and especially after the global food crisis (2007-08), agrarian reform and food sovereignty became prominent items on the policy agenda. The granting of usufruct land, approved by Decree-Law 259 in 2008 –which benefited more than 170,000 peasants–, boosted re-peasantisation in Cuba (MINAGRI, 2011). Following the “Guidelines of the Economic and Social Policy of the Party and the Revolution”, Decree-Law 259 was modified by 300 in 2012, with the objective of putting into operation –under free usufruct– a volume of unproductive land that accounted for, in a first estimate, 18.6% of the agricultural area of the country. This measure was linked to a favourable credit and fiscal policy to increase national food production where women had a key role. Although land transfers have been subject to a wide variety of conditions, the massive amount of idle state land given in usufruct, mainly to small and individual producers, represents a very radical move by the Cuban state. According to the latest Land

Use Panorama (ONEI, 2017), small individual producers represent 40.1% of the total cultivated area, surpassing the rest of the agricultural structures in Cuba (Nova, 2013). This process, in addition to the recognition of food sovereignty as a state policy, constitutes a certain affirmation by the state of the greater efficiency of small-scale food production under Cuba's "special conditions". Within this context, on 7 August 2018, the government of Díaz Canel proclaimed Decree-Law No. 358, "On handing over idle state lands in usufruct", as an instrument to increase agricultural yields. Both the time and the amount of land were doubled in Decree-Law 358, which replaced Decree-Law 300 (Bottella, 2020). However, none of these decree-laws directly refer to women's access to land.

Agricultural cooperatives are currently the main source of income in rural communities and significantly produce food for domestic consumption²⁴. However, women's participation has not been matched by institutional progress in terms of citizen participation and access to productive activities (Fonseca, Contrera & Argote, 2017). The cooperatives are grouped into 3,341 grassroots organisations; of these, 877 are CPAs, with 46,309 members, 20.6% are women and 79.4% are men; and 2,464 CCSs with 334,743 members, of whom 18% are women and 82% are men, representing a significant part of national food production. Among land usufructuaries there were about a thousand women before 2008 (ANAP, 2021; Fonseca, Contrera & Argote, 2017). After the first two years of land delivery in usufruct, facilitated since 2008 by Decree-Law 259, out of a total of 171,237 beneficiaries, only 9.5% were women (MINAGRI, 2013). These data coincide with those of Mesa-Lago (2013, 2016) who finds that in 2012 only 9-10% of usufructuaries were women. By 2011, around 142,740 beneficiaries had benefited from Decree Law 259, of which 130,254 were men and 12,486 were women (9% of the total in CPA and CCS) (Pesce-Monteiro, 2012, in Fonseca, Contrera & Argote, 2017). As of March 2012, a total of 17,000 women had availed themselves of the Decree-Law. Of these women, 10,778 applied for land on their behalf, representing 86.3% (*ibid.*). ANAP sources state that in 2012 there were 12,102 women landowners, representing 11% of the total (MINAGRI, 2013).

The successive agrarian and legal transformations that have taken place in the country have generated a social system for rural women, including their right to inherit land and protection for their maternity and work. The 2012 Population and Housing Census shows an increase in the participation/employment of rural women in the non-state sector (see Appendix II). If we compare these figures with the participation of men in different forms of management, we can observe that the gap has not been reduced. At the national level,

24. For example, in 2016, family and peri-urban farmers produced between 63% and 86% of Cuba's main domestic crops, as well as 65% of milk and 42% of meat (ONEI, 2017).

243,914 usufructuaries have benefited; the number of women represents only 37.2% compared to 62.8% of men. Women continue to have a greater weight in the CPAs and UBPCs, representing 23.5% and 20.4% of those employed, respectively, compared to small farmers associations or CCSs where they represent just 8.1% of the employed population compared to 91.9% of men (ONEI, 2014).

The latest available data on women's access to land (UN Women, 2019) show that more than 10,900 women were landowners in the late 2010s. More than 17,000 women have benefited from the adoption of Decree Law No. 300 that establishes access for individual usufruct land to favour food production. They have also benefited from full access to credit, technical assistance and other opportunities that allow women to manage and control these plots as well as their active engagement in food production (UN Women, 2019).

Despite these advances in terms of land access or agricultural employment, much remains to be done in terms of gender equity within the cooperative sector. A key challenge for the sector transcends legal arguments and is based on conventional behaviour patterns. The new laws also fail to promote training spaces for women based on the principle of equivalent opportunities and responding equally to the needs of both women and men, considering their biological and social differences. The lands that still remained to be handed over in 2016 were those furthest away from the villages and were covered with *marabú*, requiring a longer period of conditioning and greater investment resources. And although women are entitled to credit, there is an underlying cultural problem: the owners of the land mostly pass on the knowledge and inheritance to men, as they tend to be more directly involved in production. This generates a sexist division of labour in the countryside (Munster, 2016). The figures do not reflect the true empowerment of women, since many of them tend to delegate land management to their husbands and sons. It is estimated that for every 100 men employed in rural areas there are 30 women (Munster, 2016). Although they do not constitute a majority in rural areas, women have significant potential as a labour force considering their education levels in recent years. According to ONEI data (2015), rural women in Cuba make up 10.4% of the total population and 20.7% of all women in the country. Similarly to the 1960s, there is still a greater presence of women in the state sector. Interviews conducted with experts by Munster (2016) and Chan and Freyre (2012) reveal a significant female participation in the cooperatives of wives, daughters and other relatives of the cooperative members who own the land, and not as a result of a true process of economic empowerment. Another considerable limitation to productivity resides in the failure to take advantage of the real capacity and potential of women as a skilled workforce. In 2015, Cuban women represented 66.3% of the technical workforce. However, these women do not generally participate in direct decision-making nor in the economic sectors of higher productivity. In 2015, women ac-

counted for 47.2% of those in managerial positions (ONEI, 2015). There is a much wider gap between women in rural areas (Munster, 2016). Despite the fact that the participation of female heads of peasant associations at the national level is much lower, it has increased in cooperatives and in municipal and local government entities and the full potential of women to organise and lead in these areas has yet to be seen. These patterns lead to the assumption that the gap between men and women is wider in these spaces. The ANAP political participation statistics of 2005 show that only 27% of the total number of leaders at the national level were women. They also reveal that women represented 24.4% of the members of the ANAP National Committee, 15.9% of the members on boards of directors and administration positions in CPAs and CCSs, 5.1% of the total number of CPAs presidents and 2.5% of CCSs presidents (Arce-Rodríguez, 2012; ONEI, 2005)²⁵.

Another challenge can be observed in national statistics in terms of the lower social development in rural areas, particularly in the mountains. This factor has had an impact on the migrations that have been taking place for decades from rural to urban areas and from the mountains to the plains. All of this is happening despite the national policy of equal territorial opportunities that has been implemented. This policy has lacked a more holistic approach to the rural world and has been more focused on the agricultural sector. According to the publication on the Environmental Panorama of Cuba (ONEI, 2012), the rate of access to drinking water in rural areas is 76.7% compared to 97.4% in urban areas. The lower access to drinking water, electricity, nurseries and support services for the functioning of domestic life in general, are factors that perpetuate backwardness in the process of the empowerment of rural women (*ibid.*). Reconciling public and domestic work is more complex for women, as is the timing and organisation of their daily lives, as they continue to wash in rivers and must spend time carrying water. Women also have fewer assets. Young women face disadvantages compared to young men because they inherit family capital as a cultural and existing practice. Women also face serious problems in reconciling their public and private lives due a lower access to social services in rural areas with few institutions caring for children and the elderly (Munster, 2016, 2017).

However, there is still light in this context. Cuba's relationship with international cooperation in its various forms has led to the expansion of the gender mainstreaming approach, in theory and practice, in the entities that promote rural development, especially since the end of the 1990s. An important role in this regard has been played by the Lo-

25. Territorial statistics on women's participation in the 2007/08 legislature of the National Assembly show provincial differences at these levels in the territories (Santi Spiritus had 52% of women representatives; Granma had 38.6% and Santiago de Cuba, 39.6% (INIE, 2010; MUNSTER, 2016).

cal Human Development Programme (PDHL) and the Local Support Programme for Agricultural Modernisation in Cuba (PALMA). The contributions of ANAP, ACPA and ACTAF have pioneered gender equity in the agricultural sector²⁶.

5. CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS A MORE HOLISTIC APPROACH: GENDER, AGRICULTURE AND RURALITY

Cuban rural women are immersed in a process of change. The new Constitution, approved in 2019 (articles 41 to 44), ratified the commitment of the Cuban state to gender equality and non-discrimination in all spheres of life (Valdés Sánchez & Vallellano, 2021). With respect to said process, this article has attempted to provide a state of the question about the past and present of rural and peasant women in Cuba, connecting the gains and limitations for women of the agrarian reform that began in 1959 and continues today. To this end, the article has established a novel conversation between two bodies of the literature that have barely been connected: the process of empowerment and equal opportunities for Cuban women since the triumph of the Revolution and the celebrated process of agrarian reform. Although Cuba seems to be a paradigmatic example on both fronts, the study of women's access to land has been limited and faces serious restrictions.

Comparative research for Latin America by Deere (1985) shows that in the 1980s only in Cuba and Nicaragua were neither sex nor kinship status a legal barrier to women's inclusion in the agrarian reform process. In both countries, female heads of households as well as wives and daughters were able to become members of agrarian reform cooperatives. Deere's (1985, 2001) comparative analysis of Latin American agrarian reforms examines the important role of rural/peasant organisations in promoting women's participation in post-Revolution agrarian structures. The Cuban experience following the implementation of the first two agrarian reform laws (1959 and 1963) is instructive. Cuba's mass organisations provided the essential mechanism for linking national politics, in its broadest sense, with processes of change at the local level. Moreover, the coordination between the FMC and ANAP proved to be pioneering and effective in terms of integrating women into land reform, while attending women's specific needs (Deere, 1985). Of particular interest in Cuba, therefore, is the interaction between ANAP-FMC and the

26. ACPA has also developed a gender strategy. It has also instituted the Rural Women's Award, a stimulus to highlight those who work in the scientific, technical, and practical field of agri-food production (MUNSTER, 2016). In the city of Havana, the ACPA has grown from 14% of women at the beginning of the organisation to 45% and from 4% to 49% of managers (ACPA, 2019). See also ROMERO, BENÍTEZ FERNÁNDEZ and MIRANDA (2018), ECHEVARRÍA, ROMERO and LORENZO (2018), MACHÍN *et al.* (2010), and CHAN and FREYRE (2012).

State in the process of women's inclusion and land access. As shown in Section 4, the figures indicate a progressive incorporation of women in decision-making activities of the organisations and cooperatives²⁷.

In the case of CCSs, the presence of women is much lower than in CPAs where land ownership is collective and both men and women perform a diversity of roles. More recent measures to expand self-employment have led to individual ownership and specialisation, more related to women's traditional roles. This is due to a more individual vision of the family environment, in which certain discriminatory practices as considered as natural within relations between men and women in rural areas. Despite these ambiguities (between private and collective cooperatives), at the state level there is a political will for equality and the elimination of discrimination, which requires specific measures to guarantee this process. The establishment of quotas or gender institutionalisation approaches in the main activities of Cuba's organisations is key in this context. ANAP is one of the organisations governed by this will.

The scarcity of qualitative research and more disaggregated studies/statistics of rural women in Cuba constitute a limitation to a more in-depth analysis of the current reality. Arce-Rodríguez (2012) highlights the natural consideration of the countryside as being tied to the masculine as an element that renders women invisible at the individual level. These patterns have been evident since the 1980s and persist today. Gender gaps still prevail in terms of access to different forms of property, wages, access to inputs, family reconciliation and access to leadership positions in different associations/organisations that should be considered in the design of Cuba's social and agrarian policies. It also seems that public policies devised by the different governmental bodies should better articulate the variables of territory, gender and youth. Within this context, they should address in depth the specific factors that determine gender gaps and the backwardness faced by rural and peasant women –including young women– in their empowerment process. In this sense, a greater autonomy of local governments working in line with the social approaches at the national level would be necessary.

Finally, the interesting interaction between the state and the ANAP-FMC has enhanced the incorporation of women in local productive development projects, through international cooperation and their own initiatives, whose leadership has made this progress possible. Based on a more integral and complete vision of development in rural territo-

27. At the end of 2017, 70,523 women were members of ANAP, 18.4% of the total; 48% of them held leadership positions. In addition, they accounted for 57% of the presidents of grassroots organisations and 50% of the board members (UN WOMEN, 2019).

ries, different agricultural and rural development projects implemented by ANAP or ACTAF have advanced over the last few decades. This type of more decentralised work allows us to recognise the special interaction of academia and research within Cuban civil society, and in this case, rural women, and their conversations with state entities. This state-academia-peasant interaction, which has successfully worked since the end of the 1990s in promoting an alternative agrarian model and the increase of small-scale national food production, could constitute a formula to promote advances for rural women at different levels. The process still has a long way to go to shift away from a vision that is less centred on agriculture and more focused on multidimensional rural and local development. This implies strengthening the role of local governments and their real capacities to address the challenges faced by peasant and rural women under Cuba's current conditions.

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APPENDIX I

TABLE 1
Non-state sector in Cuba, 1993-2018

	Type	Characteristics	Type of holding
Large, medium or small collective farms depending on the sectors/activities	UBPCs	Former state farms Farms much smaller than state farms. They mimic the family size and production patterns of CPAs in the 1990s. They buy tools, animals, etc.	Collective use of land
	CPAs	Voluntary associations of small producers in cooperatives sharing production and technology	Voluntary partnership and handing over of land to the cooperative
Private family farms	CCSs, small individual/dispersed producers and usufructuaries (since 2008)	Tenants, agricultural employees, sharecroppers, owners who form a cooperative to organise agricultural work and obtain credits and services from the state. Plots for growing coffee, cocoa and tobacco, for example. After 2008: land under usufruct (Decree-laws 259, 300 and 358)	Own the land (private land) in usufruct for certain periods and under specific conditions (at least 20 years with the implementation of Decree-Law 358 that establishes much more specific conditions)

Source: based on Funes-Monzote (2008), Martin (2002) and updated from ONEI (2018).

APPENDIX II

TABLE 2
Employed Population (over 15 years old) by age group:
Sex and form of employment tenure (total and percentage)

Concept	2014					
	Total		Men		Women	
Total employed	4,846,647	100%	3,017,477	62.3%	1,829,170	37.7%
Total employed in Agriculture	902,000	100%	758,400	84.1%	143,600	15.9%
In CPAs	69,326	100%	53,037	76.5%	16,289	23.5%
In UBPCs	119,159	100%	94,813	79.6%	24,346	20.4%
Small Farmer associated or not to CCSs	156,824	100%	144,168	91.9%	12,656	8.1%
Usufructuary of land associated or not to CCSs	243,914	100%	153,076	62.8%	90,838	37.2%
Hired by private non-agricultural and household workers	11,764	100%	8,380	71.3%	3,384	28.7%
Unpaid family helper	11,100	100%	7,785	70.2%	3,315	29.8%
Hired permanently or temporarily in agricultural activities	47,781	100%	31,046	65%	16,735	35%

Source: Population Census (2014).

TABLE 3
Employed population in the state and non-state sector, 2014/20 (1,000 workers)

Concept	2014		2020	
	Total	Women	Total	Women
Total	4,969.8	1,848.9	4,643.8	1,824.9
State	3,591.3	1,584.1	3,094.5	1,421.1
Non-state	1,378.5	264.8	1,549.3	403.8
Cooperatives	614.1	65.7	532.1	112.1
Agriculture cooperatives	608.6	64.5	514.9	109.3
Non-agrarian cooperatives	5.5	1.2	17.2	2.8
Private	764.4	199.1	1,017.3	291.7
Self-employment	483.4	142.5	602.4	210.8

Source: ONEI (2021).

TABLE 4
Employment per sector, 1,000 workers

	2014	2020
Total	4,969.8	4,643.7
Women	1,848.9 (37.2%)	1,824.9 (39.3%)
Agriculture, livestock and forestry	902.0	802.5
Women in agriculture, livestock and forestry	143.6 (15.9%)	138.5 (17.2%)

Source: ONEI (2021).